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Benedict Hesse of Cracow's Question about the Resurrection from the Commentary to Matthew's Gospel: Study and Critical Edition¹

Abstract: The article deals with Benedict Hesse of Cracow's (ca. 1389–1456) question about the resurrection, from the ms Kraków, BJ, 1369, ff. 24r–26r. The article demonstrates that the question comes from the Commentary on Matthew's Gospel by Hesse and is also preserved in two other manuscripts: ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, pp. 516–521, and ms Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat.Lat.14646, ff. 161va–163va. On this basis, it is possible to determine the dating of the question's composition to the years 1446–March 7, 1448. The article also analyses the doctrinal content of the question. Hesse considers the details related to the resurrection in a numerically identical body. The medieval theologian points out the metaphysical possibility of resurrection, its time and place, as well as the material structure of the risen body. A critical edition of the text crowns the article.

Keywords: Benedict Hesse of Cracow, resurrection of the body, University of Cracow, fifteenth century, Jagiellonian Library, Commentary on Matthew's Gospel

1. Introduction

The manuscript Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library, Cracow] (henceforth: BJ), 1369, is a composed codex from the fifteenth century written by many hands.² According to the fifteenth-century inscription on f. 1r, it belonged to Benedict Hesse of Cracow (ca. 1389–1456), professor of theology at the University of Cracow: *Iste est liber magistri Benedicti Hesse*

¹ I want to thank the anonymous reviewers from the *Collectanea Theologica* whose remarks helped me to improve this article.

² Wisłocki, *Katalog*, 340–341; Bucichowski, *Polskie traktaty koncyliarystyczne*, 22–25; Kowalczyk – Kozłowska – Markowski *et al.*, *Catalogus*, 136–147.

de Cracovia professoris sacre theologie, canonici katedralis Ecclesie Cracoviensis. Benedict Hesse enrolled at the University of Cracow in 1407 and obtained his title as Master of Arts in 1415. He became the Bachelor of the Bible in 1425, and during 1428–1430, he commented on the *Sentences*. In 1431, he obtained a Doctorate in Theology and participated in the famous discussion with the Hussites in Cracow in the royal castle in 1431. Twice he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and he held the office of the University Rector several times as well. He was also the canon of St. Florian's chapter and then of the cathedral chapter.³ On the pastedown of the mentioned Hesse's manuscript, we find the contents index. Among others, the scribe writes:

In isto libro continentur primo IIII^{or} questiones magistri Benedicti Hesse de Cracovia, sacre theologie professoris, canonici Cracoviensis.

Prima. Utrum contractus emptionum census facti ad reemendum aut ad tempus vite poterint de iure admitti sine formidine consciencie aut eciam tollerari [ff. 11r–19r].⁴

Utrum sacrosancte Basilensi synodo et sanctissimo domino nostro domino Felici pape quinto, ab eadem rite electo et instituto, a quolibet salvari volenti obediendum sit necessario [ff. 19v–23v].⁵

Utrum in futura resurreccione homines secundum se naturaliter (!) resurgent a morte [ff. 24r–26r].

Utrum circa viros religiosos in voto obediencie et continencie possit dispensacio intervenire [ff. 26v–28v].

³ See Fijałek, *Studia*, 144–151; Rechowicz, *Święty Jan Kanty*, 189–196; Markowski, *Dzieje Wydziału Teologii*, 139–142; Ozorowski, “Życie i działalność Benedykta Hessego,” 79–92; Wielgus, “Benedykt Hesse,” 94–96; Wojtczak, “Benedykt Hesse,” 69–88; Wojtczak, “Komentarze Benedykta Hessego,” 595–609; Wojtczak, *Benedykta Hessego komentarz*, 15–30.

⁴ See Bukała, *Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia*.

⁵ Fijałek, *Mistrz Jakób z Paradyża*, 325–331; Rechowicz, *Święty Jan Kanty*, 167–174, 182–187. Edition of the text: Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, “Tractatus brevior,” 29–42.

Only the third question, preserved in the manuscript on ff. 24r–26r, will be the object of this article. The paper will discuss the question's title, attribution, dating, and doctrinal content. The article will be crowned with a critical edition of the text.

2. Question's title, attribution, and dating

The question written on f. 24r and the answer to the question unambiguously speak of the numeral resurrection (*numeraliter resurgent*). Nevertheless, based on the index mentioned above from the pastedown, the studies repeated wrongly that the question deals with the issue of the natural resurrection (*naturaliter resurgent*). This erroneous title of the question was evoked in 1877 by Władysław Wisłocki in his Catalogue of the manuscripts of Jagiellonian Library.⁶ The same erroneous title was repeated by Jan Fijałek in his study from 1900,⁷ and then by Marian Rechowicz in 1958.⁸ This error was corrected in the description of the Catalogue of the manuscripts from Jagiellonian Library from 2008 based not on the index but on the question itself⁹ and in the *Clavis scriptorum et operum Medii Aevi Poloniae* from 2019.¹⁰ The error is based on the wrong understanding of the abbreviation of *nūa*^r from f. 24r. The author of the index from the pastedown had resolved the abbreviation as *naturaliter*, instead of *numeraliter*, and the studies repeated this error without the context of the whole question. Although in the second correlative of the first conclusion, Hesse mentions that the resurrection will not be natural, but miraculous, the analysis of the entire question's content, especially the third conclusion with its corollaries, unambiguously demonstrates that the main goal of the question is not to deal with the natural possibility of resurrection but with the material continuity of the body before and after the resurrection.

⁶ Wisłocki, *Katalog*, 340.

⁷ Fijałek, *Studia*, 146.

⁸ Rechowicz, *Święty Jan Kanty*, 209.

⁹ Kowalczyk – Kozłowska – Markowski *et al.*, *Catalogus*, 138.

¹⁰ Kaliszuk – Pieniądz – Węcowski – Skwierczyński, *Clavis scriptorum et operum*, 83.

Based on the index from pastedown, in 1898, Jan Fijałek attributed to Hesse these four questions, including the question about the resurrection.¹¹ In 1958, Rechowicz expressed doubts about attributing these four questions to Hesse.¹² Nevertheless, in the same study, Rechowicz analyzed the conciliarist treatise from this manuscript (the second question indicated in the index on the pastedown, ms Kraków, BJ, 1369, ff. 19v–23v) as Hesse’s authentic work, demonstrating that the same ideas and expressions are present in Hesse’s *Lectura* on Matthew’s Gospel, and he raised no doubt about attribution to Hesse of this treatise in his analysis.¹³ In 1987, Waław Bucichowski edited this conciliarist question¹⁴ and collated it with the other copy of this treatise conserved in ms Kraków, BJ, 1217, ff. 204ra–208ra¹⁵ with the incipit on f. 204r: *Posicio magistri Benedicti*, which confirmed Hesse’s authorship of the question.

In 2015, in the introduction to the critical edition of Hesse’s economic treatise (the first question indicated in the index on the pastedown, ms Kraków BJ, 1369, ff. 11r–19r), Marcin Bukala described six other manuscripts preserving Hesse’s economic treatise and demonstrated that question’s author is undoubtedly Hesse. Bukala refers to Rechowicz’s doubts about the attribution of the question and rightly concludes that Rechowicz’s doubts stem from the fact that these four questions were confused with two other questions preserved in this composed manuscript (question about indulgences ms Kraków BJ, 1369, ff. 2r–5r, 1r–v; question about communion under both kinds, ms Kraków BJ, 1369, ff. 29r–34v, 9r–10r), later recognized as Francis of Brzeg’s¹⁶ questions. Bukala

¹¹ Fijałek, *Studia*, 146.

¹² Rechowicz, *Święty Jan Kanty*, 209.

¹³ Rechowicz, *Święty Jan Kanty*, 177–187.

¹⁴ Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, “Tractatus breviar,” 29–42.

¹⁵ Bucichowski used the old pagination of the ms Kraków, BJ, 1217 (pp. 413a–421a), I give here a new foliation currently in use.

¹⁶ Francis of Brzeg (ca. 1370–1432) studied philosophy at the Prague University and then taught it there in the years 1397–1400. Then he came to Cracow where he studied theology and then taught at the Faculty of Theology. In Cracow, he was twice elected the University Rector, three times the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy,

also claims that the evoked index conserved on the pastedown was written while Hesse was still alive.¹⁷

Let us examine now the attribution of the two last questions (about the resurrection and about dispensing religious vows). These two questions come from the commentary on Matthew's Gospel by Benedict Hesse and this fact has not been described in the secondary literature.¹⁸ This fact entails important conclusions on the certitude of the attribution to Hesse and the dating of these two theological questions.

The question about the resurrection by Hesse is preserved not only in ms Kraków, BJ, 1369, ff. 24r–26r, but also in the two manuscripts preserving the *Lectura* on Matthew's Gospel by Hesse: 1) ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, pp. 516–521 and 2) ms Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth: BAV), Vat.Lat.14646, ff. 161va–163va.¹⁹ The question was already edited by W. Bucichowski in his edition of the *Lectura* based only on the text from ms Kraków, BJ, 1366 and Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat.Lat.14646.²⁰ Hesse asks the question about the resurrection in the context of the twenty-second chapter of his *Lectura*²¹ as the sixth dubium on the excerpt of Matth. 22, 23–33 which deals with the conversation between

and twice thr Dean of the Faculty of Theology. See Wójcik, “Franciszek z Brzegu,” 389–391.

¹⁷ Buwała, *Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia*, 4.

¹⁸ This fact was noted by the anonymous reviewer of this paper from the *Collectanea Theologica* to whom I want to express my thanks.

¹⁹ I want to thank Monica Brnzei of *l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, director of the ERC-DEBATE n° 771589 (2018–2023) grant, for her support in obtaining a digitized version of the manuscript.

²⁰ Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Lectura. (capitula XXI– XXIII)*, 242–249. Bucichowski, like Rechowicz, reads the dubious *numeraliter* as *naturaliter* several times. I have annotated these places in the critical apparatus of the edition.

²¹ See the list of the questions from the commentary: Rechowicz, *Święty Jan Kanty*, 260 (the 23rd question from the 22nd chapter of the *Lectura*). In the title of the question, Rechowicz also reads *naturaliter* instead of *numeraliter* and writes: *Utrum in futura resurrectione homines secundum se naturaliter resurgent a morte*. Rechowicz creates his list based on the index of questions written at the end of the ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, where, on page 790, the abbreviation for the word *numeraliter* is ambiguous and can be read as *naturaliter*. The list of the questions: ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, p. 790).

Jesus and the Sadducees about the resurrection of the woman who had seven husbands.

The question about dispensing religious vows from ms Kraków, BJ, 1369, ff. 26v–28v is also preserved in the two manuscripts preserving the *Lectura* on Matthew's Gospel by Hesse: 1) ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, pp. 245–250 and 2) ms Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat.Lat.14646, ff. 75va–77rb. It was already edited by W. Bucichowski in his edition of the *Lectura* based on the text from ms Kraków, BJ, 1366.²² The question is resolved by Hesse in his *Lectura* in the nineteenth chapter of his *Lectura*²³ as the third *dubium* of the pericope Matth. 19, 20–22 where Christ says that he who wants to be perfect should sell everything and follow him.

Therefore, there are no more doubts about the attribution of these two questions: they belong to the Commentary on Matthew's Gospel written by Benedict Hesse of Cracow. All four questions, enumerated on the pastedown of the ms Kraków, BJ, 1368, are rightly attributed to Benedict Hesse.

Regarding the dating of the texts, having three witnesses of the questions about resurrection and the question about dispensing religious vows, we can narrow down the date of composition of the questions:

1. As Bucichowski demonstrates, the ms Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat.Lat.14646 was copied about ca. 1461,²⁴ after the death of Hesse.
2. Bożena Chmielowska demonstrated the relationship between two of Hesse's manuscripts: ms Kraków, BJ, 1368 (finished on August 9, 1449, as evidenced by colophon on f. 307v) and analyzed here ms Kraków, BJ, 1369. In the Commentary on Matthew Gospel preserved in ms Kraków, BJ, 1368, on f. 48v, Hesse evokes Francis of Brzeg's treatise about communion under two species copied in ms Kraków, BJ, 1369, ff. 29r–34v,

²² Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Lectura. (capitula XVIII–XX)*, 195–201.

