Central European Cultures 4, no. 1 (2024): 147–168
doi.org/10.47075/CEC.2024-1.08

CEC | Central European Cultures

Medical Metaphors in the Thirteenth-Century Sermon Collection of Pécs*

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Received 27 October 2023 | Accepted 28 February 2024 | Published online 16 September 2024

Abstract. The *Pécs University Sermons* were composed at the end of the thirteenth century in Hungary, probably at a *studium generale*. The sermons contain many references from classical authors and philosophers. Among other things, they use numerous scientific and natural philosophical citations in their argumentation. This article focuses specifically on the medical quotations.

The use of medical motifs in theological argumentation has a long tradition: both the Bible and the Church Fathers drew an analogy between physical and spiritual healing. In the thirteenth century, however, this biblical tradition was transformed as theologians increasingly supplemented the biblical tradition with medical literature. In my paper, I examine how the biblical tradition and medical literature appear in the Pécs University Sermons and with what rhetorical aim medicine is used. Through the exemplary analysis of selected sermons, I present the different rhetorical situations in which medicine appears, and I argue that medical literature is not only used to complement the biblical tradition but that the medical quotations themselves could be the starting point for medical argumentation. I also examine which sources the author used and show that he quotes a lesser-known anatomical source, the *Anatomia vivorum*.

Keywords: medicine, medieval preaching, anatomy, Pécs University Sermons, citations

I. Introduction

The Pécs University Sermons

In medieval literature, authors were obsessed with similes. Everything could be the image of something else. Likewise, God and, therefore, faith was seen in everything, from nature to law, from physics to medicine. One of the inspirations for these similes was natural history. The discovery of texts of natural history and natural philosophy and their cosmological elaboration during the so-called twelfth-century Renaissance contributed to the use of natural metaphors to explain theology in medieval texts. Among other sources, preachers made extensive use of natural historical similes as the *artes predicandi* encouraged them to do so.

As did the unknown author[1] of the so-called Pécs University Sermons. The collection of Dominican sermons, known as the Pécs University Sermons or *University of Pécs Sermons*, was compiled in Hungary at the end of the thirteenth century (probably between 1250 and 1325). The *de sanctis* collection of 199 sermons survives in a fifteenth-century manuscript copied in a German-speaking area. A fifteenth-century hand wrote above the sermons that they were compiled at the *studium generale* in Pécs *(Sermones compilate [!] in studio generali Quincqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie)*. Early research associated the high quality of the sermons with the University of Pécs, but later research, based on philological studies, has established that the collection was compiled long before the foundation of the University of Pécs (1367), probably at the end of the thirteenth century. However, it seems certain that the speeches are of Hungarian origin. The clearest evidence for this is provided by the sermons dedicated to saints venerated in Hungary (e.g., St Stephen and St Ladislaus). Accordingly, their Dominican origin is underpinned by the overrepresentation of Dominican saints in the collection.[2]

The collection contains 199 so-called scholastic sermons. The scholastic, thematic, or modern sermon is a particular form of sermon that spread with the emergence of the mendicant orders in the early thirteenth century. The scholastic sermon typically analyses a single biblical verse *(thema),* which the preacher divides into several parts *(divisio)* and then elaborates the latter at longer or shorter length *(prosecutio)*. The three main parts,[3] the *thema,* the *divisio* and the *prosecutio,* may be supplemented by additional elements, such as the prothema following the *thema,* with which the preacher seeks to win the listeners' favor and asks for divine help in the sermon.

The Pécs University Sermons has attracted the attention of researchers because of the extremely high number of references to texts that were atypical of sermons meant to be delivered to general audiences—to audiences you would expect in late thirteenth-century Hungary. To give just a few examples: Arab thinkers such as Avicenna, Averroes, and Albumasar, authors of the flourishing philosophy of the twelfth century such as Bernardus Silvestris, and the great philosophers of antiquity

* This text is a modified translation of the article *Rossznyelvűség és rossz szájszag: Orvosi témájú hasonlatok a Pécsi egyetemi beszédekben*. The article will be published in the conference proceedings of the *Fiatalok Konferenciája 2022* [Youth Conference 2022], expected in autumn 2024.

1 In this paper, I will not address the question of whether the sermons in the collection can all be attributed to one author, and I will use the singular when referring to the author of the Pécs University Sermons.

2 For a summary of the research history of the Pécs University Sermons and about the sermons, see Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*.

3 For the structure of the scholastic sermon, see: Wenzel, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicandi'*.

such as Plato and Aristotle, are cited in the collection. This is of particular interest to Hungarian scholars because this collection of sermons may be the first trace of the reception of scholastic philosophy in Hungary. Despite the remarkable use of philosophical references, however, few attempts have been made to study and process the source material of the collection of sermons. Ede Petrovich, while preparing his critical edition, identified some of the quotations,[4] and Pál Timkovics examined in a seminal article the sources of the Pécs University Sermons and linked them to the intellectual heritage of the twelfth-century Renaissance.[5] Since then, Edit Madas has been involved in studying classical authorities, Endre Zsoldos has analyzed references on astronomical themes, and Péter Molnár has explored the background of references on political philosophy.[6] This paper aims to contribute to the study of the sources of the Pécs University Sermons by analyzing a subset of the quotations, the medical ones.

Medicine in Medieval Preaching

The metaphorical use of the body, illness, and healing in the thirteenth century drew on two main sources.[7] On the one hand, there was a tradition based on the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers, and on the other hand, newly discovered and old medical and anatomical texts inspired the use of medical analogies. The Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers offered basic models for the use of healing in a religious context. The first one is a disease-healer model, which allows us to speak of redemption and salvation. The disease represents the sin(s) to be redeemed; the healer represents salvation and the effort to achieve it. The healer can be Christ himself (*Christus medicus,* 'Christ the physician') or his representatives, the clergy. The other one is the anatomical model, the use of the body and its parts to describe Christianity, the Christian community and the church.

