

In religious reforms, books and other forms of written communication play a dominant role, both for individuals as well as for groups. Covering the period from the late Middle Ages to the early seventeenth century, the chapters of this volume reflect on the use of books in religious reform movements and their impact on lay people and monastic communities. For those committed to religious renewal, books are the necessary and often enthusiastically welcomed vehicles for the transmission of religious reform concepts. They are at the same time often the objects of severe opposition and negative reactions in attempts at hindering or reversing religious reform for others.

The researchers make use of approaches from cultural history, book history and English studies, among others. Contributions range from theory and practices of religious reform with special regard to the interaction between the laity and religious orders in their search for models of 'good religious living' to research on the changing processes of communication from manuscript to print and their impact on religious renewal.

cultural history – kulttuurihistoria 16  
ISBN 978-952-68776-4-8 (nid.)  
ISBN 978-952-68776-5-5 (PDF)  
ISSN 1458-1949



# GOLDEN LEAVES AND BURNED BOOKS

## Religious Reform and Conflict in the Long European Reformation

edited by Teemu Immonen & Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser

**GOLDEN LEAVES AND  
BURNED BOOKS:**  
Religious Reform and Conflict in  
the Long European Reformation

---



Edited by  
Teemu Immonen and Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser

---

CULTURAL HISTORY — KULTTUURIHISTORIA 16

Published by the Finnish Society for Cultural History, Finland  
ISBN 978-952-68776-4-8 (PRINT)  
ISBN 978-952-68776-5-5 (PDF)  
ISSN 1458-1949

Finnish Society for Cultural History  
c/o Cultural History  
20014 University of Turku  
<https://kulttuurihistoria.net/>

© 2020 Authors  
Cover Henri Terho

Cover photo Teemu Immonen: Saint Radegund, stained glass (detail),  
the Church of Sainte-Radegonde, Poitiers.

Layout Päivi Valotie  
Printed by BoD, Hamburg.



## CONTENTS

TEEMU IMMONEN AND GABRIELE MÜLLER-OBERHÄUSER Introduction	7
I BOOKS AND THE CREATION OF 'US-NESS'	
PÄIVI RÄISÄNEN-SCHRÖDER Books and reading among rank-and-file Anabaptists in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries	25
MARIKA RÄSÄNEN Books of golden rays and ripped folios: Thomas Aquinas's book-relics in religious reforms	61
MERI HEINONEN Good examples for the sisters: books about St Birgitta of Sweden and the reform of Dominican nuns in Teutonia	97
TEEMU IMMONEN The pictorial hagiography of Saint Radegund and the Capetian religious reform in late thirteenth-century Poitiers	121
II MARKING THE BORDERS BETWEEN 'US' AND 'THEM'	
REIMA VÄLIMÄKI Old errors, new sects: the Waldenses, Wyclif and Hus in fifteenth-century manuscripts	155

THOMAS DEVANEY Countering the 'heretics': miracle books and Marian devotion in early modern Spain	187
STEPHAN SCHRÖDER Between pilgrimage and reform: Bernhard of Breidenbach's Travelogue to the Holy Land (1486) as printed paradigm, moral guidebook and mirror of princes	219
III ACTION AND COUNTERACTION: BOOK CENSORSHIP AND VIOLENCE	
EVA SCHATEN The role of pamphlets in church controversies in late medieval England	267
GABRIELE MÜLLER-OBERHÄUSER Physical and verbal violence: persecuted Protestant communities during the reign of Mary I (1553–1558)	295
SARAH STRÖER Concepts of violent language in inner-Protestant controversies in Elizabethan England	321
Authors	341

Old errors, new sects:  
The Waldensians, Wyclif and Hus  
in fifteenth-century manuscripts

Reima Välimäki

Introduction

The Hussite movement, formed around the teachings of Jan Hus (ca. 1370–1415) and other Bohemian reform-minded theologians, and which erupted into radical revolution in 1419, was “a magnificent ride” for Bohemians and a shock to the secular and religious authorities of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Although the Hussites, backed by the victories of their armies, were a new kind of dissident movement, severely threatening the stability of both the state and the Church, heresy was an enemy that the Catholic Church was accustomed to combatting. When the

<sup>1</sup> “The magnificent ride” is a description by a contemporary Bohemian chronicle, see *Scriptores Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 3, 73; cit. in Fudge 1998, 2. It is also the title of Fudge’s book. Much has been written about the Hussite revolution. Fudge’s monograph is a good starting point. A classic study in English, and still useful, is Kaminsky 1967. The standard work by Frantisek Šmahel is available in German translation, see Šmahel 2002; a more recent collection of essays is Machilek 2012.

fifteenth-century Catholics engaged in polemical exchange with the Hussite theologians over Eucharist, the authority of the clergy and papacy, freedom of preaching, or indulgences, they could build upon several centuries of canon law, biblical exposition and anti-heretical treatises commenting on these and other matters. Therefore, it is not surprising to find older treatises transmitted in the same manuscripts as the fifteenth-century anti-Hussite and anti-Wycliffite works. Often these earlier texts include anti-Waldensian treatises, in particular works written against the German Waldensians during the persecution of the 1390s.<sup>2</sup>

In this article I explore the common manuscript tradition of the anti-Waldensian, anti-Hussite, and anti-Wycliffite treatises in fifteenth-century Central Europe, and explain the reasons for the inclusion of older, at times outdated material in anti-Hussite compilations. The shared *Überlieferungsgeschichte*<sup>3</sup> of these texts is used to demonstrate the roles that refutations of the old and established heresy Waldensianism played in the attack on the new sects. In other words, the manuscripts illuminate the attempts of fifteenth-century clergymen to describe the new heresies, particularly Hussitism, based on what had already been written. In the manuscript leaves one can find a mixture of prejudice and defamation of enemies, as well as a will to understand the new challengers of the Roman Church in the light of its old antagonists. I propose that the image the late-fourteenth-century polemicists created of the Waldensians influenced the Catholic perception of the Hussites more than has been assumed.

The transmission and rearrangement of the texts in manuscripts is a parallel and complementary process to the borrowings, adaptations and transformation of literary elements, *topoi* at the textual level. An important

<sup>2</sup> For an overview on the persecution of German Waldensians at the end of the fourteenth century see esp. Välimäki 2019, 29–37; Modestin 2007, 1–12; Kolpacoff 2000, 247–261. Kieckhefer 1979, 55–73 is a classic, but now outdated.

<sup>3</sup> “The history of transmission”, see Driscoll 2010, 93; the *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode* of German philology, which intends to make the different historical layers of the text (*Textgeschichte*) clearly visible, is described in Williams-Krapp 2000. For an English overview of the method, see Garber 2003, 6–7.

strand in the late twentieth- early twenty-first-century scholarship of heresy has been mapping out these *topoi* of anti-heretical literature, studying how they were transferred to new heresies, and unmasking these literary constructions and thus deconstructing imagined sects.<sup>4</sup> Recently, a more pliant understanding of the anti-heretical polemics has emerged, and the polemical texts are again regarded as including some elements derived from the heretics themselves, at least in some cases.<sup>5</sup> The adaptation of literary elements contributed to the purpose of the anti-heretical text, but far from being haphazard, it was often selective and conscious.<sup>6</sup> Just like the writing about heresy, copying old works and compiling texts together was about propagating one's own position and demonizing the enemy, but it can also be seen as a process in which late medieval churchmen discerned and explained the reality of their age, which they experienced as a period of upheaval.

In this article, I suggest that there were two reasons why the Church manuscripts presented the Waldensians, Wycliffites and Hussites together.

- 1) A genuine wish to understand the Wycliffite/Hussite heresy in relation to the legal and theological tradition of the Church. The treatises produced against Waldensians included lengthy expositions on the points of doctrine under scrutiny in the struggle

<sup>4</sup> The starting point in this field of study has been the classic essay Grundmann 1976 (1927). Alexander Patschovsky follows this tradition in many of his publications, see esp. Patschovsky 1980; Patschovsky 1991; Patschovsky 1998. In the English-speaking world this approach was introduced above all by Lerner 1972; see also Moore 1976. An important anthology on the 'invention of heresy' is Zerner 1998; see also Brunn 2006; Chiu 2011. A synthesis of the late medieval imagined sects and the transmission of anti-heretical literary *topoi* to descriptions of witches is Utz Tresp 2008. On Cathars as an invention of the Catholic authors, see esp. Pegg 2001a; Pegg 2001b; Pegg 2016; Moore 2012; Moore 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Biller 2001b. See critique of Biller's reading by Modestin 2013, 224–225; see also Biller 2006; Sackville 2011, 39–40; Sackville 2016; Bruschi 2016; Välimäki 2019, 99.

<sup>6</sup> Sackville 2011, esp. 9, 175, 177; Välimäki 2015, 140–141, 149–150, 152. See also Kelly 2014, 938–939. Kelly points out that not all interrogations on heresy were set up to confirm existing suspicions, as in some one can perceive genuine attempts to uncover new, potentially heterodox opinions.



against Hussitism, above all concerning the authority, dignity and worthiness of priests, the possessions of the Church, and freedom of preaching. Thus they were a natural source of reference when the clergy was trying to understand and refute the new onslaught on its position.