²³ See the list of the questions from the commentary: Rechowicz, *Święty Jan Kanty*, 257 (the 18th question from the 19th chapter of the *Lectura*); ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, p. 788.

²⁴ Bucichowski, *Wstęp edytorski*, 37.

9r–10r.²⁵ Therefore, ms Kraków, BJ, 1369 should be available before August 9, 1449, when ms Kraków, BJ, 1368 has been already copied.

3. The oldest manuscript preserving the two questions of interest to us is the ms Kraków, BJ, 1366. The colophon from ms Kraków, BJ, 1366 which preserved two mentioned questions on p. 785 says that the manuscript was finished in 1448, *proxima feria quinta ante Iudica, durante Concilio Basilensis*. *Iudica* is the introitus of the Passion Sunday, which means the fifth Sunday of Lent. In 1448, Easter was celebrated on March 24, therefore the Fifth Sunday of Lent was celebrated in 1448, on March 10, so the *feria quinta ante Iudica* in 1448 was March 7. Therefore, this is the *terminus ante quem* of the composition of these two questions. Considering the relationship between the other manuscripts containing the *Lectura* (ms Kraków, BJ, 1364; BJ, 1365; BJ, 1368), Bucichowski proposes dating of the ms Kraków, BJ, 1366 to the year 1446 as the *terminus post quem* and the date 1448, March 7²⁶ as the *terminus ante quem*. Therefore, these two cutoff dates should be assumed for the composition of the question about the resurrection and the question about dispensing religious vows.

3. Doctrinal content

The question has a characteristic post-Ockham structure:²⁷

- 1) The presentation of arguments for and against, 2) Two *notabilia*,
- 3) Three conclusions with corollaries.

In the *quod questio sit falsa*, Hesse claims nobody has risen, so there is no resurrection. To prove this claim, Hesse evokes biblical quotations from Ecclesiastes and Job. This argument we also found in Aquinas' commentary on the *Sentences*. In opposition

²⁵ Kowalczyk – Kozłowska – Markowski *et al.*, *Catalogus*, 147; Chmielowska, “Traktat Mateusza z Krakowa,” 172–173.

²⁶ Bucichowski, *Wstęp edytorski*, 31.

²⁷ See Calma, “*La définition du viator*,” 59; Slotemaker, “Henry of Gorkum's *Conclusiones*,” 152–167.

to the authors of the Old Testament books, Hesse quotes Paul Apostle's first letter to Corinthians, where the Apostle of the Nations states that as everyone dies in Adam, everyone will have risen in Christ. After Christ's resurrection, the New Testament author has stronger arguments than the Old Testament authors.

In the first *notabile*, Hesse distinguishes three kinds of resurrection: 1) from fault to grace, 2) from death to life, 3) from punishment to glory. The author specifies that he will deal with the resurrection in the second sense, which he understands as the reuniting of the soul with the body (*copulacio iterata rursum anime et corporis*, *notabile* 1). He bases this opinion on John of Damascus' authority, but we did not find expression attributed to Damascus in his works. Instead, we found these expressions in Richard of Middleton's²⁸ commentary on the *Sentences*, which is frequently used implicitly by Hesse in the question.

The second notable deals with human existence's final goal, which is the eternal blessedness unreachable in this miserable life. Even though a saved soul separated from the body enjoys blessedness, it is not perfect blessedness because of the natural inclination of the soul to the body. According to Augustine, the separated soul does not fully direct itself to God because it still desires union with the body, and according to Boethius, perfect blessedness excludes any other desire. Based on these two authorities, Hesse concludes that the reunion of the body and soul is necessary to achieve full eternal joy, which is only possible in the resurrection. Based implicitly on Aquinas, Hesse claims that the hope of the resurrection, firstly, removes the sadness inseparable from the moment of death, and, secondly, motivates people to live honestly. Briefly, the second notable expresses the necessity of the resurrection based on human existence's final goal, the authority of the Christian authors, and Aquinas' reasoning on the resurrection.

²⁸ Richard of Middleton (*Mediavilla*) OFM (ca. 1249–1303) was known as a bachelor of the *Sentences* in Paris in 1283. He was a regent master of the Franciscan studium in Paris in 1284–1287, and from 1295, he was a minister provincial of Franciscans in France. See Cross, “Richard of Middleton.”

After presenting the notions used in the question, the author passes to conclusions. The first conclusion with its corollary deals with the philosophical possibility of the resurrection. Based on Aristotelian hylomorphism and the pairs of concepts: form–matter, soul–body, Hesse concludes that the soul–form has a natural inclination to the body–matter. According to the Aristotelian adage: *Deus et natura nichil faciunt frustra* (co. 1), Hesse demonstrates that this logic suggests the reunion of the body and soul after death. The logic of divine justice after death and remuneration of the deeds also demands future resurrection. This idea is also certified by Boethius, who says that each evil is punished and each good is rewarded. The theologian also emphasizes the epistemological status of his conclusion: the thesis about the reunion of the body and soul after death is a statement of faith and not of science because the reunion of the body and soul has not a necessary cause and can be proved just by the authority and rhetorical persuasion. Hesse evokes the biblical authorities who certify the truth about the future resurrection. These are the patriarchs, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Job; prophets, especially Ezekiel; evangelists; Paul Apostle; martyrs and confessors, particularly those described in the Second Book of Maccabees; virgins described in the Apocalypse and finally, Christ speaking about the future resurrection.

According to Hesse, the reunion of the soul and the body is possible thanks to the active potency from the side of God (*potencia activa se ex parte Dei tenente*, co. 1). Nevertheless, Hesse also discusses the possibility of reuniting the soul and body thanks to the passive potency from the side of the creature (*potencia passiva se tenente ex parte creature*, co. 1, corr. 1). The reunion of soul and body is not metaphysically contradictory; therefore the reunion of soul and body is possible not only thanks to the God's active potency, but this reunion is imaginable also thanks to human's passive potency because passive and active potencies correspond to each other. Nevertheless, in this case, this human potency is not natural but obeying (*non debet dici naturalis, sed obediencialis*, co. 1, corr. 1) because, according to the Aristotelian philosophy, it is impossible that a destroyed being would have a natural potency capable of returning to its earlier state, it is beyond its capacities. Only the Creator

has the natural potency to return the existence of the destroyed being. These metaphysical considerations are implicitly drawn from the commentary on the *Sentences* by Thomas of Strasbourg,²⁹ whose text was largely used by the Cracow scholars.³⁰ We find a similar concept of the difference between the natural potency and the obediencial potency in Aquinas' consideration about the incarnation of the Son of God,³¹ which is used by Hesse in his *lectio ultima* on the *Sentences* on which I have been working.³²

The author develops the idea of the metaphysical extraordinariness of resurrection. The reunion of the body and soul cannot be philosophically necessarily inferred: nature disposes the body and soul to their reunion, but it is not the cause of this reunion. Reunion of the body and soul is *miraculosa* because it is *contra naturam* and *supra naturam* (co. 1, corr. 2). The idea of the miraculosity of the resurrection could be taken from Peter of Tarentaise,³³ whose

²⁹ Thomas of Strasbourg (*de Argentina*) OESA, (1275–1357) studied theology in Padua and then in Paris, where he obtained the Doctorate in Theology. His questions on the *Sentences* come from about 1333, and his is probably the first Augustinian commentary on the four books of the *Sentences*. Thomas was prior of the Augustinians in 1345–1357. See Gerwing, “Thomas von Straßburg,” 181–182.

³⁰ See Baran, “Survey on *Principia*,” forthcoming.

³¹ See Thom. Aqu., *In Sent.* III, d. 1, q. 1, a. 3, ad 4 (ed. M.F. Moos, 3, 23).

³² Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Lectio ultima in Sententias*, ms Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne (henceforth: AA), 165, f. 464r: “beatus Thomas et Petrus de Tarantasia dicunt, quod duplex est capacitas: una naturalis inclinacionis, altera obediencie: primam semper Deus implet in genere, licet non in quolibet individuo propter aliquam dispositionem in ipso contrariam; secundam non semper implet, quia illa indeterminata est ad omnia, que Deus facere potest et talis est capacitas gracie unionis.” See Thom. Aqu., *In Sent.* III, d. 1, q. 1, a. 3, ad 4 (ed. M.F. Moos, 3, 23); Petr. Taran., *In Sent.* III, d. 1, q. 2, a. 2, ad 3 (Tolosae 1651, 5b). The commentary on the *Sentences* from ms Gniezno, AA, 165 was attributed to Hesse by Zofia Włodek (Włodek, “Krakowski komentarz,” 148). In 1982, Jadwiga Rył wrongly identified ms Gniezno, AA, 165 as Thomas Strzemiński's commentary because Strzemiński was the scribe who copied the manuscript, and as a Cracow bishop, he bequeathed the manuscripts to the Chapter of Gniezno cathedral. This indication in the manuscript was wrongly interpreted by Rył not as a bequest, but as a title (Rył, *Katalog*, 104; Baran, *The lectio finalis*, forthcoming).

³³ Peter of Tarentaise OP (ca. 1225–1276) later became Pope Innocent V. Around 1240, he entered the order of preachers in Lyon. Then, in 1255, he went to Paris

commentary on the *Sentences* was well known in Cracow.³⁴ Next to the intellectual value of the question belonging to the category of the *studiositas* for us, we discover here an interesting liturgical detail, today belonging to the *curiositas*:³⁵ a detail coming probably from the Cracovian liturgy from the first half of the fifteenth century. Hesse says that in the liturgical office, the Church prays, whispering the Creed. However, because of the difficulty of believing in the resurrection of the body, this article is proclaimed aloud to get people used to this article of the faith.³⁶

Then Hesse relates to Paul Apostle's distinction from the First Letter to Corinthians between the *vita animalis* on earth and the *vita spiritualis* in heaven. The reunited body and soul will have a spiritual life in heaven. Animal life is given to people to conserve the human species, while spiritual life will be perfect and will not need to be nourished and multiplied. Paul's distinction confirms Christ's statement that marriages in heaven will no longer exist. At the end of this corollary, Hesse again gives us interesting information from his era. He states that it is stupid to give a glass of beer next to the head of the dying because the resurrected, like angels, will neither eat nor drink.³⁷ In this way, theology gives the rational

to study. Between 1259 and 1264, he taught theology at the University of Paris. In 1272, he became a bishop of Lyon, later he was elevated to the cardinalate, and in January 1276, he was elected pope. He died after six months of pontificate. See Laurent, *Le bienheureux Innocent V*.

³⁴ See Baran, "Medieval *principia*," 153–189, Baran, "Survey on *Principia*," forthcoming.

³⁵ See Speer – Schneider, *Curiositas*.

³⁶ Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Quaestio de resurrectione*, co. 1, corr. 1: "iste articulus fidei de resurrectione mortuorum a multis valde cum difficultate creditur, propter quod Sancta Mater Ecclesia hec considerans, cum in prima et completorio omnes articulos fidei sub silencio dicit, veniens ad istum articulum, alta voce intonat carnis resurrectionem, et hoc ideo, ut homines ex continua audientia assuescant huic articulo, et eis firmius inculcetur."

³⁷ Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Quaestio de resurrectione*, co. 1, corr. 3: "Sic similiter stolidus est opinio illorum rusticorum bibulorum, qui post mortem precipiunt eis ponere ollam cervisie ad caput, credentes, quod in illa vita indigerent bibere, cum tamen Christus dixit: erunt sicut angeli Dei, qui nec manducant, nec bibunt."

argument for removing superstitious customs, still present in the fifteenth century in the Christianized Poland. It can also be proof of the weak reception of the truth of the resurrection of the body by believers in the author's time.