4 Petrovich and Timkovics, eds, *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie*; Petrovich, "A pécsi egyetemi beszédgyűjtemény."

5 Timkovics, "A »Pécsi Egyetemi Beszédek« szellemi háttere."

6 Molnár, "Az ún. Pécsi Egyetemi Beszédek egyik forrásáról."

7 Medical metaphor has been studied in several thirteenth-century sermon collections. About the sermons of St Anthony of Padua see Gustavo Cambria Franco, "Doença, pecado e medicina da alma na pregação de Santo Antônio (c. 1195–1231) – Disease, Sin and Soul Medicine in the Preaching of Saint Anthony (c. 1195–1231)", 160–76; about the sermons of Luca da Bitonto see Sutcliffe, "Medical Knowledge in Thirteenth-Century Preaching"; for the similes of Giovanni da San Gimignano see Ziegler, "Medical Similes in Religious Discourse," 103–31; for medicinal references in the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg, see: Herrlinger, "Die sechs Res non naturales." For a comprehensive analysis of thirteenth-century medicine, theology and preaching, see Ziegler, *Medicine and religion.* For medical advice in German-language sermon literature, see Kotelmann, *Gesundheitspflege im Mittelalter.*

On the other hand, preachers in the thirteenth century had another source for their medical metaphors. Namely, medicine as a science itself became more important in the thirteenth-century society: since the twelfth-century Renaissance, more and more anatomical and medical texts became available in Latin translation, more and more anatomical, medical, and sanitary manuals were compiled,[8] more and more universities established medical faculties, and the medical profession became increasingly present in its own right, separate from the ecclesiastical career.[9] Despite this, the interest of theologians in medicine does not seem to have diminished. Medical literature has been used to supplement the disease-healer and anatomical models inherited from the biblical tradition, and preachers have incorporated medical texts into theological discourse, as with other natural science works.[10]

Several studies have been devoted to medical references that appear in the preaching literature. These studies typically examine the work of preachers who seem to be particularly interested in medical texts, even if they are not physicians. In the texts they analysed, the use of the above-mentioned biblical models usually provides an opportunity for preachers to quote medical literature: they decide to refer to biblical models, and they add medical citations to them. The Pécs University Sermons, however, differ from these sermons. While the erudite author is interested in natural philosophy, medical topics are not the focus of his attention since the Pécs University Sermons is a *de sanctis* collection without healing narratives to interpret, which are abundant in *de tempore* collections referring to pericopes of Christ's miracles. Accordingly, the use of references in the Pécs University Sermons differs. The author refers repeatedly to biblical medical and anatomical models but often does not supplement them with medical citations. Yet, he uses medical literature. However, it is likely that he did not directly search for quotes on this topic but came across them by chance and, after finding the quotations, decided to invoke one of the above-mentioned biblical medical models. In this paper, I will examine this editorial behaviour in connection with medical metaphors. Through the analysis of sermons, I will argue that medical metaphor was a vivid part of the Pécs University Sermons. It was motivated both by the evocation of biblical medical models and the medical quotations themselves. In some cases, when the author came across a medical citation, he used the opportunity to incorporate a medical metaphor into his sermon. In Section II, I will analyse sermons for which a biblical model was the starting point, and in Section III, I will look at those where the

8 Wallis, *Medieval Medicine*, 485–7, 493.

9 On the institutional background of religion and medicine, see Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion,* 1–45.

10 However, theology has also complemented medicine, see Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion,* 1–45. On the complex relationship between theology and medicine, see also: Langum, *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins*; Bowers and Keyser, *The Sacred and the Secular in Medieval Healing.*

author did not look for a medical reference for the topic of the sermon but turned the sermon into a medical allegory for the sake of the citation.

II.

Sermon 68: Christus medicus

Sermon 68 is written for the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and deals with many philosophical and theological issues. It speaks, among other things, of the necessity of Jesus' death on the cross,[11] which it interprets according to Aristotelian notions of causality and the attainment of eternal life. He mentions the question of the substance of angels and that of the soul, but also the benefits of the crucifixion. It is in relation to this latter theme that the topos of *Christus medicus* (Christ the physician) appears. The sermon lists the reasons why Jesus can be considered a physician: his healing activities include his deeds and virtues, which have contributed to the salvation of humanity, his teachings, and examples of love, compassion, and humility. In addition, the words 'prescribed' by Jesus, such as prayers, confession, and sermons, were a remedy for sinful humanity. The sermon elaborates on the last point, explaining why preaching is considered spiritual medicine and comparing sermons to three remedies. The sermon invokes three stories from the Bible: in the first,[12] Tobit, at the angel's command, heals an eye disease with the bile of a fish and uses its liver to cast out demons. In the second, the Good Samaritan heals the wounded with oil and wine.[13] The third describes a ritual for purifying water and promoting the fertility of the land.[14] So, in the first two stories, healing is part of the biblical story, but it is less clear why the third one is listed alongside the other two.[15] Why did the preacher choose these three biblical examples (of which the

11 In arguing for the necessity of Jesus' death on the cross, the sermon quotes a *quaestio* from the *Summa Halensis* attributed to Alexander of Hales. This is of particular interest as it proves that the author of the Pécs University Sermons was not only exposed to philosophy through the *florilegia* but was also familiar with the scholastic readings that were considered essential in the universities of his day and found them worthy of being presented to his audience in the context of a genre that was not essentially philosophical, the sermon.

