Aspects of the Waldenses in the 14th century, including an edition of their correspondence

Abstract

Before research on this thesis began the state of studies on German-speaking Waldensians was the following. Although there were many studies of particular fields or problems, there was one large lacuna: no-one had attempted to collate the data of trial records from widely dispersed areas and extract the picture of Waldensians given in the inquisitorial literature of the time in order to use these two - confirming, supplementing, or contradicting each other - as the basis for an overall view of the sect in German-speaking lands in the fourteenth century. Some large problems in the evidence to be used for such a survey had not been tackled. The most important of these was the sharp contrast between the account of the Waldensians given in inquisitorial literature of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and the account of them given in the inquisitorial literature of the later fourteenth century: the earlier account shows them in a very radical position, totally rejecting the Church and its sacraments and constituting a counter-Church with its own hierarchy and administration of the Eucharist, while the later account shows them in a much less radical position, accepting much of the Church's sacramental ministration and claiming for themselves only the authority to preach and hear confessions. There were also the problems of contradictions between the accounts of them in inquisitorial literature and the data of more direct evidence (e.g. between the notion found in inquisitorial literature that the Waldensians held the Fathers to be in hell, and the real reverence for the Fathers to be found in Waldensian writings), and the discrepancies, sometimes wild, between some elements in the depositions of the Waldensians' adherents and the tenets of the Waldensian preachers themselves.

An attempt to solve these problems in the evidence and fill the gap in secondary literature on the Waldensians dictated the precise area and form of the thesis. It seemed that the preachers of the heresy (the Brothers) and their beliefs, the adherents of the Brothers (the friends) and their beliefs, and the accounts of both in contemporary inquisitorial literature should be studied in the first instance as separate phenomena: trial records and surviving Waldensian writings

portray the Brothers and their beliefs in a certain way; trial records show that the Brothers' way of life and activities appeared in only a shadowy manner to the majority of the friends, and that their beliefs appeared in a somewhat attenuated and distorted form among many of the friends; and inquisitorial literature contains accounts of both which are often misleading and sometimes grossly wrong. It was therefore decided to treat them in such a manner that the inherent character-istics of these three phenomena should appear independently, and the inter-relationship and differences between the three should become clear. Therefore an anatomy of the Brothers and their way of life and beliefs is given in Chapter I, and an anatomy of the friends in Chapter II, while a general discussion of inquisitorial literature appears in the Introduction, and a study of a particular body of literature in Part II; further, a comparison of the data of more direct evidence with the data of inquisitorial literature is a subsidiary theme throughout Chapters I and II.

The conclusions in these are the following. The Brothers appear to have been few in numbers and mainly from the peasant or artisan class; however the degree of their literacy and education belies the description of them in inquisitorial literature as 'idiotae sine litteris'. They constituted an Order, whose organisation, conditions and ceremony of profession of vows, and way of life have many parallels with the Orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans at an early stage of their development. The extremism of the Brothers and the need for secrecy had led to certain special emphases, and the Brothers by the fourteenth century were claiming a succession of Orders which conferred the pastoral office alone, that is to say, empowered them to preach and hear confessions. Their beliefs can be reconstructed from the ipsissima verba of the Brothers' sermons to the friends, as these are reported by the friends in trials, and these point to a simple but coherent body of doctrine, orthodox in most areas, in which scriptural literalism had led to certain tenets which were heretical in the eyes of the Church. The Brothers' role and their authority were supported by an idiosyncratic view of the history of their Order and the Church, and this view was becoming increasingly mythical in the fourteenth century, a development in part attributable to the stress of persecution and the consequent need to derive assurance of ultimate

triumph from history.

The body of German-speaking Brothers visited communities of friends which were dispersed through almost all German-speaking areas except north-west Germany; polemical treatises directed against the Waldensians minimised this dispersion when dealing with prophesies about the wide dispersion of the elect; on the other hand treatises designed to warn christians of the danger of the heresy exaggerated the numbers of the Waldensians. These friends were found in both town and country and in a quite wide socio-economic spectrum. Their affiliation to the Brothers consisted in their receiving the Brothers in secret, confessing to them, and hearing their sermons. The organisation of this secret religious life and common danger drew friends in individual communities closely together, and there resulted from this the formation of groups of closely inter-related Waldensian families, in which affiliation to the Brothers' faith passed down from generation to generation, and also the ethos and practice of communal action. Supplementing the close-knit bonds within individual communities were the ties between dispersed and distant communities, ties of a common secret faith, commercial exchange, and the provision of refuge for exiles. Members of these communities of friends led the public religious life of other members of the Church, but in their case this participation in the cult of the Church was part sincere and part insincere; the line between these two types of participation was often drawn inaccurately in inquisitorial treatises. The beliefs of the friends were affected by two factors in particular - firstly, their exposure to two systems of instruction, that of the Church and that of the Brothers, and, secondly, the slight and infrequent nature of the contact of many of them with the Brothers. The former goes some way to explaining the mixture of Waldensian beliefs and Catholic beliefs (on points on which the Waldensians differed) which can sometimes be found among the friends, and the latter the indistinctness with which they sometimes held the Brothers' beliefs, and the occasional wildly aberrant tenets.

Inquisitorial literature from the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century may be divided into two phases. An analysis of the literature of the earlier phase - mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century -, with its extremely radical account of the Waldensians, the

consideration of the effect of the 'type' of the heretic on the information given in it, and a comparison with the evidence of later fourteenth century trials suggests the possibility that the literature of this earlier period gave a very inaccurate picture of the Waldensians. Literature in the second phase - the later fourteenth century - continued to reflect the 'type' of the heretic, but portrayed the Brothers and their beliefs in a far less radical position, and this picture is confirmed by the data of Waldensian writings and trial records of the later fourteenth century. It is more likely that inquisitorial literature altered radically in its degree of accuracy than that the Waldensians themselves became much less extreme. It is highly probable that this change in inquisitorial literature was brought about by the entry into the Church c.1365/7 of a large group of Brothers, who brought with them accurate information about the Brothers' claims and beliefs. These Brothers started a polemical correspondence with their former confrères, and surviving elements in this correspondence -which reflect accurate knowledge of the Brothers' positions - were among the sources used by later authors of treatises on the Waldensians; this is probably one of the reasons for the improved accuracy of these inquisitorial treatises.

Since this correspondence was produced at the time of this transition and appears to have been one of the causes, and because it has only been partially edited, it seemed worthwhile to produce an edition of it as a supplement to the main body of the thesis. This is accompanied by a description of the historical context of the composition of the correspondence and an analysis of the development of the Brothers' view of history - for which the correspondence is the main source. This supplements the account of the Brothers' beliefs given in Chapter I, and provides one instance of the manner in which parts of an inquisitorial treatise could be composed (through the analysis of one treatise which used the correspondence as a source) which is intended to supplement the discussion of the general characteristics of inquisitorial literature given in the Introduction.

The specific aims of the thesis have been described above, but it is perhaps still necessary to describe one aim which informs it throughout: this is the aim of locating beliefs within their concrete settings, and pointing to the impossibility of describing Waldensian

beliefs in abstraction from those who held these beliefs and the occasions of the profession of these beliefs or the description of them. A belief was one thing when articulated by a Brother preaching in a cellar or at the back of a house in a village in Austria, at night-time and with an audience of eight or nine friends. It was another thing when held in the mind of a friend who had not heard such a sermon for over fifteen years, but in the meantime was exposed to the continuing presence and teaching of the Church, and the occasional influence of a friend gossiping about the shadowy and rather fantastic figures of the Brothers. It was yet another when he was being questioned by an inquisitor and being asked, under the threat of torture, whether he assented to a certain belief, whose precise extent and form the inquisitor ~~the inquisitor~~ had derived from a treatise written by another inquisitor. It was yet another when it was formulated as a negative proposition - negative in relation to the Church's faith - and divorced from its Waldensian context, and listed among other negative propositions in a treatise whose author, viewing the heretic as a hypocritical agent of the devil, was prepared where necessary to extend and exaggerate in order to show the inner reality and truth of a heretic who, in his hypocrisy and cunning, pretended to be pious and orthodox. It was yet another thing in the mind of a monk in an Austrian monastery library who read an ms. of this treatise. Finally it was yet another thing in the minds of laymen in the outside world whose ideas about the Waldensians were a compound of knowledge of their secrecy and ignorance of their real character and beliefs, all whipped up by the abuse of sermons into the belief that they worshipped the devil and indulged in foul orgies.

It should be noted, finally, that much work remains to be done on the literature of the fourteenth century and certain communities of friends (notably Strasbourg and Fribourg), and therefore that the accounts given, **solutions proposed**, and studies produced in this thesis are intended ~~to be~~ exploratory and provisional rather than definitive.

Aspects of
of the Waldenses in the fourteenth century
including an edition of their correspondence

Thesis

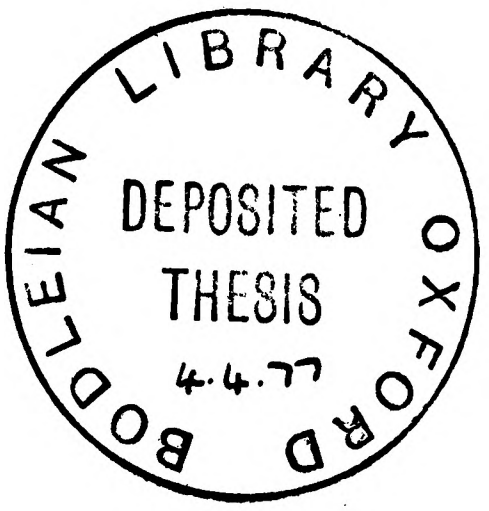
submitted for the degree of D.Phil.

by

P.P.A. Biller

Oriel College

MT 1974



Preface

I owe debts to many people for encouragement,advice,and specific acts of kindness. My former tutor,Dr W.A.Pantin,gave me general encouragement at the outset. I am indebted to Dr M.A.E.Nickson for her encouragement at an early stage,and many discussions on the Waldensians,and her part in a collaborative effort to find more mss. of 13th and 14th century literature on the Waldensians. I am also indebted to Mrs D.R.Sutherland for textual comments on a Piedmontese document,and to Mrs V.K.Lodge for work in translating from Czech. I must thank Fr Kaeppeli for permitting me to take over from him the task of work on the correspondence. I owe debts to many librarians,and if I single out Dr K.Hannemann(Karlsruhe), the late Dr Linninger(St Florian),Fr Zaninović(Dubrovnik),and librarians in the University libraries of Wrocław and Kraków who have always patiently answered my queries,this should not obscure the debt I owe to others. Finally I am indebted to Professor G.Aylmer,for facilitating the granting of a sabbatical term in order to allow me to finish this thesis,and to my supervisor for encouragement and criticism throughout.

Abbreviations

ABAW	Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der Königl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AFP	Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
BSSV	Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi
Dokumente	I. von Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters, II: Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der Valdesier und Katharer, Munich, 1890.
Enchiridion	G. Gonnet, Enchiridion Fontium Valdensium, I, Torre Pellice, 1958.
Frib.AE	Fribourg, Archives d'État
Friedberg	Corpus Iuris Canonici, ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879.
G	The Gloss in Textus Biblie cum Glosa Ordinaria, Nicolai de Lyra Postilla...Pauli Burgensis Additionibus, Mathie Thoring Replicis, vols.I--VI, Basle, 1506-8.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL	Patrologiae Series Latina

LE, CJL, EFI I, EJL I, RS, EJL II, EFC*, EFI II*, and EFI III* are symbols of elements in the correspondence; in each case the asterisk indicates that the element does not survive. A key to these is provided on pp.208-9. References in footnotes to printed texts of the surviving elements are to the page-numbers (typed and underlined) and line numbers to be found on the right-hand side of the pages of printed texts.

Contents

page

Part I

Introduction 5

Chapter I: The Brothers

i Definition 32
ii Numbers, class and education 40
iii Reception into the Order 47
iv Organisation and way of life 1 Houses 64
2 Chapters 67
3 Itinerant preaching 70
4 Financial Organisation 71
5 Secrecy 74
v Literature, spirituality, and teaching 1 Literature 80
2 Asceticism 83
3 Teaching 86
vi The Sacraments 1 Waldensian sacraments 96
2 Sacraments in the Church 99
Note A 1 Use of the word 'laicus' 105
2 Ordo and merit 106
Note B 1 Hierarchy 108
2 Eucharist 112

Chapter II: The friends

i Definition 118
ii Language, dispersion, and numbers 120
iii Class 146
iv Communities a) Individual communities 164
b) Ties between communities 171
v Religious life under the pastorate of the Brothers
a) Brothers' visits and friends' houses 176
b) Initiation, later confessions, and sermons 182
vi Religious life in the Church 189
vii Piety and beliefs a) Piety and charity 192
b) Beliefs 197

Part II: The correspondence

Table of events and documents 208
i Previous literature 210
ii a) The edition 212
b) List of mss. 215
iii The conversion and correspondence 223
iv The lost part of the correspondence 231
v Waldensian 'history' 239
Texts: LE 264
CJL 271
EFI I 272
EJL I 300
RS 320
EJL II 337
Maps: I - Friends in Strasbourg; II - Friends in Brandenburg;
III Dispersion of literature on the Waldensians
Appendix I The Cum dormirent treatise 354
Appendix II Mss. of literature on the Waldensians 363
Appendix III Details about Waldensians and Beghards in a lost ms. 370
Bibliography 374

Introduction

There exists a considerable body of secondary literature devoted to German-speaking Waldensians in the period up to 1400. Records of inquisitorial activites against them have been collected and examined: those in Brandenburg and Pomerania[1] by Wattenbach[2] and Kürze,[3] those in Fribourg by Ochsenbein[4] and Barnes Fiertz,[5] and those in the east and the south-east by Haupt.[6] Particular problems have been thoroughly studied - e.g. the question of the Codex Teplensis[7] by Haupt, the allegations of Luciferanism by Kurze,[8] etc. Some aspects of contemporary literature have been explored: Nickson[9] and Patschovsky[10] have tackled the textual problems of one early treatise, that of the Anonymous of Passau and its later recension, the treatise of the Pseudo-Reinerius, in exhaustive fashion, and in an early and important article Grundmann delineated some of the general characteristics of this type of literature.[11]

These are only the most significant works, because my concern here is to sketch the general state of these studies. Despite its size there are considerable lacunae in this body of work on the Waldensians.

---

1 In the course of this thesis I adopt the shorthand, when referring to the processes of Brandenburg and Pomerania, of referring only to Brandenburg. 2 W.Wattenbach, 'Ueber die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg', Abh.d.Königl.Akad.d. Wiss.z.Berlin 1886,Ph.-hist.Cl.4,1887,pp.1-107. 3 D.Kurze, 'Zur Ketzergeschichte der Mark Brandenburg und Pommerns vornehmlich im 14.Jahrhundert', Jahrbuch f.d.Gesch.Mittel- u.Ostdeutschlands, XVI-XVII, 1968,pp.50-94. 4 G.F.Ochsenbein,Aus dem Schweizerischen Volksleben des XV.Jahrhunderts etc., Bern,1881. 5 G.Barnes Fiertz, 'An unusual trial under the Inquisition at Fribourg, Switzerland, in 1399', Speculum,XVIII,no.3,pp.340-357. 6 Principally in H.Haupt, Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland, Freiburg-im-Breisgau,1890 (a reprint, with some additions, of the articles in Deutsche Z.f. Geschichtswissenschaft,I,1889,pp.285-330, and III,1890,pp.337-411). 7 H.Haupt, Die Deutsche Bibelübersetzungetc., Würzburg,1885, and Der Waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis etc.,Würzburg,1886. 8 Kürze, 'Ketzergeschichte',pp.52-62. 9 M.A.E.Nickson, 'The 'Pseudo-Reinerius" etc.',Arch.d.hist.doct.et litt.du Moyen Âge,(1967), XLII,1968,pp.255-303. 10 A.Patschovsky,Der Passauer Anonymus etc.,(Schriften der MGH XXII), Stuttgart,1968. 11 H.Grundmann,'Der Typus des Ketzers in mittelalterliche Anschauung' in Kultur- und Universalgeschichte.Walter Goetz zu seinem 60.Geburtstage etc.,Leipzig/Berlin,1927.

Insufficient work has been done upon the texts of the available evidence. Although the evidence of trial records is very restricted in size - it is much smaller, for example, than that which survives for the Lollards - most of it has not been edited. The largest processes are being edited, by Kurze, but for the moment one still has to have recourse to the two relevant manuscripts.[1] The next largest body of processes, those in Fribourg in 1430, saw the light of day in an unsatisfactory fashion in Ochsenbein's work, where they are translated into German (sometimes inaccurately), and often summarised. Here one must also resort to the manuscript source.[2] The third largest, a set of hearings in Regensburg in 1395, has not been edited in any form.[3] Further, it is still possible to find a few more fragments of this evidence.[4] However, for the most part the only problem posed here is the logistical one of getting at the source. By contrast the situation with regard to the study of contemporary inquisitorial literature is more serious, for here one is faced with important items of evidence which cannot be properly used until problems of text, sources, authorship, etc. have been tackled. Unfortunately, although Patschovsky's and Nickson's work has dealt with the most important treatises of the thirteenth century, and one short tract from the fourteenth, most of the literature from the fourteenth century still lacks the attention of such scholars.[5] Much work needs to be done in this area, and until it is done any general approaches to the study of the German-speaking Waldensians such as are given later in this introduction and in the thesis as a whole must be tentative - suggestions rather than statements.

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 348 Novi and Cod. Helmst. 403. 2 I have followed the policy of resorting to the original (Frib.AE Geist. Sach. no.26) in those areas not reproduced in Ochsenbein, those which he summarises, those which he mistranslates, and those in which the precise wording is of prime importance - e.g. when obtaining reports of the ipsissima verba of the Brothers. Elsewhere I refer directly to him. His work is useful as a quarry for material on the social position of Waldensians in Fribourg. 3 Vienna Nat. Lib. Cod.3748. 4 See App. III, and my use of Prague Nat.Mus.XV D 2 in Ch.II. 5 On this point see App.II; for some suggestions in the case of one treatise, see App.I.

There are lacunae of another kind, at the level of analysis and exposition of this evidence. Although the evidence has been quarried in works which form part of the debate about the relationship between this phenomenon and movements in 15th century Bohemia, no attempt has been made to relate the evidence from trials in diverse areas in a systematic fashion in order to construct a picture of the Waldensians in their own right. Further, no attempt has been made to relate the picture thus derived from trial records in a systematic fashion to the picture given in contemporary inquisitorial literature. There are also flaws of a methodological kind. Despite the work which has been done on inquisitorial literature, and despite the points forcibly made by Grundmann on the difficulties of using both inquisitorial literature and trial records as evidence,[1] these records are still used uncritically. For example, it is still the practice to take inquisitors' lists of Waldensian 'errors' as representations of Waldensian beliefs, without asking for the source of the treatise in question; without asking whether these are the beliefs of the credentes or magistri of the sect; without asking, if only rhetorically, whether these beliefs, if presented independently and without reference, in a negative fashion, to the Catholic faith might appear to be more of a coherent system of belief, and more positive than when presented in a miscellaneous list of negatives, 'errors' against the faith.[2] Further, there is a tendency, when looking in particular at trial records, to take instances of beliefs which are aberrant from the faith of the heresy in question as evidence in the first instance that the heresy has reached a certain stage in its development (for

---

1 H.Grundmann, 'Typus', and 'Ketzerverhöre des Spätmittelalters als quellenkritisches Problem', Deutsches Archiv, XXI, 1965, pp.519-575.
2 See for example the use of an inquisitor's list of articles in H.Kaminsky, A History of the Hussite Revolution, California, 1967, pp. 175-177, where they are employed without qualification to represent Waldensian beliefs. Many other examples in less learned and able works could be cited.

historical or socio-economic reasons) which can be described as 'heretical syncretism'.[1] The beliefs in question are only seen in two dimensions. The most immediate explanation to be considered is not mentioned - the fact that beliefs exist at various levels. How would the answers of a modern Catholic parish priest on the Trinity compare with those of his parishioners? Would the confused mélange of ideas reported by the latter be evidence, in the first instance, that the Catholic Church has entered a syncretist stage in its ideas on the Trinity? The notion that beliefs are held in a purer form by the preachers of a heresy, and in more diluted or distorted form by their adherents - whose interrogations are the ones which, for the most part, survive - is an elementary one, and yet it has hardly entered the study of mediaeval Waldensians.

These lacunae pointed to the general area of my study -- a general examination of the German-speaking Waldensians, based on systematic correlation of all the available trial evidence and inquisitorial literature -- and some of the methodological defects of secondary literature and problems in the evidence, notably the evidence of inquisitorial literature, and possible solutions to these problems, dictated the shape of my study. The considerable body of literature composed between the mid-13th century and the end of the 14th changes dramatically. At the earlier period Waldensians are portrayed in a very radical position: they damn the Roman Church and all those in it, reject its faith, and reject its hierarchy and its sacraments. In turn they appear to form a counter-Church: they have their own faith, their own hierarchy, and administer the sacraments. In the later 14th century the picture is very different: there are ambiguities about Waldensian condemnation of the Church, they recognise the succession of Orders in it, and they accept most of its sacraments. Conversely, they appear in some ways to be still

---

1 See E.Werner, 'Nachrichten über spätmittelalterliche Ketzer etc.', Wiss.Z.d.K.-M.Univ. Leipzig, Ges.-u.spr.R.12(1963),Beilage,pp.232-4 for an example of an analogous tendency -- using a mélange of beliefs in inquisitorial treatises as evidence for syncretism of the heresy in the first instance, without first asking whether the conflation may arise from the nature of the literature in which the heresy is reported.

in the Church, there is no question of their possessing a hierarchy, and they do not consecrate and administer the Eucharist -- their only sacrament (apart from the conferment of ordo) is that of confession, hearing confessions and absolving from sin. The black and white contrast is distilled in two phrases from treatises composed 130 years apart, both by authors with considerable experience of German-speaking Waldensians, in particular in the diocese of Passau. In the former, c.1266, they condemn the sacraments of the Church utterly: 'Omnia Sacramenta Ecclesiae damnant'.[1] In the latter, 1395, they condemn all but these: 'omnia destruere et condemnare' ... 'solis exceptis sacramentis'.[2] What explains this? There are further, isolated, problems. It is a recurrent item in these treatises that the Waldensians condemn the Fathers and Doctors -- in one instance, holding them to be in hell. If this is the case, why are the Fathers quoted as auctoritates in surviving writings of the Waldensians? They condemn all in the Roman Church since the Donation. Why, then, do they quote St. Bernard and Peter Lombard? Their attitude to the Virgin Mary and the saints is one of denigration: why, then, the veneration to be seen in their own writings?

---

1 Repeated in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise in J.Gretser's edition, which I cite here and below in the unchanged reprint in Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum,XXV,Lyons,cols.262g-277e: this statement, col.265d. Here and below I cite the later recension, the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, to represent the earlier work of c.1266, since the edition of the latter by Patschovsky and Nickson has not yet appeared, and in most areas the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise (c.1270-c.1300) is simply a reproduction, in different form, of material in the earlier treatise, and can therefore be taken, provisionally, to represent the earlier recension. 2 The treatise attributed to Peter of Pilichdorf, which I cite in J.Gretser's edition in the unchanged reprint of the volume referred to in the previous note, cols.277g-299c; I refer to it as the Cum dormirent treatise because there is doubt about its authorship (see App.I.) This statement, col.278e.

It seemed to me that the problem had to be approached by separating the three phenomena: the preachers of the heresy (called the 'Brothers') and their beliefs; their adherents (called the 'friends'),[1] and the beliefs they held; and the account of these in inquisitorial literature. An analysis of trial records and inquisitorial literature suggested the following picture. First, the Brothers in the 14th century constituted an Order similar in some ways to those of the early Franciscans and Dominicans. Like other Orders they were concerned with the history and antiquity of their Order, though in the 14th century the stress of persecution and polemical attack was leading them to incorporate more and more myth into this 'history'.[2] They possessed no hierarchy, and only claimed the authority to exercise the pastoral office, i.e. to preach and hear confessions. They followed a simple and extremely ascetic form of life, and held a set of beliefs based on a literal interpretation of sections of the New Testament and, in many areas, orthodox Catholic teaching. These doctrines, though simple, formed a coherent body of belief, and were more than a mere set of 'more or less consistent attitudes'.[3] Their adherents, the friends, confessed to the Brothers and heard their sermons, but for several reasons the beliefs they held were often rather different from those of the Brothers. In particular, the conditions under which they received instruction -- both from the Brothers and the Church, and often very rarely from the Brothers -- go some way towards explaining the aberrations from the Waldensian faith which often appear in their depositions. Finally, the picture of Waldensians and their beliefs, given in inquisitorial literature, seems in many ways to constitute a separate phenomenon: a set of

---

1 For these terms, see the first pages of Ch.I. 2 For this 'history' see Pt.IIv. 3 The phrase is used to describe the beliefs of Lollards in J.A.F.Thomson, The later Lollards 1414-1520, Oxford, 1965, p.239, and resumes succintly the general message of most modern accounts of their continental parallels, the Waldensians.

ideas, often distorted, which insofar as they were diffused and came to be believed by those in the Church led an independent existence of their own. A possible solution to the problem of the large contradiction between the literature, on the one hand, from the 13th and early 14th centuries, and, on the other, from the later 14th century is the following: the earlier literature gave a considerably distorted picture, and some of the characteristics of this literature - the 'type' of the heretic, and literary inter-dependence - serve both to explain this distortion and why it lasted so long. Then, in the 1360's, a group of Brothers entered the Church, bringing with them accurate information about their former confrères and their beliefs, and from this time onwards the picture of Waldensians given in inquisitorial literature was relatively accurate.[1]

This notion, that the phenomena of the Brothers and their beliefs, the friends and their beliefs, and the picture of these in inquisitorial literature were independent, and that an adequate account of the Waldensians must portray them three-dimensionally, and at least at these three levels, has dictated the content and precise form of the present thesis. The three have been treated separately. In Chapter I I provide an anatomy of the German-speaking Brothers up to 1400. A description of their numbers and social complexion and the form and organisation of their way of life is provided as a concrete base for a short account of the beliefs they preached. This latter is based deliberately (and almost entirely) on the reports in friends' depositions of the Brothers' ipsissima verba, and their writings. In Chapter II I provide an anatomy of their adherents, the friends. A description of their numbers and dispersion, the characteristics of their communities, and the form of their religious life, both in the Church and in secret, is used as the concrete basis for an account of their beliefs, based on their ipsissima verba in the processes. In particular I have tried to show the way in which the general conditions under which they received doctrinal

---

1. See the discussion of this literature later in the Introduction.

instruction and, in some cases, the slightness of their contact with the Brothers served to bring about dilutions and distortions of the Brothers' beliefs and, in a few instances, the introduction of wild aberrations. In both these chapters a comparison and sometimes a contrast between the conclusions which can be drawn from trial records on particular points (e.g. class, literacy, dispersion, numbers, etc.) and the account of these points given in contemporary inquisitorial literature is a continually recurring accompanying theme, and becomes a topic treated independently later in this introduction.[1] Here literature on the Waldensians is dealt with as a separate phenomenon, and a general discussion is given of some of its features and the history of its development.

Since it is argued in the thesis that the polemical correspondence produced at the time of the entry into the Church in the 1360's of a large number of Brothers was partly responsible for the radical alteration in the accuracy of the picture of Waldensians given in inquisitorial literature, and since the letters of this correspondence were only partly available in print, it seemed worthwhile to produce an edition of the correspondence as a supplement to the main body of the thesis.[2] This is accompanied by an analysis of the development of the Brothers' view of 'history'(for which the correspondence is the main source). This supplements the account of the Brothers' beliefs which is given in Chapter I, and one part of it - the analysis of a section of an inquisitorial treatise which used the correspondence as a source - provides one example of the way in which such a treatise could be composed, and is intended to supplement the discussion of the general characteristics of inquisitorial literature given in the Introduction.

---

1 In these chapters my reference is generally only to original evidence, except in those instances where my points depend upon the works of others. With certain exceptions (e.g. Note B appended to Ch.I) my text and foot--notes do not normally take account of the discordant opinions of prev--ious historians, since this would have taken the length of another thesis. The principal omissions are the works of Preger and Gonnet on Waldensian beliefs, Gonnet on the correspondence, and secondary works by Czech historians on dispersion in Bohemia (on the latter, see the note in Ch.II ii. 2 This includes a reconstruction of lost elements in the correspondence whose conjectural nature must be underlined.

Some qualifications must immediately be made. In the present state, where satisfactory studies of much of the important evidence - in particular, 14th century inquisitorial literature - do not exist - any study as general in its scope and proposed solutions as the present thesis must be consciously tentative: the sketch of a possible picture to be given in the future. Secondly, my chosen aim, that of providing an anatomy of a sect, has entailed certain consequences. First of all, I give, for the 14th century, a largely static picture. Secondly, the extent of support in original evidence varies enormously because my treatment has tried to reflect, in size and detail, the phenomenon in question, rather than the amount and depth of surviving evidence. Thus the Chapter on the Brothers is based on a fairly small body of evidence, eked out -- in particular in the sections on their way of life -- by reasonable conjecture. It seemed to me much more important to suggest a probably complete picture (indicating always what was conjectural) than to confine myself to the certain fragments. Conversely Chapter II, on the friends, is based in most areas on a much greater body of evidence, whose data is briefly summarised. Here too, though, I have deliberately allowed conjecture to play some part, in that I have used information from very widely dispersed communities to suggest the patterns of religious life, <u>etc</u>. of typical communities. It seemed to me that the illumination to be gained from this - rather than a geographically arranged catalogue of communities with the known information about each one tagged into the list at various points - was worth the possible losses and conflation of regional nuances. Thirdly, in producing a general anatomy I have had perforce to depend in <u>a few</u> areas on the work of others. These are acknowledged in the relevant parts of the thesis, but I should list my main debts here. My consideration of the characteristics of inquisitorial literature begins from Grundmann's article, and is intended to be an extension and particular application of his ideas; one paragraph of my section on the social complexion of Brandenburg friends is, explicitly, a summary of Kurze's work, and in the paragraphs on Fribourg friends I draw upon Barnes Fiertz, although here I have

extended her work. Finally, in my section on the dispersion of the friends the paragraphs relating to dispersion in the south-east and east are explicitly an amalgamation of Haupt's work on dispersion in this area with the results of later discoveries, and I reflect this in my footnotes, which always refer to Haupt on points first made by him, although in almost every case I have gone to his sources - a fact which I only indicate when I find his sources doubtful or untraceable. In these cases I have preferred to reproduce the work of others than to give an incomplete picture. The areas referred to are not large, and the rest of the thesis is completely original.

****

Views of the Brothers and their way of life and beliefs in the 14th century ranged from clear ones based on knowledge to false and distorted ones based on lies and abuse. Their reality was filtered through several panes of glass:- clear glass to themselves and a very few friends; less clear and partly obscured glass to other friends; darkened and distorted glass to most in the outside world and the Church. The glass through which most friends saw them was less clear because of the slightness of their contact with the Brothers, while that through which the outside world looked was darkened by the secrecy of these heretics, and distorted by the misrepresentation and abuse of them in treatises, sermons and rumour.

In Chapter II I examine the pattern of the relations between the friends and Brothers. In particular I try to show that the accuracy of their picture of the Brothers and their beliefs was greatly affected by the degree of contact they had with them. A few who saw much of the Brothers - lodging them and holding many meetings in their houses - possessed a very clear picture. A larger number, mainly those less close to the Brothers, held their beliefs, but in a rather less full or precise form. Then again there were a few who were very distant from them - confessing to them perhaps no more than 3 or 4 times in 40 years - to whom the Brothers were

more shadowy figures. Their picture of the Brothers was dimmer and more fantastic. To them the Brothers were men who visited the community at regular intervals and were vested with extraordinary powers; their doings when they were away were shrouded in mystery. Both of these features provided the foundation for the fantastic legend, held at least by some in the Krems area prior to 1315 and some in Brandenburg prior to 1392-4, that there were some of this number travelling through the lands of the earth who journeyed to paradise to receive authority there.[1]

The basis of the friends' picture was at least the appearance, however infrequent, of the Brothers, and their sermons, allied with the report or hearsay of other friends. By contrast little or nothing of the Brothers', or friends', existence or beliefs appeared directly to laymen in the outside world: unnoticed itinerant tailors or cobblers were the Brothers about their travels, and unnoticed laymen and women going to church like other Christians were the friends. To laymen in most areas, and certainly Brandenburg and Austria, the fact of their existence must have been apparent through the preaching of the clergy, intermittent inquisitorial activities against them, and public rumour, all shot through and coloured by the dramatic episodes of murders committed by them and the dramatic occasions of their executions. The dispersion of literature on the Waldensians shows that there were a few educated laymen whose picture of these hidden heretics was founded on the detailed information given in inquisitors' treatises. One surviving copy of the treatise of the Anonymous of Passau (c.1266), translated into German and dating from the late 14th century, was in the hands of a knight, one Thomas of Trenbach,[2] while one manuscript containing a considerable amount of literature on the Waldensians, the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, the report of the 1315 inquisition in Krems, and three elements of the

---

1 For the above, see Ch.II vii(b). 2 Vienna Nat.Lib.2846; on front end paper: 'Dominus Thomas de Trenwach, miles'. On the Trenbach family, see Patschovsky, Der Passauer Anonymous, p.13 n.54

correspondence, and dating from 1370/9, was in the hands of one Ulrich, an inhabitant of Krems, before finding its way to Klosterneuburg.[1] But it is unlikely that many had such detailed sources of information, and for the majority the picture held of the Waldensians was thinner and more distorted.. It is of course impossible to describe the innumerable variations of this picture, changing in shape and colour from region to region and person to person, but one can point to two generally common and persistent features in it: the secrecy of the heretics, and the evil nature of their practices and beliefs. The Brothers were secret preachers, skulking in hidden places at night-time: in the eyes of one Fribourg inhabitant, whose words were reported in the process of 1430, they were 'predicatores angulorum' who preached 'in cornetis et in occulto';[2] from the report of the process in Strasbourg in 1400 it appears that the Brothers were known in that city as the 'Winkeler', from the word for a corner or nook, while from a note in Augsburg council records it seems that because the Waldensians met at night and in cellars they were known there as the 'Grüblins-Leut', or 'Hole-people'.[3]

A 16th century Augsburg chronicle repeats this description of the Waldensians, and adds to it the information that they practised sodomy:[4] a parallel in literary development of the easy transition, in men's minds, from knowledge of secrecy and night-time meetings to attributions of wicked or unnatural beliefs and practices. The nature of the alleged wickedness appears to have been fairly consistent throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. The author of the De Inquisitione Hereticorum declares his own disbelief in certain allegations about the Waldensians, and thereby incidentally restates the allegations about them currently held by others if not by him: they adored

---

1 See ms.Bc in the list in Pt.II ii(4). 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.7b^{r}. 3 Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte IV: Augsburg I (Leipzig,1865),p.96 no.4. The phrase 'Grübenhaimer' was applied to friends in Donauwörth (C.Königsdorfer, Geschichte des Klosters zum heil.Petrus in Donauwörth,I, Donauwörth,1819,p.138. 4 Weberchronik of Clemens Jäger,(Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte XXXIV: Die Chroniken der Schwäbischen Städte - Augsburg IX, Stuttgart/Gotha,1929,p.222). See A.Steichele,Das Bisthum Augsburg,Augsburg,1872,p.764 no.168 for the statement that those in Donauwörth were called 'Gruebhaimer' because of their practice of sodomy and unchaste life.

Lucifer, kissed cats, saw the devil, and at meetings, after extinguishing lights, fornicated together.[1] Some of these allegations re-appear in the report of an inquisition in Krems in 1315, which is discussed below, and a report of Waldensian beliefs in connection with the capture of some in the bishopric of Eichstädt in the later 14th century repeats the allegation of Luciferanism, fornication and sodomy.[2] These beliefs did not simply lead an existence in literary form and in the minds of those who had access to this literature: they came over to laymen through sermons delivered in church. Kurze has discovered a report of a statement read in the Brandenburg area, in a church in Prenzlau in 1384, in which those assembled heard that these heretics did not believe that Christ was born of a virgin, did not believe that the Eucharist was the body of Christ, and that they baptised children, believed in Lucifer, and came together in cellars where they mixed promiscuously.[3] Such clerical denunciation seems to have been not uncommon: one friend in Brandenburg complained that they were 'horribiliter declamari a catholicis',[4] while another in Fribourg, whose words were reported in 1430, objected to the fact that the Brothers were made out to be so wicked.[5] Conversations between a friend (albeit one concealing her affiliation) and a lay catholic inhabitant of Fribourg shows the successful imprinting of some elements of this image on the mind of one early 15th century laywoman:-

---

1 De Inquisitione Hereticorum, c.10-11 (ed.W.Preger, ABAW, XIV, 2, 1879, p.211). 2 ed.W.Wattenbach, 'Ueber die Secte der Brüder vom freien Geiste', Sitz.d. Königl.Preuss.Akad.d.Wiss.z.Berlin, Ph.-h.Kl., XXIX, 1887, p.520. 3 ed.Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.93; see pp.52-62 for his discussion of allegations of Luciferanism. 4 Wolfenbüttel Cod. Helmst.403, f.103v. 5 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.2r: 'non erant ita mali gentes sicut dicebatur (sic)'.

Greda Laupper(laywoman): 'Quis est ille predicator qui ista predicat? Deberet esse aliquis diabolus'.

Otzschina(a friend): 'Certe non est, sed sunt illi predicatores ita boni sicut et ceteri....'

and:-

Greda Laupper: 'Predicatores dicte secta (sic) predicabant in cornetis et in occulto'.

Otzschina: 'Non sunt predicatores angulorum'.

Greda Laupper: 'Ymo sunt'.

Otzschina: 'Ymo sunt boni predicatores ita boni sicut nostri'.

Greda Laupper: 'Quare ergo osculantur catum sub cauda?'

Otzschina: 'Non faciunt'.

Greda Laupper: 'Possunt esse predicatores diaboli'.[1]

The wide dispersion of this belief among laymen can be seen in a report given by men questioned - at an unknown date - about Waldensians in Silesia to the effect that Lucifer appeared to them.[2]

---

1 Ibid.,f.7b^{r}. In another reported conversation an inhabitant of Fribourg appears holding the idea that the Brothers were very rich: 'Confessores....deberent esse multum divites'(ibid.,f.2b^{r}). What was the origin of this? The fact that on the one hand Brothers received gifts of money (mainly small in amount and devoted to their immediate expenses) while following a life of apostolic poverty was seized upon by their opponents. Perhaps this seemed to accord with the contrast between the outer pretence (poverty, in this instance) and the inner reality of wickedness (possession of great wealth, in this instance) which the 'type' of the heretic dictated (see below for a discussion of this aspect of the 'type'). Thus the former Brother Siegfried was to attack them for preaching poverty while amassing great treasure (RS 10,l.21-3), and Leser repeated the allegation, stating that they have 'tam magnos.... thesauros auri et argenti' (EJL II 13,l.3-4). It may be that allegations based on this -- the hypocrisy of these men who claimed to follow a life of evangelical poverty while keeping secret stores of vast treasure -- formed part of the stock-in-trade of the clergy's abuse of the Brothers, and that here in this conversation we have evidence of the effect of this abuse on the ideas about the Waldensians in the mind of one inhabitant of Fribourg. 2 Prague Nat. Mus.XV D 2,f.194^{b}.

The clergy in general and inquisitors in particular had of course much better opportunities than laymen to gain detailed information about the character and religious beliefs of the Waldensians. There was a continuous history of the composition and copying of tracts or treatises on the Waldensians between the mid-13th century and the end of the 14th century, and large numbers of manuscripts of these works circulated during this period and later: they were available in some numbers in the libraries or religious houses in Upper and Lower Austria, and, to a small extent, in Bavaria in the 13th and 14th centuries - often in monasteries situated in villages where there were secret communities of friends -- and in the first half of the 15th century this literature spread over a wider area, throughout southern Germany and over to the Mosel in the west, and northwards from Bohemia and Moravia up to north-western Poland and the Baltic.[1]

Through this literary dispersion certain pictures of these heretics and their beliefs were circulated. Several factors helped to modify the accuracy of accounts given in this literature. Grundmann has clearly delineated the way in which certain characteristics of this literature affected the information given in it about heretical groups.[2] Firstly, these treatises normally had a specific purpose, for example, that of polemicising against a certain heresy, or warning the clergy and faithful of its danger, and material was re-shaped under the pressure of these concerns. Thus in a treatise designed to warn there will be a tendency to exaggerate the numerical strength of the heresy in question, and to emphasise or exaggerate the degree of deviance of its tenets from those of the faith. Secondly, there was a certain 'type' of the heretic, and information about heretics was shaped and ordered to fit this 'type'. The heretic was the reverse of the true believer in the 'type', a servant

---

1. See App.II and Map III. 2 The following paragraph is a summary of Grundmann, 'Typus des Ketzers', pp.91-107 and, in particular, pp.92-8.

of Anti-Christ and one cut off from the community of believers. Indications of his features were to be found in the Bible and the writings of the Fathers, and these indicated that the heretic's leading characteristics were **superbia** and the species pietatis. The latter quality subsumed, in particular, the heretic's hypocrisis, the opposition between his outer appearance, which was one of sanctity or orthodox piety, and his inner reality as a wicked and secret agent of the devil. Certain features of the Waldensians seemed, on superficial inspection, to accord well with this type and confirm its application to them: this opposition between appearance and reality seemed to relate closely to the various measures employed by the Waldensians to survive, namely secrecy, the use of disguises, and full public participation in the cult of the church.

The application of this 'type' may have been partly responsible for two notable features in this literature: first, the tendency to blur the nuances of Waldensian participation in the cult of the Church, which as we shall see in Chapter 2, was partly genuine, partly fictional, and partly a mixture of both, and to interpret it in terms of a black and white contrast between appearance and reality, and thus describe it as totally fictional. Secondly, the authors of these treatises show a willingness to proceed from (accurate) statements of Waldensian positions through logical deductions from these towards extreme or horrible beliefs which the Waldensians did not hold. The contrast between outer holiness and piety and inner evil posited by the 'type' was a licence, I would suggest, for this progression:- the Waldensians professed such-and-such a proposition and in fact also such-and-such a proposition, which was a logical extension from the first, although because they were evil and cunning they do not admit the second. Generally it is difficult to show such logical extension, because the extension, rather than being an observable slow progression from one text to another, lies immediately between the particular Waldensian position and the enunciation of the logical consequence of this position as an article of Waldensian belief in an inquisitorial treatise, and is therefore hidden. However, in one area we can fortunately see such extension taking place: the Waldensian attitude

to the saints. In Chapter I we shall see that while the Brothers rejected the notion that saints had the power to intercede, and therefore rejected all in the cult of the Church which proceeded from this notion, they possessed a deep veneration for the saints, and regarded the writings of the Fathers as being of high authority. This position was misrepresented throughout, and one example from the later 14th century shows one of the ways in which this could happen. Towards the end of the EJL II (c.1370/8) its author seizes upon the fact that Silvester is called a heresiarch in the Waldensian LE. From this it may be concluded, he writes, that all those succeeding Silvester were heresiarchs, and since they were the heads of the whole Church the whole Church is infected. Therefore all that has been said by the Church about the martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all who came after Silvester, and all the signs and miracles told about blessed Gregory...etc.... all are 'mendosa'. Further, Jerome, Ambrose, Athanasius...Chrysostom, Augustine: all perished because they were all members of the Church ...'quod est horrendum credere'.[1] The author of this, a renegade Brother, knew that his conclusion was an inaccurate representation of the Waldensian position; but would a later author reading his work know this? A later author, the inquisitor Zwicker, wrote a letter in 1395 warning of the danger of the Waldensian heresy, and included among the Waldensian articles listed by him this statement: 'omnes animas sanctorum...Ambrosii, Augustini, Gregorii...Johannis Crisostomi...et omnium Sanctorum, martyrum, confessorum, virginum... omnes tales esse dampnatos in inferno'.[2]

---

1 EJL II,13,l.25- 14,l.11. 2 In the edition of G.E. Friess, 'Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters', Oest. Vierteljahrschrift f.kath.Theol.,XI,1872,p.265. See App.I. for the suggestion that Zwicker may have used the library at the Benedictine monastery of Garsten, which possessed at this time a copy of the EJL II. It is possible to suggest that Zwicker's point in this instance was a deduction from the Waldensian attribution of supreme authority to the Bible alone: e.g. they reject all which is not stated in the Bible; the saints are not commended in the Bible; ergo,etc. This may be so; it may also be that both pieces of logic lay behind Zwicker's point. In either case it does not materially affect my argument, which is intended to point to the use of this type of logic rather than its particular form in each case.

The training of the minds of those who wrote these treatises, a training in systematic theology, may have been one of the factors leading these men to this mis-representation of the beliefs of these simple scriptural fundamentalists, the Brothers, whose beliefs - however coherent in their own eyes - were not linked in a highly systematised and logical fashion, nor susceptible of expression in this manner. The Waldensian condemnation of the Donation and its effects on the Roman Church and their own claim to form part of the Church of the elect is hardened and sharpened into a complete condemnation of all those in the Roman Church. Waldensian objections to abuses are compiled, perhaps extended, and logical deductions drawn from them: thus their objection to what were, in their eyes, abuses surrounding the sacraments are all listed together, and made to support the statement that they rejected all the sacraments.

It seems to me that another feature should be added to the 'type' described above. Together with the heretic who was the counter or reverse of the true believer was the secta which was a counter of the Church. Certain features and emphases in the presentation by these authors of the Waldensians appear to reveal their expectation that this secta should be the counter of the Church, that is to say, that it should claim to form what the Roman Church actually forms, and thus claim to possess some of its features: a hierarchy, the administration of sacraments, and the counter claim 'extra sectam nulla salus', and the complementary total rejection of the hierarchy and sacraments of the Roman Church and damnation of all those in it. The belief in the essential unity of all heresies, despite their apparent external differences, and the availability of literature on another heresy, which actually claimed these, that of the Cathars, helped towards the attribution of such a position to the Waldensians. The nuances and ambiguities of the Brothers' position, forming an Order with some adherents, but not yet a Church, rejecting much of the faith of the Church while not rejecting its sacraments, and the imprecise nature of their condemnation of the Roman Church, were not easily assimilable to the minds of those trained in orthodox theology. For these the

logic of the Church's condemnation and exclusion of the Waldensians was the complementary Waldensian condemnation and independence of the Church, and hence it is not surprising that in their accounts of the Waldensians their real but elusive position is replaced by the picture of the counter-Church which they were supposed to form.[1]

The first of these treatises was compiled by an inquisitor, the Anonymous of Passau, c.1266, and a second recension of this treatise was produced towards c.1270-1300. The conventional religious observance and moral probity of the Waldensians is explained here by the hypocrisy of the heretic, the 'species pietatis': they have the outer appearance of probity, in that they are chaste and temperate,[2] and the outer appearance of piety, in that they go to church, offer, confess, and take communion, but do this fictitiously: 'ficte', 'totum ficte'.[3] Waldensian beliefs and practices are listed in a manner which serves to portray the Waldensians as forming a counter-Church. They condemn the Roman Church while claiming themselves to form the Church of Christ;[4] they reject the authority of prelates in the Roman Church,[5] while the complementary existence of a Waldensian counter-hierarchy is implied by the use of the words 'perfectus'[6] (taken from literature on the Cathars) and 'episcopus' in descriptions of them;[7] and, finally, they damn all the sacraments of the Church,[8] while they themselves consecrate and administer the sacrament (Eucharist),[9] as well as hearing confessions.[10] The Brothers themselves have a status and attribute dictated by the 'type' and the theological preconceptions of the author: insofar as the 'type' dictated that the heretic was the counter or reverse of the true believer, the heretical counterparts of the believers in the Church, who included philosophers, the literate, etc., were workers,

---

1 For all these points see the literature discussed below. 2 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.272g. 3 Cols.266c and 272g. 4 Col.265a. 5 Col.265b. 6 Col.266d. 7 Cols.264e, 266c, etc. 8 Col.265d. 9 Col.265g, 266b. 10 Col.265e.

women, and idiots,[1] and therefore the Waldensians were 'idiotae', who expound scripture in a false and corrupt manner.[2] Further, they were 'layci', since the author declared that he called those 'non ordinatos a nostris episcopis' laymen.[3] Certain tenets are ascribed to them, and most of these can be confirmed by 14th century evidence, with a few exceptions, such as the belief that a good layman has the power of absolving or that no one apart from the Apostles is a saint.

In the absence of other evidence from the 13th century it is only possible to suggest, but not to demonstrate, the erroneous nature of much of this. The condemnation of the Roman Church and claim to form the Church of Christ may be an extension and sharpening of the Waldensian condemnation of the Donation and consequent evils in the Roman Church to accord with the picture of a counter-Church given here and elsewhere. The Waldensian hierarchy arises from the misapplication of the Cathar term 'perfectus' and the term 'episcopus', the latter either deriving also from literature on the Cathars or an attempt on the part of the author to express the seniority of some Brothers or their power of transmitting the authority of their office.[4] The Waldensian damnation of the sacraments of the Church is based on a compilation under each sacrament of as many objections as possible, generally to usages surrounding the sacrament in question. Some of these objections, such as the point about god-parents' inability to understand questions put to them at the ceremony of baptism[5], reveal a concern for the sacrament which implies recognition of it, and even if one accepts all the objections listed at their face-value it is clear that they provide only circumstantial support for the extreme claim 'omnia sacramenta Ecclesiae damnant'. With regard to

---

1 Col.263f-g. 2 Col.264b. 3 Col.273g. 4 For further discussion of this point, see the examination of the Waldensian ordo in Chapter I and the examination of the question of hierarchy in note B(1) appended to Chapter I. 5 Gretser.col.265d.

Waldensian sacraments, the treatise mentions confession and the imposition of hands, which can be confirmed by later evidence, but also consecration, which cannot. There are possible explanations of this: inquisitorial literature relating to French Waldensians contained descriptions of the blessing of bread in a 'cena', and examples of this literature may have been available at this time; two inquisitor's manuals containing much material of French provenance, including a description of the 'cena' of the Waldensians, were circulating in German-speaking areas at a later date, one at the Benedictine monastery of Garsten in Lower Austria.[1] It could be an interpolation from such alien literature. Another possibility is that the author was beginning with a single aberrant instance of consecration among the Brothers, such as the one reliably reported in 1395,[2] and extending this into the statement that this was universal practice among the Brothers; or that the author was beginning with an aberrant instance of belief among friends -- namely the belief that the Brothers could consecrate, which was reported in Augsburg in 1393[3] -- and similarly extending this. Elsewhere one can see attributions of other beliefs to the Waldensians, false in terms of 14th century evidence, which may result from the extension by deduction which was discussed above. The word 'laicus' was applied, for reasons mentioned above (and discussed in Note A(1) appended to Chapter I) to men who heard confessions and appeared to abound in virtue, and it may have been a deduction from this which led to the statement that they believed that any good layman had the power of hearing confessions.[4] Another example is that of the Waldensian attitude to the saints. Various objections are listed, including disbelief in their legenda and rejection of their invocation, and these lead, perhaps through a deduction from the statement that they rejected what was not proved by the Bible and the objections to the cult of the saints, towards the statement that the

---

1. Linz Studienbibliothek 177,f.39^{r}; Vat.Lat.4265 is a copy; for these mss. see App.II. 2 Cum dormirent treatise, Gretser,col.278f. 3 A.F.Oefele,Rerum Boicarum Scriptores,I,Vienna,1763,p.620; see the discussion of this note B(2) appended to Chapter I. 4 Gretser,col. 265e.

Waldensians did not hold anyone apart from the Apostles to be a saint.[1] In this instance the force of the analogy in 14th century literature, given above, cannot be resisted.

This treatise circulated more than any other from the 13th or 14th centuries -- its second recension, the treatise of the Pseudo-Reinerius, is known to have been extant in at least 44 mss.[2] Its picture of the Waldensians and their beliefs was the most widely prevalent in those areas of southern Germany, Austria, Bohemia, western Poland and north-eastern Germany in which such literature spread from the late 13th to the late 15th century.

In the next treatise to circulate widely, the De inquisitione Hereticorum, the representation of the Waldensians is ordered into a similar 'type'. They are evil, serpents, and their marks are 'superbia' and 'hypocrisis'.[3] Their 'superbia' is seen in their boasting about their wisdom and sanctity.[4] Their hypocrisy is seen in their participation in the cult of the Church, for they frequent churches, receiving the sacrament and confessing, etc., fictitious activities which are to be seen as the sheep's clothing donned by the wolf (the Waldensian) so that other sheep (the innocent faithful) shall not recognise him.[5] A counter-Church is implied. They alone form the Church of Christ, while all obeying the Roman Church are damned;[6] their objections to all the sacraments are listed, while it is stated that they participate in their own 'cena Christi'. One statement is probably a deduction from their condemnation of the Donation, namely that they held that all saints and the faithful from the time of Pope Silvester are damned.[7] The influence of literature on the Cathars can be seen in some areas, notably in the use of the word 'perfecti' to describe the Brothers, and the allegation

---

1 Gretser,col.265g-h. 2. See App.II; I use the past tense because this figure includes one ms. of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise which is no longer extant. 3 De Inquisitione Hereticorum, c.2,4,12-4 (ed.Preger, pp.204-6,212). 4 C.13(ed.Preger,p.212). 5 C.14(ed.Preger,p.212). 6 C.5(p.206). 7 C.5(p.207).

that they did not receive the Old Testament.[1] Within the distorting framework of the 'type', however, most of the information given is fairly accurate, and there is a notable and clear rejection by the author of the allegations that the Waldensians worshipped Lucifer, kissed cats, fornicated after extinguishing lights at their meetings, etc.[2]

This treatise, again, circulated widely: at least 19 mss. from the 14th and 15th centuries survive in German-speaking areas.[3]

The next tract, the report of an inquisition in Krems in 1315, was expressly designed to warn the faithful of the danger of the heresy.[4] This it did in several ways. First, it quoted exaggerated figures for its numbers (80,000 in Austria and an 'infinitus numerus' in Bohemia and Moravia)[5] and a prediction by one of its adherents that it was so strong that in a few decades it might prevail in the open.[6] Secondly the Waldensians were portrayed in extreme positions and, in particular, made into a counter-Church. Their rejection of each sacrament in the Church is detailed, in accord with previous literary tradition,[7] and they are given a hierarchy, the description of which was taken, as Dr. Nickson has pointed out, from Sacchoni's description of the Cathar hierarchy.[8] Thirdly, fantastic or horrible beliefs or practices were attributed to them. The fantastic belief, probably taken from the depositions of more ignorant friends, that two of their 'Apostles' entered paradise each year is attributed to them all,

---

1 C.5 and 7 (p.209). 2 C.10-11(p.211). 3 See App.II and map III. 4 References here and later are to the editions of two versions of this in Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius',pp.304-14. 5 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius',p.307. 6 Ibid.,p.308. 7 Ibid.,p.306. The notion of complete rejection of the sacraments is probably taken from the treatise of the Anonymous of Passau (in one of its recensions), upon which the Krems report is elsewhere heavily dependent. 8 Ibid., pp.310 and 291 no.3.

without qualification.[1] They derogate from the virginity of Mary.[2] Further, the document shows the natural alliance between knowledge of the heretics' secrecy and the allegations of devil-worship and sexual promiscuity. There is a description of the methods of secrecy employed (e.g. the use of code-words),[3] the worship of Lucifer, to whom they bought masses,[4] and instances of the practice of promiscuity or the belief in its licitness: one in Krems spent a night in drunkenness and incestuous fornication in order to blaspheme the Lord's Supper,[5] while one girl stated that while she was a virgin above ground below it she was not.[6]

Only five manuscripts of this survive, and they seem to have circulated mainly in Austria: one copy in the later 14th century was in the hands of a layman in Krems, and of the four others, all copied in the 15th century, one was in the library of the Benedictine monastery of Michaelbeuern on the Mattsee, north of Salzburg, and the other three probably also in Austria.[7]

The treatises described above provided the staple element of the literature on the Waldensians available to the clergy, mainly in Austria, until the 1360's, together with, possibly, a small number of copies of treatises of totally alien provenance, such as the treatises of Alain de Lille and Moneta of Cremona, of which there were a few copies in Bohemia, Austria and Bavaria in the 14th and 15th centuries.[8] We must assume that the picture of the Waldensians held by the clergy in Austria and southern Germany up to this time was based on this, for the most part, widely available literature. The matter remained at this stage until the conversion c.1365-7 of a substantial number of Brothers, who brought over with them into the Church a body of intimate and accurate information about the Waldensians which in some areas ran counter to, or severely modified, the picture of them given in previous

---

1 Ibid.,p.305; see the discussion of this belief in Chapter II vii(b).
2 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius',p.305. 3 Ibid.,p.307. 4 Ibid.,p.305.
5 Ibid.,p.306-7. 6 Ibid.,p.307. 7 See App.II. 8 See App.II.

literature. One document, the CJL, which appears to consist of extracts made from their depositions on the occasion of their confessions and abjurations, contains statements on their beliefs and practices which seem to have been selected with this in mind, that is to say, to pin-point and illustrate the contrast between the old picture and this new information.[1] The first point in it is the statement by one converted Brother that they (the Brothers) do not have the power of conferring 'sacramenta', and it is also noted that one Waldensian died without receiving communion, and 'therefore they do not have the power of consecrating', which runs counter to statements of the opposite in previous literature. Secondly the CJL bears on confession. One states that they have priests to hear confession, a reference to the practice of double confession and the notion that confession to priests, though of lesser value, was not totally devoid of value, and this modifies the previous statements that Waldensian confession in Church was totally fictitious, together with the remainder of their participation in the cult of the Church. The CJL also notes that the Waldensians had a certain person who was a fornicator as a confessor, an instance running counter to the statement that moral probity enabled anyone to hear confessions, which may have been based, as I wrote above, on the misleading use of the word 'laicus'. Thirdly, the CJL notes the belief that some in the Church, both clergy and laymen, may be saved, which runs counter to the rigid and exclusive claims of the Waldensians in previous literature, and the complementary rigid damnation of all in the Roman Church. Finally, it is stated that the saints should be venerated, and this serves to redress the balance of statements in previous literature, and re-instate the basic character of the Waldensian attitude to saints, and especially to the Fathers, which was simply veneration.

The CJL was probably not widely known: only three copies survive, one in a ms. of 1391 from the Augustinian house of Klosterneuburg in

---

1 For a discussion of the nature of the CJL, see Pt.II iii; for its text, see the edition in Pt.II.

Lower Austria, one early 15th century copy from the Benedictine house of Spital-am-Pyhrn in Upper Austria, and another from the same period in the Charterhouse of Salvatorberg near Erfurt.[1] Further, it is so short and its contents so cryptic that it is doubtful if it would have had much influence on its own. However the permanence of the intrusion of this new information into the Church's literature on the Waldensians was ensured by the composition and dispersion of two other pieces or collections of literature. First of all, at this time or later in the 14th century, a detailed description of the ordination of the Brothers, and a note on the scope of powers which this conferred, was drawn up, together with a list of Waldensian 'errors'.[2] The document contains some elements which derive from the 'type', including the simulation of sanctity (they fast in order to appear holier among the friends),[3] their stupidity (they are 'illiterati et ydiotae')[4] and the odd intrusion of a description of consecration[5] which is at variance with the rest of the document; but much of it is accurate. It circulated widely, and was extant in at least 15 mss.[6] Secondly, the source, nature and scope of the Brothers' authority and the Waldensian attitude to the sacraments in the Church was made clear in the polemical correspondence in which the converted Brothers engaged, parts of which circulated in the last decades of the 14th century in Upper Austria (Garsten, Spital-am-Pyhrn), and Lower Austria (Klosterneuburg), and further in the 15th century not only in Austria (Aggsbach, Mondsee) but also in southern Germany (Reichenau).

The last decades of the 14th century saw considerable literary activity in this area: the anonymous treatise Attendite a falsis prophetis (pre-1391), the formulae in the inquisitor's handbook the Processus Petri, the polemical treatise Cum dormirent written in 1395, and the treatise of Peter of Pilichdorf(14c-15c) were composed at this

---

1 See Pt.II ii(b),mss.B1,C2 and E. 2 See the note on the Vita et Conversacio in App.II. The following references are to the version printed by Friess. 3 Friess, 'Patarener',p.257. 4 Ibid., p.258. 5 Ibid.,p.260. 6 See App.II.

time, and all show the influence of the modification brought about in the late 1360's in the Church's picture of the Waldensians.[1] The most popular of these, the Cum dormirent treatise, may be taken as a representative example.[2]

The sources which formed the basis of the treatise were extensive. Its text reveals the use of the Waldensian LE and EFI I, and the De Inquisitione hereticorum (possibly used in the library at Garsten), and the author clearly had extensive knowledge of the Brothers and their adherents. If my suggestion (in Appendix I) that the author was the inquisitor Zwicker is correct, then personal experience of over 400 trials in Brandenburg and many elsewhere will have provided the main reservoir of knowledge.[3]

Although the treatise which resulted was the most accurate yet written, some elements of the 'type' reappear. The Brothers are sent by the devil and are murderers, liars, robbers;[4] many have been found to be criminal;[5] 'superbia' is alleged again.[6] The tradition of the stupidity of the heretic, the counter of the philosophers etc. in the Church, is restated repeatedly: the Brothers are 'illiterati', 'caecos et mutos, surdos et obstinatos, et asinas insensatos', 'rudis et illiteratis', 'illiterati idiotae et asini dictionum constructionem nescientes', 'stulti', ignorant of Latin, etc.[7] Hypocrisy is posited of them, the hypocrisy of the simulation of pretended sanctity.[8] The Brothers are thieves stealing in at night to deceive the simple faithful, the 'simplices', '..pacificos, quietos, silentiosos...'[9] Further, the polemical purpose of the treatise leads to some distortion, such as for example, the minimisation of the numbers of the Waldensians to show that they do not accord with the dispersion and magnitude which

---

1 See App.II for this literature. 2 See App.I for this treatise. 3 For the sources and authorship of this treatise see Pt.II v, and App.I. 4 Gretser, col.279c. 5 Col.282e. 6 Col.285e. 7 Cols. 292g, 297c, 278e, 298c, f, b. 8 Col.278e. 9 Cols.279g, 280c.

are the signs of the true Church.[1] However, within this framework the information conveyed about most Waldensian doctrinal positions is conveyed with considerable accuracy. Their tenets on a range of issues, such as the taking of oaths, indulgences and pilgrimages, the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints, etc. are reported correctly, while certain false statements of 13th or early 14th century literature are denied expressly or by implication. The Waldensians damn everything in the Church 'exceptis solis sacramentis'.[2] The Brothers hear only confessions.[3] Many erroneous statements (e.g. that the Waldensians believed a good layman has the power to hear confessions and absolve, etc.) are not repeated, and some are explicitly rejected. The Waldensians are described, for example, as men who abhor Luciferans.[4]

This treatise spread widely -- it is known to have been extant in at least 45 mss. -- one of which, originating in Bohemia, was made in 1404.[5] The literary picture at this period, the later 14th and early 15th century, is rather confused, for while the more accurate picture in this treatise was dispersing widely, the less accurate pictures of the various recensions of the treatise of the Anonymous of Passau and also the De Inquisitione Hereticorum were being more widely dispersed through the increasing numbers of mss. of these treatises copied at this time. The report of the inquisition in Krems, with its allegations of Luciferanism, was being copied at this time, and a report drawn up about Waldensians in Eichstädt (extant in only one ms.) was repeating the charge of Luciferanism.[6]

I have tried, through brief analyses of these treatises and accounts of their dispersion, to map the existence and circulation in literary form of certain accounts or pictures of the Waldensians and their beliefs. It is difficult to trace more closely the diffusion of these ideas and their precise influence. Who read the treatises containing these ideas? Presumably the main readers were the

---

1 See the comparison between the data of this treatise and the data of trial records on the numbers and geographical dispersion of Waldensians in Chapter II ii. 2 Gretser, col.278e. 3 Col.278f. 4 Col.280e. 5 See App.I. 6 Ed. by Wattenbach, 'Ueber die Secte etc.', p.517-21; the ms. came from St. Ulrich in Augsburg.

religious living in houses whose libraries possessed them - monasteries and convents in Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, north-western Poland, north-eastern Germany, and a few other scattered places. Occasionally some came into the hands of a parish priest; the Cum dormirent treatise came into the hands of a parish priest of Plana. Interest spread to academic circles: one prominent member of the theological faculty of the University of Vienna (late 14th century) wrote a tract against Waldensians, and two rectors of the University in the first half of the 15th century possessed copies of the treatise of the Pseudo-Reinerius, while another copy of this treatise was in the hands of two members of the University of Kraków in the early 15th century before entering the University library; further to the west a professor of Theology at Freiburg possessed a copy of the Vita et conversacio in the later 15th century. This literature was read by those who composed such treatises. Finally, it was read by inquisitors.