The second conclusion deals with the various times of the resurrection of different individuals. The majority of people will have risen simultaneously (*simul*), however, there are exceptions to this statement, e.g., the Virgin Mary has already been taken up to heaven. Another exception to the simultaneous universal resurrection is the case of John the Evangelist. Implicitly quoting Thomas of Strasbourg, Hesse says that Saint John should already have risen, otherwise, God would not have allowed the relics of this saint not to be found.³⁸ Based on the Ordinary Gloss, the Author claims that the common resurrection of all people is a source of more profound joy than the individual resurrection, and he adds that in this case, all people signify the majority, introducing the rule *pars pro toto* in this way in his reasoning (co. 2).

Then Hesse specifies that everybody will be risen at the same time, according to the reasoning based on the biblical quotation of Paul in Augustine's interpretation. The simultaneous resurrection does not exclude resurrection's order: the dead will have risen first and then those who will be still alive, but the difference in the time will be insignificant – it will be in the blink of an eye (*in ictu oculi*, co. 2, corr. 1). The author distinguishes the gathering of the physical matter (*recollectio materie corporalis*) and the reformation of the body (*reformacio humani corporis*). While the first will have the successive character (*successive*), the second will have the direct character (*instantanee*): gathering will be done by the angels who can act only in a successive way, in contrast, the reformation will be done by God and will have the instantaneous character (co. 2, corr. 2).

³⁸ Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Quaestio de resurrectione*, co. 2: "Pie creditur de beato Iohanne Evangelista, quia non est verisimile, quod tante sanctitatis reliquias Deus permitteret esse absconditas, si essent adhuc in terris, ut dicit beatus Augustinus."

After discussing the resurrection's time, Hesse passes to the considerations about the resurrection's place. Generally, it will be the burial place or where the body's principal part was buried. We find here again a noteworthy detail: Hesse discusses which is the body's principal part. According to the jurists, it is a head; according to the physicians, it is a brain; according to philosophers and Christ, it is the heart. Hesse leaves the answer hanging: the jurists' and the philosophers' answers could be correct as well. If someone's ashes have been scattered, such a person will have risen where God wants him to have risen (co. 2, corr. 3). This detail is an interesting nod to voluntarism without intellectual deliberations about the causes of such a situation.

In the third conclusion, the author passes to the material description of risen people and answers the question's departing doubt. If the dead had risen in the other bodies, it would not have been a resurrection but the body's assumption. The dead's bodies will have risen numerically in the same matter (*secundum se numeraliter*) as they existed before death. The contradictory claims would be an opinion opposing the faith and the Holy Scripture, and it would be a heresy (co. 3). Hesse specifies that the body's resurrection includes every body element belonging to the truth of the human body's nature (*veritas nature corporalis*) but without any body's imperfectness, like, e.g., obesity because of its impropriety (*quod est inconveniens*) (co. 3, corr. 1). Hesse also presents a very concrete dimension and deals with the state of the risen and the risen parts of the body. The risen will be the same age but with a different posture (*statura*). According to the Augustinian tradition, the age of the risen will be thirty-three years, like Christ's age at the moment of his death (co. 3, corr. 2). What concerns the body's liquids (*humores*) in the resurrection, Hesse distinguishes that: 1) the liquids coming out of man, like urine, sweat, mother's milk or sperm, will not have risen; 2) the liquids concerning the individual preservation having a determined form, like blood and other *humores*, will be risen; 3) the *gluten* will have risen because it constitutes members' substance. This distinction has already been known by e.g., Aquinas, Peter of Tarentaise, and Richard of Middleton. In the resurrection, the risen will preserve their hair, beard, and nails, even though they belong to the second level

of human perfection, and they belong to the category accidentality and not essence. Therefore, the tonsure and shaved face will rise as they were cared for during their lifetime (co. 3, corr. 2). These details describing the body hair of the resurrected body are taken from Richard of Middleton.

Hesse explains the difference between the resurrection of the blessed and the damned in the penultimate corollary. The common resurrection will preserve the difference between the blessed and the damned. While the first will have risen in the bodies without deformations, the second will preserve these natural deformations they had during their life, like obscurity, slowness, obesity, and heaviness (*obscuritas, tarditas, grossicies et gravedo*), because they belong to the truth of the human body's nature. Nevertheless, the damned will not have deformations from nature's defect, like members' mutation, having a hump (*mutacio membrorum aut gibbositas*) because these imperfections do not belong to the truth of the human body's nature, but they are the default of nature (*viciium nature*) (co. 3, corr. 3).

4. Conclusion

The question about the resurrection from ms Kraków, BJ, 1369, ff. 24r–26v is justly recognized as Benedict Hesse of Cracow's text. The question comes from his Commentary on Matthew's Gospel and is also preserved in two other manuscripts: ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, pp. 516–521 and ms Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat.Lat.14646, ff. 161va–163va. It was composed between 1446 – March 7, 1448, and deals with the problem of the metaphysical possibility of the resurrection, its time and place, and the features of the risen body. Hesse evokes the authority of Aristotle, the Bible, Church's fathers, but he also discusses the practical details of the resurrection, like the resurrection's order and place, and he specifies in detail which body parts will have risen. Noteworthy, Hesse does not refer to any scholastic authority in his question except for one reference to Richard de Middleton. He does, however, make extensive use of texts by Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Tarentaise, Richard de Middleton, and Thomas of Strasbourg, often drawing patristic

quotations like Augustine and John of Damascus precisely from their works. Zenon Kałuża criticizes the phenomenon of silent use of the texts of other scholastics as a manifestation of plagiarism³⁹ but it was nevertheless a common phenomenon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that was not as stigmatized as it is today, as Ueli Zahnd rightly points out.⁴⁰ For this reason, Chris Schabel calls this phenomenon the “cut and paste method”⁴¹ and Monica Brînzei uses the expression the *bricolage textuel*.⁴² Lecture of Hesse’s question allows us to transfer to the lecture hall in the fifteenth-century Cracow, where the professor uses examples from everyday life, like the Church’s liturgy or the folk customs. It demonstrates Hesse’s pedagogical capacity to speak about abstract ideas with real examples. In this way, Hesse’s theology is not only an intellectual contemplation but also a practical science that resolves existential questions.

5. *Ratio edendi*

Since there are three witnesses to the question about the resurrection: 1) ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, pp. 516–521,⁴³ 2) ms Kraków, 1369, ff. 24r–26r,⁴⁴ and 3) ms Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat.Lat.14646, ff. 161va–163va,⁴⁵ to prepare the critical edition based on all preserved manuscripts, I decided to use the method proposed by Jacques Froger.⁴⁶

1. Quantitative analysis indicates the following phenomena: 1) K^1 contains 7 individual disjunctive lections different from K^2V ;
- 2) K^2 contains 88 individual disjunctive lections different from

³⁹ Kałuża, “Auteur et plagiaire,” 312–320.

⁴⁰ Zahnd, “Plagiats individualisés,” 85–92.

⁴¹ Schabel, “*Haec Ille*,” 164–176.

⁴² Brînzei, “Plagium,” 503–512.

⁴³ Description of the ms: Wisłocki, *Katalog*, 339–340; Bucichowski, *Wstęp edytorski*, 27–31; Kowalczyk – Kozłowska – Markowski *et al.*, *Catalogus*, 127–130.

⁴⁴ Description of the ms: Wisłocki, *Katalog*, 340–341; Kowalczyk – Kozłowska – Markowski *et al.*, *Catalogus*, 136–147.

⁴⁵ Description of the ms: Bucichowski, *Wstęp edytorski*, 36–37.

⁴⁶ See: Poirel, *Stemma codicum*.

K^1V ; 3) V contains 128 individual disjunctive lections different from K^1K^2 .

2. Qualitative analysis of the most important individual disjunctive lections V different from K^1K^2 is as follows:

V	K^1K^2
<i>Quod enim sit articulus fidei, patet ex Symbolo Niceni Concilii et ex Symbolo Athanasii</i>	<i>Quod enim sit articulus fidei, patet ex Symbolo apostolorum et ex Symbolo Niceni Concilii et ex Symbolo Athanasii</i>

The lection seems to be a homeoteleuton, although the text without this lection is also understandable.

V	K^1K^2
<i>nam omni potencie passive naturali (om. K^2) correspondet potencia activa in natura creata, patet per quam iam dicta potencia</i>	<i>nam omni potencie passive naturali (om. K^2) correspondet potencia activa in natura creata, patet per Commentatorem, primo De generacione; sed nulla potencia activa (om. K^2) est in natura creata, per quam iam dicta potencia</i>

The omitted lection is a homeoteleuton, the version without *patet – potencia* is not understandable.

V	K^1K^2
<i>secundum illud, I Cor. XV [, 22]: omnes in Christo vivificabuntur, scilicet in solempnitatem glorificacionis.</i>	<i>secundum illud, I Cor. XV [, 22]: omnes in Christo vivificabuntur; et secundum hoc verificatur illud Apostoli: omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur, scilicet in solempnitatem glorificacionis.</i>

The lection is an omission in V and not an addition in K^1K^2 . *In solempnitatem glorificacionis* has a temporal character and refers to the resurrection day; in V version, *in solempnitatis glorificacionis* would refer to Christ, and this proposition appears to be incorrect.

Based on these three homeoteleutons, it is concluded that V is not an archetype for K^1K^2 .

3. Regarding individual disjunctive lections K^2 different from K^1V some evident errors are observed:

K^2	K^1V
<i>per hoc, quod hic ficimus, bona eterna recipiemus</i>	<i>per hoc, quod hic facimus, bona eterna recipiemus</i>

The grammatical form *ficimus* does not exist.

K^2	K^1V
<i>pie creditur de beato Iohanne Ewangeliste</i>	<i>pie creditur de beato Iohanne Ewangelista</i>

The correct ablative form for *evangelista* is *evangelista*, not *evangeliste*, it's an evident error.

K^2	K^1V
<i>species humana et omnia individua erunt naturalibus perfecta a virtute divina perfici- cienti et virtute conservante</i>	<i>species humana et omnia individua eius erunt naturalibus perfecta a virtute divina perficiente et virtute conservante</i>

The word *perficiente* refers to *virtus divina*, analogous to *virtus conservans* and not to the human genre, the omission of the possessive pronoun *eius* forced the scribe to change the form *perficiente* to preserve the sense.

K^2	K^1V
Nota , omnes homines simul resurgent, licet maior pars hominum simul resurget.	Non omnes homines simul resurgent, licet maior pars hominum simul resurget.

All subsequent reasoning is based on the fact that not all people will rise together, the K^2 lection is the result of a misreading of the abbreviation *non* and does not preserve the sense.

The above errors indicate that K^2 is not an archetype for K^1V .

4. Regarding individual disjunctive lections K^1 different from K^2V , the following phenomena are observed:

K^1	K^2V
<i>in futura resurrectione potencia activia se ex parte Dei tenente</i>	<i>in futura resurrectione potencia activa se ex parte Dei tenente</i>
<i>terra proposicionis</i>	<i>terra promissionis (p.c. K^2)</i>

These are obvious K^1 errors, and in these cases, I choose a lection from K^2V .

