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## References to St Augustine in *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* by Jan of Kwidzyn

### [Nawiązania do św. Augustyna w *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* Jana z Kwidzyna]

**Streszczenie:** W przedłożonym artykule cel badań determinuje łaciński rękopis pisma *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* Jana z Kwidzyna (ur. 1343, zm. 1417). *Komentarz* został napisany między rokiem 1399 a 1401 prawdopodobnie w Kwidzynie. Z punktu widzenia gatunków średniowiecznej literatury jest komentarzem teologiczno-praktycznym. *Expositio Symboli* składa się z prologu oraz 12 artykułów. W dziele jest *Tabula*. Celem artykułu jest wskazanie w treści średniowiecznego pisma nawiązań do dzieł św. Augustyna i jego myśli, a także źródeł pochodzenia tych nawiązań oraz celu ich wykorzystania. Ustalono, że Jan z Kwidzyna, definiując i wyrażając swoje poglądy teologiczne w *Komentarzu* stosunkowo często korzystał z fragmentów dzieł i myśli św. Augustyna. W treści manuskryptu istnieje około 80 odniesień do ponad 20 tekstów św. Augustyna w formie cytatów i parafraz. Niniejszy tekst ma innowacyjny charakter. Uzyskane wyniki badań wnoszą duży wkład w rozwój badań nad mediewistyką, poszerzając stan wiedzy na temat Jana z Kwidzyna jako znaczącego średniowiecznego teologa na gruncie polskiej i światowej nauki.

**Summary:** The investigations presented in this paper research concern the Latin manuscript of the *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* by Jan of Kwidzyn (b. 1343, d. 1417). *The Commentary* was probably written between 1399 and 1401 in Kwidzyn, and qualifies as a theological and practical commentary in terms of genres of mediaeval literature. *Expositio Symboli* consists of a prologue and 12 articles with an appendix. The paper aims to demonstrate how often the work refers to the writings of St Augustine and his thought and provides the particular sources of such references and their purpose. It has been established that Jan of Kwidzyn, whose *Commentary* is a vessel for his theological views, made relatively frequent use of fragments of the works of St Augustine and his conceptions, with approximately 80 references to over 20 texts by St Augustine in the form of quotations and paraphrases. The paper itself represents an innovative contribution. The findings of this study constitute a substan-

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tial addition to medieval studies, as they yield new knowledge about Jan of Kwidzyn as a significant medieval theologian in both Polish and international science.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Jan z Kwidzyna; św. Augustyn; rękopis *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*; nawiązanie; późne średniowiecze.

**Keywords:** Jan of Kwidzyn; St Augustine; *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* manuscript; reference; late Middle Ages.

## Introduction

Reflections on the significance of reason and faith, a certain autonomy of philosophy and theology, as well as propagation of the antique legacy, are encountered in numerous writings of the late Middle Ages. Seeking to characterize these writings as concisely as possible, one might say that they are a genuine “product of its times”, which may be examined today on many levels. Both at the time when they were created and became popular and now-when they can be studied in multiple aspects using modern techniques and tools-they constitute valuable sources of knowledge. What questions does one ask of manuscripts when embarking on research, and what conclusions are drawn from their analysis? These do differ, obviously, depending on the goals to be accomplished.

As for this study, its objective is determined by the Latin manuscript of *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*<sup>2</sup> (hereinafter also as *The Commentary*) by Jan of Kwidzyn (Johannes Marienwerder; Joannes (de) Marienwerder; Johann von Marienwerder). In terms of genres of medieval literature, *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* qualifies as a theological-practical commentary (Marias J., 1979). The author intended the work primarily for clergymen, as thanks to the volume, they would gain more profound understanding as well as an ability to interpret the meaning of the Creed (Borzyszkowski M., 1974, p. 11). Therefore, the work, as a whole, adheres to the theological-pastoral convention.