12 Tob. 6,1–9; 11,1–16.

13 Lc. 10,25–37.

14 4 Kings 2, 19–22.

15 Perhaps the preacher used a gloss written by Isidore, which gives a similar interpretation of the biblical verse: he compares the water that needs purification to the people, just as the sermon does. However, the interpretation of the salt and the vase used for purification is different in the gloss and the sermon: Isidore compares salt to wisdom and the vase to the human body, while the sermon interprets salt as a symbol of discipline and the vase as a symbol of a new way of life. Although the gloss mentions the purification of the human body, it does not do so in a medical

third is hardly fitting)? Maybe because of the three sets of objects, which suggests an idea of healing that needs material objects (instruments or drugs). This material concept of cure that can be contrasted well with an immaterial one could have been the grounds for the selection of examples.

Anyway, the sermon interprets these stories as representing remedies that preaching can be compared to. Sermons can be compared to gall and liver, i.e., to love and anger, because these emotions cure sin, just like gall is claimed to cure blindness in the Bible.[16] The idea that certain emotions can be linked to certain parts of the body was popular in thirteenth-century sermon literature. The idea can be traced back to biblical imagery but was often supported by anatomical theories.[17] Second, preaching can be compared to wine and oil, which are symbols of remorse and the good feeling that comes from good deeds and are used to heal the 'wounded' sinner. Third, sermons are like a vase of water and salt, which represent right conduct and discipline. The preacher thus emphasizes the 'healing' power of gall, liver, wine, oil, water, and salt in so far as they remove the blindness that symbolizes sin, heal the wounded man who symbolizes the sinner, and the sinful habits of humans. However, in each case, he interprets the healing power of these substances through biblical references and on allegorical terms and does not suggest that, in an extra-biblical sense, blindness can be cured by bile and liver, wounds by wine and oil, nor does he attribute disease to vase and salt on the figurative plane.

Sermon 120: Good doctor

Sermon 120, written for the feast of Saints Cosmas and Damian, refers briefly to the medical profession.[18] The sermon develops the three lessons of the suffering of the two martyrs in three divisions. The first distinction concerns the character and sublimity of the sufferers *(passorum sublimitas),* which is reflected in their actions during their lives. The second is the cruelty and bitterness of torture, of (unjust) punishment *(penarum acerbitas),* which is the personal ruin, the loss of the individual. Last, the sermon recalls the benefits of suffering torture *(paciendi utilitas),* i.e., the contribution of tolerating evil to the growth of both the individual and Christianity. The sermon thus moves from the very specific and individual story of Cosmas and Damian

sense, and literal healing does not appear in the gloss. Morard, "Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina."

16 Tob. 6,5.

17 Ziegler, "Medical Similes in Religious Discourse," 114–28. For the use of each organ in the metaphors of Giovanni da San Gimignano, see: Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, 284–91.

18 Petrovich and Timkovics, eds, *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie*, 253–5.

towards more general conclusions: while the first distinction focuses primarily on the individual aspects of the legend of the two brothers, the second reflects on individual ruin, the loss of goods or even of life, using the story of Cosmas and Damian only as an illustration. The third does not recall the legend of the martyred brothers at all but only speaks of the martyred saints in general terms.

The preacher briefly refers to the legend of the martyred doctors in the first distinction, which draws attention to the sublime of the tortured. The focus is on the knowledge *(sciencia)* and education *(erudicio)* of the brothers. However, the sermon emphasizes the brothers' knowledge of Scripture and Christian doctrine as proof of their wisdom and good education, not their medical knowledge and the science of medicine. The ability to heal is presented as a gift of the Holy Spirit, which, as it was given freely as a gift, is passed on to people as a gift when they heal for free. The wisdom of Cosmas and Damian is therefore not revealed when they practice medicine but when they do not accept payment in return, expressing their contempt for worldly rewards. The fact that the medical brothers worked strictly without remuneration is emphasized in the *Legenda Aurea,* too.[19] According to the legend, Damian, after much pleading, accepted a gift from an old woman who asked the doctor to do so in the name of God. When Cosmas learned of this, however, he refused to be buried in the same tomb as his twin brother, and only through the intercession of an angel did he forgive his brother. The issue of medical allowances occurs elsewhere in thirteenth-century sources, too. In a sermon on the moral importance of the medical profession, the Dominican preacher Humbertus de Romanis (1194?–1277), superior general of the Dominican order, warns of the moral dangers of the medical profession, condemning, among others, healers who use the desperation of patients and their families to extort money.[20] Payment for healing is also mentioned in works that explore the question of whether clerics can practice medicine. Although some in the thirteenth century argued that the clerical and medical professions were incompatible, others were more permissive and only strictly forbade the acceptance of payment by physician priests.[21] Perhaps these two examples illustrate that in medieval thought, the religious-moral interpretation of healing raised several questions about the medical profession.

The (implicit) confluence of moral expectations about doctors is also found in the sermon in honour of the martyred doctors, Saints Cosmas and Damian, as the most notable element of the brothers' healing activity is that they healed for free. The sermon, certainly intended for clerics, thus presents its audience with a model of the perfect Christian doctor—a model to be followed even if the audience does

19 Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, 977–81.

20 For an analysis of the sermon, see: Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion,* 20.

21 Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion,* 9.

not happen to be preparing for a medical career. This use of the image of the perfect physician suggests that the overlap between religion and medicine in contemporary thought not only made religious-moral expectations of physicians but also raised expectations of the good physician among clerics who embraced religious morality as a vocation. Both the medical and the ecclesiastical professions are "helping professions" whose representatives must work selflessly to reduce human suffering.