Documents relating to trials of Waldensians provide us with one means whereby the influence of this literature in individual cases can be measured, for the nature of the questions asked often reveal the extent of an inquisitor's knowledge and, by implication, the nature of the literary sources to which he had access. Three examples can be given from the late 14th and early 15th centuries. First there is the case of the Prussian inquisitor Peter Zwicker, who probably came to know the Waldensians more closely than any other man of his time. In the Brandenburg trials of 1392-4 he was at or near the beginning of his career as an inquisitor, and it is interesting to note questions in one of the earliest of these trials which reveal his comparative ignorance at this stage of the Waldensians' real beliefs, and the access which he had had to literature containing some of the wilder allegations against them (possibly the Krems report, although local Brandenburg tradition remains a plausible alternative). He asked whether they adored Lucifer and met in subterranean places to mix and exercise 'concupiscencias', and two further questions about the Eucharist and baptism whose precise nature is not clear, because of the fragmentary nature of the folio onto which they are copied,

although from what can be read it is clear that they referred to some extreme or horrible deviation from catholic belief. He was told by the questioned friend that he should know that these articles were not 'de secta Waldensium'.[1] Zwicker learnt from this: the question about Luciferanism re-appears once,[2] and then does not re-appear, nor do the allegations upon which they were based find any reflection in his writings. However, if he, an inquisitor, could believe these possible when at the beginning of his career, what did religious who did not have the benefit of his experience believe? A second example is provided by the figure of Frederick Süffner, deputed inquisitor by the bishop of Regensburg. The report of his questioning of several friends in that city in 1395 survives. Some questions on the Credo show that he was not aware of Waldensian orthodoxy on major theological issues, and another - whether the Brothers prohibited confession to priests - shows his ignorance of Waldensian practice.[3] Finally two questions, whether they believed that a man could reach such a state of perfection that he could sin no longer,[4] and the reconciliation of this with the view that the Brothers who heard confessions were laymen, that is, whether one could reach such a state of perfection that one could absolve from sin,[5] showed probably the conflation in his mind of reports on the Waldensians with reports on the heretics of the Free Spirit, and his ignorance of the Waldensians. I should add that it is perfectly clear from their answers that the friends being questioned

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.9^{r}. 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst. 403,f.46^{r}. 3 Vienna Nat.Lib.3748,f.145^{v}. 4 'Utrum homo in hac presenti vita existens possit accingere tantam perfeccionem // quod amplius non possit peccata committere?' (ibid.,f.146^{r-v}). 5 'Utrum laicus tantam possit accingere perfeccionem quod alios absolvere possit a peccatis' (ibid.,f.153^{v}). Those questioned denied these articles, while elsewhere assenting to their present (or past) tenure of straightforward Waldensian beliefs (e.g. rejection of offerings for the souls of the dead, etc.). One could suggest that Süffner's questions reveal his knowledge of the possibility of Waldensian-Free Spirit syncretism, and that he was sounding out the possibility that those he was questioning held such syncretist beliefs. However, the curiosity he reveals in other questions about the Brother's way of life and precise teachings suggest that genuine ignorance - and a genuine desire to find out - lay behind his questions.

were simply friends, devoid of the doctrinal contamination of any heresy other than that of the Waldensian Brothers. A third example appears in the process of friends in Fribourg in 1430. A set list of questions was used here. Some were based on Waldensian positions: that there is no purgatory, that prayers and offerings for the dead are useless, etc. The friends questioned affirmed belief in these. Others were based on positions erroneously attributed to the Waldensians: that they do not believe in the Blessed Virgin Mary or the Saints; that they do not believe in the sacrament of the Eucharist; that marriage is 'palliatam fornicacionem'; that only those in the sect will be saved; that it would please God if some outside the sect were killed. These suggest the influence of the Pseudo-Reinerius or the De Inquisitione Hereticorum, together with, in the last instance, a doctrinal deduction from knowledge or rumour of some of the murders carried out by friends in the last decades of the 14th century. The friends' answers were clear, denials or corrections according to the case: they believe in the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints, but not in their power to intercede;[1] they do believe in the Eucharist, and have been told by the Brothers to hold it in great reverence;[2] the status of marriage is defended

---

1 For example: 'Bene credunt in Virgine Maria et in aliis sanctis; sed tenent quod eorum oraciones nichil nobis prosunt'(Frib.AE. Geist. Sach.no.26,f.54^{r}); the friends' answers on this point wavered a little, probably because the point of the question was not very clear: were they being asked about belief in the sanctity of saints and the virginity of Mary? or were they being asked about their power to intercede? I think those friends who assented to the article put to them were assigning the second interpretation to it. 2 For example: 'negat quia ymo credunt sacramento altaris'(Ibid,f.55^{r}); 'non fore vera quia firmiter credunt sacramento eukaristie'(ibid.,f.20^{v}); 'sibi perciperunt confessores dicte secte quod dictum sacramentum devote reciperet'(ibid.,f.27^{r}). Among all the friends questioned there was only one exception.

with force;[1] they have either not heard the article on damnation outside the sect, or hold that people outside the sect are condemned or saved according to their merits;[2] they have either not heard of the last article or indignantly deny it.

The balance here is clear: admissions of Waldensian beliefs, and denials and modifications of beliefs attributed erroneously or in mangled form to them. The balance is that of the mixture of truth, distortion, and falsehood which was present in literary accounts of the Waldensians. In this instance, for once, this mixture was exposed, through these questions to friends in Fribourg in 1430, to verification and invalidation, and the friends' confirmations, modifications, and denials here sorted the wheat from the chaff. It was a miniature example of the independent existence led by separate phenomena, on the one hand the heretics and their way of life and beliefs, and on the other hand ideas about these held by other people, ideas containing truths and distortions, and the rarity of the encounters between these.

---

1 For example: 'non fore vera quia existentes de dicta secta tenent matrimonium esse rem sanctam et iustam'(ibid.,f.20^{v}); 'matrimonium est una sancta res'(ibid.,f.54^{v}). Every friend without exception stated that in their belief and that of the Brothers, marriage was a holy state. 2 For example: 'ceteri vero qui non fuit(sic) de secta secundum eorum merita vel demerita meritum capient vel demeritum' (ibid.,f.53^{r}). Friends in Brandenburg were divided on this issue, and it seems that some friends held a more radical position on this than the Brothers.

Chapter I: the Brothers.

Definition.

The Waldensians were divided into two groups. One consisted of those who, receiving a call to perfection, renounced the world and were received into the Order of the Waldensians where they followed a way of life whose basic pattern had many similarities with that of the early Franciscans. Members of the second group were defined by the former Brother John Leser as those who 'remain among men and acquire food with their own hands'.[1] Those in this second group were to all outer appearances like any other laymen, marrying, engaging in business, participating in the conventional activities of their parish and receiving the sacraments from their parish priest. They differed from other laymen in that they heard the sermons of the Brothers and confessed to them in secret, and shared with the latter certain distinctive beliefs which entailed, among other things, the rejection of the validity of some of the religious activities of the parish in which they were forced, for fear of discovery, to participate. The two groups were clearly distinguished by nomenclature. Those in the first group called each other 'Fratres', 'Brüder', and they were called by their followers by the same names. Their followers used other names as well, whose significance is discussed later, but

---

1 EJL I, 14, l.4-6.

the norm is revealed by their usage when referring to any particular Brother: e.g. 'Bruder Claus', etc.[1] Those in the second group were referred to by the Brothers as subditi or amici/amicae .[2] I have adopted Waldensian usage in what follows, referring to members of the first group as 'Brothers' and members of the second as friends; I have not followed inquisitorial nomenclature, 'haeresiarchae', 'magistri', etc. for the former, and 'credentes', 'subditi', etc. for the latter, for these terms were applied indifferently to designate the higher and lower echelons of most sects, and their use may blur the precise relationship between the two groups in any particular sect. In a few cases the use of inquisitorial nomenclature can be positively misleading, in particular where a Cathar or Catholic term is applied to what is only in the loosest sense a Waldensian equivalent, i.e. someone in authority: thus 'perfectus', 'episcopus', and exceptionally, 'papa' have been applied to a Brother.[3]

---

1 For the use of Frater/Fratres among the Brothers, see, for example, W. Wattenbach, 'Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg', Abhandl.der königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1886, Phil.-Hist. Cl.,p.37; the description of the Brothers, Vita et conversacio in Friess, 'Patarener' pp.257-8; EFI I, passim, and 19,1.25 ('confratre'); the anonymous treatise Attendite a falsis prophetis, Karlsruhe Reich.Pap.Ms.48,325;^{ra} the articles in St Paul-im-Lavanttal Ms.92$_4$f. 286^{rb}. Instances of the usage among friends appear in the Strasbourg process of 1400, Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.38-76; see e.g., p.66. In Brandenburg: e.g. the parents of Peter Gossaw told him to confess to the 'heresiarchis nominans (sic) eos fratres' (Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf.348 Novi,f.17^{v}.
2 Rescriptum, Enchiridion, p.171; EFI I,1,1.6; EJL I,14,1.5-6.
3 Pseudo-Reinerius, cols.264e & 266c. The report of the inquisition in Krems, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', pp.307,309,310. Papa appears in a process of Piedmontese Waldensians, Processus contra Valdenses (1387), ed.G. Amati, (Archivio Storico Italiano, Ser.3a,I,pt.I,1865), p.40.

In the following chapter I discuss only the Brothers, in a certain area: the German-speaking lands or enclaves in which the German group preached, the borders of which were, as far as we know, land bordering the Baltic around Stettin in the north; the French-German linguistic border in towns like Swiss Fribourg in the south-west; and German-speaking borders or enclaves in the east in Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and as far south-east as Buda in Hungary. The German-speaking Brothers active in this area formed in the fourteenth century a single organisation. One particular expression, and proof, of this was the custom of changing the area of a Brother's activities annually, so that we can see the same Brother preaching at the extremities of the area just designated. This German group, which we may think of as the equivalent of a Friars' 'province', was linked in the 14th century with two other groups or provinces, namely those formed by the Brothers of Piedmont and the Romagna. Linking these groups were a common literature and communication in inter-provincial (general) chapters, superseded in the later 14th century by epistolary communication. There is no trace of any connection at this stage with the French Waldensians, who had been diverging since before 1218 and seem, from early 14th century processes, to have developed in a very different way. I deal with German group in isolation from the French because of this divergence; dealing with it in isolation from Piedmont and the Romagna is a different matter, to be compared with describing the English Province of Franciscans in isolation from the Order as a whole. The reason in this case lies in the evidence: for the Romagna it is almost non-existent; for Piedmont it is not abundant, and much of it poses singularly difficult problems of interpretation; for the German-group it is fairly abundant and various, and permits the construction of a multi-dimensional picture, even if this must perforce be in many areas tentative and conjectural. However, I do employ evidence relating to Piedmont where its interpretation and equal applicability to the German group is clear.

ii) Numbers, class and education.

Who were the Brothers? The names of a few who were detected by inquisitors survive:- a certain Henry of Devin, who was active in the diocese of Passau prior to c.1266[1]; a certain Neumaister, active in the same area c.1265-c.1315[2], and a certain Hermann, active in the same area prior to c.1315; a certain Rudlinus, who decided to become a Brother c.1299 and was active in Prague c.1311[3]; a certain Hermann, captured in Jindř. Hradec pre-1337[4], and a Gotfried, and a certain Albert active in southern Bohemia prior to c.1340[5]; a few Brothers, of whom four are named, converted c.1365-7 who were probably mainly from the diocese of Passau again, although one was from Prague; a certain Hans Weidehofer, murdered in Strasbourg prior to 1374[6]; finally, over thirty are named in the 1390's: friends tried in Pomerania and Brandenburg in 1393-4 named fifteen, who came from Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Poland[7]; friends tried in Strasbourg in 1400 named three, one from Solothurn, one from Weissenburg, and one from Saxony[8]; and there are two inquisitorial lists from the 1390's, one containing 11/12 names[9], one 20[10], which overlap both each other and the Brothers named in Brandenburg and Strasbourg. These also included Brothers originating in Hungary, and one coming from Transylvania.

How representative was this handful of Brothers? Was the whole body of Brothers at any one time in the 14th century, and

---

1 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.264c. 2 Report of Krems Inquisition, Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', pp.312-3. 3 Process printed by I. Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice v Čechách etc.', Československý časopis historický, V,1957, p.537. 4 Ibid., p.536. 5 Process in Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Göttweig III Th., ed. A.F. Fuchse (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Abt.II, Diplom. et Acta, Bd.LV,1902), pp.394 & 396. 6 Winkeler, Röhrich, pp.43-4. 7 D. Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', pp.79 ff. 8 pp.66 & 74. 9 Ed. Kurze, op.cit., p.94. 10 H. Haupt, Der Waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis etc. (Würzburg, 1886), pp.35-6.

including those who were never detected by inquisitors, much larger than the thirty or so whose names appeared to inquisitors in the last decade of the 14th century? We have estimates by some friends, and these are of varying reliability. The statement by one Fribourg friend that there were 72 is only a testimony to his identification of the Brothers with the 72 disciples commissioned by Christ[1]; the statement by a Strasbourg friend that they were 12 has a similar theological basis.[2] On the other hand one Strasbourg friend said that there were 15 of them, with the telling circumstantial addition that this applied to 'die Alten on die Jungen'.[3] In other words, since each 'senior' was invariably accompanied by a 'junior', this implies at least 30 active Brothers, to whom one would have to add the unknown number of inactive or no-longer active Brothers in Houses. Now, 15 has no such immediate theological significance as 12 or 72, and it is accompanied by a circumstantial detail which makes it more plausibly an observation of reality. How likely is this? In this area there can be no demonstrations, but some other points are suggestive. First, the numbers received into the Order. We know that on one occasion in Strasbourg pre-c.1392, five Brothers were received into the Order,[4] and we know that reception took place after probation of one or two years. We do not know, of course, how static the numbers of the Brothers were, nor what was the life expectancy of a Brother! We can say, however, that reception into the Order was not more frequent than annual (it took place at the annual Chapter), and that the numbers falling out between c.1365 and c.1400 through conversion, murder and execution were high. In this context, the reception of 5 every year or every few years, or a figure near this, has a plausible relation to an overall figure at this time of 30 or more. Secondly, one Brandenburg friend confessed that over a period of seventy years she had confessed to 'a good twenty' Brothers.[5] These will have represented a substantial

---

1 Frib.AE Geist. Sach. no.26.f.52^{v} and 53^{v}. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.40 3 Ibid., p.54. 4 Ibid., p.42. 5 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.41.

proportion of Brothers from throughout Germany and central Europe, for the Brothers changed the area of their pastoral activities annually, and consequently the same Brother was seen in places far removed from each other. The span of seventy years, during which the friend saw many Brothers long since dead, may be offset by the fact that this is testimony from only one friend. Her confession to 'a good twenty' during this seventy years has again a not implausible relation to an overall figure at any one time of 30 plus. Thirdly, the extent of the grief expressed by Austrian Brothers when rather more than four of their number defected c.1365 -7 reflects not only indignation at treachery but also the proportional magnitude of the loss of this number. The figure of 30 or more derived from the statement of the Strasbourg Friend is, therefore, a not unlikely figure for the period during which he was a friend, the third quarter of the 14th century. Thus the three dozen or so Brothers about whose origin, class, and education a little evidence survives are numerically quite representative.

What sort of men were they? They appear to have been confined neither to country, small town or large town environments:- some came from villages, but there were also Brothers from small towns (e.g. Steyer, Plauen) and large towns (e.g. Mainz, Erfurt, Vienna).[1] In some cases occupations are known, the occupation of the father or the occupation of the Brother prior to his reception into the Order. They are the following: from pre-c.1266, a glove maker;[2] from pre-1337 a Brother who had been a brewer and inn-keeper (his brother was a librarius);[3] from the 1390's lists:- four sons of peasants, three former cobblers (the sister of one of these was married to a hat-maker in Wittenberg), three former tailors, one former cloth-cutter, one former weaver and one son of weaver, one former wool-spinner, one son of a hatmaker, one former leather-maker, two former

---

1 Haupt, Codex Teplensis, pp.34-5. 2 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.264c. 3 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice', p.537.

smiths, one son of a miller, and finally one former butcher.[1] In other words, there was a minority from the peasant class and a majority from the artisan class, mainly from trades connected with clothing and shoes. It is interesting that despite some variety in former trades, and the fact that only three of these in our lists were cobblers, the friends seem to have had the considerably simplified image of the Brothers as cobblers. One Brandenburg friend described them as such, and one former friend from Strasbourg claimed that when leaving them he had cursed them and exclaimed 'Why do they not stick to making shoes?' ('Warumb si nit schuhe machtent').[2] This indicates more than our fragmentary statistics the social image the Brothers presented.

Elsewhere we can see the Brothers' own sense of their origin in the peasant and artisan classes. It underlies the first part of the narratio of the letter sent by Italian Brothers to Austrian Brothers c.1367, where it is used to confirm their sense of identity with the Apostles: in choosing the Apostles God chose the 'ignobilia mundi'; he chose the weak in the eyes of the world, the powerless, in order to confound the strong, kings and magnates; and so on.[3] We shall also see when discussing the teaching of the Brothers that while their poverty and social origin was not of primary significance in shaping and directing their doctrine, they did lend special impetus to, and a distinctive colouring to the expression of, some parts of this teaching.

---

1 Haupt, Codex Teplensis, pp.35-6, and Kürze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.94. The description of Nicholas of Plauen in the former list as 'cerdo' is glossed 'cerdo ein lederer' in two other mss. of this list, Vat.Pal.Lat.677,f.55^{r}, and St. Peter Salzburg B.V.I.f38^{r}.
2 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.42, and Röhrich, Winkeler, p.67. For the 13th century see Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.272g: 'Doctores ...ipsorum sunt sutores'. Although this Chapter applies to heretics in general, one phrase ('maxime Leoniste') shows that the author had the Waldensians very much in mind. 3 EFI I, 7-10.

The conventional inquisitorial expression of these men's standard of education and literacy was one of derision: the Brothers were 'idiotae sine litteris', ignorant of latin, and so on.[1] These phrases formed part of the Church's 'type' picture of the heretic, discussed above in the introduction. An element in this 'type' could have a greater or lesser correspondence to the respective element in the sect described, and in this case it could be argued that in view of the Brothers' origin in the peasant and artisan classes the element in the type of the 'idiota sine litteris' may have a closer correspondence to reality. Is this the case? The surviving evidence suggests a rather different picture. First of all, friends' statements suggest a norm of literacy, in the sense of not only the ability to read but the habit of reading German. Brothers appeared among the Fribourg Friends in 1430 carrying books,[2] one is described reading from a book,[3] and a friend tried in Strasbourg in 1400 said that when the Brothers had their books with them they preached out of them.[4] Against this the statement of one Brandenburg friend could be quoted: that some were literate: 'aliqui sutores, et eciam alii literati'.[5] In Ch.II I show that because of the conditions of secrecy under which the Brothers operated, and the brevity of their stay in any area, the friends often knew very little about them, or had varying or erroneous ideas about them. I think this statement, and its implication that some but not all the Brothers were literate, falls into this category, that is to say, that it reflects the

---

1 For these, and the 'type' of the heretic, see the introduction.
2 Frib.AE Geist. Sach.no.26,f.10b^{v}. 3 Ibid., f.13^{v}.
4 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.49. 5 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.42.

friends' knowledge about the Brothers rather than the truth. The statement of another Brandenburg friend clearly shows the possibility of such ignorance in this area. He had been a follower for thirty years, could not name any Brothers, and 'did not know until recently that they could read'.[1] Yet another friend in Brandenburg simply said that they were 'literatos'.[2] Secondly a substantial proportion of the Brothers were literate to a higher degree, that is to say, they could read and write Latin. In the three way correspondence of c.1365-7-c.1370-8 between Italian Brothers, Austrian Brothers, and Austrian Brothers who had defected, we have one Latin letter written by or in the name of four Italian Brothers, and other letters which do not survive written by these; two letters written in Latin by two of the defecting Austrian Brothers; and although the letters of the remaining Austrian Brothers do not survive, the presumption must be that these were also in Latin. The Italian letter, it should be noted, follows in its composition the rules of the ars dictaminis. Thirdly, a minority of the Brothers were educated to a slightly higher degree. One Brother, Siegfried, in a letter written to his former confreres after his conversion c.1365-7 makes a passing reference which probably indicates personal experience to the regime of the schools[3] and proceeds to deploy, albeit in a rather tedious fashion, the logical jargon of the schools.[4] Another Brother, a certain Claus, is given in the 1391 list as 'scolaris'; he frequented the schools at Wittenberg for two years.[5] Another Brother is described in this list as 'scolaris'.[6]

---

1 Ibid., p.41. 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Nov.348,f.19^{v}. 3 RS,15,l.17.
4 RS, passim. 5 Haupt, Codex Telpensis, p.36. 6 Ibid., p.35.

Conviction and the character of Waldensian piety played a part in the general lack of higher learning of the Brothers: an attitude akin to that of St. Francis or Thomas à Kempis that higher learning was irrelevant to the evangelical simplicity of the perfect Christian life. This is reflected in the range of literature read by the Piedmontese Brothers in the pre-1400 period: the Bible, and simple moral and ascetic material, rather less dogmatic material, and little or no speculative theology. It comes out more expressly in the German rejection of higher learning: in two lists of Waldensian articles from the later 14th century Universities are condemned, Paris, Prague and Vienna being branded as a waste of time ('temporis perditio').[1] Finally, it is spelled out in the first section of the letter of c.1367 in which the Italian Brothers reply to the charge of the defecting Austrian Brothers that the Brothers are 'inperiti' and lacking in 'sciencia'. The Brothers distinguish wordly and spiritual 'sciencia', and admit the charge as far as the former is concerned. The Brothers quote St. Bernard on those who follow wordly 'sciencia': those who know in order to be known, know only in order to know, or know only in order to sell knowledge. God did not choose 'rhetores' and philosophi' as Apostles (here following St. Gregory). Reverting to spiritual 'sciencia' or 'perfecta sciencia' the Brothers write at some length on the seven conditions of this: humility, sobriety, usefulness, effectiveness, etc. God chose simple and illiterate fishermen as the first Apostles.[2] In general, then, the picture is the following: the Brothers were generally literate and educated to a higher degree than was the probable norm for the peasant and artisan classes from which they came; they read the Bible and simple devotional literature, but higher learning and speculative theology were alien to the evangelical simplicity which was the keynote of their conception of the perfect life.

---

1 Friess, 'Patarener', pp.260 and 264. The same notion is found in the treatise Cum dormirent, Gretser, col.297g. 2 EFI I, 7-9.

What impelled these men to renounce the world and take up the ascetic and dangerous life of a Brother? We have no evidence of the kind which we have for the motives of Friends for confessing to the Brothers, or akin to the letter in which one Brother describes his intellectual reasons (possibly post factum rationalisations) for leaving the Order. Some may have come from families which had been Waldensian for generations where joining the Order might be encouraged, just as children in these families were encouraged, as we shall see, to become friends. Certainly most Brothers came from areas which had been strongly Waldensian for some time; in some instances, however, such as that of Brother Peter from Transylvania this is unlikely to have been the case. We do know that among those converted in the last two decades of the 14th century at least four became priests, and one a monk,[1] and this, the choice of a higher spiritual state in whatever faith they found themselves, suggests for this group at least the primacy among their motives of a call to perfection.

iii) Reception into the Order.

Several descriptions of the form of reception into the German branch of the Order survive. The earliest is contained in the De vita et actibus Pauperum de Lugduno, which appears to refer to both Lombard and German groups.[2] It is of uncertain origin: the witness ('iste qui deponit') upon whose testimony the account is based may have been a Brother or a friend, and from either area. The date is also uncertain. Father Dondaine suggests late 13th or early 14th century; I incline to the earlier date: the description of the Brothers as 'sandaliati' has its origin in a period of the Order's history before it became dangerous to appear in public wearing a habit which marked one as a Brother. Certainly the divergences between this and the accounts (from the later 14th century) mentioned below reflect development and change over a considerable span of time. I cite this below as A.

---

1 Haupt, Codex Teplensis, pp.35-6. 2 Dokumente, pp.92-7. For comments on this see A. Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'Inquisiteur', AFP XVII, 1947, pp.183-4.

Secondly, a certain Henry, the brother of a man who entered the Order c.1299-1311, referred to some of the circumstances of entry when questioned by an inquisitor in 1337, and his witness serves to confirm for this period the information given in the accounts listed below.[1]

Thirdly, two friends tried in Strasbourg in 1400 gave accounts, almost identical, of the reception of Brothers.[2] These I cite below as B_1 and B_2. These accounts are defective compared with the third group listed below, and this accords with the second-hand knowledge to be expected of friends, who were not present at the ceremony and had to rely on report.

Finally there are three accounts from the later 14th century which are detailed in general mutual agreement. These I cite below as C_1, C_2, C_3.[3] One of these is given a terminus by the date of 1404 of one of its mss. The detailed information contained in these suggest origin in the depositions of Brothers, and I think that they are most plausibly associated with the conversion of a group of Brothers in c.1365/7 and/or the Brothers converted in the years prior to 1391 and named in the inquisitorial list of that year.

The following are the stages to be discerned in these accounts:- admission to probation; probation over a certain period; reception into the Order; a second period of probation following reception before the full exercise of pastoral office was permitted.

---

1 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice', p.537. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.42, 51-2. 3 These are versions of the Vita et Conversacio (see App. II). In the following I take the text in C. Schmidt, 'Actenstücke besonders zur Geschichte der Waldenser', Zeitschrift fur die historische Theologie, XXII, 1852, pp.243-5 as C_1, the text in Friess, 'Patarener', pp.257-261 as C_2, and the text in Trier Stadtbibl. Ms.680/879 f.87^v-90^r as C_3.

1) First of all, the senior Brothers consider and choose candidates for admission (C_1). The former Brother John Leser referred to this in a letter of 1368: the consent and knowledge of the other Brothers is required before admission to the 'ordo'[1].

C_2 notes certain conditions which do not constitute a bar. The candidate need not be a Waldensian by birth, and it does not matter who his father is. This latter may refer to legitimacy, or more probably the question of servile status (or both). The candidate must be compliant and chaste. This latter is insisted upon with absolute rigour: the candidate must be a virgin (Henry's witness), totally free from any carnal contact (B_1 &$_2$, C_1).

2) After the Brothers consent to admit him the postulant undergoes probation for one or two years (C_1: C_2: 'per aliquod tempus'). During this time he is attached to a senior Brother and accompanies him on his travels. We know from Strasbourg and Fribourg Friends that the Brothers always went in twos, one of the senior Brothers accompanied by one of the 'juniores', 'jungen'. These latter are either postulants in their first period of probation or professed Brothers in the second period of probation.

3) Subsequent to this first period of probation the postulant is received into the Order in the following manner.

He is led into the presence of the Brothers sitting in Council or Chapter, and asked if he wishes to become 'unus de fratribus'. To this he replies 'Yes' (C_2). According to C_2, and no other account, he is then led into another room containing the Brothers for the rest of the reception. I think there may be a temporal conflation here, the memory of the two chapters (one for admission to probation, one for reception into the Order) being preserved but transposed to one occasion. A more complete conflation is seen in the defective friends' accounts (B_1 &$_2$) in which the admissibility

---

1 EJL I, 15,1.20-23.

of the candidate in terms of chastity and fitness for the Brothers' way of life (admission to probation) is considered in the same chapter in which he takes his vows (admission to the Order).

The candidate then confesses his sins to one Brother (C_2), all the sins he has committed during his life (C_1). Following this, one of the Brothers, described as 'scientior' and possibly the Brother to whom the Candidate has just confessed, examines him on the seven sacraments and the seven articles of the Waldensian version of the Credo (C_1 &$_2$; A: what he must believe is explained to him; C_3: he is instructed in the articles of faith).

Then comes the profession of certain vows. One Brother possibly the same 'scientior', puts the vows to him (C_2: mandat), and the candidate replies to each vow separately (A). The reply is given to each in this form: Ego proposui (?propono) hoc facere in quantum possum Deo me adjuvante et in quantum fragilitas humana permittit (C_2). The vows are 5, or, possibly but not probably, 6 in number:-

1) Chastity for his whole life (A,B_1 &$_2$, C_1: vow no. 1; C_1 &$_3$: vow no.2).
2) To live a life of voluntary poverty (B_1 & B_2 C_1: vow no. 4; C_3: vow no. 3. renunciation of property); to live no more from the labour of his hands (C_1 &$_2$: vow no. 4; B_1 &$_2$ in a later gloss on the ceremony), but to live from charity until death (C_1 &$_2$; B_1 &$_2$ in later gloss).
3) Obedience to God (only C_1: vow no.1); obedience to the Brothers (A; C_3: vow no.1); and in particular to go near and far in whatever lands he is sent without any contradiction (C_1; C_2: vow no.1: going from country to country at the order of the senior Brothers).
4) Henceforth to have no more trust in parents ($C_{1,2,3}$) and relations (C_2 &$_3$) than in any other men.
5) Not to redeem his life if in captivity (C_2) or danger of death ($C_{1,2,3}$) by an oath (C_1; C_2 &$_3$: false oath), or lie C_3; A, Vow no.4 may have a relation: not to lie,

swear or kill; in corrupt form in $B_{1,2}$: never to break away from this faith and take an oath).

C_2 mentions a sixth point upon which the others are silent, namely the obligation to a life of preaching. This may have been subsumed under the vow of obedience (no. 3 above).

After the profession of vows the candidate is ordered (C_3) to genuflect ($C_{2,3}$; A: prostrates himself; in $B_{1,2}$ he has been prostrate throughout). Then all the Brothers (C_3; C_2: the senior Brothers; C_1 is exceptional in positing imposition by <u>one</u> Brother; A,B_1 & B_2 omit) lay hands upon the candidate 'ordinando' (C_3).

Following this he gets up ($C_{2,3}$; A: is raised by the others). The Brothers stand around 'secundum ordinem' (C_2; <u>i.e.</u> according to seniority in the Order, since there was no distinction of orders among the Brothers). The new Brother goes to each Brother ($C_{2,3}$), or each Brother goes to him ($B_{1,2}$), and embraces him ($C_{2,3}$); in other words the kiss of peace is given (A).

Each Brother says to him 'Bene venisti, dilecte Frater' ($C_{1,3}$), or, in German 'Wilkum, lieber bruder' (B_1; B_2: 'lieber meister, siest got wilkomen'), followed by 'nunc es ordinatus fide nostra more Apostolorum' (C_2; C_1 glosses this: "it seems to them that they are thus ordained 'more Apostolorum'").

The accounts do not refer to the clothing of the new Brother in a habit of the Order. I think this simply reflects the fact that the Order had long since ceased to have a habit, since the Brothers were forced to wear disguises all the time. However, in one ms. of the <u>Vita et Conversacio</u> the account of this ceremony is followed by a list of questions to be put to the Brother, which includes the question, 'From whom did you receive your habit?'[1] Could it be that there was purely formal and temporary investiture of the new Brother with part of a habit (sandals?) which served to preserve the memory of early years when Brothers had worn a habit? I say

---

1. Schloss Harburg Ms.II,1,2^o,78,f.46^{rb}.

'formal' because a Brother could not have continued to wear any habit in public, and certainly did not wear a habit when visiting friends.

4) The Brother is now a member of the Order, but he is prohibited for six, seven or ten years from hearing the confessions of Friends; during this time he may hear the confessions only of the Brothers. For the duration of this second term of probation the Brother ('junior', 'junge', 'Socius') accompanies a senior Brother from country to country (C_1). After its completion he becomes himself a senior Brother, in turn accompanied by a junior on his travels. The total duration from his decision to enter up to this moment may have amounted to as much as 12 years (up to 2 for probation, and up to 10 as a junior Brother), and this was the figure for the only Brother about whose career we have any chronological indications, Rudlinus, who applied to enter c.1299, and began to exercise his pastoral office in Prague 12 years later c.1311.[1]

The significance of this ceremony becomes clear if one compares it with analogous ceremonies in the Church and takes into account the statements made about the nature of the Waldensian ordo by Italian and Austrian Brothers and former Austrian Brothers in the correspondence of c.1365/7 - 1370/8.

At the centre of the ceremony are two distinct acts: the taking of vows; and the imposition of hands. For the moment I want to consider these two elements separately, taking first the whole pattern of probation and profession of vows minus the imposition of hands, and second the imposition of hands; finally I consider the two together.

---

1 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice', p.537.

First of all, the pattern of probation and profession of vows, disregarding for the moment the imposition of hands, is similar to the pattern of reception into the Orders of Dominican and Franciscan Friars. In what follows I compare with 13th century constitutions of these Orders, for here as in other areas, the strongest comparisons seem to be with these Orders in the earlier stages of their history. The Waldensian Order appears in some ways like a third Order of Friars whose proscription froze its development at an early stage.

The general stages are similar. In both Dominican and Franciscan Orders the candidate is examined prior to admission to probation.[1] Among the Dominicans, as among the Waldensians, he is examined by the Chapter. His morals are questioned (Dominicans); he is asked if he is married or of servile status. The examination 'de fide et sacramentis' takes place at this stage rather than, as among the Waldensians, at the time of profession. Probation follows upon admission, for one year (Waldensians: one or two). After probation he takes vows, again in the presence of the community: the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the first three Waldensian vows. Following profession of vows time may elapse, for a Dominican, before he is allowed to preach. Since the minimum age for admission was 18, and for preaching 25[2], a Brother professing at the age of 19 (i.e. after one year of probation) would have to wait six years before being allowed to preach; the period of waiting for a Waldensian Brother was six, seven, or ten. Each Dominican preacher was given a 'socius' just as each senior Waldensian Brother (i.e. a Brother allowed to preach) was given a 'junior' to accompany him.[3]

---

1. F.Ehrle, 'Die ältesten Redactionen etc.', Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte VI, p.89, and G. Galbraith, Constitutions of the Dominican Order (Manchester, 1925), p.214. 2 Galbraith, op.cit., pp.163-4 and 215. 3 Galbraith, op.cit., p.165.

The basic pattern is identical, but of course what is distinctive to the Waldensian outlook or experience finds expression in differences of emphasis or in the precise working out of this pattern. Firstly, the Waldensians were more extreme in the literalism of their following of the Gospels. In addition to the three monastic vows, they added the fourth vow of renunciation of trust in family, following Mt.X,37-8, 46-50, and XIX,29. The egalitarianism of the sermon on the Mount, and perhaps also of those 'poor in spirit' who came from the peasant and artisan classes, found expression in the Waldensian omission to bar postulants of servile status. They are more extreme in their humility: humility is given formal expression in the recognition of human weakness in the form of the vow ('in quantum humana fragilitas..'), which is not present in the Franciscan or Dominican equivalents. This particular theme was reiterated in a letter to the renegade Brothers of c.1365-7: one should not vow upon the basis of one's own strength ('super virtutem...').[1] Secondly, the greater stringency of demands upon candidates reflects more extreme asceticism. The second period of probation was equal to or longer than the Dominican equivalent. Virginity was demanded of postulants, not simply freedom from the marriage bond. Thirdly, the distinctive Waldensian doctrine on oaths and the Waldensian experience of persecution finds individual expression in the fifth vow, which is specifically designed to regulate the behaviour of Brothers when in the hands of inquisitors. Finally, of course, the examination in the seven sacraments and seven articles of faith involves some distinctively Waldensian elements, notably the substitution of 'imposition of hands' for the Catholic sacrament of confirmation, and the substitution of the article that Christ 'elegit sibi ecclesiam immaculatam' for the article of belief in 'unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam'.

Nevertheless, however distinct in detail and emphasis, there is a basic similarity of pattern with the reception of postulants into the Orders of the Friars. This is in full accord with the similarity of

---

1 See the reconstruction of EFI III* in Pt.II iv.

the original inspiration of both Valdes and St. Francis, and the form in which this was expressed in the earliest years of both Orders; and it is in accord with the continuing reality of the Waldensian Order as a religious Order, albeit proscribed, composed of men who renounced the world, took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and embarked on a prescribed way of life in which, like the Friars, they lived partly in community and partly an itinerant life of preaching and hearing confessions.

The other element in the ceremony was the imposition of hands. The scriptural basis for this was the manner in which the Apostles instituted the seven in the Acts of the Apostles: praying over selected men and laying hands upon them in order to give them the Holy Spirit. The contemporary analogy was the imposition of hands at the centre of ceremonies in which Holy Orders were concerned.

The imposition of hands in the Waldensian ceremony was called by the renegade Brother Siegfried 'ordinacio'[1]. This ordination conferred ordo in the sense of Orders, that is to say, certain powers. It conferred the authority of the pastoral office and power to bind and loose (C_2). From the correspondence of c.1365/7-1370/8 the precise limits of the office and authority thus conferred are quite clear. The person thus ordained could preach and administer two sacraments: firstly, he could hear confessions and enjoin penances; secondly, he could himself transmit the ordo which he possessed by laying hands on others entering the Order. He did not possess the power or authority to administer any other sacrament; he could not consecrate and administer the Eucharist.[2]

---

1 RS,9,l.20. 2 EFI I, 12,l.15-23,l.23, and 24,l.4-11; among the other letters see, e.g., EJL I,5,l.19-6,l.9.

The ceremony thus had a double nature. The new Brother became a member of an ordo in the sense of a Religious Order, and received ordo in the sense of Orders which conferred upon him the authority of the pastoral office. This duality is precisely reflected in Waldensian nomenclature. First of all the Brothers were called Fratres and Brüder, the conventional usage for members of mendicant Orders. Secondly they were called magistri and meister. Now the Vita et Conversacio talks of the Brothers exercising their 'magisterium' in certain areas,[1] that is to say, the pastoral office, and it is clear that the name magistri and meister denote the Brothers under this second light, men possessing and exercising the power and authority of the pastoral office. This was why the two Strasbourg friends who described the ceremony said that it conferred 'meisterschaft'[2] and why Rudlinus' brother said that Rudlinus 'mansit in magisterio' when exercising his pastoral office in Prague.[3] Similarly, while the friends referred to the Brothers as Brothers, when confessing they called them Dominos.[4] This is probably to be compared to the mode of addressing a priest, i.e. it probably implies recognition of the Brothers' exercise, in one area, of a priestly function.

---

1 Friess, 'Patarener', p.259. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.42. 3 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice', p.537. 4 Refutatio Errorum, ed. J. Gretser, 302g. Dominus or its vernacular equivalents seems to have been a mode of address for Brothers used by friends in most if not all areas. 'Dominus' and 'Domini' appear in the depositions of friends from the Jindřichův Hradec area in 1340 (Fuchse, Urkunden...Göttweig, p.396), 'Seygnor' among friends questioned in Piedmont in 1335 (T.Kaeppeli, 'Un processo etc.', Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, I,1947, p.290), and 'Her' in the answers of a friend questioned in Regensburg in 1395 (H. Finke, 'Waldenserprocess in Regensburg', Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, IV,1890,II,p.345). Perhaps a parallel with the form of address for a priest was intended?

What was the basis of the ordo which was conferred by the imposition of hands? The Italian Brothers discuss this in the second part of the narratio of the letter of c.1365-7. Although the renegade Austrian Brothers rejected the validity of the claims made by the Italian Brothers, these claims were regarded as the authoritative statement of Waldensian claims, applying to both Italian and German groups. We can take the statements of the Italian letter, therefore, to represent the position of Italian and German Brothers at this period.

Ordo comes down by visible succession.[1] Two lines of visible descent are posited, and these seem to be supplementary rather than alternative or mutually exclusive. In the first line one begins with the Apostles. Each of these, not just Peter, had the power to transmit ordo by the imposition of hands. There was a body of men following the life of poverty in succession to these down to the time of Silvester and his companions who, it is implied, were members of this body (or Order). Some of these companions objected to the Donation and left Silvester, and continued to live a life of poverty. This line flourished and lasted through many ages. Peter Waldenis was in this Order, and was a reformer of it, not its founder.[2] The Brothers are in succession to him.

Despite the basis in the Donation the line of continuity in this was very flimsy; in part II(v) I examine this more closely and discern at least four stages between c.1335 and c.1420 in the progressive addition to this of historical myths in order to strengthen the line.

---

1. For the following paragraph, see EFI I, 12,l.22-16,l.18.
2. When referring to the historical figure I employ Valdes, and when referring to Valdes as he appeared to the 14th century Brothers I employ their nomenclature, P. Waldensis.

At this date the flimsiness has the effect of making the Brothers prefer to imply rather than to state directly things for which they know they have not sufficiently strong historical backing, however convinced they are themselves of the truth of the matter. What they imply is that their Order is in historical continuity as a religious Order with the body of the Apostles, and that within this Order there was a visible succession of ordo transmitted from one Brother to the next down the line by the imposition of hands.

The second line of succession is through the Roman Church, and this via a plurality of possible lines. Peter Waldensis and his companion John of Lyons were ordained priests (in the Church), and after ordination Peter was 'confirmatum' (imposition of hands?) by a Cardinal. The succession of ordo could thus derive from Peter. Apart from him others possessing Orders in the Church - a bishop, a priest, and two Franciscans are mentioned - could have laid hands on the Brothers.[1] The elements of historical conflation and myth present in this line as in the line to the Apostles, which are discussed elsewhere, are immaterial to the point here, which is the fact of the Waldensian claim to a succession of ordo not only in direct continuity back to the Apostles but also through the Church. Why the plurality of lines? The Brothers believed that all the Apostles had equal powers of ordaining; further, in their ceremony all the Brothers, not just one, laid on hands, in imitation of the Apostles in Acts VI,6. In this context a plurality of lines of succession need not seem illogical.

Two questions immediately arise: the place occupied by this conferment of ordo in the seven sacraments; and the question of the distinction between the possession of ordo and the ability to transmit it. First, what place did this occupy in the seven

---

1 EFI I, 19,l.22-20,l.10.

sacraments admitted by the Brothers? In one sacrament the Brothers admitted the ordination of priests and deacons,[1] and since they did not ordain priests themselves - no Brother baptised, consecrated the Eucharist, officiated at marriage ceremonies, gave Extreme Unction or ordained priests - this sacrament, the power to ordain priests and deacons, is implicitly recognised as belonging to the Roman Church; the claim that Peter Waldensis was an ordained priest in the Church, and the claims of succession through the Roman Church, make this more explicit. On the other hand, the Brothers rejected the sacrament of Confirmation in the Church, and in its place in their list they put imposition of hands ('Auflegunge der Hende', 'Empausament de las mans')[2]. This is the second element in the reception into the Order, the 'ordinacio' to confer the authority of the pastoral office. In other words, the Brothers recognised two sacraments of Orders: the ordination of priests and deacons in which the power to consecrate was conferred, this resting in the Church; and the imposition of hands to confer the pastoral office, which rested with the Brothers.

To strict logic and to Roman eyes there is an obvious confusion here, quite apart from the obvious invalidity of this in the eyes of the Church. The confusion lies in the crossing of lines: as we have seen, one of these lines of visible succession of the second (imposition of hands) is traced to the first (Roman priests). One of the renegade Brothers of c.1365-7 said that his doubts began when he perceived the 'confusissimum fundamentum' of the Waldensian ordo,[3] and another pointed out a confusion linked and analogous to the one I have just indicated: in claiming a succession of ordo from Peter Waldensis, and asserting that the latter was an ordained priest, the Brothers were claiming the operation of one rite up to Peter Waldensis (the Roman rite of ordination to the priesthood), and another rite from Peter through the Brothers (Waldensian imposition of hands).[4]

---

1 See section vi below. 2 Ut supra. 3 RS,6,1.16-17.
4 EJL II,10,1.12-23.

Ridiculosa res. The observation of this confusion was of polemical significance to the renegade John Leser; for us it is significant in that it confirms the description given above of what the Brothers claimed: two sacraments of Orders, one to the priesthood in the Church, one to confer pastoral office among the Brothers. And was this a confusion in the eyes of the Brothers? These were men interested in the literal imitation of the Gospel, not in tortuous logic. They talked of their relationship to the Church in New Testament terms; e.g. Peter Valdes was 'put out of the synagogue'[1] (i.e. excommunicated by the Church). The New Testament parallel will have been overwhelming: the relation of the Brothers, following the perfect life and evangelising, to the Church, corrupt but still possessing the sacrament of the Eucharist and its administration in terms of the relation of the Apostles, evangelising, to the Synagogue, corrupt but still possessing a valid priesthood and sacrificing. This is a good image of the position of the Brothers: the Brothers were still in the Church in that they accepted its sacrifices (the Eucharist) but they were not of it; they were purer than the priests and superseded them in the pastoral office; they rejected the law of the Church and much else in it because of its corruption, and they were in turn rejected and persecuted by the Church. The New Testament parallel satisfactorily explains how the Brothers could, as they did, still accept sacraments in the Church, and is for this reason much more convincing than the Church's image which is displayed in inquisitor's accounts, a picture in which the Church's total rejection of the Brothers is countered by the Brothers' total rejection of the Church; in which the Brothers and their followers form a reverse image of the Church, a secta claiming to form what the ecclesia in fact forms.[2]

Secondly there is the question of the distinction between the possession of ordo and the power to transmit it, a question raised by the statements, examined in a note appended to this Chapter, that the Brothers had bishops. From the ceremony we can see that the

---

1 E.g. LE,3,1.5. 2 For a discussion of this, see introduction.

juniores (i.e. professed Brothers who had not completed the second period of probation) may not have imposed hands. This could be taken to imply a distinction analogous to that in the Church between a person possessing ordo alone and a person possessing not only ordo but also the power to transmit it, i.e. between a priest and a bishop. One could then call the seniores 'bishops' to indicate this. This is, however, not the case. That the junior was prevented from certain actions not because of his lack of power but for purely disciplinary reasons can be seen in the parallel question of the exercise of the power and authority of the pastoral office. During his second period of probation, after profession, the Brothers was prohibited 'ex causis' from hearing hearing confessions of friends, but he was allowed to hear the confessions of Brothers.[1] This is confirmed by friends' statements in processes. For example, a certain friend in Fribourg confessed three times 'uno ex duobus confessoribus...videlicet seniori'.[2] The case of necessity, where the senior Brother was unable for one reason or another to hear confessions, shows that the junior already possessed power - even if he was not normally allowed to exercise it among friends. In Brandenburg, for instance, one friend confessed to the 'discipulo' when the senior Brother he was accompanying was ill.[3] In other words, the junior had the power, but was not permitted to exercise it in certain areas until he had gained experience. There was no further ordination to confer a higher power, the power to transmit ordo; the transition from junior to senior was simply a matter of time, and meant no more than that a Brother, after the transition, was permitted to exercise powers he already possessed.

---

1 Friess, 'Patarener', pp.258-9. 2 Frib.AE Geist. Sach. no.26, f.57r. 3 Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. Novi 348, f.34r.

Confirmation of this comes from elsewhere. Later reports of the meeting between the Bohemian Brethren and Austrian Brothers in 1467 touch on this point. The Bohemian Brethren say that the Waldensians conferred the priestly and episcopal powers 'simul'.[1] Now, loose equivalents are being employed here. We can see from elsewhere in this report that the 'priests' are merely the Brothers, with power only to hear confessions, and that the Eucharist was still received from Roman priests; while 'episcopi' is used to indicate the power and practice of transmitting ordo possessed by the senior Brothers, and is imposed on Waldensian nomenclature; 'episcopi seu seniores'. We are in the presence here of conventional terminology and the conventional distinction between priestly and episcopal powers vis-à-vis 'ordo' and its transmission grappling with and trying to express the Waldensian position: namely that in their Order no distinction was recognised between the possession of 'ordo' and the ability to transmit it; that both were conferred at the ceremony of reception into the Order -- 'simul' according to the Brethren; and that consequently all the Brothers possessed this latter power, a fact which the Brethren tried to express by calling them 'co-episcopi'.

There is a small but indicative support for the Brothers' claim to possess these two powers simultaneously from another source. The letter of the Italian Brothers of c.1367 is written in general accord with the rules of the ars dictaminis, which suggests that the choice of the formula 'Venerabilibus Fratribus...' in the salutatio was deliberate. This form of salutatio was prescribed for use between ecclesiastics of episcopal or abbatial rank and above, that is to say, for those who, with the exceptions of abbots, the question of whose powers to ordain had been ambiguous, possessed the power to transmit ordo. In formally addressing the Brothers of the Austrian community

---

1. J. Goll Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder (Prague, 1878), I, p.118.

of St. Peter-in-der-Awe in this manner in this letter the Italian Brothers were implying this claim. The reaction of the renegade Brothers was indicative: John Leser reacted by reverting to the form for clergymen of lower rank, 'Dilectis...Fratribus...', and reference was made to the superfluous vanity of the titles and courtesies employed by the Brothers.[1]

To summarise: the two parts of the ceremony of reception into the Order, profession of vows and imposition of hands reflect the dual significance of the ceremony, a duality which is precisely reflected in Waldensian nomenclature. By taking certain vows the candidate was entering an ordo in the sense of a religious Order. By the imposition of hands upon his head the candidate was receiving ordo in the sense of Orders: these Orders conferred the pastoral office, i.e. the powers and authority to hear confessions and enjoin penances, and also the power to transmit the same ordo by the imposition of hands. The ordo (Orders) came down by visible succession from the Apostles, as well as through the Roman Church; the ordo (Religious Order) was in historical continuity as an organised body with the body of the Apostles, and followed the same way of life. When the Brothers write of the historical line of the ordo, in the LE implicitly and in the EFI I expressly, they mean both the succession of Orders and the continuity of their Order with that of the Apostles. Here the two meanings of 'ordo' merge. When the Brothers preached that they were the 'Vicarii/successores Apostolorum',[2] they meant that they had the pastoral office of and from the Apostles, belonged to an Order which descended from the body of the Apostles, and finally lived the life of the Apostles. This was the significance of joining the Waldensian Order.

---

1 See the discussion of these forms in Part II, iii below.
2 E.g. in Brandenburg Wolfenbüttel Mss.Cod.Nov.348,ff.37^{r}, 38^{r}, 38^{v} and Helmst.403,ff.76^{v},21^{v},22^{v},23^{v},25^{v}.

iv) Organisation and way of life.

How was the Order into which the new Brother had been received organised? We have only fragments of evidence but, like a few shards of a pot, they can be patterned in such a way as to suggest, and no more than suggest, the shape of which they were once parts.

1. Houses. The Brothers had certain Houses. They are mentioned in the De Vita et Actibus ('domus', 'hospitium')[1] and in the De Inquisitione Hereticorum ('mansiones'),[2] and their existence is implied in the description in the Vita et conversacio of a set routine of prayer and fasting for Brothers when not on their travels.[3] It should be noted that they were not, as is sometimes thought, the 41 'ecclesiae' in the diocese of Passau listed by an inquisitor in an account of the Waldensians;[4] these were 'ecclesiae' infected with Waldensians, i.e. parishes in which Waldensians were to be found.

According to the 'De Vita' each House contained two or three Brothers and two or three women (sisters). Houses of this magnitude would have been in accord with the restricted overall numbers (30 or more is suggested above) which probably prevailed in the later 14th century. The Sisters were present for the sake of secrecy, so that the Houses could present the appearance of containing families. According to the De Vita the Sisters prepared food, and one of the Strasbourg friends also said that the Sisters looked after the Brothers.[5] At the time of the De Vita the Sisters also possessed independent Houses.[6]

---

1 Dokumente, pp.93-5. 2 C.9 (ed.Preger, p.210). 3 Friess, 'Pararener', p.257. 4 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.264d-e. 5 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.51. 6 One Strasbourg friend stated that a woman was made a 'meisterin' or 'Swester' in the same manner as a man was made a 'meister' i.e. professed and ordained a Brother, (Röhrich, Winkeler, p.51). Unfortunately in no other trial records are we given any glimpse of the Sisters' activities, nor, with the sole cited exception of the De Vita, are they mentioned in any inquisitorial literature.

2 (cont.) There is some doubt whether these are Brothers' or friends' houses, although the former is more probable.

Activities inside these Houses were those of conventional communities of the religious: study, prayer, and fasting.

The De Vita mentions the study and reading of scripture, and the De Inquisitione Hereticorum mentions study and learning. In the section on spirituality (vi below) I discuss the literature available to the Brothers.

One Brother, according to the De Vita and Vita et Conversacio led the others in prayer. Frequent praying of the Pater Noster is mentioned in the De Vita,[1] and the Vita et Conversacio states that prayer took place seven times a day.[2] This should be compared with the stipulation in St. Francis' Regula confirmata of prayer eight times a day, on each occasion of a number of Pater Nosters and other prayers.[3] The author of the Attendite Treatise (pre-1391) talking about Waldensian prayers in general, and not with express reference to prayers in Waldensian Houses, states that the Waldensians have private and special prayers other than the Pater Noster;[4] in other words, prayers other than the set prayers known to the Church. The De Vita mentions Waldensian prayers for their persecutors and their enemies,[5] prayed presumably in literal obedience to Christ's instruction 'Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you' Mt.V,4-5). The private prayers mentioned by the author of the Attendite treatise were probably short imprecations based on, and in literal obedience to, this and similar instructions in Mathew's Gospel, and these may have been added to the Pater Nosters prayed on seven occasions each day.

Thirdly, the Brothers followed a timetable of fasting when not on their travels, i.e. when in these Houses. According to the Vita et Conversacio the Brothers fasted three or four days in each week, one of these on bread and water:[6] a stricter regime than that of the Friars.

---

1 Dokumente, p.94. 2 Friess, 'Patarener', p.257. 3 H. Böhmer, Analekten...Franziscus etc. I. (2 ed., Tübingen, 1930), p.21. 4 Karlsruhe Reich. Pap.Ms.48,f.327ra. 5 As n.1 above. 6 Friess, 'Patarener', p.257.

There is little trace of a constitution. Both the De Vita and the Vita et Conversacio mention the seniority of one Brother ('Ipse qui Regit'; 'senior'), but the only prerogative or duty of his which is noted is that of leading the others in prayer.

Where were these Houses? To the friends whose depositions we have, those in Strasbourg, Fribourg, and the Brandenburg area, the Brothers were men who came from afar and stayed only a few weeks each year. One Fribourg friend said that they came from Germany and Bohemia (1430).[1] Lines drawn from Strasbourg, Fribourg, and the Brandenburg area converge to suggest the south-east, south-east Germany and Austria; in other words, to the areas in the diocese of Passau where the Waldensians had been strong since before c.1266. In these areas there is a fairly continuous record from this time to the end of the 14th century of Waldensian murders of parish priests, or threats of violence towards them,[2] and it was probably only in these areas that the Waldensian presence and ability to intimidate was strong enough to enable Houses of Brothers to exist. Circumstantial support comes from the fact that at least 11 of the Brothers in the 1390's lists originated in Austria. The location of Brothers' Houses in this area might also explain one feature in the pattern of their visits to communities of friends: whereas in the later 14th century and early 15th century their visits to Fribourg, Strasbourg and the Brandenburg area seem to have been annual, in the 1330's their visits to southern Bohemia were thrice-yearly [3] - annual visits to those areas which were 300 miles or more from their Houses, visits three times a year to those areas which were less than one hundred or fifty miles?

---

1 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.9^{v}. 2 see Ch.II iv below.
3 See Ch.II v(b) below.

We may know the location of two of these Houses. The Italian letter of c.1367 was sent to Brothers at St. Peter-in-der-Awe, a village south of the Danube between the Enns and the Ibbs.[1] A House therefore was probably in this village at this time; if it was it probably ceased to be there after a copy of this letter came into the hands of the Church. Secondly, the lists of parishes in the diocese of Passau infected by Waldensians from c.1266 and 1315 note the presence of a Waldensian 'episcopus', i.e. senior Brother, in the village of Anzbach, which lies roughly half-way along a west-east line drawn between St. Pölten and Vienna.[2] This village may also have been the site of a House.

Beyond this we are in the darkness. This is not surprising. We would expect that with an Order which was of necessity so adept at the art of concealment and secrecy it would be information about one of their most important institutions, their Houses, which would be most effectively veiled from inquisitors, and consequently least present in the latter's accounts of the Waldensians.

2. Chapters. Chapters appear in both the Rescriptum of c.1218, the De Vita, and the Vita et Conversacio of the later 14th century.

The Rescriptum describes the meeting between Italian and French groups of Brothers in Bergamo in 1218. At this period Germany seems still to have been missionary territory and not yet a societas or province in its own right. Germans do not appear to have participated in this Chapter; two delegates were sent to inform them of what took place in it, probably bearing the report of it, the Rescriptum, with them.[3]

The De Vita recounts a later stage: the General Chapters are generally held in Lombardy, with Germans attending.[4] The German Brothers by this stage probably formed a province.

---

1 EFI I, 1.1.2. 2 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.264e, and Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.294. 3 Enchiridion, p.183. 4 Dokumente, p.95.

German visits to Brothers in Lombardy are mentioned in the treatise of the Pseudo-Reinerius,[1] and the letter of the Italian Brothers to Austrian Brothers of c.1367 mentions the opportunity the writers and recipients of this letter used to have of speaking 'os ad os'.[2]

These indicate the following. First, the German Brothers probably attained the status of a societas or province in the 13th century and after reaching this status participated in General Chapters with Italian Brothers from this date onwards (perhaps mid-13th to 14th century?). At some time prior to c.1367 the practice of holding such General Chapters had broken down, and perhaps had stopped; the continuing unity of the Italian and Austrian Brothers shown by the correspondence of c.1365/7 - c.1370/8 suggests that such a breakdown would have been caused more probably by the stress of increasing persecution than by dissensions between the two groups.

The author of the Attendite treatise pre-1391 says that the Waldensians were in three groups: 'Romani, alii Pedemontani, alii vero Alemanni'[3]. This reflects the existence earlier in the 14th century of three groups or provinces: German-speaking Brothers; the Brothers of Piedmont; and the Brothers of the Romagna.[4] These may have been the provinces represented in General Chapters during the period in which these were held. The De Vita provides us with a few circumstantial details, no doubt from the time when these General Chapters were flourishing. They were held annually, and more often than not in Lombardy (confirmed by the German visits to Lombardy mentioned in another source listed above). They were annual, normally held during Lent. Two or three Brothers came from Germany: the small numbers suggest the practice, and possibly the

---

1 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.266c. 2 EFI I,4,l.18-19.
3 Karlsruhe, Reich.Pap.Ms.48,f.326ra. 4 One friend in Fribourg questioned in 1430 had heard from another friend, Conrad Wasen, that there were 'plures de illa credencia' in 'partibus Romanie' (Frib.AE Geist. Sach.no.26,f.13^{v}).

principle, of representation. The business of the General Chapter was the following: to deal with the state of the whole Order, reception of Brothers into the Order, matters of discipline, the assignment of Brothers to a particular House for the next year, and the assignment of pastoral duties in particular areas for the next year, and finally, the re-allocation of money brought to the Chapter[1] (the Pseudo-Reinerius mentions the sending of money to Lombardy).[2] This comes from an early source, but much of this is repeated in the Vita et Conversacio.

In this latter source we hear of Chapters, but no mention or hint of other provinces; we are most probably dealing here with a Chapter only of the German-speaking Brothers, in other words a provincial Chapter. ✓ whether this provincial chapter was complementary to the general chapter, as was the case in the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, or had replaced the latter when, as seems likely, the latter broke down, is difficult to tell. The fact that both were annual, and a certain overlapping in functions, might seem to point to provincial Chapters replacing General Chapters. However, our two main sources are separated by at least a century, and there may easily have been an intervening stage in which the two overlapped as the Friars' did.

The ceremony of reception into the Order took place in the provincial Chapter (De Vita), and therefore the brewer's house in Strasbourg which saw the reception of five Brothers at a date prior to c.1392 was the scene of such a Chapter.[3] This is complemented by the statement in the Vita et Conversacio that these chapters were held in large cities. They were annual, as stated above, and generally took place on market-days.[4] All Brothers were present

---

1 Dokumente, pp.95-6. 2 Gretser, col.274a. 3 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.42. 4 Friess, 'Patarener', p.258.

at the ceremony of reception into the Order and, although such ceremonies need not have taken place each year, this and the fairly small numbers of Brothers in the German province would suggest participation by all Brothers, rather than representatives of Houses, as the norm.

The functions of the provincial Chapter were very probably those of the General Chapter mentioned above, but the only functions stated or indicated by the Vita et Conversacio are the following: selecting candidates for probation; reception into the Order; the allocation of Brothers to new pastoral areas each year.

3. Itinerant Preaching. The Brothers went out in pairs, senior with junior, doubtless imitating the manner in which the 72 disciples were sent out by Christ, in pairs (Lc.X,1), and paralleling in number and relative function the Dominican preacher with his 'socius'. This is the way they were reported by friends tried in Piedmont in 1335, in Southern Bohemia in 1337, in Brandenburg in 1392 and in Fribourg in 1430: an older Brother, who heard confessions and a younger Brother (or, presumably, postulant on probation).[1]

They were assigned the pastoral office in a specific area, and each year, at the Chapter, assigned to a different area. The implementation of this would involve the travelling over very large distances and the visiting of places far removed from each other by each and every Brother. That it was implemented we can see from the cases of Brother Conrad from Dabrun near Wittenberg, and Nicholas from Solothurn, who were active in the later decades of the 14th century and appear in the 1391 list of Brothers.[2] There

---

1. Kaeppeli, 'Processo', p.289 ('Martinum et Joannem eius socium'); Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice',.535 ('cum socio'); Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. Novi 348, f.18^{v} ('bonos homines duos'); Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.13^{r} ('duo...videlicet unus confessor et quidam alius juvenis cum eo'), 22^{r} ('duo'...confession to 'uni ex dictis'), 57^{r} (confession to one of the two 'videlicet seniori'). 2. Kürze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.94.

is evidence of their activites in the north in the lands bordering the Baltic around Stettin, for they were known to and visited the friends of this area who were tried in 1393-4.[1] Similarly, there is evidence of their activity in the south-west, for they were known to some of the friends tried in Strasbourg in 1400;[2] finally, it is reasonable to presume that Nicholas was also active in the south-east, Austria, prior to his coming into the hands of an inquisitor and abjuring in Vienna.[3] The particular requirement of the third vow taken by a Brother, to go from country to country wherever he was sent by the Brothers, was evidently fulfilled to the letter.

Visits to most areas seem to have been annual. The Brothers stayed in the house of a friend, or in several friends' houses. In a few of these houses they preached and gave instruction to groups of three or four to a dozen friends, and also heard confessions. In a rather larger number of houses the Brothers heard confessions only. The pattern of their activity in these houses is known in some detail and, since it is very closely interwoven with the activities of the friends, I have relegated a fuller description of this to Chapter II below.

4. Financial Organisation. In theory the Brothers followed a life of poverty. According to them Christ's instruction to the Apostles to provide themselves with neither gold nor silver (Math.X,9) applied to the Apostles and all those who followed this way of life in succession to them; in other words, to all those in the Order from the Apostles to Peter Valdes and from him down. In this context the Donation was not only an evil for the usual reason, that is its alleged corrupting influence on the Church, but in particular because it was a Donation to men, Silvester and his 'socii', who were committed to leading the 'vitam pauperem'.[4] The instruction did not apply to laymen.

---

1 Ibid., pp.70 and 79. see also map 2. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.46, 66 and 74. 3 Ibid., p.46. 4 See the discussion in Part II(v) below.

This was the historical basis of the vow taken by the postulant when entering the Order, to live a life of voluntary poverty, no longer supporting himself by his own labour but living from alms. What did this mean in practice?

The friends gave to the Brothers both in money and kind, gifts ranging from chickens, crab and pastries, or a few pennies to 90 marks.

One friend said that their gifts only covered the Brothers' expenses,[1] but they seem to have stretched beyond immediate expenses. We have seen above that money supplied by friends was taken to General Chapters, and this practice would appear to have continued in provincial Chapters. An account relating to the meeting of Austrian Brothers with Bohemian Brethren in 1467 states that money collected from friends was brought to the Chapter and then re-allocated.[2]

The purpose of this was probably to put the everyday expenses of the Brothers on a more stable footing. Over long distances between one set of friends and another a Brother, travelling in secrecy and disguise, would not be able to appeal to men for alms, and would need to be provided with money before setting off. Expenses extended to helping needy friends, of which there are a few instances.[3] Though the Brothers may have been effecting a certain redistribution, through receiving from more prosperous friends and giving to the more needy, it would be out of place to recall here the community of goods of the Acts (Act.II,44-5).

However comprehensible the need of the Brothers to hold some money in reserve may have been, the fact that they did could easily be interpreted as a derogation of their vow. Hence the renegade

---

1 Denying that the Brothers were rich the friend said, 'eisdem dantur solum expense' (Frib.AE Geist. Sach.no.26,f.2b[r]).
2 Goll, Böhmischen Brüder, p.119. 3 Examples of gifts from Brothers in Fuchse, Urkunden...Göttweig,p.396 (penny to a boy), and Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.52 (gifts of, e.g., one shilling, six pennies, 4 pennies to friends).

Brother John attacked them for collecting 'thesauros' while preaching poverty;[1] and a similar line was taken by the Bohemian Brethren, who reproached the Brothers for collecting 'thesauros' from the alms given to them by their friends.[2]

The sources for the earlier period of the Order's history are too slight for one to be able to say whether what has just been described constituted a decline from earlier strict observance or not, and for the same reason it is impossible to know whether the Order experienced in its real history, rather than in its mythical history, any splits and disputes over poverty, its definition and its practice. Perhaps the common experience of persecution brought cohesion in areas like this?

****

Through the fragments mentioned so far we can discern, albeit with a great deal of conjecture, some of the outlines of an Order whose basic pattern is reminiscent of that of the Franciscans and Dominicans in an early stage of their development. Firstly there is a similar relationship of Houses to the societas or province, the primary unit being the province rather than the House to which the Brother, like a Franciscan or Dominican, does not seem to have been tied. Secondly there is the broad pattern of organisation: the body of Brothers in one large area forming a societas or province and meeting in annual Chapters which are vested with broad executive powers; and, at one stage, the linking of provinces in annual General Chapters ('capitulum generale' is the term in the De Vita), these being attended, at least in the case of the German province, by representatives. Thirdly, there is similarity in the broad pattern of activity, on the one hand study, prayer, and fasting in community in Houses, on the other hand itinerant and mendicant pastoral work.

---

1. EJL II, 13, l.2-4. 2. Goll, Böhmischen Brüder, p.119.

There is of course no hint of the sophisticated constitutionalism and administrative complexity which the Franciscans and Dominicans were acquiring by the mid-13th century. It may be the enormous gaps in the evidence but it is much more plausibly the distinctive character of the Waldensians together with the paucity of numbers in the Order which underlie what is implied throughout the description of the organisation given above, namely great simplicity in the working out of this pattern.

In addition to this greater simplicity there was one condition of the Brothers' way of life which marked it off at an early stage from that of the Friars.

5. Secrecy. On entering the Order a Brother took one vow which was distinctive to the Order, a vow not to redeem his life by an oath if in captivity or danger of death. This was a grim reminder to the postulant, if he needed one, that he was joining an Order some of whose members died at the stake (e.g. Henry of Devin,[1] Neumaister[2]), and that he was embarking on a way of life whose danger necessitated constant vigilance and secrecy, the adoption of disguises, and sometimes flight.

We have only a few indications of the methods adopted by the Brothers. Houses, at one period at least, contained Sisters as well as Brothers, so that with the latter in the guise of wives or sisters they could present the appearance of ordinary lay households.[3] The author of the De Inquisitione Hereticorum also states that the Houses were located for the sake of secrecy in inaccessible places.[4]

The confluence of appreciable numbers of Brothers to one place to meet in Chapter posed another problem in secrecy to the Brothers. The Vita et Conversacio stated that this was the reason why the Brothers held Chapters in large cities and on market days,[5] when the confluence of a number of men would attract less notice. The location

---

1 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser.col.264c. 2 Krems(1315) Report in Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius',p.307. 3 Dokumente,p.93. 4 c.9 (ed. Preger, p.210). 5 Friess, 'Patarener',p.258.

of one Chapter in a brewer's house in Strasbourg confirms part of this,[1] as does also the employment of a brewer's house, presumably also an inn, a house to which a number of people could come without this exciting particular attention.