2) The juxtaposition of Waldensians and Wyclif and Hus may also reflect conscious attempts to undermine the position of the Oxford and Prague reformers and represent them as indisputably heretical, reviving in their errors the “old” heresy of the Waldensians. Eleventh- and twelfth-century polemicists had done something similar when they referred to the dissidents of their times by names adopted from patristic sources, such as “Manichees” or “Arians.”<sup>7</sup> In medieval polemical literature the heretics were often portrayed as Samson’s foxes coupled tail to tail, in other words, essentially the same despite their apparent differences.<sup>8</sup>

The anti-Hussite literature has been extensively studied, and there are detailed accounts of different treatises as well as their manuscript transmission.<sup>9</sup> Here my approach to this substantial body of literature takes a different perspective from earlier studies, as it is based on a survey of the transmission of anti-Waldensian literature written in the 1390s. As stated above, these texts often accompanied younger anti-Hussite works and the texts attacking John Wyclif’s tenets. I propose that the threat of the Hussites ensured the popularity of anti-Waldensian literature, the most remarkable example of which are the circa 50 preserved manuscripts of the treatise *Cum dormirent homines*

<sup>7</sup> Often the ‘medieval Manichees’ had little to do with actual heresy, but were simply an academic idea, constructed for the sake of debate, see Chiu 2011, 494. Hussites, of course, were very real at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

<sup>8</sup> Grundmann 1976, 320. The bible verse is Judges 15: 4–5.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Hlaváček 1966; Soukup 2009; see the database Soukup, *Repertorium operum antihussiticorum*, on-line database, for a comprehensive account of medieval texts and a bibliography of modern research.

(1395) by the Celestine provincial Petrus Zwicker.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the descriptions of Waldensianism, particularly those written in the late fourteenth century, affected the perception of Hussitism more often than frequently assumed. Kathrin Utz Tremp implied an intimate relationship between these two heresies in the minds of fifteenth-century clergy in her introduction to an anthology about the last revival of German Waldensianism under the leadership of Friedrich Reiser, a Waldensian influenced by Taborite teachings. According to Utz Tremp, although we should not regard the “Waldensian-Hussite Internationale” of the fifteenth century as a wholesale invention of the contemporary polemics against heresy, we should pursue the idea that its origins lie more in the perception and representation of fifteenth-century heresy than in any actual exchange between Waldensians and Hussites.<sup>11</sup> The examples presented below demonstrate both this imagination and representation, but also manuscripts whose compilers obviously perceived a notable similarity between the doctrines professed by the Waldensians and the Hussites. It is not out of the question that some protagonists of the Catholic side were aware of real interaction between Waldensian and Hussite communities, a possibility that is discussed below.

This article is a qualitative study of selected manuscripts, not a quantitative analysis of all known fifteenth-century anti-heretical compilations. It does not provide statistics of the number of compilations including both anti-Waldensian and anti-Hussite texts in relation to the complete manuscript tradition of these works. Such a comprehensive analysis will hopefully be possible in the near future, as the library metadata of European manuscript collections is increasingly becoming available in machine-readable formats. This study offers preliminary conclusions as well as a historical and codicological basis for future quantitative studies. The manuscripts analysed are:

<sup>10</sup> The manuscripts are listed in Biller 2001b, 263–269. For more detailed and updated manuscript descriptions see Välimäki 2019, 262–289. On Zwicker’s treatise, see also Modestin 2013. See also the edition of that text in Gretser 1677.

<sup>11</sup> Utz Tremp 2006a, 16–17; Utz Tremp 2006b, 218.

Library	Manuscript	Dating
Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)	MS II. 1. 2 <sup>o</sup> 129	First half of the 15th cent.
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)	MS 336	1444
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB)	Clm 5614	1460s (?)
Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (NKCR)	XIII. E. 5	1427–1428
	XI. D. 8	After 1480
Salzburg, St Peter	b VIII 9	Late 15th cent.
Vatican city, Vatican Library (Vat.)	Palatinus latinus 677 (Pal. lat.)	ca. 1470
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)	MS 1588	1401–1415 / 1430–1432
	MS 4511	15th cent. (after 1415)
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB)	MS Guelf. 431 Helmst	First quarter of the 15th cent. / 1450–1470
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (BU)	I F 707	1420

My conclusions are primarily based on codicological evidence, mainly on the transmission of the texts in the same production units<sup>12</sup>, but also on occasional notes, titles or other paratextual elements of the manuscripts. In interpreting the medieval manuscripts, it is crucial to bear in mind that the proximity of one text to another is not a sufficient

<sup>12</sup> A set of quires that form a codicological unity, often marked by catchwords and a single sequence of quire signature, see Kwakkel 2012, 60–61.

reason to assume that they were originally meant to be together. It is often difficult to say whether different fascicules were first bound together in the Middle Ages or later, and if the former, whether it was done immediately after the composition or decades later. A composite manuscript, typical of late medieval libraries, may include a complicated genesis and complex structure, consisting of several production phases.<sup>13</sup> Among the manuscripts where I have found anti-Waldensian texts together with works refuting Wycliffites, Hussites or both, there are naturally codices that are simply general collections on heresy without any conspicuous programme or even any reason to assume common provenance of different works. In other words, at some point somebody simply decided to bind all the fascicules on heresy inside the same covers. An excellent example of such a later bundle is a codex in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel that contains in mixed order parts from three different copies of Petrus Zwicker's treatise *Cum dormirent homines*, excerpts from his inquisitor's manual, further excerpts from the thirteenth-century anti-heretical work by the Anonymous of Passau and scraps of fifteenth-century theological treatises, written by eight different hands in Austria and Northern Germany. Parts of the codex were bound together in the fifteenth century, and the rest in the sixteenth or eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> There are, however, plenty of manuscripts where these texts were either produced at the same time or bound together relatively soon after their production.

As my purpose is to analyse the influence of anti-Waldensian treatises on anti-Hussite literature, it is important to discern the different chronological layers of anti-Hussite works. I follow the chronology of Pavel Soukup, who distinguishes four thematic-chronological groups: 1) the Bohemian polemics of the 1410s; 2) writings from the Council of Constance (1414–1418); 3) the disputations of the Council of Basel in the 1430s, and 4) the documents from the time of Pope Pius II (1458–1464) and Georg of Poděbrady (king of Bohemia 1458–1471).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Kwakkel 2012, 58–59.

<sup>14</sup> HAB, MS Guelf. 431 Helmst, f. 1ra–48vb. See the manuscript descriptions Heinemann 1884, 336–337; Välimäki 2019, 277–278 and latest Lesser (forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup> Soukup 2009, 234.

A manuscript produced in Bohemia in the 1420s, at the beginning of the Hussite revolution, can be expected to represent a very different understanding of heresy from a compilation finished in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the radical momentum of the Hussites had already been stayed.

### The bohemian fury and the Waldensian pestilence

Before analysing the codicological evidence, it is necessary to present a brief survey of the fifteenth-century perception of the Waldensians, Wycliffites and the Hussites, and possible reasons why a connection was found between the different heresies. First, one should also note that the term “Wycliffite” in continental Europe referred to the proponents (imagined and real) of John Wyclif’s condemned ideas, usually Wyclif’s Eucharist doctrine (which denied the possibility of transubstantiation), the invalidity of the sacrament delivered by an unworthy priest, or Wyclif’s ideas about the Church deprived of its secular power.<sup>16</sup> There were many who had read Wyclif’s texts, which spread from England to Bohemia not long after he wrote them, and which were eagerly circulated there.<sup>17</sup> The label Wycliffite was used even before the Bohemian movement was branded as the Hussites, but even after that the term was commonly used to designate the Bohemian heretics.<sup>18</sup> As is often the case with

<sup>16</sup> On Wyclif’s thought on these matters, see Penn 2006; Shogimen 2006; Levy 2012, 78–86.

<sup>17</sup> On the transmission of Wycliffite texts from England to Bohemia, see esp. Van Dussen 2012. On Wyclif’s influence to the Bohemian reformation, see also Herold 1998; and Soukup 2014, 42–61, who sums up the discussion around the topic. See also Fudge 2010, 151–152, who is more doubtful about the extent of Wyclif’s impact to Hus.

<sup>18</sup> Soukup 2017 is the only proper survey on the nomenclature of the Bohemian heretics. According to Soukup, the shift from the ‘Wycliffites’ to the ‘Hussites’ was gradual. The latter term was used above all in the polemics of the 1420s. During the negotiations at the Council of Basel in 1430s, a more neutral term, ‘Bohemians’, was adopted. According to Van Dussen 2012, 118–119, churchmen outside England typically made little distinction between ‘Wycliffites’ in England and Bohemia.

heresy labels, use of the term was slack, and it is sometimes impossible to know if the suspected “Wycliffites” were genuinely influenced by Wyclif’s thought. When Georg von Hohenlohe, the bishop of Passau, accused “Wiklefiten” in Griesbach and Waldkirchen in 1410–1411, they may have been either Waldensians or dissidents influenced by Jerome of Prague (and thus indirectly by Wycliffite ideas), whom Bishop Georg had imprisoned in 1410.<sup>19</sup>

The fifteenth-century Catholic authors, including some of the most prominent figures of their day, saw a connection between earlier Waldensian heresy and the Wycliffite and Hussite movements they encountered. Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) wrote in his *Historica Bohemica* (ca. 1457), that the Hussites had “embraced the impious sect and madness of the Waldensians.”<sup>20</sup> The historiography linking the Waldensians, Wyclif and Hus had, however, emerged decades earlier. Kondard Justinger (d. 1438) explains in his *Berner-Chronik* how the Bohemians had adopted the Waldensian heresy, whose origins were in the Donation of Constantine. In effect, Justinger accepts the Waldensian historiography that dated the origin of their movement to the lapse of the Church in the times of Pope Sylvester. He also places “Petrus Waldensis”, John Wyclif, Jan Hus, and Hieronymus of Prague within the same continuum of heresiarchs.<sup>21</sup>

A little later, the Austrian chronicler and theologian Thomas Ebendorfer appears to have held a special grudge against the Waldensians, and he often presented Hussitism not only as influenced by Wyclif’s errors, but as a violent invigoration of Waldensian heresy that had previously remained secret. The *Cronica Austriae* tells us how in 1417 “the heresy of Wyclif started to gather much strength in the Kingdom of Bohemia”. A few lines later Ebendorfer explains how the

<sup>19</sup> Haupt 1890, 349–350; Schmid 2001. See also Fudge 2010, 148–149, who regards the accused as followers of Jerome.