Sermo 129: The preacher as authority

The parallel between the preaching activity and the medical profession is shown through the topos of the *predicator medicus,* the healing preacher. Sermon 129, written for St Luke's Day, emphasizes the preacher's activity. It draws parallels between St Luke and preachers, both of whom have the task of communicating the word of God. In the *prothema,* the author appeals to the Holy Spirit to enable him to comment on the Gospel, just as he enabled Luke to write the same Gospel.[22] In doing so, he anticipates the parallel that the preacher will develop later in the sermon while presenting himself as a repetiteur of the evangelist's activity: Luke, with the help of the Holy Spirit, has communicated God's word in writing, and the preacher, also with the help of the Holy Spirit, transmits a written version of God's word in the context of an oral sermon.[23] The duality of written and oral teaching is evident throughout the sermon. This duality is the characteristic of the genre of preaching literature, as it is a genre that balances between the verbal and the written. The text of each sermon is primarily oral, the written version being secondary, but the sermon interprets Scripture while drawing heavily on the written tradition. The sermon on Luke reflects this by drawing a parallel between Gospel writing and preaching.

The sermon thus draws a parallel between the activities of the writers and the preachers of sacred texts and interprets the effect of writing a Gospel as similar to that

22 "Ideo rogemus Spiritum sanctum, ut qui dedit illi possibilitatem ewangelium scribendi, nobis det facultatem aliquatenus ipsum commendandi." [We therefore ask the Holy Spirit, who gave him [i.e. Luke] the power to write the Gospel, to give us some ability to recommend it.] Petrovich and Timkovics, eds, *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie*, 272.

23 The sermon later reflects once again on the fact that Luke's primary means of communicating the Word was in written form. In one of the sub-distinctions, the sermon explains that Luke must have been excellent since he was the scribe of the law of grace *(scriptor legis gracie).* In the following biblical quotation, the term "in the gospel" is explained by the comment "i.e. in the writing", pointing out that Luke is to be praised primarily for his writing activity: "as the Apostle says, 2 Cor 8:18, he whose praise is in the gospel, that is, in the writing." [sicut dicit apostolus II Cor. VIII., cuius laus est in ewangelio, scilicet scripto] Petrovich and Timkovics, eds, *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie*, 272.

of the sermon, namely, healing. The metaphor is primarily motivated by the *thema*: "he hath sent me […] to heal the contrite of heart."[24] The sermon adds two more quotations to emphasize the verb *medeor,* 'to heal'. One is a quotation from Jerome,[25] according to which every word of Luke was a remedy, and the other is Sirach 38,1,[26] which was often quoted in the context of medical metaphors. The sermon distinguishes between the three modes of healing and the three sub-disciplines of medicine (referring to Isidore of Seville): dietetics, surgery, and pharmacy. The sermon also quotes from Isidore concerning how these disciplines heal: dietetics using lifestyle advice and rules, surgery using operations to remove bad parts, and pharmacy using medicines. The author then goes on to describe his own allegorical interpretation of the extent to which the activities of preachers correspond to those of doctors. The sermon interprets pastoral care as offering healing in the same way as medical care. The preacher prescribes and forbids, just as the dietician prescribes certain foods and forbids others. When the preacher gives orders, it is akin to the discomfort of surgery. Preachers are also like the 'astute' *(astutus)* doctor who, by hiding a bitter pill in sweet food, persuades the patient to swallow the medicine—preachers, too, persuade their followers to endure such bitter hardships as poverty with the promise of sweet salvation.

The interpretation presented by the sermon emphasizes the aspect of medical and pastoral activity that suggests that both doctors and preachers are, through the instructions they give, superior to those they help. Medical and pastoral instructions are things that are minor or major inconveniences to follow but are necessary to achieve a better state of being. The preachers' instructions are also ones that are far from arbitrary, of which the preacher is the knower and transmitter, but not the author. The words they convey cannot be changed any more than the laws of nature, and the person to be 'cured' had better listen to them. Thus, preachers' discourses will indeed be like the written text, which cannot be changed.

Sermon 81: Focusing on the Human Body

In addition to the depiction of diseases and their cures, the anatomical model is also represented in the Pécs University Sermons. Sermon 81, written for Peter and Paul's day, starts from the *thema* "and his eyes were like blazing fire"[27] and is divided into two parts: the first explains why Peter and Paul resemble the eye, the second details the two apostles' analogy of the blazing fire. The first part begins with an

24 Is 61,1.

25 Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Epistola VIII*, 22:548.

26 "Honour the physician for the need thou hast of him: for the most High hath created him." Sir 38,1.