The most constant problem facing the Brothers lay in the other part of their lives, their travelling. We have seen one example of the remoteness of the places in which the same Brother could preach: Strasbourg, near Stettin on the Baltic, and probably lower Austria. The distances between the furthest communities of the German-speaking friends were of the order of 350-600 miles as the crow flies.[2] If the focal point was constituted by Houses situated in the diocese of Passau, as suggested above, then the radial lines of the journeys of the Brothers starting from this area would be shorter but not greatly so. Time is also an indication here. The brevity of the annual visits of Brothers to the furthest places they visited, 3-4 weeks, is probably the temporal complement, within the context of the span of one year, of the large amount of time the Brothers had to spend on the road going to and from the communities concerned. It should also be noted here that at an earlier period the Brothers covered, in addition to the above-mentioned routes, the trans-alpine journey to general Chapters in Lombardy

How was the problem tackled? Stephen of Bourbon describes the arrest of a French Brother (early 13th century) who was found to possess on his person the clothes and tools of the followers of half-a-dozen different trades into each of which he could transform himself at a moment's notice; a Proteus.[3] There is rhetorical exaggeration here, but Waldensian concern with clothing disguises is clearly the underlying phenomenon, and here apparent from a very

---

1. Röhrich, Winkeler, p.42. 2. See Ch.IIv for some itineraries.
3. Anecdotes historiques...d'Etienne de Bourbon, ed.A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), p.293.

early stage. Scattered references to this concern occur steadily through the next two centuries. Brothers before c.1266 were adopting the obvious disguise for the transalpine journey to Lombardy, namely that of pilgrims en route to Rome.[1] On other routes various disguises were used, according to the De Inquisitione Hereticorum,[2] and that of a merchant or travelling salesman recurs: Brothers were seen in Fribourg (prior to 1430) clothed as merchants,[3] while a friend, asked by an inquisitor in an Italian process of 1451 how a Brother managed to travel from Piedmont to Apulia, replied that he made his way from place to place selling things.[4] Other trade-disguises appear: e.g. a Brother appearing as a tailor in Fribourg.[5]

The Brothers adopted another precaution. The frequent use of any one pair of Brothers of one route, or appearance in the same area, might arouse curiosity. For this reason, according to the Vita et Conversacio, the Brothers were allocated to different areas.[6] This was the reason, incidentally, why friends of any one area, e.g. Brandenburg, came to see so many different Brothers (at least 15 were named by friends tried in this area in 1392-4).[7]

The Brothers carried books with them, at least sometimes, when visiting friends. These would also pose a problem in concealment for the Brothers when en route, and it has been plausibly suggested that this is the reason why the one book to survive from the German Waldensians of this period, the Codex Teplensis, was so small, a mere 8.3 cm. high and 5.4 cm. wide.[8]

---

1 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.266c. 2 C. 8 (ed. Preger, p.210) 3 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.16v, 35v. 4 G. Weitzecker, 'Processo di un Valdese nell' anno 1451' La Rivista Christiana', a.IX, October 1881, p.365. 5 Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.218. 6 Friess, 'Patarener', p.259. 7 Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.79. 8 H. Haupt, Die Deutsche Bibelübersetzung der mittelalterlichen Waldenser etc. (Würzburg, 1885), p.33.

All the Piedmontese mss. are of a similar size, e.g. one Cambridge ms. is 8cm./6cm./6cm., and these latter, of a later time and different place, suggest, when taken together with the Codex Teplensis, a continuing tradition among Brothers of the use of tiny books for the purposes of concealment. An illustration of secrecy in this area appears in the Fribourg process:- Brothers hurriedly hiding a book - significantly described as parvum - as someone came into the room in which he was sitting.[1]

Once in an area where the friends lived the Brothers were in the hands of the latter as far as concealment is concerned, and I have therefore relegated a description of the expedients adopted to Chapter II.

These pieces of information, and what is said below in Chapter II, are of course only superficial indications of the ways in which the Brothers concealed themselves. Looking beyond them we can only surmise at the intricacies of deception practised, the hole-in-the-corner lives of the Brothers, and the constant fear which informed these lives. It is possible to argue that the success of this policy of secrecy varied considerably during the period under discussion. In the 13th century and up to the 1360's we only hear of a few Brothers discovered by inquisitors, one pre-1266,[2] two pre-1315,[3] and one pre-1337,[4] and at least two of these appear to have gone to the stake, probably obdurate and unforthcoming with information. Further, up to the 1360's the Church's information about the doctrines and way of life of the Brothers was markedly inaccurate. All indications from this period combine to suggest that during this time the Brothers' policy of secrecy was broadly effective. However, c.1365-7 a substantial number of Brothers

---

1 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26.f.10b^{v}. 2 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.264c. 3 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', pp.306-7. 4 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice', p.535.

defected, bringing into the Church more accurate information about the Brothers' doctrines and way of life and probably detailed information about communities. From this time on the pattern was different: other Brothers were converted, one who was active in Strasbourg prior to 1374,[1] and from the last decade of the 14th century there is a list of 20 junior and senior Brothers who had been converted.[2] Conversion was the order of the day rather than martyrdoms, and we only hear of friends from this period being executed, not of Brothers. The converted Brothers assisted in the work of the inquisition: several such Brothers were giving information to the inquisitor Martin in Prague in 1395[3] and we see one acting as a witness in the trial of a friend at Vienna in 1404;[4] at least five were killed by friends for doing this.[5] At the same time the Church had come into possession of more accurate information about the way of life and beliefs of the Brothers, mainly through the conversion of Brothers c.1365/7. The Brothers' veil of secrecy seems to have been largely wrenched off from them in the later 14th century.

One can point to certain consequences of this condition of secrecy in Brothers' lives. Firstly, it considerably restricted their evangelising activities. Conversion proceded by word of mouth among friends, as we shall see, and it was of necessity a friend rather than a Brother who was the immediate agent, the friend who persuaded someone to confess and listen to sermons. Further, contact between Brothers and friends was restricted: infrequent, of short duration, and in poor conditions (i.e. nocturnal, etc.).

---

1 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.43. 2 Haupt, Codex Teplensis, pp.35-6. However, one from the 1391 list relapsed; see App.I. 3 Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod. 3748, f.150r. 4 Brno City Archives Ms.7254, f.67r. See App.III. 5 Haupt, Codex Teplensis, p.35, and Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.43-4.

This serves to explain at least partly why the beliefs of friends were often such imperfect reflections of the teaching of the Brothers. This we shall see in Chapter II.

Secondly, the danger of this life and the fact and threat of persecution tended to confirm the Brothers in their sense of identity with the Apostles. This was the fulfillment of Christ's prophesy that persecution would fall upon his followers, as the Italian Brothers stated in the EFI I.[1] To someone like the Brother, whom we glimpse via a process of 1340 surreptitiously leaving Jindř. Hradec in a cart led by friends a little while before an inquisitor moved into the area,[2] it must have seemed that Christ's instruction in his discourse to the 12, 'If they persecute you in one town, take refuge in the next' (Mt.X,23) was being fulfilled to the letter.

Beyond this, the confirmation of the Brothers' sense of Apostlehood, the increasing stress of persecution resulted in an increasing apocalypticism in the Brothers' view of history, as we shall see in Part III(v).

Secondly, the sharing of the Brothers and friends in activities which had to be kept secret from the rest of the world helped to push both in the direction of thinking of themselves as forming a community vis-à-vis the rest of the world, i.e. the Church. To a few friends the terms of the 'known' (die Kunden) and the 'not known' (die fremden) distinguish Waldensians and Catholics in terms of secrecy: those who had been admitted in to the secret activities and those who had not. Most friends applied these terms to distinguish the same sets of people, but in the sense in which Christ used them in Mt. XXV.34-6, to distinguish those known and those not known to God, i.e. the saved and the damned.[3] This duality in the use of these terms effectively parallels and expresses the way in which the practice of secrecy could underly movement towards not only thinking of the Brothers and friends as one community but also

---

1 EFI I,15. 2 Fuchse, Urkunden...Güttweig, p.395. 3 For the first use see Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403,f.95^{v},116^{r}, and for the second f.21^{v}23^{r},27^{v},29^{r}, etc.

identifying this community with that of the elect. I say 'towards' because, evolution in this direction was far from complete, and the Waldensian position was still very ambiguous.

Finally, the Brothers' practice of secrecy strongly confirmed the Church's 'type' of the heretic. From the first Christ's description of false prophets as wolves in sheep's clothing found an object to which it could be applied with singular literalism in heretics so adept at 'disguising themselves', and from this point onwards the leading principle of the 'type', the contrast between appearance and reality, seemed to flow.[1]

v) Literature, spirituality, and teaching.

For the Brothers, as for the clergy of the Church, moral teaching existed upon two levels: exhortations to purity and asceticism for the spiritual élite who renounced the world; and exhortations to moral behaviour and the avoidance of sin for those who remained in the world. I follow, and try thus to express, this division between these two levels by discussing the spirituality of the Brothers and the Brothers' moral and dogmatic teaching and instruction to the friends separately. Both are preceded by a description of the literature upon which the Brothers' spirituality and teaching fed.

1. Literature. The original choice of literature by the founder of the Order, Valdes, was simple and restricted in range: the Bible in the vernacular and extracts from the Fathers. What literature we can ascribe with total certainty to the German-speaking Brothers of the 14th century is not much more extensive. They had, first of all, scripture in both Latin and German. The Correspondence implies their access to the bible in Latin, by c.1266 they had both the Old and New Testaments in the vernacular, and we are told that they were responsible for the translations.[2] One ms. from the second half of

---

1 See the Introduction. 2 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.264a.

the 14th century contains a Psalter in both Latin and German (German of Bavaria-Austria)[1] and the Codex Teplensis of c.1400, containing the New Testament in German, was also employed by Waldensians.[2] The author of the De Inquisitione Hereticorum notes the use of patristic auctoritates .[3] After about the middle of the 14th century, and certainly before c.1365, the Brothers possessed the LE. They had the Waldensian list of seven articles of faith in German.[4] Presumably the Brothers had access to the material mentioned below in Ch.II in the hands of a friend in Fribourg: expositiones' of scripture, material arranged against purgatory, etc.

I think it legitimate to adduce here the literature of the Piedmontese Brothers from the period prior to 1400. Among the literature of the Piedmontese we find the following items from the German list given above. First of all, of course the Bible. Secondly the same distinctive list of the seven sacraments. Thirdly, the same distinctive list of the articles of faith.[5] Fourthly, in Piedmontese, the LE. Finally, though the Piedmontese may not have had the same selection of extracts from the Fathers - for, since we only know of the existence of this selection indirectly, we do not know its precise contents - they probably possessed catenae Patrum.[6] This co-extensiveness of literature which was, for the greater part, distinctive indicates a community of literature which it would be foolish to ignore. This is not to say that the German Brothers possessed all the literature the Piedmontese Brothers possessed; but it is to say that the literature they did possess was of similar character. In my discussion below I follow Montet and

---

1. A. Schönbach, 'Studien zur Geschichte des altdeutschen Predigt III', Sitz.der Phil.-Hist.Classe der Kaiserlichen Adak.der Wiss.,Bd.147, 1904,pp. 128 and 138. 2. For this see Haupt, Bibelübersetzung, passim, and Codex Teplensis, passim. 3 C.5 (ed. Preger, p. 209). 4 For the articles of faith see Haupt, Bibelübersetzung,pp.1-4; for the sacraments see Haupt, Codex Teplensis, pp.11-13. 5 See passages cited in the previous note. 6 E. Montet, Histoire littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont (Paris, 1885),p.56.

refer only to material assigned by him to the pre-1400 period.[1]

What we find is that this literature is composed, firstly, of collections of moral maxims;[2] secondly, translations of Catholic works, generally of a moral or ascetic nature (e.g. Pope Innocent III's De Contemptu Mundi);[3] thirdly, Waldensian imitations of these (e.g. expositions of the Pater Noster, treatises on penitence).[4] In the Waldensian compositions the authorities quoted are: the Fathers, classical and mediaeval philosophers, and Catholic authorities of all times including Popes.[5] Quotation in these is extensive and generally, in relation to the amount of the linking text, extremely prolix.[6] Dogma does not hold a great place, and there is little or no speculative theology.[7]

It is notable, first of all, that despite the Brothers' insistence on the immediate and ultimate authority of God's work expressed in scripture, and secondarily, their great emphasis on the Fathers, they did not cut themselves off from the Catholic tradition. Denying the binding authority of the Church's teaching, the decrees and sayings of the Popes, the Doctors of the Church, etc. meant precisely that: they did not have the authority ascribed solely to the Bible. It did not mean more: works in the Catholic tradition were still read and, in most areas, followed.

---

1. The dating and interpretation of Piedmontese Waldensian literature has given rise to much controversy. Although Montet has not escaped attack, his book remains the best survey, and his broad division of Waldensian literature on the basis of theological content into three periods (i. Catholic and pre-Hussite, ii. Hussite, iii. Protestant) still stands (Montet, op.cit., pp.42-3). The best recent survey of the problems of this literature is that of Esposito ('Quelques manuscrits'). 2 Montet, op.cit., pp.56,59. 3 Ibid., pp.56,60 and H.J. Chaytor, Six Vaudois Poems (Cambridge, 1930), p.75. 4 Montet, op.cit., pp.56 and 67-76. 5 Ibid., p.56. 6 Esposito, op.cit., p.140; see also the EFI I, passim. 7 Montet op.cit., p.90.

Secondly, most of the dogma present is orthodox.[1] There is not a hint of anything aberrant from Catholic theology on the Creation, the nature of God, the Incarnation, the virginity of Mary, Transubstantiation, and so on, and it is for this reason that Montet calls Waldensian literature of this period 'Catholic'. The exceptions to this are: the rejection of Purgatory as a state after death; the implications with regard to the nature of the true church of the LE, and one article in the Waldensian Credo; and rejection of the intercessory powers of the Virgin Mary and the Saints.

Thirdly, the Brothers' emphasis on the New Testament had as its general context a conventional attitude to the Bible and the relationship of the Old Testament to the New: the Old Testament containing umbra et figura of the New.[2] Within this context lay what was distinctive: the raising of the New Testament to the status of an immediate and ultimate authority; and the special emphasis on the literal following of the Gospels, especially Matthew: Christ's instructions when commissioning the Apostles in ch.X (together with a few passages from elsewhere) as the law for those who would follow the Apostles; and the teaching in Ch.VI as the moral precept for all.

The following, then, were the general characteristics of the Brothers' literature and their attitude to it. In outline it was orthodox. There is heavy and literal reliance on parts of the New Testament, and extensive reliance on all scripture and the Fathers. The teaching of the Church and mediaeval theologians, and Catholic tradition in general, is not excluded. Finally, it is simple, and there is an emphasis on the moral and ascetic at the expense of the dogmatic.

2. Asceticism. We may begin there with the inquisitors' descriptions of the morality and piety of the Brothers. There is general agreement in ascribing to them puritanical sobriety and

---

1 Ut supra. 2 LE, 4, 1.4.

and restraint: temperate in food and drink, avoiding taverns and choirs, keeping themselves from anger;[1] careful in words, avoiding foul or vain words and lies.[2] Following the 'type' of the heretic inquisitors take the piety of the Brothers as a semblance only, but they agree on the semblance. The renegade Brother Siegfried remarks on their pride in their 'works, fasts, vigils, prayers, and acts of grace' in order to make a polemical point which for us is less important than the observation upon which it rests.[3] The remark by the author of the Vita et Conversacio that they were clothed 'vestimentis vilibus' is less an observation of physical reality than a testimony to the Brothers' possession of the conventional sign of sanctity, dirt.[4]

According to one friend from the Brandenburg area, the Brothers were men who fasted much, 'multum se castigantes'.[5] The ascetic note is clear, and the Piedmontese example suggests the availability of literature to feed the ascetic impulse. This literature contained conventional ascetic material: literature lauding the three monastic and Waldensian virtues of poverty, chastity, and obedience;[6] excursuses on the dangers of familiarity with women and expressions of contempt for women;[7] and descriptions of sexual sins in terms of some obscenity and great repulsion.[8]

This is not particularly remarkable in itself: almost any contemporary monastic or conventual library would contain a similar range of ascetic material. However I think it is possible to detect a certain note of extremism in the Brothers' asceticism. In most areas they seem to go a little further than their equivalents in the Church. Thus we saw them making more stringent demands on postulants in terms of chastity and length of probation; giving humility formal expression in their vows; following a routine of

---

1 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.272g. 2 Vita et conversacio in Friess, 'Patarener', pp.257-8. 3 RS, 10, l.11-13. 4 Friess, 'Patarener', p.257. 5 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.43. 6 Montet, Histoire littéraire, pp.106-111. 7 Ibid., pp.108-9. 8 Ibid, pp.97-8.

fasting more rigorous than that of the Friars. The counterpart of the greater severity with which the Brothers dealt with their own bodies was the greater harshness with which they dealt with the friends: their penances were very severe, and it is a frequent comment from friends that the penances imposed by the Brothers were heavier than those imposed in the Church.[1]

This note is particularly discernible in the sexual sphere. I mentioned the literature on the abhorrence of woman and sexual sins above, and we saw in the discussion of reception into the Order that the Brothers went beyond the conventional demands made by Religious Orders of postulants for entry, namely freedom from the marriage bond, and required of their postulants virginity and total freedom from any sexual contact. It is probably significant that of all the penances noted in the processes of Brandenburg Friends the only ones for which we know the grounds were penances imposed for sexual misdemeanours, and that these were the most severe of already harsh penances: thus for example the Brothers required one woman who had suffered an accidental miscarriage to fast two days per week on bread and water for two years, and to say over the same span of time 75 Pater Nosters on ferial days and 200 on Sundays.[2]

The Brothers, then, exercised a puritanical restraint and sobriety in their behaviour, were pious, and practised an asceticism which, while it was conventional in character, was perceptably more extreme than the norm for equivalent Orders in the Church. We shall note below the link between this distinctive emphasis on penance and self-mortification and Waldensian teaching on purgatory.

---

1 See the comments of friends in Strasbourg, Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.53-6 and 63, and in Brandenburg, Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', pp.44 and 46-7. The author of the Cum dormirent treatise (1395) also commented on the 'grave ieiunium & multam orationem' which the Brothers pressed on friends (Gretser,col.287d). 2 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.47. See also the case, on the same page, of a woman given a programme of fasting lasting 3 years as a penance for conceiving in adultery.

3. Teaching. The occasions of the Brothers' teaching were visits to friends' houses. They preached in a selection of these to groups of about half-a-dozen or more friends. Secondly, the Brothers gave instruction and exhortation when hearing confession.[1] In what follows I have not distinguished between these two forms of instruction because the evidence is too slight.

Some snatches of teaching remembered from these sermons, periods of instruction, and instruction and exhortation in confession appear in the depositions of Friends from the Brandenburg area tried in 1392-4, friends tried in Fribourg in 1430, and, to a lesser extent, friends tried in Strasbourg in 1400: that is to say, statements of dogmatic or moral teaching preceded by 'The Brother(s) taught that... said that...'. Since none of the Brothers' sermons survive, these snatches of reported speech are the nearest we have to the ipsissima verba of the Brothers' teaching. Even these are slight, but one can attempt to piece them together. In what follows I have tried to do this, keeping as far as possible to these reported snatches, eked out where necessary by, firstly, statements of friends where these seem to me pure representations of the Brothers' teaching and, secondly, by the Cum dormirent treatise, which is the most reliable of inquisitors' treatises.

The Brothers presented themselves as successors of the Apostles, equipped with authority from God to preach, teach, hear confession, and absolve from sin.[2]

---

1 For these meetings, see Ch.2 (iv). 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst. 403,f.46^{v}; this is qualified 'hoc eis dixerint'. Similar statements are found throughout this process. One Fribourg friend, asked whether he believed that there were certain good men who preached and were 'loco Apostolorum sive discipulorum Domini nostri' replied that 'ita audivit a confessore' (Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.20^{v}).

On the basis of this authority the Brothers proceeded to provide teaching through short and general exhortations which had both dogmatic and moral implications. 'One should serve God with all one's strength and obey his commandments'.[1] 'One should do good works and love God'[2] 'One should believe in and invoke God'[3] 'One should adore only God'.[4] And so on. 'Do good works and love God': this was an injunction to concentrate on these; it implies the exclusion of alternatives and substitutes. It appears to be a simple injunction, but its very simplicity entails extensive and not so simple consequences; these consequences, in terms of the piety and prayer of a friend, were positive; in terms of the cult of the Church in the 14th century they were often negative.

First among these was the injunction to serve God alone for 'only God has the power of helping us.'[5] Consequently one should not invoke the Saints and the Virgin Mary for, since their possession of power would derogate from God's omnipotence, they do not possess even intercessory powers. 'Only God has the power of helping us; the Saints to not; one should invoke only God and not the Saints'.[6] This teaching was given a simple rationalisation which fixed it easily in the minds of Friends: 'The BVM and the Saints are so filled with joy (in paradise) that they do not know (about us), and if they had to pray for us this would lessen their joy'.[7] The rejection of the intercessory powers of the Virgin Mary and the Saints involved rejecting all the cult of the Church directed towards such intercession, in particular the prayer for the Virgin Mary's intercession,. It was not thought particularly harmful in itself, but it was pointless.[8]

---

1 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.8^{r} (in reply to the question, 'What had they - i.e. the Brothers - taught her?'). 2 Ibid., f.4^{r} ('perceperit (dictus confessor) quod...'). 3 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.50 ('semper post in sermone dicendo,..'). 4 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf Novi 348,f.6^{v} and 7^{r} ('audiverit...'). 5 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.34 ('audivisse...'). 6 Ut supra. See also Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf Novi 348,f.20^{r}: 'dixerunt sibi Deum invocandum et non sanctos'. 7 Ibid.,f.14^{r} ('dixerunt quod...'). 8 Wolfenbüttel Helmst.Ms.403.f.85^{v} ('audiverit').

Inseparable from this was the injunction to adore only God. Adoration of the Virgin Mary derogated from the adoration due only to God. Now, in view of inquisitors' statements to the contrary, it is necessary to state that the Brothers possessed a deep and basic veneration for the Virgin Mary and the Saints. They believed that the Virgin Mary and the Saints were in heaven. The virginity of Mary was one of their articles of faith,[1] and they told the friends to love her.[2] The Saints should be venerated, according to a Brother in the CJL, and one piece of literature from this period possessed by the Piedmontese Waldensians was devoted to distinguishing the grades of honour due to the Virgin Mary and the Saints.[3] And the Brothers permitted offering in their remembrance: 'ad recordacionem eorum'.[4] However, while believing that the Virgin Mary and the Saints were in heaven, and holding them in deep veneration, the Brothers reacted against, and taught against, any excess in their cult where this excess, led to deflection from what was, in their eyes, due to God alone.

They criticised and taught against anything in the contemporary cult of the Virgin Mary and the Saints which seemed to them to cross the line dividing veneration from adoration. 'One should not adore them (the Saints) but only God'.[5] 'Feast-days should not be celebrated as frequently as Sundays';[6] and so on. With regard to all the masses, prayers, feast-days etc. of the Church which seemed to the Brothers either pointless, in that they invoked the power of those who had no power to intercede, or idolatrous, in that they amounted to deflection of the adoration which was due to God alone, the practical consequence was this: the Brothers taught the Friends to transform these acts of worship when participating in them by an act of mental reservation. They were to worship to the praise only

---

1 G.Gonnet, Le Confessioni di Fede Valdese etc. (Turin,1967),p.12.
2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26.f.27[1] ('confessores dicebant...')
3 Montet, Histoire Littéraire,p.91. 4 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.33 ('doctrine eorum...resp.quod...'). 5 Ut supra. 6 Ibid., p.35 ('audivisse').

of God ('ad laudem solius Dei')[1] and, as far as the saints were concerned, only in their remembrance: 'ad recordacionem eorum'. An account of the mental reservations adopted by friends in this and other areas, and the line between real and fictitious participation in religious activities in the Church, is given in Ch. II.

The Brothers taught against images for the same reason, namely that they feared that they could deflect from the adoration due only to God. In one treatise based on the examination of friends in the Zwickau and Altenburg area (c.1462) it is stated that the Brothers based their opposition to images on the fear that simple country people (rurales et agrestes) would be deceived by the uses surrounding images, genuflexions to them, bowing of heads, and candles, into idolatria.[2] Again it would seem that the Brothers started not from opposition to the thing in itself but the abuse to which excess in surrounding uses could lead. This is suggested by the treatise quoted above, and also by the moderate doctrine attributed to the Brothers by the author of the Attendite treatise (pre-1391): images should be venerated not for themselves but for him whom they represent.[3] However, although the Brothers' opposition rested ultimately in this moderate position, opposition to abuse rather than the thing in itself, their opposition was lent additional force by the puritanical abhorrence of ornamentation present in almost any ascetic group, inside the Church or out of it (e.g. the attitude of the early Cistercians to the ornamentation of Churches), and this combination pushed the Brothers generally, but, as we have seen, not always, into the more extreme position of a blanket condemnation of images. We see this in a little picture of the Brothers acting in Strasbourg pre-c.1392 which is given to us by one of the friends tried in 1400. Brothers visited her in her house and saw that she

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf Novi 348,f.11^{r},14^{v}, etc. 2 H. Boehmer, 'Die Waldenser von Zwickau und Umgegend', Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, LXIII,1915,p.17. 3 Karlsruhe Reich. Pap.Ms.48,f.326^{rb}.

had pictures of the saints. The Brothers immediately told her to remove them, saying, 'It is stated in the Ten Commandments, "Thou shalt make no images..."'.[1]

The simple injunction which we are examining contained two elements: 'Do good works' and 'love God'. The second element, 'Do good works' was another simple injunction which entailed important consequences, both positive and negative.

The positive implications of the injunction to do good works were simple. 'Good works' were: doing good; in particular, giving alms to the poor. Accompanying this was the importance of the execution of acts of penance: heavy fasting and prayer -- penances which were heavier than those imposed by priests in the Church. In addition to formally imposed penances, all the sufferings of this world were penances which purged the soul of the punishment due to sin: 'The tears of one's eyes help to wash away sins'.[2] This specifically Waldensian doctrine, which proceeded from their denial of purgatory after death -- namely the purgation of punishment due to sin through the sufferings of this world -- was the theological basis for the emphasis on the severity of penances performed, and may in this light explain the extremism of the asceticism of the Brothers themselves which has been noted above.

The simplicity of the Brothers' injunction of the performance of good works and acts of penance extended to the insistence of simple men (I do not use 'simple' in a derogatory sense here) that the Christian perform these himself, and in a real and not a hollow manner. The negative consequences are the exclusion of the application to a Christian of grace gained by other Christians or through means in which the Christian's participation was somewhat formal. These consequences were large. Firstly, proceeding from this and also the logic of denying purgatory after death is the rejection of the application to the souls of the dead of grace acquired by the living

---

1 Röhrich, Winkeler,p.40. 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.49^{v} ('audivit ab ipsis quod...').

through good works, masses, prayers and offerings. This is, as I have just said, partly the logic of denying purgatory: 'it was unnecessary because each person went to his place after death'[1] and 'they did not need it in heaven and it would do them no good in hell'.[2] It is also the insistence that each Christian's own acts stand alone and only these count: 'only the good one does in one's own life'.[3]

Secondly, the substitution for the Christian's own works and acts of penance of means or alternatives in which participation was rather external or formal was rejected:- indulgences, pilgrimages, and jubilee years. 'One only gains indulgences by giving alms to the poor at one's front door'.[4] It is clear that the Brothers' objection rested in the first instance on an attitude underlying much of the use of these which constituted for the Brothers an abuse: namely the divorce between the formal performance of these and inner, real, repentance. 'Indulgences are only of help to those who have in all penitence confessed and repented', taught one Brother, 'and to others not'.[5] The Brothers' opposition was generally more extreme than this, and they did all that they could to prevent friends from participation, especially participation in pilgrimages.

One particular expression of this position was the rejection of the notion that the Christian could acquire grace or remit penance in a formal manner through the use of blessed inanimate objects such as water, salt, palms, etc.; and the concomitant rejection of the notion that these objects gained anything of sanctity and the function of channels of grace through the formality of being blessed. 'Blessed salt, water, candles, etc. have nothing of holiness in them...'[6] and are 'neither useful nor harmful' (friend).[7] Holy water

---

1 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.57 ('heard that...').
2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf Novi 348,f.21^{v} ('dixerint...').
3 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.4^{r},5^{v},10^{r} ('Predicabant...').
4 Statement of a friend, Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.61.
5 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26.f,49^{r} ('dicebant quod...').
6 Statement of a friend, Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.60.
7 Ut supra.

did not of itself wash away venial sins, and in the rejection of this particular formal substitute the opposition between formal means on the one hand and the Christian's own inner and real repentance on the other is again expressed: 'only the water which flows from one's own eyes (and not Holy Water) washes away sins'.[1]

As one reconstructs the Brothers' teaching from the statements of friends, their emphasis on good works, the mode of prayer prescribed by them, and their regulation of moral behaviour, it becomes clear that one is reconstructing the fifth and sixth chapters of Matthew's Gospel: good works (V,16),[2] the commandments (19),[3] the proscription of killing (21),[4] of adultery (28),[5] of oaths (33-7),[6] prayers for one's persecutors (44-5),[7] almsgiving (VI,1-4),[8] prayer in secret (5-6),[9] prayer of the Pater Noster (7-13),[10] fasting (16-18),[11] and so on.

Insistence on a strict adherence to the letter of these two chapters led to certain distinctive features in the Brothers' teaching. One of these was opposition to the taking of oaths in any circumstances: 'one should not take an oath, for this is a great evil'.[12] Another was the sinfulness of killing in any circumstances.

---

1 Frib.AE Geist,Sach.no.26,f.49^{v} ('audivit ab ipsis'). 2 See above. 3 Ochsenbein, Volksleben,pp.226 and 232. 4 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no. 26,f.53^{r} ('they prohibit this' i.e. killing); see also Wattenbach, 'Inquisition(,p.65. 5 See the instance of severe penance mentioned above. 6 See below. 7 See the De Vita, Döllinger, Dokumente,p.94. 8 See Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.61, the Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, cols.266b and 273h, and the charitable activites of friends in ch.2. 9 See below. 10 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.54^{r} ('docebant ut...'). 11 See, e.g., the penances imposed in Brandenburg, Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',pp.44-7. 12 Ibid., p.64 ('prohibuerunt...').

Another was the prescription of the Pater Noster as the prayer par excellence, and the injunction of this to the exclusion of other prayers when imposing penance: 'say the Pater Noster'.[1] This was accompanied by the statement that it was as good to pray outside church as inside church.[2]

One special emphasis in this teaching was extreme care in the use of words, deriving presumably from Christ's own emphasis in this direction in his teaching on oaths (Math.V,33-7). His words were taken to the letter: on the basis of the instruction to say nothing more than 'yes' or 'no' the Brothers prohibited their Friends from taking any oaths.[3] The author of the Vita et Conversacio described the general care in the use of words which the Brothers prescribed: they were cauti in this area, avoiding turpia, inania and mendacia.[4] This concern recurs again in the reports of Brothers' teaching: one should not 'mentiri, maledicere, jurare'.[5] We are given a little picture in the Fribourg process of a Brother teaching in this area, an example which conveys some of the stern and tenacious nature of their moral instruction. One witness was taken as a little boy by his mother to one of the Brothers. In the presence of the latter he was made to kneel, and the Brother taught him to 'curse and swear at no-one and to obey his father and mother'. He then went off to play with a little girl and, a little while later the Brother heard him curse at the little girl with whom he was playing: 'May you rot!'; hearing this he got hold of the boy by the ears and pulled them terribiliter (so the witness says!) to teach him a lesson. Meeting the boy some time after (probably a year or more, in view of the frequency of the Brothers' visits to Fribourg) the Brother asked him if he still marked the lesson he had been given.[6]

---

1 See above. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.40 ('Su hant ouch geseit...'). 3 See Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.64 ('dixerunt sibi...'). 4 Friess, 'Patarener',pp.257-8. 5 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.43 ('prohibuerunt...'). 6 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.10b[v].

Finally, there was probably a special emphasis in the Brothers' moral teaching on sexual morality, one to be expected from any whose own way of life was ascetic. We have noted above two exceptionally severe penances imposed on friends for sexual misdemeanours, and we find one instance of a Brother recommending abstinence for a time in marriage.[1]

In what has been said there has been no reference to the sacraments, simply because mention of them is very rare in the reported statements upon which, for the most part, I am relying. This may reflect a balance of emphasis in the Brothers' teaching between the importance of good works and the sacraments, i.e. a greater emphasis on the former (which is not implausible): however, the evidence is too thin for the drawing of any conclusions here. What may be noted is that the teaching which comes through is orthodox: 'one must believe in the Eucharist'; one should 'receive the sacrament devoutly'; it must 'be held in great reverence'.[2]

The dogmatic and moral teaching described above flowed from certain firmly held doctrines or positions:- divine omnipotence, and the adoration due to God alone; the necessity for the Christian to act morally, and perform good works and penance, and to do these in a real sense, that is to say, by himself rather than through others, and without the help of any substitutes or alternatives; the necessity to follow the instruction of the Gospels to the letter. These reflect and are coloured by the simple, moral, and severely ascetic character of the Brothers. From this stems in part their reserve towards elaborateness, colour, and pomp in religious services, and their preference for simplicity and restraint in this area: the

---

1 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.62. 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.52^{r} ('tenent quod...'),27^{r} 'perceperunt confessores...quod...'), 52^{v} (dixit quod...').

mass should be reduced to the words of consecration;[1] silence should replace music and singing;[2] ornamentations, vestments, and processions are rejected.[3] However, their teaching was more than a set of moral attitudes. Though this teaching cannot be recreated and examined *in toto*, since most of the writings of the Brothers have disappeared, and their beliefs only survive in fragmentary form among the depositions of friends, or in a mangled and unsystematic manner in inquisitors' treatises, the parts which survive in the *ipsissima verba* of Brothers reported by friends suggest origin in a single body of coherent, albeit simple, doctrine which flowed from a literal interpretation of the Gospels, followed traditional catholic teaching on many fundamental theological issues, and was given a distinctive cast by the simplicity and asceticism of the Brothers.

One feature of the latter, namely their social condition, should not be forgotten. I do not intend to give this factor primacy. The Brothers taught in order to show the way to salvation in the next world. This being said it would be foolish to ignore that these doctrines were preached by men of the peasant and artisan classes, men who were conscious of being the *ignobilia mundi*, the poor and the weak of the world, and that this lent special impetus or a distinct colouring to some of their teaching. Firstly, Waldensian emphasis on the poverty and simplicity of the church, whose source was Gospel precept, was lent special force by the social condition of those preaching it. The particular expression of their attitude to the fabric of churches, the objection to *large* churches (*e.g.* to cathedral and collegiate churches), and the preferred alternative, to the spending of money on church ornamentation, namely the giving of alms to the poor, may also be advanced here.[4] Secondly, the

---

1 Friess, 'Patarener', p.260. This accords with the statement of a friend in Fribourg that one should leave after the elevation (*Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.34*^{r}). 2 See, *e.g.*, Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', pp.31,34 and 62, the *Attendite* treatise (Karlsrhue Reich.Pap.Ms.48,f. 327^{rb}), the *Cum dormirent* treatise (Gretser,col.292g), *etc.* 3 *E.g.* Friess, 'Patarener', pp.260-1. 4 Zwicker's letter of 1395 in Friess, 'Patarener', p.264, and the *Pseudo-Reinerius*, Gretser,col.266b.

distinctive doctrine of purgation through the sufferings of this world sprang readily from the poor and the weak, and readily appealed to them; 'Do you think that poor people, who have misery and toil in this world, have purgatory in the next?'[1] Finally, the Brothers' extension of Christ's teaching on oaths to opposition to the judicial process while not an element in a programme of social protest may have been in some cases the special emphasis of those for whom the operations of the law were unfavourable both through the special reason of heresy and the more general one of their position in society.

****

vi) The Sacraments.

At the time of his reception into the Order the Brother was examined in the seven sacraments, that is to say, the Brothers' list of the seven sacraments. This list survives in German, and Piedmontese.[2] In what follows I examine the Brothers' attitude to the theology and administration of these sacraments in order to distinguish the distinctive from the conventional in this attitude. The method I have adopted is to go through each item in the list, looking first at the two sacraments the Brothers administered and secondly at sacraments recognised by them in the Church.

1. Waldensian Sacraments.

a) Imposition of hands. The Brothers rejected the sacrament of confirmation in the Church and, instructed their friends to avoid being confirmed.[3] Many friends succeded in this, and the fact that they were able to do so without raising suspicion reflects slack practice

---

1. Statement of a friend (Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.290). 2 The two are printed en face in Haupt, Codex Teplensis, pp.11-13. 3 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.52 ('dixerunt quod non...nec esset sacramentum'). See also the Vita et conversacio and Zwicker's letter of 1395, Friess, 'Patarener' pp.260 and 263.

in some areas of the Church in the 14th century. In the place of this sacrament in their list (no.6) the Brothers put 'imposition of hands' (Auflegunge der hende, empausament de las mans), which was exclusively the imposition of hands to confer ordo on Brothers being received into the Order. Only Brothers could confer it, and it carried with it the power to confer the two Waldensian sacraments. Further discussion is given below.

b) Penitence. This is the second in the Waldensian list, penitence in forgiveness of sins (Rewe in vergibunge der sunde, penitencia). The Brothers administered this to other Brothers, and they administered it to friends. It was the only sacrament they administered to the friends, as was stated explicitly by the renegade Brother Siegfried: 'You only hear confessions, for the rest you send to the papal Church';[1] this is in the context of the administration of sacraments to laymen, i.e. friends, which is why he omits imposition of hands.

Power and authority to do this was conferred by ordo. This is stated explicitly by the Brothers and is confirmed by the universal practice of friends only confessing to Brothers (or to priests). (See the note appended to this chapter on 'Ordo and merit').

What was the form of the Brothers' administration of this sacrament? The friend confessed his sins to the Brother; the latter he addressed in confession as Dominus, as his parish priest would have been addressed. During confession he sat, and only knelt when absolution was being given.[2] Heavy penances were imposed, invariably combinations of fasting and praying the Pater Noster, and the execution of the acts of penance were regarded by the friends as essential for the cleansing of sin. So far the general form and the underlying theology of the necessity of confession to

---

1 RS,8,1.4-5. 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.8^{r}. One friend questioned in Regensburg in 1395 said that she confessed her sins as she was accustomed to confessing them 'plebano suo et sacerdotibus fidelibus, nisi quod non geniculavit' (Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod, 3748,f. 153^{r}).

someone ordained, contrition, and satisfaction through the execution of acts of penance is the same as that in the Church. There are only differences in the working out of this pattern with regard to penance: the concentration on one prayer only, the Pater Noster; the exclusion of substitutes for the Christian's own execution of acts of penance; and the greater severity of imposed penance.

However, there is one very important difference. The Ego te absolvo.. formula is replaced by a Waldensian formula, which survives in German, and this is merely a prayer; 'May Our Lord... forgive you your sins...bless you...etc.',[1] which by comparison implies a derogation of the mediating role of the minister. This is confirmed by a discussion of binding and loosing in the EFI I. Here passages from Peter Lombard's commentary on Mathew XVI, 19-20 are arranged to confine this power, as far as the minister is concerned, to discerning who is to be bound and loosed.[2]

The deduction which one might expect to follow in practice from this theological derogation from the mediating role of the minister, namely less emphasis on the necessity of confession to an ordained minister, was a deduction which was not drawn by the Brothers in the 14th century. Everything points to the universal teaching and practice of the absolute necessity for the forgiveness of sins of confession to an ordained Brother or in cases of dire necessity, confession (real as opposed to fictitious) to a priest in the Church.[3] (The question of confession to priests in the Church, and the distinction between real and fictitious confessions, is discussed in Chapter II).

---

1 Printed by Schmidt, 'Actenstücke p.245. 2 EFI I, 22,l.24-23,l.16. 3 See the statement of a friend in Strasbourg that if one was in danger of death and could not obtain a Brother one could confess (i.e. in a real sense) to a priest (Röhrich, Winkeler,p.53). This accords with the residual power which the formula (universal in the Brandenburg trials) that the Brothers had more power than priests to hear confessions, absolve, etc. implies lay with priests.

2) Sacraments in the Church.

c) Baptism. The Brothers accepted this as a sacrament; it is the first in their list, Tauf in vergibunge der sunde, baptisme en remission de peccacz. The author of the Cum dormirent treatise said that both Brothers and friends received this in the Church;[1] there is no record of a Brother or friend ever baptising or claiming the power to do so -- indeed, the Italian Brothers, when admitting the narrow scope of their power and authority, quoted St. Paul, 'Christ did not send me to baptise but to evangelise'.[2] There is further no record of a derogation from the necessity of baptism or of the denial that only a priest ordained in the Church could baptise.

While the Brothers received baptism in the Church and accepted its validity and necessity, they probably criticised some of the uses surrounding the ceremony in the Church. They criticised blessed water -- any water would suffice -- and their criticism of blessed salt, reported in other contexts, probably applied here.[3] The element of exorcism (the formal rejection of the Devil and his works) was also criticised, this criticism stemming from the Brothers' unwillingness to believe, in this case against the evidence of the Gospel, that anyone could be possessed or vexed by the Devil.[4] As in other areas (e.g. the mass) the Brothers cut away at accretions, reducing to the simple and the essential. The practical effect of this was participation in ceremonies in the Church with both recognition of the essential validity of these ceremonies and at the same time mental reservations concerning parts regarded as pointless additional uses.

---

1 Gretser, 291h. 2 EFI I, 24,1.6. 3 Zwicker's letter in Friess, 'Patarener', p.263; for criticism of blessings in general, see Röhrich, Winkeler, p.41, and for criticism of blessings of salt see Wolfenbüttel Helmst.Cod.403,f.66^{r} and Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', pp.31, 59 and 60. 4 Zwicker's letter in Friess, 'Patarener', p.265. For unwillingness to believe in possession see the Vita et Conversacio in Friess, op.cit., p.261, and the Cum dormirent treatise, Gretser, col.297e.

d) The Eucharist. The third sacrament in the list is the Eucharist: Prechunge und geminsamunge des protez, Communion del cors e del sang de Crist. In the Note appended to this Chapter I examine the evidence and arguments concerning the practice of the Brothers with regard to the Eucharist and show that, in the 14th century at least, they did not consecrate or administer the Eucharist or claim the power to do so. This was a sacrament recognised and received in the Church.

With regard to the practice of the Brothers: the author of the Cum dormirent treatise states firmly that they received the Eucharist in the Church.[1] The same information, that is, reception from priests, comes in the Vita et conversacio, with the additional comment that some Brothers stayed away from communion for several years.[2] This abstention may have stemmed from pressures, whose precise nature is no longer discernible, of the need for secrecy. It may illustrate the effect on a portion of the Brothers of the tensions felt from the conflict between, on the one hand, continuing recognition of the sacramental ministration of the Church and, on the other, its continuing persecution of the Brothers: a conflict to which some Brothers reacted by withdrawal and abstention.

Secrecy as a cause of abstention is seen elsewhere. We know from the CJL that some Waldensians, including a certain Henry of Krems, died without receiving communion, and the reasons for this are spelled out in the correspondence: the Waldensians surrounding the dying man could not consecrate or administer communion, and they could also not fetch a priest to do this through fear of detection. This case provides us with a few comments from the Brothers themselves, since the renegade Brothers of c.1365-7 used this as one point in a polemical attack, that some Waldensians died without communion.[3] The Brothers replied by examining the nature of communion. They used a mélange of quotations to say, in a rather

---

1 Gretser, col.291h. 2 Friess, 'Patarener',p.260. See the discussion of this text below. 3 See the EFC* in Part II(iv).

confused fashion, the following. Among those who receive communion, i.e. those who physically receive the Eucharist, there are some who communicate in a real sense and some who do not; the latter are those who are discordant from Christ (the discordance is not defined). Among those who die without communion, (i.e. the physical reception of the Eucharist), there are some who are already members of the body of Christ, i.e. through being members of the Church which, in its mystical interpretation is the body of Christ, where membership of the Church consists in being in the Church (undefined) and believing in Christ. Through being members of the Church these persons will not have been deprived of the benefit of a sacrament which signifies something of which they are already part, the unity of the body of Christ.[1]

This theology of spiritual communion has significance only in the stated area, that is to say, the case of necessity where physical reception is impossible for one reason or another. The presence of the Eucharist in the Brothers' list, the Brothers' belief in transubstantiation, their instructions to friends to believe in the Eucharist and to receive it humbly: all this shows that the Brothers' held to the sacrament, the belief in transubstantiation, and the significance of physical reception. The theology of spiritual communion was not a substitute, but theology evolved for a special case, and it is complementary to the Brothers' commitment to orthodox theology on the Eucharist and the norm of physical reception.

e) Matrimony. The Pseudo-Reinerius stated that the Waldensians condemned the sacrament of marriage,[2] and in the report of the Krems inquisition the notion of marriage as legalised prostitution is

---

1 EFI I,23.1.14-24,1.21. 2 Gretser,col.265f.

ascribed to them.[1] Rejection of marriage reappears in a list of articles associated with Fribourg.[2] Müller on the basis of these stated that the Waldensians rejected the sacramental nature of marriage.[3]

In one case falsity can be demonstrated. A question list based on the Fribourg articles was drawn up and the questions in it put to the Fribourg friends. While assenting to distinctive doctrines such as the rejection of purgatory in the next world, they unanimously rejected the attribution to them of the notion that marriage was not a sacrament, and generally with some force and indignation.[4] Falsity in the others cannot be demonstrated in this way, though my analysis of the report of the Krems inquisition in the introduction shows the extraordinary and often dubious nature of the information in this document. A suggestion can be made. The ascetic cast of the Brothers certainly found expression in their teaching on marriage: there is an instance in the Brandenburg area of recommendation of abstinence in marriage for a period of time,[5] and from the Zwickau area from pre-1462 of abstinence on certain days of the week (Thursday to Sunday because of their reminiscence of Christ's Last Supper, Passion, burial, and Resurrection).[6] Presumably the Brothers distinguished in their teaching between the lower spiritual state of marriage and the higher of celibacy (in their case, virginity). This distinction, and the denigration of physical relations implied in this and the recommendation of abstinence, may have been reported in bowdlerised form by friends under examination, and hence in both bowdlerised and extended form in the less reliable of inquisitors' treatises. Literature on the Cathars, which had a discernible influence on the Pseudo-Reinerius, De Inquisitione Hereticorum and the Krems report in other areas may also have had influence on this point.[7]

---

1 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', pp.305-6. 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no. 26, f.39r. 3 K. Müller, Die Waldenser etc. (Gotha, 1886), p.121. 4 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, ff.51bv, 52r, 53r, 53v, 54v ('est una sancta res'), 49v, 55r, 20v ('rem sanctam et iustam'), etc. 5 See above, (e). 6 Boehmer, 'Waldenser von Zwickau', p.11. 7 See Introduction.

For there can be no doubt that the Brothers were orthodox on the sacrament of marriage. The more reliable of inquisitor's treatises (e.g. the Cum Dormirent treatise), the whole of the correspondence, and the very extensive processes of friends in the late 14th and early 15th centuries (Brandenburg, Strasbourg, Fribourg, etc.,) carry no hint of teaching against the sacrament of marriage. Finally, in the ceremony of reception into the Order Brothers assented to this, the fourth sacrament in their list: Ee, matrimoni.

My conclusion is this. The Brothers accepted the sacrament of marriage. They did not themselves officiate at it; this was left to priests in the Church. Their teaching included the sort of recommendations to abstinence, and lauding of the state of virginity, which one could find in the teaching of any ascetics in or out of the Church. Extreme and bowdlerised instances of these may be at the root of misleading statements in early inquisitors' accounts.

f) Extreme unction. The Brothers accepted this as a sacrament. It is the fifth in the German list (salbunge des oles) and the seventh in the Piedmontese (ognament de l'oli de li enfirm). The Brothers did not administer this.

g) Ordination. This is the seventh in the German list (Ordenunge des pristerzamtes und der dyaken), and fifth in the Piedmontese (Ordonament de preyres et de diaques). The Brothers recognised ordination to the priesthood in the Church,[1] but they rejected minor orders[2] and rejected the orders of bishop and pope.

With the exception of confirmation the Brothers recognised and accepted sacraments in the Church, albeit in some cases with reservations concerning the surrounding uses (Baptism) or, exceptionally in one case, only accepting one in occasions of necessity (penitence). The fundamental sacramental role of the Church was recognised. I have suggested above that this

---

1 This is the direct implication of the discussion of the basis of the Waldensian ordo in the EFI I. 2 RS,10.1.27-8; Friess, 'Patarener', pp.261 and 264; St. Paul-im-Lavanttal Hs.92_4,f.286^{va} ('dicunt non fuisse gradum inter apostolos').

recognition despite the Church's persecution may have constituted no contradiction if seen in terms of the New Testament parallel of the Apostles and the Synagogue.[1]

According, however to the Anonymous of Passau, writing c.1266, the Waldensians condemned all the sacraments in the Church: damnat omnia sacramenta. Writing in 1395 the author of the Cum dormirent treatise stated exactly the opposite: they destroy everything in the Church exceptis solis sacramentis. The latter is essentially true of the 14th century Brothers, as we have seen. What is the explanation of the contradiction? It may be that the Brothers developed and became more conservative than they had been in the 13th century. It is also possible (and these explanations need not be mutually exclusive) that the greater proximity of the Church's literature on the Waldensians in the later 14th than in the 13th and early 14th centuries to observed reality explains the contradiction. This latter I have suggested in the introduction.

---

1 See part II(v) for a discussion of this.

Note to Chapter I.

A. The use of the word laicus, ordo and merit.

1. The use of the word laicus.

Inquisitors' application of the word laicus to Waldensians does not effectively distinguish between Brothers and friends. Sometimes it is applied to both, sometimes only to the former. When applied to the former it deliberately expresses, terminologically, Catholic rejection of the validity of the latter's ordo (Orders). As the Pseudo-Reinerius explained: laicos appello non ordinatos a nostris episcopis.[1] The renegade Brother Siegfried follows the same line of thought when after a discussion of Waldensian Orders which shows the knowledge he, quite naturally, had of their existence, he goes on to accuse the Brothers of arrogating to themselves functions which require Orders (hearing confessions), while not themselves possessing Orders,[2] i.e. while not possessing Orders recognised by the Church.

It is a substantial possibility that the ascription to the Waldensians in the treatise of the Pseudo-Reinerius of the belief that laymen have the power to hear confessions and enjoin penances[3] is merely a deduction. That is to say, a movement from the descriptive 'They, though laymen (i.e. possessing Orders not recognised by the Church) hear confessions etc.' to the deduction 'They claim that laymen have the power to hear confessions etc.'

There is no other evidence by which the information in this treatise can be controlled, and therefore this cannot be demonstrated. However, this same statement in later 14th century evidence can be shown to be a deduction of this sort, and therefore doubt at least must fall on the 13th century evidence.

---

1 Gretser,col.273g. 2 RS,10.1.19-20. 3 Gretser,col.265e.

2. Ordo and merit.

What was the belief of the German-speaking Brothers of the 14th century with regard to the relation of ordo and merit, and the question of ministration by laymen?

First of all, practice. There is no question of laymen conferring ordo, and there is no recorded case of confession to a layman. The alleged case of confession to a widow in the Brandenburg area noted by Preger[1] rests on a misreading of the text in question. In the article from which Preger took this case Wattenbach noted that a word was missing from the text (as the case-endings make clear) and that the correct reading was 'confession in a widow's house (to a Brother)'.[2] It is significant that although the infrequency and short duration of the Brothers' visits restricted the numbers of the confessions made by the friends beyond their wishes, nevertheless there is no evidence that any of them in the 14th century at any time solved this problem by confessing to each other.

This universal practise of confining the conferment of ordo and the hearing of confessions to Brothers is confirmed by the statement of the restriction of the authority and power to do this to Brothers possessing ordo through visible succession which is given in the correspondence and is discussed above.

In what relation tohis possession of ordo stood the minister's merit? In one sense I doubt that this question and the distinction between ordo and merit would have had meaning to a Brother. He possessed ordo through the imposition of hands and, in a sense, merit through the conformity of the way of life which he followed with that of the Apostles, and both he possessed simultaneously, and perhaps indistinguishably, through entry into the Waldensian Order.

---

1 W.Preger, 'Über das Verhältnis der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern etc.', ABAW, XVIII,I,p.74. 2 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.42.

One could push the question further, arguing that the Brothers' conformity with the way of life of the Apostles can itself be described as formal, a matter of externals. One could ask what the position of the Brothers would be towards one of their number who, through this, possessed both ordo and this conformity, and yet sinned: would he still possess the power to hear confessions and so on? One passage in the ~~rather~~ CJL to the effect that a certain Ulrich Florian, though a fornicator, was their confessor may supply the answer 'Yes' to such a question. However conformity with the life of the Apostles cannot be regarded entirely as an external matter. Further, whenever extending Waldensian positions logically, as inquisitors did, one runs the risk of falsifying these positions, and to press the distinction between order and merit in this area to such an extent falsifies insofar as it blurs the general truth of the Waldensian position on the pastoral office which they exercised, namely that they exercised it by virtue both of Order and conformity of life with that of the Apostles, for those who preach the Gospel must live by the Gospel, and that in this latter they stood in their own eyes in contrast to a corrupt Church. Administration of the Eucharist may have been subject to different conditions in view of the New Testament parallel of the corrupt Synagogue.

What is clear from this is that the Brothers' power and authority was an objective as well as, in this general sense, of the conformity of their way of life, a subjective matter, and that the strong objective element of requirement of ordo remained.

B. Hierarchy and the Eucharist.

It has been stated by Preger,[1] Müller,[2] and, more recently, Werner[3] and Koch[4] that the German-speaking Waldensians of the 14th century possessed a hierarchy. It has also been stated by Preger

---

1 Preger, op.cit., p.71. 2 Müller, Waldenser, p.123. 3 E. Werner, 'Idealogische Aspekte etc.', Studi Medievali, Ser.3a, An.IV, I, June 1967, p.232. 4 G. Koch, Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter (Forschungen zur Mittelalterlichen Geschichte, IX), p.169.

that they had priests who consecrated and administered the Eucharist.[1] Both statements are incorrect.

1. **Hierarchy.** The evidence for Waldensian hierarchy comes in an earlier period, in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise and the report of the inquisition in Krems of 1315, and also from a much later period, the mid and later 15th century. For the earlier period it is the following. The word episcopus is used in the documents of c.1266 and 1315 in relation to the Waldensians: they visit Episcopos in Lombardy,[2] two of their number are named Episcopus,[3] and there is an Episcopus in the village of Anzbach.[4] In addition to this in the Krems report there is the description of a hierarchy of three grades, episcopus, filius major, filius minor.[5] For the later period there is the appearance of the Waldensian Friedrich Reiser describing himself as an Episcopus,[6] the appearance of bishops in 1458 in those Brandenburg communities which were Waldensian in 1392-4,[7] and the attempts of the Bohemian Brethren to find a basis for orders in a bishop among Austrian Waldensians.[8]

Let us take first of all the word episcopus. Although the Pseudo-Reinerius applies this to Waldensians he notes elsewhere in the same treatise that they reject the names of prelates such as episcopus.[9] He is therefore applying an equivalent rather than an exact term. In seeking to denote the senior Brother under one of his powers and functions, that of transmitting ordo, he applies the term which describes the Catholic or Cathar of equivalent power and function. This applies also to the use of the word by the Bohemian Brethren. The latter's manner of using it implies recognition that an equivalent is being used; episcopi seu seniores, and elsewhere, in saying that among the Waldensians the episcopal and priestly grades were conferred simul and that the Brothers were

---

1 Preger, op.cit., p.71. 2 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser.col.266c. 3 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', pp.306-7. 4 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col, 264d-e. 5 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.310. 6 Goll, Böhmischen Brüder, p.27 n.1 and p.105. 7 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.71. 8 Goll, op.cit. pp.118ff. 9 Gretser, col.265c.

co-episcopi they struggle with alien terminology to describe the Waldensian position, namely the lack of distinction between possession of ordo and the power to transmit it, and the fact that all Brothers possessed it.[1] This is given fuller discussion above.

The description of a hierarchy of three grades in the Krems report constitutes no problem. Dr. Nickson has pointed out that the author drew this directly from Sacchoni's description of the hierarchy possessed by Italian Cathars pre-1250.[2] It has no application to Waldensians.

Between this earlier evidence and the later period there is an abundance of evidence from the later 14th century in terms of Waldensian writings discussing ordo, processes, and inquisitors' treatises. In none of this is there mention of or room for Waldensian hierarchy.

When we move to the evidence relating to Friedrich Reiser and the Brandenburg bishops of 1458 we are in a totally different area; here we are confronted with genuine claims to the episcopal dignity and office. Reiser was consecrated a bishop by the Taborite bishop Nicholas Pelhrimov and later, it has been claimed, by a Catholic bishop at the Council of Basle.[3] He himself consecrated the Mathew Hagen who appears as a bishop in the Brandenburg area pre-1458.[4] The latter was celebrating mass in German, giving communion sub utraque, etc. This and the episcopal title and office mark a break-away (not seen in all Waldensian communities), from Waldensian doctrine and practice in the pre-Hussite period, and is merely testimony to the influence wielded by Taborites in a Taborite-Waldensian group. This is not evidence for the 14th century but rather evidence of change from it.

---

1 Goll, op.cit., p.118. 2 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.291 n.3.
3 Goll, Böhmischen Brüder, p.27 n.1. 4 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.77.

I must briefly mention the arguments of Müller, Preger, Werner, and Koch.

Müller placed trust in the evidence of the Anonymous of Passau (discussed above), and, since this treatise was then ascribed to the early 14th century, argued for a hierarchy at this date. The evidence of course only applies to pre-1266, and even at that date is, I have argued, inapplicable. Müller recognised the adverse force of evidence from the later 14th century, and in order to concord this with what he believed about the earlier part of the century he said that the distinction of grades melted away during the century.[1]

Preger based his arguments partly on evidence relating to French Waldensians. The French to appear to have had a hierarchy, but they were diverging from the Lombard-German nexus since before 1218[2] and their organisation is no evidence for the Lombard-German groups. More particularly Preger based himself on a distinction drawn, he thought, by friends tried in Brandenburg in 1392-4 between Waldensian Preachers ('Apostles') and Waldensian priests. The friends stated when under examination that they thought the Brothers 'successors of the Apostles', hence 'Apostles' could hear confessions and absolve sins but were not ordained presbyteri who could celebrate mass. Preger thought that there were here the first two out of the three grades of the Waldensian hierarchy: firstly, deacons (Brothers, Apostles) who could hear confessions but no more; secondly, priests (presbiteri) who could say mass, i.e. consecrate; thirdly, bishops, for whom there was evidence elsewhere.[3] In fact this is a fabrication on top of something less than quicksand. The questions and answers make it clear that Peter Zwicker was asking the friends to make their position clear by comparing the authority they attributed to the Brothers to that of local parish priests; and the friends were replying

---

1 Müller, Waldenser, p.123. 2 The Rescriptum (Enchiridion, pp.171-183) shows the extent of the divergence at this date. 3 Preger, op.cit., p.71.

by saying that the Brothers could hear confessions but, unlike their local parish priests, could not consecrate and administer the Eucharist.[1]

Werner has noted a statement in a letter by the renegade Brother Siegfried in which the latter refers to treasures of gold and silver possessed by the Brothers. This Werner says, is a reference to the sacred vessels the presentation of which is part of the ceremony of ordination to the priestly and episcopal grades (i.e. presentation of instruments and insignia of office).[2] If the Brothers had had a hierarchy, these insignia and instruments would not have been present: it was a recurrent article of belief that the insignia and paraphernalia surrounding the institution of a bishop or priest in the Church were superfluous.[3] Quite apart from this Siegfried's statement, correctly interpreted, is a taunt of the Brothers for contradicting the poverty they preached by aggregating money collected from the alms of friends.[4]

Finally, Koch's statement seems to be a deduction from general theory about the stages of evolution of sects: in the second stage they become conservative and adopt the very institutions of the Society and organisation against which they had reacted, in this case the institutions of hierarchy. He advances no supporting evidence.

My conclusions are these. The French Waldensians seem to have possessed a hierarchy. The Lombard-German Brothers diverged from the former from before 1218, and the German Brothers certainly possessed no hierarchy. The Brothers, and all the Brothers, possessed one power, the ability to transmit the ordo they possessed, which could only be expressed in Catholic terminology by the application to the latter of the term episcopus, since only bishops or those above could transmit ordo in the Church. This application

---

1 See the question in the list of questions in Friess, 'Patarener', p.267. 2 Werner, 'Ideologische Aspekte', p.232. 3 E.g. 'Reprobant ...insignia pontificum' in Zwichker's letter Friess, 'Patarener', p.263. 4 RS,10,1.21-3. See the similar statement of John Leser cited above (d).

was misleading since episcopus carries with it the second implication of a gradation of orders, a hierarchy, and this the Brothers did not have. In the 15th century Taborite influence brought radical change and in some areas the introduction of a genuine hierarchy (the bishops Fredrich Reiser and Mathew Hagen), but some communities, notably the Austrian community visited by Bohemian Brethren in 1467, remained true to the observance of the 14th century.

2. Eucharist.

It has been stated that the Brothers consecrated and administered the Eucharist in the 14th century (Preger and Müller).[1] Haupt doubted this.[2]

The evidence is following. From the 13th century: the Pseudo-Reinerius stated that the Brothers consecrated while on the other hand condemning all the sacraments of the Church, including the Eucharist.[3] From the 14th century: the author of the Cum dormirent treatise mentions the case of a Brother consecrating recently, noviter.[4] A list of articles relating to Friends captured in Augsburg in 1393 includes the article of belief that the Brothers have the power to consecrate and administer the sacrament.[5] The Vita et Conversacio includes the description of a cena of the Waldensians in which bread and wine are blessed and the bread distributed to bystanders.[6] From the 15th century: Bishop Mathew Hagen was claiming this power in Brandenburg pre-1458;[7] pre-1467 the Waldensian Meister Niclas Sneyder was administering communion in the area of Zwickau and Altenburg.[8]

The evidence to the contrary for the 14th century is overwhelming in extensiveness and authority. But, before reverting to this, it is necessary to examine and, in a few cases to accept, the evidence which has just been mentioned.

---

1 Preger, 'Taboriten', p.71; Müller, Waldenser, p.118. 2 Haupt, Codex Teplensis, p.17. 3 Gretser, cols.265d and 265b. 4 Gretser, col.278f. 5 A.F. Oefele, Rerum Boicarum Scriptores (Augsburg/Vienna, 1763), I, p.620. 6 Friess, 'Patarener', p.260. 7 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.78. 8 Boehmer, 'Waldenser von Zwickau', p.7.

With Haupt, I have doubts about the value of the evidence in the treatise of the Anonymous of Passau. My objections have been stated in the introduction. I think the attribution to the Waldensians of the consecration and administration of the Eucharist could result from inquisitorial logic (from their supposed denial of the Eucharist in the Church) and conflation of information relating to other sects, notably the Cathars, which are dealt with elsewhere in the treatise. Other statements in this treatise are demonstrably misleading or false (e.g. Waldensian bishops, rejection of the Fathers, condemnation of all sacraments in the Church, etc.)[1] However, there is no other evidence in the shape of processes or Waldensian literature by which this can be controlled, and therefore for the 13th century an open verdict must be returned.

Three pieces of evidence were noted in the 14th century. First of all, the Augsburg articles. Here along with such distinctive Waldensian beliefs as the rejection of purgatory after death, the rejection of the intercession of Saints, and so on, appears the belief (exceptional for such late 14th century articles) that they believe their Brothers have power to consecrate.

Now lists of articles are very difficult to use where one does not possess the processes of body or doctrine from which they were drawn. First of all, when they are drawn from processes (and lists of Waldensian articles are almost certainly in most cases drawn from a combination of processes and earlier treatises) they are cumulative, and thus include not only the norm but the exception. If one looks at the list Zwicker appended to his letter of 1395 and some of his most likely sources (e.g. his own examinations of friends in the Brandenburg area) one sees that Zwicker showed his concern to paint the Waldensians in the blackest light possible (his was a letter of warning to the public); one sees him including not only items which are the norm in friends' depositions but also those which appear only twice or once or not at all (in these latter cases, presumably drawing

---

1 See the introduction.

on his Austrian processes, which do not survive).[1] One out of one hundred friends may confess to an exceptional belief and this may be elicited and inserted into a list of articles alongside others which have been confessed by the other ninety-nine.

Secondly lists of articles sometimes contained interpolations from treatises of other times and places and even, exceptionally, other subjects. The interpolation into the Krems report of information from a treatise on Italian Cathars is an example of the latter.

Now, with regard to the item in the Augsburg articles none of this can be proved. But I can provide an analogy which I think instructive. A similar list of articles associated with Fribourg contained, again together with 'normal' Waldensian beliefs, two rogue articles: the rejection of the sacramental character of matrimony, and of the Eucharist. A question list was drawn up on the basis of it, and these questions put to Fribourg Friends in 1430: as we saw in the introduction to articles describing the Waldensian norm friends assented, but they emphatically rejected the two rogue articles. I think it probable that a question list based on the Augusburg articles would have elicited a similar pattern of response, namely assent to the norm, and rejection of the rogue article.

Secondly, there appears in the articles in the Vita et Conversacio the description of a cena. The list in which this appears, displaying the usual characteristics of such lists, systematisation and logical extension, seems to be for the most part based on reliable sources (probably processes and other lists of articles based on processes). I think the description of the cena may be an interpolation by the compiler from an alien tradition or an earlier treatise. Firstly, some details in the description are closely parallelled in the description of the cena in Bernard Gui's Practica, which applies to French Waldensians.[2] The compiler may also have been influenced by

---

1 Compare the articles in Zwicker's letter, which occupy $3\frac{1}{2}$ closely printed pages, with the dozen or so tenets which appear in each of the Brandenburg processes, generally on 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ sides of a folio.
2 B .Gui, Manuel de l'Inquisiteur, ed.G.Mollat, p.44.

the statement in the treatise of the Pseudo-Reinerius, a copy of which will almost certainly have been to hand (see Map III) that the Waldensians claimed the power to consecrate. Secondly the detail which concludes the description of the cena -- the casting of bread and wine and the post upon which they have been blessed into a fire -- is, in that it constitutes the attribution of sacrilege, typical of the more fantastic inquisitorial interpolations. Thirdly, there are the compiler's own statements. At the beginning of the list he states the claims of the Brothers: to preach, hear confession, and enjoin penances; however, strangely in a treatise which manifests in all its other parts the usual concern to put the Waldensian positions in their most extreme form, he omits to include the claim to consecrate which the description of a few lines later on would, if true, warrant him to do. This omission constitutes, I think, the compiler's tacit admission, through his awareness of the source of the description of the cena, that this claim could not be validly attributed to them. The statement with which he follows the description of the cena, that most (plurimi) of the Brothers have no faith in this type of consecration but instead communicate in Church almost constitutes a recognition that this was the case.

Thirdly the author of the Cum Dormirent treatise: he says (1395) that one Brother recently consecrated.[1] His following statement, that this Brother was rebuked by other Brothers for doing this, and his statements elsewhere that both Brothers and friends received communion in Church shows that this was for the Brothers, and to his knowledge, a single aberrant act, not accepted by the Brothers.

Finally, there is the opposing evidence. The doctrines and practices of the Brothers in relation to the friends appear in extenso and in great detail in the large processes of friends in Brandenburg (1392-4), Strasbourg (1400) and Fribourg (1430), not to mention fragments from elsewhere. In none of these is there the slightest

---

1. Gretser, col.278f.

trace of the practice of consecration and administration of the Eucharist by the Brothers, or the belief that the Brothers had the power to do this, or that the Eucharist was received by Brother or by friend anywhere else other than in the local church from the parish priest. In addition, the three-way correspondence of c.1365/7 - c.1370/8 between Italian Brothers, Austrian Brothers, and renegade Austrian Brothers, rests throughout on the assumption that the Brothers neither claimed the power to be able to consecrate nor administered this sacrament in practice, and includes explicit disavowals of this power or claims to it by the Brothers.[1] In relation to this authoritative and extensive evidence the slight indications to the contrary in lists of articles must be dismissed as immaterial and irrelevant to the Waldensian position. Their sole interest lies in their implications with regard to the manner in which this type of document was compiled.