The work was chiefly used to expound the truths of faith during Mass, as it appears that the essential aim of *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* was its practical application so that the truths of God would reach the broadest circle of believers (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 128). The underlying assumption was that the work would be widely used for the benefit of the faithful. Such an approach resulted not only from our crisis of religiosity at the time, of which Jan of Kwidzyn must have been aware, but

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<sup>2</sup> Joannes Marienwerder, *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, Gdańska Library, Polish Academy of Sciences, ms. cat. no. Ms\_ 1977 (RPk 1977 Biblioteki Gdańskiej PAN), (Prologue, Art. I–XII, c. 8vd–79a); Jagiellonian Library manuscript 299 n. 163a 0 175b.

also from the general disposition of creative theological endeavours in the late Middle Ages (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 128). Marian Borzyszkowski notes that Jan of Kwidzyn himself substantiates the purpose for which *The Commentary* was written, providing theological justification to the disquisition in the invocation of the prologue (Prologue, c. 9d). According to the above translator of the prologue to *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, asserting that “the truths of faith concerning the Trinity, the divinity and humanity of God were epitomised by the twelve Apostles in one symbol, highlights the threefold manner of their treatment, namely: the truths of faith can be ‘believed in’, ‘comprehended’ and, finally, ‘spoken of’. Thus, the truth of faith contained in a symbol of faith may be subject to an act of faith that rests on the authority of God; it may also provide the foundation for understanding by way of human cognitive faculties; finally, a truth of faith may be “spoken of, in other words, adjudicated” (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 128).

Acquainting the reader with the doctrinal tendencies at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by elaborating on, e.g. the theses of voluntarism, moralism and practicalism, Jan of Kwidzyn’s *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* presented a new theology, which differed considerably from its scholastic counterpart (Borzyszkowski M., 1974, p. 61). The Pomesanian clergyman expounded his views on the theory of cognition and science, the concept of God and the ways to know the latter, as well as his interpretation of certain theological questions by drawing abundantly on the Holy Scripture as well as many philosophers and theologians, including St Augustine, Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and St Bonaventure. Thus, *The Commentary* offers a wealth of references to their works. It must be noted that the Middle Ages saw increased theological interest in the revealed truths of faith and a mobilization for the study of created nature based on the Scripture and patristic writings.

Apart from being a repository of knowledge spanning multiple disciplines, *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* by Jan of Kwidzyn became the object of inquiry due to the figure of the author himself (Kaliszuk J., 2010, 1081; Wenta J., 1994, pp. 288–289) as well as the fact that its full text has not yet been published in Polish<sup>3</sup>. The manuscript of *The Commentary* (except for the prologue and an anonymous 1485 print from Ulm, *Erclerung der 12 Artickel des christenlichen Glaubens*, which provides a translation of the work into German) has not yet been published critically in any modern language in the world.

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<sup>3</sup> This will change soon, because the work on the publication of the *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, translated into Polish, is already very advanced and will be soon crowned in print.

This study continues the legacy of research on *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* initiated almost 50 years previously by Marian Borzyszkowski. Its goal is to demonstrate the influence of St Augustine on Jan of Kwidzyn as manifested in *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*. The analysis will therefore seek to identify the passages quoted and establish whether they originate directly from the works of St Augustine. Consequently, it will become possible to ascertain whether the author of *The Commentary* cited them faithfully or perhaps intervened in their content. In addition, determining the place they occupy in the structure of the work will enable assessment of the extent to which Jan of Kwidzyn relied on excerpts from St Augustine to define and articulate his theological views in *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*. The research hypothesis assumes that the Pomesanian clergyman formulated them based on quotations from the works of St Augustine of Hippo. There are many references to St Augustine's texts in the manuscript, and this enquiry will attempt to estimate their number. This enquiry is thus likely to add to the current state of medieval studies and yields new knowledge about the author of *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* as a significant medieval theologian.

The method of critical analysis will ensure efficacy and unencumbered pursuit of the objective and enable eventual synthesis, having previously identified the content components. Subsequent conclusions will accomplish the objective and offer answers to the questions posed.

*The Commentary* undoubtedly had a substantial impact on the religious life at the time and perhaps even in the period that followed. Its importance may be evidenced by the fact that its copies are found in various libraries (mainly German). During the in-depth investigations on the writings of Jan of Kwidzyn conducted by Marian Borzyszkowski over 50 years ago, it was established that the manuscript probably closest to the original is kept at the Gdansk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (manuscript Joannes Marienwerder: *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, cat. no. Ms\_ 1977). The very manuscript served as the source material in research on references to St Augustine in *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* by Jan of Kwidzyn.<sup>4</sup> The Gdańsk manuscript is dated to 1401, and it is believed to be the earliest, as the majority of manuscripts whose locations have been established date from between 1430 and 1450.