27 Rev 1,14.

allegory that the Church is a body, of which the different parts are members of the Church, and each has its function: the feet are the poor who tread the earth, and the hands are the soldiers who protect the Church. The head of the Church is Christ, and the two eyes are Peter and Paul. The allegory of the "political body,"[28] the way of speaking about human communities and their functioning by comparing them to human bodies, is not unique in medieval political thought.[29] The idea, which builds on ancient theories, illustrates both that each social group has a designated task that it must fulfill and from which it must not deviate and that human-political communities can only be understood as a unity, each member of which is equally important to its functioning. It also reflects the view that human societies are organizations similar to natural beings, operating according to rules similar to natural laws and whose existence and functioning reflect divine creation as much as nature. Although there is no mention of such social-philosophical theories in Sermo 81, the author was presumably familiar with the idea, which provided a broader background for the allegory of Peter and Paul as eyes. Before elaborating on the micro-level anatomical allegory of the eyes, he first extends it to the macro-level, situating the eye as a body part within a larger body. This body is the church, in which, however, not only the members of earthly society are placed: alongside the apostles, Christ himself is part of the community, the unity of which the sermon speaks, and in which, at the same time, the layers of earthly society are also present. In this idea, we can see the influence of the Pauline epistles, in which Paul describes believers as members of the body of Christ, each of whom must do their duty and acknowledge their belonging together,[30] and presents Christ as the head of the church.[31] Sermo 81 thus combines two uses of the political body: on the one hand, it builds on the biblical tradition and says that all Christians share one body with Christ, of which they are all integral parts. On the other hand, it also incorporates social philosophical theories, popular in the thirteenth century, by associating specific social groups with specific parts of the body (e.g., the poor to the feet, soldiers to the hands). The allegorical body thus created represents the whole of earthly and heavenly 'society.' The sermon goes on

28 For the ancient roots of the idea, see: Havas, *Florus: az organikus világkép.* On the medieval and early modern use of the political body, see the special issue of the journal *Early Science and Medicine – The Body Politic from Medieval Lombardy to the Dutch Republic: Early Science and Medicine* 25, no. 1. (2020).

29 The most influential medieval work in which the theory appears is the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury (c. 1159). According to Johannes, the clergy represent the soul, the prince the head, the senate assisting the prince the heart, the judges the tactile senses, the financial officials the belly, the soldiers and tax collectors the hands, and the peasants the feet. Ioannis Saresberiensis, *Plolicraticus.*

30 1Cor 12,12–27.

31 Col 1,18; Ep 5,23.

to examine a single organ of this body, the eye, which symbolizes Peter and Paul.

The sermon details using six distinctions how the two apostles resemble the eye. To support the correctness of the analogy, the author cites several authorities: in addition to the Bible and the statements of the Church Fathers on the eye and sight, there are also several references from natural philosophical and anatomical sources. In the latter category, the author most cited in the sermon is Bernardus Silvestris, a representative of twelfth-century Platonic philosophy. His main work is the *Cosmographia*, or *De mundi universitate*,[32] an allegorical philosophical work on the creation of the world and man, which was extremely popular from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The author of Sermon 81 quotes from this work when he describes the eyes as the brightest and most luminous parts of the body and the process of seeing as a model of the union of light from the eye and light from outside. The sermon not only quotes Bernardus Silvestris' thoughts on the workings of the eye in hexameter but also adds a simplifying summary explanation. He first describes in his own words the relevant aspects of the eye's function and then turns to Bernardus' text for support.

A similar editorial style will appear in the following text. The sermon makes a relatively straightforward statement about the anatomy and function of the eyes and then backs it up with the—often more complex and difficult to understand—thought of an anatomical or natural philosophical authority. Bernardus Silvestris is quoted twice more in this way—once on the ability of one eye to take over when the other is damaged and once on the other parts of the body (eyelids, eyebrows) that protect the eyes from injuries. However, other texts of authority appear in addition to the *Cosmographia.* The *Timaeus* is cited twice, and Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* is cited once in the same way.

In addition to Bernardus Silvestris, Plato, and Pliny the Elder, a fourth author appears among those quoted on the anatomy of the eye. Unlike the other three authors, the text does not mention him by name but refers to him as *philosophus anatomicus.* I identified the source of the anonymous reference as the *Anatomia vivorum*,[33] an anatomical work compiled between 1220 and 1240 (presumably in

32 Bernardus Silvestris, *De Mundi Universitate Sive Megacosmus et Microcosmus.*

33 The text is edited; see: Töply, *Anatomia Ricardi Anglici (c.a. 1242–1252): Ad Fidem Codicis Ms. n. 1634 in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservati.* The edition is based on a thirteenth-century manuscript, and erroneously attributes the text to Ricardus Anglicus based on an inscription in a later hand, see: Sudhoff, "Der Wiener Cod. Lat. 1634." Ricardus Anglicus was the name given to several thinkers who lived during the scholastic period, many of whom practised medicine, see: Getz, "Wendower, Richard of (d. 1252)." The anatomical work *Anatomia Ricardi (Anglici),* is probably attributed to Ricardus Anglicus, who lived at the end of the twelfth century. It has been handed down in many manuscripts under the name of Galen. Medieval anatomical manuscripts have often come down to us with different titles/attributions, so it is

Paris) that uses Latin translations of works by ancient and Arabic thinkers, mainly from the Toledo School of Translators (especially by Gerhard de Cremona).[34] The *Anatomia vivorum* survives in 11 manuscripts, six of which date from the thirteenth century, the time when the Pécs University Sermons were written. Of these, two are anonymous,[35] two are under the name of Aristotle, and two are among the works of Galen, implicitly or explicitly attributing the text to Galen. The attribution of the texts may also provide important information for the Pécs University Sermons since it can be assumed that the indirect or direct source of the Pécs University Sermons was a text version that was not attributed to well-known authors such as Aristotle or Galen. In that case, the sermon would have used the well-known name instead of the obscure *philosophus anatomicus*. Of course, it would be too far-fetched to assume that the two anonymous manuscripts had anything to do with the Pécs University Sermons since the source could have been a mediating text or even a now-lost text, and there is also a possibility that we are dealing here with textual corruption. However, the reception history of the *Anatomia vivorum* may contribute to the discovery of the origin of the Pécs University Sermons and be worth further research. At the same time, the fact that the *Anatomia vivorum* was compiled at the University of Paris may suggest that the author of the Pécs University Sermons also attended that university.

III.