With regard to Mathew Hagen (in Brandenburg pre-1458) and Niclas Sneydər (in the Zwickau area pre-1467): here we are dealing with a different case. Hagen, as I have said above, was consecrated by Reiser, and therefore among a group of Taborite-Waldensians. Reiser was also in the Zwickau area,[2] and on this and other grounds Böhmer plausibly suggests that Sneyder was also under Reiser's influence. Both were consecrating and administering sub utraque, thus showing the effects of Taborite-Waldensian fusion in these areas. In those areas unaffected by the Taborites (e.g. the Austrian communities visited by the Bohemian Brethren)[3] the Waldensians continued the universal practice of the 14th century, namely reception from the local parish priest.

My conclusions are these. For the 13th century: the question must remain open through the slightness of evidence, though the 14th century example, both with regard to Waldensian practice and the unreliability of certain types of evidence, must constitute strong probability in one direction. For the 14th century: it is

---

1 E.g., EFI I, 24,1.4-5. 2 Boehmer, 'Waldenser von Zwickau',p.27.
3 Goll, Böhmischen Brüder,p.119.

absolutely clear that the Brothers neither consecrated nor claimed that they possessed the power to do so. There may have been a single aberrant Brother, and he was promptly rebuked. For the 15th century: in some areas (e.g. Brandenburg, Zwickau) fusion with Taborite influences brought in alien elements, an episcopacy and the claim and practice of administering the Eucharist. Other communities, such as the one visited by the Bohemian Brethren, remained true to the universal norm of the German-speaking Brothers of the 14th century, neither claiming the right to consecrate nor practising this, and instead receiving the Eucharist from priests in the Church.

Chapter II

The friends

The friends whom I describe in this chapter were dispersed over a vast area - between the Baltic in the north and the Austrian alps in the south, and north-western Switzerland in the west and Buda (and possibly Galicia and Transylvania) in the east. Inevitably the first question to arise is - "What defined these as a group?" The friends were, first of all, defined in religious terms by a common faith and common reception of one sacrament. They shared the Brothers' faith:- their insistence on the necessity to praise and adore God alone, their rejection of purgatory, and the consequences - negative with regard to the cult of the Church - which flowed from these positions; the Brothers' list of sacraments; and belief in the Brothers' possession of superior authority to exercise the pastoral office, i.e. to preach and hear confessions. Since the friends were laymen, generally less strongly committed to the Waldensian faith than the Brothers were, and in many cases given only slight opportunities to receive doctrinal instruction from the Brothers, they often articulated the tenets of the Waldensian faith in a somewhat attenuated or distorted form -- comparable to the way in which one would expect a pious but fairly ignorant Catholic layman to articulate the tenets of the Catholic faith if questioned about them. In addition to this common faith friends received one sacrament from the Brothers, confessing to them and receiving from them a form of absolution for their sins. The first confession was generally preceded by initiation into the secret of the existence of the Brothers and friends, and accompanied by instruction in the Waldensian

faith, and this confession was regarded as the occasion upon which someone became a friend. The inquisitor Zwicker implied this in his practice of describing friends as having had ' "x" annos in secta ', calculating "x" as the sum of years from the first confession to the time of trial.[1]

Friends were linked together in communities by their subsequent religious practice in secret and participation in the organisation of this at a local level: allocation by some friends of houses for Brothers to stay in, visits to these houses by other friends for confession to Brothers, and convention in these to hear sermons from the Brothers; providing for the Brothers' upkeep and facilitating their travels; and common concern for the local community of friends. Such local communities were further strongly knit together by the maintenance of the Waldensian faith in families (and the tradition of the faith through generations in families), the close inter-relationship of such Waldensian families, and, in some cases, the practice of similar or allied professions and trades. There also appear to have been links between far-flung and distant communities of friends. They were, of course, connected by common reception of the Brothers - thus, for example, a community in the extreme south-west of the geographical span described above (Strasbourg) was visited by the <u>same</u> Brothers who visited a community in the extreme north-east (the Stettin area). But there also appear to have been links at the level of the friends themselves between different and distant communities of friends -- links in some cases of a commercial nature.

The friends in these communities form the subject of this chapter. In what follows I attempt to provide, first of all,

---

1 See the notes at the heads of the processes in Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. Novi 348 and Helmstedt 403, <u>passim</u>; <u>e.g.</u> Cod. Guelf. Novi 348, f.3^{v} - 'de secta an. XXX', in a case where the friend made her first confession to a Brother 30 (or more) years previously.

an impression of their concrete reality in the fourteenth century - their numerical and geographical dimensions, and their social complexion; secondly, an account of the general pattern of their religious life, both their secret religious life under the pastorate of the Brothers and their public religious life in the Church; and, thirdly, an account of their beliefs, given in terms of their statements in trials and set in the context of the peculiar conditions in which they received instruction, and a description of the distinctive tenor of their piety.

ii Language, dispersion, and numbers

Since the language spoken by the Brothers, and the language in which their books were written, was German, the geographical limits of the friends' communities which they visited were German linguistic borders, Franco-German in the west, and Germano-Slavic and Germano-Magyar in the east. An example on the western linguistic border is the community in Fribourg. Here there were friends with both German names (Studer, Waser, Kristansberg, etc.) and French names (Perrotet, Buschillion, Georges, etc.), and instances of both vernaculars quoted in the trials of 1430, together with enquiries in the same trials after books in French, German, and Latin, suggest that many of these friends spoke both languages, German and a French which contained many German usages.[1] However, the language in which the Waldensian faith was taught here was entirely German: the visiting Brothers spoke German, and the one Waldensian book possessed and read by a friend to which we have any reference was written in German.[2] One instance of teaching in

---

1 An illustration is the instance of one member of a family speaking one language and another member of the family speaking another - J. Studer speaking German (Frib. AE Geist. Sach. no.26, f.28^{r}), and M. Studer speaking French (ibid., f.12^{v}). For the enquiries after books - 'in latino sive gallico sive theutonico'- see ib., f.49^{v}. 2 Ibid., f.49^{v}.

German - Brothers insisting on teaching the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo in German to a friend called Buschillion, whose ability in German seems to have been doubtful[1] - indicates the kind of difficulties the German-speaking Brothers may have encountered on linguistic borders.

Evidence relating to the language of friends living in the east, in Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary, is sparser, but what there is points in the same direction - to German only. There are no references to Brothers or friends with Magyar or Slavic names; the one Brother described in the later fourteenth century as 'de Hungaria' had a German christian name.[2] Nor are there references to Magyar- or Slav-speaking Brothers or friends; the Brothers who came from Poland in the later fourteenth century spoke German, for they were active among the German-speaking friends of the Brandenburg area.[3] Further, friends were located along linguistic borders - in Bohemia and Moravia along or near borders with German-speaking areas, and in Hungary mainly near the Austrian border - or in linguistic enclaves beyond these borders, such as the lordship of Jindr. Hradec (where friends tried in 1340 were described as 'Deutsche and Fremdlinge'[4]) and Prague, but not, as far as is known, beyond these enclaves. Perhaps most significant is the fact that the inquisitor Zwicker, who tried a very large number of friends from these areas, deployed abjuration formulae in German but not, it seems, in Slavic or Magyar.

The evidence upon which an account of the dispersion and

---

1 Ibid., f.4b^{r}. Injunctions to learn the Ave Maria -theologically illogical- were probably intended to prepare friends for occasions when their ignorance of it might bring suspicion upon them. 2 'Gotfridus' - Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.94. 3 Ibid., p.79. 4 H. Haupt, Waldenserthum und Inquisition im Südöstlichen Deutschland, (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1890), p.30; see also p.30 n.2.

numbers of the friends must be based falls into two distinct categories: trial records (or references to these), and contemporary, inquisitorial, literature. Both have serious drawbacks. Trial evidence is intrinsically limited: it is evidence, in the first instance, only of successful inquisitorial activities - evidence of discovery. Communities of friends tried desperately to maintain secrecy, and some may have succeeeded; some communities may never have been discovered. One could suggest Solothurn - where there are strong indications of the probable existence of a community[1] - as a candidate for inclusion in this category. Trial evidence is also evidence only for a certain date: the main trials in Brandenburg were in 1392-4, but friends had been rooted there since at least c.1300. Further, this evidence is severely limited as evidence even for such successful inquisitorial action: only fragments of it survive. Parts of the hearings in front of the inquisitor Gallus in Prague in 1337[2] and Jindr. Hradec in 1340, about 2/5 of the Brandenburg processes of 1392-4, some hearings in Regensburg in 1395, a few sentences from this decade in Austria and Hungary, a few lines from abjurations in Prague (1393-4), a few lines from a process in Trnava in 1400, the Strasbourg processes of 1400, and the Fribourg processes of 1399, 1429, and 1430: these are the main survivors. None of the processes of the thirteenth century trials survive; none of the processes of the trials in the second decade of the fourteenth century; none of the processes of the widely active inquisitor Henry of Olomouc; none of the processes of the large trials in Austria in the last decade of the fourteenth century - in one year of which 1000 people were tried; none of the processes of Bern, Mainz, Erfurt, Buda and the numerous southern German towns in which friends were tried in the same decade - none of these survive.

---

1 These indications are given below. 2 References to this and other trials mentioned below are given in the account of dispersion which follows the discussion of evidence.

Because of these limitations in the evidence - its fragmentariness as evidence for successful inquisitorial action, and the fact that it is evidence in the first instance only of discovery - the data drawn immediately from this evidence should be made to appear as data relating to the fragments of a larger and now, for the most part, no longer recoverable phenomenon - the dispersion and numbers of the Waldensians. One must eke it out and extend it by conjecture in order to suggest the remainder of the phenomenon. To some extent one can do this by taking the individual details which survive about this or that community and relating them to the patterns of details which can be seen in those communities about which considerable information survives, such as those in Brandenburg, Strasbourg, and Fribourg. Several examples of this may be given. Firstly, in the cases of some communities one only knows of the existence of some houses visited by the Brothers. Thus, for instance, the depositions of a friend tried in Strasbourg in 1400 provide the information that there were such houses in Lahr and Haguenau. No other information of any kind concerning friends in either Lahr or Haguenau survives. Now, the presence of such houses in communities about which more information survives - Brandenburg, Strasbourg, Fribourg, Jindr. Hradec, etc. - is linked with a community of substantial size, in which eight to ten or more friends converged on each house to hear sermons, and such houses formed the focus for a highly organised and regular pattern of secret religious life under the pastorate of visiting Brothers who came annually, or in some cases more often. The mention of such houses in Lahr and Haguenau should be taken to imply (albeit conjecturally) at least a certain size and probably the pattern of religious life. Secondly, there is the case of the places of origin of Brothers. Most of the

Brothers whose place of origin is known came from areas where the friends were present in strength and had been so for a considerable period of time - a village in Brandenburg, for example, or a place like Krems in Austria. For this reason in the cases of other Brothers their place of origin may be used to suggest the possibility of the existence of a community of friends, or to support a possibility which another wisp of evidence has suggested. An example is Solothurn in north-western Switzerland. The father of one family of friends tried in Strasbourg in 1400 originated in Solothurn, and the position of Solothurn on the north-south axis of several towns - Fribourg - Bern - Strasbourg - where there were not only communities of friends but also communities of friends with links between each other makes the existence of a community there plausible. In addition to this a Brother widely active in the late 14th century came from Solothurn - a detail which, for the reasons given above, makes the existence of a community there even more probable. Thirdly, there is the question of the duration of communities. It was noted above that communities often existed for a long time before the date of discovery and inquisition, and that the date of the latter is, therefore, potentially misleading when one is trying to describe the depth and duration of Waldensian penetration. Later in this chapter we shall see that in many communities affiliation to the Waldensian faith passed down from generation to generation inside families - one can give examples of families in which four generations were Waldensian; and in some cases the evidence is probably an inadequate representation of this phenomenon - thus we know that the friends were deeply rooted in large communities in much of Upper and Lower Austria for at least 150 years before the end of the fourteenth century, but the best example of affiliation in generations to survive only extends to three generations. Now, in some cases one can

see only one or two elements in this pattern. For example, some friends were found and tried in Würzburg in 1391. Those tried belonged to two generations. In addition to this a list of articles drawn up in relation to the Würzburg trial includes a mention of the ethos and practice of one of the most important elements which went to the make-up of the communities of Waldensian families in which affiliation passed down from generation to generation - inter-marriage only among Waldensians, and the disapproval of marriage outside the faith. Both suggest the possibility that the Würzburg community was another of the very-deep-rooted communities which had been in existence a long time in secret prior to discovery. One reference to the discovery of friends in Mainz states that now a heresy became 'offenbar' which had long been 'heimlich'[1]: in most areas where discoveries were not made till the late 14th century the possibility of a long, shadowy, 'heimlich' existence prior to discovery must be kept in mind.

These and other types of conjecture are implied throughout the parade of evidence of and from trials given later in this section. In this section trial evidence is brought into contact and compared with the other main source for the dispersion and numbers of the Waldensians, namely inquisitorial treatises of the period. Information or comments on the dispersion of the Waldensians appear in three pieces of contemporary inquisitorial literature: the treatise of the Pseudo-Reinerius (based on the compilation of the Anonymous of Passau of c.1266); the report of the inquisition of Krems of 1315; and the Cum dormirent treatise, written in 1395 and quite probably composed by the Inquisitor Peter Zwicker.[2] Visible in all three of these is the tendency either to compress or to expand the phenomenon under the pressure of strong polemical or propagandist concerns.[3] Treatises intended to warn christians about the pestilence of heresy tended to exaggerate both the doctrinal aberrance and numerical proportions (and hence danger) of the sect in question, and this can be seen in the first

---

1 Fasti Limpurgenses, (1619), pp.45-6 2 Cf App. I 3 See the Introduction for a discussion of the general characteristics of this literature

two pieces of literature mentioned: the Pseudo-Reinerius parallelled his exaggeration and extension of Waldensian doctrines by stating, in a chapter designed to show that the Waldensian heresy was the most dangerous of heresies, that the reason for this was that it was 'generalior' than other heresies: there was hardly a land in which it did not exist.[1] The second piece, the Krems inquisition report, was explicitly written to warn of the danger of this heresy, and its efforts to do this by attributing to the heretics abhorrent doctrines (e.g. devil worship) and abominable practices (e.g. incestuous sodomy) were buttressed by its attribution to them of extraordinary proportions - 80,000 in Austria and a 'numerus infinitus' in Bohemia and Moravia.[2] By contrast the third piece, the Cum dormirent treatise, was designed to refute the Waldensians rather than to warn christians about them. Polemical points pushed towards compression. Christ's instructions to the Apostles were to preach to all; the Brothers, however, having hardly 4 or 6 adherents in a large city do not follow this; ergo etc.[3] - this, though trial evidence shows numbers in towns or cities ranging from 8 to 130, but never as low as 4 or 6. Secondly, it is prophesied that the elect will come from all nations, peoples, etc.; there are a large number of countries (which are listed) which have no Waldensians or 'pene nullos'; ergo etc.[4] The attempt to compress is clear.

The last-mentioned treatise is in some ways exceptional. It was probably written - as stated above - by Zwicker, who had unparall-elled knowledge of the Waldensians, derived through trying them over a vast area. It is also very detailed: the author lists the regions having no or 'pene nullos' Waldensians - lands to the north-west, Westphalia, Scandinavia, and England, and, to the east, Prussia and the kingdom of Cracow - and he refers to those areas where they are strong - the Mark, Thuringia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary.[5] For both reasons it is taken - with its compression borne in mind - as a standard of comparison for the data of trial records in the account of dispersion which follows.[6]

---

1 Gretser, col.264f. 2 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.307. 3 Gretser, col.280h 4 & 5 Ibid., col.281c-e. 6 In some of the following I summ-arise the articles of Haupt (Franconia, & most of the E and SE), and where I do this my references are to his works. With regard to Bohemia & Moravia my refs. are to the original evidence rather than the large literature in Czech on this (for which cf Kaminsky, op.cit. pp.173-4), which works and reworks a small body of evidence. I am indebted to Mrs V. K. Lodge for translations of some of this Czech secondary literature.

How, then, does the map of dispersion suggested by inquisitorial records accord with the map suggested by the Cum dormirent treatise? An examination of both, area by area, shows them both converging and diverging.

Let us begin in the north, where the treatise's statement that there were many in the Mark (Brandenburg and Pomerania) is amply confirmed. From this area came no less than 443 friends tried by Zwicker in Stettin (1392-4). These came from Stettin itself at the mouth of the Oder, Prenzlau (c.30 miles to the SW on the Uecker), and Angermünde, and from over 30 villages, some between these in the upper reaches of the Uecker and Randow, some on tributaries running about 20 miles NE from the Oderbruch, and a handful about 40 miles east of Stettin.[1] Their numbers ranged from one per village to 41 or more,[2] and they had been rooted here almost certainly since before the turn of the century, since the oldest among those tried (one born c. 1313 and one pre-1303) were both born of Waldensian parents.[3] Brothers visiting in 1391-2 went on the rounds of at least fourteen of these villages, hearing confessions and preaching, or just hearing confessions, in six houses in one village, three houses in another, two houses in each of five other villages, and one house in each of the remaining seven,[4] and this was apparently part of a regular annual routine which one can document for at least two-thirds of the century: one friend had confessed to a Brother every year between 1332 and 1392,[5] and there are references to Brothers' visits in the cases of most villages at intervals going back far into the early part of the century.[6]

---

1 See map II. 2 Ut supra. 3 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', pp.9-10. 4 See map II. 5 Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 348 Novi, f.20^{v}. 6 E.g. confessions in Klein Wubiser in c.1323 (Wolfenbüttel Cod. Helmst. 403, f.56^{r}), c.1353 (ibid., f.61^{r}), 1372 (ibid., f.68^{r}), 1375 (ibid., f.95^{v}), 1376 (ibid., f.75^{v}), 1383 (ibid., f.31^{r}), 1386 (ibid., f.124^{r}), etc.

When we look to the east we find the treatise's inclusion of Prussia among those areas having no or 'pene nullos' Waldensians confirmed by the absence of records of actions against them. One straw alone gives a feeble pointer in the other direction: generally the dispersion of literature on the Waldensians in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries followed closely the dispersion of the heresy itself, and this makes the existence of literature on them in the early 15th century in the library of the Church of St. Mary in Danzig suggestive.[1]

The kingdom of Cracow was also included in this category by the Cum dormirent treatise, and here the contradictory evidence is stronger. The activities of inquisitors in Poland in the mid-13th century and the 1330's were probably against Waldensians, and three Brothers named in the later 14th century came from Poland.[2]

Moving to the south, we find the mention in the Cum dormirent treatise of Waldensians in Thuringia confirmed by other evidence of their existence, not only here but elsewhere in Saxony. In Saxony Wittenberg and possibly its environs contained communities of friends: three friends were found in Wittenberg in 1366,[3] and their community there provided on occasion both a place of residence and point of departure for Brothers: one in the later 14th century stayed there for two years while frequenting the schools,[4]

---

1 See map III. 2 Haupt, Waldenserthum, pp.28-9 and 76. 3 Haupt, op.cit., p.65. 4 Ibid., p.67.

and we are given a glimpse of another who was active in Brandenburg being conducted from Wittenberg by a friend.[1] The origin of another Brother a little to the south in Dabrun suggests the possibility of a neighbouring community.[2] There were probably communities further up the Elbe(one of the friends found in Wittenberg in 1366 came from Dresden,[3] and the bishop of Meissen was called upon in 1381 to act against Waldensians in his diocese),[4] and to the south, in the Zwickau and Altenburg area (where friends were discovered in 1462),[5] and Plauen (the place of origin of two Brothers in the later 14th century).[6] Thuringia itself was the area of origin of one or two Brothers,[7] but the only community named in it was that in Erfurt: this produced the Brother Conrad who, subsequent to his conversion, attempted with another Brother to convert the community in Erfurt; this failed, and its members were tried later (1391) by the inquisitors Zwicker and Martin.[8]

There is no mention of Silesia, to the east, in the Cum dormirent treatise, though perhaps the reference to Bohemia is intended to this area, for this almost certainly contained communities. The heretics burnt in Silesian towns in 1315-Breslau (Wrocław), Neisse (Nysa), and Schweidnitz (Swidnica)-were almost certainly Waldensian.[9] One undated and rather cryptic ms. in

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Helmst. Cod.403,f.81^{v}. 2 Haupt,op.cit.,p.67. 3 Ibid.,p.66. 4 Ibid.,p.55. 5 Boehmer,'Waldenser von Zwickau', p.1. 6 Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte',p.79. 7 Ibid.,p.80 n.152. 8 Haupt,op.cit.,p.66. 9 Ibid.,p.26.

Prague, which appears to contain depositions about Waldensians and includes a reference to one from Görlitz(Zgorzelec) may relate to the proceedings of these years.[1] Inquisitors were again active in the diocese of Wrocław, and this time certainly against Waldensians, in the later 14th century.[2] One friend from Wrocław living in Fribourg in the early 15th century - a refugee from these activities? - is reported to have said that the Brothers were 'de eius partibus', i.e. Silesia.[3]

If we revert to the north-west, we find only one reference to Waldensians, the isolated case of a process of a Waldensian in Paderborn in 1368.[4] The general absence of evidence from the north-west of Germany accords with the explicit relegation by the Cum dormirent treatise of the north-western kingdoms and Westphalia to those regions having no or hardly any Waldensians.

According to the Krems report Bohemia and Moravia contained a 'numerus infinitus' of Waldensians, and the Cum dormirent

---

1 Prague National Museum XV D 2,f.194^{va-rb}. This (previously unnoticed) ms. contains a deposition (undated) containing mainly what the witness had heard from others. The sect included laymen hearing confessions, the prohibition of confirming one's words with 'truly', and Luciferanism. The Brothers were always described as laymen in processes; the prohibition of 'truly' could be a reference to (and misunderstanding) of the prohibition of oaths; and the allegation of Luciferanism can be parallelled in the Krems report. For these reasons I think the heresy described was the Waldensian. The witness mentions one of this faith 'de Gorlicz'.
2 Haupt, op.cit.,p.74. 3 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.3b^{r}.
4 Haupt, op.cit.,n.5. I have been unable to trace this process. Haupt's point was based on a reference to a ms. from the Augustinian house of Bödekken containing this process(R.Wilmans, 'Zur Geschichte der Römischen Inquisition etc.', Historische Zeitschrift, N.F.XV,1879,p.203), found by 'Schaten's co-Worker'. I could not trace this in Schaten's Annales Paderbornenses II(Neuhaus,1698), and the archive of the Bischöfliche Generalvikariat in Paderborn (the repository of Bödekken documents) does not possess the ms.

treatise also points to the large numbers there. This is confirmed by sporadic trial records. A community was found in north-eastern Bohemia, in Hradec Kralové, prior to 1335, and the action taken against one friend, whose body was dug up and burnt, suggests the possibility of a community of some duration proir to the discovery.[1] The community in Prague itself is given occasional references throughout the century: the visit of one Brother c.I3II, who stayed for four weeks at the house of a friend in the parish of St. John to exercise his 'magisterium'(i.e. preach and hear confessions) suggests that the community was already sizeable at this date.[2] It probably supplied the 14 heretics burnt in the city four years later (1315).[3] Two decades later fragments of records of hearings in front of the inquisitor Gallus in Prague (1337) supply the names of a few members of the community: one large family which had come to Prague from Hradec Kralové subsequent to the inquisition there; and three others.[4] In 1339 a Brother almost certainly 'de Praga' was visiting Friends in southern Bohemia,[5] and another Brother converted c.1365 was described as 'de Praga'.[6] Finally there was an inquisition in Prague of 3 friends c.1393-4.[7] Proceedings were taken between 1335 and

---

1 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice', pp.537-8. 2 Ibid., p.537. 3 Haupt, op.cit., p.24. 4 Hlaváček, op.cit., pp.537-8. 5 Fuchse, Urkunden. Göttweig, p.395. 6 CJL. 7 J.Truhlář, 'Paběrky etc.XXVI: Zlomek akt inkvisice Waldenské v Čechách z let 1393-4', Vestnik České Akad., roc.8, 1899, pp.353-5.

1340 against communities of Friends in the lordship of Neuhaus (Jindřichův Hradec) in southern Bohemia, about 6 miles north of the present Austro-Bohemian border.[1] These communities were to be found in Neuhaus itself, the village of Jareschau (Jarosov), about 5 miles to the north-east of Neuhaus, Gross-Bernharz (Velký Bednarec), about 1½ miles to the north-east of Jareschau, and a few other villages. In Bernharz Friends numbered everyone except the priest and two other men, and this village appears to have been a centre for the area: Brothers heard confessions and preached in at least six houses in it, to friends coming from both Bernharz and other villages. Brothers also preached in a house in Jareschau. Mentions of families with affiliation in two generations suggests that the community was of some duration.

There are further indications of the existence, or possible existence, of communities along a stretch of the Austro-Bohemian and Austro-Moravian border from the Neuhaus area for about 35 miles eastwards. Landstejn, on the present border just east of Nova Bystřice, was the place where one Brother was captured prior to 1340;[2] Drosendorf, about 20 miles to the east on the Thaya, contained a community which was found prior to 1266;[3] and Znojmo (Znaim), about 15 miles further to the east still on the Thaya

---

1 See the processes printed in Fuchse, Urkunden... Göttweig, pp. 394-7, and Hlaváček, op.cit., pp.535-8. For these proceedings, and the identification of places, see H.Haupt, 'Deutsch-Böhmische Waldenser um 1340', Zeit.für Kirchengeschichte, XIV, 1894, pp.1-18. See also the bull of 1340 quoted in Haupt, Waldenserthum, p.30.
2 Fuchse, Urkunden...Göttweig, p.396. 3 Haupt, Waldenserthum, p.15.

(Dyje) is seen as the destination of a Brother travelling c.1340 from Neuhaus.[1] A reference in 1381 to the spread of Waldensians in the diocese of Olomouc (Olmütz) indicates the probable existence of communities elsewhere in Moravia.[2]

The reference in our treatise (1395) to the large numbers in these areas, and the coming of Brothers from Bohemia to Fribourg in the early 15th century indicate the continued flourishing of these communities.

This treatise's references to large numbers in Hungary and Austria are also confirmed by other evidence, though only scantily with regard to Hungary.

There are some indications of communities in the extremes, NW, NE, and E, of 14th century Hungary: in Trnava (in present - day Slovakia), where a community was found in 1400 with affiliation in two generations and dating back to at least 1370;[3] 'Galicz' (either Galicia or the town of Galich, now in s.Russia), and Transylvania, which were both the places of origin of Brothers named in the later 14th century.[4] Another Brother was described as 'de Hungaria',[5] and there is other evidence pointing to central Hungary. There was possibly a community in Buda itself: one Brother lived in Buda subsequent to his conversion,[6]

---

1 Fuchse, op.cit., p.395. 2 Haupt, op.cit., p.55 and n.1. 3 J. Truhlář, 'Inkvisice Waldenských v Trnavě r.1400', Český časopis historický, 1903, pp.196-8. 4 Haupt, op.cit., p.78. 5 Ut supra. 6 Haupt, Codex Teplensis, p.35.

and a reference survives to the abjuration of one friend in front of Zwicker in Buda in 1404, upon which occasion Zwicker appeared with authority in the city and archdiocese of Bács (Kalocsa). This friend had previously appeared before Henry of Olomouc in Uherský Brod (Ungarisch Brod).[1] Evidence of communities is clearer along the Austro-Hungarian border: a Brother was burnt at Devin (Theben) prior to 1266, and Zwicker was active in Sopron against friends from this area in 1401:[2] one of those tried had been a friend for 26 years.[3]

The longest and most unbroken record of the existence of communities was in Austria. Infiltration may have begun by the first decade of the thirteenth century, when there is a mention of the existence of heresy in the diocese of Vienna.[4] By the sixth decade communities were widespread and deeply rooted. Inquisitors in 1266 found communities of friends in 42 parishes in the diocese of Passau: sixteen south-west of the Enns and the Danube, fourteen between the Danube, the Enns, and the Ibbs, five east of the Ibbs, and seven north of the Danube.[5] A report of an inquisition in 1315 adds two to this list, one between the Enns and the Ibbs, and one north of the Danube.[6] Inquisitors continued to be active through the 14th century - there were

---

1 See App.III. 2 Haupt, Waldenserthum,p.78. 3 Ibid.,p.116.
4 Ibid.,p.3. 5 See the map in Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius',p.279.
6 Ibid.,p.280.

trials or executions in Steyer in 1311, 1338, 1391, 1395, 1397-8,[1] Krems and St. Pölten in 1315,[2] Enns in 1338,[3] Vienna in 1315, pre-1393, and 1404[4] -but the communities continued to exist throughout this area, in parishes where their existence had long been known: the community in St. Peter-in-der-Awe was discovered in 1266,[5] its existence was known in the 14th century through the wide dissemination of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise, and yet Brothers were here a century later c.1367.[6] Zwicker, writing in 1395, said that they had been flourishing in Austria for over 150 years.[7]

Can one gain some idea of the numbers of Friends here? The 42 parishes in which communities were found here prior to 1266 can be compared to the 33 or more villages from which the Brandenburg Friends of 1392-4 came. Ten of the Austrian parishes had 'scole', i.e. houses where Brothers heard confessions and, in some cases, preached, whereas in Brandenburg houses in 14 villages appear on the itinerary of Brothers in 1391-2, and other villages also had houses which were visited. To balance this, one of the Austrian villages had no less than ten such

---

1 Haupt, Waldenserthum, pp.21,27, p.82. 2 Ibid., p.21. 3 Ibid., p.27. 4 For executions in 1315 see Haupt, op.cit., p.21. The second date refers to the abjuration of Brother Nicholas of Solothurn in Vienna (Röhrich, Winkeler, p.46), who is described as 'converso' by Brandenburg friends in 1392 (e.g. Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf 348 Novi, f.25^{r}). For 1404 see App.III. 5 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.278. 6 EFI I, I, ¼.2. 7 In his letter, Friess, 'Patarener', p.262.

houses, whereas the largest community in Brandenburg only had six houses which were regularly visited. This suggests that the thirteenth-century Austrian communities were nearly comparable to the Brandenburg community of the later fourteenth century, of which 443 were tried, and possibly larger. By the later fourteenth century these communities were probably much larger. Zwicker, who tried the Brandenburg friends in 1392-4, was also active trying friends in Austria through most of this decade. Because of the use of a set list of questions, records of hearings in front of him are of fairly unvarying length, generally about half a folio for each trial: 100 of his Brandenburg processes occupied 56 folios, and all 443 could have been comfortably included in one volume. Now, in the sixteenth century there still existed in the library of the monastery of Garsten near Steyer 'tria volumina satis magna' of processes of Waldensians, almost certainly Zwicker's.[1] Comparison with the Brandenburg processes would suggest a figure in the region of 1500; the statement in Prevenhuber's chronicle that 1000 were tried in Steyer in 1397 alone confirms a figure of this or larger dimensions.[2] This sets the statement in the report of the inquisition in Krems of 1315 - a document designed to warn which contains, for this reason, exaggerations and errors falsely imputed to the Waldensians - to

---

1 M.Flacius Illyricus, Catalogus Testium Veritatis (Geneva, 1608), p. 1941. 2 Quoted in Haupt, op.cit., p.86.

the effect that there were 80,000 Waldensians in Austria in perspective. It may be interpreted thus:- the number of friends in Austria was very high, and to be measured in four rather than three figures. And, in accord with their dimensions, these communities produced the largest numbers of Brothers: among those whose names survive were two from Vienna, one from Dichartz near Krems, one from Hardeck, one from Steyer, one from Enns, and two from Styria.[1]

Little detail survives about these communities. In one instance the mention of a family of friends in which affiliation passed down through three generations suggests the complex web of inter-related Waldensian families which can be seen in Brandenburg.[2]

So far, with the possible exception of communities in the kingdom of Cracow, there has been a fairly close correspondence between the lines drawn by the Cum dormirent treatise and those suggested by other evidence. However, from this point onwards the two diverge. Many friends were found westwards along the Danube in south-eastern Germany, and further to the west in the upper reaches of the Rhine and north-western Switzerland, and about these the author of our treatise is silent.

---

1 See the lists in Haupt, Codex Teplensis, pp.35-6, and Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.94. 2 See the sentence printed in Haupt, Waldenserthum, pp.121-2.

Many communities were found in lower Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, in most cases in the last decades of the fourteenth century. There is a notice of heretics being hunted in the city and diocese of Regensburg in 1378;[1] and the names of two who had abjured before Martin in Regensburg, one c.1380[2] and one c.1383,[3] survive. At a later period, according to a friend who fled to Strasbourg, many ('vil') were imprisoned and burnt in Regensburg:[4] this may have been in 1392/3, at which date one friend against whom there were proceedings in the same place in 1395, abjured.[5] Little is known of the community. From the above it appears that it was numerous, and it appears to have been of some duration: one who made her first confession in Regensburg in 1381 had a mother who was also a friend, and one house in which Friends confessed 1381-2 is mentioned.[6] Continuity perhaps can be seen at Nittenau on the Regen about 15 miles to the north-east. Haupt has linked the dates 1265, when a clergyman of Nittenau was finding Waldensians, to 1384, when a heretic was found in Nittenau, to imply this.[7]

In the other direction, westwards up the Danube, Ingolstadt may have contained a community, for it was the place of

---

1 C.T.Gemeiner, Der Regensburgischen Chronik II(Regensburg,1803) p.186. 2 Röhrich,Winkeler,p.63(quoted in Haupt,op.cit.,pp.60-61). 3 Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod. 3748,f.154^{r}. 4 As n.2 above. 5 Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod.3748,f.145^{r}. 6 Ibid.,f.153^{r}. 7 Haupt,op. cit.,p.19 n.3 and p.60.

origin of a Brother named in the later 14th century.[1]

The evidence for the existence of communities in Franconian towns, Bayreuth, Bamberg, Würzburg, and Nuremberg, and the diocese of Eichstädt varies in force, but is cumulatively persuasive. The origin of one friend tried in Dinkelsbühl in 1393 in Bayreuth,[2] and of one Brother in Mistelgau,[3] about six miles SW, points to the possibility of communities in Bayreuth and its environs. The evidence for a community in Bamberg is more direct; there is a reference to a friend from here in 1374,[4] and later indications of inquisitorial activity - a call to the bishop to suppress Waldensians in his diocese in 1381,[5] and an indication that the inquisitor Martin was trying friends there in 1399.[6] With Würzburg there is no doubt;: eight of the community were found and tried in 1391[7] - one of whom had been a friend since 1361, and another, a friend since c.1375, who was of a family with

---

1 In the version of the list of Brothers printed by Kurze (from a Wolfenbüttel ms.) which appears in Vat.Pal.Lat.ms.677,f.54^{r} - 55^{r}. This does not appear in other mss. of the list. It is a plausible conjecture that this owes something to the local knowledge of the scribe of this ms., Johannes Regel of Ingolstadt.
2 C,Bürckstümmer,'Waldenser in Dinkelsbühl',Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte,XIX,1913,p.274 n.4. 3 Haupt,op.cit.,p.61
4 Rohrich,Winkeler,p.43. 5 Haupt,op.cit.,p.55. 6 See App.III.
7 H.Haupt,Die Religiösen Sekten in Franken etc.(Würzburg,1882),pp. 23-4; for the date see p.23 n.3.

affiliation in the previous generation[1] - and the community seems to have produced a Brother in the later 14th century.[2] Nuremberg, to the south, presents more difficulty: throughout the century heretics were found here - over 87 in 1332,24 in 1354, 15 in 1362, 12 in 1378, and 37 in 1389[3] - but, although I think that Haupt's suggestion that they were Waldensian is probably correct, nothing survives of the beliefs of these heretics, which serves to identify them. There is some doubt also about Rothenburg, to the west, where there was an unsuccessful accusation of affiliation (against one man) in 1394.[4] Moving southwards, we come to areas where the evidence is once again stronger. There were certainly communities in the bishopric of Eichstädt: here there is a reference to the bishop seeking Waldensians in many places, and some being burnt, at some time between 1383 and 1395.[5] One of the places in the diocese in which friends existed was possibly Dollnstein, about

---

1 J.M.Schneidt, Thesaurus Iuris Franconici (Würzburg,1789),Hft.16, Abs.I,pp.3264-5. 2 The version of the list of Brothers in St. Florian ms.XI 234 f.84va includes, before Hermann of Mistelgau, a 'Conradus de Wierczburg'; other mss., including the Wolfenbüttel ms. printed by Kurze, do not include him. 3 See Haupt, Sekten in Franken,pp.18 ff. and 62-3. Some of the evidence summarised by Haupt, containing the names and penalties of these heretics, have appeard in Die Acht-,Verbots-und Fehdebücher Nürnbergs von 1285-1400,ed.W. Schultheiss(Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg II, 1960),nos.592,685,1079,1099-1100,1139 and n. 4 H.Weigel,'Ein Waldenserverhör in Rothenburg im Jahre 1394', Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte,XXIII,1917,pp.81-6. The proceedings against the accused, a certain J.Wern, failed after an enquiry into his vita et conversacio which revealed his orthodoxy of religious practice,e.g. in going to Church, taking communion, etc. Nothing in this, the orthodoxy of his external religious observance, was inconsistent with his being a friend. 5 Haupt, Sekten in Franken,p.28. Haupt provides the 1383 terminus, and that of 1395 is provided by the mention in that year in Regensburg of one of those previously tried and burnt in Eichstädt, Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod.3748,f.148^{r}.

six miles to the west of Eichstädt, where one friend burnt in Donauwörth in 1395 had lived before c.1378.[1] These are sparse indications, but quite probably the sparseness lies in the evidence and its chancy survival rather than the phenomenon itself, which was possibly large and almost certainly deep-rooted. Its rootedness is indicated by the survival of a list of Waldensian articles ascribed to those in the bishopric of Eichstädt[2] - and plausibly associated with the proceedings mentioned above - which refer, incidentally, to affiliation in two generations. Again there are somewhat sparse indications of a community in Weissenburg, about 20 miles NW: a heretic from here, possibly a Waldensian, was found in 1378;[3] one of the Brothers who visited Strasbourg prior to 1400 came from a place of this name - and the origin of many Strasbourg friends in this south-eastern area of Germany suggests that his origin may have been this Weissenburg rather than any other place of the same name;[4] and, finally, one of the friends tried in Dinkelsbühl in 1393 came from Weissenburg.[5]

In Swabia communities were discovered in a whole string of towns in the 1390's. 46 were found in 1393 in Augsburg, where a reference to the Waldensian activities of the fathers of those

---

1 Ibid.,f.149r. 2 Printed by W. Wattenbach,'Über die Secte der Brüder vom freien Geiste',Sitz.der Königl.Preuss.Akad.der Wiss. zu Berlin,Phil.-hist.Kl.,XXIX,1887,pp.519-21. 3 Haupt,Waldenserthum,p.60. 4 Röhrich,Winkeler,p.54. 5 Bürckstümmer,'Waldenser in Dinkelsbühl',p.274.

found indicates that the community was not only numerous but of some duration.[1] In the same year more than 10 were tried in Dinkelsbühl, some coming from neighbouring villages (probably Dühren near Dinkelsbühl, and Kleinmühle, about 12 miles away in the Rothenburg direction); again there is a reference to affiliation in two generations.[2] In the same year a community was found in Donauwörth: 26 of the 40 found were burnt,[3] and there are references here to affiliation in two generations in one family, and to one house where friends came together;[4] in 1396 the inquisitor Martin, then in Prague, made enquiries of converted Brothers about friends both here and in Regensburg.[5] In the previous year a community was also found in Wemding, and ten were burnt.[6] The possible existence of communities elsewhere is

---

1 See Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte IV: Augsburg I(1865),pp. 96-7, V:Augsburg II(1866),pp.45-6,XXII:Augsburg III(1892),pp.40-1,etc., for descriptions of this in Augsburg chronicles; for their articles, see those printed in A.F.Oefele,Rerum Boicarum Scriptores,I(Augsburg/Vienna, 1763),p.620(partially in Dokumente, pp.363-4), and J.von Hormayr, Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte,N.F.Jhr.V,1834,p.119. 2 Bürckstümmer,'Waldenser in Dinkelsbühl',pp.272-5. The ten mentioned here all received the cross, while the articles printed by Oefele (op.cit.,p.620) includes a note that 2 were burnt. 3 Oefele,op.cit.,p.620. See also C.Königsdorfer, Geschichte des Klosters zum Heil.Petrus in Donauwörth,I(Donauwörth,1819),p.139, where the number burnt is given as 14; I have not been able to trace Königsdorfer's source (a St. Peter's house chronicle) for his account. 4 Vienna Nat. Lib.Cod.3748,f.148^{r-v}. 5 Ibid.,f.149^{r}-150^{v}. 6 Oefele,op.cit., p.620, and Die Chroniken etc.IV:Augsburg I,p.96.

suggested by the origin of many friends tried in Strasbourg in 1400 in this general locality - Nördlingen, Dischingen, and Dillingen[1] - and, rather more strongly, by the origin of one Brother in Schwäbisch-Gmünde.[2] The evidence for communities in Bavaria, Franconia, and Swabia, summarised above, is almost all fragmentary; only one hearing, a minor one in Regensburg, survives. I would suggest that these are fragments of a larger phenomenon. There are present the outlines of a large picture of wide and deep penetration:- communities in towns and some villages in these areas; the duration of at least two generations in most, and three in one, the latter example providing an instance of the close networks of affiliation in one family which can be seen <u>in extenso</u> in areas of deep penetration such as Brandenburg; the existence of certain houses visited by the Brothers; <u>etc</u>.

Finally, there were also strong communities of friends in the south-west, in the upper Rhineland from Mainz to Strasbourg, and in north-western Switzerland.

There was a community in Mainz dating back to at least the

---

1 Haupt, <u>Waldenserthum</u>, p.61, following Röhrich, <u>Winkeler</u>, p.25 n.1, where these are described as refugees; in fact, there is evidence of flight only in one case, that of the weaver Borschön, and the others, while certainly immigrés, were not necessarily refugees; for example, the mother of the nobleman Blumstein (included among Röhrich's refugees): is not the occasion of her marriage to a Strasbourg nobleman the first explanation to be considered when asking why she came to Strasbourg? 2 Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.94.

1370's (a friend from here was in Strasbourg c.1374)[1], and some of the usual pattern of a community appears - a house visited by Brothers[2] and the origin of a Brother in the community.[3] Finally the friends were discovered in 1395, and 36 were taken off to be burnt in Bingen.[4] The possibility of some other communities in the environs is suggested by the origin of some friends tried in Strasbourg in places to the east (Friedberg and Holzhausen near Frankfurt).[5]

There were communities further up the Rhine. The community in Haguenau, north-west of Strasbourg, had a meeting-place, and at least one friend had been held there;[6] another friend tried in Strasbourg came from a nearby village.[7] In Strasbourg itself, where heretics, almost certainly Waldensian, had been found in 1212 and 1215,[8] a large community was found in 1400. The records of the trial enables one to project its existence back to at least c.1350.[9] There were groups of families and households, totalling in all over 50 people, meeting to confess and hear[10]

---

1 Röhrich,Winkeler,p.43. 2 According to the statement of one heard in Strasbourg, who had been a friend from 1340/50-c.1392 (Röhrich,Winkeler,p.65). 3 Haupt,Codex Teplensis,p.36. 4 F. Falk,'Waldenserthum in Mainz etc.',Der Katholik,83,2,pp.263-5; articles of these Mainz friends are printed in Dokumente pp.620-1. 5 Röhrich,Winkeler,pp.66 and 58. 6 Ibid.,p.65. 7 Ibid.,pp.18 and 22 n.2. 8 Haupt,Waldenserthum,pp.1 and 37-8. 9 See Röhrich, Winkeler,p.64, for one who became a friend 50 or 60 years previously,i.e.1340 or 1350. 10 Ibid.,pp.73-6.

sermons in at least 9 houses[1], in one of which on at least one occasion the ceremony of reception of Brothers into the Order took place. There were more houses of this kind in Lahr, about ten miles to the south-east, and Offenburg, about 20 miles south-east.[2] From here the line passes into north-western Switzerland: through Basle, which probably contained a community;[3] Bern and its environs, from which came the 130 friends found in 1399;[4] Solothurn, the place of origin of a Waldensian family tried in Strasbourg and a Brother;[5] and finally to Fribourg, where a community numbering about 100 underwent trials in 1399, 1429, and 1430.[6] Nearby villages and a few places to the east of Fribourg contained friends: a community was found in Schwarzenburg in 1277,[7] and friends tried in 1430 came from Brunnisried and Maggenberg, situated between Fribourg and Schwarzenburg,[8]

---

1 Ibid.,pp.44,48-50,54-63,65-7,69-70. 2 Ibid.,p.25 n.3. Röhrich stated that he left out folios XXII-VI of the process because these simply contained repetitions of witness's statements(P.73); the information cited here came from one of the omitted folios and is not given in those printed, which suggests that these contained valuable information. I have not been able to trace the original document, which may have been among the many in Strasbourg lost in 1870. 3 This was the place of origin of one tried in 1430(ibid.,p.186), and the residence of the sister of another (ibid.,p.220). Although the latter denied that her sister was a friend(ibid.,p.245), the fact that she sent her a Waldensian book makes this look doubtful: an attempt to protect her sister? 4 G.Studer,Die Berner-chronik des Conrad Justinger(Bern,1871),p. 186; one of those tried appeared in Fribourg in 1430(Ochsenbein, Volksleben,p.272), and there is a reference to another tried there (ibid.,p.330). 5 Röhrich,Winkeler,pp.46,60,62. 6 For the 1399 trial, see G.Barnes Fiertz,'An unusual trial etc',Speculum,XVIII, no.3,1943,pp.340-57; for the 1429 trial see Ochsenbein,Volksleben, pp.154 ff. and 164-6; 1430: ibid.,pp.173-396. 7 Barnes Fiertz, op.cit.,p.341. 8 Ochsenbein Volksleben,pp.184,261.

The silence of the author of the Cum dormirent treatise with regard to these areas is partly explicable. The communities in the far west, Mainz(1395), Strasbourg(1400), Bern(1399) and Fribourg(1399,1429,1430) may have been successful in keeping their existence totally or almost totally secret in the earlier 14th century, and therefore an author writing in 1395, most probably in the area of Steyer, may well be excused his ignorance of these. However, the discoveries in south-eastern Germany were mainly earlier in the 1390's, and in a neighbouring area. The author's silence about these is more plausibly explained by the polemical desire, seen elsewhere in his small estimate of the numbers of friends in towns, to minimise the numbers of these heretics in order to show their numerical discordance with prophesies about the numbers of the elect, than by ignorance.

iii) Class

Friends were not concentrated exclusively in either villages, small towns, or important cities.[1] In Brandenburg and Pomerania friends lived in Stettin, Prenzlau and Angermünde, and also

---

1 The contrary is maintained by M.Erbstösser, Sozial-religiöse Strömungen im späten mittelalter(Berlin,1970),pp.121-130. He attempts to locate the Waldensians in villages or small towns: in Austria, Brandenburg, S.Bohemia, Poland, Silesia and Hungary villages(pp.121-3), in Thuringia and Saxony small towns(p.123), in south and south-west Germany economic centres(p.124); the 'magistri' came from villages(pp.127-8). This shows the heresy as the left-wing of the small and middle-bourgeoisie(p.130). That friends and Brothers in all areas came, in fact, from villages, small towns, and large towns is shown in section ii, and Ch.I(ii).

villages; in upper and lower Austria not only in villages but also in Steyer, Krems, and the city of Vienna; in Bohemia not only in villages in the Neuhaus area but also in Prague; in Hungary in villages along the western border but probably also in Buda; in Swabia not only in an important economic centre like Augsburg but also in villages near Dinkelsbühl; in north-western Switzerland not only in Bern but also 'uff dem Lande'. Where evidence only points to towns, as in Thuringia and Saxony, the tenuous nature of the evidence itself must first be considered.

What was the social complexion of friends in country villages? Kurze has used the Brandenburg trials of 1392-4 to give a picture of friends in that area. The majority were peasants and their assistants, ranging from those owning their own houses to dependent workers and servants. Alongside these was a smaller but substantial group of friends with other occupations: smiths, mirror-makers, inn-keepers, fishermen, millers, etc., and those connected in some way with cloth or clothing, cloth-makers, weavers tailors, hat-makers, wool-spinners, etc. Their financial relations with the Brothers reveal some diversity of wealth. They range from a friend able to give the Brothers 90 marks to those able to give lesser figures(e.g. 30 shillings, 8 shillings); from these to some who supported the Brothers with gifts in kind (eggs, fish, etc.); and finally, a handful who received money from the Brothers, including one poor woman who, if one is to trust her statement, only joined for this reason.[1]

---

1 Kurze 'Ketzergeschichte',pp.88-9.

How far do friends from country areas elsewhere fit in with this picture? Almost all we know about friends in upper and lower Austria in this connexion is that large numbers of them lived in country villages. A few details survive concerning the friends tried in 1340 in the lordship of Jindř.Hradec, near the Austro-Bohemian border. Friends in the villages there included the following: peasants; a smith; a tailor; and the wife of a cloth-cutter. There is also record of the gift of a few pennies by a Brother.[1] This suggests a similar social complexion to that of the friends in Brandenburg, and one may conjecture a similar pattern for the nearby villages in Austria. There is one qualification, in that the social spectrum here in southern Bohemia and northern parts of lower Austria seems to have touched the class of the educated and official: one friend in the Jindř. Hradec area was described as 'scolaris filia'[2], and a friend from Grafenschlag in lower Austria burnt in 1315 was described as 'officialis'.[3]

No information survives about country friends elsewhere, with the remarkable exception of two friends from east of Fribourg in the early fifteenth century. These are worth dwelling on, for their powers and status were high, and their existence obstructs

---

1 Fuchse, Urkunden...Göttweig, pp.395-6. 2 Ibid., p.395.
3 Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.308.

any attempt to locate country friends exclusively within the social spectrum described above.

First of all, a certain Richard of Umbertschwendi, about whom much information appears in the records of the hearings in Fribourg in 1430. Richard was probably the son of a rich miller called Bertschinus, who was a citizen of Fribourg,[1] a privilege based on property qualifications which was being guarded with increasing jealousy at this period; probably the 'Berschinus' accused of affiliation to the Waldensians in 1399;[2] it is almost certain that his denial was as valueless as were the denials of those others in 1399 whom the 1430 hearings show were in fact friends at this time. Richard himself gained citizenship of Fribourg in 1403, and in 1408 bought the castle of Maggenberg,[3] situated to the east of the town. This castle had belonged to a family illustrious in the locality, a family of the higher nobility dating back to 1180 which had supplied four mayors to Fribourg in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a leader of Fribourg in battles in 1331 and 9, and an abbot, and had died out in the male line before 1372.[4] Subsequent to his purchase of the castle, and surrounding lands and woods of considerable value,

---

1 A.Büchi,'Die Ritter von Maggenberg',Freiburger Geschichtsblätter, XV,1908,p.115. 2 Barnes Fiertz,op.cit.,p.353. 3 Büchi,op.cit., p.115 and n.3. 4 For the family, see Büchi,op.cit.,and K. Peissard,'Die Ritter von Maggenberg',Beiträge zur Heimatkunde (publication of the Verein fur Heimatkunde des Sensebezirks und der benachbarten interessierten Landschaften),Jhr.I,1927,pp.9-13. Büchi's article clearly answers Ochsenbein's question(Volksleben, p.282 n.) about Richard's relationship to the family: he was not a relation, and merely took his style from the purchased castle.

Richard styled himself as members of this now extinct family had done, Richard 'de Maggenberg'; pride in his position may perhaps be seen in the tone of the words he used to his wife on one occasion (when forbidding her to go to mass every Sunday) -'non est de more meo seu domus mei...'.[1] Both Richard and his brother became friends:[2] details survive of his appearance c.1416/8 among a group of Fribourg friends and two Brothers in one of the two main meeting-places in Fribourg;[3] and of his attempts to force his wife to follow his own pattern of religious observance.[4] During the proceedings of 1430 the authorities in Fribourg made persistent attempts to bring him before the tribunal. One attempt to fetch him from his castle having failed, a second succeeded only for Richard to break prison and return to his castle; two bannerets leading 24 men failed in a third attempt on his castle.[5]

Richard's power and status make him a remarkable figure among friends, but not a unique figure, at least in the country to the east of Fribourg. At one stage during the 1430 proceedings a man from Brünnisried appeared, confessed his affiliation, abjured, and, no doubt because of the size of the fine he paid, was subjected to no other penalty. Though his description is ambiguous - Peter 'of the Lords of Brünnisried' ('des Herrn de Brunnisried'),[6] his payment of the enormous fine of 400 pounds[7] leaves no doubt

---

1 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.14r. 2 Ochsenbein,Volksleben,p.283. 3 Ibid.,p.284. 4 Ibid.,pp.285-6. 5 Ibid.,pp.337-9. 6 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.57r. 7 Ochsenbein,op.cit.,p.261.

that he was a man, like Richard, of considerable power and status.

We are able to examine the social complexion of communities of friends in towns in greater detail, and with more balance. As we have seen above, communities existed in cities and towns of all sizes, ranging from Prague (numbering over 30,000 at the end of the 15th century), through those numbering c.20,000 at the same period - Wrocław (?), Nuremberg (?), Augsburg, Vienna, Strasbourg (c.18,000 in 1444), to those numbering 10,000 or more - Erfurt, Mainz[1] -, those numbering 5-6,000 (e.g. Fribourg c.5,000 and Haguenau c.6,000 in the mid-15th century), and below.

A substantial body of evidence survives with regard to the communities in one larger city (Strasbourg), where there was a community of c.50 friends at the end of the 14th century, and one medium-sized town (Fribourg), where there was a community of over 100 in the early 15th century. Detailed examination of these shows a generally similar pattern in each case.

The most prominent among Strasbourg friends were the Blumsteins, Blumstein and his mother.[2] Blumstein's family was of the lesser nobility,[3] and he himself was a citizen of Strasbourg;[4] the

---

1 Mols puts a question-mark beside this figure. 2 There is no social study of the Strasbourg community. The following is an outline based mainly on the information in the process if 1400, printed Strasbourg documents and Fribourg notarial records and the topographical picture I have put together from a combination of these and C.Schmidt's Strassburger Gassen-und Hauser-Namen im Mittelalter (Strasbourg,1871)(see Map I). 3 J.D.Schoepflin, Alsatia Illustrata II(Colmar,1761),pp.250 and 274. 4 Urkundenbuch und Akten der Stadt Strassburg,ed.H.Witte,Abt.I,Bd.VII,no. 1862.

Blumstein house lay in the main street through the city, the Oberstrasse.[1] He was evidently a man of some influence and power in the city, and a man who merited the description given him as one who 'umbe dis leben alles wol wuste und by allen dingen gewesen ist'.[2] The records of the 1400 hearings show him using his influence and experience in order to protect the community: threatening to lay a friend in the tower if he did not stop his betrayals,[3] successfully bringing pressure to bear on an inquisitor to make him desist from his activities,[4] and, finally, organising secret abjurations and penances for the majority of the community.[5]

After the Blumsteins come several families of merchants whose wealth was based on the cloth trade. First of all there is the 'zur Bircken' family whose house lay in the Münstergasse by the Cathedral.[6] A Heintzeman z.B. is seen trading with Fribourg in 1356;[7] reason for suspecting that he was a friend is given in section iv below. Herman z.B.(his son), who was a friend and held meetings in his house,[8] was described as the 'Master Tailor',[9] and in 1390 served a term as a Council Member (a gild member).[10] Both his sons were friends: one, Lawelin, who is seen engaged in

---

1 Schmidt, op.cit., p.123. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.44. 3 Ibid., pp. 49-50. 4 Ibid., p.44. 5 Ibid., pp.60-1 and 72. 6 Schmidt, op. cit., p.121. 7 Mittelalterliche Wirtschaft im Alltag: Quellen... aus den Notariatsregistern von Freiburg-im-Uchtland I (Aarau, 1942), ed.H. Ammann, no.12. 8 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.61 and 66-7. 9 Urkundenbuch, Abt.I, Bd.VII, no.1873. 10 Ibid., p.944. 11 Röhrich Winkeler, pp.65 and 73.

commerce with Fribourg (buying hides)[1], was a citizen, and served a term as Council Member (again a gild member) 1391-2.[2] The second, Claus, was a citizen, a judge, and twice a member of Council, not as a gild member, in 1390 and 1398;[3] in the latter year he was boasting a coat of arms.[4]

Secondly there is the Erlebach family: a family of friends, all weavers, originating in Dischingen, consisting of Herman, and his wife and daughter, his brother Cuntze, and his wife and child, and his step-brother Heintzeman.[5] Cuntze who was probably the 'Cunge' Erlebach living at one time in the Leimengasse,[6] (where there were, altogether, three houses of friends), was a Council member 1393-4.[7]

Members of three Strasbourg families of friends, and possibly a member of a fourth, were engaged in the lively commerce in cloth and skins with Fribourg which many Strasbourg merchants (of gild rather than patrician families) were carrying on in the second half of the fourteenth century. The zur Birckens have been mentioned. A second Waldensian family probably engaged in this trade was that of Jecklin and his son Cuntzeman Tuchscherer,[8] the

---

1 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, nos. 556-7 and 557 (1394-5).
2 Urkundenbuch, Abt, I, Bd., VII, p. 945. 3 Ibid., pp. 786, 944, 952.
4 See the Bircken entry in J. Kindler von Knobloch's Das Goldener Buch von Strassburg (Vienna, 1886), p. 37. 5 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp. 56-7, 60, 64, 73. 6 Urkundenbuch, Abt. I, Bd. VII, pp. 354-5.
7 Ibid., p. 947. 8 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp. 56 and 73.

latter living in Fribourg in 1407.[1] A third was the Haderer family: Voltze, whose household (himself, his wife, and his one-time servant)[2] was all Waldensian, resident like Blumstein, on the Oberstrasse,[3] was engaged in selling cloth in Fribourg in the 1370's.[4] Finally, the Berchtold zum Hirtze who was trading with Fribourg in 1407 was probably a member of the Waldensian zum Hirtze household.[5]

Some of the remaining families had some connections with the cloth-industry: the Waser family and Berner Cuntzelin (clothiers), Fritz (a wool-spinner), Kumber Eilse (wife of a wool-spinner), and Agnes Stracken (wife of a weaver).[6] In addition to these there were Ellekint (a hatter), Jecklin and Küllin (cobblers),[7] and Dilin (a presser).[8] Two families ran beer-houses.[9] Finally there was a Beghine and a nun.

The location of habitations of these may be indicative. The households of the nobleman Blumstein and the merchant Haderer were situated on the main street running through the centre of Strasbourg, the Oberstrasse.[10] One Waldensian woman lived in the Judengasse, which contained, according to Schmidt, mainly knights'

---

1 Beiträge...Festschrift für Hektor Ammann, ed. H. Aubin et al. (Wiesbaden, 1965), p.138. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.48, 58, and 62. 3 Ibid., p.70, and Urkundenbuch, Abt.I, Bd.VII, no.1882 (where he is described as 'lanifex'). 4 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, no. 186. 5 Ibid., no.753. 6 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.60, 62, 73-4 (Wasers), pp.58-9, 73 (Cuntzelin), 74 (Fritz, Eilse, Stracken). 7 Ibid., pp. 63-4 (Ellekint), 73-4. 8 Ibid., pp.50 and 70. 9 Ibid., pp.64-5 and 71. 10 Ibid., p.74.

houses.[1] One hatter and her son lived opposite the Münster, an area where clothiers carried on their trade.[2] The remainder were concentrated in two areas situated close together. The first was the triangle of streets of which two sides were the river and the church of Old St. Peter: Zwischen Brücken (between the customs bridge and Bischofsburgthor bridge), the wine market (the area for the customs, costing, selling, etc. of wine), an der Almende, Leimengasse and Stampfesgasse. The 'zum Hirtze' house (a beer-house) lay Zwischen Brücken, and another house in which a Brother was living after his conversion;[3] the house of Gilse 'zum Schwarzen Buchstaben'in the wine market;[4] the house of the clothier Berner Cuntzelin 'an der Almende'[5] (between 'Zwischen Brücken', the wine market, and Old St. Peter's); the house of the wife of a wool-spinner in Stampfesgasse; and, finally, three houses in Leimengasse. These were the houses of Agnes Stracken, the wife of a weaver; Cuntze Erlebach, weaver and Council member(?);[6] and Heinrich Waser, weaver. The second area was the complex of streets (Siebenmannsgasse, St. Barbaragasse, Heiligenlichtgasse) which were known as 'under Kürsenern' from the street of that name (Skinner's Street). Here lay the Waldensian house 'zum Flesser'; the house of the cobbler Jecklin 'in der Hellèn' (leading from the 'under Kürsener' streets towards Old St. Peter's)

---

1 Schmidt, op.cit., p.83. 2 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.63, and Schmidt, op.cit., p.116. 3 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.46. 4 Ibid., p.55. 5 Ibid. p.73. 6 Ibid., p.74, and supra (Erlebach). One of these was rented from the Cathedral treasurer for £2 p.a. (Urkundenbuch, Abt.I, Bd. VII, p.737).

and, in the Heiligenlichtgasse, the Beghinage which contained one friend.[1]

The community in Fribourg, a town which was at this period (later 14th and early 15th century) rising rapidly to great prosperity on the basis of the cloth industry, hides and tanning, and trading in these commodities with towns in Swabia, Franconia, and the upper Rhineland, numbered about 100 friends,[2] and some of these - 'aliqui maiores de ville', as they were described in 1430 - were taking a leading part in the town's expansion.[3]

The social spectrum is in general similar to that in Strasbourg. First of all, a small representation of the nobility: three noblewomen tried in 1399.[4] After these, half a dozen families of considerable wealth, active in commerce, trading in cloth and hides in the upper Rhineland, Swabia, etc., generally of fairly recent bourgeois status, and including office-holders and council members.

These included the families of the two most important firms in 14th century Fribourg: the Studers and the Praroman-Bonvisins. Three generations of Studers were citizens: Willermus(1356), his son Jacob, and the latter's children(Jacob, Willermus, Hanso);[5]

---

1 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.61,73,64. 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.2b^{r}, (estimate of an inhabitant of Fribourg, which is confirmed by the nos. tried or mentioned in 1430). 3 Ibid., 9^{r}, 1^{v}, 11^{r}, 15^{r}.
4 Barnes Fiertz, op.cit., p.353. In the following I rely on this article for the social analysis of those tried in 1399; this is supplemented and modified by information in Ochsenbein(Volksleben, passim), and the Archives d'Etat in Fribourg concerning those tried in 1430: the latter contains sufficient material for a more extended study. 5 Frib.AE Reg.Not.9 Lomb.f.1^{r}, Reg.Not.15, f.46^{r}, 47^{r}.

among those in this third generation Jacob was Inspector of Buildings (1438),[1] Alexia married a citizen who was council member for the Au district,[2] and Johanneta a merchant who was Burgomaster in 1430;[3] and one became curé of Fribourg.[4] The family was involved in cloth - both Willermus and the grandson of the same name are described as cloth-cutters[5] - and commerce. It probably traded in Avignon;[6] and a son-in-law in the third generation was trading with Bern, Schwäbisch-Gmünde, and Kempten.[7] The wealth of the family can be gauged by the enormous fines Hanso Studer paid in the years 1431-3 (subsequent to his abjuration), which amounted in all to £3468.[8] Among members in this family, we know that the mother in the second generation was a friend, and that she brought up her children as friends. Her three daughters remained friends, and two married friends. Of the sons, one certainly remained a friend till 1430, and one possibly;[9] a third became a priest(!), but as a priest defended in public the reputation of the Waldensians.

Secondly there is the Praroman-Bonvisin firm. The most prominent member of the Praroman family was Jacob, citizen in 1411,

---

1 Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.336. 2 Barnes Fiertz, op.cit., p.353. 3 Frib.AE Reg.Not.12, f.190^{v}. 4 Barnes Fiertz, op.cit., pp.350-1. 5 Frib.AE Reg.Not. Lomb f.1^{r} and 15, f.115^{v}. 6 Barnes Fiertz, op.cit., p.351. 7 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, nos.1002, 1225, 1401, 1426, 1500(1406-21). 8 Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.242. 9 Jacob Studer, accused in 1399, was again named in 1430, but no proceedings were taken against him.

Seckelmeister, and mayor in 1431;[1] other members were bannerets, treasurers, and council members.[2] They traded in cloth - evidence survives of their commerce with Strasbourg,[3] and their wealth was to lift them into the small group of the 16 richest families in the tax-assessment of 1445.[4] Of these, five were accused in 1399, and Jacob (accused in 1399) was named again in 1430, together with his wife and sister. We know less of the Bonvisin family. Three brothers, the father-in-law of one of these, and three relatives appeared as friends in 1430. Three of these were citizens,[5] and one a banneret.[6]

Of equal or greater prominence was the Mossu family, of whom the most important was Willi Mossu. Son of Johannod, a citizen,[7] Willi was one of the friends described as 'maiores ville' in 1430. Two other members of the family were councillors, and in the fifteenth century several were enobled.[8] The family traded in hides and cloth - Willi's father, a tanner, was trading with Strasbourg in 1356,[9] and Willi himself was trading with Bern and Freiburg-im-Breisgau in the period 1404-11[10] - and was of great

---

1 Le Premier Livre des Bourgeois de Fribourg, ed. B. de Vevey, etc., in Arch. de la Soc. d'hist. du Canton de Fribourg, XVI, 1941, pp. 93-4, and Ochsenbein, Volksleben, pp. 147-8. 2 Barnes Fiertz, op. cit., p. 351. 3 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, nos. 25, 311. 4 H. Ammann, 'Freiburg etc.', Fribourg-Freiburg 1157-1481 (Fribourg, 1957), p. 228. 5 Le Premier Livre des Bourgeois, pp. 66 and 107, and Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p. 247. 6 Ibid., p. 262; John, a citizen, described as 'cerdo' (Frib. AE Reg. Not. 26, f. 222^{r}) paid a fine of £20 after the 1430 hearings (Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p. 246). 7 For W. Mossu, see section vii(a) below. 8 Barnes Fiertz, op. cit., p. 352. 9 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, no. 12. 10 Ibid., nos. 711, 713, 715.

wealth.[1] Of this family Willi himself, his wife, his brother, and his mother were friends, together with four other Mossus (and three of their spouses) whose precise relationship to Willi is not clear.