<sup>20</sup> Piccolomini *Historia Bohemica*, Cap. 35, f. 21ra: “Impiam valdensium sectam atque insaniam amplexi sunt.”

<sup>21</sup> Konrad Justinger, *Die Berner-Chronik des Conrad Justinger*, 288–289. See also Matouš 1997, 368–369; Schäufele 2006, 239; Utz Tremp 2006b, 211; Utz Tremp 2008, 460–461. On the Waldensian’s own historiography, see Biller 2001a; Oberste 2005, 401–403; Tolonen 2015; Schäufele 2006, 221–230, 232–246.

Waldensians, “who had remained hidden up to that point, raised their heads” and started to lead people to their errors, first secretly, then by force of arms.<sup>22</sup> He also claims that the Taborite contempt for church buildings and consequently the destruction of churches and monasteries originated in the Waldensian practice of confessing in whatever available place.<sup>23</sup> In the 1450s Ebendorfer wrote that the “Bohemian fury” was in its contempt of Church and sacraments “infected by the Waldensian pestilence,”<sup>24</sup> and in his chronicle of German kings he praised the bravery of King Albrecht II (1438–1439, and duke of Austria from 1404 as Albrecht V) in the war against “Bohemians who are called Hussites, but more properly Waldensians.”<sup>25</sup>

How Thomas Ebendorfer became preoccupied with Waldensianism remains a mystery, but he could not refrain from adding a jibe against them even at the end of his sermon collections (*sermones de sanctis*).

<sup>22</sup> Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, 362: “Quo et anno [1417] inualescere cepit nimis heresis Wickleff in regno Bohemie – Ibi quoque sumpta occasione Waldenses, qui usque latuerunt, suas cervices erexerunt primum latentur suos inducentes errores, postea vero armata manu defensare et alios ad eosdem visi sunt compellere.” Ebendorfer also claimed that the sect of “Adamites” rose at the same time, going around naked, having intercourse “in the manner of dogs” and preaching that the innocent could not commit sin: “Surrexerunt insuper hiis diebus Adamite, qui nudi incedentes vagos coitus canum more <exercebant> predicantes innocentes peccare non posse.” Accusations of Adamitism, a form of antinomian heresy, were commonly levelled at radical Hussites. Although long considered to be a real group within the Taborites, these rumours were a fictional construction based on earlier descriptions of the so-called Free Spirit heresy, see Patschovsky 1998, 180–183.

<sup>23</sup> Ebendorfer, *Chronica Austriae*, 363: “multos eciam errores Waldensium assumpserunt, non in ecclesiis, sed ubicumque locorum passim conficiunt, ideo ecclesias et monasteria vastant.”

<sup>24</sup> Ebendorfer, *Catalogus praesulum Laureacensium et Pataviensium.*, 227–228: “qui odio inclerum inflammati omnia ecclesiastica sacramenta contaminant, sacras polluunt edes et ad nepharia queque prolapsi, crudelia queque inparis nature perpetrare non verentur, prout Bohemica rabies nostro infelici evo hac Waldense peste infecta luceclarius in suis operibus declaravit.”

<sup>25</sup> Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, 598: “sicut et in bellicis erat imperterritus, prout contra Bohemos vocatos Hussitas, ymooverius Walden(ses).” See also Ebendorfer *Chronica regum Romanorum*, 588.

In a manuscript copied in 1444, according to the colophone based on the sermons he preached at the University of Vienna, the last sermon Ebendorfer had preached was about sin and its satisfaction in life and in eternity. It ends as follows: “Alas, this is against the rustic *Baldenses*, among whom there is no learned man nor anyone declared through miracles, and who without reason deny [the existence] of purgatory. Let us pray to God etc.”<sup>26</sup>

Already during the Council of Constance Chancellor Jean Gerson had used the same device in his attack on Wycliffe and his followers, claiming that in their contempt for the ecclesiastical hierarchy they had tried to revive “the old error of Waldensians or the Poors of Lyons.”<sup>27</sup> In several other treatises written during the council, Gerson compares Wyclif and Hus to the heresy of the Waldensians.<sup>28</sup> Andreas of Brod, a Prague theologian that remained loyal to the Roman Church, wrote that the Hussite heresy included other heresies, above all that of Wyclif, but also those of the Free Spirits, Adamites, Luciferians and Waldensians. The Hussites also spared the other heretics when they destroyed the innocents and burned the villages.<sup>29</sup>

Even within the Hussite movement itself, divided between the moderate Prague utraquists and the more radical Taborites, Waldensianism was used to denigrate opponents. Master Laurentius

<sup>26</sup> Graz UB, MS 336, f. 250rb: “Ecce contra rusticos Baldenses inter quos nullus doctus nec aliquis miraculis declaratus, qui sine ratione purgatorium negant etc. Rogemus ergo dominum etc.” The colophon is at the same folio: “Finis est horum sermonum de sanctis eximii sacre theologie doctoris magistri Thome de Haselbach anno d. 1444 in quinta feria ante Bartholomei et sunt pronunciati in alma universitate studii Wienensis. Et sunt reportati per Johannem Gareysen protunc eiusdem universitatis studentem.”

<sup>27</sup> *De potestate ecclesiastica*: “hic enim fuit error vetus Waldensium et pauperum de Lugduno, qui per Wicleff et sequaces suos renovari quaesitus est, sed juste damnatus.” See Gerson, *OEuvres complètes*, vol. 6, 212.

<sup>28</sup> Gerson, *OEuvres complètes*, vol. 6, 286; vol. 8, 132; vol. 9, 449. Daniel Hobbins has suggested that Wyclif’s doctrine alarmed Gerson because it targetted the Church’s property and thus resembled the two old heresies of the Waldensians and Cathars, see Hobbins 2009, 13. I am, however, inclined to see Gerson’s primary point as the threat the Waldensians had caused to the ecclesiastic hierarchy, a threat he perceived as echoed by Wyclif and Hus.

<sup>29</sup> Kadlec 1982, 54–55.



of Březina, belonging to the moderate Prague party and writing the history of the Hussites in the 1420s, lamented that the Taborites denied the existence of Purgatory “with the Waldensians”.<sup>30</sup> Another example is a late fifteenth-century Bohemian manuscript. The bulk of it consists of the same Laurentius of Březina’s history of the Hussite movement, but it contains also a list of errors titled *Articuli de Pikardis* or *Articuli hereticorum Waldensium et decardorum* [sic].<sup>31</sup> It is indeed an adaptation and partial translation from Latin to Czech of the *Articuli Waldensium* and the *De vita et conversacione*, short descriptions of Waldensian doctrine originating from the circle of Petrus Zwicker in the early 1390s.<sup>32</sup>

There was real co-operation and assimilation between the two heretic groups, though when and where it began has been, and probably will remain, under debate. But at the latest from the second decade of the fifteenth century onwards there were regular contacts between Waldensians and Hussites.<sup>33</sup> When a Hussite priest, Johannes Drändorf, was captured, interrogated and condemned to burn at the stake in Heidelberg, two of his servants were captured at the same time. One of them, Martin Borchard, refused to swear an oath in a way that resembled the Waldensian denial of oaths, and under torture Drändorf

<sup>30</sup> Höfler 1856, vol. 1, 397. On Laurentius as a Prague apologist, see Kaminsky 1967, 366–367.

<sup>31</sup> NKCR, XI. D. 8, f. 94r–97v. The text is edited in Höfler 1856, vol. 1, 503–514. In the fifteenth century the name Pikards was used to refer to the radical group of Hussites following Martin Húska. They denied every form of real presence of Christ’s body at the Eucharist, and were defamed as immoral antinomians and condemned and persecuted by the moderate Utraquists in Prague as well as by the Taborites. The origin of the name and its usage is best described in Patschovsky 1998, 175–180. For the dating and provenance, see the description at the *Manuscriptorium*.

<sup>32</sup> Välimäki 2019, 168.