Sermon 39: Healing silver, healing Mary

In the role of healer, Christ and the preachers are joined by Mary. Sermon 39, written on the Feast of the Purification of Mary, takes its *thema* from the *Book of Psalms:* "as silver tried by the fire, purged from the earth refined seven times."[36] The sermon presents the relationship between silver and purification from several angles: silver is presented as a metal that is purifying, that purifies, and that is purified. Accordingly, the figure of Mary also relates to purification in various ways:

not always easy to identify which text is being referred to. On the philological issues of the *Anatomia Ricardi,* the pseudo-Galenic *Anatomia vivorum* and the *Anatomia Galeni,* see: Baader, "Zur Anatomie in Paris."

34 Baader, "Zur Anatomie in Paris," 48.

35 One of these is the manuscript on which the edition referred to in Fotnote 49 is based (ÖNB Cod. 1634), in which a fourteenth-century hand attributes the text to Ricardus Anglicus. However, the original thirteenth-century text is anonymous, according to Baader. The other is a manuscript in Durham Cathedral Library, marked Ms. C.VI.4. Baader, "Zur Anatomie in Paris," 45.

36 Ps 11:7.

sometimes she is represented in the sermon by the allegory of silver as purifying, sometimes as silver already purified, and thus as a role model for the priesthood, also symbolized by silver.

At the beginning of the sermon, the preacher calls attention to a double purpose. The sermon aims to praise Mary and to educate the audience. The first objective is achieved by the exposition of the metaphor of Mary as silver. The sermon suggests that Mary spiritually possesses the good qualities that are naturally found in silver. The sermon highlights the blessed qualities of silver, such as its healing power and ability to cleanse from disease. It also refers to Dioscorides to illustrate the medical use of this precious metal. A glimpse of silver will stop palpitations; it is effective against bad breath when held by a newborn baby, and in powder form, it helps to stop itching.

The sermon compares these illnesses to sins. Palpitation signifies a wavering of faith. Bad breath is mockery or invective in speech. And itching of the body is the expression of lustful desires. And the remedy for these illnesses is Mary herself, who makes sins pass away by her good example: her unshaken faith, her silence, and her virginity. Mary is, therefore, a remedy, insofar as she cures sins by virtues that are contrary to them. The principle of 'healing with the opposite' is a common feature of medieval physical and spiritual medicine: one need only think of humoral pathology or the opposite of penances to sins (e.g., fasting for gluttony).[37] The author is thus referring to two medical topoi: the Virgin Mary as a healer and disease as sin (and cure as salvation). We have already seen the latter in Sermon 68, but there, the analogy was entirely based on the Bible. Here, however, the disease-sin analogy is underpinned by a Greek authority and does not lean on Biblical healing stories.

With the figure of the healer Mary, the sermon presents a popular theme of the late medieval cult of Mary. The image of the Virgin, who heals both body and soul, is parallel to the figure of *Christus medicus,* the doctor Christ, and can be described as *Maria medica* in some texts.[38] Indeed, in the stories about Mary,

37 On the relationship between the two, see: Anderson, "Medieval Medicine for Sin."

38 The idea appeared as early as the twelfth century in Christina of Markyte's *Vita*, but most of the texts cited as examples date from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See: Watt, "Mary the Physician"; Magnani, "Chaucer's Physicians"; Yoshikawa, "Mysticism and Medicine: Holy Communion in the Vita of Marie d'Oignies and The Book of Margery Kempe," 113.the Virgin Mary seems to have had associations with medicine that went beyond her more generally recognised associations with intercessory healing and with childbirth. One of the defining and distinctive qualities of women's visions in the post-Conquest period is the increasing importance of the role played by the Virgin Mary, and some of these visions illustrate vividly Mary's medical role. At the same time, the Virgin Mary was central to the everyday religious life of women in the late medieval household, and prayers to Mary and other forms of Marian devotion were connected not only to motherhood but also to healthcare more broadly. This essay

the Virgin's medical role goes beyond simple miraculous healings, and, like in the image of *Christus medicus,* the process of restoring health can be linked to salvation. In Mary's iconography, plants that were also revered for their healing powers often appear, and this symbolism has been highlighted in mystical texts, pointing to the salvific connections between Mary, Jesus, medicinal plants and medicine.[39] Sermo 39 also takes a broader view of Mary's role as a healer in the miraculous healing. Even if there is no specific reference to the eschatological context, it is striking that Mary reverses sins with her virtues far more outstanding than those expected of ordinary people. Not only does she help individuals to escape their sins, but she can neutralize sin itself by her superhuman merits. The preacher does not cite the example of sinners who were healed by Mary but draws attention to the moments in Mary's life that prove her virtue: that on Holy Saturday, she is the only one who, despite her pain, firmly believes in the resurrection of Jesus; that in the Gospels she speaks only seven—good and salvific—words; that the purity of her virginity not only surpasses that of all other women but that virginity as a virtue is directly derived from her. These qualities make Mary a remedy for sins and able to neutralize them. She does not make a one-off miracle, but she is a remover of sins: both a healer and a remedy for illness.