I also reject the two K^1 individual lections, which are mistakes that are easily explained:

- 219. relinquir] reliquimur K^1 – the lection is easy to explain: the scribe did not write the tilde over the i;
- 278. quod quilibet] *rep.* K^1 – it is a simple repetition.
- I have decided to leave three individual lections K^1 :

- 77. *discursum ewangelistarum*] *discursum ewangeliorum* K^2 , V – discourse is an activity whose subject is a human being, the lection *ewangelistarum* preserved by K^1 seems to be a better lection;
 - 88. *illorum*] *eorum* K^2 , V – there is no change in meaning, I leave the K^1 lection
 - 213. *invenirentur*] *invenientur* K^2 , V – is a verb in a subordinate sentence, lection K^1 seems to be a better option
5. There are eight passages in which each of the three manuscripts conveys an individual lection:

K^1	K^2	V
<i>Et licet beatus Augustinus, XX^o De civitate Dei, dicat illos prius resurgere, qui invenirentur mortui et post vivi, fundantes se in auctoritate Apostoli</i>	<i>Et licet beatus Augustinus, XX^o De civitate Dei, dicat prius illos resurgere, qui invenientur mortui et post vivi, fundant se in auctoritate Apostoli</i>	<i>Et licet beatus Augustinus, XX^o De civitate Dei, dicat illos prius resurgere, qui invenientur mortui et post vivi, fundans se in auctoritate Apostoli</i>

There was a reading problem, I chose the form *fundans* handed down by two witnesses.

K^1	K^2	V
<i>ubi Deus ipsum resurgere voluerit, quia Dei voluntas hoc imperavit</i>	<i>ubi Deus ipsum resurgere voluerit, quia Dei voluntas hoc imparavit</i>	<i>ubi Deus ipsum resurgere voluerit, quia Dei voluntas hoc imperabit</i>

The form *imparavit* is grammatically wrong, the form *imperabit* is possible, but I choose the form *imperavit* from K^1 because that this is a quote from Richard of Middleton and this form is also preserved in the printed version.

K^1	K^2	V
<i>aliud dicere est fidei contrarium et derogans eritati Sacre Scripture</i>	<i>aliud dicere est fidei contrarium et errogans veritati Sacre Scripture</i>	<i>aliud dicere est fidei contrarium et derogat veritati Sacre Scripture</i>

The form *errogans* is wrong, the other two forms are possible, I chose the *derogans* form from K^1 because it is a quote from Peter of Tarantasia and the *derogans* form is preserved in the printed versions.

<i>K</i> ¹	<i>K</i> ²	<i>V</i>
<i>proveniunt ex defectu nature, diminucione vel superfluitate et mutacione</i>	<i>proveniunt ex defectu nature, diminucione vel superfluitate ut mutacio</i>	<i>proveniunt ex defectu nature, diminucione vel superfluitate et mutilacione</i>

Ut mutacio seems to be an emendation, I choose the form handed down by *K*¹: *et mutacione*, since it is a quote from Richard of Middleton, and I find this form in the printed version.

The lection 256. patet] sic *add. K*², quia *add. V* – has little relevance to the text, I chose the lection from *K*¹

In three cases, the lections from *V* or *K*² seem to be more correct than those proposed by *K*¹:

<i>K</i> ¹	<i>K</i> ²	<i>V</i>
<i>et cum anima bona et mala ait per corpus, igitur mediante corpore punietur vel premiabitur.</i>	<i>et cum anima bona et mala agit per corpus, igitur mediante corpore punietur vel premiabitur.</i>	<i>et cum anima bona et mala egit per corpus, igitur mediante corpore premiatur vel punietur.</i>

Ait is a wrong lection, *agit* and *egit* lections are possible. I choose lection *K*², because *V* lection with the modifications of the other verb forms seems to be an emendation.

<i>K</i> ¹	<i>K</i> ²	<i>V</i>
<i>in momento et iactu oculi</i>	<i>in momento et ictu oculi</i>	<i>in momento et in ictu oculi</i>

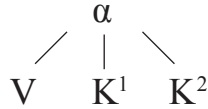
Iactu is an erroneous lection, *ictu* and *in ictu* lections are possible. Because it is a quote by St. Paul and is more often in the form of *in ictu*, I chose a lection from *V*.

<i>K</i> ¹	<i>K</i> ²	<i>V</i>
<i>ibi sepultura hominis reputatur [.....] Similiter et medici hoc dicunt</i>	<i>ibi sepultura hominis reputatur, ut patet [.....] Similiter et medici hoc dicunt</i>	<i>ibi sepultura hominis reputatur. Similiter et medici hoc dicunt</i>

These lections bear witness to the fact that all three witnesses to the text are copies and that there was a reading problem here. In this case, I choose lection *K*², where it seems that the scribe read the largest part of the text.

6. The above deficiencies in the *K*¹ text indicate that it is not an archetype, and the eight disjunctive lections support

the idea that these witnesses were independently copied. Therefore, I propose the following *stemma codicum*:



Because of the facts that 1) K^1 has the fewest individual lections that are not relevant to the text, 2) this manuscript belonged to the author – Benedict Hesse, although K^1 contains a few errors, it seems to be the most faithful copy of the archetype. Therefore, this version was chosen as the basis for this edition.

7. In addition to the cases discussed above, the following exceptions have been made to this rule:
 - a. I also chose twice the lection from V against the K^1K^2 lection, it seems to be more correct:
 - 269. quidam homo] quidem homo K^1 , K^2
 - 303. sic corpora dampnatorum erunt obscura] si corpora dampnatorum erunt obscura K^1 , K^2
 - b. Once I have chosen a lection from K^2 against the lection of K^1V , conveys the correct chapter of the quoted work
 - 275. XXII *De civitate*] XXI *De civitate* K^1 , V , B
 - c. I introduced the following emendation, the scribe confused the chapter of the biblical text that is cited: 5. IV] *correxi*, III K^1 , K^2 , V , B
8. Regarding the orthography, the edition presents medieval orthography from $K1$. In the manuscript, *-t-* often resembles more like *-c-*, but for unambiguity, I decided to always write *-t-* as *-t-* except for intervocalic groups (e.g., *condicio*, *tristicias*) and *-nci-* groups (e.g., *sentencia*, *essencia*). Regarding transcription of the word *resurrectio*, the scribe sometimes writes this word without doubling the *-r-* in the middle; in the edition, I have standardized the transcription, and I will always use the version *resurrectio*. Regarding abbreviations of biblical books in the text, I have introduced the abbreviations used in the *Corpus Christianorum* series regardless of the form preserved in the manuscript. The lections rejected in the edition and other interventions in the text are indicated in the critical

apparatus. The apparatus also signalizes the lections from Bucichowski's edition.⁴⁷ I also added a subdivision of the question and punctuation marks in the text, and I indicated Hesse's quotation sources in the notes.

Benedicti Hesse de Cracovia quaestio de resurrectione hominum ex Lectura super Evangelium Matthaei

Adalbertus Baran edidit.*

K¹: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1366, pp. 516–521.

K²: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1369, ff. 24r–26r.

V: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat.14646, ff. 161va–163va.

B: Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Lectura super Evangelium Matthaei (capitula XXI–XXIII)* (ed. W. Bucichowski; *Textus et Studia Historiam Theologiae in Polonia Excultae Spectantia 27*; Warszawa 1990) pp. 242–249.

⁴⁷ Benedictus Hesse de Cracovia, *Lectura. (capitula XXI–XXIII)*, 242–249.

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<Quaestio>

[K¹ p. 516||K² f. 24r||V f. 161va||B p. 242] Utrum¹ in futura resurrectione homines secundum se numeraliter resurgent a morte.²

Quod questio sit falsa, arguitur sic:³ nullus homo resurget, igitur in futura resurrectione etc. Antecedens probatur:⁴ *unus enim est interitus hominis et iumentorum et equa condicio utriusque*, Eccle. IV⁵ [, 19], sed nullum iumentum resurget, igitur nec aliquis homo.¹ Similiter⁶ Iob⁷ XIII⁸ [, 12] dicitur: *homo, cum dormierit, non resurget, donec⁹ celum atterratur*, sed celum numquam atteretur cum terra, de qua minus videtur, *in eternum stat*, Eccle. primo [1, 4], ergo homo numquam¹⁰ resurget,ⁱⁱ igitur videtur,¹¹ quod¹² questio sit¹³ falsa.

In oppositum,¹⁴ scilicet quod questio sit vera, patet per illud¹⁵ I Cor. XV^o [, 22]: *sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur*. Que vivificatio a morte pro maiori parte hominum¹⁶ fiet in fine mundi, ut credimus, puta in futura resurrectione, igitur sequitur, quod in futura resurrectione homines secundum se numeraliter¹⁷ resurgent a morte.¹⁸

¹ utrum] 6 iter. in marg. sin. V

² utrum – morte] Ad sextam K¹, B

³ quod – sic] Et videtur quod non quia V

⁴ probatur] om. V

⁵ IV] *correx*i, III K¹, K², V, B

⁶ similiter] item V

⁷ Iob] Ioh. B

⁸ XIII] *corr.* in marg. sin., quarto a.c. K²

⁹ donec] dones B

¹⁰ numquam] non V

¹¹ videtur] sequitur K²

¹² igitur videtur quod] per consequens V

¹³ sit] om. V

¹⁴ in oppositum] oppositum iter. in marg. sin. V

¹⁵ illud] apostoli add. V

¹⁶ hominum] om. V

¹⁷ numeraliter] materialiter B

¹⁸ a morte] add. in marg. sin. V

<Notabile primum>

Nota,¹⁹ multiplex est resurrectio: quedam enim dicitur prima, que est²⁰ ad gratiam, de qua²¹ dicitur Apoc. 20²² [, 6]: *beatus et sanctus, qui habet partem in resurrectione prima*; [V f. 161vb] alia est a morte ad vitam, de qua dicitur Luc. 9 [, 8]: *Iohannes Baptista resurrexit a mortuis*; 3^a est a pena ad gloriam, de qua dicitur in primo²³ Psalmo: *ideo*²⁴ *non resurgent*²⁵ *impii in iudicio* [Ps. 1, 5]. Tamen pro nunc solum volo loqui²⁶ de resurrectione a morte corporali ad vitam. Que resurrectio est iterata copulacio anime²⁷ ad corpus, ut dicit Damascenus, libro quarto, capitulo ultimo, vel copulacio iterata [K¹ p. 517] rursum²⁸ anime et corporis et eius,²⁹ quod cecidit vel solutum est animalis resurrectio,ⁱⁱⁱ ut dicit idem.

<Notabile secundum>

Secundo notandum, quod necessitas ponendi³⁰ resurrectionem est ex hoc: nam homo factus et creatus est ad hoc, ut ultimum finem, scilicet ipsam beatitudinem consequeretur,^{iv} ut³¹ Magister dicit, libro primo, distinctione prima, quod in hac vita, que misera est, fieri non potest,^v nec eciam in vita anime separate. Nam licet anima separata a corpore³² ante resurrectionem suam beatitudinem consequatur, tamen talis beatitudo non completa est^{33, 34} et perfecta propter

¹⁹ nota] notandum *V, B*, notandum *iter. in marg. sin. V*

²⁰ est] a culpa add. *K²*

²¹ qua] quo *K²*

²² 20] 2 *K¹*, 2^o *K²*, *B*

²³ dicitur in primo] *om. V*

²⁴ ideo] *om. V*

²⁵ resurgent] resurgent *K²*

²⁶ volo loqui] loqui volo *K²*

²⁷ anime] *om. K²*

²⁸ rursum] *om. B*

²⁹ eius] cuius *K²*

³⁰ ponendi] *p.c. K²*

³¹ ut] et *B*

³² separata a corpore] a corpore separata *K²*

³³ est] *om. K²*

³⁴ completa est] est completa *V*

naturalem inclinacionem anime³⁵ ad corpus. Nam dicit Augustinus, *Super Genesim ad litteram*: anima beata retardatur³⁶ ne tota intentione feratur in illud summum celum,^{vi} scilicet in divinam essenciam, propter appetitum seu desiderium, quod habet ad vivificandum corpus. Beatitudo autem perfecta excludit omnem appetitum,^{vii} ut dicit Boecius, 3^o *De consolacione*.³⁷ Et beatus Augustinus dicit: beatus est, qui habet quicquid wult et nichil mali wult.^{viii} [B p. 243] Ut igitur homo consequeretur³⁸ perfectam beatitudinem, necesse est animam reuniri corpori, que fit in resurrectione. Item necessitas resurrectionis est ad tollendas tristitias, quas ex mortuis recipimus.³⁹ Impossibile est enim, quod homo non doleat cari sui, sed per hoc, quod sperat eum resurrecturum, multum dolor mortis mitigatur.^{ix} Unde Apostolus dicit,⁴⁰ I Thess. III^o [13]: *nolumus vos ignorare de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri, qui spem non habent*. Item necessitas est, quod nos reddat ad bene operandum studiosos: si enim vita hominis esset ista tantum,⁴¹ in qua⁴² vivimus, non esset⁴³ hominibus magnum⁴⁴ studium ad bene operandum, nam quicquid facerent, parvum⁴⁵ esset. Sed quia credimus, quod per hoc, quod hic facimus,⁴⁶ bona eterna recipiemus, ideo studemus bene operari; unde Apostolus, I Cor. XV^o [19]: *si in hac vita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus, miserabiliores essemus omnibus hominibus*.^x