In all friends figured among four of the 16 richest families in the tax assessment of 1445; the Praroman's and Mossu's mentioned above; one member of the Pavilliard family; and the Ferwers.[2] Hensli Ferwer was a native of Wrocław, who became a citizen of Fribourg in 1396;[3] he was described as a weaver and a dyer and is also seen selling hides to Schwäbisch-Gmünde in 1404.[4] He and his wife were friends, and also the wife of a certain Clawinus Ferwer. Belonging to the same stratum prosperous families involved in the cloth and skin trade, citizens, office holders and members of councils were the Chastels,[5] Busch-

---

1 Willi was able to pay a fine of £500 on behalf of another friend (Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.240); see also below. 2 Ammann, 'Freiburg etc.', p.228. 3 Le Premier Livre des Bourgeois, p.133; his brother - not, as far as is known, a friend - was an advocate. 4 Ibid., and Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, no.886(1404). 5 The three Chastels accused in 1399 were citizens, and the younger Mermet, who in 1430 was living in the Magno Vico(Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.196) also served on the council(Barnes Fiertz, op.cit., p. 352): his sister was married to Hensli Ferwer (see above). In 1430 Mermet's concubine was named as a friend, and he was later left money by Mossu, which gives ground for suspecting affiliation later than 1399 (see section vii(a) below).

illions[1], Perrotets[2], and Bindos[3], and two individuals, Bertrant[4] and Bratza[5].

Lack of information in the ample archives in Fribourg concerning others is itself a suggestion that they were further down the scale economically and socially, but the few instances in which professions are given, e.g. Conrad Wasen, cloth-cutter Martrant[6], a cobbler, indicate friends involvement in allied trades or active as artisans.

---

1 F.Buschillion(a citizen, living in the Magno Vico) and his wife were accused in 1399(Barnes Fiertz,op.cit.,p.352),and they and their sons were named as friends in 1429(Ochsenbein,Volksleben,p.166; see also pp.187,229,304-18). 2 Two Perrotet brothers, and the wife of one of these, were named in 1430; J.Perrotet was a citizen(Le Livre des Bourgeois,p.97),had a house in 1416 in the 'Vico Bolonperiorum'(Frib.AE RB I,f.53^{r}), and is described as 'mercator' in 1394, at which time he is seen involved in an exchange (hides) with Strasbourg(Notariatsregistern von Freiburg,no.537). 3 Georges Bindo, his mother, his wife, and relations(e.g. his nephew Hensli Georges) were named in 1430. Bindo, a citizen (Le Livre des Bourgeois,p.116),and Cloth Inspector for the Hospital Quarter(Barnes Fiertz,op.cit.,p.354) was able to pay £100 fine as a penalty for his affiliation(Ochsenbein,Volksleben,p.298); his nephew Georges, citizen (Le Livre des Bourgeois,p.96),Waagmeister, and member of the Council of 200 (Ochsenbein,Volksleben,p.345) also paid £100 fine(ibid.,p.346). 4 J.Bertrant, citizen, 'lanista'(Le Livre des Bourgeois,p.112), Salt Receiver and member of the Council of 200(Ochsenbein,Volksleben,p.258) paid a fine of £45 for his affiliation. 5 A Beghine declared during the 1430 hearings that there were Waldensians among the maiores of the town, and named Bratza(a councillor) as one of these, along with a Buschillion,W.Mossu, J.de Praroman, and the latter's wife and sister-in-law(Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.15^{r}). Some of these (e.g. Mossu and Praroman) certainly had been Waldensian, and the lack of any proceedings against them in 1430 may stem from their power and influence rather than innocence of heresy. 6 Frib.AE Geist.Sach. no.26,f.9^{v}('pannitonsor'),f.25b^{r}('sutoris').

Besides these there were also two families of keepers of inns or lodging houses: the inn of Marmet Hugo in the New Town,[1] and the lodging house of the Trogers 'am Staden',[2] i.e. on the long flight of steps which lead up and out of the old town; servants;[3] and finally, three female religious, Beghines, all of whom were closely involved and one of whom was certainly a friend.[4]

There is striking similarity in the broad patterns of the social spectrum presented by the two communities in Strasbourg, where there were over 50 friends, and in Fribourg, where there were about 100. First of all, a small representation of the minor nobility (two in Strasbourg, three in Fribourg). Secondly, a number of families of bourgeois status, engaged in the cloth trade (in Fribourg, in cloth and hides), prosperous, holding office and membership of Councils; in Fribourg their wealth and prominence is more marked. Thirdly, poorer families also engaged in cloth - in the cloth-industry or similar trades(hats,shoes,etc.). Fourthly, in each town there were two families running beer-houses, lodging-houses or inns; fifthly, some servants; and finally a handful of female religious(Beghines).

One can only conjecture how far this pattern was reproduced elsewhere, for in most other towns we do not know even the names

---

1 Barnes Fiertz,op.cit.,p.354. 2 Ochsenbein,Volksleben,pp.165 and 197 ff. 3 E.g.,ibid.,p.182. 4Ibid.,pp.180-181.

of the friends. 130 friends were found in Bern and its environs in 1399: a community similar or a little larger to that in Fribourg. Bern's enactment in the following year that in future no Waldensians should be allowed to belong to the Council, the 200, or to hold office[1] implies that these positions had been held by some of the 130, and the fines on the 130, upon 'each according to his wealth'[2], amounting to 3000 florins, suggests that they numbered families whose wealth was comparable, though perhaps not quite so large, as that of some families in the Fribourg community. The impression of a community very similar to those in Strasbourg and Fribourg, ranging from wealthy, office-holding, council members downwards is confirmed by the Bern chronicler's description of the 130 as including 'the powerful, the rich, and the poor'.[3]

Evidence concerning the social complexion of communities of friends in towns to the east and north is in some cases scanty, and others non-existent. What does survive suggests communities containing a similar spectrum of both rich and poor, citizens and office-holders, men involved in the cloth trade and industry and small trades, and female religious. The range from wealthy to poor can be seen both in Augsburg, where the 'many' rich received,

---

1 Satzungsbuch, par. 205 (Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Bern TI.I,I: Das Stadtrecht von Bern (1218-1539), ed. A.F. Welti (Aarau, 1902), pp. 127-8). 2 Die Berner Chronik des Conrad Justinger, ed. G. Studer (Bern, 1871), p. 186. 3 Ut supra.

by contrast with the poor, secret penances[1], and Nuremburg(?), where inquisitors in 1332, while successfully proceeding against the poor, complained of the trouble they encountered in proceedings against the 'divites'[2]. The citizens and office-holders of Strasbourg and Fribourg can be parallelled by a friend who was a citizen of Regensburg[3], and a citizen and sometimes Councillor of Rothenburg who was accused of affiliation in 1394[4]. At the lower end of the social scale were to be found the 'humiles' and 'pauperes' of Nuremburg(?) (among these, a peddlar)[5], a judge's servant in Mainz[6], a butcher, jobbers[7], and a washerwoman in Würzburg, and a baker's wife in Wittenberg[8]. The predominance of commerce and industry in cloth, and allied small trades, stands out in many towns - Augsburg (where, according to the chronicles, all those found were weavers)[9], Prague (where there were a family containing two weavers and a cloth-cutter, and a hatter)[10], Nuremburg(?)(where there was a cloth-maker)[11], Erfurt (where there was a hatter's wife)[12], and a merchant who is seen journeying between Regensburg and

---

1 Die Chroniken der Deustchen Städte IV: Augsburg I(Leipzig,1865), p.97. 2 G.V.Will,Kleine Beiträge etc.(Altdorf,1789),p.112. I put '?' after Nuremburg here and elsewhere to remind the reader of the doubt about the precise affiliation of heretics found here. 3 Finke,Waldenserprocess in Regensburg,p.345. 4 Weigel,Waldenserverhör im Rothenburg; see my comment in ii above on the failure of this accusation. 5 Acht-,Verbots-und Fehdebücher Nürnbergs,no. 592. 6 Hans Mulich, a friend from Mainz seen in Strasbourg in 1374, appears described thus in Mainz in 1379,Die Urkunden des Stadtarchivs Mainz: Regesten T.I.III,ed.R.Deutsch(Mainz,1965),nos. 2086-7). 7 Schneidt,Thesaurus,pp.3264-5. 8 Haupt,Waldenserthum, p.66. 9 As the Augsburg reference given above. 10 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice',p.537. 11 As the Nuremburg reference given above. 12. Haupt,Codex Teplensis,p.35.

Donauwörth[1] for the buying and selling of cloth. Finally, the female religious of Strasbourg and Fribourg can be parallelled by the involvement of a few Beghines in Stettin.[2] The fragments suggest, but no more than suggest, that were more evidence to survive about communities of friends in towns other than Strasbourg and Fribourg, these communities would present an appearance broadly similar to that presented by the latter.

iv) Communities

a) Individual communities

The friends whose dispersion has been described above lived in closely-knit communities. Those in any one community shared in common the tenets of a secret faith, convention for secret religious practice, and (in many cases) involvement in the organisation of this. Danger and the need for secrecy affected all. It is not surprising that several generations of common belief and secret practice led to the formation of extremely closely-knit and enclosed structures, in which affiliation to the Waldensian faith was handed down from generation to generation inside families; and the homogeneity of families in this respect was maintained by intermarriage with other Waldensian families.

The clearest example of this maintenance of the tradition of affiliation from one generation to another appears in the processes

---

1 Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod.3748,f.149r. 2 Kurze,'Ketzergeschichte',p. 88 n.203.

of Brandenburg, where among 176 tried in 1392-4 no less than 115 were born of parents both of whom were friends, and 26 of parents one of whom was a friend;[1] in most of these cases the parents or parent were responsible for leading the child into the faith. Affiliation in three generations can be seen in this area and elsewhere - Prague, Donauwörth, and Austria,- and in two generations in Strasbourg, Fribourg, Dinkelsbühl, Würzburg, Nuremberg, Trnava, the Jindř.Hradec area, Augsburg, and the diocese of Eichstädt, and the pattern of a parent leading his child in can be seen in Fribourg, Strasbourg, Donauwörth, and Austria.

The complement of the tradition of affiliation from generation to generation was the encouragement and practice of intermarriage only with other Waldensian families. This was done by the majority in Brandenburg, is seen in Fribourg and Strasbourg, and is implied by the preponderance of married couples among those tried in Würzburg, Regensburg, Nuremberg, and Prague. Tradition and explicit instruction appeared to have dictated this: in one article relating to friends found in Augsburg it is stated that they hold it to be a strange thing for one of their number to marry someone who was not a friend, and that marrying a member of a Waldensian family would be much better;[2] and one friend in Brandenburg was told prior to his first confession that he must

---

1 Kurze,'Ketzergeschichte',p.90. 2 Hormayr,Taschenbuch,p.119.

not marry someone who was not a friend. In cases where this was not obeyed, the Waldensian partner often led his or her spouse into the faith; among 38 friends in Brandenburg not born into Waldensian families there were at least 11 who had been led in by their husbands,[2] and more under their pressure, and this pattern can be seen in other communities.

Both tradition and intermarriage led to the formation of large and complex networks of Waldensian families. The limits to this phenomenon, both vertically and horizontally, are limits in the first instance of the evidence, not the phenomenon itself. Austria - where friends flourished for over 150 years prior to 1395 - provides the example of a family with affiliation in 3 generations in the last 50 years of the 14th century;[3] were more processes to survive the line would surely be longer. One can demonstrate lateral complexity more clearly - as the following example from Brandenburg shows. Early in the 14th century a non-Waldensian called Glaus Ermgart married a friend called Sophia, Sophia gave birth to a son, Rudaw, in Klein Wubiser, and he became a friend (probably under the influence of his mother, who died a friend), making his first confession to a Brother c.1332, and

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403,f.119^{r}. See Röhrich,Winkeler,p.47, where the instance of a friend giving his daughter in marriage to a man who was not a friend is specially remarked upon. 2 Those led in by their husband in Wattenbach,'Inquisition',pp.9-14,nos.175 188,193,199,215,260,262,271,273, and Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,ff.8^{v} and 28^{v}, and those led in after marriage, in some cases explicitly at the spouse's behest, in nos.231,238,246,435, and f. 37^{r}. 3 In the sentence in Haupt,Waldenserthum,pp.121-2.

confessing to the Brothers thenceforward at least once a year till 1392. He married a friend called Gryte, and she gave birth to a son, Tyde, in Klein Wubiser, c.1366, and he was led by his parents to confess to a Brother when he was about 10 years old in the house of Heyne Beyer in Gräfendorf.

Around this time (c.1372) two friends from Brücke, Peter and Grite Cremer, led their daughter Katherine to the same house for the same purpose, and the two, Tyde and Katherine (meeting perhaps in this way?) later married each other. Her sister, Geze, married a friend called Jacob Hildebrandt, in Gossow, whose parents, Cappe and Sophia, and brother, Claus, were all friends; his whole household, including his servant, Trina (the daughter of two dead friends) was Waldensian.[1] Evidence stops the line here, though it probably went further: Jacob was probably related to a friend in the same village with the same patronymic, Tyde Hildebrandt, and Katherine's father, Peter Cremer, was possibly related to Hans Cremer of the same village, a friend whose children married into a string of Waldensian families, including some Wegeners who may have been related to the Wegener friends who were Trina's parents;[2] and so on.

There were probably professional and commercial links between

---

1 Details of Rudaw and his parents in Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.20^{v}, Tyde and his mother ibid.,f.25^{r}, the Cremers,ibid.,f.26^{r}, the Hildebrandts,ibid.,f.30^{r} and Cod.Helmst.403,f.63^{r}, and Trina's family,ibid.,f.111^{v}. 2 Details of Tyde,ibid.,f.55^{v}, and Cremer's family,ibid.,ff.33^{r},92^{r},126^{r}.

friends in each community, supplementing these links of blood. The preponderance of involvement in allied trades and professions suggest this, and instances can be seen, e.g. the Praroman and Bonvisin families of friends in Fribourg jointly forming a firm.[1] But the evidence stops at this point.

Within each of these closely-knitted and inter-related communities there was an organisation which had evolved to deal with the problems of the Brothers' visits -receiving and lodging them in secret, convening other friends, preparing initiates, etc., a description of this is given below (v). These communities also acted in concerted fashion in other areas independently of the Brothers, for the help of individual members of the community, and for the protection of the community from discovery. A certain ethos and practice in financial aid can be seen in Fribourg. Here there was a convention, applying particularly to testamentary dispositions, that money should be kept within the community ('quando homines illius secte moriuntur, debent dividere et relinquere de bonis suis dictis hominibus dicte secte')[2], and we can see instances of rich friends paying fines on behalf of poorer friends.[3]

Common danger and the necessity to maintain secrecy probably

---

1 Barnes Fiertz, op.cit., p.351. The weaver Borschön rejoined when he came to Strasbourg (whose community contained weavers) because he was anxious about the welfare of his child, and here pressures of trade interest may have been at work (Röhrich, Winkeler, p.47).
2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.34r; see f.50bv for the statement that this should be done 'pro manutenencia...secte'. See the implementation of this in Mossu's will (vii)(a) below. 3 One in vii(a) below.

drew communities together more than anything else, but responsibility in this area extended in the first instance to the individual - in his own duty to keep silent and ensure that those in his family did likewise, or, if they were not friends, to keep his affiliation from them. The sanction was fear - a beating for a boy who chatted idly to his playmates,[1] or larger threats to adult friends.[2]

Many sources of possible discovery lay outside the community - the local clergy, friends in other communities, and converted Brothers - and to silence these communal methods were needed, methods which ranged from bribery and threats to violence and murder. Everything was done to prevent the friends' affiliation coming to the notice of the local clergy, but some inevitably got wind of this.[3] Some of these were complaisant,[4] in some cases through ties of sympathy or kinship.[5] Others kept quiet for other reasons: there is an instance of one being threatened in Fribourg - being told of the 'maiores ville',[6] and being deprived of his living for talking about Waldensians.[7] Beyond this was fear and knowledge of the bitter retaliation friends would take for the

---

1 Wattenbach,'Inquisition',p.48. 2 Röhrich,Winkeler,pp.49-50. 3 E.g., in Strasbourg, among priests questioned in 1400, one from Old St. Peter's, near which there were at least 6 Waldensian households (see map II), knew about them, while many others, including one from the Münster (near which were two households), professed to know nothing (Röhrich,Winkeler,pp.71-3,74-6. 4 E.g.Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.48. 5 A formula relating to priests in the diocese of Passau infected with Waldensian error is printed in Haupt, Codex Teplensis,pp.34-5. 6 E.g.,W.Studer, cure of Fribourg, whose family was Waldensian. 7 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.1v.

provision of information to inquisitors - murder; this applied especially in Austria, where there are four recorded cases of murders of priests for this reason, and one of arson of priest's property between c.1266 and 1395.[1] The same desperate measure was applied to Brothers, of whom at least 6 were killed by friends in the later 14th century for giving information.[2] In one of these cases we are given a little picture of a community at work. The Brother Hans Weidehofer abjured c.1374, and, as part of his penance, started going from house to house of friends in Strasbourg. The Strasbourg friends met together; £50 was collected and given to three friends who were entrusted with Hans's murder; they carried this out one night, two holding him down while the third despatched him, and left the body by the covered bridges. Indicative of the communal nature of this was that all friends in the community received penance from the Brothers for the deed.[3] The same threat applied to inquisitors, who knew this well: we see one abandoning his work in Strasbourg under pressure,[4] and another, who started in Augsburg with the statement that he was willing to lose his blood in his attempt to discover friends, being met at his word when a friend tried to stab him to death.[5]

---

1 Nickson,'Pseudo-Reinerius',pp.280-1, and Haupt,Waldenserthum,p.22. Other murders by friends show that these were acts of retaliation against betrayers; Werner maintains that they marked the 'radikalisierung' of Waldensian theory ('Ideologische Aspekte',p.221). 2 Haupt,Codex Teplensis,p.35, and below. 3 Röhrich,Winkeler,pp.43-4. 4 Ibid.,p.44. 5 Die Chroniken...Augsburg I,p.96. For a similar attempt on an inquisitor in Prague, see Haupt,Waldenserthum,p.32.

Most measures taken for protection preceded such extreme resorts: actions taken and pressure exercised behind the scenes. Strasbourg provides us with the example of the powerful friend Blumstein acting in this way - threatening a would-be-betrayer with imprisonment, prevailing upon an inquisitor through threats to desist, and finally, in the early 1390's, as it became clear that inquisitorial activity could not be averted, arranging secret abjurations for other friends in his house, and the imposition of penances by an inquisitor who appears to have been willing to co-operate in return for the money he received from each friend.[1] The fact of the exercise of pressure behind the scenes though not its mode of operation, can be seen in Fribourg, where one friend declared that he had not feared persecution because he had been confident that the 'maiores' in the town would not allow things to come to this pass;[2] such influence may explain the community's successful resistance of the accusations of 1399. Beyond these examples one can only conjecture the nature and extent of measures - which, if successful, would leave no trace - taken by other communities.

b) Ties between communities

The visits of the Brothers themselves linked diverse communities of friends, but there are some indications that these were

---

1 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.44-5,49-50,60-1,72; see pp.47 and 67 for estimates of the money Böckeler gained for giving secret penances.
2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.9r.

linked at the level of the friends themselves; connexions of knowledge of other communities, commercial links, and the operations of mutual aid, seen in the reception of refugees.

Evidence survives for commercial contacts between friends in Strasbourg and Fribourg. Among the c.60 Strasbourg merchants recorded in Fribourg c.1356-80 three were friends (seen in 1372-3, 1394-5, and 1407),[1] and one instance of a Fribourg friend buying from Strasbourg appears in 1384.[2] There is in all probability a direct connexion. The first Fribourg-Strasbourg exchange recorded (1356)[3] was between a Heintzeman zur Bircken, probably a member in the previous generation of the zur Bircken family from which came 6 friends in 1400, and on, the Fribourg side, Johannod Mossu, a tanner, whose own affiliation is not known (because he died before the accusations of 1399); however, since his wife, two sons, and daughter-in-law were all friends his affiliation is probable; further, a member of the Praroman family (many of whose members were later friends) was involved in the exchange. In a second example, we see Ullin Weber of Fribourg, the husband of a very active friend, selling (1393-4) to the Strasbourg friend Lawelin zur Bircken.[4]

---

1 P.Dollinger,'Commerce et marchands Strasbourgeois à Fribourg etc' Beiträge...Festschrift fur Hektor Ammann,ed.H.Aubin et al. (Wiesbaden,1965),p.138; Notariatsregistern von Freiburg,nos.186,195, 537,557,1543. 2 Ibid.,nos.311,330,339. 3 Ibid.,no.12. 4 Ibid. nos.537,557. P.Dollinger has remarked on the surprising nature of the Fribourg-Strasbourg trade - surprising since the towns, both cloth-producers, were not economically complementary ('Commerce et Marchands Strasbourgeois à Fribourg etc.',Beiträge...Festschrift für Hektor Ammann,ed.H.Aubin et al.(Wiesbaden,1965),p.132. Perhaps common religious affiliation had a bearing on this commerce (of which the first recorded instance seems to have been between those at least connected with friends)?

The confluence of two types of evidence in this case - the names of friends, and notarial registration of exchanges - is exceptional, and elsewhere for the most part one can only conjecture such commercial links. Two in Fribourg, one a friend and one the husband of a friend were trading at this period with men in Bern, where there was a community of comparable socio-economic complexion: with friends?[1] This possibility is made plausible by other links between the two communities: the knowledge of the Fribourg community in Bern shown by the events of 1399, when the Bernese authorities handed over to Fribourg names of Fribourg friends, evidently gained from Bernese friends during their trials in that year;[2] and Bern friends acting as instructors of Fribourg friends.[3]

There are straws relating to similar relations between Fribourg and Basle (the husband of a friend trading with Basle, another married to someone from Basle, and another having a sister in Basle to whom she sent a Waldensian book),[4] and further north between Strasbourg and the north - nearby communities, in Lahr, Haguenau, etc., and further north, the community in Mainz, all of which were known to the Strasbourg community, and in some detail.[5]

---

1 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, nos.711,1426. 2 Barnes Fiertz, op.cit., p.341. 3 Ochsenbein Volksleben, pp.274,330. One can see a friend and husband of a friend trading with Bern (Notariatsregistern von Freiburg, nos.711,1426). 4 Ibid., no.736, and Ochsenbein, Volksleben, pp.186 and 220,250-1. 5 Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.25 n.3; 49,65; 43,65.

There thus appear to be fragments of networks on a line between the upper Rhineland and north-western Switzerland: Mainz-(Lahr, Haguenau, etc.-Strasbourg-(Basle)-(Bern-Fribourg. One could insert Solothurn(the origin of one Strasbourg family of friends) into this.

There are indications of the possibility of an extension of this pattern to the east. First, both the towns of Fribourg and Strasbourg were active in commerce with towns in SE Germany, and we find two from Fribourg, a friend and the husband of a friend, trading with Schwäbisch-Gmünde, Kempten, and Nuremberg[1] (of which the first and third probably contained communities of friends), and in Strasbourg many families originating (perhaps through such connexions) in Swabian towns, including one case of a weaver who abjured in Regensburg and became a friend again in Strasbourg. Secondly, there are indications of the pattern among communities in the SE itself: a Regensburg friend trading between Regensburg and Donauwörth,[2] and in contact with friends in both places; and the significant arrival of an inquisitor in Würzburg in 1391 forearmed with information from elsewhere, possibily from converted Brothers, or possibly - more to our point - from friends converted in other communities who were in contact with those in these towns.[3]

At the every-day level these links may have served to promote

---

1 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg,nos.886,1002,1225,1401,1500.
2 Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod.3748,f.147v-149r. 3 Schneidt,Thesaurus,p. 3265.

mutual commercial interests, and at the time of persecution they certainly acted to provide refuge for those in flight. Again the Fribourg-Strasbourg link provides the clearest example: one of those tried in 1400 in Strasbourg is seen resident in Fribourg in 1407,[1] where the community's successful resistance in 1399 and numbering of some maiores in its ranks provided assurance of safe refuge. Another Strasbourg friend, who had confessed and heard sermons in the house of Haderer in Strasbourg,[2] and had possibly established a connexion with Fribourg in this way, because Haderer traded with Fribourg,[3] was exiled from Strasbourg and his son came to live in Fribourg, and married the daughter of Troger, who had one of the two most important meeting places in Fribourg, and practised there as a friend.[4] A friend from Bern, tried there in 1399, took refuge in similar fashion, and also inserted himself into the secret activities of Fribourg friends.[5] One similar example survives form the SE - a friend from Donauwörth fleeing from persecution there to the house of a friend in Regensburg.[6]

To most of the friends the nomenclature for friends -'die Kunden'- and those who were not -'die Fremden'- signified the division between the saved and the damned; to a few these words

---

1 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg,no.1543, and Röhrich,Winkeler,p. 49. 2 Ibid.,p.60. 3 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg,nos.186, 195. 4 Ochsenbein,Volksleben,pp.200; 186; 199-200. 5 Ibid.,pp. 272-4. 6 Vienna Nat.Lib.3748,f.148r.

divided those who were admitted into the secrets of their activities from those who were not. The transition from one meaning to another was not difficult: the division between two eternally distinct societies was preceded and buttressed by the division on earth between a society strongly-knit through family, secrecy, common danger, and common belief, and the society of the outside world.

v) Religious life under the pastorate of the Brothers

a) Brothers' visits and friends' houses

Contact between Brothers and friends was maintained by the former's visits. We have fragments of the larger patterns of Brothers' itineraries - one an instance of a journey from Brandenburg (Stettin) to Saxony (Erfurt), the Vogtland (Plauen), and Franconia (Würzburg);[1] one from Prague (probably) southwards to the Jindř.Hradec area, and thence to the Austro-Moravian border (Znojmo);[2] and entry into NW Switzerland (Fribourg) from 'proxima Alamagna'[3] (the upper Rhineland) - fragments of itineraries which covered the area between the Baltic and the Austrian Alps, and Switzerland and Hungary.

Visits to particular areas seem to have been at regular intervals, at certain times of the year, and of regular (short) duration. Brothers appeared in the Jindř.Hradec three times a

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.19^{r}. 2 Fuchse,Urkunden... Göttweig,p.395. 3 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.9^{v}.

year, staying on some occasions 3-4 weeks, on others less(pre-1337).[1] Brothers appeared in areas further from Austria only once a year: Brandenburg in the autumn (where two autumn visits, to the village shown on map I, lasted between before September 29 to after November 11), and probably Fribourg (where the occasion of one visit was the summer);[2] duration in Strasbourg was 2-3 weeks,[3] and Christmas was the occasion of one visit.[4]

The Brothers changed areas each year, which resulted in each community seeing many different Brothers of diverse origin (e.g. from Germany, Bohemia and Silesia in Fribourg, from Switzerland and Saxony in Strasbourg, from Poland, Austria, Switzerland, etc., in Brandenburg).[5] We can take as an example the Jindř.Hradec area, where c.1337 Brother Herman and his 'socius' were active, but by c.1340 a different pair, Gotfried and Albert.[6] Though in some cases Brothers may have been at home in the areas of their pastorate (e.g. Gotschalg in his land of origin, Brandenburg),[7] in many cases they will have been in strange lands, which may explain why they appear to have been led round from village to village by

---

1 Fuchse, op.cit., p.396. 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.25r; one confessed the second time the year after the first (f.35r), and another c.10 times in 9 years (f.9v). 3 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.62. 4 Ibid., pp.48-9. 5 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, ff.3br, 9v; Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.46, 66 (and, p.54, a Brother from Weissenburg-in Swabia?); Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', p.79. This pattern suggests that fuller evidence from the former (and from other communities) would show what the latter shows, i.e. visits of Brothers from nearly all areas containing communities. 6 Hlaváček, 'Inkvisice', p.535, and Fuchse, Urkunden...Göttweig, pp.394, 396. 7 Kurze, op.cit., pp.80-1.

friends.

Once in a particular area, or town, Brothers went round various friends' houses. Certain itineraries appear for country areas: e.g. 2 Brothers visiting the Jindř.Hradec area c.1337 went first to V.Bednarec, then to another village and then split, one going to Počátky and the other to Jindř.Hradec.[1] The villages visited in Brandenburg in 1391-2 can be seen on map I.

Certain houses acted as centres where Brothers stayed, and to these numbers of friends came to hear the Brothers' sermons, and confess to them.[2] Their existence may be inferred anywhere where there were substantial communities of friends, and there are explicit references to their existence in villages in Brandenburg and Austria, and, among cities and towns, in Stettin, Prague, Regensburg, Donauwörth, Steyer, Fribourg, Strasbourg, Haguenau, and Mainz.[3]

The choice of these houses, and the manner of convention in them, was dictated by the primary condition of the Brothers' life, the need for secrecy. In Fribourg the two predominant houses in the early 15th century were a lodging-house on the Staden (the long series of steps leading up out of the Bourg) and an inn in

---

1 Hlaváček,'Inkvisice',p.535. 2 These houses were occasionally called 'scholae'(Pseudo-Reinerius,Gretser,col.264d-e) or 'schule' (Röhrich,Winkeler,pp.44,59,etc.). The nomenclature is probably that of the Church rather than the Waldensians - there seems to have been no instruction more formal than that given in sermons in these houses, and one friend, asked whether there was a special name for the place in which the Brothers held 'congregacionem', said she had not heard of any name from the Brothers(Frib.AE Geist. Sach.no.26,f.34v). 3 See ii above.

the new town, both owned by strong Waldensian f milies, and in Strasbourg the beerhouse of Hartmann and the beerhouse 'zum Hirtze' situated 'zwischen Brücken', again both owned by strong Waldensian families: all houses to which the Brothers, who came to Fribourg dressed as merchants or cloth-cutters, could come and stay without drawing undue attention upon themselves, and houses upon which numbers of friends could converge again without drawing undue attention upon themselves. Meetings were located in hidden parts of the house - an underground cellar (Fribourg, Donauwörth, villages near Jindř.Hradec, Brandenburg), the back of the house ('zum Hirtze' in Strasbourg), the secret room in a passage between the house and a stable (Jindř.Hradec area), etc. A number of meetings were normally held, with about half-a-dozen to a dozen present[1], rather than fewer meetings with more present, for the sake of secrecy.[2]

In some towns it appears that when Brothers arrived this information was confided to a few trustworthy friends, usually women, who then circulated among other friends telling them of this, and taking them to a house at a certain time. We are given a picture of one of the three such 'nuncie' in Fribourg at work,

---

1 Numbers in Hugo's in Fribourg on various occasions were 6,8,5, in Troger's 5 and 5 (Ochsenbein, Volksleben, pp.186,192,194,198,200, 283). Numbers at particular meetings do not survive in Strasbourg; 10 had been at various times in 'zum Hirtze', 6 at Hartmann's (Röhrich, Winkeler, pp.44,48,50,54,56-9,61-2,65-6,69). Representative figures of friends at meetings in Brandenburg are 4 (Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403,f.44^{v}), 12/13(68^{v}), 6/7(75^{v}), 14(82^{v}), 12(88^{v}), 20(96^{v}), 12(101^{r}), 12(105^{v}), 7(111^{v}), etc. 2 '...ut secrecius...propter hoc faciunt plurimas tales parvas congregaciones ne a cristianis possint perpendi et cognosci' (explanation of a Fribourg friend, Frib. AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.11^{r}).

circulating prior to a meeting at Troger's house on the Staden, going to a friend, and saying,'Venias quia boni gentes venerunt'.[1]

One of the meetings is described in detail: 5 friends came to the lodging house on the Staden one evening, met the two Brothers, one of whom was older and one younger, and together they went down the steps to the cellar, sat down there, and stayed for some time.[2] On such an occasion friends heard sermons,[3] confessed to the Brothers, and gave them small amounts of money.

Secrecy and the closely-knit structure of the communities dictated the way in which the organisation of this - lodging the Brothers, convening meetings in one's house, and collecting money for them - ran inside families. Take, for example, those mentioned in the example of a complex family network taken from Brandenburg. The Rudaw Ermgart mentioned had made his most recent confession in the house of Peter Gossaw in G.Wubiser;[4] Gossaw, whose parents were both friends, had the most important meeting-place in that village,[5] and lodged the Brothers, and his brother Herman also received Brothers and acted as a repository and collector of money intended for the Brothers.[6] Beyer, in whose house Ermgart had made his first confession, was of Waldensian parents,[7]

---

1 Ibid.,f.35^{r}(where this person is called 'nuncia'). A woman can be seen performing this role in Regensburg (Vienna Nat.Lib.Cod. 3748,f.153^{r}). 2 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.28^{v}-29^{r}. 3 Reported parts of these sermons are given in Ch.I. 4 Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf.348 Novi,f.20^{v}. 5 Ibid.,f.17^{v}. 6 Ibid.,f.9^{r} and Wattenbach,'Inquisition',p.22. 7 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.26^{r}.

and his brother Peter Beyer likewise received Brothers and had the most important meeting place in Bärwalde.[1] The Cremer mentioned in this example moved from Brücke to Mohrin, held the main meetings there till his death in 1376,[2] and then this role passed to his son-in-law, who held the main meetings in the 1380's and 90's;[3] one of the Cremer's daughters married[4] into the Wegener family whose house was one of the main meeting places in G.Wubiser.

In both towns and villages the pattern appears to have been this: a few houses in which there were regular meetings for sermons and accession of individual friends for confession and other houses to which they went mainly to hear the confessions of the family living there. In areas of country villages important villages had meeting houses: 9 out of the villages found in Austria in 1266 (one of which had ten meeting houses), at least two villages in the Jindř.Hradec area (in one of which three seem to have been the main meeting houses), and in the Brandenburg area as shown on map I. Friends from other villages converged on these houses,[5] though here again Brothers seem on occasion to have gone to some houses to hear the confessions only of the family there resident,[6] especially when one was making a confession to a Brother

---

1 See below. 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403,ff.33r,92r, and 126r (Cremer and his family); 7 mention confessions and 1 a sermon in his house. 3 Ibid.,f.56r(he received the Brothers for 9 years); 6 mention confessions and one a sermon in his house 1381-92. 4 Ibid.,f.126r. 5 E.g. 13 of the 44 who reported going to Gossaw's house in G.Wubiser to confess or hear sermons came from neighbouring villages, as also 4 of the 11 who went to Beyer's house in Bärwalde. 6 First confession 'in domo paterna' - where there is no other case of the house being used - is frequent in the Brandenburg processes.

for the first time.

The brevity of the Brothers' visits and the need for secrecy had two important effects: friends were generally led into the faith by friends, not Brothers (for reasons discussed below); secondly, in the house in which Brothers worked, sermons were given much more infrequently than confessions were heard. People could come singly to confess, without drawing the attention which the convention of larger numbers for a sermon would attract. A typical instance is the village of Bärwalde, where Peter Beyer's house was the main meeting-place: Brothers stayed here on at least three occasions, and the confessions of ten people in this house in 1391-2 are reported,[1] but no sermons were or could be given - as Beyer himself said, because of the neighbours.[2] The effects of both are discussed below.

b) Initiation, later confessions, and sermons

The occasion of a layman's first confession to a Brother appears to have marked the moment when he became a friend and subject to the pastorate of the Brothers. This is obviously true for the laymen who, not being born of Waldensian parents, were converted to the Waldensian faith and, in making their first confession, performed their first religious acts as friends. But what of a person born of Waldensian parents: was he in any sense

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.37^{r},Cod.Helmst.403,ff.35^{r},50^{v}, 53^{v},54^{v},59^{r},60^{r},61^{r},72^{v},74^{r},80^{r}. 2 Ibid.,f.80^{r}.

a friend before making his first confession to a Brother? Zwicker described such a friend as 'natus/a in secta', but the absence of any instruction or performance of religious acts in the Waldensian faith prior to first confession leads me to suspect that Zwicker intended to imply by this no more than the fact that such a person lived in the ambience of the families and society of friends and their ethos from birth. Zwicker's calculation when computing the numbers of years a person was a friend,'habens "x" annos in secta', confirms this, for he counted "x" as the number of years from first confession to the present.

The majority of those coming to their first confession to the Brothers in Brandenburg were the children of Waldensian parents or parent, as has been mentioned above. Age at first confession was low:- the youngest recorded in Brandenburg was 5 or 6,[1] and the usual range was 9-14; the average, for those both of whose parents were friends was 13.4,[2] Those figures available elsewhere suggest that Brandenburg was typical. Ages in Fribourg ranged from 9-12,[3] and in Strasbourg 13/14, 16, or 'childhood'.[4] The figures in Brandenburg cover the first confessions ranging from c.1319 to the 1390's, and do not suggest any significant alteration over the course of the century.

---

1 Ibid., f.72v. 2 My calculation, based on all processes in Brandenburg containing age at first confession of friends with such parentage. 3 Frib.AE Geist,Sach.no.26,ff.8r,16r,25r. 4 Röhrich, Winkeler,pp.58,54,56.

The remainder of those confessing for the first time fell into two categories. The first of these consisted of those who joined, in the first instance, through connexions with Waldensian families: through marrying a friend; or through entering a Waldensian household as lodger or servant. Secondly there were a small number making their first confessions who had no obvious ties, family or otherwise, with Waldensian families.

Although we cannot, of course, let windows into the souls of the people thus becoming friends, we can discern some of the factors which induced people in these categories to become friends. At one extreme we can see families putting pressure on unwilling children, husbands on unwilling wives, and households on unwilling servants to join. The pressure inside traditionally Waldensian families was probably considerable; the trials in Brandenburg afford several examples, such as that of a certain Hans Rudaw, whose Waldensian parents and Waldensian wife tried unsuccessfully to make him to confess to a Brother.[1] The case of Claus Spigilman of Baumgarten is similar. Coming from a Waldensian family he was led in, against his wishes, by someone whom he served, and he showed his reluctance later by confessing on only a few occasions.[2]

---

1 Wattenbach,'Inquisition',p.23. 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403, f.23^{v}; he confessed 3 times in 21 years. The Fribourg process shows 2 friends forcing their wives into the faith or obedience of its dictates (Ochsenbein,Volksleben,pp.286-7,222,260-1).

The numbers of those as reluctant as these were probably few. Their significane lies mainly in the support they afford to the impression given by the traditional nature of affiliation in many families, namely that there were some belonging to Waldensian families whose reasons for joining were probably nearer the centre of the scale, that is to say, that there were friends who joined as children mainly because it was expected of them by their families, with no particular reluctance but also with no particular enthusiasm.

Finally there were some at the other end of the scale, the fervent and enthusiastic. Among those were the small number who joined as adults and had no connexions with friends, coming to their first confession primarily and in the first instance through concern for their salvation. A good representative of these was the Brandenburg woman who, becoming pregnant and thinking of the possibility of death, became concerned about her salvation and came to confess to a Brother.[1] Among these there was a real conversion, at the level of faith and in their conduct of their normal lives. Alongside these one may place those who, joining as children, later showed that their adherence was no formal matter by taking, for example, a large part in organisation or returning to the faith after abjuration despite the practical certainty of death which would attend a second discovery.

The friend who led an initiate in was either a parent (or parents) or a near relative, or a friend living nearby, most fre-

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.7v.

quently a woman; it was never a Brother. This was for two reasons. First, the attempt at conversion of someone necessitated the exposure of secret matters to someone whose conversion would bring commitment to maintain their secrecy, whose refusal, on the other hand, would bring no such commitment. The dilemma can be seen in the words of a Fribourg friend to a possible convert: '...dum teneatis secreta, ego multa bona vobis dicam et ostendam' ('multa bona' being the existence of the Brothers, and their teachings).[1] Only someone with local knowledge, and aquaintance with the subject, could tackle this ticklish problem; in other words, a friend resident in the locality. The second reason was simply that the brevity of the Brothers' visits prevented them from doing any more than preaching and hearing the confessions of those who came or were brought to them. The author of the Cum Dormirent treatise was to taunt the Brothers with their inability to evangelise in person:- while the Brother is 'per mundum gyrante' his ministers are 'mulierculae', and it is these who lead new sheep to him on his visits. In not evangelising in person the Brother is not doing as the Apostles did, etc.[2]

The inductor/inductrix of the initiate did two things: give the initiate some instruction; and lead him or her to a house for confession to a visiting Brother. The instruction was part doctrinal, part moral. The initiate was told of the Brothers: their existence, holiness, and their power, greater than that of priests,

---

1 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.8v. 2 Gretser,col.280d-e.

to hear confessions and absolve from sins.[1] He was told that this was the true faith,[2] and that what the Brothers said, and confession to them, led to salvation.[3] The initiate was also instructed to amend his normal life: henceforth not to lie, swear or do ill.[4] A thorough conversion to a new moral life was called for: 'melius facere'; 'inchoare vitam meliorem'.[5] Finally the necessity of secrecy was instilled into the initiate;[6] on one occasion, the inducer told the initiate that he must marry one of the same faith.[7] The initiate was then led to a Brother and made his first confession.

From this point onwards a friend's affiliation to the Waldensian faith consisted, as far as religious acts are concerned, in confessing to the Brothers and hearing their sermons. The norm of frequency of confession appears to have been annual confession, a parallel of the norm of annual confession in the church. The majority of those tried in Brandenburg achieved or came near to this norm.[8] In 107 cases, 30 had confessed once a year, 43 gave a

---

1 E.g.'Narravit de heresiarchis, quomodo bene confitentur homines, et docerent veram viam'(Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi f.28^{v}); 'homines qui melius quam presbiteri ita quod fieret sicud ex utero nata est munda a peccatis'(Cod.Helmst.403,f.98^{v}); similar statements ibid.,ff.35^{r},45^{v},114^{r},116^{r},21^{r},26^{v}, and Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,ff. 14^{v},25^{r}. This, and following statements, are a composite from the Brandenburg processes. One example of the statement of an inductor in Fribourg - there come certain men 'qui nobis dicunt et predicant multa bona pro salvacione animarum nostrarum'(Frib.AE Geist.Sach. no.26,f.8^{v}) suggests that instruction elsewhere followed similar lines. 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf,348 Novi,f.29^{r},Cod.Helmst.403,f. 28^{r}. 3 Ibid.,ff.53^{v},64^{r},78^{v}; Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.17^{v}. 4 Ibid., ff.2^{r},3^{v},8^{v},9^{r},15^{v}; Cod.Helmst.403,ff.34^{r},37^{v},42^{v},100^{v},126^{r}. 5 Ibid.,ff.69^{v},22^{v}. 6 Ibid.,ff.61^{r},121^{r}. 7 See iv(a) above.

8 The following statistics are based on all the processes in Brandenburg from which I was able to derive the relevant information, (Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.1^{r}-38^{v},passim,and Cod.Helmst. 403,f.21^{v}-125^{v},passim). References are given for exceptions and extreme cases.

formula(e.g.'confession whenever the Brothers came','quando venerunt') which implied this, and eight came near to this, confessing once a year but occasionally once in two years; in all, 81 came into this category, confessing anually or nearly always annually. 26 confessed at substantially less frequent intervals, ranging from 9 confessions in 21 years to only 2 in 27 years or 5 in 42 years.[1] It should of course be noted that these examples are taken from localities where the frequency of Brothers' visits was annual; the norm of frequency of confessions may have been higher in an area more frequently visited.

Friends also listened to the Brothers' sermons, going in small groups to listen to what the Brothers preached, receiving it, 'cum summa attentione...licet...occulte et tempore noctis'.[2] Most friends heard Brothers' sermons much less frequently than they confessed, for reasons given above. For example, one Brandenburg friend who confessed annually for 38 years only heard 2 or 4 sermons from a Brother during this time.[3] A handful (in seven cases it is probable) heard sermons annually, the majority much less frequently. Among 63 who gave such details in Brandenburg the average

---

1 Cod.Helmst.403,ff.119^{r}; 89^{r}; 24^{v}. See also f.23^{v}(3 in 21),26^{r}(1 in 12),etc. Fribourg shows a similar pattern, with annual confession(c.10 in 9 years,2 in 2) and some falling away from this among the less assiduous(e.g.3 in 12,3/4 in 14,Ochsenbein,Volksleben,pp. 232,243;192). 2 Zwicker's letter,Friess,'Patarener',p.262.
3 Cod.Helmst.403,f.59^{r}. Other examples of this, the frequency of the hearing of sermons among those who confessed annually: 2 in 22 (76^{v}),1 in 15(77^{v}),1 in 3(79^{r}),3 in 14(117^{r}),3 in 30(123^{r}),etc.

frequency was one sermon in every 7.1 years. One friend had only heard one sermon in 40 years, another only two sermons in c.60 years,[1] and 20 had never heard sermons.

It can be seen that the friends' opportunities to receive doctrinal instruction from Brothers was severly restricted. Their first doctrinal instruction, at the time of first confession, was normally given by another friend rather than a Brother, and the hearing of sermons - the main means of receiving instruction from the Brothers - was generally very infrequent.

As we shall see, both this and the formal nature of the adherence of some friends had significant bearing on the clarity and depth with which many friends held the Brothers' beliefs.

vi) Religious life in the Church

For obvious reasons the external religious observance of a friend was that of any ordinary layman, and in the infrequent instances where it was not (e.g. omission of submission to being confirmed by a few friends in Brandenburg,[2] less frequent attendance of mass in Strasbourg and the Jindř.Hradec area)[3] this was presumably in areas where such derogations from the norm could go unnoticed.

The friend participated in much of this fictitiously: 'ne notentur',[4] 'propter homines', 'schiemes willen'.[5] However, in some

---

1 Ibid.,ff.61r,30r. 2 Wattenbach,'Inquisition',pp.31,52,55.
3 Röhrich,Winkeler,p.40; Fuchse,Urkunden...Göttweig,p.395.
4 These phrases occur in the articles appended to the Vita et Conversacio,Zwicker's letter of 1395, throughout the Brandenburg processes, and elsewhere. 5 Röhrich,Winkeler,pp.40-1.

of the Church's cult the friend participated whole-heartedly, and there were some parts of his observance which fell between these two extremes - acts whose core was accepted while some accompanying usages were notionally rejected, and acts whose significance was transformed, on the instruction of Brothers, by a mental reservation. It is impossible to trace the delicate and varying lines of the consciences of individual friends when participating in this manner in the cult of the Church, but one can, through an examination of the public religious career of a friend, indicate the broad outlines of the norm.

A friend was baptised in Church. The sacrament was regarded as essential, and was received from priests, though the Brothers' beliefs about accompanying usages (e.g. exorcism, blessed water) suggest the possibility of mental reservations about these. The friend then proceded to confession, for appearances sake - as one Strasbourg friend said, to prevent people becoming suspicious and saying 'So-and-so confesses to no-one etc.'[1], and his confession was partial, of venial sins only ('cleinen...stücke')[2], and omitting all reference to matters touching Waldensian faith. However, the act was not totally devoid of significance, for friends held that priests had some power in this area (less than that of the Brothers)

---

1 Ibid.,p.39. 2 Ut supra. One question in the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise-whether or not the Brothers encouraged confession 'integraliter' to priests - suggests that this practice of partial confession went back to the mid-13th century, Gretser,col.274a. See also the articles appended to the Vita et Conversacio(Friess,'Patarener' p.261), where it is suggested that Brothers taught friends not to confess graver sins in order not to be sent on to the bishop.

and it was held that in cases of necessity one could resort to a priest(i.e. for genuine confession).[1]

Friends received the Eucharist in Church, from priests, and they were urged by Brothers to do this with devotion, and humbly; this was genuine, as was also the solemnisation of friends' marriages in Church. Confirmation, on the other hand, was a ceremony undergone while being completely mentally rejected.

Going to Church to hear mass showed the friends' attitudes at the most complex. The building itself was not regarded as better than any unconsecrated building for the worship of God. Going into it a friend sprinkled himself with holy water, as others, though he rejected the notion that such aspersion washed away venial sins.[2] Once in Church he did as other men, kissing a cross if told to do so by a priest (while holding that this was valueless),[3] or kissing relics (to the praise of God, not of the saints), genuflecting, joining in singing, and so on, while mentally rejecting these. On the other hand, the core of the mass - the words of consecration, and reception of communion - were accepted with no reservation by the friend. This was the attitude at the basis of one friend's statement - that men ought to leave after the elevation and not wait for the end of mass.[4]

On the occasions of the three high feasts and Sundays the friend's participation was straightforward: with the qualificat-

---

1 For this, and other sacraments, see Ch.I. 2 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', pp.31,59. 3 Ibid., p.63. 4 Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.184.

ions mentioned above, he believed these should be celebrated.[1] The opposite was the case with regard to all the cult of the Church devoted to the BVM and the saints, and offerings for the souls of the dead. The religious significance of the friend's participation in these vigils, masses, and prayers was transformed by a mental reservation: these were all 'ad laudem solius Dei' and, in the case of the cult of saints, at most 'ad recordacionem eorum'.[2]

Finally, a friend was buried in the parish cemetery[3] - a location which his relatives, if they were friends, held was of no more value than an unconsecrated field.

It is difficult for us to draw this line between the various types of participation - totally fictitious, transformed actions, genuine actions with accompanying mental reservations, and wholehearted actions. It is easy to see how inquisitors, equipped with a 'type' of the heretic which dictated the contrast between his appearance and reality, could, once they perceived the element of pretence in the friends' participation, dismiss all this participation as fictitious, and hold to this inaccurate picture for as long as they did.

vii) Piety and beliefs

a) Piety and charity

Much of the tenor of the friends' piety must be inferred from

---

1 E.g. Röhrich, Winkeler, p.38. 2 In the Vita et Conversacio and Zwicker's letter of 1395 (Friess, 'Patarener', pp.261,263), and throughout the Brandenburg processes. 3 Zwicker's questions about burial locations in Brandenburg always elicited references to parish cemeteries.

their attraction to the Brothers and their teachings. They saw in the Brothers holy men -'su heilige lute worent, und ein heilig göttlich leben furtent'.[1] They were 'les bonne gens' to friends in Fribourg, 'boni', 'sancti' and 'justi' in Brandenburg.[2] They were poor, they were chaste, and they fasted much,[3] and the counterpart of their own austerity was the severity of the penances they imposed. Their teachings were of fundamentalist simplicity, reducing cult to an essential core, emphasising the real performance by the christian himself of acts of grace, prayer, etc. They abhorred ostentation, preferred sobriety, and showed a notable austerity in the area of sexual morality.

The men and women who followed these were merchants, clothiers, small artisans, peasants, etc., reading - in perhaps a few cases - scripture in the vernacular and, when carrying out the Brothers' penances, fasting and praying heavily. One can cite straws pointing to the cultivation of certain sober virtues - the expectation of high standards of sexual morality, restraint in dress, and, possibly, hard work; a friend being shocked when hearing of the dispensation of laicisation being granted to a priest merely in order to allow him to marry,[4] two women who were friends reproving another friend for the shortness of his doublet - 'es

---

1 Röhrich,Winkeler,p.60; see similar statements on pp.53,61.
2 See (b) below. 3 These phrases occur in friends' statements in Brandenburg and Fribourg. 4 Röhrich,Winkeler,p.45.

were ein unrechtvertig man mit sinem kurtzen kleidern'[1] - and friends' working on saints' days,[2] which may reflect more than their rejection of this cult. 'Si non laboras non manducabis, quia qui non laborat non manducat' were the stern words of injunction to work addressed by one friend[3] to his wife.

The ethos and practice of one act of mercy, charity to the poor, seems to have had a predominant place in their minds and actions. It was better to clothe the poor than to ornament Churches;[4] one best merited indulgences by giving alms to the poor at one's front door[5] - by giving to those described by one friend as the 'pauperes gentes que habent in hoc mundo tribulaciones et labores'.[6] Many instances of the practice of such charity can be given - a friend in Bärwalde in Brandenburg collecting money partly for the Brothers, and partly to give to the poor,[7] a Fribourg friend giving much alms to the poor,[8] etc.

The career of the wealthy Waldensian merchant, Willi Mossu, illustrates this emphasis on practical charity in interesting fashion. Willi was one of the most prominent people in Fribourg: son of a tanner[9] who was a citizen, he himself became a citizen in 1396,[10] and served on four occasions on council between 1415 and 1431.[11] His family belonged to the 16 richest in the tax assessment of 1445. There are traces of his commercial activity with other

---

Ibid. p.44.

1 Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.286; Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col.266a. 3 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.14r. 4 Pseudo-Reinerius, Gretser, col. 266b; see also 273h. 5 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.61. 6 Frib. AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.17r; see also f.14r - 'bene est dandum... Cristi pauperibus'. 7 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403, f.80r. 8 Ochsenbein, Volksleben, p.330. 9 Frib.AE Reg.Not.11, f.6v. 10 Reg. B I, f.89v. 11 Ibid.

towns in NW Switzerland and southern Germany in the second decade of the century.[1] He seems to have spent the prime of his life directing lay charitable organisations in Fribourg. For three terms he was rector of the Hospital of the Poor and Infirm, a lay organisation for the reception of the ill, aged, orphans, etc. (1416-8,1420-3,1426-9).[2] This was subject, ultimately, to the council, and was normally administered by an affluent man-of-affairs who was willing to do this for a return which was not lucrative (£10 p.a. and lodging in the Hospital).[3] Will was also rector for four terms of a confraternity which supplemented the revenues of the Hospital and provided parish assistance.[4] During this period he became a friend, though his career in this area is a little shadowy. He and his wife were among those who were accused of affiliation in 1399 and successfully defended themselves, but it is clear from the 1430 proceedings that he had been a friend, for at this date it was stated that the priest W.Studer (whose mother and brothers and sisters were friends) had led him back into the Church.[5] Whatever the motive for this return - prudence?- his Waldensian sympathies clearly continued, for he paid the enormous fine of £400 on behalf of a poorer friend tried in 1430,[6] and in his will he left money not only to relations but also to

---

1 Notariatsregistern von Freiburg,nos.711-9,744. 2 Frib.AE Hospital II,199. For this institution, see J.Niquille,L'Hôpital de Notre-Dame à Fribourg(Fribourg,1921). 3 Niquille,op.cit.,pp.12, 34-5. 4 Frib.AE Procerum Tabula: the dates were 1419,1423,1424, 1425. 5 Ochsenbein,Volksleben,pp.223-4; see also p.229. 6 Ibid. p.240.

one accused of affiliation in 1399, one named in 1430, and the sons of a dead friend.[1] The contents of this will - the only will of a friend or sometime friend from this period - show Mossu's concerns in a clear light. Fribourg wills of this period normally contain, apart from family bequests, the following: provision for burial, provision for the celebration of masses on anniversaries of the deaths of the testator and his ancestors; bequests to religious houses; and bequests to charitable institutions.[2] The balance of Mossu's provisions, within this framework, is significant. The second clause (masses for the dead on anniversaries, normally long and detailed, is replaced by the vague 'meo et meorum anniversario...bene et laudabiliter ut mos est faciendo'.[3] The usual balance between the third and fourth (larger bequests to religious houses, smaller to charitable institutions) is reversed: small amounts are given to the former - to the Franciscans and Augustinians in Fribourg, £10 each[4] - and these are exceeded by the £40 given to the leper-house in Bourguillon[5] and (probably) the bequest of immovables to Mossu's special concern, the Hospital.[6] Finally, there is a provision which shows most directly Mossu's private and personal concern to give to the poor - a provision for

---

1 His will appears in Frib.AE Reg.Not.32, f.100^{r}-109^{r}. There are bequests to Marmet Chastel, the sons of Hensli Ferwer, and J.Bratza (see (c) above for these), ff.104^{r},105^{v}. See iv (a) above for the convention of testamentary dispositions to other friends. 2 I have used other contemporary wills entered in the same register as standards for comparison. 3 Ibid., f.100^{v}. 4 Ibid., f.104^{r}. 5 Ibid., f.102^{v}. Waldensian concern in this area is illustrated by the fact that they were running leper-houses in Neuhofen in the 13th century (Nickson, 'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.295). 6 Ibid., f.101^{r}.

distribution of good wine and 10 shillings worth of bread to the poor on Christmas Eve at the house of his father in the Au, 'prout ab antiquo ego dictus Willinus testator consuevi feci (sic)'.[1] Experienced in trade, wealthy, and holding high office; prudent in his own religious affiliation, yet continuing to help friends with his money; concerned administratively, and not for personal gain, with the care of the poor and the sick, and concerned directly and personally in charity to the poor; a man who did not believe in masses for the dead, and held that giving money to a leper-house was more important than giving money to a religious house: thus Willi, a representative of the prosperous urban friends of the late 14th and early 15th centuries.

vii(b) The beliefs of the friends

When looking at the beliefs of the friends in trial records and - less reliably - lists of articles attributed to them, we seem in some cases to be looking at the Brothers' beliefs through a clear glass, in others through a dirty glass, and in yet other cases through a darkened and distorting glass.

The depositions of some friends show a very clear and sharp understanding of the Brothers' positions. Some friends in Brandenburg knew of the source of the Brothers' authority in ordination by other Brothers, and some friends in Strasbourg knew not only this but conditions of entry to the Order, the form of the ceremony itself, and (in one case) some of the 'history' upon which

---

1 Ibid., f.105r.

this rested.[1] The range of the Brothers' tenets on purgatory, the BVM and saints' lack of intercessory powers, etc., described in Ch.I, are reported with complete clarity and apparent comprehension.

Beyond these are a group whose comprehension was less clear. The familiar range of tenets on purgatory, etc., are repeated, but sometimes in a slightly blurred fashion. Many among these held the Brothers' personal sanctity to be the sole condition of their authority, which was received from God 'inmediate'. Occasionally some tenets are held in reverse, or Catholic tenets (on points upon which the Brothers held different positions) mingled with Waldensian tenets.

Finally there was a third group, among whom we find the profession of wildly aberrant beliefs, among which the most prominent was the belief that some of the Brothers paid annual or septennial visits to paradise to receive authority there from God or an angel.

A view of the beliefs of the Brothers in several dimensions - held in a pure manner by the Brothers themselves, and becoming blurred and then distorted as they percolated down various levels of friends - serves in general to explain this pattern, and certain features in the character of the friends and the conditions under which they received doctrinal instruction serve to explain some of its particulars.

---

1 See part II,v.

Two features of the character of the friends are relevant here.[1] First, their commitment to the Waldensian faith was by definition slighter than that of the Brothers, since they were men and women who had not given up family and possessions to follow Christ. Among them were a few who were reluctant adherents, pressed in by their families and participating as little as possible, and after these an even greater number whose affiliation owed more to family tradition than enthusiasm. This surely affected their beliefs - would one expect the layman whose religion is not a matter of enthusiasm to be able, under questioning, to enunciate the 39 articles with as much clarity as his vicar?

It is necessary to state another obvious point, that they varied considerably in their capacity to understand doctrine. The inquisitor Zwicker qualified a list of Waldensian articles with the statement that these were held 'pro suis capacibus(!) plus vel minus'.[2] At one end of the spectrum were friends whose literacy and familiarity with matters of doctrine made them comprehend the Brothers' positions readily. Among these should probably be placed the few female religious we see among the friends, and certainly the friend in Fribourg who fed her faith with the reading of devotional literature, a woman who possessed the Gospels

---

1 I am elaborating this and other points below because of the tendency of some modern historians of heresy when finding a process or list of articles containing a somewhat mixed bag of beliefs to talk of 'heretical syncretism' before considering the conditions which may have produced in adherents of a heresy a syncretism not necessarily present in the preachers of the heresy. 2 Friess, 'Patarener',p.266.

in German, 'expositiones evangeliorum et epistolarum Beati Pauli', dogmatic material showing the inutility of offerings, masses, and acts of charity for the dead, and 'alia bona'.[1] At the other end of the spectrum were those whose illiteracy or stupidity prevented from having any more than a superficial understanding of the Brothers' positions, or brought them to a complete misunderstanding of these - such as the friend who claimed to invoke the Virgin Mary on the instruction of a Brother;[2] the friends who persisted in praying for the dead while rejecting purgatory;[3] the friend from Fribourg who said she had understood nothing from her confession to a Brother;[4] and those in Brandenburg whom Zwicker ceased, after preliminary questions, to interrogate, because their stupidity made it pointless to question them further on matters of doctrine - one, for example, who was 'stolidus, rudis, ignarus', and another who was 'simplicem...nec fortiter in aliis articulis radicatam'.[5]

The conditions under which the friends received doctrinal instruction had a significant bearing on their beliefs, and the range and form of these. First of all they were exposed to two systems of instruction, on the one hand that of the Church, and on the other hand that of the Brothers and other friends. Their commitment to the Church might be slighter, and in some ways questionable, but they did in some areas still hold to its teaching

---

1 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26,f.2^{v},3^{r},7^{r},35^{v},49^{v}. 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403,f.16^{v}. 3 E.g.,ibid.,ff.66^{r},91^{v},91^{r}, and Cod.Guelf. 348 Novi,ff.17^{r},30^{r},38^{r}. One explained,'sic,quia in ecclesia audiverit exhortaciones fieri pro defunctis'(f.17^{r}). 4 Ochsenbein, Volksleben,p.198. 5 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403,ff.23^{v},25^{r}; see Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.36^{v} -'quia stolidus fuit et simplex Inquisitor alios articulos pertransiit'.

and sacramental ministration, and it was present, in the form of the parish priest and his sermons, throughout the year, whereas in most communities and to most friends the Brothers were availa-ble, at best, for one furtive meeting each year. It was inevitable that some admixture of the Church's teachings on disputed points should occur, and it did. Two friends in Brandenburg believed that confirmation was a sacrament.[1] Two believed that St. Bartholomew did have power to intercede.[2] One went on pilgrimage to Rome, though instructed by Brothers not to do so.[3] One Fribourg and one Brandenburg friend believed that indulgences were of value.[4] The practice mentioned above, of continuing to pray for the dead while rejecting purgatory can be explained by the simultaneous influence on people unable or unwilling to comprehend the logical consequence, in religious practice, of a particular doctrine, of both the Brothers' teaching and the omnipresent example of all in the cult of the Church which was directed towards intercession for souls in purgatory - and, in this instance, the ties of natural affection. The two systems, which led in this instance to incompatible belief and practice, could result, in the most extreme cases, to the simultaneous profession of a belief and its opposite, of which the best example is that of a friend in Brandenburg who professed to believe (on the Church's instruction) that

---

1 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition',p.52. 2 Ibid.,p.53. 3 Ibid.,p.61.
4 Ibid.,p.61, and Ochsenbein,Volksleben,p.226.

blessed water did help to wash away sins, and, on the instruction of the Brothers, that it did not.[1] It also led in some cases to some strange aping of Catholic practice - praying 'pro mortuis in secta'[2], or the action of the widower who gave the Brothers 7 marks to pray for the soul of his wife.[3]

Secondly, opportunities to receive instruction directly from the Brothers varied considerably, but were in many cases very restricted. A few, those who regularly lodged the Brothers and held meetings in their own houses, had extensive access to the Brothers and a good chance to get to know them, learn about their way of life, and receive informal instruction. For most access was severly restricted. We have seen that for various reasons induction into the faith was performed by friends rather than Brothers, and therefore first instruction was received more generally from the former. Instruction could be, and was, spasmodically given in confession (which, in most areas, could be annual, but was often, for individual friends, less frequent), but of course the regular method of receiving instruction was through sermons, and for most friends these were extremely infrequent. We have seen above that in Brandenburg there was an average of one sermon in every 7 or more years, and that in some cases this could be one in 27, or a handful in over 40 years. This lack of instruction was supplemented by a poorer source - other friends, who, as I have said, gave

---

1 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403,f.66r. 2 Ibid.,f.99r. 3 Ibid.,f.85r.

instruction prior to the first confession, or simply talked of their tenets at a later date. Such statements as 'audiverit ab hominibus secte' or 'a quadam muliere' qualifying friends' statements in trial records indicate this sort of basis.

Such slightness of contact with the Brothers and their instruction, replaced by mediated instruction or hearsay, were some of the conditions in in which the Brothers' beliefs, percolating down various levels in communities, could become diluted, distorted, and finally, wildly aberrant. The example of one area of belief and knowledge - the source of the Brothers' authority - and one community - that in Brandenburg - provides some support for my argument that distance and greater distance from the Brothers among individual friends helped to produce dilution and distortion of their ideas. Let us look at 172 processes in which we can gather friends' views in this area. They fall into three groups, - one of friends with clear and accurate ideas in this area, one whose views were blurred, and a third whose views were extremely aberrant. In the first there were only 6.[3 of these knew that authority was received through ordination by other Brothers,[1] two that these Orders went back to the Apostles,[2] and one simply that the Brothers were ordained.[3] These had had very close access to the Brothers. 2 of the 3 who knew of ordination

---

1 Ibid., ff.66^{v}, 80^{r}, 104^{v}. 2 Ibid., f.48^{v}, and Cod.Guelf.348 Novi, f.18^{v}. 3 Cod.Helmst.403, f.38^{r}.

by other Brothers were the Beyer brothers, both of whom lodged the Brothers year by year in Bärwalde and Gräfendorf, held meetings in their houses, and together formed the family which played the most important role in organisation in this area. The two who knew of the succession of Orders back to the Apostles were similarly friends with considerable contact with the Brothers, lodging them, and holding meetings in their houses.[1]

The second group, the majority, appear not to have known of the ordination of Orders of the Brothers. To them the Brothers were good men, 'boni', 'sancti', 'justi', etc., not priests, and they received their power from God, 'inmediate' (explicitly in 4 cases[2] and by implication in the remainder). The implication - that authority was received solely by virtue of the Brothers' personal goodness and the life they followed[3] - was ironically more radical than the position of the Brothers themselves. Most of these were friends whose access to the Brothers, while not negligible, was less than that of the friends in the first group.

A third group, numbering 19, held the aberrant belief that certain of the Brothers made annual or septennial visits to heaven to receive authority there[4] - a belief also reported among friends tried in

---

1 One of the other two had received the Brothers in her house, and her brother lodged them. The sixth does not seem to have received the Brothers, but she evidently had a sharp and clear memory - she was able to quote the opening of a Brothers' sermon (Cod.Helmst. 403,f.104^{v}). 2 Ibid.,ff.101^{r},109^{r},30^{v}, and Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f. 16^{v}. 3 this was also the position of Fribourg friends, none of whom appear to have known about the Brothers' ordination. 4 Cod. Guelf348 Novi,ff.30^{r},37^{r}, and Cod.Helmst.403,ff.40^{v},60^{r},69^{v},105^{v}, 108^{v},113^{r},114^{r},115^{r},116^{r},117^{r},120^{r},121^{r},122^{r},123^{r},124^{r},24^{r},25^{v}.