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<sup>4</sup> The Krakow manuscript, held at the Jagiellonian University Library in Krakow, serves as comparative material whenever the wording of the text is doubtful (cat. no. 299, JU Library, Krakow). Both the Gdansk and Krakow manuscripts were chosen by Marian Borzyszkowski as the sources when he embarked on the translation of the prologue to *The Commentary* nearly half a century ago.

## The life and works of Jan of Kwidzyn

Jan was born in 1343 in Kwidzyn, the capital of the Pomesanian diocese. It was there that he is likely to have studied at the local cathedral school. Subsequent studies and the involvement of Jan of Kwidzyn in Prague falls between 1365 and 1387. Studying in Prague, Jan of Kwidzyn was a student of Heinrich Totting von Oyta, and remained on close terms with Mateusz of Krakow. He took part in university debates on the necessity of renewal in the Catholic Church, in which he adopted a moderate position. An important component of his views was openness to the concepts of *devotio moderna* which developed in Western Europe at the time. It should be remembered that Jan would have been well-versed in all the “novelties” as regards contemporary European trends and ideas, whether already popular or emerging, because he spent more than 20 years in Prague. In the latter half of the 14th century, Bohemia (and Prague, in particular) was central Europe’s hub of exuberant cultural and intellectual life. Prague’s intellectual milieu at the time was centred around the imperial court, the palace of the Bishop of Prague, the academia and the monastic centres, which provided fertile soil for new trends and ideas reflecting in early humanism, which saw early reception of antiquity accompanied by the growing awareness of the fact that reform in the Church was needed (Winter E., 1964, pp. 39–86; cj. Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 111).

The clergyman left Prague in 1387 and returned to Kwidzyn. After his profession as a priest with the Teutonic Order, he accepted the Pomesanian cathedral canonry, of which he became dean in 1388. The time after his return to Pomesania is considered a golden period in the activity of the ecclesiastic organisation there. During that period, Jan of Kwidzyn collaborated with prominent figures of Pomesania, such as Bishop Jan Mnich (Johannes Mönch) or Jan Ryman (Johannes Rymann) (Wiśniewski J., 2014, pp. 62–65). Jan of Kwidzyn was the spiritual guide (in 1392–1394) of Dorothea of Montau. The clergyman died in 1417, and was laid to rest at the Pomesanian cathedral in Kwidzyn (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 111).

As a graduate and later Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Prague, Catholic theologian, Pomesanian canon (Glauert M., 2003, pp. 486–494; Bishop R., 2020, pp. 101–117), Jan of Kwidzyn appears to be the most outstanding Teutonic theologian of his times (Wenta J., Hartmann S., Vollmann-Profe G., 2008). Until recently, he had been known chiefly for being the confessor of Dorothea of Montau (Ojcewicz G., 2016). The efforts of the Pomesanian clergyman to have her canonized became the main reason behind the previous studies concerning his figure (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p.113; Hipler F., 1864–1866, pp. 166–299). To some

extent, this also explains why the researchers paid less attention to other aspects of his work.

At this point, it is worth noting that Jan of Kwidzyn left behind quite a substantial body of writings, which spanned synodal sermons, preaching speeches, epistles, commentaries and treatises. Considering the questions he addressed in his writings, the latter may be essentially divided into theological writings, biographical-ascetical writings and the so-called doubtful writings, whose authorship he is attributed. The first group includes a paraphrase of the Pater Noster; synodal sermon *Expergiscimini Hodie, Anime Deote*; *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*; treatise *Beatitudines*; *Preaching Speeches on the Dead*; *Letter on the Value of Works*. The second, equally numerous group of writings comprises biographical and ascetical writings related to Dorothea of Montau, e.g. *Vita Prima*; *Vita Lindana*; *Liber de festis*; *Vita Latina*; *Vita Germanica*; *Libellus de vita, virtutibus et miraculis Dorotheae* and a chronicle recounting the activities of the Pomesanian Chapter, the surviving fragments of which were published by E. Strehlke as *Annales Capituli Pomesaniensis 1391–1398*. The doubtful writings include *Prayer Upon the Mass* and *On the Holy Confession* (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, pp. 122–144).