<sup>33</sup> In modern scholarship one finds interpretations that either maximize the possible interaction between the two movements, such as Gonnet and Molnár 1974, 211–249; Werner 1963; or that have a tendency to minimize and question every possibility of influence, see Cameron 2000, 144–150; Some of the proponents have also changed their views over time, see Fudge 1998, 37–41; For a moderate approach, see Machilek 2006. See also Doležalová 2013, 310.

confessed that he did not teach this to his servants, but “they knew it well by themselves.”<sup>34</sup> Because of this, Franz Machilek has assumed that the two servants had a Waldensian background.<sup>35</sup> Also in the documents from Johannes Drändorf’s trial, according to Hermann Heimpel, both the questions of the inquisitors and the answers formed a mixture of Waldensian, Wycliffite and Hussite opinions.<sup>36</sup> The actual trial documents, however, refer only to Wycliffite and Hussite heresy. Waldensianism is not mentioned, and it seems that the inquisitors were not preoccupied with it. The copies of the documents ended up together with anti-Waldensian material, as we will see below.

Hussite theology and the virility of the movement provided fuel for the last upsurge of the German Waldensians. The famous Waldensian-Hussite preacher Friedrich Reiser grew up in a Waldensian family and for a while preached and received confessions in the way of Waldensian brethren. He came into contact with radical Hussites and was subsequently ordained priest by Taborites. Eventually in the 1440s and 1450, after the decline of the Taborite movement, Reiser led a mission in the German regions that had formerly supported Waldensianism, appointing followers of his own and assembling a congregation before he was caught, tried and burned in Strasbourg in 1458.<sup>37</sup> Long before that some Waldensians could describe their beliefs in terms of Hussitism. Konrad Wasen, interrogated in 1430 in Fribourg, explained that “Our faith is like the faith of the Hussites.”<sup>38</sup> Wasen, who seems to have been genuinely aware of the Hussites and hopeful about their advance, was an exception among the Fribourgian Waldensians, who were barely influenced by Hussite doctrine by 1430. In fact, as Katherine Utz Treppe has demonstrated, fear of the Hussites preceded the Church’s persecution of the Waldensians in Fribourg.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Heimpel 1969, 85, 98. See also Machilek 1997, 277; Machilek 2006, 290.

<sup>35</sup> Machilek 1997, 277; Machilek 2006, 290.

<sup>36</sup> Heimpel 1969, 20, 43–51.

<sup>37</sup> The most recent overview on Friedrich Reiser’s life and career is Schneider 2006.

<sup>38</sup> “Fides nostra est idem sicut fides Hussitarum.” Utz Treppe 2000, nr. 105.

<sup>39</sup> Utz Treppe 2006b, 211–215; Utz Treppe 2008, 460–464.

The question remains as to whether the actual interaction between the Waldensians and the Hussites had any influence on the Catholic descriptions of these heresies. In other words, did the writers quoted above possess knowledge that there were Waldensians joining the Hussite cause? Or was it mere superficial similarity of certain doctrines that led the polemicists and chroniclers to posit this connection? Or was it simply their wish to maliciously slander the Church's opponents? These are the questions I will attempt to answer in the light of the manuscript evidence in the remainder of this article.

### The Waldensians, Wycliffites and Hussites on the manuscript leaves

Let us start with a codex that in the fifteenth century belonged to the parish priest Martin of Plana in southern Bohemia. The manuscript was produced in the middle of the Hussite Revolution in 1428, albeit not in Plana but in Eger (the present day Cheb in Western Bohemia, near the Bavarian border), and it is today among the collections of the Czech National Library.<sup>40</sup> Martin certainly belonged to the Roman-minded clergy in Hussite Bohemia. The manuscript contains several early works against Hus and his followers, including, for example, an anonymous treatise against Jacobellus of Mies' (Jakoubek ze Stříbra) articles of communion *sub utraque*, written probably in 1417 (f. 60v–79r) as well as Mařík Rvačka's treatise on the same topic, written at the Council of Constance in 1417 (99v–108v), which is followed by the condemnation of Wyclif's article's from the same council (109r–153r). After Wyclif's articles comes the *Cum dormirent homines* (153v–183v), a treatise by Petrus Zwicker against the Waldensians, written in the same hand as the bulk of the manuscript. Zwicker's treatise is in no way a minor work relegated to the middle of the manuscript, as Martin of

<sup>40</sup> NKCR, XIII. E. 5. For the dating and the place of the origin, see the colophons, esp. after the *Cum dormirent homines*, f. 183v. See also the manuscript descriptions, Truhlář 1906, 237; Välimäki 2019, 282 and the online repository *Manuscriptorium*.

Plana listed it among the nine selected works he included in the list of contents, written inside the front cover of the manuscript. Here the *Cum dormirent homines* is characterized as “a beautiful and useful refutation of Waldensian heretics.”<sup>41</sup>

How was the treatise useful? There are not many marginal notations that would reveal that, but there is one extremely interesting later addition. In the middle of the chapter treating the necessity of obedience to all priests, even to those living in sin, somebody, possibly Martin of Plana, has added a small leaflet written by a later hand.<sup>42</sup> The leaflet is titled “De obedientia” and it is simply a collection of biblical and patristic authorities supporting the position defended by Zwicker in his treatise, that one must be obedient towards one’s superiors whatever their conduct. It is especially notable that the addition includes patristic authors, because these are completely absent from Zwicker’s treatise, which is characteristically biblical in its argumentation.<sup>43</sup>

There is another short text on Waldensians that has been added to the manuscript, ostensibly after its completion. It has 39 articles of Waldensian errors, but not based on the *Cum dormirent homines*. Ernst Werner edited these and correctly recognised that they have more in common with the description of the Waldensians in Pseudo-David of Augsburg’s *De inquisitione hereticorum*, written in the mid-thirteenth century. The 39 articles include some dualist tenets, for example total prohibition of killing animals, that are completely absent in the late fourteenth-century description of Waldensianism.<sup>44</sup> Werner took the colophon to mean that these articles were written in 1428, but it is obvious that they are later; the colophon refers to the completion of *Cum dormirent homines*,<sup>45</sup> and a later hand has written down the articles. Although presenting very different views on Waldensian doctrine,

<sup>41</sup> NKCR, XIII. E. 5, front cover, inside: “Item reprobacio pulcra et utilis waldensium hereticorum.”

<sup>42</sup> NKCR, XIII. E. 5, f. 159r–v.

<sup>43</sup> On Zwicker’s biblicism, see Biller 2001b, 240, 245, 259, 261, 274; Segl 2006, 185; Modestin 2013, 218, 221–222; Välimäki 2019, 64–103.

<sup>44</sup> Werner 1963, 217–219, 275–276.

<sup>45</sup> NKCR, XIII. E. 5, f. 183v: “Anno domini M°cccc xxviii° finita est reprobacio waldensium hereticorum in Egra feria secunda in vigilia Epiphaniae domini Amen.”

these two texts together demonstrate that the fifteenth-century clergy combatting the Hussites also read, commented on and added to texts on Waldensians.

The thirteenth-century treatise *De inquisitione hereticorum* is not the earliest text on Waldensians that was transmitted together with Hussitica. MS 4511 of the Austrian National Library contains the *De fide catholica contra hereticos sui temporis* by Alan of Lille (f. 113r–158v), a text written in 1199–1202 and considered to be the first full-scale anti-heretical polemic of the high middle ages and a model for later authors.<sup>46</sup> After that comes a more contemporary text, a summary of Zwicker's *Cum dormirent homines*. (f. 159r–160v.) A peculiarity of this manuscript is that the great majority of it is not anti-Hussite, but includes the writings of Hus, above all his extensive *Tractatus de ecclesia*. (f. 1r–100v), and another central figure of the early Hussite movement, Jacobellus of Mies' (Jakoubek ze Stříbra) (*Tractatus de communione sub utraque specie*) (f. 173r–178v). The manuscript belonged to the University of Prague (Carolinum) till it was “borrowed” by Kaspar von Niedbruck in the 1550s and taken to Vienna.<sup>47</sup> The provenance explains the works of Hus, but the inclusion of Alain of Lille and the summary of Zwicker's treatise remain something of a mystery. The binding is fifteenth-century, so the anti-Waldensian works were bound in the middle of the period of Hussite theology in the Middle Ages.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, it is an apt reminder that the anti-heretical treatises had long afterlives, and that a

<sup>46</sup> Sackville 2011, 13; Vasoli 1963; Wakefield 1967.

<sup>47</sup> ÖNB, Description of MS 4511.

<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately I have not been able to survey the actual manuscript to be able to say anything about its codicological features.

twelfth- or thirteenth-century text could well occupy a place with works of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup>

The first example, the compilation in possession of the priest Martin in Bohemia, was compiled in the immediate vicinity of the Hussite armies preparing to advance against their enemies.<sup>50</sup> The alarm they raised was felt far and wide, and its echoes can be found in MS 1588 of the Austrian National Library. Compared to the usual fifteenth-century theological compilations from monastic libraries, where the texts on heresy are usually transmitted, this medium size (247 x 172 mm) manuscript is a luxurious example, written on parchment and in a careful fifteenth-century gothic/bastarda bookhand (or by two different hands). It consists of three fascicles, commissioned by two bishops of Ermland in Eastern Prussia. The first part of the manuscript has a treatise against the Greeks by Bartholomeus Constantinopolitanus, a thirteenth-century Dominican friar, and it belonged to Bishop Heinrich IV Heilsberg von Vogelsang, so it was acquired between 1401 and 1415. The second treatise of the manuscript is *Tractatus contra quattuor*

<sup>49</sup> Another example of a compilation containing texts of different age is Vat. Pal. lat. 677. Copied ca. 1470 by an otherwise unknown scribe, Reonaldus Regel de Ingolstadt, it forms one continuous production unit. The texts included are:

1r–40v The Anonymous of Passau (Pseudo-Reinerius Sacconi) “Liber hereticorum”

41r–42v “Articuli magistri Iohannis Wiclef condempnati”

43r–106r “Processus domini petri de ordine celestinorum inquisitoris hereticorum etc.”