³⁵ anime] quam habet *add. V*

³⁶ retardatur] tardatur *K*²

³⁷ consolacione] prosa secunda *add. in marg. sin. V*

³⁸ consequeretur] consequetur *K*²; beatam *add. sed del. K*²

³⁹ recipimus] accepimus *K*²

⁴⁰ dicit] *om. V*

⁴¹ ista tantum] tantum ista *K*²

⁴² qua] nunc *add. V*

⁴³ esset] inesset *K*²

⁴⁴ magnum] *add. in marg. sin. K*²

⁴⁵ parvum] vanum *add in marg. inf. V*

⁴⁶ facimus] ficimus *K*²

Conclusio prima⁴⁷

Possibile est animas⁴⁸ reuniri⁴⁹ ipsis⁵⁰ corporibus in futura resurrectione potencia activa⁵¹ se ex parte Dei tenente.^{xi} Ista enim⁵² conclusio, quamvis sit verissima, tamen quia est articulus fidei, ideo non potest probari |V f. 162ra| necessaria ratione, quamvis possit probari auctoritate et rethorica perswasione.^{xii} Quod enim sit articulus fidei, patet ex Simbolo apostolorum et ex Symbolo⁵³ Niceni Concilii et ex Symbolo Athanasii. Ratione necessaria eciam⁵⁴ probari non potest, quia⁵⁵ dicit Ambrosius: “tolle argumenta, ubi fides queritur”.^{xiii}

Potest eciam probari diversis auctoritatibus sanctorum, quia⁵⁶ fuerunt testes resurrectionis future. Primo, testes⁵⁷ |K² f. 24v| fuerunt patriarche,⁵⁸ qui maximum⁵⁹ desiderium habuerunt, ut corpora eorum sepelirentur in terra promissionis, sicut Abraham existens peregrinus, in terra promissionis⁶⁰ emit sepulturam in agro⁶¹ Effron, ubi ipse et Sara sepulti sunt,^{xiv} Gen. XXV^o, similiter Ysaac,^{xv} Gen.⁶² XXXV, item⁶³ Iacob, quamvis mortuus esset⁶⁴ in terra Egipti, fecit tamen corpus suum⁶⁵ deferri ad terram promissionis, similiter et Ioseph; et hoc ideo, ut dicit Augustinus *Super Genesim ad litteram*, propter futuram resurrectionem,^{xvi} quam sperabant. Crediderunt enim Christum a mortuis resurgere et sperabant se resurrecturos

⁴⁷ prima] I iter. in marg. dex. K¹

⁴⁸ animas] p.c. K²

⁴⁹ reuniri] reveniri B

⁵⁰ ipsis] add. in marg. dex. V

⁵¹ activa] activia K¹

⁵² enim] om. V

⁵³ apostolorum et ex Symbolo] om. V

⁵⁴ eciam] om. V

⁵⁵ quia] nam V

⁵⁶ quia] qui V

⁵⁷ testes] om. V

⁵⁸ patriarche] quia fuerunt testes resurrectionis future rep. sed del. K²

⁵⁹ maximum] magnum V

⁶⁰ promissionis] propositio[n]is K¹, p.c. K²

⁶¹ agro] terra K²

⁶² Gen.] ibidem V

⁶³ item] Ioseph add. sed del. K²

⁶⁴ esset] fuisset V

⁶⁵ suum] om. K²

cum Christo. Item testis est sanctus Iob, qui, licet esset in lege nature, existens gentilis, dixit tamen, Iob XIX [, 25–26]: *in novissimo die surrecturus sum de terra*⁶⁶ *et rursus circumdabor pelle mea*⁶⁷ *et in carne mea videbo Deum, Salvatorem meum*. Testes sunt⁶⁸ prophete, Ez. XXXVII [, 4–6]: *vaticinare de ossibus istis et dices eis: ossa arida*,⁶⁹ *audite verbum Domini. Ecce ego intromitam in vos spiritum meum et vivetis, et dabo super vos nervos, et succrescere faciam super vos*^{70, 71} *carnes, et superextendam in vos*⁷² *cuttem, et dabo vobis spiritum et vivetis*. Testes sunt⁷³ ewangeliste, quia omnes⁷⁴ scribunt de futura resurrectione, ut patet per discursum ewangelistarum.⁷⁵ Testes sunt apostoli, [B p. 244] sicut⁷⁶ patet I Cor. XV⁷⁷ per totum.⁷⁸ Testes sunt martires, unde ille gloriosus martir, II Mach. VII [, 11]: *e*⁷⁹ *celo ista possideo, sed propter Dei leges*⁸⁰ *nunc hec ipsa despicio, quoniam ab ipso me ea recepturum spero*. [K¹ p. 518] Testes sunt confessores, unde de illo magno confessore legitur,⁸¹ II Mach. XII [, 43]: *vir fortissimus, Iudas*,⁸² *collacione facta et sequitur*.⁸³ *iuste et religiose de resurrectione cogitans*.⁸⁴ Testes sunt virgines, unde Iohannes virgo sic dixit, Apoc. XX [, 12–13]: *aperti sunt libri et iudicati sunt mortui ex hiis, que erant* |V f. 162rb| *scripta in libris et*

⁶⁶ surrecturus sum de terra] de terra surrecturus sum K²

⁶⁷ et rursus – mea] etc. B

⁶⁸ sunt] ewangeliste, quia omnes ewangeliste scribunt de futura resurrectione
add. sed del. K¹

⁶⁹ arida] *om. K²*

⁷⁰ faciam super vos] super vos faciam K²

⁷¹ nervos – faciam super vos] *om. B*

⁷² vos] vobis V

⁷³ sunt] *om. K², eciam add. V*

⁷⁴ omnes] ewangeliste *add. K²*

⁷⁵ ewangelistarum] ewangeliorum K², V

⁷⁶ sicut] ut V, B

⁷⁷ XV] epistola *add. sed del. K¹*

⁷⁸ per totum] ut supra V

⁷⁹ e] ex B

⁸⁰ leges] legem B

⁸¹ legitur] Iuda Machabeo *add. V*

⁸² Iudas] Iudax K²

⁸³ Iudas – sequitur] etc. B

⁸⁴ cogitans] etc. *add. V*

*dedit mare mortuos suos, qui erant*⁸⁵ *in eo, et iudicatum est de illis secundum opera illorum.*⁸⁶ Testis est Sanctus Sanctorum, scilicet Christus, quia dixit, Matth. XXII [, 31–32], de resurrectione mortuorum: *non legistis, quid*⁸⁷ *dictum est vobis a Deo dicente:*⁸⁸ *ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Ysaac et*⁸⁹ *Deus Iacob?*⁹⁰ *Non est Deus mortuorum, sed vivorum.* Item, Ioh. XII⁹¹ [, 25], dixit: *ego sum resurrectio et vita; qui credit in me, etiam si mortuus fuerit, vivet.*⁹²

Racione autem perswasiva sic ostenditur: forma habet naturalem inclinacionem⁹³ ad ipsam⁹⁴ materiam, quia forma dicitur ab informando, sed anima humana est forma corporis, igitur habet naturalem inclinacionem ad corpus. Et quia nulla naturalis inclinacio est frustra, quia “Deus et natura nichil faciunt frustra,” primo *Celi*⁹⁵ et 3^o *De anima*,^{xvii} frustra autem et inane⁹⁶ esset in anima separata inclinacio naturalis,⁹⁷ si numquam humano corpori reuniretur. Et igitur⁹⁸ ne frustraretur⁹⁹ inclinacio naturalis,¹⁰⁰ necesse est animam reuniri corpori. Item sic fiat¹⁰¹ unio anime et corporis sicut exigit divina iusticia. Sed illa exigit, quod homo, qui decessit sine penitencia, de commissis puniatur in futura vita, et homo, qui meruit in via, premietur in vita eterna. Sed hoc non potest fieri, nisi anime reunirentur corporibus,^{xviii} igitur conclusio vera. Tenet

⁸⁵ erant] ibi *add.* *K*²

⁸⁶ illorum] eorum *K*², *V*

⁸⁷ quid] quod *B*

⁸⁸ est vobis a Deo dicente] dictum a Deo dicente vobis *K*²

⁸⁹ Deus Ysaac et] *om.* *K*²

⁹⁰ Deus Ysaac – Iacob] etc. *V*

⁹¹ XII] XI *p.c.* *V*

⁹² etiam – vivet] etc. *V*

⁹³ naturalem inclinacionem] inclinacionem naturalem *V*

⁹⁴ ipsam] suam *K*², *om.* *V*

⁹⁵ celi] et mundi *add.* *V*

⁹⁶ inane] inanis *p.c.* *V*

⁹⁷ naturalis] *om.* *V*

⁹⁸ igitur] ergo *V*

⁹⁹ frustraretur] frustretur *V*

¹⁰⁰ naturalis] igitur *add.* *K*²

¹⁰¹ fiat] fiet *K*²

consequencia,¹⁰² sed¹⁰³ maior nota¹⁰⁴ est, sed¹⁰⁵ minor probatur,¹⁰⁶ quia “nullum malum manet impunitum sicut¹⁰⁷ nullum bonum¹⁰⁸ irremuneratum”^{xix, 109} dicit Boecius, quarto *De consolacione*, prosa 3^a,¹¹⁰ et cum anima bona et mala agit¹¹¹ per corpus, igitur mediante corpore punietur vel premiabitur.¹¹²

Corelarium¹¹³ primum.¹¹⁴ Licet possibile sit animas reuniri corporibus in futura resurrectione potencia¹¹⁵ activa¹¹⁶ se ex parte Dei tenente, tamen eciam est possibilis¹¹⁷ unio anime et corporis¹¹⁸ in futura resurrectione potencia passiva se tenente ex parte creature.^{xx} Prima pars est conclusio; 2^a¹¹⁹ patet,¹²⁰ quia quod repugnanciam non includit respectu potencie passive, hoc respectu illius non est impossibile,^{xxi} ut patet¹²¹ ex quinto *Methaphysice*. Sed reunio anime cum corpore nullam repugnanciam includit. Nam [K² f. 25r] si repugnanciam¹²² includeret,¹²³ tunc non esset possibilis reunio anime cum corpore, quod est¹²⁴ contra conclusionem. [B p. 245] Item respectu

¹⁰² tenet consequencia] consequencia tenet K²

¹⁰³ sed] et K², om. V

¹⁰⁴ nota] non B

¹⁰⁵ sed] et V

¹⁰⁶ probatur] om. K²

¹⁰⁷ sicut] nec K²

¹⁰⁸ bonum] malum K²

¹⁰⁹ irrenumeratum] ut add. V

¹¹⁰ 3^a] similiter non est in forma, sed de claritate add. in marg. dex. V

¹¹¹ agit] ait K¹, egit V

¹¹² punietur vel premiabitur] premiatur vel punietur V

¹¹³ Corelarium] cor. 1 iter. in marg. dex. V

¹¹⁴ primum] om. V

¹¹⁵ potencia] potentiam B

¹¹⁶ activa] activam B

¹¹⁷ est possibilis] possibilis est V

¹¹⁸ unio anime et corporis] anime unio corpori V

¹¹⁹ 2^a] pars add. V

¹²⁰ patet] pars B

¹²¹ patet] om. V

¹²² repugnantiam] add. sed del. V

¹²³ includeret] repugnanciam V

¹²⁴ est] est rep. K², est add. sed del. K²

potencie active Dei est possibilis talis unio corporis cum anima,¹²⁵ igitur eciam respectu potencie passive. Tenet consequencia,¹²⁶ quia¹²⁷ actio¹²⁸ et passio mutuo se inferunt,^{xxii} ut patet ex *Predicamentis*.¹²⁹

Ista tamen potencia passiva non debet dici naturalis, sed obediencialis. Patet: nam omni potencie passive naturali¹³⁰ correspondet potencia activa in natura creata,^{xxiii} patet per Commentatorem, primo *De generacione*; sed nulla potencia activa¹³¹ est in natura creata,¹³² per quam iam dicta potencia passiva posset reduci ad actum.^{xxiv} Nam dicit [V f. 162va] Philosophus, primo *De generacione*: non est possibile, naturaliter loquendo, quod ens totale corruptum idem in¹³³ numero reverti,¹³⁴ quia potencia non est ad preteritum;^{xxv} similiter idem¹³⁵ dicit Philosophus,¹³⁶ primo *De generacione* et primo *De anima*; sed illa potencia est obediencialis, quia omnia creata ad nutum Creatoris obediunt.