The above titles prove that Jan of Kwidzyn cannot be regarded as a marginal figure of the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, he is little known to Polish and international science, whether in history, philology or theology (to date, the life, scholarly works and undertakings of Jan of Kwidzyn have been studied, for example, by Franz Hipler, Georg Christoph Pisanski, Max Toeppen, Arnold Schleiff and Marian Borzyszkowski (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 112)). In recent years, studies have been developed on the subject of *The Commentary*, including Marek Karczewski on the topic of the Holy Scriptures in *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* and reflections on the work of John of Kwidzyn as a source of research on medieval theology and biblical exegesis (Karczewski M., 2021a, pp. 287–304; Karczewski M., 2021b, pp. 329–346). Given the person and his contributions, one might ask why still so little is known about Jan of Kwidzyn. A new, more comprehensive look at the Pomesanian clergyman will certainly change this state of affairs.

### Augustinian references

*The Commentary* was probably written between 1399 and 1401 in Kwidzyn, but its roots can be traced back to Prague, as works of this type were very popular in university circles there (Toeppen M., p. 190; Schleiff A.,

1941, p. 55; Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 126; Borzyszkowski M., 1974, p. 10). The exact date and place where the work was conceived and written have not yet been conclusively established. Hence, the most probable approved timeframe has been determined in line with the internal criteria of *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*. In the text, since the author mentions the immurement of Dorothea of Montau (1393) and speaks of the activities of heretics in Kwidzyn before 1399, it may be assumed that *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* was written in Kwidzyn in 1399 or even sometime later (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 126). In any case, the authorship of Jan of Kwidzyn is not disputed (Borzyszkowski M., 1968, p. 126).

*Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* consists of a prologue and twelve articles. The text is provided with a *Tabula*, i.e. an alphabetical list of contents. In the prologue (Prologue, c. 8vd–15vd) the author refers to St Augustine on eight occasions. In this preface to *The Commentary*, Jan of Kwidzyn cites such works as *De Trinitate* (Prologue, c. 9a; Prologue, c. 9vc), *De civitate Dei* (Prologue, c. 9a), *Confessiones* (Prologue, c. 10a) and *De Symbolo* (Prologue, c. 13vd).

In the first article (Art. I, c. 15vd–22vd), in an extensive commentary to the fragment of the Creed which asserts “Credo in vnum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre”<sup>5</sup>, the Pomesanian clergyman refers to Augustinian thought five times. In the fourth part of the first article, the author discusses “domini dei sublimitas cum dicitur omnipotentem”, quoting a fragment of *Contra Faustum* (Art. I, c. 18vc), while in the disquisition on the omnipotence of each Person in God, Jan cites *De Trinitate* (Art. I, c. 19a). Subsequently, “[...] dei potestas est eius uoluntas” was illustrated by an excerpt from *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* (Art. I, c. 19b), because “Deus wlt omnes homines saluos fieri id est nullus saluatur nisi quem wlt saluare” (Art. I, c. 19b). The author concludes the fourth part with a reflection citing *De civitate Dei* (Book 6), for “Justum est ut sic amnistret res quas condidit ut non infringant leges quas indidit et sic coope-retur rebus ut tamen eas agere proprios motus si[g]nat seu permittat (Art. I, c. 19vc). Finally, the article draws on St Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana* (Book 1) when it concerns the matter of God’s love (Art. I, c. 19vd).