Krems in 1315. Those who held this belief were generally friends who had received negligible instruction from the Brothers. One may cite one who had heard three of their sermons in 26 years, and another who had heard 2 in 21 years.[1] The case of the friend who gave the most elaborate version of this belief - visits to heaven preceded in this instance by visits to hell - is significant: in all of 21 years he had confessed to the Brothers only three times, and heard only one sermon from them, and his belief was explicitly based not on their instruction but hearsay, heard 'a quadam muliere'.[2]

In this instance distance from the Brothers was one condition. Other conditions were probably the nature of the Brothers' appearances, the powers with which they were vested, and superstitions about them and their powers. To some they were identified with the Apostles or disciples:[3] they were 12 or 72 in number, and these numbers were maintained - as one Fribourg friend said, when one died, another was put in his place.[4] Their appearances were strange - annual appearances in an ambience of secrecy and furtiveness, and their doings at other times of the year, when they were journeying 'per universum mundi'- 'affter landen an der zwölf botten stat',[5]

---

1 Ibid., ff.108v, 123r. The correlation is not perfect: three had received the Brothers, but one of these only held this tenet in attenuated form, and two had had little direct instruction (one 3 sermons in 26 years, the other none in 20 years.) 2 Cod.Helmst. 403, f.24r. Another said that she had heard this ('audiverit'), ibid., f.115r. 3 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.52, and Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no. 26, f.13v. 4 Ibid., f.13v. 5 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.52.

were shrouded in mystery. Further they were vested with extraordinary power, so great that anyone who died in a year in which he had confessed to them would be assured of salvation, and this power was received, many thought, from God 'inmediate'. The confluence of these - belief in their extraordinary power over the salvation of souls, and the knowledge that, between each secret annual appearance they travelled enormous distances, through the lands of the earth, and the belief that they received power directly from God - led, especially among those friends to whom the Brothers were distant figures, heard perhaps once in a decade, to the legend that they visited paradise, and did this, as the pattern of their earthly visits suggested, at regular intervals; and the legend persisted, passed on at least in some instances, by hearsay among the friends.

It is possible to argue that the combination of such aberrant beliefs among a minority of friends, when reported in trial records, and the desire by writers in the Church, in treatises intended to warn of the danger of heresy, to put the positions of a heresy in an extreme way in order to induce abhorrence in the reader, could lead to the composition of such distorted accounts of the Waldensian heresy as the report of the 1315 inquisition in Krems, discussed in the Introduction.

Part II

The Correspondence

The correspondence: table of events, documents, and abbreviations[1]

	Date	Abbrev-iation
1) The Liber Electorum, a document written by Piedmontese Waldensians, which gives an account of the history of the Church and the Waldensian Order. It is extant in Latin and Piedmontese versions.	c.1335-1350's	LE
2) The Latin version of the LE reaches Brothers in Austria.	Prior to c.1365/7.	
3) A group of Brothers, probably for the most part Austrian and under the leadership of John Leser and Siegfried, revert to the Church.	c.1365/7.	
A fragment from their depositions survives.		CJL
4) These renegade Brothers write to their former confreres in Austria, attacking their way of life and the historical validity of the LE, and urging them to revert to the Church. This is not extant, but some of its contents can be reconstructed from references in the EFA* repeated in the EFI I and references in the EFI III* repeated in the RS.		EFC*
5) After the Austrian Brothers' reception of the EFC* Brothers from their community in St Peter-in-der-Awe write to Brothers in Italy reporting the conversion and the attack of the EFC*; and requesting help. This is not extant, but some of its contents may be reconstructed from the same sources as the EFC*.		EFA*
6) Italian Brothers, in answer to the EFA*, write to the Austrian Brothers at St Peter-in-der-Awe, refuting the points of the EFC* (reported in the EFA*),		EFI I

---

1 An asterisk after an abbreviation indicates that the document is no longer extant; conjectural reconstructions are given in iv below.

and defending,and in some cases extending,the historical claims of the LE.

7) Brothers,probably Italian,write to the renegade Brother John Leser and his companions,attacking their conversion,defending the Waldensian position, and exhorting them to return to the Brothers. This is not extant,but some of its contents may be reconstructed from references to it in the EJL I. — EFI II*

8) The renegade Brother John Leser replies to the EFI II*,on behalf of himself and his companions, defending his conversion and attacking the Waldensian position,including the claims of the LE. — 1368 — EJL I

9) The Italian Brothers write to the renegade Brother Siegfried,attacking his conversion and defending the Waldensian position. This is not extant,but some of its contents may be reconstructed from references to it in the RS. — EFI III*

10) The renegade Brother Siegfried replies to the EFI III*, defending his conversion and attacking the Waldensian position,including the claims of the LE. — RS

11) The renegade Brother John Leser writes a short treatise attacking the Waldensian position in general,and those of the LE in particular. — c.1370-1378. — EJL II

12) A selection of documents relating to the conversion and correspondence is made -LE,CJL,EFI I,EJL I,RS, and EJL II- and mss. of all or parts of this selection are copied and circulate from the 1370's to the early fifteenth century,mainly in Upper and Lower Austria.

The correspondence

i) Previous literature

After languishing in obscurity for over four centuries the correspondence began to come to light again in the second half of the 19th century. Charles Schmidt discovered a Strasbourg ms. of the LE and in 1852 published a transcript of it[1]. Henry Bradshaw found a Piedmontese version of this text in a Cambridge ms. and,unaware of the Latin version, published a transcript in 1864[2], extracts from which were reprinted by Pius Melia in 1870[3]. The Waldensian historian Emilio Comba saw the connection between Schmidt's text and the extracts from the Piedmontese version given by Melia, and reproduced parts of both versions en face in 1881[4]. Karl Müller discovered the St Florian ms. of the correspondence and devoted a few pages to it in the study of the Waldensians which he published in 1886[5]. He also sent a transcript of this ms. to Comba, who used it as the basis for French and Italian translations of the EFI I and quotations from the EJL I and RS which first appeared in publications of 1887[6]. Ignaz von Döllinger,apparently working independently and unaware of these discoveries,found one of the Klosterneuburg mss. of the correspondence[7], and in 1890 published transcripts made from this ms. of

---

1 C.Schmidt,'Actenstücke besonders zur Geschichte der Waldenser', Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie,XXII,1852,pp.238-42. 2 H. Bradshaw,'The lost Waldensian Manuscripts',Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society,II,1864,pp.212-6. 3 P.Melia,The origin,persecutions and doctrines of the Waldenses,London,1870,pp.49-51. 4 E.Comba,Storia della Riforma in Italia I: Introduzione,Florence,1881,pp.539-41; he also reprinted Schmidt's text in 'Un frammento latino sopra l'origihe de' Valdesi',La Rivista Cristiana,March 1887,pp.91-4,and a French translation of part of it in Histoire des Vaudois...Avant la Réforme,Turin 1887,pp.19-20. See n.6 below. 5 K.Müller,Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts,Gotha,1886,pp.103-7. 6 Italian translation in 'Lettera inedita etc.',La Rivista Cristiana,February and March 1887,pp.65-8 and 120-6,and French translation in Histoire des Vaudois etc.(cited in n.4 above),pp.243-5. These and the texts noted in n.4 above continued to appear in later editions and translations of Comba's publications and later works written by him. 7 Ms. B1 (no.5) in the list below.

of the texts of the CJL,LE and EFI I and a short extract from the EJL I[1]. The value of the edition is lessened by the large deliberate omissions in the text of the EFI I,and the considerable numbers of mistranscriptions and lacunae in all the texts which often seriously affect,and sometimes totally obscure,their sense[2]. The matter rested thus until after the second world war when the Waldensian historian Giovanni Gonnet published short extracts from the EJL I and RS on the basis of a text prepared from three or four mss. by the Czech historian Amedeo Molnár[3]. The largest step forward was taken in 1954 when the Dominicans T.Kaeppeli and A. Zaninović published a note on the correspondence occasioned by the discovery of another ms. of it in the Dominican convent of Dubrovnik,of which Fr Zaninović is the librarian[4]. In this the Dominicans noted most of the mss. of the correspondence (nos.2-10,13-4,and 16 in the list given below),and briefly outlined the relationship of the LE,the conversion,and the correspondence. Since this date Gonnet has written on several occasions on the correspondence[5].

The starting point of this edition is the work of Fr Kaeppeli and Fr Zaninović. I must thank Fr Kaeppeli for giving me permission to take over work on these texts, and Fr Zaninović for allowing me to photograph the Dubrovnik ms.

---

1 Dokumente,pp.352-62. 2 A few examples from the LE: virore is transcribed as virtute,responso as viso,aliquando as alii,vero as iis,etc. 3 G.Gonnet,La Protesta Valdese da Lione a Chanforan I (reprint from typescript),Rome,1951,pp.296-310. References to Klosterneuburg CC 826 and St Florian XI 152 are conflated,and thus the number of mss. at the basis of these extracts (for which variants are not given) is not clear. 4 T.kaeppeli and A.Zaninović,'Traités anti-Vaudois etc.',AFP,XXIV,1954, pp.297-305. 5 The most substantial of these is 'I Valdesi d'Austria nella seconda metà del secolo XIV',BSSV,CXI,1962,pp.1-41,and the most recent Le Confessioni di fede Valdesi prima della Riforma,Turin,1967,ch.IV.

ii (a) The edition

The correspondence comprises six elements - the LE, CJL, EFI I, EJL I, RS and EJL II - which survive together, or less completely, or singly in 16 latin mss. In addition to these mss. the transcript of one latin ms. which has been destroyed[1] and the ms. of a Piedmontese version of the first element (the LE) survive. All these are listed in ii (b) below.

In preparing this edition I have collated all the latin mss., and have compared the latin mss. of the LE with the Piedmontese version of the LE as it is given in Bradshaw's edition. On the basis of this collation I have allocated the latin mss. to groups - with the exception of ms. E, which I found too short for a collation to indicate to which group it belongs -, but I have not constructed a stemma. B1, the only ms. to contain all the elements of the correspondence, has been chosen as the basis of the printed texts given here, with one exception: one element, the RS, is only present in complete form in the mss. of group D, and therefore the best ms. of this group, D1, has been chosen as the basis for the printed text of the RS.

I have tried, when preparing the printed texts, to combine the two aims of providing intelligible texts and preserving the character of the ms. used in each case as a base. Each printed text follows the word-order and spelling of the ms. used as its base; spelling is inconsistent where that of the ms. is inconsistent. Where the printed text deviates from the ms. used as its base the latter's reading is indicated among the variants from other mss. in the footnotes. In one case, that of the short and cryptic CJL, I decided to present a printed text which does not deviate from the ms. used as the base. The names of canonical books contracted in the ms. and the abbreviation 'etc.' have been left unexpanded. I

---

1 The transcript of this ms. has been treated, for the purposes of textual comparison, as another ms., and therefore for the sake of convenience and brevity it is subsumed under the description 'mss.' in this section.

have tried to indicate the sources of quotations and allusions which occur in the texts; in a few cases where I have not been able to locate the source of a quotation I have indicated this in the footnotes. Since much of these texts is composed of a patchwork of quotations and allusions it is probable that there are a few of these which I have not noticed. The notes of quotations - always the second body of notes at the foot of each page of printed text - also include the identification of certain persons, places or themes occurring in the text, and cross-references to other surviving elements in the correspondence; they do not, however, include references to lost elements in the correspondence -- these references are collected and collated in the conjectural reconstruction of these lost elements to be found in section iv.

In the first body of notes at the foot of each page of printed text I have given variant readings from all other latin mss. Variations in spelling which do not affect sense are not normally included, nor variations between Arabic and Roman numeration;[1] variations in word-order are not noted; with these exceptions I have tried to note the bulk of variant readings in other latin mss.[2] In addition to these I have given indications of the Piedmontese version of the LE (as it is given in Bradshaw's edition) among the latin variants of the LE: where it provides the equivalent reading of a variant or variants against the printed text this fact is indicated, and where it provides the equivalent neither of the printed text nor a variant or variants it is quoted.

The following conventions and symbols are followed in the footnotes. Numbers appearing before variant readings in the

---

1 Such a distinction sometimes appears in a variant which notes a distinction between different numbers or between ordinals and cardinals (e.g. XV)15° C1 D1), but the Roman or Arabic numerals given as the variant may only appear in the first of the noted variant mss., e.g. only in C1 in the example given. 2 The range (and possibly the accuracy) of these have been affected by the quality of photographic reproductions of mss. - very poor in the cases of B2 and Bc - and the fact that a microfilm of C2 was not available for re-checking.

the first body of notes at the foot of each page are references to the line numbers given on the left-hand side of the page. The number or numbers constitute the line or lines in which the word or phrase in question occurs; where a word occurs several times in a line and it is in question on one occasion of appearance a note is inserted after the variant (e.g. (1st), (2nd), (3rd)). References to the correspondence which occur among the second body of footnotes -footnotes to quotations, etc. - are always, as such references are also when given elsewhere in the thesis, references to the page and line numbers given on the right-hand side of the pages of printed text.

The following are abbreviations and symbols used in the variant notes:-

)	⊖	instead of
om	=	omitted
omn	=	all mss.
cett	=	all mss. except the ms. used as the base for the text
conj	=	conjectural reading appearing in no ms.
...	=	the whole passage from the word printed before the three dots up to (and including) the word printed after them
=Pied	=	(in the case of the LE) agreement with the Piedmontese equivalent
bis	=	repeated
+	=	adds

ii (b) Manuscripts of the correspondence

Elements of the correspondence are or were extant in the mss. summarily described below.

1) Prague, Metropolitan Chapter, O 29 (cat. no. 1613), f.137^{r-v} (former foliation 136^{r-v}). Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: unknown. Contents described in A. Patera and A. Podlaha, Soupis Rukopisů Knihovny Metro-politní Kapitoly Pražské, Prague, 1922, II, pp. 492-4.

f.137^{r} Lector noli apponere aurem credulam recitandis quia error iste inpingit ecclesiam Romanam orthodoxam et est dudum ab eadem ecclesia condempnatus.
Inc. Hec sancta ecclesia... LE
f.137^{v} expl. ...sempiternum. Amen. etc.

Cited as A1.

2) Strasbourg, City Library, B.174. Paper. Date: 1404. Provenance: not known, though it should be noted that much of the collection came from the Cathedral Library, bought in 1592 (see R.Reuss, Les Bibliothèques publiques de Strasbourg, Paris, 1871, p.3). This ms. was lost in the destruction of the library by Prussian shells on the night of August 24, 1870. It is known through the edition and comments of Schmidt, op. cit., pp.238-42.

f. (?) Regule...
Inc. Hec sancta ecclesia... LE
f. (?) expl. ...sempiternum. Amen. Lector noli...(etc., as A1 above).

Cited as A2.

3) Prague, Metropolitan Chapter, D 54 (cat. no.620), f.49^{v}-51^{r}. Paper. Date: 1417-30. Provenance: on f.2^{r} is written - liber magistri Ioh. Herttemberger. Contents described in A. Patera and A. Podlaha, Soupis etc., Prague, 1910, I, pp.364-5.

f.49^{v} Regula...
Inc. Hec sancta ecclesia... LE
f.51^{r} expl. ...sempiternum. Amen. Lector...(etc., similar to A1 above).

Cited as A3.

4) Vienna, National Library, 4761 (Rec.2025a), f.192^{r}-194^{r}. Paper. Date: 15c. Provenance: Carthusian house of Aggsbach; the Aggsbach signature, B 7, is still on the spine. Contents listed in the Aggsbach catalogue printed in T.Gottlieb, Mittelalterliche Bibliotheks--kataloge Oesterreichs, I, Niederösterreich, Vienna, 1915, p.539, and in Tabulae Codicum etc., III, Vienna, 1879, p.379.

f.192^{r} (in hand of 19c) De secta Waldensium et origine.
Inc. Et sancta ecclesia... LE
f.194^{r} expl. ...sempiternum. Amen. Lector...(etc., similar to A1 above).

Cited as A4.

5) Klosterneuburg, CC 826, f.215^{v}-251^{v}. Paper. Date: 1391. Scribe: f.274^{r} qui me scribebat Co. Wispem nomen habebat. Anno Domini millesimo CCC nonagesimo primo. Provenance: Augustinian house of Klosterneu--burg. Contents described in Catalog of Manuscripts in Klosterneuburg (mimeograph of an unpublished catalogue, Ann Arbor Univ. Mics. Inc.), B.Černik, IV, pp.331-7 (original and mimeograph in Klosterneuburg).

f.215^{v} Inc. Iohannes Leser... CJL
expl. ...confessor eorum.
Inc. Hec autem sancta ecclesia... LE
f.218^{r} expl. ...sempiternum. Amen. Expliciunt puncta seu articuli notabiliores secte Waldensium. Marg. Rubrica. Expliciunt puncta...(etc., repeated).
Inc. Nota quod circa corpus Christi... (appears in B2 below, f.170ra-
f.218^{v} expl. ...est Deus etc. -170^{vb})
Rubrica. Epistola Fratrum... EFI I
f.219^{r} Epistola Fratrum...(repeated)
Inc. Venerabilibus in Cristo...
f.230^{r} expl. ...omnibus nobis. Amen. Explicit epistola haresiarcharum videlicet hereticorum. Rubrica. Explicit epistola(repeated).
f.230^{v} Rubrica. Epistola Iohannis Leser...
Inc. Profunde speculacionis... RS
f.235^{r} expl. ...subieccione controversiam.
Epistola heresiarche... Marg. Epistola...(repeated).
Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I
f.244^{v} expl. ...digna habeantur.
Epistola Iohannis Leser... Marg. Rubrica. Epistola...(repeated)

Inc. Quamvis diverse... EJL II
f.251[v] expl. ...facient vos.

Cited as B1.

6) Dubrovnik, Dominican Convent, Cod.30. Paper. Date: 14-14c. Pro--venance: Germany and - later - the Dominican convent in Dubrovnik. Contents described in T. Kaeppeli and H.V. Schooner, Les Manuscrits médiévaux de Saint-Dominique de Dubrovnik, etc., Rome, 1965, pp.62-5.

f.171[ra] Inc. Profunde speculacionis... RS
f.173[ra] expl. ...subieccione controversiam.
Epistola Iohannis Leser...
Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I
f.176[va] expl. ...digna habeantur.
Epistola Iohannis Leser...
Inc. Quamvis diverse... EJL II
f.179[ra] expl. ...facient vos etc.

Cited as B2.

7) Vienna, National Library, 14530 (Suppl.1896). Paper. Date: 14-15c. Provenance: unknown; later in the library of the Teutonic Order in Vienna. Contents described in Tabulae Codicum etc., Vienna, 1879, III, p.379.

f.63[r] Inc. Venerabilibus in Cristo... EFI I
f.71[v] expl. ...omnibus vobis. Amen.

Cited as B3.

8) Klosterneuburg, CC 933, f.191[ra]-202[va] Paper. Date: between 1370 and 1379 - f.190[vb]: Anno Domini M[o]CCC[o]7 (blank space). Scribe: Conrad, priest and altarista of St Katherine the Virgin in Krems. Contents described in Černik, op.cit., V, pp.367-96.

f.191[ra] Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I
f.194[va] expl. ...digna habeantur.
(f.194[va]-197[rb] Three homilies of St Augustine)
f.197[va] Inc. Venerabilibus in Cristo... EFI I
f.201[vb] expl. ...omnibus vobis etc.
Inc. Hec autem sancta ecclesia LE
f.202[va] expl. ...sempiternum. Amen.

Cited as Bb.

9 and 10) Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Reichenauer Pap. Mss. 32, f.19^{vb}-24^{vb}, and 48, f.318ra- 340va. Paper. Date: first quarter of 15c (after 1408, the date of composition of the letter copied in f.340va-341^{vb}). Provenance: Benedictine Abbey of Reichenau; bought from Reichenau in 1452 by Magister Johann Spenlin (the deed is printed in A. Holder, Die Reichenauer Handschriften, Berlin, 1918, p.33; see p.32 n.2 on Spenlin). Contents described in A.Holder, Die Reichenauer etc., II, Die Papierhandschriften, Berlin, 1914, pp.55-7 (ms.32) and pp. 127-8 (ms.48). Holder was not aware that sections of these mss. had at one stage been together. Upon being informed of this the director of the ms. department, Dr Hannemann, re-examined the two mss., and supplied the following information. The two mss. were bound c.1459 under Spenlin's direction, and on the occasion of this binding - which was done in a very crude fashion - the section containing the correspondence was split up. Prior to this f.318ra-341^{vb} of ms.48 formed an early part, and probably the first part, of ms.32.

Ms.32 f.19^{vb} Inc. Venerabilibus in Cristo... EFI I
f.20^{r} (at head, in different hand) Epistola consolatoria virorum pauperum vivencium gaudentibus seculi huius et simplicium
f.24^{vb} ...mundo corde etc. Custos Qui non accepit in vano
Ms.48 f.318ra Qui non accepit in vano...
f.318va expl. ...omnibus vobis. Amen.
Inc. Hec autem sancta ecclesia... LE
f.320ra expl. ...sempiternum. Amen. Marg. (in different hand) Explicit libellus cuiusdam heretici quem dicunt Librum Electorum
(f.320ra-328ra Varia on heresy)
f.328ra(in different hand) Incipit tractatus contra Waldenses et libellum cuiusdam heretici qui precedit
Inc. Quamvis diverse... EJL II
f.332^{rb} expl. ...facient vos etc. Unverschaidenlichen. (in different hand) Explicit tractatus contra Waldenses.
(At head, in different hand) Epistola responsiva quibusdam credencium hereticis.
Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I
f.337^{vb} expl. ...digna habeantur etc.

Inc. Profunde speculacionis... RS
f.340va expl. ...subieccione controversiam etc.

Cited as Bc.

11) Linz, Studienbibliothek, 292 (formerly 63), f.2^{r}-11^{r}. Parchment. Date: late 14c. Provenance: Benedictine monastery of Garsten; Garsten signature d.St.-B:Cc IV 3. This ms. used to be bound with ms. 296 (formerly 62), which consists of a copy of the Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses of Moneta of Cremona; it was torn out and stolen in the later 19th century, but how it came back to the library is not known (inform--ation of the librarian, Dr K. Vancsa). Contents described in K. Schiff--mann, Die Handschriften der öffentl. Studienbibliothek in Linz, 1935 (unpublished typescript in the Linz library), p.76.

f.2^{r} Epistola hereticorum...
Inc. (V)enerabilibus in Cristo... EFI I
f.7^{r} expl. ...omnibus vobis. Amen.
f.7^{v} Liber Electorum...
Inc. Sancta Ecclesia... LE
f.8^{r} expl. ...sempiternum. Amen.
Epistola Johannis Leser...
Inc. Quamvis diverse... EJL II
f.11^{r} expl. ...facient vos etc. Marg. Hic est defectus (repeated)

Cited as C1.

12) Berlin, State Library, Lat.Fol.704, f.191ra-200^{vb}. Paper. Date: 15c, and post 1408 (see f.192^{rb}). Provenance: Charterhouse of Salva--torberg near Erfurt. Contents noted in P. Lehmann, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, Munich, 1928, II, p. 229, ll.15-16.

f.191ra Scripta quidam...
Inc. Et autem sancta ecclesia... LE
f.191^{vb} expl. ...sempiternum. Amen.
Inc. Discreto viro Henrico...
f.192^{rb} expl. ...opportunitas impedivit me etc. Explicit epistola anno Domini 1408. Also present in Bc above (f.340va-341^{vb}), which was printed by A. Molnar in BSSV, An. LXXXVII, no.19, June 1966, pp.22-4, from a transcript by F.M. Bartos; in this edition its composition is

assigned to the fourteenth century.
(f.192^{rb}-194va and 195va-197va contain varia on heresy).
f.194va Epistola Iohannis Leser...
Inc. Profunde speculacionis... RS
f.195va expl. ...subieccione controversiam.
Inc. Iohannes Leser... CJL
expl. ...confessor eorum.
(f.197va-199^{vb} contain elements from the Processus Petri; for these see Appendix I).
f.199^{vb} Epistola Iohannis Leser...
Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I
f.200^{vb} expl. ...tue promissionis impleccio etc. (omits last two-thirds of the EJL I).

Cited as C2.

13) Vienna National Library, 3895 (Lunael.F.238), f.224ra-226^{vb}. Paper. Date: 14c; f.199ra 1382. Provenance: Augustinian house of Mondsee. For date and provenance see Augustinianum, IV, 1964, p.29. Contents described in Tabulae Codicum etc., Vienna, 1879, III, pp.113-4.

f.224ra Inc. Profunde speculacionis... RS
(At foot) Caspar. Epistola...
f.226^{vb} expl. ...subieccione controversiam etc.
f.1^{r} (contents list) Item Epistola Johannis Leser contra falsos fratres de Ytalia.

Cited as C3.

14) St Florian, XI 152, f.37^{r}-48^{v}. Paper. Date: 14c. Scribe: f.85^{v} scriptum per manus Liebhardi de Untig. Provenance: Augustinian house of St Florian. Contents described in A. Czerny, Die Hss. der Stifts-bibliothek St Florian, Linz, 1871, pp.74-5.

f.37^{r} Exemplum epistole...
Inc. Venerabilibus in Cristo... EFI I
f.41^{r} expl. ...omnibus vobis. Amen.
Responsio Seyfridi etc.
Inc. Profunde speculacionis... RS
f.44^{r} expl. ...consequi sempiternam.
Responsio Iohannis.
Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I

f.47^{v} expl. ...sempiternum. Amen.
Slipped into the ms. is a fragment of a contents list of the 15th century: ...Sefridi in Ytaliam. Item responsionis (!) Iohannis...

Cited as D1.

15) St Paul-im-Lavanttal, 92$_4$, f.146^{vb}-162ra. Paper. Date: late 14c, possibly 1373 (see f.161va, where 1373 is substituted for 1368, the date - a date of composition - given in other mss. of this letter). Provenance: Benedictine house of Spital-am-Pyrhn, which moved 1807/9 to St Paul; on cover - Spital signature E 61, and contents summary, which includes: Secta Waldensium. Contents described in Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum ex monasteriis S.Blasii in nigra silva et Hospitalis ad Pyrhum montem etc.(unpublished catalogue in St Paul library, p.71).

f.146^{vb} Sequitur exemplum epistole...
f.147ra Epistola. Epistola. (At head) des pis tu ains kundy gelauben.
Inc. Venerabilibus in Cristo... EFI I
f.152^{rb} expl. ...omnibus vobis. Amen.
Responsio Seyfridi.
Inc. Profunde speculacionis... RS
f.156ra expl. ...consequi sempiternam.
Responsio Iohannis.
Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I
f.160^{vb} expl. ...digna habeantur.
Inc. Hec autem sancta ecclesia... LE
f.162ra expl. ...sempiternum. Amen. Incipiunt. Explicit secta Waldensium.

Cited as D2.

16) Prague, Metropolitan Chapter, E 76 (cat. no.837), f.8^{v}-11^{v}, 13^{r}-15^{v}. Paper. Date: 14c. Provenance: unknown. Contents described in A. Patera and A. Podlaha, Soupis etc., I, Prague, 1910, pp. 500-503.
f.8^{v} (In different hand) Contra Petrum...
Inc. Bonum certamen... RS
f.11^{r} expl. ...consequi sempiternam.
Responsio Johannis (and, in later hand) Lugdunensis et Petri Waldensis et sociorum eius.
Inc. Dilectis utinam... EJL I

ff.12^{r-v} contains unrelated material)
f.15^{v} ...expl. digna habeantur.
f.15^{v}-16^{r} contains a note on passages from scripture relating to the unity of the Church and the commission of ministers, and objections to Waldensian claims to exercise the pastoral office. This note appears to be based on the correspondence, and possibly relates to the lost EFC*; it has never been published.

Cited as D3.

17) St Paul-im-Lavanttal, 76_4, f.286^{rb}. Paper. Date: early 15c. Provenance: Benedictine monastery of Spital-am-Pyrhn.

f.286^{rb} Inc. Johannes Leser... CJL
expl. ...confessor eorum.

Cited as E.

18) Cambridge, University Library, Dd XV 29, f.236-40 contains a version of the LE in Piedmontese dialect. This was published by H. Bradshaw, Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1864, II, pp.212-6. Mr references are to Bradshaw's edition.

Cited as Pied.

---

19) St Aegidien, Nuremberg: 'Regula Waldensium. Waldensium secte eorum--que conversacio et modus' (Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, III, tl.III, ed. P. Ruf, Munich, 1939, p.470, l.5). 'Regula Waldensium' suggests that this contained the LE; see mss. A2 and A3 above.

---

iii) The conversion and correspondence

At some time in the 1360's a number of Brothers reverted to the Church. Their conversion has left traces in the form of a fragment (the CJL) containing extracts from the confessions they made on being converted, and some letters which survive from a polemical exchange which ensued between the converted Brothers and their former confrères in Austria, and also between these groups and Brothers in Italy. The starting point of these letters was the conversion, but they widened in scope to embrace the whole Waldensian position vis-a-vis the Church.

These documents indicate some of the circumstances of the con--version. One of the letters defending the conversion,[1] which is dated 1368, provides a terminus ad quem for its date. This letter was the fifth in a series of at least eight in this literary cycle, the last of which[2] was written in the 1370's. This span of at least two years from the fifth to the eighth item suggests the possibility of a similar or greater span between the fifth and the first item and, anterior to the first item, the conversion; that is to say, the conversion may well have taken place a couple or more years before 1368. An approximate terminus a quo may come from another quarter. Haupt suggested a connection between the conversion and the inquisitor Henry of Olomouc, who was active between 'perhaps about 1365 and 1380'[3], mainly in the area from which the converted Brothers came. To sum up, the conversion took place certainly before 1368, most probably at least one or two years beforehand, and the conjecture of a connection with the activities of the inquisitor Henry suggests the span c.1365/7.

Most of the converted Brothers probably came from or were connected with the communities in Upper and Lower Austria: the Walden--sian mentioned in the CJL came from Krems, and the community of Brothers affected by the conversion, which appealed to the Italian brethren, was situated at St Peter-in-der-Awe - both in Lower Austria; and one of the converted Brothers later referred to the inquisition which had

---

1 EJL 1 2 EJL II 3 Haupt, Waldenserthum, p.80; Henry was also active in Uhersky Brod (see App.II).

taken place in this area in 1266[1]. It was also in this area that copies of the correspondence were later to circulate[2]. However, one of the converted Brothers was described as coming from Prague[3].

The names of some of them survive. John Leser's name appears in the CJL, and he also appears as the author of two of the items in the correspondence. The CJL also mentions the Brother referred to above, John of Prague, and a certain Martin; in one of Leser's letters he is coupled with a certain Peter[4]; and another letter was written by a certain Siegfried. There are, therefore, five named Brothers among those converted, and to these should be added the unknown number of the consodales of Leser and Siegfried[5].

The correspondence makes it clear that the converts were Brothers rather than friends: they were reproached with their failure to fulfill their vows[6] (i.e. vows taken on profession), and a reference to the past exercise by them of the pastoral office[7] (i.e. preaching and hearing confessions) shows that at least some of them were seniores. Leser and Siegfried seem to have been particularly prominent among these. Siegfried had been a professed Brother for a very long time ('tanto tempore'[8]), and after the conversion both he and Leser were to write not only to defend themselves but also their consodales, described in Leser's case as followers[9]. It would seem that Siegfried and Leser were followed into the Church by groups of Brothers over whom they exercised some sort of supervisory rôle: could they have been heads of Brothers' Houses?

Siegfried and Leser were also notable for the degree of their education. Both were literate and able to compose polemical letters in Latin. The former deploys some logical jargon when writing in the RS, makes a passing reference to 'regimine scolastico'[10] which probably refers to personal experience, and speaks of consulting 'dicta sanctorum' when considering conversion to the Church[11], while Leser, when turning in the EJL II to attack Waldensian historical claims on the grounds of textual

---

1 EJL I,19,n.c. 2 See ii(b). 3 CJL. 4 EJL I,1,l.4. 5 EJL I,1, l.5; RS,17,l.6. 6 See iv (EFI III*). 7 EJL 4,l.24-5; see also 6,l.7-8. 8 RS,4,l.14-5. 9 RS,3,11.16,20. 10 RS,15,l.17. 11 RS,6,l.14.

discrepancy between two Waldensian documents and historical implausibility[1] displayed a sharp mind and some critical ability; he also referred to consultation before conversion -of patristic commentaries.[2]

Some reasons for the conversion appear in the correspondence. It seems that disputes with other Brothers or communities of Brothers preceded Leser's conversion: he quoted in the EJL I a reference in the EFI II*(an epistle sent to him) to a quarrel existing between him and other Brothers prior to his conversion,and the anger and hatred arising from this.[3] His former confrères accused him of leaving for this reason, and of doing this precipitately and without full consideration of what reversion to the Church involved.[4] Siegfried quotes a reference in the EFI III*(an epistle sent to him) to his having been 'de iusticia dubium'[5]: Waldensian justice? Perhaps disciplinary measures taken by the Brothers vis-à-vis actions by some Brothers,including Siegfried,had given rise to a dispute which lay behind Siegfried's,and perhaps John's, conversion? Certainly,like Leser,Siegfried was accused of taking the decision in great haste('inpetuoso manu'[6]),and only considering what it involved in a superficial manner. In the EJL I and RS Leser and Siegfried also put forward the intellectual grounds for their conversions; these may be post factum rationalisations,but they are not either obviously or necessarily so. Siegfried wrote that he had become worried by confusions surrounding the Waldensian ordo,particularly its historical basis or origin,and by contradictions in Waldensian teaching.[7] In the RS he was to lay emphasis on the discrepancy on the one hand between Waldensian acceptance of sacraments in the Church,and on the other their rejection of much of the Church's faith.[8]

The Italian Brothers,referring to the conversion and its consequences in the exordium of their letter to the Austrian Brothers, wrote of 'affliccio...adversitatis',for 'Dominus graviter vos visitavit'.[9] The terms may sound rhetorical,but they refer to something which must have been a desperately hard blow to the remaining Austrian Brothers: the loss of over 5 Brothers,including two of some stature,to the Church,

---

1 See EJL II,and section v. 2 EJL I,9,l.21. 3 EJL I,10,l.4.
4 EJL I,9,l.19-20. 5 RS,5,l.22-3. 6 RS,6,l.9-12. 7 RS,6,l.16-8.
8 RS,8,l.4-5. 9 EFI I,1,11.14-5; 10.

and not through martyrdoms,as had happened in the past. From these,at least,could be derived some confirmation of the Brothers' sense of apostlehood and belonging to the elect,but no such consolation could be derived from this voluntary conversion,which threatened the Brothers' conviction of the rightness of the way of life they were following. Further,the Brothers who had been converted brought over into the Church knowledge and information which could be advantageous to the Church in its fight against the Waldensians: additions to the Church's body of information about Waldensian beliefs and practices,polemical weapons, and details of use to inquisitors.

The Brothers probably gave information in the first instance on the occasion of their appearance before an inquisitor(? Henry of Olomouc) to confess their heresy,abjure it,and receive penance and absolution. The CJL,a fragment of c.70 words containing their statements on certain matters of Waldensian belief and practice,was probably extracted from records of their confessions made on this occasion. This document is discussed in the Introduction,where I argue that its contents,or the records upon which it was based,contained statements which brought about a profound modification in the accepted picture of the Brothers and their way of life and beliefs then current in the Church -that this was the decisive moment in the change from the radical picture of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century literature,in which,among other things,the Waldensians are made to reject all the sacraments of the Church,to the more moderate picture which is a commonplace in the later fourteenth century -in which,among other things,they accept the sacraments of the Church.

One other converted Brother,Hans Weidehofer,seen in Strasbourg c. 1374,was given the task of going round Strasbourg converting friends as part of his penance[1],and such activity,combined with the provision of information to inquisitors,can be seen among other Brothers after their conversion. The converts of c.1365-7 seem to have helped in similar fashion. Siegfried had the accusation levelled against him that he was directing a persecution ('ordinare persecucionem'[2]),and his reference to the Brothers' taking flight 'in amici persecucione'[3] points

---

1 Röhrich,Winkeler,p.43. 2 RS,6,1.6. 3 RS,2,1.17.

to the incidence of inquisitorial activity against friends after this conversion,and,presumably,stemming from it. It is a plausible conjecture that information given to the Church and inquisitors by the converted Brothers may have had a bearing on the success achieved at this period by the inquisitor Henry of Olomouc,who found and convicted friends over an area stretching from near Seitenstetten in Lower Austria to Uhersky Brod in present-day Slovakia.

The converted Brothers also set about the attempt to persuade their former confrères to emulate their example and revert to the Church. From this there ensued a polemical controversy,most of which,at the very least,and perhaps all,took the form of an epistolary exchange. The correspondence was three-cornered,between the converted Brothers,their former confrères in Austria(and in particular at St Peter-in-der-Awe), and Brothers in Italy. It began in or before 1368,and the last item in the cycle was written under the pontificate of Gregory XI(1370-8),and probably before 1374. The exchange consisted of eight epistles or tracts (or more),of which four survive; conjectural reconstructions of the other four are given in iv below.

There are precedents to one of the surviving letters(between Italian and Austrian Brothers) in the former of previous exchanges between these groups. The compilation of the Anonymous of Passau preserves a letter written by Italian Brothers to German-speaking Waldensians,reporting a conference of 1218[1],and elsewhere in the treatise there is reference to the visits of Waldensians from German-speaking areas to Brothers in Lombardy[2]; a century later the EFI I[3] refers to the passing of the previous possibility of personal meetings between Italian and Austrian Brothers. In this relationship the Italians seem to have played the senior role: the contents of the Rescriptum of 1218 and the reference to visits in the treatise of c.1266 imply this for the 13th century,and the correspondence bears this out for the later period. It was to the Italians that the Austrians turned under the stress of the attack by the converted Brothers on the Waldensian position; it was the Italian Brothers who sent a letter providing authoritative responses to these attacks; and it was the Italians who took upon themselves the role of judging and

---

1 Printed in Enchiridion,pp.171-183. 2 Gretser,col.266c. 3 EFI I,4, l.18-9.

and condemning the converts for their deed,sending them letters containing 'iudicia' and 'correcciones'[1].

The surviving letters contain references to the sending and receipt of these letters -'recepisse litteras vestras','epistola ad nos missa'[2]- but the methods by which this exchange was effected remain obscure. The sending of the 1218 letter with two delegates from Italy to Germany,and the reference c.1266 to Waldensians crossing the Alps into Lombardy to visit the Brothers there indicate the possibility of delegations travelling from Italian Brothers to Austria,and the community at St Peter--in-der-Awe,while the reference by Leser to the arrival of a 'legacio'[3] from the Brothers points to the fact of legations on the more thorny transmission,that between Brothers and converted Brothers. Difficulties in this area -the difficulty of the transmission just mentioned,and the distances involved- probably contributed one reason for the epistolary exchange's long duration.

The exchange itself began with attacks of the converted Brothers on the Waldensian position. They attacked in particular the Waldensian ordo and the historical claims upon which it was based,expressed in the LE, a document of Piedmontese origin which had circulated among German--speaking Brothers prior to the conversion and was brought over into the Church at this time; and they urged their former confreres to revert to the Church. The Austrian Brothers appealed for help to the Italians,who sent back an authoritative response,and also letters to the converted Brothers condemning their conversions and urging them to revert to the Order and remain true to the vows they had professed when entering it. The converted Brothers returned individually to the offensive,defending their conversions,and pressing more attacks on the Waldensian position -e.g.,the inconsistency of the Brothers' simultaneous rejection of much of the Church's faith and acceptance of its sacramental ministrations,the inconsistency of the secrecy of their activities with their claim to imitate the Apostles,etc.

The form of these epistles reflected in some ways the two opposed positions. The form of the EFI I and at least one other letter from the Italians suggests the consciousness of a certain status on the part of its

---

1 EJL I,1,11.17,15; see also RS,13,1.26. 2 EFI I,1,1.8; EJL I,1,1.17.
3 EJL I,1,1.4.

authors. It is written in solemn style,conformable in its construction with the rules of the ars dictaminis,and equipped with elaborate quotations from the bible,the Fathers,Doctors,and Horace and Seneca. The form of address used in the salutation 'Venerabilibus in Cristo fratribus'- the form normally prescribed for use by the Pope or very high dignitaries to their inferiors,and the greeting -'salutem et sincere caritatis affectum',which is prescribed for use by persons of similar status both imply consciousness of very high status. A reference in the RS to the EFI III* -to its 'prolixitatem' and 'adulacionum superfluitates'[1]- suggests that this was written at similar length and employed similar courtesies in the salutation. This solemnity,and the style of the salutation,implies some of the Brothers' high claims: their position as successors to the Apostles,and possibly,in particular,the power they possessed of transmitting their ordo.[2] Elsewhere it is suggested that another Waldensian document,the LE,was consciously reminiscent of the Acts;[3] similarly,the EFI I(and possibly the other Italian letters), written in this style,larded with quotations from St Paul,and taking its conclusion from the conclusion of one of St Paul's letters,and emanating from direct successors of the Apostles,was written in the consciousness that it stood in this line,comparable to the Pauline epistles. By contrast,the style and titles of the letters of the converted Brothers are pitched low -the RS makes explicit reference to its deliberate avoidance of these 'adulacionum superfluitates' and 'prolixitatem'- and the EJL I adopts the salutation for those of humbler status -'Dilectis...fratribus'.[4] In style as well as content these letters express rejection of the Brothers' high claims.

The controversy lasted some years,into the 1370's. Finally it came to an end with the EJL II,a tract written by Leser which dealt with the concerns of the correspondence,and may in fact have been sent to the

---

1 RS,17,l.5-6. For the courtesies quoted above,see the rules in the treatises printed by L.von Rockinger,Ueber Briefsteller und Formelbücher etc.(Quellen und Erörterungen zurBayerischen und Deutschen Geschichte,IX, Abt.I-II,1863-4),passim. For the status of those who should use Venerabilibus etc.,see pp.33,104,363-4,500,729-30,736,etc.,and those who should use salutem etc.,see pp.261,451,etc. 2 See Ch.I iii. 3 See v below. 4 For the status of those who shouls use this,see the rules in the treatises printed by Rockinger,op.cit.,pp.33,363,etc.

Brothers,but was no longer cast in the form of a letter. Following this, at a time possibly before 1374 and certainly before 1379,a selection was made from documents relating to the conversion and correspondence[1]: the CJL,based on confessions by the converted Brothers and encapsulating the main points of the new information which the Brothers had brought with them, the LE,one letter written by Italian Brothers,and three of the pieces written by converted Brothers. The two included Waldensian documents contained passages attacked in the latter three,and one reason for preserving them may have been to make the precise nature of these attacks clearer.[2] The omitted Waldensian letters contained,alongside attacks on the circumstances and motives of the conversion,passages of virulent denunciation of vices in the Church which may well have caused their omission.[3] Mss. of this selection were copied and circulated,in more or less complete form,in the last decades of the 14th century and the first two or three of the 15th,mainly in Upper and Lower Austria, but also in southern Germany and Bohemia.[4]

---

1 See ii(b) above. 2 See the comments in v below on precautions taken in mss. of these. 3 See EFI II* and EFI III* in iv below.
4 See ii(a) above,v below,and Map III.

iv The lost elements in the correspondence

Three items in the correspondence - the EFI I, EJL I, and RS - quote, summarise or refer to the contents of other letters involved in the exchange, letters which were written and sent but do not survive. In the following reconstructions I have gathered and arranged these quotations and references in order to indicate some of the points these letters made. My conjectural extensions and glosses appear in parentheses; it should be noted that the order in which these points appear is also conjectural.

1. The EFC*

This constituted an attempt by the converted Brothers to induce their former confrères in Austria to follow their example by reverting to the Church, and it included, to this purpose, an attack on the Waldensian way of life. Its contents are summarised in the EFI I, which took them from the EFA; and there are two (probable) references to it in the RS.[1] There are no direct indications of the form of this polemical attack, but its detailed nature, citations from scripture and the LE, and the epistolary nature of the remainder of the polemical exchange, make it very unlikely that it was anything other than a letter. The EFI I refers to the authors of the attack in the plural,[2] and the references in the RS are to accusations and assertions made by a plurality of Brothers, including Siegfried.[3] It should be noted that is possible that what is given below came from several attacks rather than one. Reconstruction:-

(Letter of converted Brothers, ? including Siegfried, to Austrian Brothers, ? at St Peter-in-der-Awe).

(The letter is an attempt to persuade the Brothers to imitate the authors by reverting to the Church,[4] because of various defects in the vita of the Brothers). The vita of the Brothers is not salutis meritoria,[5] and this for three reasons in particular. First, the Brothers are inperiti and lack sciencia[6] (? and are therefore not fitted to preach the word of God). Secondly the Brothers lack

---

1 RS 10, 11.1-6, and 13, 11.16-18 2 EFI I 2,11.18-20 3 As n.1
4 EFI I 2, 11.18-19 5 EFI I 4, 11.23-25 6 EFI I 4, 11.25-26 and 7, 11.11-12

auctoritas[1] (for the exercise of their office, which they usurp unlawfully[2]). Their ordo has no true principium or fundamentum,[3] (nor) does it derive from the apostles because the Brothers do not administer all the sacraments.[4] Auctoritas comes down by succession;[5] Mt. XVI, 19 ('Tibi dabo claves etc.') and Tit. I, 5ff. are cited.[6] (But what is the origin of the Brothers' ordo?) Peter Waldensis was the beginning of this ordo;[7] (from whom did he receive authority?) - (the example of) the power of the levites (is quoted): no one may give what he has not received;[8] Hebr. V, 4-5 is cited ('No one takes this honour on himself, etc.').[9] (The case of) Elijah (is raised), (and the instance of) Uzziah (struck down with leprosy for usurping priestly functions, II Par XXVI, 16-21).[9a] (The Brothers' statements in this area rest on the LE, but its contents are dubious. First of all, it recounts that Peter Waldensis and his followers suffered persecution at the hands of the Church, but) persecution is only suffered at the hands of Jews or Gentiles, not catholics.[10] (Secondly) when the author (of the LE) writes ut audivi (to qualify phrases in this) he indicates his doubts, and this shows that its contents are not sound.[11] (With regard to Peter Waldensis himself: the LE recounts that) he was excommunicated; he was therefore delirus[12] and he continued his way of life after this out of superbia.[13] (Excommunication:) - a limb cut off from a body must die.[14]

Thirdly, the Brothers' vita is not salutifera,[15] not salutis meritoria nor sancta;[16] it is mala and inhonesta[17] and therefore dampnosa.[18] (First, the Brothers commit the deeds of madmen and evildoers.[19] Secondly) the Brothers are mercenarii.[20] (Thirdly) the Brothers do not administer all the sacraments, and in particular, they do not administer sacraments in mortis articulo, and thus many die without communion.[21] (Finally) the word of God is not to be preached (as it is by the Brothers) in hidden corners, but in public in montibus, as a light should not be put under a bushel (Mt V, 15).[22]

---

1 EFI I 5, l.1, & 12, l.15 2 RS 10, l.6 3 EFI I 12, ll.16-17 4 EFI I 12, ll.17-18 5 EFI I 13, l.1 6 EFI I 12, ll.17-18 7 EFI I 16, l.18 8 EFI I 12, ll.21-22 9 EFI I 21, ll.6-7 & 9-10 9a EFI I 21, ll.21-23 10 EFI I 15, ll.5-6 11 EFI I 19, ll.1-3 12 EFI I 16, l.15 13 EFI I 17, l.19 14 EFI I 22, ll.19-20 15,18 EFI I 22, ll.24-25 16,17 EFI I 5, ll.1-4 19 RS 10, l.5 20 EFI I 23, l.2 21 EFI I 23, ll.4-5 & 13-14 22 EFI I 25, l.25 - 26, l.2

In the letter which is the main source for this - the EFI I - it is stated that some of the objections will be answered, and also that the Brothers cannot reply ad plenum[1] - an explicit indication that some points and arguments in the attack of the EFC* were not met, and are therefore missing from the reconstruction given above.

2. The EFA*

After the reception of the attack described above Austrian Brothers wrote and sent a letter to the Brothers of Italy.[2]

Reconstruction:-

(Letter from the Brothers of St Peter-in-der-Awe to Brothers in Italy). The tribulations of the Brothers - expressed in gemitus[3] - are reported: the perfidia (of the converted Brothers - Siegfried, Leser, et al. - in reverting to the Church) and attempting to induce the remaining Brothers to imitate them by reverting, similarly, to the Church.[4] The points of their attack on the vita of the Brothers are (recounted, as above).[5] The Austrian Brothers implore the help of the Italian Brothers.

3. The EFI I

This, the first surviving letter, was written by Italian Brothers (John, Gerard, Peter, Simon, and others) in reply to the EFA* and sent to the Brothers at St Peter-in-der-Awe.

4. THE EFI II*

A letter - epistola ad nos missa[6] - was sent to John Leser and other converted Brothers attacking their conversion and its grounds. Since the two other Waldensian counter-attacks, the EFI I and EFI III*, came from the Italian rather than the Austrian Brothers, it is plausible to conjecture that this too came from the Italians. This conjecture is supported by one point made by Leser in the EJL I, that the judgement passed on him and his companions in this letter was remarkable in view of its authors' ignorance of the causas circumstantes[7] - a point which would have some force if directed against Italian Brothers, but little or no force if directed against Brothers in the fraternity from which the converted Brothers came. Reconstruction:-

---

1 EFI I 4, ll.5-6 2 EFI I 1, ll.9-10 3 EFI I 3, l.9 4 EFI I 3, ll. 18-19 5 EFI I 2, ll.9-10 et seq. 6 EJL I 1, ll.17-18 7 EJL I 4,l. 1-2f

(Brothers -? of Italy - to John Leser, Peter and their consodales[1]). (Attacking the conversion) the Brothers accuse John Leser and others of straying from the paths of the Lord (leaving the Waldensian faith) through prevaricacionis vicium, lacking fear of the Lord.[2] (They are moved by) love of carnal things,[3] and are clinging to (the things of) the world.[4] (Their departure was brought about by) pre--existing odium, iracundia, and discordia[5] (between them and other Brothers), (and the decision to leave was taken) ex obrupto et inprov--iso.[6] (Further, the reasons they allege for their conversion - ? the teachings and laws of the Church -) are no more than opiniones infinite.[7]

(These passages may be applied to them): Ps LXVIII, 9 - 'I was made a stranger to my brothers', and Prov XXX, 17, - 'The eye which looks jeeringly on a father, etc.'.[8] (A passage follows about) the story of Nero (?i.e. a comparison of his persecution of Christians and the participation of the converted Brothers in inquisitorial activities), and the evil signs found in man.[9] The Apostle Paul spoke about them when saying, 'I know that after my departure ravening wolves will come upon you'(Act XX, 29),[10] and the Psalm which prophesies about Judas (and his treachery) (Ps LIV) applies to them.[11] (The converted Brothers have been treacherous in two ways. Firstly, they have tried to bring their former Brothers into error by attempting to persuade them to follow them into the Church, in defiance of the injunction) Ne ponatis offendiculum fratribus vel scandalum (Rom XIV, 13).[12] (Secondly) they have abandoned their flock to ravening wolves;[13] (since they were entrusted with their flock they are like the servant who did not use the talents entrusted to him, Mt XXV, 14-30[14]). (Christ said, 'Feed my sheep', Io XXI, 17,[15] but they have left their flock to men who) prohibit food[16] (doctrinal instruction, etc.): (where in the Church can one see the implementation of the duties of the true pastor, the) prohibiciones.. viciorum, and virtutum atque morum informaciones?[17] The Waldensian Brothers are the true pastors, and (? the converted Brothers/priests of the Church) despise (such) true pastors.[18]

---

1 EJL I 1, 11.3-5 2 EJL I 1, 1.22 - 2, 1.1 3 EJL I 2, 1.6 4 EJL I 13, 1.26 5 EJL I 10, 11.4-5 6 EJL I 9, 1.19 7 EJL I 3, 11.17-18 8 EJL I 8, 11.19-20 & 1-2 9 EJL I 7, 11.21-22 10 EJL I 9, 11.1-3 11 EJL I 7, 11.27-28 12 EJL I 4, 11.14-15 13 EJL I 4, 11.23-24 14 EJL I 5, 1.26 15 Ibid. 16 EJL I 6, 11.10-11 17 EJL I 6, 11. 18-20 18 EJL I 6, 1.27 - 7, 1.1, and 6, 1.24

(With regard to the Church: the Brothers should consider the evil nature of the men in it). There is an account of the scandal of many (in it),[1] and a compilation ex diversis of (instances of) the malicia sacerdotum.[2] (Certain passages are particularly applicable here): Cum sancto sanctus eris, Ps XVII, 26, and Qui tetigerit picem inquin-abitur ab ea, Eccli XIII, 1.[3] (Therefore) one should avoid such evil men.[4]

(The Brothers tackle the charge that the faith should be confessed and preached openly). It is not possible now to preach the true faith openly, nor is there any profit in so doing.[5] (With regard to confessing the faith openly: inner faith is more important than external profession of it -) Non enim qui in manifesto Iudeus est, Rom II, 28.[6] (There are precedents both in the OT and NT for the hiding of one's person in time of persecution: first, during Jezebel's persecution -) Numquid non indicatum est tibi, domino meo, quid fecerim cum interficeret Iezabel prophetas? (III Reg XVIII, 13)[7]; (secondly, there is the example of Christ's action when the Jews had determined to kill him -) Iesus iam non in palam ambulabat apud Iudeos (Io XI, 54).[8]

(Returning to the question of the Brothers' desertion of the Waldensian faith and entry into the Church): 'It is a sinner who treads two paths'(Eccli II, 14)[9] and 'It is a wicked life going from house to house'(Eccli XXIX, 31)[10]. The Vir duplex animo[11] ('must not expect that the Lord will give him anything', Iac I, 8). The Brothers are admonished to turn to their hearts and judge whether the things they are now seeking are (really) preferable.[12] Propter quod remissas manus, et soluta genua erigite.[13] (The Brothers are therefore urged to return to the Waldensian faith).

Leser declared, when replying to the letter conjecturally reconstructed above, that he would reply to quedam...intencionis,[14] thereby indicating that he did not tackle parts of the letter; these parts - finding no mention in his reply - do not, of course, find any reflection in this reconstruction.

---

1 EJL I 3, l.26 2 EJL I 10, ll.18-19 3 EJL I 10, ll.8-10 4 Ibid.
5 EJL I 16, ll.20-21 6 EJL I 12, ll.14-15 7 EJL I 12, ll.25-26
8 EJL I 13, l.14 9 EJL I 13, ll.26-27 10 EJL I 15, ll.4-5 11 EJL I 15, l.3 12 EJL I 9, ll.16-17 13 EJL I 4, ll.8-9

5) The EJL I

The EJL I, the second surviving letter, was written in reply to the EFI II*, to which it refers throughout. The salutation gives as its authors John Leser, a certain Peter, and their consodales; the principal author, John Leser, adopts the singular when defending his own conversion,[1] but for the most part writes - in the plural- on behalf of his consodales as well. The year of composition is mentioned in the letter - 1368.[2]

6) The EFI III*

A letter[3] was sent by Italian Brothers[4] to Siegfried attacking his conversion, and the RS was a reply to it. References in it to Siegfried's attacks on the Waldensian way of life indicate that the Italian Brothers wrote this letter to Siegfried after receiving the reports in the EFA* of the attacks by the converted Brothers.[5]

Reconstruction:-

(Italian Brothers to Siegfried and his socii[6]). (Firstly, there is a discussion of vows, which relates to the failure of the converted Brothers to continue to carry out the vows they took when entering the Order. Siegfried is urged to fulfil his vows:) Ymmola Deo sacrificium laudis, et redde altissimo vota tua, Ps XLIX, 14.[7] (Further), Non spondeas super virtutem tuam, et si spoponderis quasi restituens cogita,[8] Eccli VIII, 16. Some take vows ventoso inpulsu, and do not carry them out, and they should be rebuked for this. John (Leser) and his followers are to be rebuked (for this reason) and exhorted to carry out the promise pledged to the Brothers.[9]

(Secondly, there is a discussion of Siegfried's conversion). The Brothers accuse Siegfried of considering the deed superficially,[10] not looking to the heart of the matter,[11] and of failing to take into account the internum facientis iudicium,[12] the agentis conscienciam.[13] The Brothers express wonder at the fact that his obedience (as a Brother) came to an end after such a long time - came to be darkened by a malign cloud after shining for such a time.[14] (He left) at the prompting

---

1 E.g. EJL I 2, l.4 2 EJL I 19, l.4 3 RS 2, l.3; 3, l.1; 4, l.14; 5, l.22; 13, ll.17 & 20; 14, l.12 4 RS 1, l.2 5 RS 10, ll.1-6 & 13, l.17 6 RS 17, l.6, & 1, ll.1-2 7 RS 3, ll.1-2 8 RS 3, ll.10-13 9 RS 3, ll.14-17 10, 12 RS 6, ll.9-10 11, 13 RS 9, ll.26-27 14 RS 4, ll.14-16

of others, tamquam de iusticia dubium.[1]

(The Brothers describe their concern for justice, and their conception of it). The Brothers' zeal for justice is directed to the design of preserving justice inviolate, sine personarum accepcione (I Pet I, 17);[2] they extend justice putting aside fear, hate, love, etc.[3] One should look to God when weighing justice, inclining neither to left nor to right (Prov IV, 6-7, et alibi);[4] the Brothers themselves weigh justice with impartial scale and balance.[13]

(The Brothers refer to Siegfried's attacks on his former confreres - both his accusations against the Waldensian way of life and his participation in persecution). 'Do not become an enemy to your nearest friend', Eccli VI, 1. Siegfried is directing a persecution (against his former confreres and flock).[5] According to the assertion of some Brothers (Austrian Brothers in the EFA*) Siegfried and his fautores are passing judgement upon them, not according to truth but in whatever way he wills - imputing the deeds of madmen and evildoers to them, and maintaining that they presume the right of their office unlawfully.[6] The accusation is not supported by the strength of reason - Siegfried (and others) condemn the Brothers(not on the basis of reason) but through their own negligencia.[7] His opinion and that of others is distorted and removed from the rivers of truth;[8] (this is no wonder, for) they are drinking the water of of a dried-up spring (the Church).[9]

The Brothers wish to write to explain why they do not live (openly) among other men[10] (? in answer to the accusation that they skulk in corners, in contrast to the Apostles, who were instructed to preach openly, etc.). (They are hidden because of)the Church's resistance to the vita apostolica,[11] (which can be seen in the vices to be found in the Church): the practice of fraud, the constriction of legalism, the employment of trickery, and the rejection of truth; fraud and trickery are pushed by sins to claim a place for themselves in churches; and for these reasons the Church should be compared to Babylon, interpreted as confusion.[12](In the Church) men are fed

---

1 RS 5, ll.22-23 2 RS 11, ll.9-11 3 RS 11, ll.21-22 4 RS 13, ll.6-7 5 RS 6, ll.2-6 6 RS 10, ll.1-6 7 RS 13, ll.17-18 8 RS 11, ll.6-7 9 RS 13, ll.19-20 10 RS 14, ll.12-13 11 RS 12, ll.15-16 12 RS 14, ll.13-18 13 RS 13, ll.8-9

from birth with vices, and when they become adults these are turned into habits, and instead of being discouraged by correction (from priests in the Church) they are encouraged by force of custom.[1] (The Brothers add that) the sons of the Church are pronos ad rapinam, promptos ad rapacitatem, sollicitos ad extorsionem, nec curent unde nec a quibus ... inverecundos ut meretricem infrunitam, presumptuosos more furum, aggressores minorum nullum periculum formidantes.[2]

(Finally, the Brothers urge the converted Brothers to return to the faith) and admonish them to lead the apostolic life, ut pacifice viventes Cristi discipuli esse videantur.[3]

7) The RS

The third of the surviving letters, the RS, was written by the converted Brother Siegfried and his socii[4] in reply to the charges made by the Italian Brothers in the EFI III.

8) The EJL II

The last element in the correspondence to survive, the EJL II, was written by John Leser during the pontificate of Gregory XI[5] (Dec. 1370 - 1378). Unlike the previous elements in the correspondence it does not have the form of a letter. However, it shares the subject--matter of the the correspondence, and at one point seems to make oblique reference to an argument in the EFI II.[6] It is also described as Epistola in the rubrics of 2 of the 4 surviving mss. It therefore remains possible that the EJL II, though cast and written in the form of a short treatise, was in fact sent to the Brothers as other elements in the correspondence were.

No later element from this literary cycle survives.

---

1 RS 15, ll.11-13 2 RS 15, ll.19-23 3 RS 12, ll.7-9 4 RS 17, l.6
5 EJL II 13, l.23 6 EJL II 16, ll.11-27

v) Waldensian 'history'

During the 13th and 14th centuries a body of history was preserved in oral tradition and in writing among the Brothers' communities. Oral tradition guarded the past of the Order: the life and deeds of Valdes (Peter Waldensis), and the relationship of him and his immediate followers to the Roman Church;[1] the spread of the Order,[2] the names of some past Brothers,[3] and the relationship between, for example, the Italian and German-speaking fraternities;[4] persecutions suffered by the Order;[5] and the memory, when over a century and a half had elapsed from the time of Valdes, of those no longer alive who had been able to remember his time.[6] The past of the Order was set in the general history of the Church, given in a form in which the Donation of Constantine played a large role and served to justify the position of the Brothers vis-à-vis the Church. The shape of this body of tradition and history was fluid, and various pressures led the Brothers to develop it, to add to it, and to reshape it to their own ends. The conviction of their own apostlehood, allied perhaps to the desire for antiquity of origin common to other religious Orders in the Church, led them to the myth of the historical continuity of their Order with the Apostles, while the stress of persecution led them to seek consolation in a version of history in which the alternation of ages of fortune and misfortune provided them with the assurance that they would prevail. Under both these pressures, and that of polemical attack, this development continued, and the distortions, conflations, and incorporation of myths in this 'history' progressively increased.

Only indirect evidence survives for the study of this development in the 13th and early 14th centuries. Following this early period there are two surviving documents from the correspondence, the LE and EFI I, which contain versions of this 'history'. Finally there are scattered items of indirect evidence for the following period to c.1420. A close

---

1 See the comments on oral tradition below, and also tradition relating to P.Waldensis etc. described below. 2 E.g. LE,3,l.6-15. 3 See EFI I,20,l.5 & n.(b) for the memory of a Brother from over a century beforehand; see also 11.5-6,10-1. 4 EFI I,4,l.18-9. 5 LE,3,l.20-4,l.1; 5, l.2-7; EFI I,19,l.14-5; EJL I,19,l.5-7 and n.(c). 6 EFI I,19,l.12-3.

examination of the texts of the LE and EFI I,and a comparison of their contents with wie es eigentlich gewesen ist,shows the character and purposes of this Waldensian 'history' at one period in its development, while the temporal distance between these two versions of 'history',the LE of c.1335-1350's,and the EFI I of c.1365-7,together with the indirect evidence of the earlier and later periods,permits us to locate different stages at separate points of time,and gain some idea of the tempo of this development of 'history' over a substantial chronological span.

The LE

a) Date and place of composition

The contents of the LE are arranged according to a chronology which provides some indication of its date of composition. The LE states that the Church remained in poverty and humility for fere 300 years until the reign of Constantine;[1] a period of 800 years followed leading up to the rise of P.Waldensis;[2] there were fructifera tempora for his followers for 200 years after him;[3] finally,these were followed by a persecution which was still persisting at the time of the composition of the LE.[4] These round figures constitute the framework of a quasi-apocalyptic view of Church history in which ages of sanctity or prosperity and corruption or persecution alternate,and into this framework historical matter of varying origins has been inserted. Because of this a calculation based on a combination of,on the one hand,the real date of one of the historical items and,on the other,a number of years taken from this Procrustean chronological framework,is liable to be misleading. Thus the addition to Valdes' historical dates(his activities in the 1170's and his death after c.1205) of,firstly,200 years,and,secondly,a persecution of unspecified but substantial duration,brings us at the earliest to the last years of the 14th century,or the early 15th,which is absurd,for the LE is given a

---

1 LE,5,1.6. Previous dates assigned to the LE can be seen in Schmidt,op.cit.,p.238 (c.1400),Bradshaw,op.cit.,p.212('the beginning of the 15th century at the earliest'),Comba,Un frammento latino etc.',p.91('risale al secolo XIV'),and Gonnet,'Valdesi d'Austria',p.9(1367). The latter date is based on a combination of the terminus of 1368 and the mistaken assumption that the LE was part of the correspondence,its first element (ibid.,p.11); Gonnet concords this with the LE by taking 1137-67 as the period of Valdes' activities,and omitting the persecution(ibid.,p.9).
2 LE,2,1.13-4. 3 LE,3,1.17. 4 LE,3,1.18 -4,1.2.

terminus ad quem by its citation in the EJL I of 1368[1]. Similarly a selection from the chronological framework alone produces misleading results,such as,for example,the addition of 800 to fere 300 to produce an erroneous date very early in the 12th century for the rise and public activities of Valdes. On the other hand,however misleading calculations based on such combinations or selections are,there is every reason to expect overall coherence in the document,that is to say,that all the dates of the framework should add up to a date consonant with the time of composition. The problems involved in this -what value to assign to fere, and whether to take Constantine and Valdes as existing at points or over periods of time- were tackled,fortunately for us,by the renegade Leser. His calculations were as follows: 'conputatis annis ab incarnacione Domini usque ad Constantinum...CCCXIIII...et...ad inventorem vestre secte DCCC; additis CC ab invencione...Remanet vix L anni usque nunc...M°CCC° LXVIII°[2]. The beginning of the persecution which was continuing at the time of composition was,therefore,c.1314. To identify this persecution, and thus pin-point the date of persecution more precisely,it is necessary to identify the community which suffered the persecution,the community from which the LE came. For several reasons it seems clear that the LE came from Piedmontese communities of Brothers. First of all textual comparisons of the Latin and Piedmontese versions point to composition at the same time and place[3]. Secondly,its contents point to Piedmont. The mention of Apulia may be connected with the links which existed in the 14th century between the communities in Piedmont and Apulia.[4] Further, the freedom from persecution for 200 years,followed by the beginning of a continuing persecution c.1314,while being precisely true of no community,has more truth when apllied to the Piedmontese than to any other. During the course of the 13th century the Piedmontese were relatively free of persecution,partly because of the difficulty of access of their valleys,and then there are references to activity against them in the early 14th century[5],of which there are notices from 1312,1333,1334[6],

---

1 EJL I,17,l.19-25; 18,ll.6-7,12-3; etc. 2 EJL I,18,l.25 -19,l.4. 3 See ii a above. 4 Seen in the process printed by G.Amati,Archivio Storico Italiano,Ser.3a,I,Pt.II,pp.39-40. 5 References to sums expended(ineffectually) by inquisitors engaged in activity against Piedmontese Waldensians in G.Biscaro,'Inquisitori etc.',Misc.di Stor.Ital., Ser.3,XIX,1922,pp.545,548,556. 6 See P.Caffaro,Notizie e documenti della Chiesa Pinerolese,III(Pinerolo,1897),pp.154-5.

and 1335[1]. The words of a bull of John XXII from 1332 describing the flourishing state of the Piedmontese are very reminiscent of those of the LE describing the fructifera tempora:-

Bull	LE
..ita crescunt et multiplicati sunt ...quod frequenter congragaciones per modum capituli facere inibi presumpserunt in quibus aliquando quingenti Waldenses fuerunt insimul congregati...[2]	..in tantum multiplicati sunt ut pluribus in eorum conciliis et consiliis aliquando DCC, aliquando M, aliquando plures, aliquando vero pauciores convenirent...[3]

This bull implies the relative ineffectiveness of earlier inquisitorial activity, while the process from the inquisition of 1335 shows that by this time inquisitors were beginning to achieve considerable success. This pattern, of inquisitorial activity beginning in 1312 (in the LE, beginning c.1314), and continuing over a period of time to 1335, and ultimately effective (in the LE, cruelty which usque nunc...perseverat) suggests as the date of composition c.1335 or later. It would probably be incorrect to push the LE too closely to its terminus at the other end of the time scale, i.e. 1368. The EFI I (of c.1365-7), while defending the LE, contains various accretions to and developments of the 'history' stated in the LE, which points to the anteriority of the LE by a sufficient period of time (? decades) to allow for this development. For these reasons, while 1314-1368 remain the outer limits, I suggest c.1335-1350's as the span during which the LE was composed.

b) Form and content

It has been suggested that the LE is the fragment of a letter[4]. This appears to have some weight: the earlier, missing, part could have contained the salutatio and exordium of a letter, while the second of the two surviving parts, in which the vocative, second person plural, is

---

1 See T.Kaeppeli, 'Un processo...nel 1335', Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, I, 1947, pp.285-91. 2 T.Ripoll, Bullarium ord.Frat.Praed., I, (1780), p.196. 3 LE, 3, l.12-5. 4 Gonnet, 'Valdesi d'Austria', p.8; this accompanies the mistaken idea that the LE formed part (the first part) of the correspondence.

employed (e.g. considerate,karissimi; certissime noveritis[1]; etc.) could be the petitio of a letter. However,there is no reference,either in the petitio or conclusio,to the affairs of the addressees,and its style is totally different from the only Waldensian letter to which it may be compared,the EFI I,which is prolix,heavily larded with scriptural and patristic quotation,and conformable in its construction with the rules of the ars dictaminis.