Sermo 98: gold, body, healing

The healing power of Mary and precious metals also appears in other contexts. Sermo 98, written for the feast of the Assumption, analyses Mary's place and position in heaven. The sermon explains why Mary is called queen, why she is placed at the right hand of Jesus, how to interpret the fact that she is dressed in gold, and who are those who surround her. The four divisions are elaborated in varying degrees of detail. The first two and the fourth contain only a few substantive remarks supported

explores the interaction of spiritual and physical health in writing by and about late medieval English women. It argues that the belief in Mary as Physician, in Mary as a doctor of medicine, in late medieval England was closely linked to, and indeed validated, the role of the woman as healer.The importance of Christ the Physician is examined in Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa's study of the connections between health of the soul and health of the body in the writings of the two late medieval European women visionaries, Marie d'Oignies and Margery Kempe. As Yoshikawa explains:The basis of this type of convergence between the Christian faith and medieval medicine is the concept of Christus medicus, or Christ the physician, which was firmly established during the Middle Ages. This concept dates back to the synoptic gospels where Christ was conceived as the physician of both soul and body. St Augustine (c. 354–430

39 E.g. Mechthild von Hackeborn's (1244–1299) Liber specialis gratiae or Henry of Lancester's (1310–1361) Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines. Yoshikawa, "The Virgin in the Hortus Conclusus," 20–31.

by a quotation from the Bible or from St. Bernard or St. Augustine. However, the third distinction includes a longer reflection on the relationship between the gold and the glorified body of Mary. The sermon uses the term "vestimentum deauratum" [vestment of gold] to refer to the glorified body, interpreting the body as the garment of the soul and the gilding as glorification. It then goes on to explain at length how the natural characteristics of gold represent the properties of the glorified body. For the analysis, the sermon draws on the doctrine of the 'nuptial gifts' of the soul and the body *(dotes animae et corporis),* which was extremely popular in scholastic theology in the early thirteenth century.[40] According to the doctrine of the *dotes,* the glorified, as the bride of God, receives seven wedding gifts for the wedding (i.e., the glorification), three of which are for the soul: insight *(visio),* love *(dilectio),* pleasure *(fruitio)*) and four for the body (purity *(claritas)*, subtlety *(subtilitas)*, agility *(agilitas)*, dispassion *(impassibilitas)*.

The sermon associates the four attributes of the glorified body with the attributes of gold. To analyse the characteristics of gold, it draws primarily on Isidore of Seville. Based on the *Etymologies,* he first explains gold's effect on silver: if a large stone is placed on silver, the silver resists the weight, while under a small piece of gold, it sinks and allows the gold to penetrate it. According to the sermon, this symbolizes the delicacy of the glorified body, that is, the gift of the body losing its corporeality and being able to penetrate other bodies.[41] Isidore is also the source for describing the perfect brightness of gold, which represents the perfect purity *(claritas)* of the glorified bodies. The characteristic that symbolizes the mobility of the body is also derived from Isidore's description of gold, which derives the word aurum 'gold' from aura 'air, light,' based on the property of gold that "when in contact with air, it shines more brightly than light."[42] This implies 'mobility' *(mobilitas),* in that the glorified body (unlike other corporeal things) can instantly grow where it wills, "faster than the wind."

40 The use of the metaphor of the wedding gift to describe the characteristics of the glorified body and soul became common in the last decades of the twelfth century, and in the first decades of the thirteenth century, there were also many works in which the glorification was interpreted as a wedding, in which God was the bridegroom, the glorified the bride, and the qualities acquired through the glorification were presented as wedding gifts (dotes). However, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the term 'dos' began to be used in legal texts more and more in the sense of 'dowry', making it increasingly difficult to interpret *dos* in theological texts as a gift given by the bridegroom. For this reason, by the middle of the thirteenth century, the wedding gift allegory had disappeared from theological texts. Goering, "The De Dotibus of Robert Grosseteste," 83–90.

41 Cf. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages*, 37–39.

42 Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages;* "Percusso aere plus fulgeat luce" (Petrovich and Timkovics, *Sermones compilati*, 209).

The sermon quotes Dioscorides for the symbolic interpretation of the fourth property, dispassion.[43] The quote says that gold has healing properties: when mixed with food, it removes leprosy, and when put in the mouth, it relieves bad breath. The healing power of gold is a manifestation of dispassion since dispassion also 'heals': it is a gift that frees the glorified body from all sin. Diseases, leprosy and bad breath, like in Sermon 39, also represent sins, but here, the individual illnesses do not correspond to specific sins; disease as such represents sin, the tendency to sin, and transmissible sin. Thus, leprosy and bad breath are not mentioned because the specific disease is important for the allegory. Only gold and its healing power are relevant to the parable, and the fact that leprosy and bad breath are mentioned is presumably because the source quoted says that gold cures these two diseases. However, it is also possible that the allegory was elaborated on in the oral sermon, and the preacher used concrete sins in the allegory when delivering the sermon. Leprosy, for example, was often used in medieval thought as a symbol for a whole range of sins,[44] and it was seen as a symbol of sins specifically related to physicality and sexuality.[45]

Thus, Sermon 98 does not use the medical metaphor as a central organizing element, as Sermon 39 does, but uses it to illustrate a sub-division. The preacher probably did not search for medical quotations intentionally but came across the quotations from Isidore and Dioscorides in search of a reference about gold, probably in a manual. It is not clear, however, whether the four references were taken from a single manual or whether the author of the sermon had a direct source in the *Etymologies* and came across the Dioscorides reference separately. If the latter is true, it also means that the author was well-read and took great care in compiling the section on the comparison between the golden and the glorified body. He had read not only the part on gold in the *Etymologies* but also the part on silver since the image of silver sinking beneath gold comes from there. In addition to Isidore, he also knew medical literature: either the *De virtutibus herbarium* by Dioscorides itself, or a medical manual or perhaps a lapidary, which quotes it (or at least attributes the passage to Dioscorides).

Sermon 131: An Accidental Anatomical Quotation

References on anatomical themes, however, do not only occur in the case of well-developed anatomical allegories but also appear as an exegetical tool. For example, in Sermon 131, written for All Saints' Day, anatomy occurs at only one point.