In the second article (Art. II, c. 22vd–24cd) of *Expositio*, which explores “Et in Ihesum Chritum filium eius vnicum, Dominum nostrum”, the work of the bishop of Hippo is referred to by the author six times. The first Augustinian reference, “Tolle morbum et nulla erit causa medicine [...]” appears almost at the very outset, when Jan elaborates on the necessary

<sup>5</sup> Latin spelling of all quotations after the Gdańsk ms of *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* by Jan of Kwidzyn. Transliteration and translation (Polish) after bishop J. Wojtkowski.

medicine so that man can be redeemed by the Lord Jesus Christ after they have fallen (Art. II, c. 22vd). The grace of the union of the divine and human natures in Christ is supported by the passage from *De praedestinatione sanctorum* (Art. II, c. 23b), while deliberations on the Eternal Word, “deus est natura intellectualis et libere agens que seipsam actu simplicissimo semper intellexit et intelligendo se verbum produxit et sibi similem per omnia generavit” is supplied with a passage from *De Trinitate* (Book 15) (Art. II, c. 23vc). Further on in the second article, *De Trinitate* (Book 6; 15) is referred to three more times (Art. II, c. 24a).

In the third article (Art. III, c. 25a–27vc), the author of *The Commentary* discusses these verses of the Creed: “Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine” to reflect on the mystery of Incarnation of the Son of God and his birth from the Virgin Mary, in which he draws on St Augustine four times. The first two Augustinian excerpts are concerned with the incarnation; one originates from *De fide ad Petrum* (Art. III, c. 25vd), while the other is an Augustinian example, but Jan of Kwidzyn uses it to explain the nature of the incarnation without a specific reference to the source (Art. III, c. 26a). Subsequently, two passages are cited to clarify the matter of Mary’s virginity. Thus, the statement that “Virgo Maria virgo concepit virgo peperit et post partum virgo [[concepit]] permansit” is supported first with a reference to an unnamed sermon by St Augustine (Art. III, c. 26b), and then with a quote from *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* (Art. III, c. 26vc).

A further five references are to be found in the fourth article (Art. IV, c. 27vc–31b), i.e. “Passus sub poncio pilato, crucifixus mortuus et sepultus.” Here, the Pomesanian clergyman argues three reasons why the torments of Jesus should be regarded as the most disgraceful. He invokes the fact that the condemned had been brought to the place of the skull, that crucifixion was a most shameful mode of execution and that Christ suffered it in the company of evildoers. Addressing the theme of the most shameful kind of death, the author quotes Augustine, who claims that “hoc voluit dominus pati ut nullum genus supplicij homines propter eum perhorrescant” (Art. IV, c. 29a). Once again, Jan of Kwidzyn draws on the thought of the Bishop of Hippo when he meditates on the suffering of Passion which, although it culminated in the death of Jesus and separated his soul from his body, did not violate his Deity. According to St Augustine, “Anatema sit qui dicit dei filium naturam quam semel assumpsit aliquando reliquisse” (Art. IV, c. 29a). The next vital fragment, supported by a passage from *De Trinitate* (Book 4), begins the consideration of sacrifice and offering. Jan of Kwidzyn notes that “[...] quatuor in omni sacrificio sunt notanda scilicet cui offertur a quo offertur quid offertur et pro quibus”



(Art. IV, c. 29vc). Another observation of Augustine from *De Trinitate* (Book 13) is introduced into *The Commentary* where, upon the question about who compelled Jesus to suffer this, the author answers that it was his infinite love (Art. IV, c. 29vc). The final reference to the Bishop of Hippo draws on *De civitate Dei* (Book 3), where we read: “laudabiliter commemorantur in ewangelio qui corpus christi de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice tegendum sepeliendum que curauerunt” (Art. IV, c. 31b).

Almost twice as many references to St Augustine can be found in the following fifth article (Art. V, c. 31vc–35vd), which delves into “descendit ad inferna, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis”. When discussing Purgatory, Jan draws attention to fire as an instrument of divine justice. Describing its effect after Augustine, he cites the example of a salamander living in fire and the mountains of Sicily (Art. V, c. 32a). Once again, the author of *The Commentary* cites St Augustine and his *Contra Pelagianos* when considering Pelagius’ erroneous reasoning on original sin (Art. V, c. 33b). Further references to the Bishop of Hippo enhance the elucidation of resurrection with regard to its necessity, quality and truthfulness. In this respect, Jan of Kwidzyn refers successively to passages from *De Trinitate* (Book 4) (Art. V, c. 34a), *Epistola ad Enodium* (Art. V, c. 34b), *De Symbolo* (Art. V, c. 34vc), *Contra Pelagianos* (Art. V, c. 34vd), *De civitate Dei* (Art. V, c. 34vd) and *Epistola ad Felicianum* (Art. V, c. 35a).