The first piece is a treatise from the 1260s (Pseudo-Reinerius), followed by Wyclif’s condemned articles. The articles are claimed to be those condemned by English clergy in 1382, f. 41r: “Articuli magistri Iohannis Wiclef condempnati in Anglia per xiii episcopos et xxx magistros in theologia. in Conuentu fratrum predicatorum anno domini 1380 [sic]”, but the list is in fact a version of the 45 articles condemned at the Council of Constance. The last work is the *Cum dormirent homines* treatise written by the inquisitor Petrus Zwicker in 1395, included with inquisitorial material from the 1390s. The compilation thus combines anti-heretical works of the 1260s, 1390s and 1410s. On the Pseudo-Reinerius redaction of the Anonymous of Passau, see Nickson 1967.

<sup>50</sup> On the offensive phase of the Hussite movement and their military expeditions from 1426 onwards, see Šmahel 2002, vol. 2, 1408–1496.

*articulos Hussitarum*, written by Peter von Pulkau (Petrus de Pulka) with the help of Bartholomäus Frowein von Ebrach (Bartholomeus de Ebraco) and Giacomo da Chiavari (Jacobus de Clavaro) in Vienna in 1423/1424.<sup>51</sup> It is an important work, but so far unedited. The last treatise is against Waldensians and titled *Contra errores waldensium*. It is the *Refutatio errorum* written by the German inquisitor Petrus Zwicker. To be precise it is the longest and most common redaction of this work, which likewise lacks a complete edition.<sup>52</sup> The last two treatises were copied circa twenty years later than the first fascicule, in 1432 and 1430. They were commissioned by Franz Kuhschmalz, bishop of Ermland (1424–1457).

These manuscripts were perhaps not in one codex in the fifteenth century, for the binding is early modern. But they most certainly were in the same library. In any case it is the last two treatises, acquired most likely by the same bishop from the same source, that are of interest for the present article. Again, it is no wonder that a Prussian bishop, who had also studied in Prague (1412) and in Vienna (1414/1415),<sup>53</sup> ordered a treatise against the Hussites by Viennese theologians. There is even a specific phase in the history of the Hussite wars that may have caused the impetus for the acquisition of a polemical work against Hussites in the lands of Teutonic Order. In 1431–1432 the Polish king Wladislas Jagiello and the Hussites approached each other for talks. They even formed a military union, to the dismay of Catholic princes and especially the Teutonic Order. The fear was not unfounded, as the combined Polish-Hussite army attacked the Order in 1433.<sup>54</sup>

For the *Refutatio errorum* there is no similar obvious reason. Although there were Waldensians on the shores of the Baltic Sea, especially in Brandenburg and Pomerania,<sup>55</sup> there are no traces of persecutions in the diocese of Ermland. An interesting coincidence is that the author

<sup>51</sup> On this treatise, see Soukup 2009, 244–245.

<sup>52</sup> On the *Refutatio errorum*, its redactions and its attribution to Petrus Zwicker, see Välimäki 2019, 39–64.

<sup>53</sup> On Franz Kuhschmalz's career, see Karp 2001.

<sup>54</sup> Kras 2004, 276.

<sup>55</sup> Kurze 1968; Kurze 2006; The forthcoming Brill Companion to the Christian Tradition: *The Waldenses*, ed. M. Benedetti and E. Cameron will have a chapter on Waldensians by the Baltic by Peter Biller.

of the treatise, Petrus Zwicker, was born in Wormditt (Orneta), not far from Ermland's diocesan see in Heilsberg. A coincidence is just what it is, however, as Zwicker did his literary work in Austria and possibly at his home monastery Oybin on the border of Bohemia and Upper Lusatia. It must have been interest in the Waldensians that motivated the reproduction of the *Refutatio errorum*. The manuscript in question is no random fascicle that had simply ended up in the library, but a pricy, carefully made copy specifically ordered by the bishop himself.<sup>56</sup> Worth noting also is that even though the Hussites were the pressing danger in the 1420s and 1430s, it was the work on the Waldensians that was first acquired, followed only later by the treatise against the Four Articles.

The trial of Johannes Drändorf in Heidelberg in 1425 was discussed above as one of the possible occasions when former Waldensians joined the cause of the Hussites. The actual trial documents do not mention the Waldensians, but in two manuscripts, one in the University Library of Augsburg and the other in Erzabtei St Peters in Salzburg,<sup>57</sup> the documents were transmitted in a compilation aimed against Wyclif, the Hussites and the Waldensians. The compilations are almost identical in their content, including:

1. *De immunitate clericorum* (unedited).
2. Inquisition against Johannes Drändorf (1425).<sup>58</sup>
3. Errors of John Wyclif condemned at the Council of Constance.<sup>59</sup>
4. Petrus de Alliaco: *Conclusiones de communione sub utraque specie*. (Against Jakoubek ze Stríbra, 1415).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> ÖNB MS 1588, f. 211v: "Hunc librum scribi fecit dominus *Franciscus episcopus* [diocese invisible, also the name scraped off] Anno domini M° cccc<sup>mo</sup> xxx."

<sup>57</sup> Augsburg UB, MS II. 1. 2° 129, f. 121r–152v; Salzburg, St Peter, b VIII 9, f. 284r – 307v. See the descriptions of the manuscripts, Hilg 1999, 127–137; Jungwirth 1910–1912, vol 4. Välimäki 2019, 271, 274.

<sup>58</sup> Edited in Heimpel 1969, 68–96.

<sup>59</sup> Edited in Hardt 1696, vol. 3, 168–211. The manuscripts have a significantly abbreviated version compared to the edited text.

<sup>60</sup> Hardt 1696, vol. 3, 586–592. Again, the text in the manuscripts has been abbreviated.



5. *De efficientia orationis* (continuation to the previous text).
6. Petrus Zwicker: *Processus Petri* compilation against the Waldensian heresy, including the polemical treatise *Cum dormirent homines*.<sup>61</sup>

In both manuscripts the compilation is one production unit. The Augsburg codex is older, probably produced quite soon after the trial of Drändorf, while the Salzburg manuscript is younger, copied in the 1440s or after. It is quite likely a copy, albeit not necessarily a direct copy, from the older manuscript. The inclusion of the anti-Waldensian polemic in this compilation does not automatically mean that the compiler was aware that some of Drändorf's followers were probably Waldensians. It is, however, quite possible that the compiler considered that Zwicker's treatise was as relevant for the refutation of Drändorf's errors as the anti-Wyclif and anti-Hussite texts.

The common transmission of anti-Waldensian and anti-Hussite works did not stop in the 1430s, but continued in the last stage of the anti-Hussite literature, that is texts produced during the reign of George of Poděbrady. In a theological compilation that once belonged to the Augustinian canons in Diessen, Bavaria, there is a production unit including three texts on heresy, written by one scribe, *frater* Johannes Dorum, in 1469.<sup>62</sup> The first text is an anonymous letter to Jan Hus against his errors, written in 1414 or 1415 and known as *Eloquenti viro*.<sup>63</sup> The second is titled "Obuiaciones contra hereticos waldensium" and it is Zwicker's *Cum dormirent homines*.<sup>64</sup> By contrast, the third text is contemporary, having the title "Positionis contra Rockizanam".<sup>65</sup> It is

<sup>61</sup> The different versions of the *Processus Petri* have been collated in Välimäki 2019, 106–116.

<sup>62</sup> BSB Clm 5614, f. 247r–297v.

<sup>63</sup> BSB Clm 5614, f. 247ra–60rb. Ed. Hardt 1696, vol. 3, 338–393. For the dating, see Soukup, *Repertorium operum antibussiticorum*, on-line database. Ondřej z Brodu (Andreas de Broda) is a possible author, but the authorship of the work remains contested.

<sup>64</sup> BSB Clm 5614, f. 260va–284ra. There is a colophon at f. 284ra: "Expliciu[n]t obuiaciones sacre scripture errorum waldensium anno d. m. cccc° xliiii° [1444]". This is either a mistake or the date of the exemplar Johannes Dorum used. The *Cum dormirent homines* is copied in the same fascicle between the two works dated 1469.

<sup>65</sup> BSB Clm 5614, f. 284va–297va.

a description of the debate between the Utraquist archbishop of Prague, Jan Rokycana, and the Catholic party of the Bohemian Church, held in 1465 under the auspices of the king of Bohemia, George of Podébrady (the manuscript has the year 1464),<sup>66</sup> which is only four years before the fascicule was finished.

It is notable that the last text is a description of events that were by no means over when the fascicule was copied in 1469. Jan Rokycana was still alive and archbishop of Prague, and the conflict between (moderate) Utraquists and Catholics remained unresolved.<sup>67</sup> The function of the earlier treatises, on their behalf, appears to be to provide doctrinal and/or historical background for the contemporary debates. At the same time they place the Utraquist Jan Rokycana in the continuum of heresiarchs, an impression that was certainly in the interest of the Bavarian Augustinian canons, who were the probable readership of the compilation.