Corelarium secundum.¹³⁷ Unio¹³⁸ anime cum corpore in resurrectione futura est miraculosa.^{xxvi} Patet, quia resurrectio mortuorum est articulus fidei, qui¹³⁹ non fuerit¹⁴⁰ de hiis, que fiunt¹⁴¹ per naturam. Unde licet reunio¹⁴² anime cum corpore sit secundum naturam, tamen hoc non est effective, sed dispositive. Reformacio tamen

¹²⁵ corporis cum anima] anime cum corpore *K*²

¹²⁶ tenet consequencia] consequencia tenet *K*²

¹²⁷ quia] *om. K*²

¹²⁸ actio] *p.c. K*¹

¹²⁹ predicamentis] predictis *B*

¹³⁰ naturali] *om. K*²

¹³¹ activa] *om. K*²

¹³² per Commentatorem – natura creata] *om. V*

¹³³ in] *p.c. K*²

¹³⁴ reverti] possit *add. V*

¹³⁵ idem] *om. B*

¹³⁶ Philosophus] *om. V, B*

¹³⁷ secundum] 2 *iter. in marg. sin. V*

¹³⁸ unio] *p.c. K*¹, unitio *B*

¹³⁹ qui] que *V*

¹⁴⁰ fuerit] *p.c. V, fiunt cor. in marg. sin. V*

¹⁴¹ fiunt] fuerunt *B*

¹⁴² reunio] unio *B*

corporum ex¹⁴³ pulveribus¹⁴⁴ est contra naturam, quia ibi non est procreacio similis ex simili. Similiter inseparabilitas¹⁴⁵ coniunctorum est supra naturam, igitur similiter¹⁴⁶ talis reunio est miraculosa, quo fit, quod iste articulus fidei de resurrectione mortuorum a multis valde cum difficultate creditur, propter quod Sancta Mater Ecclesia hec considerans, cum in prima et¹⁴⁷ completorio omnes articulos fidei sub silencio dicit, veniens ad istum articulum, alta voce intonat carnis resurrectionem, et hoc ideo, ut homines ex continua¹⁴⁸ audiencia asswescant¹⁴⁹ huic articulo, et¹⁵⁰ eis firmius¹⁵¹ inculcetur.¹⁵²

Corelarium tertium.¹⁵³ Reunio anime cum corpore in futura resurrectione non erit in vita animali, sed vita spirituali. [K¹ p. 519] Patet:¹⁵⁴ nam dicit Apostolus, I Cor. XV [, 44]: *seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus¹⁵⁵ spirituale*. Et ratio est,¹⁵⁶ quia vita animalis data est homini ad conservacionem individui per nutritivam et speciei per generativam. Et quia post resurrectionem species humana et omnia individua eius¹⁵⁷ erunt naturalibus¹⁵⁸ perfecta a virtute divina perficiente¹⁵⁹ et¹⁶⁰ virtute conservante, et ideo cessabit¹⁶¹ vita animalis ad actus illarum¹⁶² potenciarum. Et eciam tunc cessabit motus celi, qui

¹⁴³ ex] pluribus *add. sed del. K¹*

¹⁴⁴ pulveribus] pluribus *K²*

¹⁴⁵ inseparabilitas] *a.c. V, spearabilitas V*

¹⁴⁶ similiter] simpliciter *K²*

¹⁴⁷ et] *in add. V*

¹⁴⁸ continua] communi *V*

¹⁴⁹ asswescant] aswefacti *V*

¹⁵⁰ et] *om. V*

¹⁵¹ et eis firmius] *om. K²*

¹⁵² inculcetur] *adscr. K²*

¹⁵³ tertium] *3 iter. in marg. sin. V*

¹⁵⁴ patet] *om. V*

¹⁵⁵ surget corpus] resurget *V*

¹⁵⁶ est] *om. V*

¹⁵⁷ eius] *om. K²*

¹⁵⁸ naturalibus] *in naturalibus iter. in marg. sin. V*

¹⁵⁹ perficiente] perficienti *K²*

¹⁶⁰ et] *add. lettera sed del. V*

¹⁶¹ cessabit] cessabitur *a.c. K¹, B*

¹⁶² illarum] istarum *K²*, illorum *B*

est causa generacionis¹⁶³ et corruptionis istarum¹⁶⁴ inferiorum,^{xxvii} ex 2^o *Phisicorum*. Et hinc est, quod¹⁶⁵ falsa est¹⁶⁶ opinio saduceorum, qui movebant Christo Domino questionem de muliere habente septem viros, cuius esset post resurrectionem, quibus¹⁶⁷ Christus respondit, Matth. XXII¹⁶⁸ [, 30]: *neque nubent, neque nubentur, sed erunt sicut angeli Dei*. Sic similiter¹⁶⁹ stolidi¹⁷⁰ est opinio illorum¹⁷¹ rusticorum bibulorum, qui post¹⁷² mortem precipiunt eis¹⁷³ ponere ollam cervisie ad caput, credentes, quod in illa vita indi-|B p. 246|-gerent bibere,¹⁷⁴ cum tamen Christus dixit:¹⁷⁵ *erunt sicut angeli Dei*, qui nec manducant, nec bibunt; unde, Tob. XII [, 20], dixit angelus¹⁷⁶ Raphael ad Thobiam: *videbar quidem vobiscum manducare et bibere*, |V f. 162vb| *sed ego cibo invisibili et potu utor*.

Conclusio secunda¹⁷⁷

Non¹⁷⁸ omnes homines simul¹⁷⁹ resurgent, licet maior pars hominum simul resurget. Prima pars conclusionis patet,¹⁸⁰ quia Christus, quia est caput nostrum,¹⁸¹ *resurrexit a mortuis et iam ultra non morietur*,¹⁸² ut patet Rom. VI [, 9]; eciam pie creditur de beata Virgine,

¹⁶³ generacionis] generacio *K*²

¹⁶⁴ istarum] istorum *K*², *B*

¹⁶⁵ quod] *om. B*

¹⁶⁶ est] *om. B*

¹⁶⁷ quibus] quis *V*

¹⁶⁸ XXII] quod *add. V*

¹⁶⁹ similiter] similis *B*

¹⁷⁰ stolida] *om. B*

¹⁷¹ illorum] istorum *K*²

¹⁷² post] prius *K*²

¹⁷³ eis] *om. V*

¹⁷⁴ bibere] etc. *add. V*

¹⁷⁵ dixit] quod *add. V*

¹⁷⁶ angelus] *om. V*

¹⁷⁷ secunda] 2 *iter. in marg. dex. K*¹

¹⁷⁸ non] nota *K*²

¹⁷⁹ simul] simili *a.c. K*¹

¹⁸⁰ prima pars conclusionis patet] patet prima pars *V*

¹⁸¹ nostrum] *om. K*²

¹⁸² morietur] moritur *K*²

que iam surrexit;¹⁸³ etiam pie creditur de beato Iohanne Ewangelista,¹⁸⁴ quia non est verisimile, quod tante sanctitatis reliquias Deus permetteret¹⁸⁵ esse¹⁸⁶ absconditas, si essent adhuc in terris, ut dicit beatus Augustinus;¹⁸⁷ Matth. XXII¹⁸⁸ [27, 52–53] dicitur:¹⁸⁹ *multa corpora sanctorum*¹⁹⁰ *et post resurrectionem eius*, scilicet Christi, *intrauerunt in sanctam civitatem et apparuerunt multis*.^{191, xxviii} Secunda pars¹⁹² patet, quia super¹⁹³ Hebr. XI [, 40]: *Deo pro nobis melius*¹⁹⁴ *providente*,¹⁹⁵ dicit *Glossa*: “ut in communi resurrectione omnium nostrum magis¹⁹⁶ sit gaudium singulorum”,^{xxix} sed hoc non potest fieri, nisi per omnes homines intelligitur maior pars. Item I Cor. XV [, 51]: *omnes quidem resurgemus*, sed hoc¹⁹⁷ non est verum de omnibus simpliciter, ut dicit prima pars¹⁹⁸ conclusionis, igitur est verum de omnibus hominibus¹⁹⁹ secundum maiorem partem.

Corelarium primum. Omnes homines²⁰⁰ resurgentes simul resurgent a morte. Patet, quia simul omnes²⁰¹ in peccato primi hominis dati sumus ad incineracionem, [K² f. 25v] iuxta illud, Gen. III [, 19]: *terra es et in terram reverteris* et Apostolus dicit: *statutum est omnibus*²⁰² *mori*,^{xxx} igitur in Christo merito omnes simul resurgemus.

¹⁸³ surrexit] resurrexit *V*

¹⁸⁴ Evangelista] Evangeliste *K*²

¹⁸⁵ Deus permetteret] permitteret Deus *B*

¹⁸⁶ esse] *om. B*

¹⁸⁷ Augustinus] et *add. V, B*

¹⁸⁸ XXII] XXVII *V, 27 B*

¹⁸⁹ dicitur] *om. V*

¹⁹⁰ sanctorum] que dormierant surrexerunt *add. V*

¹⁹¹ multis] *p.c. V*

¹⁹² pars] conclusionis *add. V, B*

¹⁹³ super] illud *add. V, supra lacuna K*²

¹⁹⁴ melius] *add. in marg. dex. V*

¹⁹⁵ providente] providenti *K*²

¹⁹⁶ magis] magis *rep. K*²; maius *B*

¹⁹⁷ hoc] *add. sup. l. K*¹

¹⁹⁸ pars] *om. V*

¹⁹⁹ hominibus] *om. V*

²⁰⁰ homines] simul *add. V*

²⁰¹ simul omnes] omnes simul *K*²

²⁰² omnibus] omnes *B*

Tenet consequencia,²⁰³ quia maior est Christus in merito suo quam Adam in peccato, dicente Apostolo:²⁰⁴ *ubi habundavit delictum, superhabundavit et gracia*.^{xxx} Eciam illi, qui reperientur vivi in adventu Christi, rapiuntur²⁰⁵ Christo obviam in aera et in illo raptu morientur et statim reviviscent, secundum illud, I Cor. XV [, 22]: *omnes in Christo vivificabuntur*; et secundum hoc verificatur illud Apostoli: *omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur*,^{206, 207, xxxii} scilicet in solemnitate glorificacionis. Et licet beatus Augustinus, XX^o *De civitate Dei*, dicat illos prius²⁰⁸ resurgere, qui invenirentur²⁰⁹ mortui et post vivi, fundans²¹⁰ se in auctoritate Apostoli, I Thess. quarto [, 15–17], ubi dicit: *hoc autem vobis dicimus in verbo Domini, quod nos, qui vivimus, qui residui sumus*²¹¹ *in adventu Domini non prevenieus eos, qui dormierunt; quoniam ipse*²¹² *Dominus*²¹³ *in voce et in*²¹⁴ *iussu archangeli descendet de celo et mortui, qui in Christo sunt, resurgent primi; deinde nos, qui vivimus, qui relinquimur*,²¹⁵ *simul rapiemur cum illis*²¹⁶ *in nubibus*²¹⁷ *obviam Christo in aera*,^{xxxiii} tamen adhuc mortui et |V f. 163ra| vivi simul resurgent. Nam ut dicit *Glossa* super illo verbo: *omnes quidem resurgemus*^{xxxiv} et beatus Augusti-|B p. 247|-nus, ubi supra,²¹⁸ quod qui vivi invenientur, passuri sunt mortem et in parvo spacio et brevissima morula accepturi sunt