In the sixth article (Art. VI, c. 36a–39a) of *Expositio*, concerning the words “Ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis” the name of St Augustine is invoked five times by the author. The first reference complements Jan’s reflections on Christ’s ascension “[...] ascendit in forma humana cum corpore et anima et cum utraque natura diuina et humana et secundum vtramque naturam” (Art. VI, c. 36a), whereby the author digresses, for example, into *De civitate Dei* (Book 22) (Art. VI, c. 36a). Once again, St Augustine is cited in connection with “de loci eminentia ad quem christus ascendit” (Art. VI, c. 37a). Jan also weaves the recollection of the Bishop of Hippo into his consideration of “structures” or, in other words, the division of the circles of heaven (Art. VI, c. 37b), particularly the Empyrean heaven. Finally, the sixth article refers to the Bishop of Hippo as the author reflects on the statement that “Christus sedere ad dexteram dei omnipotentis quia simul habet cum patre gloriam diuinitatis beatitudinem et iudiciariam potestatem” (Art. VI, c. 38vd).

The seventh article of *The Commentary* (Art. VII, c. 39b–46vc), i.e. “Inde venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos”, features seven references to St Augustine, the first of which are introduced by Jan of Kwidzyn to describe the events preceding the judgment. The author speaks of the lies, fears and horrors experienced by mankind before the day of judgement.

Thus, “Surgent pseudo prophete et pseudo christi et dabunt signa et prodigia magna ita ut in errorem ducantur si fieri potest eciam electi. Tunc veniet antichristus [...] Et ille sex modis decipere temptabit fideles” (Art. VII, c. 39b). These considerations are supplemented with two passages from *De civitate Dei* (Book 20,19; Book 3,4) (Art. VII, c. 39vc). St Augustine is mentioned once again when Jan of Kwidzyn explains how true and false miracles are to be distinguished. According to the author, “[...] discernuntur vera miracula a falsis [...] nam licet conueniant quandoque in materia differunt tamen ex parte principalis agentis ministri et finis” (Art. VII, c. 39 vd). Further on, another excerpt from *De civitate Dei* (Book 3,4) is employed to explain why God allows demons and their servants to act in such a fashion (Art. VII, c. 40 a). The subsequent reference to the Bishop of Hippo is woven into the answer concerning the form of Christ coming as a judge. According to Jan, he will appear “[...] in forma humana et gloriosa et in illa apparebit omnibus [...]” (Art. VII, c. 42vd). Further consideration of this issue is illustrated by reference to *De verbis Domini* (Art. VII, c. 43a). St Augustine is also mentioned in a passage discussing the presence of the accuser and witnesses at the Last Judgment (Art. VII, c. 44a), and he also appears in Jan of Kwidzyn’s reflections on mercy which, possessed of a spiritual and corporal form, should be shown not only towards others, but also towards the doer’s own soul (Art. VII, c. 45b).

In the following article (Art. VIII, c. 46vc–56vd), the Pomesanian clergyman devotes much attention to the verse “Credo in Spiritum Sanctum” and avails himself of the examples and explanations from the teachings of Augustine as many as five times. Here, *De Trinitate* (Book 7) is referred to explain the origin of the Holy Spirit who “[...] est nexus patris et filij quia est mutuus amor inter eos [...]” (Art. VIII, c. 47vc). Subsequent references are made by Jan of Kwidzyn to enlighten the reader as to whether the image of Christ should be worshipped in the manner of *latria*, in which he draws on *De doctrina christiana* (Book 3) (Art. VIII, c. 49a). The Pomesanian clergyman then focuses his attention on the Holy Spirit who appeared over the baptized Christ as a true dove and introduces a reference to a fragment in *De agone Christiano* (Art. VIII, c. 51b). Elsewhere, to explain the appearances made by the Holy Spirit, Jan of Kwidzyn relies on *De unico Magistro* (Art. VIII, c. 53vc). Next, *De Genesi ad litteram* (Book 12) is cited as the author reflects on the phenomenon of inner inspiration to comprehend divine revelation and thus to contemplate heavenly things (Art. VIII, c. 54a–54b). The eighth article of *The Commentary* also discusses certain aspects concerning revelation where *De Genesi ad litteram* (Book 2) (Art. VIII, c. 54vc) is quoted yet again. Furthermore, the mode and manner of divine revelation is affirmed to depend on the extent of