Its contents are twofold. The first part consists of the narration of history,written almost entirely in the first person singular by a Brother described in the EFI I as hystoriographus[2], and the second part an interpretation of this history,written in the first person plural and thus given authoritativeness by the weight of the community from which it emanated. The resulting document,provided an authoritative account of Waldensian 'history' -the Regula of the Brothers,according to Leser[3] and three rubricators of Latin mss. of it,and their fundamentum secundum historiam according to another rubricator[4]- and,as such,spread among widely dispersed communities,including the Piedmontese and German-speaking. We should regard it therefore as a tract,intended to be read by all communities of Brothers in general,playing an analogous role to that probably played by the Acts among early Christians.

The narrative follows and interweaves two strands,the history of the Church,and the history of those in the Church living the vita apostolica, from the Apostles down to Valdes and his followers. The history of these is expressly based on various sources,written (e.g. secundum antiquas hystorias,ut legitur[5], etc.),tradition in general (e.g.ut refertur,ut audivi[6]),and the oral tradition of the community to which the author belonged(e.g.ut dicunt nostri[7]), and is inserted into the framework of alternating ages described above. Each of these is examined below.

1) In the first age of fere 300 years the Church lived,secundum antiquas hystorias,in holiness,and its rulers in poverty and humility,and this first age was terminated by Pope Sylvester's acceptance of the Donation of Constantine. The contrast here between the purity of the Apostolic

---

1 LE,5,1.23; 7,1.3-4. 2 EFI I,19,1.2. 3 EJL I,17,1.19. 4 See mss. A2,A3,& C1 in ii b above. 5 LE,1,1.7; 1.11. 6 LE,1,1.18 -2,1.1; 1.4; 1.14; 3,1.2; 1.15; 1,1.12; etc. 7 LE,2,1.15.

Church and its later corruption through accession to worldly power and riches is in the mainstream of a tradition going back to Jerome which had fused by the first half of the twelfth century with the legend of the Donation,which served to locate the transition from the pure to the corrupt state at a point in history,and this tradition had been adopted in this form by the Brothers before 1241[1].

In the LE the account of the Donation is qualified with the phrase ut legitur.[2] It would seem that the author took its details,Silvester's exile on Soracte,Constantine's dream,his cure from leprosy,and his conversion from the Vita Sancti Silvestri. The Bollandists note that the innumerable mss. of the Vita contain many different versions[3], and it is possible to match closely the details and wording of the LE among these. For example:-

Vita Sancti Silvestri	LE
...montem Sirapti,ubi sanctus Sylvester in cuiusdam Christiani agro persecucionis causa cum suis...[4]	...hic in monte Syrapti iuxta Romam vitam pauperem cum suis,ut legitur,causa persecucionis agebat...[5]

The author of the LE has not simply adopted this material,but has shaped it and altered it. Firstly,the account,which normally occupies several densely packed folios in mss. of the Vita,has been compressed to about 120 words,becoming in part unintelligible; thus the appearance of Saints Peter and Paul to Constantine in a dream,and their instruction to him to send for Silvester,has been condensed to the cryptic responso accepto in sompnis.[6] This reflects the author's desire to achieve extreme brevity in the document he was composing -for a reason discussed later- and also the fact that much of the contents of the Vita,acts and miracles of Silvester attesting his sanctity,were alien to the LE and its purposes, and could not be incorporated into it,for Silvester was not sanctus to its author. Secondly,the author of the LE emphasises that Silvester cum suis was leading the poor life,and adds a detail not found in any other version

---

1 The earliest reference is in the treatise of Moneta of Cremona,Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque,Bk.V,Ch.III,par.1(ed.T.Ricchini,Rome, 1743,p.412). 2 LE,1,1.11. 3 Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina(Brussels, 1900-1),pp.1119-21. 4 Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum,ed.B.Mombritius (2ed.Paris,1910),II,p.511,l.42-3. 5 LE,1,1.10-1. 6 LE,1,1.12-3.

of the Donation,namely that a socius of Silvester left him on account of the Donation. Waldensian oral tradition is given as the source of this addition: ut enarrari audivi[1]. The significance of the special emphasis and the addition is not expressly spelled out in the LE,but becomes clear in the light of the interpretation of the LE in the correspondence and additions to it in the EFI I. In the Church from the time of the Apostles, and in succession to them,there was a body of men,an Order,following a life of poverty according to the evangelical precepts. Silvester and his companions were of this body,and in accepting riches they broke with the fundamental rule of this way of life,but one of them,the socius,stayed true to this rule,and for this reason cut himself off from Silvester and the others.

What is at issue here is the implied continuity of the Waldensian ordo through the socius,back to the body leading the poor life which was constituted by Silvester and his companions prior to the Donation,and beyond these to the Apostles. Behind this is,primarily,the Brothers' extreme conviction of their apostlehood,beginning originally in imitation of the apostolic way of life and proceeding from this towards the myth of historical continuity. Parallels of the desire to demonstrate antiquity, and the willingness to adopt myth in order to do so,can be seen in other religious Orders in the Church. Take,for example,the Austin canons,who traced themselves falsely to St Augustine. They did not want him labelled the founder of their Order : according to Peter Comestor,although St Augustine gave their rule he was not the founder of their way of life[2]; this derived from apostolic times,and decay in the Church explained why visible continuity could not be clearly shown[3]. Disputes and splits in the Franciscan Order provide another,more distant,parallel of one other aspect of the story posited in the LE at this point: a dispute in the history of the Waldensian Order occasioned by the unwillingness of most to continue

---

1 LE,1,1.18 -2,1.1. 2 Sermo XXXI,PL CXCVIII,col.1795. 3 J.C. Dickinson,The Origins of the Austin Canons(London,1950),p.7.

to practise poverty(when accepting the Donation),which resulted in a split in the Order between those who accepted,and the other part,symbolised by the socius,which continued to hold true to the rule of poverty.

2) The second age,ushered in by the Donation,was one of general darkness. Where before the Donation the visible Church was also the Church of the Elect,after the Donation it has ceased to be so. The greater part of it has fallen into evil,and it is to this part and to this period that the origin and development of those things in the Church to which the Brothers objected are assigned. A smaller part of it remained holy,and it is the implication of the LE that it was through a body of men continuing to follow the poor life in this part that continuity was maintained between the socius who left Silvester and Peter Waldensis.

Multiplicata sunt mala[1]: the general prevalence of evil in this period is emphasised both to accord with the alleged effects of the Donation,and to keep this period within the overall pattern of alternating ages of light and darkness presented by the LE. Resting as it does on no other historical basis than this it remains,not surprisingly,notably vague. No examples of the mala are given,and the link between P.Waldensis and the socius is weak;the first relies on assertion,the second on implication. Whereas in the other sections the author appeals to written sources or tradition,he appeals here only to experience of the habitual (sicut est consuetudo[2]),and simple belief (omnino credimus[3]).

3) After 800 years of the second age,the third age,that of fructifera tempora,was ushered in by the appearance and life of P.Waldensis. The first part of this section is taken up with an account of him and his deeds, based on Waldensian oral tradition(ut dicunt nostri[4],etc.). The earlier part of this may be compared with the account of his life,conversion,and actions given in the anonymous Chronicle of Laon[5]:-

LE	Chronicle of Laon
a)	
...Petrus...Waldis...vel ille	(A compression of):-
legens vel ab aliis audiens	-hearing the Gospel (intente...

---

1 LE,2,1.6. 2 LE,2,1.9. 3 LE,1,1.7; see also 1.10. 4 LE,2,1.15; see also 1.14,and 3,1.2. 5 MGH,Scriptores,XXVI,pp.447-8.

ewangelii verba percepit[1]...	audire curavit) -reading the translation he had made; -following the words 'Si vis perfectus etc.'(Mt.XIX,21).
b) ...que habebat vendidit, pauperibus distribuit[2]...	..maximam partem (i.e.pecunie sue) in usus pauperum expendit...
c) (the return of unjust gains has no echo here)	...de mobilibus hiis a quibus iniuste habuerat reddidit...
d) ...predicavit[3]...	...(public preaching in Lyons, described at length)...
e) ...paupertatis viam arripuit, discipulos fecit[4]...	...cepit habere sui propositi (i.e. paupertatis) consortes, qui eius exemplum secuti cuncta pauperibus largiendo,paupertatis spontanee facti sunt professores

...

The LE was not,of course,based on the Chronicle,but since the two deal with the same events -one the earliest comprehensive account in the Church to survive,the other the earliest Waldensian- a comparison is instructive. It shows first of all the extreme compression of the LE, noted in the discussion of the Donation,which leads in the first item here to conflation. Secondly,Valdes appears here with the apostolic name Peter, a name not found in earlier accounts or references to him[5]. There are, further,differences of emphasis in the account of his character prior to his conversion. In the Waldensian LE he is already a good man prior to this event -probus valde-[6] and there is no suggestion that his wealth was ill-gotten,whereas in the Catholic account the classic hagiographical

---

1 LE,2,1.17. 2 LE,2,1.17-8. 3 LE,2,1.19. 4 LE,2,18-9. 5 This was first remarked by Fr.A.Dondaine,'Aux Origines du Valdèisme etc.', AFP,XVI,1946,p.215. 6 LE,2,1.16.

model of conversion from wickedness to sanctity has afforded an opportunity to emphasis his early wickedness,in this instance great riches unjustly aquired.

With the exception of this point Valdes' life up to 1179 was,from the confessional pont of view,relatively neutral territory,and thus in this area it is not surprising to find the LE mainly in accord with this early Catholic source. In contrast his relationship with the Church from this point on,to his excommunication,and this event itself,was extremely difficult territory,and it is given a distorted and partisan account in the LE.

Briefly,the actual course of events in this part of Valdes' life was as follows. 1)Valdes and a follower or followers went to Rome in 1179 to appeal against the ban imposed by the Archbishop of Lyons pntheir preaching. Alexander III received Valdes warmly ('Waldensis amplexatus est Papa'[1]),and gave informal approval to their way of life. Their simplicity in theological matters aroused derision at the Council -bystanders laughed at the answers two of them gave to questions put to them- but Map's description of them as nudi nudum Christum sequentes[2] betrays an admiration which,taken together with the Pope's warm reception,shows that at this stage some elements in the Church favoured them. 2) In the next two or three years the orthodoxy of the Waldensians became suspect. In 1180 Valdes made a formal profession of faith in the hands of the legate Henry,Cardinal of Albano[3]. 3) Finally the first official condemnation came at the Council of Verona in 1184.

In the LE all three events are conflated,and the years separating them disappear. The journey to Rome(1179) results in the excommunication (1184),despite the friendship of a cardinal there(1180). This historical and chronological conflation has removed the embarassment,for the Brothers, of the period of hesitancy inside the Church before 1184,the initial

---

1 Anon.Chronicle of Lyons,loc.cit. 2 De Nugis Curialium,Enchiridion, pp.122-3. 3 For the profession,see the article of Fr Dondaine ('Aux origines etc.'),and the eyewitness account of Geoffrey of Auxerre,Super Apocalypsim,in Enchiridionp.46.

favour displayed by a Pope,and the submissiveness of Valdes' profession of faith. Further,the excommunication itself has developed in Waldensian tradition into a triumph. In stead of their being put to the question at the Council,and derided for their simplicity,it is Peter Waldensis who puts the Pope to the question: coram heresiarcha de fide et religione disputavit[1]. It is not the Waldensians' difficulties with regard to licences to preach,or their suspect orthodoxy,but the Pope's failure to accept their counsels of perfection -eius verba ferre non posset nec viam inceptam deserere[2] which led to the excommunication.

The events recounted here have earlier parallels: P.Waldensis and the Pope who would not accept these counsels recall the socius and Silvester who were,respectively,their predecessors. But the main parallel which Waldensian tradition and the LE saw was the apostolic one. Valdes is given the name Peter to emphasise his apostolic character,he preaches and makes disciples,and he is put out not of the Church but of the synagogue, implying the glorious precedent of the expulsion of the early Christians from the synagogue. This identification of the deeds of P.Waldensis and his followers with those of the Apostles is ribbed in in the account of the fructifera tempora P.Waldensis ushered in through reminiscences of the description in the Acts of the Apostles of the flourishing period of the early Christian community:-

	Acts,V,12-15	LE
-	...magnificabat eos populus..(13)	...libenter audiebat eos populus...
-	...fiebant signa et prodigia multa...(12)	...Deus pro eis operabatur mira...
-	...augebatur credentium in in Domino multitudo...(15)	...multiplicati sunt...

These fructifera tempora lasted 200 years. I stated above that this could apply precisely to no Waldensian community,although it has most truth when applied to the Piedmontese. The historical basis may be the early wide dispersion of the Order,the general immunity of the Brothers in the early period after their excommunication,and the general freedom from persecution of the Piedmontese for most of the 13th century,all here (in the LE) combined and exaggerated to bring this period into line with the black and white contrasts of alternating ages.

---

1 LE,2,1.19-20. 2 LE,3,1.3-4.

4) Finally these fructifera tempora were followed by a period of darkness and persecution,the fourth age,during which the LE was written.

In this narrative section the author follows,through these four ages,two interwoven themes,the history of the fortunes and persecutions of the sancta ecclesia,and the body of men in the sancta ecclesia leading the poor life,and beliefs with regard to these,in particular the relationship of the sancta ecclesia to the visible Church,and the continuity of the ordo of those leading the poor life,are asserted or implied in the LE. Prior to the Donation the sancta ecclesia prospered, and the implication is that it was then generally identifiable with the visible Church,and was spear-headed by the body of men leading the poor life in succession to the Apostles,the ordo of which Silvester and his companions were later members. At the time of the Donation one man remained true to the evangelical precept of poverty,and in his person symbolised the continuity of the ordo,while much of the visible Church, through its accession to honours and wealth,ceased to be holy,and the sancta ecclesia became small in size. The relationship between the surviving remnant of the sancta ecclesia and the surviving remnant of the ordo is not made clear,nor that between these and the Church,and it would probably be a misrepresentation of the Brothers to suggest the drawing of rigid visible boundaries in this area. They probably did not regard the ordo as coterminous with the sancta ecclesia,but more its leading part,nor the malign part of the Church as coterminous with the Roman Church. The Brothers were willing to cite from this period Fathers and Doctors of the Church,and Popes,[1] and presumably,while not holding that these were members of the body leading the poor life,the Order,did not exclude these from the sancta ecclesia. On the other hand, while the malign part may not have been strictly coterminous with the Roman Church,it is clear that those things in the Roman Church to which the Brothers objected were identified with this part,and given an historical origin in the growth of evil at this period.

Finally P.Waldensis appears,a member of the ordo going back to the

---

1 See the citations of Cyprian,Jerome,and Popes Innocent I and Gregory I in the Rescriptum;Enchiridion,pp.181-2; the citations of fathers etc. in the EFI I,passim,going up to Peter Lombard and St Bernard; and the existence of catenae of their dicta in Piedmontese literature(see Ch.I).

to the Apostles,and the apostolic character of Peter Waldensis and his followers is the starting point of the interpretation of their relationship with the Roman Church. In other words,this was seem in the light of the relationship of the Apostles to the synagogue. This was based on Waldensian conviction of descent from the Apostles,and their imitation of them; it enabled them to explain P.Waldensis' excommunication; and it fitted in well with the Brothers' actual relationship to the contemporary visible Church,much of whose faith they rejected while continuing to recognise its priesthood and this priesthood's sacrificial role.

This first narrative section was written almost entirely in the first person singular,[1] and its claim to stand as history rests for the most part on appeals to written or oral sources. By contrast the second section,which follows and interpretes this history,is written in the first person plural (videamus,arbitramur,etc.[2]),and thereby derives its authority from the community from which the LE and its author came. The interpretation is this. First,the prefiguration and prophesy of the Old Testament show that the sancta ecclesia never completely dies out,though it may be reduced to very small numbers. Secondly,it should be seen through the figure of the waxing and waning moon. This figure was conventional: see,for example,the many passages gathered under the heading Luna,Ecclesia in the Clavis ascribed to St Melitus,and such instances of its use for a similar purpose as 'ecclesia autem dicitur luna...quia variatur per crementa et decrementa'[3]. The interest of the figure here lies in the way in which it provides the author of the LE with the basis for a thoroughly apocalyptic view of Church history. The waxing and waning of the mooh month by month corresponds with the succession of ages of prosperity and persecution,light and darkness,in the Church,and proves through the inexorable nature of its alternation the alternation of these ages in the Church,and,what was important to the community which produced the LE,the inexorable succession to the

---

1 The exception is the appeal to belief in 2,1.7 (the second age).
2 LE,4,11.3,6,10,11; 5,11.8,13; 6,11.4,7,16; 7,1.2. 3 Clavis,cap.VI, ed.J.B.Pitra,Spiciliegium Solesmense II(Paris,1855),p.65.

present age of persecution of an age of prosperity.

The general purpose of the LE, and the reason why it was written at this time, is clear from this. A period of persistent persecution and consequent suffering and loss of numbers created among the Piedmontese Brothers the need for assurance that, despite the darkness of the present time, the persecution would cease and they would ultimately prevail, and such assurance was provided by a restatement of history in which the alternation of ages gave the promise of the approach of a new age of light.

A second reason was probably awareness on the part of the Brothers that tradition regarding their own history was in danger of being lost. It was already fading through the growing distance separating them from the times of P.Waldensis. As the authors of the EFI I were to comment, there was no-one still alive who saw the proprium rei principium, quia multum tempus est elapsum.[1] This danger was exacerbated by the destruction of the Brothers' written records, about which the authors of the EFI I were to comment - 'racio magis principalis (why they cannot provide documentary support for their version of history) est propter persecuciones innumeras quas passi sumus, unde perducti sunt libri quasi in nullum, ita ut vix sacram possemus paginam reservare'.[2] The document which the hystoriographus produced was very short -its extreme compression at various points has been noted above- and it is also known that the former Brother John Leser had committed it to memory[3]. It is plausible to suggest that its author deliberately produced a document of this brevity in order to facilitate its commission to memory, and thus at a time when it was difficult to preserve books ensure the preservation of a definitive version of Waldensian 'history'. Its literary brevity may have been a counterpart, in spirit, of the physical tininess of the Brothers' books.

Indirect evidence from the preceding period shows that a specifically Waldensian version of history existed prior to the composition of the LE. The treatise of Moneta of Cremona(1241) shows that by this time the Brothers were already using the Donation as the basis for a version of history divided into three periods: first, the poverty of the Church up

---

1 EFI I, 19, l.11-3. 2 EFI I, 19, l.14-7. 3 EJL I, 17, l.20.

to the Donation,secondly,its failure after the Donation,and,thirdly, its restoration through the Waldensians[1]. The De Inquisitione Hereticorum shows the existence at a later date of a body of tradition concerning Valdes upon which the author of the LE was later to call. In this,as in the later EFI I,P.Waldensis is excommunicated through invidia[2]. Waldensian sense of apostlehood has already led,in this tradition,to the development of apostolic parallels: the Waldensians were excommunicated from the synagogue,through the evil of scribes and pharisees,and like the Apostles they suffer persecution from these[3]. It is not clear to what extent the sense of succession to the Apostles through imitation of their way of life had pushed,through such historical parallels,towards the myth of historical continuity.

In the absence of any direct account of this body of history prior to the composition of the LE it is impossible to say exactly how much in the LE was merely restatement and how much was added or new. I can only suggest that the thoroughness with which this material was shaped and inserted into the four contrasting ages probably reflected more recent conditions,the stress of persecution. The later development in the EFI I of those elements which bore upon the historical continuity of the ordo --in particular the addition to the socius who left Silvester--suggest that these also may have been in a fluid state at the time of the LE's composition.

The LE,then,provided a restatement of 'history' and an authoritative interpretation of it,giving consolation from history and implying the continuity of the Waldensian ordo with the Apostles: the Waldensian fundamentum secundum historiam[3]. Its status as a document was high: it dealt with the acts of successors of the Apostles,including a Valdes with the apostolic name Peter,and included reminiscences of the Acts; just as the Waldensians learnt scripture[4] so,it seems probable,they also learnt the LE. With no more than slight exaggeration one can say that it had quasi-canonical status among the Brothers.

---

1 Bk.V,Ch.III,par.I(ed.Ricchini,p.412). 2 EFI I,17,l.11. Ch.4 of the De Inquisitione(ed.Preger,pp.205-6) provides some account of the Brothers' attitude(at an earlier date) to this period in their history. 3 See ms. C1 in ii b. 4 Pseudo-Reinerius,Gretser,col.264a(an example of two Waldensians,one knowing Job,the other the whole of the New Testament, by heart).

The EFI I

One may see scriptural parallels,in this case with the Pauline Epistles rather than the Acts,in the case of the later EFI I(c.1365-7), written as it was by Brothers who claimed to be in direct succession to the Apostles,sent from one of their communities to another,dealing,as the Pauline Epistles,in authoritative fashion with the affairs of the community addressed,and larded with quotations from the Pauline Epistles, taking,finally,its conclusion from the conclusion of the second Epistle to the Corinthians.

The historical context of the composition of the EFI I is described in section iii. The polemical onslaught of the converted Brothers had included attacks on the Waldensian ordo ,that is to say,both the historical continuity of the Order with the Apostles and the descent of the Orders which conferred upon the Brothers the pastoral office,and also the reliability of the LE. The response in the EFI I evoked by this involved,among other things,a defence of the LE and a restatement and elaboration of some parts of the 'history' contained in it.

The bases of the 'history' recounted in the EFI I were slight. Apart from their own LE its authors cite no other written (historical) sources. The authors admitted their inability to do this,to appeal for support of their history to chronicles[1],and defend this by reference to the destruction of their books during persecutions. Beyond the LE the only source the authors use,for the most part implicitly but in one instance explicitly[2],is their own oral tradition. This exclusive reliance on Waldensian sources,mainly oral,was probably one of the conditions which, allied to the lapsing of time between the LE and EFI I,made possible the accretions to and development of the 'history' of the LE which can be seen in the EFI I,while the immediate stimulus to this development was provided by polemical attack on the ordo and the consequent need to strengthen those parts of the 'history' upon which it was based.

The claim to historical continuity,left implicit in the LE,was made explicit: ordo iste derivatur ab apostolis[3],and Peter Waldensis was its

---

1 EFI I,5,1.7-9. 2 EFI I,20,1.4. 3 EFI I,13,1.14.

reparator,not its principium[1]. The historical substance of this claim was made more concrete throughout. The body of religious living the poor life at the time of the Donation,only hinted at in the LE,becomes tangible and visible: they are designated Cristi pauperes[2],men who followed a certain way of life (viamque paupertatis exercentes[3]). The account of the Donation in the LE which was a fusion of an abbreviated and censored standard version with the personification of the continuity of the Waldensian ordo,the socius who left Silvester,is replaced in the EFI I with an account which leaves out the irrelevant elements in the standard version (e.g.Constantine's leprosy,dream,conversion,etc.),and elaborates the Waldensian element. The socius who refuses becomes socii who refuse,[4] a transition from the symbol of continuity provided by one person to the greater historical verisimilitude of continuity provided by a plurality of persons. The simple refusal to consent to the Donation in the LE becomes in the EFI I an extended debate on poverty between Silvester and the socii in which the latter cite most of the evangelical passages which prescribe poverty.[5] Following the Donation was the most awkward period in the history of this body of pauperes --after all, historically it was a complete vacuum for the Waldensians. What happened to this body between the Donation and the rise of P.Waldensis? This,which is passed over in uncomfortable silence in the LE,is given some substance in the EFI I although,since this was a recent addition,in rather vague form: the socii dispersed over the earth,multiplied in numbers,and lasted through many ages.[6] Their suffering of persecution, stated in the EFI I,[7] was probably suggested by the alternation of ages in the LE,which dictated that this was an age of mala.

Finally,the authors lead the account from these to P.Waldensis, shaping their account of him to show that he was merely a figure in the history of their Order,rather than its founder. His singularity in the LE,which might be congruent in the eyes of some with his historical role as the founder of the Order,[8] is avoided by the allocation to him of a companion called John,and it is stated that the men leading the poor life

---

1 EFI I,16,l.8. 2 EFI I,14,l.10. 3 EFI I,14,l.19-20. 4 EFI I,13,l.16.
5 EFI I,13,l.17 -14,l.7. 6 EFI I,14,l.20 -15,l.1. 7 EFI I,l.1-3.
8 EFI I,16,l.14.

took their name Lugdunenese from the incidental fact that they lived there for a long time[1], thus obviating the natural inference that this name came from origin in Lyons --a geographical origin which made chronologically proximate origin more likely. P.Waldensis himself is given the role of reformer of the Order.

Some of the additions to the account of P.Waldensis represent other pressures and motives. The name of the companion assigned to Waldensis, John, underlined the apostolic character of the deeds of this Peter and John, while the anxiety of the authors to buttress by several lines of descent the origin of the Brothers' Orders led them to the new claim that P.Waldensis, and his companion John, were priests ordained in the Church[2].

The shape and nature of this development over the period of the LE and EFI I, i.e. c.1335/1350's - c.1365/7, is clear through the fortunate survival of these documents. For the following as for the preceding period only scraps of indirect evidence survive, which are insufficient to provide an outline of the later development of this 'history'. They do, however, suffice to indicate that later development was along similar lines, that is to say, the continuing alteration of this 'history' through conflations of and accretions to things which were in some cases already mythical, all done with the apparent purpose of buttressing the Waldensian position. One example, which allows us to see something of the tempo of this development through several stages and over a considerable span of time, is that of the Cardinal mentioned in the LE and EFI I and later. The first stage was the historical basis, the Cardinal Henry of Albano in whose hands Valdes made a submission and profession of faith in 1180. Following this was, probably, the memory in Waldensian tradition of a prelate with whom Waldensis had had favourable dealings. By the second stage, the LE, his person and this event have been transferred to Rome in 1179 as part of the conflation of the period 1179-1184, and the Cardinal is said to have favoured Waldensis[3]. He is given origin in Apulia,

---

1 EFI I, 17, l.4-6. 2 EFI I, 19, l.4-6. 3 LE, 2, l.20 -3, l.2.

whence came no Cardinal at that time[1]; perhaps there is a conflation here between the memory of the Cardinal who favoured Waldensis,and tolerance by figures in the Church towards the Waldensians in Apulia, with whom -in the 14th century- the Piedmontese Waldensians were in close contact. Pressure to support the origin of Waldensian Orders by reference to the succession of Orders in the Church is seen in the third and fourth stages. In the third,in a passage which casts its net wide for instances which underline the connection with Orders in the Church --the priesthood of Waldensis and John,the entry into the Order of Friars[2],and,more loosely,the favour of a priest and bishop in the Church[3] -- this pressure led to the transition of the relationship between the Cardinal and Waldensis,originally submission by the latter,later favour by the former(LE),to the statement that after reception of Holy Orders Waldensis was confirmatum by this Cardinal.[4] The pressure seen here,to increase the relationship between the two in order to emphasise the favour of a Cardinal within the framework of the general desire to underline Roman basis for the authority of the Brothers,is seen in its final form in the conflation of the figures of the Cardinal and Waldensis --the Petrus Waldensis Cardinalis Romanus who appears in the rubric of a homily in an early 15th century ms.[5]

Another example shows the development of this 'history' over several stages of time in similar fashion. We saw above that the sense of Apostlehood led the Brothers through the pressing of apostolic parallels(De Inquisitione Hereticorum) towards the myth of historical continuity,adumbrated first in the socius and implications of the LE, and developed later in the socii,circumstantial details,and fabrications for the awkward Donation-to-Waldensis period of the EFI I. The final stage is given in an account in a Bern chronicle,under the year 1420, which possibly has some relation to the friends tried in the city in 1399 and their depositions. The awkward gap is finally overcome by a

---

1 Biographical details of members of the cardinalate in this period are given in J.M.Brixius,Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130-1181 (Berlin,1912). 2 EFI I,20,l.5-6. 3 EFI I,20,l.6-10. 4 EFI I,19,l.25 -20,l.1. 5 A.Molnár,'Deux homélies de Pierre Valdes',Communio Viatorum,IV,no.1,1961,p.55; the ms.predates 1433(ibid.,p.51). Molnár connects this with the cardinal of the LE(ibid.,p.53).

simple act --the removal of the chrohological gap-- which is effected by the conflation of Peter Waldensis with the socius or socii of Silvester. Peter himself is now the socius of Silvester who left him: 'Von demselben babst(Silvester) einer siner jünger und mitbrüder usschied,hies petrus waldensis,und wolte dem babst nit gehorsam sin'[1].

There is not enough evidence to trace the form of this development in the later 14th century. We have seen the way in which persecution brought the Brothers to seek consolation in an increasingly apocalyptic version of 'history'(LE),and the way in which polemical attack brought about further development of this 'history'. Both persecution and polemical attack were widespread and intense in the later 14th century,and one can only conjecture the extent of the development which took place under the stress of these conditions. The fragments from this later period discussed above appear to reflect a whole,from which they survive,which was probably constituted by an increasing reliance by the Brothers on 'history',a 'history' which was itself increasingly mythical and apocalyptic in character.

To a certain extent it is possible to link the ideas of 'history' described above to persons,times and places,and to trace the journeys and dispersion of these ideas. The two documents containing them which have been analysed above originated among Piedmontese and Italian Brothers and found their way across the Alps to German-speaking Brothers, the first prior to c.1365/7,the second at this date,and (in the case of the second) in the first instance to the community at St Peter-in-der--Awe in Lower Austria. The manner of their subsequent dispersion among German-speaking Brothers --beyond Leser's commission of the LE to memory-- is not known. However,such diffusion among the Brothers and the subsequent travels of these ideas with the itinerant Brothers journeying in secret to visit friends in widely dispersed areas of German-speaking lands,is implied by some elements in the reports of friends of parts of the Brothers' sermons or instruction. Some of the history re-appears in these. One friend in Brandenburg knew of the descent of Orders from the Apostles[2],and another in Strasbourg knew something of the later part: the fact that faith had been lost 200 years before(LE),when two (EFI I), called Waldensium(!) journeyed to Rome to see the Pope(LE and EFI I).

---

1 Die Berner-Chronik des Conrad Justinger,ed.G.Studer(Bern,1871),p.189.
2 See CH.II,vi.

The Brothers' later emphasis on derivation of authority from the Church (EFI I) is reflected in this friend's notion that authority was received on this occasion from the Pope.[1] The Brothers also provided the friends with assurance that they would ultimately prevail. One Brandenburg friend regarded them as men 'permansuri usque in finem ab inicio',[2] and one Fribourg friend had been told by them that 'lex ipsorum ante diem iudicii exaltabitur super omnem fidem'[3]. The consolation of the view of alternating ages in history(LE) probably lay behind such assurances — Leser referred to the Brothers' use of talibus fabulis to reassure their fautores, the friends.[4]

While travelling along these secret channels, across the Alps and subsequently with Brothers travelling in disguise along the length and breadth of German-speaking areas to preach to far-flung communities of friends, these ideas also travelled in the open, coming into the hands of the Church in the shape of the LE and EFI I, which came over at the time of the conversion. After the selection of the correspondence was made these dispersed in mss. in the last two decades of the 14th century and the early 15th century in Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, and southern Germany, mainly into the libraries of religious houses.[5]

In the Church these ideas met with a curious set of responses: first of all, in the years immediately preceding and succeeding 1370, polemical attack, and secondly, in the later 14th century, the trust implied in their use by Catholic authors as historical sources. The former response was that of the converted Brothers in their letters. These show an escalation from tentative expressions of doubt to a full-scale critical attack on Waldensian historical claims, and this can be followed from letter to letter. They began with the suggestion in the first letter, the EFC*, that the qualification of some of the contents of the LE with the phrase ut audivi indicated doubt on the author's part about the validity of what he was writing.[6] Then, in the RS, Siegfried pointed to

---

1 Röhrich, Winkeler, p.51. 2 Wattenbach, 'Inquisition', p.44. 3 Frib.AE Geist.Sach.no.26, f.53r. 4 EJL I, 19, l.7-9. 5 See ii b and Map III. 6 See iv.

some specific dubia in the LE, such as the incredible nature of the Brothers' claim to have preached and ordained openly for a long time[1] and the apparent inconsistency between the statement in the LE that Waldensis heard or learnt scripture (with the possible implication that he was a layman) and the statement in the EFI I that he was a priest[2]. However it was left to Leser to mount the full-scale attack, first in the EJL I of 1368 and later in the EJL II. In the first he concentrated on the claim to 200 years of fructifera tempora. He asks how the Church could have accepted the Brothers for so long if it had rejected them at the time of the Donation[3], and he points further to the inconsistency between this claim and the persecution suffered 100 years beforehand (probably a reference to the inquisition in the diocese of Passau in 1266)[4]. He concludes by asking the Brothers to desist from such fabulis[5]. In the EJL II, after stating baldly that in the LE multa ponuntur que valde sunt suspecta[6], he moves on to the socius who was said to have left Silvester. He points out that no details -name, status, etc.- are given about him, simply the bald statement (absolute dicit...)[7]. Further, he points out that the EFI I corrects the LE, replacing the socius with socii, and that again no details about name or condition are given[8]. He also indicates the possibility of doubt about the voice alleged to have spoken at the time of the Donation saying that poison had been poured into the Church[9]. No details are given about Waldensis and the other Brothers at the time; the former must have been the origin of the ordo, for otherwise the author of the LE would have indicated his predecessors.

After the completion of this polemical exchange the LE and EFI I were copied into the collection of documents of the correspondence, and mss. containing one or both of these elements were copied and circulated in the Church in the last few decades of the 14th and the early 15th century. The Church's continuing suspicion of the contents of the two documents, particularly the LE, was shown in some of these mss. Four of the mss. of the LE contain a note accompanying the text warning the reader not to give credence to it,[10] and in two other mss. it is copied beside the tract

---

1 RS,9,l.20-1. 2 RS,7,l.2-4. 3 EJL I,18,l.17-9. 4 EJL I,18,l.24 - 19,l.7. 5 EJL I,19,l.7. 6 EJL II,11,l.5-6. 7 EJL II,11,l.6-14. 8 EJL II,11,l.14-7. 9 EJL II,12,l.22-4. 10 Mss.A1-4 in ii(b) above.

which refuted it most thoroughly,the EJL II,and the latter is given rubrics indicating this.[1] Nevertheless they were read,and came to be used at the end of the 14th century as historical sources.

The period from the end of the correspondence to the end of the 14th witnessed considerable activity in the composition of polemical literature against the Waldensians and forms for use in their inquisition: the short anonymous tract Attendite a falsis prophetis(pre-1381),the tract of Peter of Pilichdorf(late 14c-early 15c),[2] the inquisitor's handbook,the Processus Petri (a compilation mainly of the last decade of the 14th century),and the treatise Cum dormirent homines(1395). The earliest of these only makes a short and slighting reference to Waldensian documents -codices quasi nonnullos[3]. The second was composed by an incumbent of parishes in Upper and Lower Austria,and an important member of the University of Vienna,a man who was therefore living in areas where copies of the LE and EFI I were readily available. In it the LE is quoted verbatim on the rise of Waldensis,and reference is made to the socius who left Silvester.[4] This treatise,which survives in no ms. and is only known through a fragment printed in the 17th century did not have anything approaching the success of the last treatise mentioned above,the Cum dormirent homines. Because of its heavy dependence on the LE and EFI I and its massive dispersion -it is still known in 45 mss.- this became the main vehicle for the dispersion of Waldensian 'history' -albeit in somewhat bowdlerised form- in the next 60 years.

This was composed in 1395,possibly on the basis of the library in the Benedictine monastery of Garsten,[5] which had copies of the LE and EFI I at this time,as well as the treatise of Moneta of Cremona. It also reflects the influence of the De Inquisitione Hereticorum. The chapter devoted to the origin of the Waldensians shows these influences clearly. The first element in Waldensian 'history',duration back to the Donation, is rejected,but the LE and EFI I are relied on almost entirely for the chronology and deeds of Waldensis. Thus:-

---

1 See mss. Bc and C1 in ii(b) above,and EJL II,1,n.1. 2 See App.I for this tract and its author. 3 Karlsruhe Reich.Pap.Ms.48,f.326ra.
4 Gretser,col.300g. 5 For the indication of this possibility,see App.I.

LE	Cum dormirent
...post annos autem DCCC a Constantino surrexit quidam ...dives erat et probus valde, et vel ipse legens vel audiens ewangelii verba... ...et que habebat vendidit, pauperibus distribuit, paupertatis viam arripuit...[1]	...fere octingentis annis post Papam Sylvestrum...fuit quidam civis dives qui vel ipse legit vel audivit... ...et omnibus venditis,et pauperibus datis,coepit vitam pauperem ducere...[2]

Beyond the latter's omission of the LE's testimony to Waldensis's moral worth,the adoption of chronology and detail is complete. To it one detail from the EFI I is added:-

EFI I	Cum dormirent
...eius (i.e.Waldensis) socius Johannes de Lugduno a Lugduno civitate dictus...[3]	...Petro (Waldensis) quidam se adiunxit,qui dixit erat Johannes et erat de Lugduno...[4]

On the more controversial area of the excommunication the author turned to the catholic source of the De Inquisitione Hereticorum,and based his account on this,although at one point he inserted into it a detail probably taken from the LE and EFI I,namely the journey to Rome and the notion that the excommunication came on this occasion[5].

In two areas,the precise date and name of Waldensis,the conflicting nature of the sources in front of the author of the Cum dormirent treatise induced him to attempt reconciliation through selection and conflation,and his inventiveness here resulted in the creation of new myths. First,for the date of Waldensis he had two sources: in the De Inquisitione Hereticorum the description of the Waldensians seeking confirmation from a Pope Innocent who is given no regnal number[6](the reference is to Pope Innocent III and the bodies under Durand and Prim who obtained confirmation from him),and the placing of Waldensis in the LE 800,or about 800 years after Constantine,i.e. c.1114. He reconciled these by taking the Pope Innocent nearest in time to the LE's dates,and thus placed Waldensis' rise under Pope Innocent II(1130-46)! He also had

---

1 LE,2,l.13-18(C?). 2 Gretser,col.278c-d. 3 EFI I,16,l.13-4. 4 Gretser,col.278d. 5 Ibid.,col.278e. 6 Ch.4,Preger,'Der Tractat',p.205.

several forms of the name of Valdes in front of him: Valdeskus(Moneta of Cremona -probably),Petrus Waldis from Waldis(LE),and Petrus de Walle (EFI I). He accepted the legendary 'Peter',but rejected the precise forms of the patronymic in front of him,taking it instead from the singular form of the term currently used to describe the followers of Valdes: Waldenses/Waldensis. Accepting,however,the LE's logic of deriving the patronymic from the place of origin he reversed this and projected the place of origin from the patronymic,thus arriving at the derivation of Petrus Waldensis from Walden[1].

Considerable elements of Waldensian 'history' survived,therefore,in this treatise,and dispersed with it in the innumerable mss. of the latter (see App.I and Map III). The Waldensian documents,the EFI I and LE continued to circulate as well at this period,and to be read. Several mss. of the latter were probably in Bohemia[2],and the influence of the LE which this dispersion suggests can clearly be seen in one instance - extensive reliance on it in one sermon of the radical Hussite Jakoubek of Stříbro[3]. Marginalia against the historical sections of the two documents in the Reichenau ms. show continuing interest at this period.[4] Later,though Waldensian myths continued to grow among the Waldensians, knowledge in the world at large of the early myths and the two 14th century documents in which they were incorporated seems to have died out. The two Reformation and Counter-Reformation historians who interested themselves in the Waldensians,Flacius and Gretser,seem to have known nothing of the LE and EFI I,and the 'history' which had once buttressed, reassured and animated a persecuted Order and its adherents,and then for a brief period acted as documentary sources for catholic polemical work, lay in obscurity in libraries of religious houses,mostly in Austria,till they began to come to light again in the mid-19th century.

---

1 Gretser,col.278c-d. 2 Mss.A1 and A3. 3 Noticed by F.M.Bartos, Literární činnost M.Jakoubka ze Stříbra(Prague,1925),n.55. The sermon is is in Prague Univ.Lib.VII E 6,and the passage occurs on f.27^{r}; it reveals the influence not only of the LE but also of the EFI I -several people are said to have objected to the Donation,allegantes scripturam ewangelicam contra eum(Silvester),which is based on the citation of the evangelical precepts of poverty by the socii against Silvester which is given in the EFI I. 4 The marginalia in this ms.(Bc) are in a 15th century hand; they alight almost exclusively on the historical passages in these documents.

LE 1 1

215v

Liber Electorum

Hec autem sancta ecclesia eciam tempore apostolorum in ordine sancto per orbem terrarum in multis milibus excrevit, et per multa tempora in virore sancte religionis permansit; et rectores ecclesie fere per CCC annos, scilicet usque ad Constantini Cesaris imperium, in paupertate et humilitate, secundum antiquas hystorias, permanserunt.

Regnante Constantino leproso rector erat in ecclesia quidam qui vocabatur Silvester Romanus. Hic in monte Sirachie iuxta Romam vitam pauperem cum suis, ut legitur, causa persecucionis agebat. Constantinus autem, ut fertur, responso // accepto in sompnis accersivit Silvestrum, et 216r baptizatus ab eo in Cristi nomine mundatus est a lepra. Videns Constantinus se a tam miserabili infirmitate in Cristi nomine sanatum cogitavit honorare eum qui se mundaverat, et coronam imperii et dignitatem tradidit ei. Ille vero accepit; socius autem eius, ut enarrari audivi, ab eo recessit et hiis non consensit 2

---

1 Liber Electorum + sed falsum fundamentum hereticorum Waldensium secundum historiam C1 : om A1 A4 B1 Bc Bb D1-2 Pied(which begins 21 lines before this in Bradshaw's edition) :)Regule secte Waldensium hereticorum A2 :)Regula Waldensium A3 :)Scripta quidam fundamentalia hereticorum pauperum inania de Lugduno qui eciam Waldenses vocantur C2 2 Hec)Et C2 Hec autem om C1 :)Et A4 autem om A1-3 ecclesia + prout ipsi locuntur A2 eciam om C1 3 ordine)oracione Bc in om A1 milibus)militibus A1 A3 Bb Bc D2 :)multiplicibus D1 : A2(Schmidt leaves blank because unreadable) 4 virore)vigore A1-2 C1 D2 5 CCC) triginta A2 scilicet om B1 C2 6 Cesaris imperium)Cesarem A2 8 in paupertate(6)-Regnante om B1 Regnante + autem B1(= Pied): + vero A1 9 Romanus om D2 Sirachie)Seraphio A3-4 Pied :)Seraphie A1-2 :)Syrapti C1-2 10 vitam pauperem)vita de pavres Pied legitur + eam Bc 11 fertur)refertur B1 D1-2 :)feretur Bc 12 sompnis) sompno A2 13 baptizatus + est A2 C1-2 D1-2(= Pied) ab eo om A1 eo + et C1 nomine + et A2 Bc(= Pied) est om A2 Bb Bc C1-2 D1-2 Videns om A1 14 tam)tanta D1-2 infirm-)inform- A2 15 sanatum) salvatum Bb :)salutatis Bc eum om B1 :)illum A1 mund-)mand- C2 17 enarrari)enarrare A1-2 B1 audivi)audivit B1 D1-2 11 & 14 Constantinus)Constantius:B1

sed viam paupertatis tenuit. Constantinus autem ad partes transmarinas cum multitudine Romanorum recessit, et ibi, ut dicunt, Constantinopolim edificavit, et eam suo nomine appellavit.

Ab illo ergo tempore heresiarcha in honores et dignitates ascendit, et multiplicata sunt mala super terram[a]. Nec omnino credimus quod ecclesia statim totaliter a via veritatis recesserit; sed pars quedam cecidit, et pro maiori parte, sicut est consuetudo, in malum corruit. Pars autem, ut credendum est, longiori tempore in illa quam acceperat veritate permansit; et sic paulatim sanctitas ecclesie defecit et iniquitas crevit.

Post annos autem DCCC a Constantino surrexit quidam cuius proprium nomen Petrus, ut audivi, sed a quadam regione dicebatur Waldis. Hic, ut dicunt nostri, dives erat et probus valde, et vel ille legens vel ab aliis audiens ewangelii verba percepit et que habebat vendidit, pauperibus distribuit, paupertatis viam arripuit, predicavit, discipulos fecit, urbem Romanam ingressus coram heresiarcha de fide et

---

1 -antinus)-antius B1 :)antinas Bc 2 -marinas)-marinus B1 recessit)processit D1-2 3 -opolim)-opolitani B1 edificavit + civitatem A1 A3 et om A3 5 ergo)autem C1 tempore + Silvester C1-2 -archa)-arche D1-2 honores)homines Bc 6 ascendit)ascend--erunt D1-2 mala om Bc 7 Nec + tamen A1 statim A1-4 Bb Bc C1-2 om 8 recess-)incess- Bc pars)partes Bc et om C2 D1-2 9-10 ut...est om Pied tempore)parte A1 11veritate)veritatem A1 paulatim om A1-4 Bb Bc C1-2 12 defecit)quievit B1 et + sic Bc et...crevit om Pied 13 autem om Bc : + Domini C1 14 audivi) audisti Bc : + fuit A2 sed)et C1 15 regione + que C1 Waldis) Vaudia Pied dives erat(era ric) + e savi Pied 16 vel ille) libenter D1-2 ille)ipse C1 :)iste Bc vel)et D1-2 ab aliis (= Pied) om cett 17 -elii)-elium A2 D1 ewangelii verba)ewangelium C1-2 verba + Dei A2 habebat)habuit A1 vendidit + et A1-4 Bc C1-2(= Pied) 19 Romanam)Romam D2 et)in D1

a I Mach I,10

religione disputavit. Erat ibi tunc temporis cardinalis quidam de Apulia qui amicus // eius erat, et viam eius et verba commendabat, et, sicut audivi, diligebat eum. Ultimo in curia responsum accepit quod ecclesia Romana eius verba ferre non posset, nec viam inceptam deserere, et data sibi sentencia extra synagogam factus est[a]. Ipse nichilominus in urbe predicavit, discipulos plurimos fecit, et per regiones Ytalie iter faciens fecit congregacionem ita ut in pluribus partibus tam ipse quam eius successores multos ad eorum conversacionem attraxerunt, et multiplicati sunt vehementer. Nam libenter audiebat eos populus eo quod sermo veritatis esset in ore eorum et viam salutis ostenderent. Et in tantum multiplicati sunt ut pluribus in eorum conciliis et consiliis aliquando DCC, aliquando M, aliquando plures, aliquando vero pauciores convenirent; et, sicut audivi a pluribus qui libenter vera locuntur, Deus pro eis operabatur mira.

21 216[v] 3 5 10 15

Hec autem fructifera tempora[b] spacio fere CC annorum, sicut audivi a senioribus, duraverunt. Tandem invidia Sathane et malignitate impiorum exsurgente contra servos Cristi

---

1 Erat + autem Bc C1 (=Pied) temporis om C1 2 qui om C2 viam) vitam D1-2 3 sicut audivi om Pied -ebat)-eat D2 eum + valde C1 Ultimo)Tamen ultimo ipse C1-2 4 Romana)Romano Bc 5 nec)et C1 viam)vitam C1-2 D1-2 deserere + nollet C1(= Pied) et om C1 D1-2 sibi)igitur C2 D1-2 :)6° C1 7 predicavit)breviter A2 8 in om A1 8-9 congregacionem...partibus om Bc 9 quam + alii B1 10 attrax-erunt)traxerunt A1-4 Bb Bc C2 :)traherent C1 11 Nam)Ita Bc -lus)-los D2 12 esset)esse B1 eorum)ipsorum A3-4 Bb Bc C1-2 -erent)-erunt Bc D1 10-13 vehementer...sunt om A1 13 in om C1 D2 conciliis et consiliis)conciliis vel consiliis A3-4 :)conciliis C1-2 : conselh Pied 14 aliquando DCC)DCC A1 M)millia A1 :)MOOO Bc :)100 C1 :) Schmidt notes blank space A2 aliquando plures)plures C2 vero om A1-2 C1-2 (= Pied) 15 -irent)-erunt A2 a)de A2 16 vera om Bb D1-2 :)veritatem A1-4 (= Pied) :)verba C2 :)vero Bc locuntur)loqueretur Bc -abatur)-atur Bc 17 spacio(= Pied) om cett fere)vero B1 : om C1 (= Pied) CC)C Bc 18 audivi)audivit B1 19 malignitate)malignacione Bc Cristi)de Dio Pied

a cf Io IX,22 b Act XIV,16

persecucio non minima exorta est, et de regione in regionem expulerunt eos, et eorum crudelitas usque nunc contra nos perseverat. 20-4,1

Et cum hec ita se habeant consideremus tamen quia tempora que ante adventum Cristi precesserunt umbra et figura fuerint istorum temporum que a Cristo usque ad finem seculi perdurabunt. Nusquam enim in scripturis veteris testamenti reperimus quod ab Abraham usque ad Cristum lucerna veritatis et sanctitatis aliquo tempore omnino exstincta sit; // sed 217r semper aut plures aut pauci in sancta vita permanserunt, nec unquam legimus eos totaliter ad defectum devenisse. Ita eciam arbitramur quod a Cristi temporibus usque ad nunc eodem modo acciderit, et sic usque ad finem futurum esse quod ex quo ecclesia fundata est usque ad finem seculi numquam ecclesia Dei ita omnino defecerit quin in orbe vel saltem in aliquibus regionibus orbis aliqui sanctorum fuerint semper. Nam in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum[a] etc. Et ex maxima parte ecclesia Dei in principio in transmarinis regionibus crevit. Quomodo ergo extimandum est quod ultra mare et ex hac parte maris aliquo tempore lucerna sanctorum omnino ad nichilum devenerit? Nam 5

---

1 minima)modica A4 C1 2 eos)ergo B1 : om C2 4 cum om A2 hec om A1 :)hic Bc ita)itaque A1-2 tamen om A1-2 (=Pied) quia)quod A2 5 ante om A2 6 -int)-unt cett istorum)illorum A1 ad)in A1-2 7 enim)autem Bc 8 ab om A1 B1 Bc :)ante A3 9 -quo)-quando B1 omnino)omnimodo A2 :)omnis Bc 10 pauci)pauciores A1-4 B1 in... vita)iustam viam D1 11 dev-)perv- A1 Ita)Item B1 12 ad om cett 13 et om C2 sic om A1-4 Bb Bc C1 [l.14]usque)iisque A2 13 finem + seculi C1 quod om C1 15 ita om C2 D1 -erit)-it B1 16 orbis om Bc : + terrarum A2 -erint)-erunt A1-4 Bb Bc D1-2 17 sonus eorum om Bc etc. om A4 (= Pied) maxima)magna A1 Dei om A2 18 in(2nd) om A1-2 regionibus)partibus A1-4 Quomodo)Quos B1 19 Ext-)Est- A1 A3-4 Bc C1 :)Exist- A2 D1-2 mare + q. A3 et om D1 20 ad)et A1

a Ps XVIII, 5

et fratres nostri in antiquis temporibus propter quamdam 2-3
persecucionem cum mare transissent in quadam regione fratres
invenerunt. Sed quia ignorabant ydyoma regionis illius cum 5
eis non potuerunt consorcia habere nec sibi invicem, sicut
fecissent, fraternitatem ostendere, et ab invicem recesserunt.

Inter hec cogitemus propheciam Ieremie: Non interibit
de sacerdotibus et levitis ministris meis vir a facie mea qui 10
offerat holocausta, et incendat sacrificium, et cedat victimas
cunctis diebus.[a] Hec Dei promissio super sanctam ecclesiam
prolata est. Nam dicta prophetarum ad Cristum et ecclesiam
aspirabant. Videamus ergo quid dicat quod a Cristo usque ad
seculi finem **non interibit vir de sacerdotibus ministris** Cristi 15
qui offerat holocausta et victimas et sacrificium cunctis
diebus. Nam usque // hodie quicumque per sanctitatem vite vere 217[v]
summi sacerdotis membra sunt[b] spirituales hostias Deo super
altare fidei offerunt, et si non multi sunt non mentitur
propter hoc prophecia, quia non dicit, Non interibunt viri, 20
sed dicit, Non interibit vir de sacerdotibus a facie mea qui
hec et illa faciat.

Considerate, karissimi, quia et luna quamvis a 6

---

1 et)si A2 quam-)que- A1 3 quia)quod A2 4 -uerunt)-erant A1-4 Bb Bc C1 consorcia)consorcium cett invicem)ibidem C2 5 et om D1 : • sic C2 recesserunt om A1 6 propheciam Ieremie)prophetam Ieremiam A1-2 : + dicentis C1 interibit)intrabit Bc 7-8 qui...cedat om Bc 9 Hec)Hic Bc 10 est)esse C1 et + ad A2(= Pied) 11 -eamus)-amus A4 quid)quod A2 dicat)dicant Bc 12 Cristi om Bc 13 -erat) -eret Bc -icium)-icia D1-2 14 diebus + etc Bc Nam...hodie om Pied -cumque om B1 vere)fere C2 15 summi)summe A1 Bc :)summis A2 -otis)-otibus A1-2 sacerdotis)sacramentis D1 membra)ministri C1 16 non om D1 17 -ecia)-eta A1-2 interibunt)intrabunt Bc viri)veri Bc 18 sed...vir om A1 a...mea)etc A2 mea + etc A1 qui)et D1 :)quia B1 Bc 19 illa)ista Bc -iat)-iant A1 :)-it A2 20 Considerate + et vos Bc quia)quod A2 Bc C2 :)-que D2 et om A2

a Ier XXXIII,17-18 b G in Ier XXXIII,18,vol.IV,f.157[r]

plenitudine sua usque ad nichilum videatur devenire, tamen semper luna est, et si quibusdam tenebris occultatur et hominum oculis non apparet, tamen in sua substancia, ut credimus, semper luna est. Alioquin semper quolibet mense faceret Deus lunam. Sed scriptura dicit quod hanc lunam ab inicio Deus creavit. Arbitramur ergo dictum David: Fecit, inquit, lunam in tempora,[a] hoc est in defectu et renovacione, et parvo tempore in suo defectu permanet. Et sepe luna ecclesiam signat, que aliquando in multitudine sanctorum eciam in hoc mundo viget, et aliquando quasi ad defectum videtur devenire.[b]

Igitur si per invidiam Sathane,et superbiam impiorum, et negligenciam plurimorum, et propter multas gravesque tribulaciones et persecuciones ecclesia in aliquibus partibus fere defecit, in quibusdam tamen mundi regionibus eam credamus semper, saltem in paucitate sanctorum in bona vita et sancta conversacione permansisse. Nam et Salomon per spiritum prophecie loquitur, dicens, Cum surrexerint impii abscondentur homines; cum illi perierint, multiplicabuntur iusti.[c] Hiis et 7
pluribus aliis scripturarum sentenciis arbitramur quod iterum

---

5,20-6,1 a...sua om A2 sua)suis Bc usque om A1-2 1-2 tamen semper)cum super Bc 2 tenebris om A1 3 -aret)-areat B1 C1 4 est om C2 semper + et C1 3-5 ut...lunam Bc om 5 lunam + novam A2 A4 6 -tramur)-tremur A4 C1-2 ergo)igitur C2 D2 : om Bc C1 David) dicendum B1 inquit)inquam A2 : om Pied 7 -ora)-ore A1 A3-4 Bc C1 D1-2 et(1st) + in A4(= Pied) 8 per-)re- A2 Bc luna + innat B1 9 eciam)et A2 D2 : om A4 D1(= Pied) hoc)hac D2 10 quasi)eciam A1 : om A2 devenire)venire Bc 11 et + propter B1 D1-2 : + per Bc superbiam)invidiam B1 impiorum)iniquorum A1 A3-4 Bb Bc C1-2 12 plurimorum)prelatorum A2 13 ecclesia + Dei A4 : + enayma la luna Pied partibus)temporibus A1 : + mundi A4 14 fere)vere Bc credamus)credimus A1-2 A4 Bc in(1st) + aliquibus C1-2 in paucitate) en la pavreta Pied sanctorum)sanctarum A2 sancta om A1 16 per spiritum)in spiritu A1-4 Bb Bc C1-2 17 prophecie)prophetico A1 -entur)-untur B1 19 scripturarum + testimoniis et C1 : + testimonium C2 18-19 Hiis...arbitramur)Nos pensen a Pied(stops at this point)

a Ps CIII,19 b cf G in Ps CIII,19,vol.III,f.240^{v} c Prov XXVIII,28

LE 7 7

ecclesia in magnam quantitatem resurget. Itaque certissime 3
noveritis quod huius ordinis principium Cristus, et huius
ecclesie caput Iesus Dei Filius est. 5

Oremus Dominum ut nostris temporibus per suam
5 misericordiam multiplicentur adhuc milia sanctorum // et 218r
glorificet nomen suum Deus Pater per Filium in Spiritu Sancto
cui est honor et imperium in sempiternum. Amen.[a]

---

1 ecclesia om C2 magnam quantitatem)magna parte et quantitate A2 resurget)resurgat B1 Itaque)Ita quod Bc 2 principium + est A1-2 Cristus + est C1 :)Cristo Bc 3 caput + Dominus A1 est om A1 4 Oremus + ergo C1 6 Filium + suum Jhesum Christum A2 7 cui) cuius Bc

a I Tim VI,16

CJL

Iohannes Leser confessus est eos non habere potestatem conferendi sacramenta, nec vellet ipsa digito tangere; et dixit purgatorium esse, et sanctos venerari debere. Martinus credit aliquos de nostris in statu laycali et clericali posse salvari. Item dicit quod sacerdotes habeant audire confessiones. Item Henricus de Chrems mortuus est sine communione; igitur ipsi non possunt porrigere sacramenta. Idem attestatur de Praga Iohannes, qui dixit nichil credere. Ulricus Florian fornicator et confessor eorum. 215v

---

2 -ferendi)-ficiendi E ipsa)ipsi C2 6 Chrems)Cremz qui E 7 Idem)Item C2 Idem attestatur om E Praga)purgatorio C2 8 et)est E : om C2

Epistola fratrum de Ytalia ad quosdam conversos de heretice pravitatis errore ad Sanctum Petrum in der Awe[a], ut non crederent sacerdotibus, sed dicunt se esse veros apostolorum successores. 219r

Venerabilibus in Cristo fratribus presentes litteras inspecturis Iohannes, Girardus, Petrus, Symon, necnon alii consimiles et subditi, salutis et sincere caritatis affectum in eadem Cristo Iesu Domino nostro.

Noveritis nos recepisse litteras vestras reverenter, ut decuit, in quibus intelleximus aliqua de quibus usque ad mortem tristamur, quia Dominus graviter vos visitavit. Sed si patrum antiquorum legantur exempla, quos in persona et rebus Dominus visitavit, paciencia requiritur ad coronam, secundum verbum Domini dicentis, In paciencia vestra possidebitis animas vestras[b], Luce XXI°. Ut affliccio illum adversitatis non opprimat quem aliquando prosperitas exaltavit, memento verbi Psalmiste quum ait, Probasti nos, Deus; igne nos examinasti, sicut examinatur argentum; induxisti nos in laqueum; posuisti tribulaciones in dorso nostro[c]. Condolemus itaque fraternitati vestre super tali casu, cum vestros profectus prosperos - sed et adversos cum accidunt - speciales reputemus, ut

---

1-4 Epistola...successores om B3 Bb Bc :)Epistola hereticorum Waldensium ad hereticos Alamanie contra cristianos transmissa C1 :)Exemplum Epistole quam nuper miserunt heresiarche secte Waldensium de Ytalia conversis heresiarchis ad fidem catholicam qui ad Ytaliam quamdam epistolam miserant in qua redarguerant ipsorum errores D1 :)Sequitur exemplum... (etc. as D1, supra) D2 6 necnon + et Bb Bc C1 D1-2 7 -similes) -fideles Bc 8 Cristo om B3 Iesu om C1 D1-2 9 nos om Bb Bc D1-2 10 aliqua + -liter Bc 11 trist-)contrist- C1 D1-2 :)test- B1 vos) nos B1 patrum)patrem B3 12 -antur)-amur D2 -ona)-onis Bb C1 D1-2 et + in B3 Dominus om Bc 15 XXI°)21 Bb Bc C1 D1 -cio)-cionem Bc ad-)exad- Bb Bc C1 D1-2 -atis)-ate D2 16 -itas)-icias Bc quum) qui Bc 17 sicut examinatur om Bc 19 -ati)-ate D2 20 sed et)sicut D1 :)si D2 et om Bb Bc -sos)-sus Bc cum om C1 acc-)dec- Bc : + tamquam Bb Bc C1 D1-2

a St Peter in der Au, between the Enns and the Ybbs c. 15 km east of Steyr, where Waldensians had been found in 1266 b Lc XXI, 19 c Ps LXV, 10-11

decet, dicente apostolo, Et si quidem patitur unum membrum, 20 2
conpaciuntur omnia membra[a], prima Cor. XII. Eapropter, fratres karissimi, vos non desinimus deprecari, vestre prudencie, swadendo ut illi gracias in adversitatibus referatis qui potens est prestare
5 leticiam post dolorem. Ps.: Qui seminant in lacrimis, in 5
exultacione metent; euntes ibant et flebant, mittentes semina sua; venientes autem venient cum exultacione, portantes manipulos suos[b], etc. // 219v

(Sequitur narracio) Hinc est quod tenore litterarum
10 vestrarum percepimus perfidiam aliquorum fidei vestre nostreque 10
communiter adversancium. Unde si bene attendimus verbis Psalmiste hoc nullum prestat nobis inpedimentum. Ait enim, Beatus qui tenebit, et allidet parvulos suos ad petram[c], Ps. 137. Parvulos motus animi nostri ad Cristum[d] debemus allidere, eius exempla doctrinamque 15
15 considerando. Unde ait, Necesse est ut veniant scandala[e], etc., Mt. XVIII°. Et Iob: Cum venissent filii Dei ut assisterent coram Domino, affuit inter eos Sathan[f]. Voluntque illi instabilitate sua
constanciam aliorum pervertere, falsisque abusionibus testimoniisque incongruis errores non modicos inducere conantur. Unde Ps.: Ecce 20
20 parturiit iniusticiam; concepit dolorem, et peperit iniquitatem; lacum aperuit et effodit eum[g]. Unde bene sequitur: Et incidit in foveam quam fecit; convertetur dolor eius in caput eius, et in 3
verticem ipsius iniquitas eius descendet[h]. Et quia super hoc tamquam fideles fratres a fratribus auxilium inploratis, iuxta

---

1 patitur)paciatur B3 2 prima)primo C1 D2 XII)12° C1 D1 3 non om D1-2 vestre)nostre Bc 6 -ent)-et B3 6-7 mittentes...exultacione om B1 8 etc om B3 Bb C1 D1 9 Sequitur narracio om cett : (repeated in margin) B1 est + fratres karissimi Bb Bc C1 D1-2 10 -iam)-ia Bc vestre om Bc -que om Bc 12 hoc)hec Bc Ait enim om D1 13 suos om Bc 137 + ° C1 D1-2 14 debemus om Bc -que om C1 D1-2 15 veniant)fiant Bc etc om C1 D1-2 16 Iob + 1 Bb Bc C1 : + 1° D1-2 17 affuit + -que C1 D1-2 illi)isti cett 18 ali-)ill- B3 -que(2nd) om B3 19 -uis)-uos Bc 20 iniusticiam + et Bb C1 D1-2 21 -odit) -idit B1 lacum...eum om D2 22 eius(1st) om D2 eius(2nd) om Bb 23 ipsius om B3

a I Cor XII, 26 b Ps CXXV, 5-6 c Ps CXXXVI, 9 d cf P.Lombard, Commentarium in Psalmos, PL CXCI, col.1204 e Mt XVIII, 7 f Iob I, 6 g h Ps VII, 15-16; 16-17

dictum Salomonis, Proverb. XVIII°, Frater qui adiuvatur a fratre quasi civitas firma, et iudicia quasi vectes urbium[a], nos, tamquam propria membra protegentes ac si onus propriis humeris esset inpositum, sustinere paramur toto posse, ut docemur ad Galath. VI, Alter alterius honera portate[b], etc.