²⁰³ tenet consequencia] consequencia tenet *K*²

²⁰⁴ Apostolo] Rom. V *add. in marg. dex. V*

²⁰⁵ rapiuntur] reperientur *K*²

²⁰⁶ immutabimur] invitabimur *B*

²⁰⁷ et secundum – immutabimur] *om. V*

²⁰⁸ illos prius] prius illos *K*²

²⁰⁹ invenirentur] invenientur *K*², *V*

²¹⁰ fundans] fundantes *a.c. K*¹, fundant *K*²

²¹¹ qui residui sumus] *om. V, B*

²¹² ipse] in voce *add. sed del. K*¹

²¹³ Dominus] *om. K*²

²¹⁴ et in] *add. sed del. K*²

²¹⁵ relinquimur] reliquimur *K*¹, *B*

²¹⁶ illis] illos *a.c. K*²

²¹⁷ nubibus] nibibus *B*

²¹⁸ supra] et *add. V*

immortalitatem,^{219, xxxv} et hoc modicum tempus²²⁰ quasi²²¹ pro nullo reputatur, nam dicit Philosophus, II° *Phisicorum*, quod modicum distat,²²² nichil distare videtur^{xxxvi} et ad veritatem istius dicit Apostolus:²²³ *in momento et in ictu*²²⁴ [K¹ p. 520] *oculi*,^{xxxvii} igitur corelarium verum.

Corelarium secundum. Licet recollectio materie corporalis seu pulverum fiat successive, tamen reformacio²²⁵ humani corporis fiat instantanee.²²⁶ Prima pars patet, quia talis recollectio fiet et non fiet instanee, igitur successive. Tenet consequencia,²²⁷ maior patet per illud, Matth. XXIII [31], ubi dicitur: *mittet angelos suos cum tuba et voce magna et congregabunt electos eius*²²⁸ *a*²²⁹ *quatuor ventis celi*²³⁰ *a summis celorum usque ad terminos eorum*. Sed minor probatur:²³¹ nulla virtus creata potest aliquod corpus instantanee transferre de loco ad locum, sed virtus angelorum, quorum ministerio talis recollectio fiet, est virtus finita, igitur non fiet instantanee, sed successive; sed non fiet valde tarde, quia fiet *in*²³² *ictu oculi*. Secunda pars patet, quia illa reformacio fiet immediate per²³³ infinitam potenciam Dei,²³⁴ que operatur instantanee, igitur secunda pars vera.

Corelarium tertium. In futura resurrectione²³⁵ non omnes resurgentes resurgent in loco prime sepulture. Patet, quia mortui resurgent

²¹⁹ immortalitatem] *p.c. K²*

²²⁰ tempus] tunc *K²*

²²¹ quasi] *om. K²*

²²² distat] quasi *add. V*

²²³ Apostolus] I Cor. XV *add. in marg. sin. V*

²²⁴ in ictu] iactu *K¹*, ictu *K²*, in ictu *B*

²²⁵ reformacio] resurrectio *V*

²²⁶ instantanee] *p.c. K²*

²²⁷ tenet conesequencia] consequencia tenet *K²*

²²⁸ eius] *om. V*

²²⁹ a] *add. sup. l. K¹*; *om. K²*

²³⁰ celi] *om. V, B*

²³¹ probatur] quia *add. V, B*

²³² in] iactu *add. sed del. K¹*

²³³ per] propter *B*

²³⁴ infinitam potenciam Dei] potenciam Dei infintiam *V*

²³⁵ futura resurrectione] resurrectione futura *V*

in illis locis, in quibus²³⁶ tempore resurrectionis pars principalior corporis aut maior pars fuerit; sive²³⁷ in principio fuerint sepulta eorum corpora, sive non. Sed que sit pars principalior corporis, an cor vel caput? Domini canoniste dicunt, quod caput, nam dicunt: ubi caput sepelitur, ibi sepultura hominis reputatur,²³⁸ ut patet...²³⁹ Similiter et medici hoc dicunt, quod cerebrum sit principalis²⁴⁰ pars; philosophi autem dicunt, quod cor et hec eciam est sententia Christi, qui dixit, Matth. XV [, 19]: *de corde enim procedunt*²⁴¹ *cogitationes male* etc.; de isto tamen non est vis sive sit caput, sive cor. Ille enim locus pro illo tempore²⁴² erit eius sepultura, ubi principalior pars corporis erit. Si vero contingeret, quod cinis²⁴³ principalis²⁴⁴ corporis equaliter in plura loca dispergeretur,²⁴⁵ queritur, ubi ille homo resurget. Respondetur, quod²⁴⁶ ille homo²⁴⁷ ibi resurget, ubi Deus ipsum resurgere voluerit, quia Dei voluntas hoc imperavit,^{248, xxxviii} igitur corelarium verum.

Conclusio 3^a²⁴⁹

In resurrectione futura homines resurgentes secundum se numeraliter²⁵⁰ resurgent. Patet, quia aliud dicere est fidei contrarium et derogans²⁵¹ veritati Sacre Scripture et videtur, quod sit hereticum.

²³⁶ quibus] quis *V*

²³⁷ sive] ubi *add. in marg. sin. V*

²³⁸ reputatur] *lacuna K¹*

²³⁹ ut patet] *om. K¹, V*

²⁴⁰ principalis] principior *V*

²⁴¹ enim procedunt] *exeunt V, B*

²⁴² pro illo tempore] *om. V*

²⁴³ cinis] civis *B*

²⁴⁴ principalis] *p add. sed del. K²*

²⁴⁵ dispergeretur] *tunc add. V*

²⁴⁶ quod] *igitur add. V*

²⁴⁷ homo] *om. V, B*

²⁴⁸ imperavit] *imparavit K², imperabit V*

²⁴⁹ 3^a] *3 iter. in marg. sin. K¹, conclusio 3 iter. in marg. sin. V*

²⁵⁰ numeraliter] *materialiter B*

²⁵¹ derogans] *errogans K², derogat V*

Patet:²⁵² si enim²⁵³ non esset idem corpus,²⁵⁴ quod anima in resurrectione reassumit,²⁵⁵ non diceretur²⁵⁶ resurrectio, sed [B p. 248] magis novi corporis assumptio. Eciam si non esset idem corpus numero, non esset idem homo numero et per consequens idem homo non²⁵⁷ perveniret finem suum, quod est contra notabile primum.

[K² f. 26r] Corelarium primum. Quicquid est de veritate²⁵⁸ humane nature, resurget,^{xxxix} patet ex conclusione. Non autem totum illud, quod pro quolibet tempore fuit de veritate corporis²⁵⁹ nature, resurget. Patet: nam si illud totum, quod pro quocumque tempore de veritate nature corporalis²⁶⁰ humane non resurget²⁶¹ in ipso,²⁶² tunc multorum hominum essent corpora²⁶³ immoderata. Patet: nam si quelibet pars carnis humane resurget²⁶⁴ et quidam²⁶⁵ homo fit²⁶⁶ valde pingwis²⁶⁷ et sepe maceratur, igitur si tota illa caro resurgeret, fieret immoderate magnus, quod est inconveniens. Et sic nullus homo electus post resurrectionem generalem erit superhabundans, pingwis et ventrosus et per consequens eciam²⁶⁸ aliquid, quod fuit informatum anima rationali²⁶⁹ non resurget in homine resurgente.

Corelarium secundum. Licet omnis homo resurgens, resurget in eadem etate, non tamen in eadem statura. Patet per Apostolum, Eph. quarto [, 13]: *donec occuramus*²⁷⁰ *omnes in virum perfectum in ple-*

²⁵² patet] sic *add.* K², quia *add.* V

²⁵³ enim] *om.* V

²⁵⁴ corpus] conclusio 3^a. In *add. sed del.* K²

²⁵⁵ reassumit] reassumeret K²

²⁵⁶ diceretur] dicitur K²

²⁵⁷ idem homo non] non idem homo V

²⁵⁸ veritate] vite K²

²⁵⁹ corporis] corporalis *corr. in marg. dex.* V

²⁶⁰ corporalis] *p.c.* K¹

²⁶¹ resurget] resurgeret K²

²⁶² ipso] Christo K²

²⁶³ essent corpora] corpora essent V

²⁶⁴ resurget] resurgeret K²

²⁶⁵ quidam] quidem K¹, K²

²⁶⁶ fit] fuit K²

²⁶⁷ pingwis] piguis K²

²⁶⁸ eciam] et *add. sed del.* K²

²⁶⁹ rationali] racionalis K²

²⁷⁰ occuramus] ei V

nitudinem etatis Christi et per beatum Augustinum, XXII²⁷¹ *De civitate Dei*, capitulo XXIII.²⁷² nam dicit, quod quilibet^{273, 274, 275} habebit staturam et vires et alia, que habuisset vel habuerit in etate Christi,^{x1} scilicet quando fuit vel fuisset XXXIII annorum cum medio; qui igitur in tali etate²⁷⁶ habuisset maius, surget cum maiori et qui minus, surget cum minori.

Sed quid tunc de humoribus in corpore: an isti²⁷⁷ resurgent? Respondetur, quod triplex est humiditas: una, que ad conservacionem individui non ordinatur, sed a natura expellitur vel quia est in via corruptionis sicut urina, sudor, sanies²⁷⁸ et sic de aliis; vel quia ad conservacionem individui in alio individuo ordinatur, ut semen et lac:²⁷⁹ et hec non resurgent, |K¹ p. 521| quia non est de perfectione individui. Secunda humiditas ordinatur ad²⁸⁰ conservacionem individui,²⁸¹ sed nondum pervenit ad ultimam perfectionem, quam natura operatur in individuo: et hec si formam determinatam habet, ut sanguis et alii tres humores, resurgent; non tamen, quid²⁸² emisimus²⁸³ per minuicionem, resurget: si vero est in via transeundi de forma humoris in formam membri, |V f. 163va| ut quando sanguis²⁸⁴ virtute digestiva dealbatur et²⁸⁵ convertatur²⁸⁶ in membrum, tunc non resur-

²⁷¹ XXII] XXI K¹, V, B

²⁷² XXIII] XXIII V, 24 B, dicens *add. sed del. V*

²⁷³ quod quilibet] *rep. K¹*

²⁷⁴ dicit quod quilibet] *add. in marg. dex. V*

²⁷⁵ quilibet] quelibet *add. in marg. sin. sed del. V*

²⁷⁶ etate] si *add. sed del. K²*

²⁷⁷ isti] *om. V*

²⁷⁸ sanies] *om. B*

²⁷⁹ lac] *p.c. V, lac add. in marg. dex. V*

²⁸⁰ ad] perfectionem *add. sed del. V*

²⁸¹ conservacionem individui] individui conservacionem *a.c. V*

²⁸² quid] quod *V*

²⁸³ emisimus] emisit *K²*

²⁸⁴ sanguis] sanguinis *K²*

²⁸⁵ et] ut *K²*

²⁸⁶ convertatur] convertitur *V*

get. Tercia humiditas est membris incorporata, que vocatur gluten, et hec²⁸⁷ resurget, quia est²⁸⁸ de substantia membrorum.^{289, xli, xlii}