### Different sects, same enemy

When the historians and theologians referred to the Waldensian roots of the Hussite heresy, it was often in a rather vague polemical sense. In contrast, the examples above have demonstrated that anti-Waldensian treatises were copied together with anti-Hussite and anti-Wycliffite works at least from the 1420s to the 1460s, and that these compilations were usually theological. They may be polemical, but they nevertheless imply that it was somehow the doctrinal similarity, for example attacks on the position of the clergy, which caused the inclusion of the anti-Waldensian treatises in these collections.

To conclude, I bring up one more example from the beginning of the Hussite revolution in 1420. It demonstrates that at this date a Bohemian Catholic priest hardly distinguished between the Waldensians, the Wycliffites and the Hussites. The manuscript is an anti-Hussite

<sup>66</sup> Heymann 1959, 256; see the edition of the text Canisius and Basnage 1725, 753–775.

<sup>67</sup> Heymann 1959, 256.

compilation by a parish priest and bachelor of theology, Jiří of Těchnic (Georgius de Tyechnicz), who also composed some of the texts. The note inside the back cover explicitly states that part of the manuscript has been compiled in 1420 against the “heresiarchs of Constance”.<sup>68</sup> However, the compilation starts, not with a text against John Wyclif or Jan Hus, but with Petrus Zwicker’s *Cum dormirent homines*. At the start of the treatise, Jiří wrote a short prologue, where he stated that he had considered and read through the careers of heresiarchs, first those of Waldensians, then many others including “Wycliffites, Hussites, Copts, Nicolaytans, Arians” and so on, “whose names it was not possible to include here, and so I accepted the above-mentioned Waldensians and did under their name as much as it seemed [necessary?] to me.”<sup>69</sup> After the *Cum dormirent homines* and a short excerpt from the *Refutatio*

<sup>68</sup> Wrocław BU, I F 707, back cover: “Anno domini M° cccc° xx° eciam Collecta contra heresiarchas Constancienses per multos doctores vbi interfui compilacionibus.”

<sup>69</sup> Wrocław BU, I F 707, f, 122ra: “Ego tantillus considerans et perlegens omnes cursus heresiarcharum primo Waldensium et aliorum plurimorum hereticorum scilicet wycleficcorum, hussitarum, Coptorum, nicolaytarum, arrianorum, yssmitarum, casiudeopotarum, duplicium, Georgianorum, Machometarum, plurimorum aliorum quos transcuri perlegi quorum hic nomina contineri non possint et sic accepi predicto waldenses feci sub horum nomine quantum mihi videbatur.”

*errorum* several early anti-Wycliffite and anti-Hussite works follow, some of them written by Jiří of Těčnic himself.<sup>70</sup>

Jiří's preoccupation with the Waldensians did not end with the reproduction of the *Cum dormirent homines*. He also wrote a short tract against the Waldensians. It starts with a list of their errors that is based on the *Articuli Waldensium* formulated in the 1390s.<sup>71</sup> After the list Jiří gives his own, short refutation of the Waldensian doctrines, primarily on the question of whether laymen should be allowed to preach. The text proceeds as an imagined disputation between Catholic and heretical proponents. In the middle of the text a revealing lapse takes place. Suddenly, it is no longer a Waldensian but a "wyklephysta" who proclaims that the divine mission (of laymen) must not be proven by miracles, because "according to Gregory [the Great] signs are given to infidels, I have the Scripture for me."<sup>72</sup> For Jiří of Těčnic the Waldensians and the followers of Wyclif and Hus were thus essentially the same.

<sup>70</sup> Wrocław BU, I F 707, f. 122ra–153vb, *Cum dormirent homines*; 154ra, *Refutatio errorum*, an excerpt from the first chapter; 154ra–156vb, Jiří of Těčnic, treatise on ecclesiastical privileges (obedience, tithes, interdict), unedited; 156vb–164ra, Mařík Rvačka (Mauritius de Praga) *Tractatus contra Hussitas de sumpcione venerabilis sacramenti ewkaristie sub utraque specie*. Ed. Hardt vol 3, 1696, 779–804; Mansi vol 28, 1785, 432–446; 164rb–169ra, Jean Gerson, *De necessaria communione laicorum sub utraque specie*. Ed. Gerson, *OEuvres complètes*, vol 10, 55–68; 169ra–169vb, Continuation to Gerson's treatise; 169vb–180vb, Jiří of Těčnic, Compilation against the Hussites. Unedited; 181ra–182vb, Jacques de Novvion (Jacobus de Noviano) *Disputacio cum Hussitis* (1408). Ed. Sedlák 1914; 183vb–191ra, Anonymous treatise against Hussites, unedited; 191ra–193ra, Ondřej z Brodu (Andreas de Broda)?, *Tractatus de corpore Cristi*. Unedited; 193ra–193va, *Epistola wykleph ad apostolicum in extremis directa etc*; 193va–196ra, Various notes on the condemnation of Wyclif's doctrine in Prague; 196rb–199va, Waldensian articles collected by Jiří of Těčnic. Title: *Hy synt articuli Secte waldensium hereticorum*. See also the description in Szymański 2012, 53–55.

<sup>71</sup> Jiří of Těčnic's version of the articles has been edited by Szymański 2012, 55–57.

<sup>72</sup> Wrocław BU, I F 707, f. 197ra: "Sed dixit michi wyklephysta: Etsi miraculis non thouerseo [sic] sicut nec opus est, cum secundum gregorium signa data sunt infidelibus; habeo pro me scripturam."

Although but one compiler and author, Jiří of Těčnic sheds light on the rest of the compilations where the Waldensians co-existed with Wyclif and the Hussites. The strong presence of anti-Waldensian literature in the fifteenth century demonstrates the considerable imprint that Waldensianism, or more precisely its repression, had left in the spiritual geography of German and Bohemian orthodox clergy. Waldensianism was the background, the old and familiar error and heresy, against which the emerging Hussite radicalism was understood.<sup>73</sup> This was despite Catholic knowledge of the influence of Wyclif's theology on Bohemians from very early on, and of the remarkable doctrinal differences between fourteenth-century Waldensianism and later Hussitism, most notably in the Eucharistic theology.

Without doubt, the Hussites were "hereticated" by relating them to the old heresy of the Waldensians, but in the theological compilations the relationship is far subtler than that. I am confident in proposing that the primary reason for the compilers to include anti-Waldensian polemics in the anti-Hussite compilations was the similarity in doctrine they saw in the two heresies, most importantly in their pronounced anticlericalism. They were certainly convinced of the essential diabolical sameness of all heresies, but that does not preclude a genuine attempt to understand the new dissidents by turning to the available literature.

## Conclusions

The texts on the Waldensians transmitted in the fifteenth century with anti-Hussite compilations often formed an integral part of these manuscripts. The list of errors and full treatises written in the fourteenth century, sometimes even earlier, were not haphazardly transmitted remnants among more current works. Instead, the treatises were actively copied, revised and commented on, and used to formulate anti-Wycliffite and anti-Hussite propositions. The anti-Waldensian works

<sup>73</sup> There are some exceptions, of which the most remarkable is the Dominican Johannes Nider who compared Hussites to the Cathars, see Chène 2006.

discussed in this article were copied throughout the period when anti-Hussite polemical literature was written, from the time of the Council of Constance to around 1470.

In the beginning of the article, I proposed two reasons why contemporaries might have compared the Waldensians and the Hussites: firstly, a genuine wish to understand the new dissident groups in the light of earlier works on heresy professing similar doctrines, and secondly, a polemical strategy that aimed to stress the heretical nature of the Bohemian reformers by comparing them to the old and infamous sect of the Waldensians. In the material discussed above, the latter, polemical motive seems to dominate at the textual level, especially in the works of Thomas Ebendorfer and Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini. The Hussites were a new sect, but one that revived the old error of the Waldensians. On the other hand, in the anti-heretical compilations another motive seems to be at work. Even though always hostile towards the dissidents, many compilations reveal a more subject-oriented approach to heresy. The texts on the Waldensians were copied and revised because they provided arguments for the theological debates in which the clergy facing the Hussites was involved.

The common *Überlieferungsgeschichte* of the anti-Waldensian, anti-Wycliffite, and anti-Hussite works also shows the full impact made by the late fourteenth-century bishops, theologians, preachers and inquisitors in their campaign against the Waldensians. It is manifested on these manuscript leaves. The persecutors of the late fourteenth century succeeded so well in their warnings against Waldensianism, in their exhortations to act against it, and in their refutations of its doctrine that the effect lasted for several decades, reached far and wide, and even shaped the descriptions of the major heresy of the fifteenth century, the Hussites.