God's love; the assertion is illustrated with a quote from *De Trinitate* (Book 8): "Quanto flagrancius deum diligimus tanto cicius sereniusque uidemus [...]" (Art. VIII, c. 55a). Finally, the authority of *De Trinitate* (Art. VIII, c. 56a) is invoked in the context of God's ways of speaking.

No references to St Augustine are found in the ninth article, where the author of *The Commentary* considers the verse "Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam" (Art. IX, c. 57a–59a). However, there are six such references in the following tenth article on "Sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum" (Art. X, c. 59a–64b). First, Jan of Kwidzyn mentions St Augustine in his reflections on the saints who pray for us and can work with us through their prayers and merits (Art. X, c. 60b–60vc); the prayers of the saints, as well as one's own, do succour those who are in purgatory, albeit in a different fashion (Art. X, c. 61b). Here, the author of *The Commentary* takes advantage of *De praedestinatione sanctorum* (Art. X, c. 61b) and, further on, he refers to *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* when pondering the question of knowing who lent their help, which may be glimpsed through divine revelation, the manifestation of good angels, or the account of souls departed from this world (Art. X, c. 61b). One cannot fail to mention further references to St Augustine, which the author uses to explain the difference between mortal and venial sin, namely fragments from *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* (ch. 66) (Art. X, c. 63b) and *De igne purgatorio* (Art. X, c. 63b). Continuing in this vein, the Pomesanian clergyman considers grave sin, relying on *De duabus Animabus contra Manichaeos* (Art. X, c. 63vd), the last reference in the tenth article.

The eleventh article, devoted to "Carnis resurrectionem", also involves six references (Art. XI, c. 64vc–67vc), on which Jan of Kwidzyn draws to elucidate such issues as the truth of the resurrection, causality, quality, identity, as well as completeness, age, greatness and the incorruptibility of the resurrected. In this chapter of *The Commentary*, the first Augustinian reference is introduced to show that resurrection shall take place at dawn (Art. XI, c. 65a). Subsequently, Jan of Kwidzyn reminds the reader that the day of the resurrection—and therefore the day of judgment—remains unknown because the Lord has not revealed that date to anyone. In explaining this point, the author of *The Commentary* quotes a passage from *De civitate Dei* (Book 18) (Art. XI, c. 65a). Then, referring to Augustine without indicating a specific work, he observes that all those who claimed to have reckoned it and stated the dates are liars (Art. XI, c. 65a–65vc). In turn, *Epistola ad Enodium* is invoked to supplement the deliberations on universal resurrection of all humankind (Art. XI, c. 65vd). The final reference to St Augustine in the eleventh article is associated with the question of completeness of the resurrected, as Jan of Kwidzyn explains that "[...] om-

nes homines tam boni quam mali tam senes quam iuuenes resurgent in omnium membrorum integritate et sine defectu nature ac difformitate [...]” (Art. XI, c. 66b). Also, the author of *The Commentary* mentions St Augustine and his view of the resurrection of the ungodly to eternal rather than temporal punishment (Art. XI, c. 66b).