43 Although it is not yet clear whether the quote is actually from Dioscorides.

44 Sutcliffe, "Medical Knowledge in Thirteenth-Century Preaching," 57–8.

45 Cummins, "Attitudes to Old Age and Ageing in Medieval Society," 165. Brody, *The Disease of the Soul,* 107–46.

The sermon analyses the attributes of the saints and discusses what the saints' white garments represent. According to the sermon, the white garment indicates, among other things, that commemorating the saints brings tears to one's eyes and heart. The mention of being moved is motivated by a quotation attributed to Aristotle, which says that a bright white light makes the eyes teary. The author may have found the quotation when looking for the keyword "whiteness" or remembered the quotation about white light from his earlier reading on anatomy. In any case, the original context of the quotation is quite different from that of the sermon. I found the source in Book 10 of Aristotle's *History of Animals*. The book is probably not by Aristotle, although it does draw on Aristotelian texts (in addition to its Hippocratic sources).[46] Its theme is the causes and treatment of (mainly female) infertility. It was first translated into Latin from Arabic in 1215 by Michael Scotus; the author of Sermon 131 quotes this translation (directly or indirectly).[47] This is not surprising since the text was popular, judging by the number of copies and marginalia in the manuscripts, and, in addition to its interest in natural history, the annotators testify that the text was also used for biblical commentaries and sermons.[48] It may nevertheless have been included in the Pécs University Sermons through a mediating text. The quotation about white light appears in the *History of Animals,* where Pseudo-Aristotle discusses the secretion of the genitals during the sexual act, mentioning that other parts of the body also produce fluids when subjected to greater exertion—for example, the eyes water at the sight of a bright white light. It is unlikely, therefore, that the detail would have been used to illustrate the saints' innocence if the original context had been known; it is more likely that the observation, taken out of context, was taken from a collection of references or an encyclopedia.

IV. Conclusion

Medical metaphors in the Pécs University Sermons appear in a variety of ways. On the one hand, they are related to topos from biblical and ecclesiastical traditions. They evoke the allegory of *Christus medicus,* the physician-preacher, the good physician, the metaphor of the church as a body, and the topos of sin as a disease.

46 Rudberg, *Zum Sogenannten Zehnten Buche*, 9–25.

47 For the edition of Book 10, see Rudberg, 109–20. For a more modern edition of the *Historia Animalium* translated by Michael Scot, see Oppenraay, *Aristotle 'De animalibus'*.

48 Oppenraay, "The Reception of Aristotle's". This is true not only of the *Historia animalium* but of Aristotle's entire work on zoology. Sermon 85, written in honour of St Margaret of Antioch, quotes from Aristotle's *De partibus animalium* to show that the eye is the cleanest part of the body, as it is the most sensitive to contamination since Aristotle says that all animals close their eyes when something gets into them. This sermon also uses the Michael Scotus translation.

In Sermons 120, 129, and 68, the person of the healer activates the disease-healer model: Sermons 68 and 129 build on the idea that salvation is the removal of a bad state and the bringing of a better one; from this point of view, the clergy who promote salvation and the Saviour himself can be seen as healers. Their 'patients,' in turn, can reach salvation by following their instructions; achieving salvation requires adherence to instructions as much as healing. Of course, in sermons written primarily for clerics, the emphasis is on the task of the spiritual healer, and the patients are only implicitly mentioned. The figurative plane of the healer's reasoning, the medical profession, appears more explicitly in Sermon 120, in which the good doctor appears as a role model for Christians and preachers. In these sermons, the biblical topoi are often not associated with references from medical-physical literature: the texts invoke Isidore of Seville for their medical content.

At the same time, the scientific medical literature also leaves its mark on the sermons, which quote numerous texts on medicine and natural philosophy: Aristotle, Bernardus Silvestris, Constantine Africanus, Dioscorides, Plato, Pliny and the *Anatomia vivorum*. The sources range from ancient times to the thirteenth century, from medical manuals to cosmological poems. In addition to the diversity of sources, the rhetorical use of these sources is also varied. Sermon 81 presents an elaborate anatomical allegory (mixing the tradition of the political body with the biblical metaphor of the church as a body) and selects its references accordingly. In this sermon (which invokes the most medical authority), anatomical metaphor was the starting point to which the author added citations from anatomical literature.

In other sermons, however, it is not the medical analogy that justifies the use of anatomical quotes but the other way around. The quotation may have been primarily related to the metaphorical meaning in Sermons 39 and 98: the author found a citation about silver and gold, which happened to emphasize the healing power of the precious metals. It allowed the preacher to address the topos of sickness as sin.

Based on the sources on medical topics in the Pécs University Sermons, we can make important observations about the author's editorial behaviour. He uses the popular patterns and traditions of the time but often modifies them and creatively incorporates them into his sermons. He reflects on thirteenth-century trends in his use of natural philosophical, anatomical, and medical texts in theological argumentation. He treated these texts, even if he knew them through intermediary texts, as texts of authority, referring to their authors as authorities, and his audience could also be assumed to be familiar with ancient and medieval thinkers, who were important references in contemporary philosophy (but not necessarily in preaching literature). However, the texts quoted are not only from acknowledged philosophers, as the lesser-known *Anatomia vivorum* also appears, which both provides useful information about the genesis of the Pécs University Sermons and reveals

that the author of the *Sermons* did not regard the references as mere illustrations from an authority but considered the anatomical content itself worth conveying. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that in several sermons, we find a way of editing in which a medical quotation serves as a starting point for an argument and does not appear as an illustration of a biblical topos but rather as the very quotation that motivates the evocation of the topos.

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