## Sources

### Manuscripts

- Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)  
MS II. 1. 2<sup>o</sup> 129
- Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (UB)  
MS 336
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB)  
Clm 5614
- Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (NKR)  
XI. D. 8  
XIII. E. 5
- Salzburg, St Peter  
b VIII 9
- Vatican City, Vatican Library (Vat.)  
Palatinus latinus 677 (Pal. lat.)
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)  
MS 1588  
MS 4511
- Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB)  
MS Guelf. 431 Helmst
- Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (BU)  
I F 707

### Printed sources

- Canisius, Henricus, and Jacques Basnage (eds): *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum, sive Henrici Canisii lectiones antiquæ, ad seculorum ordinem digestæ variisque opusculis auctæ quibus præfationes historicas, animadversiones criticas et notas in singulos auctores.* apud Rudolphum & Gerhardum Wetstenios, Antwerp 1725.
- Ebendorfer, Thomas: *Catalogus præsesulum Laureacensium et Pataviensium.* Ed. Harald Zimmermann. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicum Nova Series 22. Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 2008.
- Ebendorfer, Thomas: *Chronica Austriae.* Ed. Alphons Lhotsky. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicum Nova Series 13. Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin and Zürich 1967.
- Ebendorfer, Thomas: *Chronica regum Romanorum.* Ed. Harald Zimmermann. 1–2 vols. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicum Nova Series 18. Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 2003.
- Gerson, Jean: *Œuvres complètes.* Ed. Palémon Glorieux. Vols. 6, 8–10. Desclée, Paris 1965, 1971, 1973.
- Gretser, Jacobus (ed.): [Pseudo]-Petri de Pilichdorf contra Haeresin Waldensium Tractatus [Cum dormirent homines]. *Lucae Tudensis episcopi, Scriptores aliquot succedanei contra sectam waldensium.* Maxima bibliotheca veterum Patrum, et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum. Vol. 25. Anissonios, Lyon 1677, 277F–299G.
- Hardt, Hermann von der: *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium de universalis ecclesiae reformatione, unione et fide.* Vol. 3. 7 vols. Gensius, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1696.

- Höfler, Karl Adolf Constantin von (ed.): *Geschichtschreiber der husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen*. Vol. 1. Hof- und staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1856.
- Justinger, Konrad: *Die Berner-Chronik des Conrad Justinger*. Ed. Gottlieb L. Studer. Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, Bern 1871. [http://www.digibern.ch/justinger/BernerChronik\\_1871/Justinger\\_Conrad\\_Berner\\_Chronik\\_Gesamtwerk.pdf](http://www.digibern.ch/justinger/BernerChronik_1871/Justinger_Conrad_Berner_Chronik_Gesamtwerk.pdf)
- Mansi, Giovan Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio: in qua praeter ea quae Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius... et novissime Nicolaus Coleti in lucem edidere ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur*. Vol. 28. Apud Antonium Zatta, Venice 1785.
- Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvio: *Historia Bohemica: a principio gentis, usque ad Georgium Boiebracium*. n.d. Vienna, ÖNB I 137961.
- Sedlák, Joannes (ed.): *Jacobi de Noviano, Mgri Parisiensis, disputatio cum Hussitis*. Typ. et Sumptibus Pont. Typ. Benedictinorum Rajhradensium, Brno 1914.
- Scriptores Rerum Bohemicarum*. Societas Scientiarum Bohemicae. Vol. 3. 3 vols. Pospissila, Prague 1829.

### Databases

- Soukup, Pavel: Repertorium operum antihussiticorum, on-line database. (Ref. 6.2.2017) [www.antihus.eu](http://www.antihus.eu)
- Manuscriptorium. Digital library of Written Cultural Heritage. National Library of the Czech Republic. (Ref. 5.2.2017) <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/>

### Research literature

- Billier, Peter: Medieval Waldensians' Construction of the Past. *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 25. London 1989, 191–206. In *The Waldenses, 1170–1530: Between a Religious Order and a Church*. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Ashgate, Aldershot 2001a.
- Billier, Peter: The Anti-Waldensian Treatise Cum dormirent homines of 1395 and its Author. *The Waldenses, 1170–1530: Between a Religious Order and a Church*, 237–269. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Ashgate, Aldershot 2001b.
- Billier, Peter: Goodbye to Waldensianism? *Past and Present* 192.1/2006, 3–33.
- Brunn, Uwe: *Des contestataires aux 'Cathares': discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition*. Institut d'études augustiniennes, Paris 2006.
- Bruschi, Caterina: Converted-Turned-Inquisitors and the Image of the Adversary: Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars. *Cathars in Question*. Ed. Antonio Sennis. Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, 4. York Medieval Press, York 2016, 185–207.
- Cameron, Euan: *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford UK 2000.
- Chêne, Cathérine: L'hérésie hussite vue par un dominicain observant: le Formicarius de Jean Nider (ca. 1380–1438), mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert: Akten der Tagung Ötisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*. Eds. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp. Ubstadt-Weiher and Verlag Regionalkultur, Heidelberg and Basel 2006, 317–340.
- Chiu, Hilbert: Alan of Lille's Academic Concept of the Manichee. *Journal of Religious History* 35.4/2011, 492–506.



- Doležalová, Eva: The Inquisitions in Medieval Bohemia: National and International Contexts. *Heresy and the Making of European Culture: Medieval and Modern Perspectives*. Eds. Andrew P. Roach and James R. Simpson. Ashgate, Farnham and Burlington VT 2013, 299–311.
- Driscoll, Matthew J.: The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New. *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*. Eds. Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge. Syddansk Universitetsforlag, Odense 2010, 85–102.
- Fudge, Thomas A.: *Jan Hus: Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia*. I.B. Tauris, London 2010.
- Fudge, Thomas A.: *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Ashgate, Aldershot 1998.
- Garber, Rebecca L. R.: *Feminine Figurae: Representations of Gender in Religious Texts by Medieval German Women Writers, 1100–1475*. Routledge, New York and London 2003.
- Gonnet, Jean, and Amedeo Molnár: *Les Vaudois au Moyen Âge*. Claudiana, Turin 1974.
- Grundmann, Herbert: Der Typus des Ketzers in mittelalterlicher Anschauung. *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. Hiersemann, Stuttgart 1976, 313–327.
- Haupt, Herman: Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland seit der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 3/1890, 337–411.
- Heimpel, Hermann: *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren aus dem Jahre 1425: Akten der Prozesse gegen die deutschen Hussiten Johannes Drändorf und Peter Turnau sowie gegen Drändorfs Diener Martin Borchard*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1969.
- Heinemann, Otto von: *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. Abth. 1: Die Helmstedter Handschriften*. Vol. 1. Zwissler, Wolfenbüttel 1884. <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/15-4f-10-1b-1/start.htm>
- Herold, Vilém: How Wyclifite Was the Bohemian Reformation? *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice, vol. 2: Papers from the XVIIIth World Congress of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, Brno 1996*. Eds. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton. Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague 1998, 25–37.
- Heymann, Frederick G.: John Rokycana : Church Reformer between Hus and Luther. *Church History* 28.3/1959, 240–280.
- Hilg, Hardo: *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg : cod. II. 1.2° 91-226*. Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden 1999.
- Hlaváček, Ivan: Bohemikale Literatur in den mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken des Auslandes: nach den mittelalterlichen Bibliotheksverzeichnissen. *Historica* 13/1966, 113–155.
- Hobbins, Daniel: *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2009.
- Jungwirth, Augustin: *Beschreibung der Handschriften des Stiftes St. Peter in Salzburg*. Handwritten catalogue. Salzburg 1910–1912.
- Kadlec, Jaroslav: *Studien und Texte zum Leben und Wirken des Prager Magisters Andreas von Brod*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. New Series, Vol. 22. Aschendorff, Münster 1982.
- Kaminsky, Howard: *A History of the Hussite Revolution*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967.
- Karp, Hans-Jürgen, Kuhschmalz, Franz († 1457): *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448: ein biographisches Lexikon*. Ed. Erwin Gatz. Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 2001.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar: Inquisitorial Deviations and Cover-Ups: The Prosecutions of Margaret Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart, 1308–1310. *Speculum* 89.4/2014, 936–973.

- Kieckhefer, Richard: *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany*. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 1979.
- Kolpacoff, Jennifer Mary: *Papal Schism, Archiepiscopal Politics and Waldensian Persecution (1378–1396): The Ecclesio-Political Landscape of Late Fourteenth-Century Mainz*. PhD Thesis, Northwestern University 2000. (Ref. 29.7.2014.) <http://search.proquest.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/pqdft/docview/304614303/abstract/EEB36F63D3BD4B23PQ/?accountid=14771>
- Kras, Pawel: Dominican Inquisitors in Medieval Poland (14th–15th c.). *Praedicatores, inquisitores I. The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition: Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition. 23–25 February 2002*. Ed. Arturo Bernal Palacios. *Dissertationes Historicae*, 29. Istituto storico domenicano, Rome 2004, 249–309.
- Kurze, Dietrich: Waldenser in der Mark Brandenburg und in Pommern im 15. Jahrhundert. *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert: Akten der Tagung Otisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*. Eds. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp. *Ubstadt-Weiher and Verlag Regionalkultur, Heidelberg and Basel* 2006, 219–239.
- Kurze, Dietrich: Zur Ketzergeschichte der Mark Brandenburg und Pommern vornehmlich im 14. Jahrhundert: Luziferianer, Putzkeller und Waldenser. *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 16–17/1968, 50–94.
- Kwakkel, Erik: Late Medieval Text Collections: A Codicological Typooogy Based on Single-Author Manuscripts. *Author Reader Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice*. Eds. Stephen Partridge and Erik Kwakkel. University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2012, 56–79.
- Lerner, Robert E.: *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*. University of California Press, Berkeley 1972.
- Lesser, Bertram: *Die mittelalterlichen Helmstedter Handschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek. Teil 2: Cod. Guelf. 277 bis 440 Helmst. und Helmstedter Fragmente*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden [forthcoming]. (Ref. 14.11.2019) <http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=431-helmst&catalog=Lesser>
- Levy, Ian Christopher: *Holy Scripture and the Quest for Authority at the End of the Middle Ages*. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame 2012.
- Machilek, Franz: Deutsche Hussiten. *Jan Hus: zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen: Vorträge des internationalen Symposions in Bayreuth vom 22. bis 26. September 1993*. Eds. Zdeněk Radslav Dittrich and Ferdinand Seibt. Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 85. R. Oldenbourg, Munich 1997, 267–282.
- Machilek, Franz: Aufschwung und Niedergang der Zusammenarbeit von Waldensern und Hussiten im 15. Jahrhundert (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse in Deutschland). *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert : Akten der Tagung Otisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*. Eds. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp. *Ubstadt-Weiher and Verlag Regionalkultur, Heidelberg and Basel* 2006, 277–316.
- Machilek, Franz (ed.): *Die hussitische Revolution: religiöse, politische und regionale Aspekte*. Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands Bd. 44. Böhlau, Cologne 2012.
- Matouš, František: Johannes Hus in den Schweizer Chroniken des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. *Jan Hus: zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen: Vorträge des internationalen Symposions in Bayreuth vom 22. bis 26. September 1993*. Eds. Z. R. Dittrich and Ferdinand Seibt. Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, 85. R. Oldenbourg, Munich 1997, 367–373.
- Modestin, Georg: *Ketzer in der Stadt: der Prozess gegen die Strassburger Waldenser von 1400*. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte*, 41. Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 2007.