The references to St Augustine are the most numerous in the longest, twelfth article of the *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, which concludes the work. Specifically, his authority is cited on ten occasions as the author reflects on the final verse of the Creed: “Et vitam eternam Amen” (Art. XII, c. 67vc/68a–79a). It is already noted in the introduction notes that although “[i]n hoc articulo multa a doctoribus sanctis sunt scripta sed uite eterne gloria adhuc ualde imperfecte est expressa” (Art. XII, c. 67vc). The first reference to Bishop of Hippo is an excerpt from *De Symbolo* (Book 3), which states that “[...] ffacilius possumus dicere de illa uita eterna quid ibi non sit quam quid ibi sit” (Art. XII, c. 67vc). Continuing the theme of how great is that which is promised in heaven (cf. Art. XII, c. 68a), Jan of Kwidzyn draws on *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* and *De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* (Art. XII, c. 68a). Further on, Augustinian concepts cause the author to comment on the glorious body which, according to the Teutonic theologian is subordinate to the spirit, for Augustine says that “ubi uolet spiritus protinus erit et corpus” (Art. XII, c. 72a). Subsequently, the Pomesanian clergyman also refers to Augustine’s *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, in which the latter explicitly states that “virginitas est in carne corruptibili incorruptionis perpetua meditacio” (Art. XII, c. 73vd). *The Commentary* then draws on *Super Genesi ad Litteram* (Art. XII, c. 76b), as its author considers the benefits of uniting the soul with the glorious and flawless body “[...] perfeccior erit eius operacio quam quando erat separata” (Art. XII, c. 76a).

Ultimately, Augustinian thought comes to Jan of Kwidzyn’s aid when he compares the Seven Holy Gifts to the corresponding Beatitudes and illustrates his reflections with a fragment from *De sermone Domini in monte* (Art. XII, c. 77vc).

## Conclusions

Stating merely that one author cited another or their work, or that one work includes quotations from another piece of writing, does not seem exhaustive in terms of the knowledge it yields, but only indicates that an intertextual link has been identified. The phenomenon of intertextuality, understood as an intentional textual interaction induced within one text

and engaging another, is neither novel nor unusual in medieval writings (Głowiński M., 1986). The fact that literary works were reciprocally related and dependent had also been known and taken advantage of in antiquity. However, “comprehending the way in which a text operates by virtue of its connection with another, regardless of how it is evinced” (Górski K., 1964, p. 8) made it possible to clarify the role of interrelationships and dependencies between the analysed works. Thus, the investigation into how quotations from the works of St Augustine are “woven” into the medieval text as a deliberate interaction between the texts may require a more profound analysis of their actual role, but it enables one to determine that Jan of Kwidzyn did it for a specific reason. Thus oriented and applied, a detailed analysis warrants the conclusion that although Jan of Kwidzyn refers to St Augustine in his *The Commentary* using verbatim quotations or paraphrase, he utilises these passages as a means of conveying his own theological notions. He is perfectly conscious of what purpose they serve. Nonetheless, this paper does not examine the references contained in the work from a purely literary standpoint.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that Jan of Kwidzyn relatively often took advantage of St Augustine’s works as he defined and expressed his theological views in *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*. The Bishop of Hippo, in both philosophy and theology, was an authority for the Pomezanian clergyman. This is proved, among other things, by his knowledge of his writings. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that John of Kwidzyn omitted many of St Augustine’s views and supplemented them with the doctrine of the medieval Augustinians.

Altogether, the manuscript includes approximately 80 references to over 20 texts by St Augustine, either as a direct quotation from a particular work, a paraphrase of a passage or no more than an allusion to the thought of St Augustine without stating any specific source. Thus, *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* conveys the theological views of Jan of Kwidzyn using fragments from *De Trinitate*, *De civitate Dei*, *Confessiones*, *De Symbolo*, *Contra Faustum*, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, *De doctrina christiana*, *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, *Epistola ad Enodium*, *De verbis Domini*, *De agone Christiano*, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, *De igne purgatorio*, *De duabus Animabus contra Manichaeos*, and *De sermone Domini in monte libri*. It follows from the analysis that Jan of Kwidzyn most frequently drew on two works by Augustine, namely *De Trinitate* and *De civitate Dei*.

This study on the references to St Augustine and his works in *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* provides an accurately estimated number and lists the titles of the works to which the author of the latter referred. Fur-

ther research in this respect should be guided by the question of whether Jan of Kwidzyn's interest in St Augustine is only due to the relevance of Augustinian thought for theological reflections in the late Middle Ages. Alternatively, one should perhaps ask whether that the nature of that interest was more personal, having to do with his spirituality, whose new dimension—manifesting in the late medieval current of *devotio moderna*, for instance—foreshadowed the new times and ideas that the Renaissance would bring (Bielak W., 2002; Żukowska C., 2018). Answers to such questions are likely to be found thanks to further research on the work of that medieval theologian.

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