Sed quid tunc de capillis et barba? Respondetur secundum Augustinum, XXII *De civitate Dei*, capitulo XXIII: pili et barba non²⁹⁰ sunt pro munimento, sed pro virili ornatu.^{xliii} Sed quia in homine non tantum resurget illud, quod est de primaria eius perfectione et prima na-|B p. 249|-ture intencione, sed eciam²⁹¹ de secunda eius perfectione et²⁹² intencione et ideo ungues et capilli et pili barbe resurgent.^{xliiv} Unde Matth. X [, 30] dicitur: *capilli capitis vestri omnes numerati sunt*. Dicit tamen Richardus, quod omnia talia resurgent in illa quantitate, que magis erit ad ornatum corporis;²⁹³ unde non est intelligendum, quod resurget²⁹⁴ quicquid per tonsuram vel rasuram amotum est de predictis, quia indecorum,²⁹⁵ ibi aliquid non erit.^{xlv}

Corelarium tertium. Licet omnes homines resurgent, non tamen equaliter. Patet, quia electi resurgent sine deformitatibus, sed reprobi cum deformitatibus. Dicit enim Augustinus, XXII *De civitate Dei*: “deerit a corporibus electorum omnis difformitas, omnis infirmitas, omnisque tarditas”.^{xlvi} Et iterum dicit: “corpora sanctorum sine ullo vicio, sine ulla difformitate, sine ulla corruptione”;^{xlvii} et sic nullus resurget sine manu,²⁹⁶ pede vel oculo. Corpora autem dampnatorum habebunt deformitates, saltem istas, quas habuerunt ex principiis naturalibus naturaliter sicut obscuritas, tarditas, grossicies et gravedo. Et sic²⁹⁷ corpora dampnatorum erunt obscura, tarda, grossa, gravia,²⁹⁸ non autem habebunt illas deformitates, que proveniunt ex defectu nature, diminutione vel superfluitate et mutacione.²⁹⁹ Membrorum

²⁸⁷ hec] hoc *K*²

²⁸⁸ est] membris incorporata et est *add. V*

²⁸⁹ membrorum] etc. *add. V*

²⁹⁰ non] *add. in marg. sin. V, et K*¹

²⁹¹ eciam] quod est *add. V*

²⁹² et] prima nature *add. sed del. K*²

²⁹³ corporis] apta *add. V*

²⁹⁴ resurget] resurget *K*²

²⁹⁵ indecorum] in decorum *B*

²⁹⁶ manu] sine *add. V*

²⁹⁷ sic] si *K*¹, *K*² *B*

²⁹⁸ gravia] gravi *K*²

²⁹⁹ et mutacione] ut mutacio *K*², et mutilacione *V*

autem gibbositas vel membrorum transposicio aut simitas;³⁰⁰ omnia enim ista pertinent ad viciū nature, non ad naturam, et ideo reprobi cum illis deformitatibus non resurgent.^{xlviii} nam dicit Apostolus, I Cor. XV [52]: *mortui resurgent incorrupti*.

Corelarium ultimum. Questio, ut proponitur, est vera.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ aut simitas] *om. B*

³⁰¹ vera] et cetera *add. K²*

ⁱ unus – homo] cf. Richard. de Mediavilla, *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, a. 1, q. 1, arg. 2 (Brixiae 1591, 553b)

ⁱⁱ Job XIII – resurget] cf. Thom. Aqu., *Super. Sent.* IV, d. 43, q. 1, a. 1, quaestiuncula 1, arg. 1 (ed. M.F. Moos, 4b, 272a)

ⁱⁱⁱ que resurrectio – animalis resurrectio] cf. Richard. de Mediavilla, *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, a. 1, q. 3, co. (Brixiae 1591, 557a)

^{iv} quod – consequeretur] cf. Thom. Aqu., *Super. Sent.* IV, d. 44, q. 1, a. 1, quaestiuncula 2, co. (ed. M.F. Moos, 4b, 297b)

^v ipsam beatitudinem – potest] cf. Petr. Lomb., *Sent.* I, d. 1, c. 3, 4–6 (SB 4b, 58–59)

^{vi} anima – celum] cf. Bonav., *Brev. pars* 7, cap. 7 (ed. Quaracchi 5, 289a)

^{vii} beatitudo – appetitum] cf. Boeth., *Cons. liber* 2, prosa 4, par. 25 (CCSL 94, 25)

^{viii} Beatus – wult] cf. Thom. Aqu., *Super. Sent.* IV, d. 49, q. 1, a. 4, quaestiuncula 2, arg. 3 (ed. M.F. Moos, 4b, 476b); Aug., *Beat. vit.* 2, 10 (CCSL 29, 70)

^{ix} impossibile – mitigatur] cf. Thom. Aqu., *In symb.* art. 11, numerus 1000 (ed. Marietti, 215a)

^x quod nos – omnibus hominibus] cf. Thom. Aqu., *In symb.* art. 11, numerus 1002 (ed. Marietti, 215b)

^{xi} possibile – tenente] cf. Thom. Arg., *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, q. 1, a. 1, co. 1 (Venetiis 1564, 168vb)

^{xii} ista – perswasione] cf. Thom. Arg., *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, q. 1, a. 1, co. 4 (Venetiis 1564, 169ra)

^{xiii} tolle – queritur] cf. Thom. Aqu., *Super. Sent.* I, prologus Magistri, q. 1, a. 5, arg. 5 (ed. P. Mandonnet, 1, 17); cf. Ambr., *Fid.* 1, 13 (CSEL 78, 36)

^{xiv} terra – sunt] cf. Gen. 25, 1–11

^{xv} Isaac] cf. Gen. 35, 27–29

^{xvi} propter futuram resurrectionem] cf. Aug., *Epist.* 140, 76 (CSEL 44, 224)

^{xvii} Deus – frustra] cf. Ioh. de Fonte, *Auct. Arist. Opus* 3 (*De caelo et mundo I*), 161; Arist., *Coel.* 1, 4 (Bekker 271a); Arist., *De an.* 3, 9 (Bekker 432b)

^{xviii} forma habet – corporibus] cf. Richard. de Mediavilla *In Sent.* IV, d. 44, a. 1, q. 1, co. (Brixiae 1591, 554a–b); Thom. Arg., *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, q. 1, a. 3, co. (Venetiis 1564, 170va) et a. 4, co. (Venetiis 1564, 170va–b)

- xix nullum malum – irremuneratum] Boeth., *Cons.* liber 4, prosa 4, par. 20 (CCSL 94, 75); cf. Ioh. de Fonte, *Auct. Arist.* Opus 25 (*De consolatione philosophiae IV*), 291
- xx licet – creature] cf. Thom. Arg., *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, q. 1, a. 1, co. 2 (Venetiis 1564, 168vb)
- xxi repugnanciam – impossibile] cf. Arist., *Met.* 5, 15 (Bekker 1021a)
- xxii actio – inferunt] cf. Ioh. de Fonte, *Auct. Arist.* Opus 2 (*Physica III*), 148
- xxiii omni – creata] Ioh. de Fonte, *Auct. Arist.* Opus 1 (*Metaphysica V*), 126; cf. Thom. Aqu., *Contra Gent.* lib. 3, cap. 45 (ed. Leonina 14, 117)
- xxiv ista – actum] cf. Thom. Arg., *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, q. 1, a. 1, co. 3 (Venetiis 1564, 168vb)
- xxv ens – preteritum] cf. Arist., *De gen.* 1, 2 (Bekker 316b); Arist., *De an.* 1, 4 (Bekker 408b)
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- xxvii motus – inferiorum] cf. Arist., *Phys.* 2, 4 (Bekker 196a)
- xxviii eciam pie creditur de Beata Virgine – multis] cf. Thom. Arg., *In Sent.* IV, d. 43, q. 1, a. 4, inquisitio 1 (Venetiis 1564, 171va)
- xxix ut – singulorum] *Glossa ord.*, Hebr. 11, 40, glos. inter. (ed. A. Rusch, 4, 1143ra)
- xxx statutum – mori] Hebr. 9, 27
- xxxi ubi – gracia] Rom. 5, 20
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- xxxiii prius – aera] cf. Aug., *Civ.* 20, 20 (CCSL 48, 733–734)
- xxxiv omnes quidem resurgemus] I Cor. 15, 51
- xxxv dicit Glossa – immortalitatem] cf. Aug., *Civ.* 20, 20 (CCSL 48, 733–734); cf. *Glossa ord.*, I Tes. 4, 17, glos. marg. (ed. A. Rusch, 4, 1120ra)
- xxxvi modicum – videtur] Arist., *Phys.* 2, 5 (Bekker 197a)
- xxxvii in momento – oculi] I Cor. 15, 52
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- xxxix quicquid – resurget] cf. Thom. Arg., *In Sent.* IV, d. 44, q. 1, a. 1, co. (Venetiis 1564, 172vb)
- xl quilibet – Christi] cf. Aug., *Civ.* 22, 15 (CCSL 48, 834)
- xli licet omnis homo – substancia membrorum] cf. Thom. Aqu., *Super. Sent.* IV, d. 44, q. 1, art. 2, quaestiuncula 1 (ed. M.F. Moos 4b, 307b; 309–310) et quaestiuncula 3, co. (ed. F.M. Moos 4b, 303a–b)
- xlii triplex – membrorum] cf. Petr. Taran., *In Sent.* IV, d. 44, q. 1, a. 1, ad. 2 (Tolosae 1651, 418); cf. Richard. de Mediavilla, *In Sent.* IV, d. 44, a. 1, q. 2, co. (Brixiae 1591, 575a)
- xliiii pili – ornatu] cf. Aug., *Civ.* 22, 24 (CCSL 48, 850)
- xliv Sed quid – resurgent] cf. Thom. Aqu., *Super. Sent.* IV d. 44, q. 1, art. 1, quaestiuncula 3, co. (ed. F.M. Moos 4b, 299a–b)

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- ^{xlvi} deerit – tarditas] cf. Bonav., *In Sent.* IV, d. 44, pars 1, a. 3, q. 1 (ed. Quaracchi 4, 914a); Aug., *Civ.* 22, 20 (CCSL 48, 841).
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Kwestia o zmartwychwstaniu Benedykta Hessego z Krakowa pochodząca z jego komentarza do Ewangelii według św. Mateusza: Studium i edycja krytyczna

Abstrakt: Artykuł omawia kwestię o zmartwychwstaniu autorstwa Benedykta Hessego z Krakowa (ok. 1389–1456), zachowaną w ms Kraków, BJ, 1369, ff. 24r–26r. W artykule wykazano, że kwestia ta pochodzi z Komentarza do Ewangelii Mateusza autorstwa Hessego i zachowało się także w dwóch innych rękopisach: ms Kraków, BJ, 1366, ss. 516–521 oraz ms Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat.Lat.14646, ff. 161va–163va. Na tej podstawie ustalono, że kwestia została skomponowana między 1446 r. a 7 marca 1448. W artykule przedstawiono analizę doktrynalną omawianej kwestii teologicznej. Hesse w swoim tekście szczegółowo rozważa problematykę związaną ze zmartwychwstaniem ciała. Krakowski teolog przedstawia metafizyczną możliwość zmartwychwstania ciała, analizuje jego czas i miejsce oraz zastanawia się nad materialną budową zmartwychwstałego ciała. Przyczynek zwieńczony jest edycją krytyczną tekstu Hessego.

Słowa kluczowe: Benedykt Hesse z Krakowa, zmartwychwstanie ciała, Uniwersytet Krakowski, XV wiek, Biblioteka Jagiellońska

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