- Modestin, Georg: The Anti-Waldensian Treatise Cum dormirent homines: Historical Context, Polemical Strategy, and Manuscript Tradition. *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378–1536*. Eds. Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup. Medieval Church Studies 27. Brepols, Turnhout 2013, 211–229.
- Moore, R. I.: Heresy as Disease. *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th–13th C.)*, *Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain May 13–16, 1973*. Eds. Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst. Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Series I IV. Leuven University Press, Leuven 1976, 1–11.
- Moore, R. I.: *The War on Heresy*. Profile Books Limited, London 2012.
- Moore, R. I.: The Cathar Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem. *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages: Essays to Honor John Van Engen*. Eds. David C. Mengel and Lisa Wolverson. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame 2014, 58–86.
- Nickson, M.: The ‘Pseudo-Reinerius’ Treatise, the Final Stage of a Thirteenth-Century Work on Heresy from the Diocese of Passau. *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 42/1967, 255–314.
- Oberste, Jörg: Le pape Sylvestre en Antéchrist: pauvreté et ecclesiology dans le débat sur l’hérésie au bas Moyen Âge. *Les Cathares devant l’histoire: mélanges offerts à Jean Duvernoy*. Eds. Anne Brenon and Christine Dieulafait. Domaine historique. Hyde, Cahors 2005, 389–405.
- Patschovsky, Alexander: Waldenserverfolgung in Schweidnitz 1315. *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 36/1980, 137–176.
- Patschovsky, Alexander: Der Ketzer als Teufelsdiener. *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. Hubert Mordek. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen 1991, 317–334.
- Patschovsky, Alexander: Der taboritische Chiliasmus: seine Idee, sein Bild bei den Zeitgenossen und die Interpretation der Geschichtswissenschaft. *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*. Ed. Frantisek Šmahel. Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien, 39. R. Oldenburg Verlag, Munich 1998, 169–195.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory: On Cathars, Albigenses, and good men of Languedoc. *Journal of Medieval History* 27.2/2001a, 181–195.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory: *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246*. Princeton University Press, Princeton N.J. 2001b.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory: The Paradigm of Catharism; or, the Historians’ Illusion. *Cathars in question*. Ed. Antonio Sennis. Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, 4. York Medieval Press, York 2016, 21–52.
- Penn, Stephen: Wyclif and the Sacraments. *A companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*. Ed. Ian Christopher Levy. Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 4. Brill, Leiden and Boston 2006, 241–291.
- Sackville, L. J.: *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*. Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, 1. York Medieval Press, York 2011.
- Sackville, L. J.: The Textbook Heretic: Moneta of Cremona’s Cathars. *Cathars in Question*. Ed. Antonio Sennis. York Medieval Press, York 2016, 185–207.
- Schäufele, Wolf-Dietrich: ‘Defecit ecclesia’: Studien zur Verfalls-idee in der Kirchengeschichtssanschauung des Mittelalters. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte, Mainz, 213. von Zabern, Mainz 2006.
- Schmid, Alois: Georg von Hohenlohe. *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448: Ein biographisches Lexikon*. Ed. Erwin Gatz. Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 2001, 560–561.

- Schneider, Martin: Friedrich Reiser - Herkunft, Berufung und Weg. *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert: Akten der Tagung Ötisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*. Eds. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp. Ubstadt-Weiher and Verlag Regionalkultur, Heidelberg and Basel 2006, 75–86.
- Segl, Peter: Die Waldenser in Österreich um 1400: Lehren, Organisationsform, Verbreitung und Bekämpfung. In *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert: Akten der Tagung Ötisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*. Eds. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp. Ubstadt-Weiher and Verlag Regionalkultur, Heidelberg and Basel 2006, 161–188.
- Shogimen, Takashi: Wyclif's Ecclesiology and Political Thought. *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*. Ed. Ian Christopher Levy. Brill's Companions to the Christian tradition, 4. Brill, Leiden and Boston 2006, 199–240.
- Šmahel, František: *Die Hussitische Revolution*. Translated by Thomas Krzenek. Vol. 1–3 Monumenta Germaniae historica, Schriften, 43. Hahn, Hannover 2002.
- Soukup, Pavel: Zur Verbreitung theologischer Streitschriften im 15. Jahrhundert: Eine antihussitische Sammelhandschrift aus der Erfurter Kartause. *Studia mediaevalia Bohemica* 1/2009, 231–257.
- Soukup, Pavel: *Jan Hus: Prediger – Reformator – Märtyrer*. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart 2014.
- Soukup, Pavel: The Waning of the 'Wycliffites': Giving Names to Hussite Heresy. *Europe after Wyclif*. Eds. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen. Fordham University Press, New York 2017, 196–226.
- Szymański, Jarosław: Hy sunt articuli secte waldensium hereticorum z kodeksu IF 707 Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu. *Historicae viae. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi z okazji 55-lecia pracy naukowej*. Eds. Mateusz Goliński and Stanisław Rosik. Scripta Historica Mediaevalia, 1. Chronicon, Wrocław 2012, 51–62.
- Tolonen, Pekka: Medieval Memories of the Origins of the Waldensian Movement. *History and Religion: Narrating a Religious Past*. Eds. Bernd-Christian Otto, Susanne Rau, and Jörg Rüpke. Religionsgeschichtliche versuche und vorarbeiten, 68. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and Boston 2015, 165–185.
- Truhlář, Josef: *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur. Vol. II. Codices 1666–2752 forulorum IX - XV et bibliothecae Kinskyanae*. Societas scientiarum Bohemica, Prague 1906.
- Utz Tremp, Kathrin: Einführung. *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert : Akten der Tagung Ötisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*. Eds. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp. Ubstadt-Weiher and Verlag Regionalkultur, Heidelberg and Basel 2006a, 7–20.
- Utz Tremp, Kathrin: Friedrich Reiser und die Waldenser (Hussiten?) in Freiburg im Üchtland. *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert: Akten der Tagung Ötisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*. Eds. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp. Ubstadt-Weiher and Verlag Regionalkultur, Heidelberg and Basel 2006b, 205–218.
- Utz Tremp, Kathrin (ed.): *Quellen zur Geschichte der Waldenser von Freiburg im Üchtland (1399–1439)*. Monumenta Germaniae historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 18. Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 2000.
- Utz Tremp, Kathrin: *Von der Häresie zur Hexerei: 'wirkliche' und imaginäre Sekten im Spätmittelalter*. Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 2008.
- Välimäki, Reima: Imagery of Disease, Poison and Healing in the Late Fourteenth-Century Polemics against Waldensian Heresy. *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*. Eds. Christian Krötzel, Katariina Mustakallio, and Jenni Kuuliala. Ashgate, Burlington VT 2015, 137–152.

- Välimäki, Reima: *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany: The Inquisitor Petrus Zwicker and the Waldensians*. Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages 6. York Medieval Press, York 2019.
- Van Dussen, Michael: *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK and New York 2012.
- Vasoli, Cesare: Il 'Contra haereticos' di Alano di Lilla. *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano* 75/1963, 123–172.
- Wakefield, Walter L.: Notes on Some Anti-Heretical Writings of the Thirteenth Century. *Franciscan Studies* 27/1967, 285–321.
- Werner, Ernst: Nachrichten über spätmittelalterliche Ketzler aus tschechoslowakischen Archiven und Bibliotheken. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 12.1/1963, 215–284.
- Williams-Krapp, Werner: Die überlieferungsgeschichtliche Methode: Rückblick und Ausblick. *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Deutschen Literatur* 25/2000, 1–21.
- Zerner, Monique (ed.): *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*. Collection du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice 2. Centre d'études médiévales, Faculté des lettres, arts et sciences humaines, Université de Nice Sophia-Antipolis, Nice 1998.
- Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB). [Description of MS 4511] (Ref. 6.2.2017) <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00177227>