Oramus, igitur, omnipotentem Deum ut gemitus vestros exaudiat, dicentes cum Ps. 19, Exaudiat te Dominus in die tribul-acionis; protegat te nomen Dei Iacob; mittat tibi auxilium de de sancto, et de Syon tueatur te; tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum, 220r et // omne consilium tuum confirmet[c]. Et sequitur in eodem: Impleat Dominus omnes peticiones tuas[d], ut eciam dicatis, Ps. 117, Ad Dominum cum tribularem clamavi, et exaudivit me[e], et, in sequenti Ps., Levavi oculos meos in montes, unde veniet auxilium michi; auxilium meum a Domino, qui fecit celum et terram[f], et, in Ps. 140, Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi, voce mea ad Dominum deprecatus sum; effundo in conspectu eius oracionem meam; et tribulacionem meam ante ipsum pronuncio[g]. Quibus verbis instruimur omnes communiter divinum auxilium invocare, ipso dicente, Ps. 49, Invoca me in die tribulacionis; eruam te, et honorificabis me[h]; et Ps. 59: Da nobis auxilium de tribulacione, quia vana salus hominis[i]; et in eodem: 4 In Deo faciemus virtutem; et ipse ad nichilum deducet tribulantes[j]. Nos possumus itaque ex parte nostra respondere illud Num. 13, nos quasi locuste[k], et Ps. 22, Ego autem sum vermis et non homo; obprobrium hominum, et abieccio plebis[l]. Unde, quia opinionibus et

---

1 XVIII°)18 B3 Bb Bc C1 D2 3 esset)esseque Bc 4 VI + ° B3 C1 D1-2 5 honera)onerate C1 etc om C1 6 vestros)nostros B1 Bc 7 19 om C1 D1-2 Dominus)Deus C1 8 -ionis + tue Bb C1 D1-2 Dei Iacob om C1 8-9 de sancto om B1 10 in eodem om C1 D1-2 11 omnes om D1 dicatis + cum C1 D1-2 117 + ° C1 D2 :)217 B1 B3 D1 11-14 Ad... terram)Levavi...michi(as 13) + et in precedenti + Ad...me(as 11-12) + etc B1 14 meum)michi C1 140)14° D2 15 mea(2nd) om Bc sum)scc B1 16 et om B3 D1 18 49 + ° C1 D2 :)II° B1 19 me om Bb Bc C1 D2 et om D1-2 59 + ° C1 D2 nobis + Domine Bb Bc D1 20 tribulacione) sancto D2 20 quia)et B1 B3 21 deduc-)redig- B1 -antes)-aciones B1 22 Nos)Vos Bc Num)A(?)idi B1 13 + ° Bb C1 D2 23 22 + ° C1 D1-2

a Prov XVIII, 19 b Gal VI, 2 c d Ps XIX, 2-3, 5; 7 e Ps CXIX, 1
f Ps CXX, 1-2 g Ps CXLI, 2-3 h Ps XLIX, 15 i j Ps LIX, 13; 14
k Num XIII,34 l Ps XXI, 7

obieccionibus invidorum non possumus ut vellemus ad plenum respondere, oramus toto cordis affectu ut ille, a quo cuncta bona procedunt et per quem omnia facta sunt, ex ore nostro tamquam infancium laudes sibi debitas dignetur exhaurire, ut cum psalmo valeamus dicere, Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam[a]; Ps. 50°; ut sine timore de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati serviamus illi in sanctitate et iusticia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris.[b]

Quapropter, fratres karissimi, non videatur difficile nec prestet vobis tedium si verba produximus longa; namque narracio ymo hystoria principium nostrum et responsiones invidis opponendas explicarent, cum sola salutacio de amico ad amicum multis verbis // exornetur; et quia non possumus - quod utinam possemus - loqui os ad os emulis nostris, plura vobis scribimus quam scriberemus. Ex habundancia enim cordis os loquitur[c]; Mt. XII, et Iob, Conceptum sermonem tenere quis poterit?[d] 220v

Proponimus itaque aliquibus eorum obieccionibus respondere. Ipsi enim, ut percepimus, multis allegacionibus vitam nostram non esse salutis meritoriam nituntur approbare, et specialiter in tribus: primo propter defectum sciencie, secundo propter auctoritatis privacionem (quod falsum est, ut in sub-
-sequentibus demonstrabimus), tercio dicunt quod vita nostra sit mala et inhonesta, et per consequens non sit salutis meritoria neque sancta. Non querentes utilia sed inutilia dictum Salomonis effugiunt, qui ait, Cogitavi in corde meo abstinere a vino carnem meam, ut animam meam transferrem ad sapienciam, devitaremque stulticiam

---

1 ut)nec Bc C1 D1-2 2 -tu)-tis B3 ille)iste D1 3 nostro)vestro D1-2 4 cum om C1 5 dicere om B3 mea om Bb 6 laudem tuam)etc Bc 50°)50 B3 Bb Bc 7 ipso)eo Bb Bc C1 D2 8 nostris + etc Bc 9 difficile)dissimile Bc 10 pro- om C1 D1-2 longa bis Bc 11 hystoria)abhostori B3 opponendas om D1-2 12 -arent)-averunt D2 13 quod utinam)quia nunc Bc utinam)ut C1 14 -imus)-eremus D2 -eremus)-imus D2 15 cordis + de D2 XII + ° C1 D1-2 Iob + 4 Bb B3 : + 4° Bc C1 D1-2 16 quis)quos Bc 18 ut om B3 21 falsum) factum B3 ut om B1 in om Bb Bc C1 D1-2 22 -tibus)-ti B3 :)-ter Bb Bc C1 D1-2 tercio) (blank space) Bc

a Ps L, 17 b Lc I, 74-75 c Mt XII, 34 d Iob IV, 2

donec viderem quid esset utile filiis hominum[a], Ecc. II°. Utilia eciam non docent, exemplo Domini dicentis, Ysa. 48, Ego enim sum Dominus Deus tuus, docens te utilia[b], isti vero perversa.

Hoc ex quadam humana cupiditate videtur procedere, nam honores et dominaciones videntur appetere, non attendentes verbo Dei: Quid prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, anime vero sue detrimentum paciatur? aut quam dabit homo commutacionem pro anima sua?[c] Similes enim sunt uxori Loth, que retro conversa non potuit ulterius progredi[d], et filiis Ysrael, qui fastidientes man conversi sunt in Egyptum, dicentes Num. XI: Quis dabit nobis carnem ad vescendum? Recordamur piscium quos comedebamus in Egypto gratis: in mentem veniunt cucumeres, et pepones, porri, cepe, et allia. Anima nostra arida est, nichil aliud respiciunt oculi nostri nisi man[e], licet // man esset cibus omnibus cibis delectabilior in 221r hac vita sive eciam in futura; quod patet per eius interpretacionem - man enim interpretatur donans vel requiescens. Unde dicitur, Panem angelorum manducavit homo[f], Ps. 77, et in libro Sapiencie 16: Angelorum esca nutrivisti populum tuum; et panem paratum de celo 6 prestitisti illis sine labore, omne delectamentum in se habentem, omnis saporis suavitatem; substanciam enim tuam et dulcedinem tuam, quam in filios habes, ostendebas; et deserviens uniuscuius- -que voluntati, ad quod quisque volebat convertebatur[g]. Contra hos loquitur Salomon, Prov. 27, Anima saturata calcabit favum[h]; et Ps. 106, Omnem escam abhominata est anima eorum, et adpropinquaverunt

---

1 II°)II B3 Bb Bc D2 2 Domini)Deo Bc -tis)-te B3 Bb Bc D2 48 + ° C1 :)49° D2 4 Hoc)Hec Bc humana)mundana Bb Bc C1 D1-2 procedere om Bc 5 -etere)-erere Bc 6 prodest bis D1 -sum)-sis D2 -etur) -aretur Bc 7 -iatur)-ietur B1 9 man)manna D1 10 -ersi)-ersa B3 XI)11to Bc :)21 D1 :)21° C1 D2 Quis)Quid D2 carnem + suum B3 11 quos bis Bc -ebamus)-amus Bc 12 -eres)-eros Bc et(1st) om C1 D1-2 et(2nd) om B1 B3 13 nostra)vestra D2 nostri)vestri D2 14 man)manna D2(both) -bilior)-bitur Bc 15 -ura)-uro B1 16 man) manna D2 dicitur + panis angelorum cett 17 -avit)-abit B1 77)27° C1 D1-2 16 om Bc :)14 C1 D2 :)14° D1 18 de celo om B1 paratum om Bc 19 illis)illi Bb Bc C1 D2 20 et)vel Bc 22 vol-)val- Bc 23 loqui-)leg- Bc 27)57 D1-2 :)57° C1 24 106 + ° Bc C1 D2 escam) esca C1 D2 -ata)-atur Bc

a Eccl II, 3 b Is XLVIII, 17 c Mt XVI, 26 d cf Gen XIX, 26 e Num XI, 4-6 f Ps LXXVII, 25 g Sap XVI, 20-21 h Prov XXVII,7

usque ad portas mortis[a]. Unde Augustinus in libro de utilitate credendi: Miseri, inquit, homines quibus cognita vilescunt, novitatibus gaudent, libencius discunt quam norunt, cum cognicio sit finis discendi; malunt enim vesci quam saturari, cum finis sit voluptatis sic nec esurire nec sitire[b]. Racionalis enim creature vera perfeccio est unamquamque rem tanti habere quanti habenda. Unde Seneca: Quid tam necessarium quam precia rebus inponere?[c] Tres enim sunt partes moralis doctrine. Prima rebus dignitatem distribuit et precia inponit, et est maxime utilis. Secunda impetum animi reprimit. Tercia accionem regit, ostendens **quando unumquodque**, ubi, et quemadmodum agi debeat[d]. Verisimile est quod regnum **celi non** querant quia inventam margaritam despiciunt, et more porcorum conculcant, et conversi in suos ministros cupiunt eos dirumpere[e], Mt. VII. Ipsi enim, ut ait Ieronimus in prohemio super biblia, nec scire dignantur quid prophete, quid apostoli senserint; sed ad sensum // suum incongrua aptant testimonia; quasi grande sit et non viciosissimum discendi genus depravari sentencias, et ad voluntatem suam sacram scripturam trahere repugnantem[f]. Unde Apostolus ad Romanos I: Non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, nec gracias egerunt; sed evanuerunt in cogitacionibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum: dicentes enim se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt[g].

221v 5

Dicunt fratres nostros inperitos et sciencia carere, quod in parte eis concedimus. Fatemur enim nos, ut apostolus ait,

---

1 in libro om C1 2 -quit)-quid Bc 3 nor-)vol- Bc -cio)-cis B1 4 -unt)-uit D1-2 sit om Bb Bc 5 sic om C1 esurire)esurie D2 6 -nti)-nta Bc habenda + est Bb Bc C1 D1-2 7-8 inponere...doctrine om Bc 8 -atem)-ate B1 10 -imit)-imat Bc regit om B1 quando om Bc 11 celi)terre Bc 12 -entam)-enta Bc -itam)-ita Bc 13 -ersi)-erse Bc 14 VII)7° D1 15 dignantur + quid prophecie Bc 16 quasi)qualis Bc sit om B1 B3 17 discendi om Bc sentencias)summas Bc 19 I)I° B1 C1 D1-2 : om Bc Non om Bc 20 eg-)ag- Bb Bc -ionibus)-ione B3 C1 suis)sua B3 C1 -uratum)-riabuntur Bc 23 Dicunt + enim Bb Bc C1 D1-2 quod)et B1

a Ps CVI, 18 b Augustine, De Vera Religione, c.LIII, PL XXXIV, col.167 c Seneca, Epistulae Morales, LXXXIX, 14 d (7-11 Tres...debeat) cf Seneca, ibid. e cf Mt VII, 6 f Jerome, Epistola LIII, c.7, PL XXII, col.544 g Rom I, 21-22

inperitos sermone[a] vel sermocinali sciencia, non tamen spirituali scilicet sciencia. Melius enim per Dei graciam instruitur unus agricola quam imperator seu philosophus per suam scienciam mundanam. De quibus Bernardus, loquens de extremo iudicio, Quanti elingwes feliciores erunt advocatis[b]. Et apostolus ad Cor. I: Scriptum est in Ysaya, Perdam sapienciam sapiencium, et prudenciam prudencium reprobabo[c]. Et sequitur: Ubi sapiens? ubi scriba? ubi inquisitor huius seculi? Nonne stultam fecit Deus sapienciam huius mundi? Nam quia in Dei sapiencia non cognovit hic mundus per sapienciam suam Deum, placuit Deo per stulticiam predicacionis salvos facere credentes[d], id est per predicatores inperitos. Et paulo post: Quod stultum est Dei, sapiencius hominibus: et quod infirmum est Dei, forcius est hominibus. Videte vocacionem vestram, fratres, quia non multi sapientes secundum carnem, non multi potentes, non multi nobiles: sed que stulta sunt mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat sapientes: et infirma mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat forcia: et ignobilia mundi, et contemptibilia elegit Deus, et ea que non sunt, ut ea que sunt destrueret: ut non glorietur omnis caro in conspectu eius. Ex ipso autem vos estis in Cristo Iesu, qui factus est nobis sapiencia a Deo, et iusticia, et sanctificacio, et re[illegible] /// [illegible]cio: ut quemadmodum scriptum est: Qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur[e]. 222r

13-14 15 8

Unde, fratres karissimi, si bene consideramus, apostolus probat fidem Cristi non esse predicandam in mundana sapiencia ex parte apostolorum seu primorum predicatorum per quos fides

---

1 non)nomine Bc 2 per Dei graciam om Bc unus om B1 3 quam + unus Bc -ator)-atoris Bc philosophus(conj))filius omn 5 eling-)elig- D2 ad om B1 I + ° B1 C1 D1-2 6 est om C1 D1-2 7 scriba) superba Bc 9 mundi)-modi B3 in Dei)iuderi C1 cognovit)congruit B3 10 per stulticiam)psel. D2 12 post)plus B1 Bb Bc C1 -encius) -entibus B1 quod)quia B1 14 sapientes om Bc 15 elegit)electi ut Bc Deus om Bc 16 sapientes + et infirma...confundat(16) + sapientes B3 ut(2nd))et Bc 17 ignobilia)regno B3 16-17 ut(1st)...Deus om D1-2 17 Deus om C1 18 sunt(2nd) om Bc -eret)-eretur B1 19 Iesu)Ieso B1 20 nobis)vobis cett -icia)-ificacio C1 21 est om Bb Bc C1 D2 24 -andam)-anda Bc in om Bc 25 primorum)aliorum D1-2 :)aliquorum C1

a cf II Cor XI, 6 b I have not found this c I Cor I, 19 d I Cor I, 20-21 e I Cor I, 25-31

predicata est. Unde potest sic dici: per illos decuit fidem predicari qui non possunt gloriari de eorum potencia, sapiencia, et nobilitate - sed tales fuerunt apostoli et primi predicatores, ergo etc. -, non per philosophos seu potentes viros. Unde ita dictum est: Quod stultum et infirmum Dei est forcius et firmius hominibus[a]. Quod in vobis experiri potestis[b], quia ait, Videte, fratres, vocacionem vestram, id est videte per quos vocati estis[c] ad fidem, quia non multi sapientes secundum carnem[d], id est secundum carnalem et mundanam sapienciam. Non enim, ut ait Gregorius, Deus elegit rethores et philosophos, sed piscatores simplices et literalis sciencie prorsus ignaros[e]. Unde Ps., Quoniam non cognovi litteraturam, introibo in potencias Domini[f]. Non, ergo, multi sapientes[g] humana cognicione, nec multi potentes[h] alta dominacione[i], nec multi nobiles[j] prosapie generacione. Dicit non multi[k] quia nulli fuerunt inter apostolos[l] qui vigerent sapiencia, potencia, vel nobilitate, ita quod per tales sumus vocati ad fidem qui nec erant sapientes, nec potentes, nec nobiles. Sed que stulta sunt mundi[m], id est inperitos humane sapiencie, elegit Deus, ut confundat[n], id est erubescere faciat[o] sapientes[p], philosophos. Et infirma mundi elegit Deus[q], id est inpotentes[r], ut confundat forcia[s], id est reges et potentes[t]. Et ignobilia mundi elegit Deus[u] quantum ad prosapiam generatos, et contemptibilia[v], quantum ad fortunam rerum // temporalium; et ea que non sunt[x], id est que non 222v

---

1 dici om B1 decuit)dentur Bc fidem)fides Bc 6 quod)quia Bc vobis)nobis C1 D1-2 8 non om Bc secundum)sed C1 9 ut)secundum quod Bb Bc C1 D1-2 11 Unde om Bc 12 litteraturam + et Bb Bc C1 D2 Non)Vero Bc 14 Dicit + enim C1 D1-2 14-15 Non...sapiencia om Bc 16 vel)nichil Bc 17 erant)erat B3 19 id est)et Bc 20 elegit bis B3 confundat forcia)conforcia D2 20-21 mundi...potentes)inpotentes Bc 21 Deus + id est inpotentes Bb 22 quantum)quem Bc 23 rerum) eorum B3 et)ut B1 que om B1 :)qui Bb

a I Cor I, 25 b G in I Cor I, 26, vol.VI, f.35r c cf Peter Lombard, Collectanea in Epist. B. Pauli, PL CXCII, col.1545 d g h j k I Cor I, 26 e I have not found this f Ps LXX, 15-16 i o cf Peter Lombard, op. cit., col.1546 l cf G in I Cor I, 26, vol.VI, f.35v m n p q s I Cor I, 27 r G in I Cor I, 27, vol.VI, f.35v t cf G, ut supra u v x I Cor I, 28

videbantur esse nobilia et magis valoris[a], ut ea que sunt[b], id est que videbantur esse, destrueret[c], id est vincendo humiliaret[d]. Per piscatores vocavit imperatores, et hoc ideo fecit ut non glorietur omnis caro[e], id est omnis homo iustus vel iniustus[f], in conspectu eius[g], tamquam ex suo merito factum esse. In conspectu eius[g] dicitur scilicet quasi dicat, Ut non possit homo gloriari in conspectu Dei vel proximi quod ex suo merito aliqui essent vocati ad fidem, voluit Deus talem vocacionem fieri per inpotentes et insipientes. Et Dominus in ewangelio sic ait: Confiteor tibi, Domine, Pater celi et terre, quia abscondidisti hec a sapientibus, et prudentibus, et revelasti ea parvulis. Ita pater: quia sic erat placitum ante te[h], Mt. XI. Et apostolus, prima Cor. 8: Sciencia inflat, caritas autem edificat[i]; et sequitur ibidem, Si quis existimat se scire aliquid, nondum cognovit quemadmodum oporteat scire[j].

Super quo sciendum est quod perfecta sciencia VII condiciones debet habere. Primo namque debet esse humilis sine inflacione, secundo sobria sine presumpcione, tercio vera sine decepcione, quarto utilis cum proximorum edificacione, quinto salutifera cum Dei et proximi dileccione, sexto libera cum gratuita communicacione, septimo efficax cum prompta operacione. Debet namque esse humilis sine inflacione. Unde super hoc verbo Ps.: Si non humiliter senciebam[k] beneficia, scilicet data[l] a Deo de quibus non superbiebam. Unde legitur, Exodi XIX, quod ista fuit

---

1-2 ut...esse om B1 B3 2 id est om D2 :)et C1 D1 3 hoc)hec Bc ideo)idem D1-2 -ietur)-iatur Bc D2 5 merito + hoc Bc C1 D1-2 esse + dicit C1 :+et dicit Bb : + ut dicit B1 Bc 6 dicitur)Dei C1 D1-2 non om Bc 7 Dei om Bc 5-7 factum...merito om B3 11 revelasti)tene Bc quia)que B3 :)quoniam D1 erat)erant Bc :)fuit D1 12 XI)XII B3 D1 prima)I° B1 D1-2 :)I Bc : + ad D1 8 + ° B1 B3 D1 13 ibidem)idem B3 14 aliquid om Bc 16 est)esse D1 perfecta)facta D2 17 Primo)Prima B3 Bb Bc esse om D2 20 -imi) -imo Bc 22 esse om Bb Bc 23 -iebam)-iebatur D2 24 non om B1 B3 quod om Bc

a G in I Cor I, 28, vol.VI, f.35^{v} b c I Cor I, 28 d G, ut supra e g I Cor I, 29 f cf Peter Lombard, op.cit., col.1546 h Mt XI, 25-26 i j I Cor VIII, 1; 2 k Ps CXXX, 2 l G in Ps CXXX, 2, vol.III, f.283d

plaga Egypti, vesice turgentes[a], id est superbia inflans[b] sapientes huius mundi. Talis non est sapiencia Iesu Cristi, qui ait, Mt. XI, Discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde[c]. 21-22

Secundo debet esse sobria sine presumpcione, quia non debet // homo plus sapere quam oportet sapere[d], ut ait apostolus ibi supra: Non iudico aliquid me scire inter vos nisi Iesum Cristum, et hunc crucifixum[e]. 25 11 223r

Tercio debet esse vera sine decepcione, ne homines semper discant, et numquam ad scienciam veritatis perveniant[f], Thymo. III. 5

Quarto debet esse utilis cum proximorum edificacione, quia unicuique datur sermo utilitatis; ad Eph. IIII, Omnis sermo malus ex ore vestro non procedat: sed si quis bonus ad edificac-ionem fidei ut det graciam audientibus[g].

Quinto debet esse salutifera cum Dei et proximi dilecc̃ione. Unde I ad Cor. 3° Si habuero omnem scienciam, et omnem propheciam, caritatem autem non habeo, nichil sum[h]. 10

Sexto debet esse liberalis cum gratuita communicacione, quia homo ipsam scienciam sine ficcione dare debet, et sine invidia communicare, et honestatem illius non abscondere[i], ut dicitur Sapiencie VI. 15

Septimo debet esse efficax cum prompta operacione. Unde Iacobi IIII: Scienti bonum facere, et non facienti, peccatum est illi[j].

---

1 -erbia)-erbiam B1 B3 3 XI)††° C1 D2 6 aliquid)ad D2 Iesum om B1 B3 10 III + ° B3 Bb Bc C1 D1 12 IIII + ° Bb Bc C1 D1-2 sermo + utilitatis Bc 13 vestro)nostro Bc -dat)-dit D2 bonus + est B1 B3 14 fidei)fidi D2 det)debet B1 audi-)ed- Bc 16 I + ° B1 ad om cett 17 autem om B1 -ea)-eam B1 B3 Bc 18 esse om Bb 19 scienciam sine om Bc sine om Bb D2 debet om B1 B3 Bb 21 VI + ° cett 23 IIII + ° Bb Bc C1 D1-2 est om Bb Bc n.b 16 3° sic omn

a Ex IX, 9 b G in Ex IX, 9, vol.I, f.142r c Mt XI, 29 d Ro XII, 3 e I Cor II, 2 f II Tim III, 7 g Eph IV, 29 h I Cor XIII, 2 i Sap VII, 13 j Iac IV, 17

Adhuc ait Bernardus - super hoc, Si quis existimat se scire[a], etc. - Sciendum quo ordine, quo modo, et quo fine[b]. Quo ordine, quia scire que facis et nescire ordinem faciendi non est perfecte sciencie, eo quod ordinis ignorancia conturbat meritorum forma. Quo modo, quia cum caritate que est modus et forma sciencie et omnium virtutum, sine qua caritate sciencia inutilis est. Quo fine sciendum[c], quia non propter inanem gloriam sed propter Dei laudem sciendum est. Nam sunt aliqui qui sciunt ut sciantur, et istorum sciencia est turpis vanitas. Aliqui vero sciunt ut solum sciant, et istorum sciencia est turpis curiositas; alii ut scienciam suam vendant, et istorum sapiencia est turpis cupiditas; alii ut edificent et edificentur - istorum sciencia est prudencia et caritas[d]. 17-18 20 5 10 12 //223v 5

Unde, fratres karissimi, de sciencia non est dubitandum quin sit ita, scilicet ut careamus ea, nec ita habundat in nobis sicut in ipsis. Sed quia caritas edificativa in nobis habundare videtur speramus in Domino quod humilitas nostra per eius graciam exaltabitur, ipso dicente, Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur[e]. Suffic-iencia enim nostra ex Deo est[f], II Cor. III. Idem, Ro XI: Tu autem fide stas: et noli altum sapere, sed tunc[g] Non enim in sermone est regnum Dei, sed in virtute[h], I Cor IIII°. Et Ecclesiastes X: Preciosior sapiencia et gloria, parva ad tempus stulticia[i]. 10 15 20

Ad secundum, cum inferunt nos privari auctoritate, dicentes quod non habeamus verum fundamentum seu principium

---

1 -huc)hoc B1 :)hec Bc 2 quo...fine)quo ordine, quo fine, quomodo B1 4 -ecte)-ectem D2 con-)per- D1 8 est om Bc Nam)Non Bc sciunt) sciant D2 9 vanitas + etc Bc 11 sapiencia)sciencia D1-2 10-11 est...est om Bc 11 est om Bb C1 D1-2 12 alii + autem Bc et)ut D2 15 scilicet om C1 D1 -eamus)-emus Bb C1 D1-2 nobis)vobis B1 16 -are)-at B1 17 -etur)-eatur B1 vid-)red- D1 19 II + ad D2 : :)secunda Bb Bc C1 D1-2 III + o Bb Bc C1 D1 : + a D2 Idem + ad Bb Bc C1 D1-2 XI + o C1 D1-2 20 autem + in C1 D1-2 altum)alta Bc tunc)time D2 21 regnum)regimen D1-2 I + o B1 :)prima Bb C1 IIIIo)3o C1 22 X + o C1 D1 21-22 in...parva om D2 22 parva + sed C1 D1 stulticia + Tunc sequitur C1 23 secundum + principale Bc

a I Cor VIII, 2 b d Bernard, Sermo XXXVI in Cantica, c.3, PL CLXXXIII, col. 968 c cf Bernard, ibid. e Lc XVIII, 14 f II Cor III, 5 g Ro XI, 20 h I Cor IV, 20 i Eccl X, 1

ordinis nostri, et quod non derivatur ab apostolis quia non 17
ministramus omnia sacramenta; inducunt enim illud Mt. XVI, Tibi
dabo claves regni celorum[a], et ad Thytum I, Huius rei gracia[b], etc.: 20
eciam potestatem leviticis traditam addunt, quod nemo potest
dare quod non accepit. Que omnia eis concedimus; auctoritatem
enim nostram non minuunt sed augent pocius, et multiplicant, si,
ut ipsi tradunt, hec successive progrediuntur et descendunt - 13
quod non negamus, ymo asserimus, ita esse. Interrogentur ipsi
utrum episcopi ordinati ab aliis apostolis quam a Petro plenariam
habuerint potestatem sicut qui a Petro ordinati sunt: si dicunt
quod non, contra, quia ait, Convocatis XII discipulis, dedit eis 5
potestatem[c], Mt. X, et infra, XVIII, Quicquid ligaveritis[d], etc.:
si dicunt quod sic, manifestum est quod omnes eorum successores
habuerint eandem potestatem, iuxta Ps., In omnem terram exivit
sonus eorum[e], etc.: // et Dominus in ewangelio: Non pro illis 10
autem rogo tantum, sed et pro eis qui crediturí sunt in me 224r
propter verbum eorum[f], Io. XVII; et sequitur in eodem: Ego
claritatem, quam dedisti michi, dedi eis: ut sint unum, sicut et
nos unum sumus[g].

Quod autem orde iste derivatur ab apostolis - notatu 15
quod tempore Constantini Magni cum Silvester Papa thesaurum
reciperet socii predicti Silvestri renuerunt, dicentes, Hoc
preceptum a Domino habemus, quod nulla terrena possideamus[h]; Mt. X:
Nolite possidere[i], etc.; et infra, Si vis perfectus esse[j], etc.; et

---

2 XVI + ° C1 D2 3 ad om B1 I + ° C1 D1-2 :)illud B1 rei)regi D2 4 -estatem)-antem B3 addunt + -que cett 5 -epit)-ipit B3 Que) Quia Bc 7 tra-)cre- Bc 8 esse om Bc -entur)-ent B1 :)-antur Bb C1 D2 :)-regentur)-regantur Bc 10 potestatem)auctoritatem C1 D1-2 si om B1 11 discipulis)apostolis Bc 12 infra)I Cor XVIII° B1 XVIII + ° D1 Quic-)Quid- Bb Bc C1 D1-2 -itis)-it B1 etc om Bc 13 est om Bc eorum)eius B1 14 -erint)-erunt D1 Ps + 18 Bb Bc C1 D1-2 15 eorum om B1 16 autem om B1 et om Bc crediturí)traditi Bc 17 XVII)7 Bc et)ex B3 eodem + ewangelio Bc 18 quam + tu omn 20 -atur)-etur B1 B3 21 quod)quia B1 B3 23 quod)ut B1 24 etc om B3

a Mt XVI, 19 b Tit I, 5 c Mt X, 1 d Mt XVIII, 18 e Ps XVIII, 5 f g Io XVII, 20; 22 h The source of this dialogue between Pope Silvester and his socii - which is not found in other accounts of the Donation - is almost certainly Waldensian tradition i Mt X, 9 j Mt XIX, 21

Petrus: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia, et secuti sumus te[a], etc., Mt. XIX. Silvester vero dixit, Nisi mecum manseritis ego terram vobis prohibebo[b]; illi autem letantes dixerunt, De hoc Deo gracias agimus, quia si propter observanciam mandatorum eius terra nobis prohibetur, celum nobis merito exhibetur, Cristo dicente[c], Amen dico vobis, quia vos, qui consecuti estis me, cum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis sue, sedebitis et vos super sedes XII, iudicantes XII tribus Ysrael; et omnes qui reliquerunt domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut patres, aut matres, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipient, et vitam[d], etc. 19-20 14 5 10

Istis vero altercantibus cum Silvestro eadem nocte sequenti audita est vox de celo dicens, Hodie diffusum est venemum in ecclesia Dei[e]; quam vocem Cristi pauperes audientes audacius cepta perficiunt. Et sic extra synagogam facti sunt[f], et inpletur verbum Domini dicentis, Io. XVI, Absque synagogis facient vos: sed venit hora, ut omnis qui interficit vos arbitretur obsequium se prestare Deo[g]; et iterum in eodem, In mundo pressuram habebitis[h]; item, Io. XV, Non est servus maior 10 15

---

1 nos om Bc C1 D2 te om D2 2 Nisi)Nec D1-2 ego om C1 D1-2 3 -ibebo)-ibeo B3 Bc Deo om Bc 4 propter om B1 5 Cristo)ipso cett 6 qui om B1 con- om cett 7 super om Bc 8 XII(1st))VII Bc : om D1 omnes)omnis C1 qui om D2 reliq-)relinq- B1 -unt)-it C1 9 aut(1st))vel C1 : om D1 aut(2nd) om Bc aut(3rd))et Bc 10 filios)fratrem Bc aut)vel C1 D2 10-11 et vitam om B3 Bb Bc C1 D2 13 -nt&)-nte Bc 14 ecclesia Dei)eterna dicitur Bc 16 XVI + ° D2 :)XIII B1 17 hora)homo Bc ut om Bb Bc C1 D2 18 -etur)-atur Bc iterum om D2 19 Io om Bc XV + ° C1 :)III° D1-2 est om Bb D2 :)sit Bc

a Mt XIX, 27 b c cf n. h on previous page d Mt XIX, 28-29 e The earliest examples I have found of this detail in accounts of the Donation are in the works of Gerald of Wales(cf.,e.g., Opera Omnia, Rolls Series XXI, 1861-91, I, p.192; II, p.189; IV, p.351; VIII, pp.87-8). For some examples of later appearances cf Manfred's manifesto to the Romans (E. Dupre-Theseider, L'Idea Imperiale di Roma, Milan, 1942, p.224), Remigio Girolami's treatise Contra falsos professores Ecclesie (C. T. Davis, Dante and the Idea of Rome, Oxford, 1967, p.85, n.23), etc. f cf Io IX, 22, and LE 3, 11.4-5 g Io XVI,2[illegible] h Io XVI,33[illegible]

eo qui misit eum[a] 16

Et sic per orbem dispersi sunt, dicentes Silvestro suisque sequacibus, // Terram vobis relinquimus, nos vero celum appetimus. Silvester autem dimisit eos abire, ipsi vero 224v
abeuntes viamque paupertatis exercentes multiplicati sunt valde per multa durantes tempora[b]. Postmodum invidia pseudo-cristianorum 15
contra eos seviens usque ad extremum conata est eos disperdere[c], iuxta illud Ps., Dirumpamus vincula ipsorum, et proiiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum[d], licet emuli nostri hanc persecucionem 5
non nisi a paganis sive iudeis fieri dicant katholicis; male enim inspiciunt scripturas, quoniam prophete a populo gentili non occisi sunt, sed a iudeis, et Iohannes ab Herode, licet fateretur se esse iudeum. Iesus Cristus venit in propria, et sui eum non receperunt, sed morti tradiderunt. Iacobus, frater Domini, ab 10
eisdem occiditur, et multi alii discipuli Domini eadem a suis passi sunt. Quia vero quecunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt[e], ut ait apostolus ad Ro. XV; et prima Cor. X, Hec autem in figura facta sunt nostri[f]; idem ad Rom. XV, Obsecro igitur vos per Dominum nostrum Iesum Cristum, et per caritatem 15
spiritus sancti, ut adiuvetis me in oracionibus vestris ad Dominum, ut liberer ab infidelibus qui sunt in Iudea[g]. Unde declaratur aperte quia non solum a paganis vel iudeis persecuc-ionem paciuntur electi, sed ab omnibus gentibus, tam paganis quam eciam iudeis et pseudo-cristianis, iuxta verbum Domini, Et 20

---

1 eum)illum C1 D1-2 3 sequac-)sequent- Bc vobis)vero Bc 5 viam-)vitam- C1 D1-2 7 -erdere)-ergere C1 D1-2 9 ipsorum)eorum cett 10 non(conj) om omn sive + a C1 D1-2 :)vel a Bc 12 et om cett -eretur)-ebatur B1 13 esse om cett 14 -ti)-tem Bc 15 Domini om Bc 16 vero)vera Bc 18 facta om Bc nostri)nostre Bc XV + o C1 :)III D2 17-18 et...XV om B1 19 igitur + ad Bc 20 vestris)nostris Bc 22 vel + a C1 D1-2 23 -ibus)-ilibus Bc 22-23 vel...paganis om B3 24 eciam om Bc C1 D1-2 et)vel Bc

a Io XIII, 16 b cf LE, 3, 11.12-18 c cf LE, 3, 11.18-20 d Ps II, 3 e Rom XV, 4 f I Cor X, 6 g Ro XV, 30-31

odio eritis omnibus hominibus propter nomen meum[a], Mt. XXIIII. Qui totum dicit nichil excludit. Ergo non est dubium quin usque ad finem mundi sancti a suis paciantur persecucionem, et tamen per eos non poterunt penitus deleri, Domino dicente, Mt. X, Amen dico vobis, non consummabitis civitates Ysrael, donec veniat Filius hominis[b].

Non enim possunt omnia que exponunt ad finem perducere, Ps., Cogita- // -verunt consilia que non potuerunt stabilire[c]. 225r Cum enim pocius eos persequentur, tunc amplius crescunt, et amore Cristi inflammati pullulant. Unde Iob libro, XIIII: Lignum habet spem; si precisum fuerit, rursum virescit, et rami eius pullulant; si senuerit in terra radix eius, et in pulvere emortuus fuerit truncus illius, ad odorem aque rursum germinabit, et faciet comam, quasi cum primum plantatum est[d]. Et Ps., In tribulacione dilatasti michi[e].

Unde, fratres karissimi, scire debetis de ramis istis, quia,cum olim persecucio in servos Cristi ingrueret, visi sunt penitus annichilari, licet sit inpossibile, ipso dicente, ut supra, Non consummabitis civitates[f], etc. Petrus de Walle, et eius socius Iohannes Ludinensis a Ludone civitate dictus, quem nostri emuli falsis opinionibus dicunt fuisse delirum - quia extra synagogam factus est[g] -, tamquam ramus a vero trunco aqua sancti spiritus irrigato paulatim pullulans, non principium sed reparator nostri ordinis fuisse dicitur. Et licet extra synagogam hominum iudicio factus esset[h], non tamen iudicio

---

1 eritis)oretis D2 XXIIII + ° C1 2 dicit)dedit C1 3 tamen)tum Bc 4 poterunt om B3 poterunt...deleri)penitus deletur vel deleri potest B1 X + ° B3 D1 9 et om D2 10 libro om Bb C1 D1-2 XIIII)XIII B3 :)4° D1 10-12 Unde...pullulant om Bc 12 si om B1 13 illius)eius cett ad om C1 ad odorem)adorem D1-2 rursum om C1 D1-2 germinabit om B3 15 michi)me cett 17 olim)oculi B3 18 peni-)pera- Bc -ilari)-ilant D2 ut om B1 19 supra + dicente Bc Walle)Valle Bc 20 Lu-)In- Bc Ludin-)Ludon- Bb dictus)Dominus Bc 22 ramus om B1 B3 23 -igato)-ogata Bc 24 licet + et Bc 25 -gam) -ga B1

a Mt XXIV, 9 b f Mt X, 23 c Ps XX, 12 d Iob XIV, 7-9 e Ps IV, 2 g h cf Io IX, 22, and LE 3, 11.4-5

divino; exemplo illius, Io. IX, In peccatis totus natus es, et doces nos? Et eiecerunt eum foras[a]; Iesus autem suscepit eum, ut sequitur in eodem[b]. Unde apostolus I ad Cor. IIII° Michi autem pro minimo est ut a vobis iudicer, aut ab humano die[c], quasi dicat, ut viderit dispensator infidelis[d]; quia nichil michi conscius sum[e], id est quia consciencia non remordet me[f]; non, tamen, in hoc iustifi- // -catus sum[g], id est non iustum me reputo; Qui autem iudicat me Dominus est[h]. Et, sicut audistis, dicti sunt Waldenses, et postmodum Ludinenses Pauperes a Ludone civitate in qua multo tempore publice conversati sunt. 20-21 17 225v 5

Quod autem dicitur, quia ipse vel legens vel audiens[i]- intelligendum est scilicet viam paupertatis quam predicti viri sancti secuti sunt; pauco ante enim tempore illud idem verbo ewangelico percepit[j] - Mt. XIX, Si vis perfectus esse[k], etc.; tamquam leo a sompno consurgens Petrus opere complevit. Et sic in curiam, ut habetis[l], est ingressus ob invidiam reprobantis. Ipse autem, ut habetis[m], cepta perficiens multos apostolicis animavit exemplis ut perfeccionis viam arriperent. Memor verbi Dominici: Dico vobis, quia si duo consenserint ex vobis super terram, de omni re quamcumque petierint, fiet illis a Patre meo, qui in celis est; ubi enim duo vel tres congregati sunt in 10 15

---

1 IX + ° D1 2 -erunt)-ierunt Bc eum om B1 3 -lus)-lis D2 I) Ius B1 :)prima Bb C1 D1-2 ad om Bb C1 D2 IIII°)IIII B3 Bc 5 ut om Bc -erit)-it B1 B3 in- om C1 D1-2 6 con- om Bc me om D1 7 sum om cett non(2nd))in hec Bc 8 me om Bc Dominus)iustus Bc 9 Pau-)Lau- Bc 10 -ate)-atem Bc qua)quo Bc 11 quia)quod C1 D1-2 12 intelligendum...viam)intelligenciam nostram Bc predicti om B1 13 sancti + viri B1 -uti)-ute Bc tempore + et adhuc sequaces eorum secuuntur, ut credimus iuxta Librum Electorum C1 D1-2 14 per-)pre- D1 XIX + ° D1 esse + vade, vende D1 16 ob)ab Bb Bc C1 D1-2 -iam) -ia Bb C1 D2 :)-is Bc D1 -antis)-atus B3 Bb Bc D1 :)-atis C1 D2 17 multos)multis C1 D2 19 quia om B1 si)ubi B1 B3 : om Bb Bc C1 D2 -erint)-erunt B1 : + fieri Bc 19-20 super terram om Bc 20 re om Bb Bc C1 D2 fiet om Bc 21 celis)celo C1

a Io IX, 34 b cf Io IX, 35-39 c I Cor IV, 3 e g h I Cor IV d G in I Cor IV, 3, vol.VI, f.38v f G in I Cor IV, 4, vol.VI, f.38v i LE 2, l.16 j LE 2, l.17 k Mt XVIII, 19-20 l cf LE 2, ll.19-20 m cf LE 3, ll.5-10

nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum[a], Mt. XVIII°. 17-18

Quod autem ex superbia eum hoc fecisse presumunt - temerarie hoc faciunt, unde et peccant secundum dictum apostoli, I Cor. 4°, Nolite itaque ante tempus iudicare[b]; et Dominus in ewangelio, Nolite iudicare[c], etc.; et Augustinus, De occultis alieni cordis temere iudicare peccatum est, maxime cuius opera non videntur nisi bona[d]. Ipsi enim experiencia hoc opus bonum esse probaverunt. Unde mirum quomodo tantam habeant audaciam ut hoc // presumant dicere. Et nisi hoc opus esset divinum iam dudum propter multas persecuciones vacasset; ut legitur Actus V, Viri, discedite ab hominibus istis, et sinite illos: quoniam si est ex hominibus consilium hoc aut opus dissolvetur: si vero ex Deo est, non poteritis[e], etc. Et si dicatur quod fides Machometi non est adhuc dissoluta, et quod non est ex Deo, sed ab homine, dicendum quod hoc noh est ex firmitate illius fidei, sed magis ex divina permissione, qui tradidit illos in sensum reprobum[f], Ro. I°, et ex suorum exercitacione, quia, dicente apostolo I Cor. XI, semper oportet esse hereses et scismata, ut qui probati sunt manifesti fiant in vobis[g], id est ad exercitandam eorum sapienciam, ut dicit Augustinus[h]. Ex precepto enim Domini tenentur hoc facere tam ipse Petrus quam omnes fideles. Fugite de medio Babilonis, unusquisque salvet animam suam[i], Ier. 52. Et

17 20 18 5 226r 10 15

---

1 sum + ego Bb Bc C1 D2 ° om B3 C1 D2 2 hoc om Bc 3 -iunt)-iant Bc 4 I + ° Bc 4°)IIII B3 Bc 6 est om B1 cuius)cum B1 7 non om B1 nisi)nec D2 bona)opera B1 B3 8 Unde)Bene D2 mirum)miris Bc : + est Bb Bc C1 D1-2 -eant)-ent D2 audaciam + et Bc 9 hoc) hec Bc C1 D2 -ant)-at B3 Bc dudum bis D1 10 perseeuciones om B1 Actus)et Bc V + ° B3 Bb C1 D2 12 hoc)hec Bc aut om D1-2 :)autem Bc C1 opus + esset D2 : + cito D1 dissolvetur om D2 13 est om D1 14 -uta)-ita D2 15 est om C1 -itate)-acione Bc illius)alius D2 16 per-)pro- B1 Bc D2 illos)istos Bc 17 I°)I Bc suorum)eorum Bc quia)qui Bc 18 I + ° B1 :)primo C1 D2 XI)11us D2 :)11° C1 D1 19 vobis)nobis B1 Bc id est om Bc 21 -entur)-etur B1 22 salv-) solv- B3 52)53 B3 Bb D1 :)53° C1 D2

a Mt XVIII, 19-20 b I Cor IV, 5 c Mt VII, 1 d Prosper of Aquit-aine, Sent. ex Augustino delibatae, XXI, PL XLV, col.1861 e Act V, 38-39 f Rom I, 28 g I Cor XI, 19 h cf Peter Lombard, Collect. in Epist. B. Pauli, in Ep. I ad Cor., PL CXCI, col.1637 i Ier LI. 6

Mt. X: In viam gencium ne ambulaveritis, et in civitates Samaritanorum non intraveritis[a]. Et apostolus: Hoc igitur dico, et testificor in Domino, ut iam non ambuletis, sicut gentes ambulant[b], Ephes. V°. Et Apocalypsis XVIII: Exite de illa populus meus: et ne sitis participes delictorum eius, et de plagis non accipiatis[c]. 19-20

Obiciunt hoc non esse firmum quia legunt in Libro Electorum, cum dicit hystoriographus, ut audivi[d], quasi in hoc videatur dubitare. Hoc non fecit ut tantum dubitaret hoc sic esse - quia non dubitabat quin sic esset - sed temeritatis vicium evi- // -tabat in loquendo. Unde apostolus, Colo. IIII: Sermo vester semper gracie sale condiatur, ut sciatis quomodo opporteat unicuique respondere[e]. Racio autem quare non possumus sic firmiter respondere seu probare sicut legitur vel probatur in aliis cronicis - quas eodem modo reprobare possemus, si fidem eisdem negare volumus, quia non sunt in canone scripturarum sacrarum - est duplex. Prima est propter testium absenciam: memo enim hodie est qui audierit seu viderit proprium rei principium, quia multum tempus iam est elapsum. Secunda racio, magis principalis, est propter persecuciones innumeras quas passi sumus, unde multotiens perducti sunt libri nostri quasi in nullum, ita ut vix sacram possemus paginam reservare. Unde possumus dicere, Ps. XLIX°, Sicut audivimus in civitate Domini virtutum, 19 226v 5 10 15

---

1 ne)non B1 B3 Bb 2 Hoc)Hec Bc 3 -etis)-atis Bb C1 D1-2 4 V°)5 B3 Bb Bc D1 XVIII)18° D1 illa)ista Bc 5 ne om Bc eius)eorum B1 7 obiciunt + preterea Bb Bc C1 D1 8 Electorum)Iustorum D1 -ivi)-ivimus B1 quasi om B1 C1 D1-2 9 dubitare + sed Bc ut)ac D2 : om Bc sic)si B1 10 sed)vel Bc 11 apostolus + ad B3 Bb Bc C1 IIII)4° C1 D1-2 12 vester)noster Bc 13 opporteat + vos Bb : + nos Bc quare)qua Bc D2 :)quia D1 14 respo-)oste- Bb Bc D1-2 vel)seu cett 15 si om Bc 16 eis-)eius- B1 vol-)nol- Bc 17 est om Bc 19 racio om Bc 20 propter om Bc 21 perducti)producti D1-2:)producta Bc libri)liberi Bc nostri om B1 B3 nullum)nichilum cett 23 dicere + cum cett XLIX)49 B3 Bb Bc C1 D2 in)et D1 -ate)-ates D1

a Mt X, 5 b Eph IV, 17 c Apoc XVIII, 4 d cf IE 1, l.18 -2, l.1; 2, l.14; 3, ll.2, 15, 18 e Col IV, 6

in civitate Dei nostri, Deus fundavit eam in eternum[a]. Et in Ps. XLII[?] Deus, auribus nostris audivimus, patres nostri annunciaverunt nobis[b]. Et apostolus I[a] Cor XI: Ego enim accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis[c]. 18-19 20

Et licet Petrus dictus Waldensis non accepisset, quod absit - fatemur enim eum fuisse presbyterum, sacris ordinibus consecratum, cum Johanne suo socio sive confratre eiusdem ordinis, et postmodum ab illo cardinale de quo audistis[d] favente eidem confirmatum non dubitamus - tamen multi et innumerabiles sacerdotes qui hanc vitam sive fidem secuti sunt nonne fratribus inponere manus potuerunt? Nam adhuc est in memoria aliquorum qui sunt apud nos nomen fratris Iohannis de Burgundia[e]; et duo fratres minorum, qui relicta sua regula hanc pie fidem secuti sunt; et quidam Episcopus // Lescardi, qui ob hanc causam 227[r] quia nobis favebat vocatus ad curiam numquam postea rediit[f]; et alter sacerdos qui suspensus ad collum manibus ad ignem ducitur concremandus. Et omnes sunt adhuc in memoria aliquorum aput nos existencium, unde cessent eorum obiecciones contra auctoritatem nostram.

Scimus enim nos accepisse a Domino[g], et a prepositis

---

1 in(1st))et C1 D2 2 -ivimus)-imus D1 : + et B1 3 I[a] + ad Bb Bc C1 D1-2 XI)I Bc 6 -erum)-erem D2 9 et om B3 11 -uerunt)-erunt B1 12 -undia)-endia Bc 13 hanc)hoc C1 D1-2 fidem om cett 14 qui) quia B1 15 fav-)fov- Bc num-)nunc D2 16 ad ignem)in igne Bc 20 enim nos om Bc

a Ps XLVII,-9 b Ps XLIII, 2 -c I Cor XI, 23 d cf IE 2, l.20 - 3, l.2 e A 'Iohannes de Burgundia' was tried and sentenced in the diocese of Nîmes between 1243 and 1249; cf Y.Dossat, 'Les débuts de l'Inquisition à Montpellier et en Provence', Bulletin philologique et historique, 1961, p.573. In his sentence, which was copied into inquisitors' manuals (Vat. Lat. 3978, f.33, cited in Dossat, op.cit., p.573, n.3; Vat.Lat. 4265, f. 129; Linz Studienbibliothek 177, f.78[r]), he is described as 'perfectus... Valdensis hereticus per XXX annos et amplius'. f There is recorded an enquiry 'de transgressione fidei' in the case of one Bishop of Lescar, Raymond de Benac, in 1218; cf Regesta Honorii Papae III (ed. P.Pressuti, Rome, 1888), vol.I, p.285, no.1712 g cf I Cor XI, 23

nostris. Possumus itaque dicere cum apostolo, Ro. XIIII, Scio 13-14
et confido in Domino, quia nichil commune per ipsum, nisi ei 15
qui existimat commune quid esse, illi commune est. Spe enim
salvi facti sumus.[aa] Scimus enim quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia
cooperantur in bonum, hiis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt
sancti.[b] Ipsis vero emulis nostris possibile est ut que habent
illis cooperentur in malum, quia qui non diligit, manet in
morte.[c] Et apostolus ad Heb.: Nichil profuit illis sermo auditus 21
non admixtus fidei.[d] Unde cum se non credunt ordinari non
ordinantur, quia fides operatur, et sic non accipientes ipsi
aliis dare non possunt, quod indebite nobis inponunt.

Preterea attendendum est super illud verbum ad Heb., 5
Nec quisquam assumit sibi honorem, sed qui vocatur a Deo,
tamquam Aaron; sic et Cristus.[e] Vel quia nolunt, vel non possunt,
huius verbi sentenciam exprimere, non tamen bene videntur de eo
sentire. Bene quidem credimus quod nemo debet sibi assumere 10
honorem, sicut et Cristus non semetipsum glorificando,[f] per sua
miracula et per virtutes suas,[g] ut pontifex fieret.[h] Imo dixit,
Ioh. VI, Ego gloriam meam non quero.[i] Sed ipse glorificavit
qui dixit ad eum et dicturus erat // in baptismo,[j] Luc. 3°, et 227v
in transfiguracione,[k] Mt. XVII°, etc.; quod sequitur - Filius 15
meus es tu; Ego hodie genui te et in eternitate.[l] Ille namque
clarificavit eum qui sic ei locutus est, quam claritatem ipse

---

1 apostolo + ad cett 2 nisi)nec D1-2 3 -imat)-ant D1 est om Bc Spe)Spem Bc 5 hiis om C1 D1-2 qui + enim D1 vocati om Bc 6 est om B1 7 -entur)-antur Bb C1 D1-2 8 illis om B1 9 non)nisi B1 non(1st) + se B1 non(2nd) om Bc 11 quod)quos B3 :)quid D2 no-)vo- D2 12 -er)-ra Bc 13 -quam)-quis D1 qui)quo Bc 14 vel(2nd) + quia Bb Bc C1 D1-2 non om Bc 15 bene om Bc eo)Deo C1 D1-2 16 sent-)serv- B3 17 honorem + etc Bb C1 D1-2 non om Bc 19 VI + ° C1 D1-2 -ro)-ris D2 20 dixit)locutus est Bb Bc C1 D1-2 eum + Psalmo Bb Bc C1 D1-2 :)Dominum C1 D1-2 erat + ei D1-2 3°)3 Bc XVII°)17 Bb Bc D1 etc om D1-2 : + illud Bb Bc C1 D1-2 22 et om D2 20-22 qui...clarificavit om B3

a Ro XIV, 14 aa b Rom VIII, 24; 28 c I Io III, 14 d Hebr IV, 2 e Hebr V, 4-5 f h l Hebr V, 5 g j k G in Hebr V, 4-5, vol.VI, f. 142r i Io VIII, 50 j cf n.g, and Lc III, 21-22 k cf n.g, and Mt XVIII, 2

petebat, Ioh. XVII: Clarifica me, Pater, claritate quam habui 18-19
apud te prius quam mundus fieret.[a] Unde non valet eorum 20
obieccio quantum ad hoc, et cesset eciam illa de Ozia rege dum
non ad offerendum missus est.[b] Nec obest auctoritas adducta de
Helya, sed prodest ad nostram edificacionem, quia timore suorum
regnabat in abscondito licet in Ysrael.[c]

Sed quia de usu clavium, quas Dominus dedit Petro, 22
nos arguunt, de usu earum aliquantulum est considerandum; quia
duplex usus harum clavium, secundum Magistrum Sentenciarum -
discernere ligandos vel solvendos, ac deinde ligare vel solvere.
Qui enim indignos ligant vel solvunt propria potestate se 5
privant, id est dignos se faciunt privacione.[d] Unde Ieronimus
- super Mt., ubi Dominus ait Petro, Tibi dabo claves,[e] etc. -
hunc, inquit, locum quidam male intelligentes aliquid sumunt de
supercilio phariseorum ut dampnare innoxios vel solvere se putent
noxios, cum apud Deum non sentencia sacerdotum sed reorum vita 10
queratur. In Levitico ostendere sacerdotibus iubentur leprosi,
quos illi non faciunt leprosos vel mundos, sed discernunt qui
mundi vel inmundi sunt.[f] Ita et hic Ieronimus. Unde aperte
ostenditur quod non sequitur Deus iudicium ecclesie, que per 15
surrepcionem et ignoranciam interdum iudicat; Deus autem
secundum veritatem semper iudicat. Ponunt enim sacerdotes nomen

---

1 XVII + ° B3 D2 :)77 Bc claritate om Bc 3 ad)in Bb Bc C1 D1-2 illa)ista Bc 4 non om B1 7 Sed quia om C1 D1-2 Dominus)Deus D1 8 earum)eorum Bc :)harum clavium D2 7-9 quas...clavium om B1 13 claves om Bb B3 C1 D1-2 15 innoxios)noxios D1-2 15-16 vel... noxios om B1 16 -encia)-enciam Bc 18 -iunt)-iant Bc -ernunt) -ernant Bc 19 et 0m D1 20 que)qui Bc D2 21 interdum)illius Bc

a Io XVII, 5 b cf I Par XXVI, 16-21 c cf I Reg XVII, 2-6 d Peter Lombard, Sententiarum Libri Quattuor, Lib.IV, Dist.XVIII, 3, PL CXCII, col.886 e Mt XVI, 19 f Jerome, Commentar. in Ewangelium Mathaei, Lib.III, cap.XVI, PL XXVI, col.122; quoted in Thomas Aquinas, Catena Aurea, Paris, 1546, f.76^{vb}

Dei super filios Ysrael, sed ipse benedicit eis.[a] 17-18

Hoc autem quod ipsi inferunt - scilicet membrum a corpore precisum et divisum necessario moritur - // concedimus. 228r

Cum itaque Cristi membra simus - ut ait apostolus, prima Cor. VI°, Nescitis quoniam corpora vestra membra Cristi sunt? - ergo membra meretricum nullatenus ea facere[b] volumus.

Ad tercium sic procedimus, cum ipsi inferunt vitam nostram non esse salutiferam, sed dampnosam; et hoc multipliciter. 23
Primo quia mercenarii, quod de illis pocius potest dici, quia reliquerunt oves lupis expositas[c]; quia non pertinet eis de ovibus[d], Io. X. Secundo quia sacramenta ecclesiastica non ministramus sicut ceteri. Ad quo respondemus verbo apostoli, Non enim misit me Cristus baptizare, sed ewangelizare[e], prima Cor. I°; et infra, IX, Qui in sacrario operantur que de sacrario sunt edunt: et qui altari deserviunt, cum altari participant. Ita et Dominus ordinavit hiis qui ewangelium annunciant de ewangelio vivere.[f] Per que datur intelligi quia non omnes possunt totum honus supportare.

Et quia non ministramus ea sacramenta in mortis articulo et aiunt quia multi nostrum sine communione moriuntur; quod falsum est, Domino dicente, Io. VI, Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo.[g] Et sequitur paulo plus: Qui manducat me, ipse vivit propter me.[h]

---

2 ipsi om cett 3 et)vel D2 : om Bc 4 Cum)Quia Bc Cristi)ipsi B1 simus)sumus B1 Bb C1 D2 prima)I Bc 5 VI°)6 B3 Bb Bc D1 membra om Bc 6 ea)sua D1 10 -iquerunt)inquerunt B3 Bc :)-inqu--unt D1-2 lupis om Bc 12 sicut + et cett quod)quos B3 13 me om C1 prima)2[a] D1 :)I Bc 14 I°)I Bc IX)9[o] C1 D2 Qui)Quia Bc 15 cum om Bc 17 vivere + debeant B1 quia)quod Bc non om Bc 18 totum om B1 Bc 21 VI + [o] C1 D1-2 22 meam om Bc in me om Bc 23 me(1st) om B1 B3 Bc

a cf Num VI, 27 b I Cor VI, 15 c cf Io X, 12 d Io X, 13 e I Cor I, 17 f I Cor IX, 13-14 g h Io VI, 57; 58

Unde Augustinus: Quid est Cristum manducare? Non est hoc solum in sacramento corpus eius accipere; multi enim indigne accipiunt[a]. Sed hoc est in ipso manere et habere ipsum in se manentem. Spiritualiter enim manducat qui in unitate Cristi et ecclesie manet, quam unitatem sacramentum signat[b]. Nam qui discordat a Cristo carnem Cristi non manducat nec sanguinem bibit quamvis // tante rei sacramentum ad iudicium suum cottidie accipiat[c]. Idem: ut quid paras dentem aut ventrem? Crede et manducasti. Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem et bibere vinum. Qui credit in eum manducat eum[d]. Item: Quomodo manducandus est Cristus? Quomodo ipse dixit, Io. VI: Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo[e]. Si in me manet, et ego in eo, id est in unitate Cristi et ecclesie, tunc manducat et bibit. Qui vero non manet in me nec ego in eo etsi accipit sacramentum acquirit sibi magnum tormentum[f]. Idem: Nulli ambigendum est, tunc quemque corporis et sanguinis Cristi participem fieri, quando corporis Cristi membrum extiterit, nec alienari ab illius panis calicis-que consorcio, et si antequam illum panem edat et calicem bibat, de hoc seculo in unitate corporis Cristi constitutus abscedat. Quia illius sacramenti beneficio non privatur quando ille hoc quod illud significat accepisse invenitur[g]. In illo

16-17 20 228v 24 5 10

---

1 Quid)Quod D2 hoc om Bc D2 2 eius)huius B1 accip-)sum- B1 4 enim + qui D1 5 unitat-)unione D1 8 dent-)dicent- B1 aut)et B1 B3 ventrem)mentem B1 B3 10 eum)me Bc 11 VI + C1 D1-2 13 in eo om C1 id est om Bc 16 sibi om B1 17 quando om Bc 18 Cristi om Bc -erit)-itur Bb Bc D1-2 panis om Bc 19 et)eciam C1 D1-2 panem edat)ponit Bc 21 benef-)off- Bc 20 bibat)bibit B1 B3:)bibatur Bc 22 significat)signat cett

a Augustine, Sermo de verbis ewangelii, quoted in Gratian, Decreti Tertia Pars De Consecratione, Dist.II, c.XLVI, Friedberg, I, col.1331 b I have not found this c Prosper of Aquitaine, Sententiae ex Augustino delibatae, CCCXLI, PL XLV, col.1890 d Augustine, In Joh. Evang. Tract. 25, c.12, PL XXXV, col.1602; quoted in Decret Tertia Pars, De Consecratione, Dist.II, c.XLVII, Friedberg, I, col.1331 e Io VI, 57 f Augustine, In Joh. Evang. Tract. 26, c.I, PL XXXV, col.1607; quoted in Ivo, Decret Pars II, c.8, PL CLXI, col.152 g In Decreti Tertia Pars, De Consecratione, Dist.II, c.XXXVI, Friedberg, I, cols.1326-7, where it is attributed to St Augustine - on this cf col.1326 n.455

enim sacramento corpus et sanguinem commendavit nobis quo et fecit nos ipsos. Nam et nos corpus eius facti sumus[a]. Et sic cesset dubietas eorum qui dicunt se mori absque communione, quia multi communicantur qui sine communione discedunt, et econverso, cum communio sit unitas Cristi et ecclesie sancte. 16-17 20

Sancte dicimus quia populosior est ecclesia malignan-
-cium[b] quam ecclesia Dei, de quibus ecclesiis communiter dicitur in Psalmo XXV[c]. Et primo de bona, quia, licet sit minor in conspectu hominum, tamen in conspectu Dei maior esse constat. Unde ait: Iudica me, Domine, quoniam ego in innocencia // mea ingressus sum[d]. 229r Et sequitur de ecclesia malignorum: Non sedi cum concilio vanitatis, et cum iniqua gerentibus non introibo. Odivi ecclesiam malignancium, et cum impiis non sedebo[e]. Et sequitur de bona: Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas[f]. Et alibi: Oculi mei ad fideles terre; ambulans in via immaculata, hic michi ministrabat[g]. Et sequitur: Non habitabit in medio domus mee qui facit superbiam; qui loquitur iniqua non direxit in conspectu oculorum meorum[h]. Et in alio psalmo: Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo? Aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo? Qui ingreditur sine macula, et operatur iusticiam[i]; Ps. XIIII. Et Ps. XXIII: Quis ascendet in montem Domini? Aut 25 5 10 15

---

2 eius om B1 B3 :)eis Bc sumus + Item: Qui discordat a Cristo non manducat carnem eius nec sanguinem bibit quamvis tanti rei sacramentum cottidie accipit sibi ad iudicium C1 D1-2 4 -ione)-icacione Bc disce-)desce- D2 :)dece- C1 D1 5 -verso)-trario C1 D2 -unio)-unitas Bc 8 XXV)26 Bc 9 maior + aut Bc esse + discrepat vel B1 B3 constat)discrepat Bb Bc C1 D1-2 10 mea om Bb C1 D1-2 12 conc-)cons-cett 15-ans)-as D2 16 -abat)-at Bb Bc C1 D1-2 19 in monte bis Bc 20 Qui + enim D2 21 Ps. XIIII om C1 Et Ps. XXIII om Bc XXIII)23 C1 D2 -det)-dit D1-2 -tem)-te D1

a In Decreti Tertia Pars, De Consecratione, Dist.II, c.LXII, Friedberg, I, col.1337 b Ps XXV, 5 c cf n. d, e, f d e f Ps XXV, 1; 4-5; 6 g h Ps C, 6; 7 i Ps XIV, 1-2

quis requiescet in monte sancto eius? Innocens manibus et mundo corde, qui non accepit in vano animam suam, nec iuravit in dolo proximo suo. Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino, et misericordiam a Deo salutari suo[a]. Et sequitur: Hec est generacio querencium eum, querencium faciem Dei Iacob[b]. Et apostolus: Hic iam queritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur[c]. Unde potestis perpendere quod populosiores sunt ecclesie malignancium, ut dictum est, quam ecclesie Dei. Ait enim, Stultorum infinitus est numerus[d]. 15-16

Quod autem dicunt seu opponunt, verbum Domini non est in angulis sed publice in montibus predicandum, ut scilicet lucerna non sub modio[e], etc. - videant si modium et candelabrum super quod lucerna debet poni bene intelligant. Ait enim Crisostomus super Mt. Qui sunt, ait, accessores lucerne? Pater et filius. Que est lucerna? Verbum Domini, de quo dicitur, Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum[f]. Isti ponunt lucernam super candelabrum // sancte ecclesie ut in ea, scilicet domo ecclesie seu corde mundorum, luceat, id est illuminet eos. Modii sunt homines vacui. Bonis operibus sic luceat lux vestra ut quos verbo illuminatis exemplo bonorum operum edificetis. Quis enim non movetur ad peccandum cum viderit doctores pietatis 25 26 5 229v

---

1 requiescet...monte)stabit in loco Bc 2 vano)vanum Bb D1-2 4 et sequitur om Bc 5 est om C1 D1-2 6 Hic...inter om D2 7 quod)quia Bb 8 sunt bis B3 est om Bc quam...Dei om B1 ecclesia)eciam B3 9 infini-)inveni- B3 10 est om Bb Bc D1-2 11 in montibus) super montes cett 12-erna)-eraam Bc si + domum Bb Bc D1-2 13 quod)quo C1 bene)unde D1 15 Que)Qui D1 Que est om C1 16 meis + mei Bc tuum + etc C1 17 -esie)-esia D2 18 corde)cordis Bc 19 operibus + dicitur autem C1 sic + -ut Bc vestra)vera Bb 20 verbo)vero B3 -atis)-etis Bc 21 -andum)-atum D1-2 -erit)-it B3

a b Ps XXIII, 3-5; 6 c I Cor IV, 2 d Eccl I, 15 e cf Mt V, 15
f Ps CXVIII, 105

peccantes? Per illos enim doctores magnificatur Deus qui faciunt et docent; per alios autem blasphematur qui docent et non faciunt.[a] Hic Crisostomus. Unde Dominus docentes et non facientes arguit, dicens, Secundum vero opera eorum nolite facere: dicunt enim et non faciunt.[b] Et Augustinus ait, Benedicere et male operari nil aliud est quam sua seipsum voce dampnare.[c] Luc. XIX: De ore tuo te iudico serve nequam.[d]

Unde, fratres karissimi, sicut dicit apostolus ad Ro. XV, debemus autem nos firmiores inbecillitatem infirmorum sustinere, et non nobis placere. Unusquisque placeat proximo suo in bono ad edificacionem. Etenim et Cristus non sibi placuit, sicut scriptum est: Inproperia tibi inproperancium ceciderunt super me.[e] 27

Rogamus vos ut ex parte nostra auditores vestros hiis aliisque verbis consolacionis consolemini, reducentes eis ad memoriam illud quod dicit apostolus ad Heb. X: Nolite itaque amittere confidenciam vestram, que magnam habet in celis retribucionem. Paciencia enim vobis necessaria est: ut voluntatem Dei facientes reportetis promissionem. Adhuc enim modicum aliquantulum et qui venturus est veniet, et non tardabit. Iustus autem meus ex fide vivit: quod si subtraxerit se, non placebit

---

2 autem om Bb -atur)-antur Bw 3 Hic)Hec B3 :)Hoc Bc 4 vero)vera Bc 6 et + malefacere vel B1 9 autem)ergo C1 nos)vos Bc -atem) -ate B1 10 non om B3 no-)vo- Bc -eat)-eatur Bc 14 vestros) nostros B3 Bc 15 eis)eos D2 16 illud)id D2 17 -nam)-na Bc 18 vo-)no- Bc 19 promissionem om Bc

a Pseudo-Chrysostum, Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum, Homil. X, Patrologiae ...Series Graeca (ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1859), LVI, col.686 b Mt XXIII, 3 c Prosper of Aquitaine, Sententiae ex Augustino delibatae, VI, PL XLV, col.1859 d Lc XIX, 22 e Rom XV, 1-3

anime mee. Nos autem non sumus subtraccionis filii in perdicionem, sed fidei in acquisicionem anime[a]. // Et de fide sicut sequitur in alio capitulo, et Io. secunda: Videte vosmetipsos, ne perdatis que operati estis: sed ut mercedem accipiatis[b]. Et apostolus I[a] Cor. XV[o]: Itaque, fratres mei dilectissimi, stabiles estote, et inmobiles: habundantes in opere Domini semper, scientes quod labor vester non est inanis in Domino[c].

11-12 230[r] 15

Preterea, fratres karissimi, non prestent vobis tedium verba multiplicia seu multiplicata, quia si breviter intencionem nostram posuissemus forte ita plenarie non perciperetis. Unde possumus dicere illud verbum Oracii: Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio. Sectantem levia[d], id est levitatem seu prolixitatem verborum, deficiunt animi[e], scilicet audiencium propter tedium. Idem: Indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus. Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris yrudo[f]; non enim ut doceamus sed ut ad memoriam reducamus aliqua vobis scribimus. Factoque omnium fine verborum, sicut ait apostolus, obsecramus vos per Dominum nostrum Iesum Cristum, et per caritatem spiritus sancti, ut nos adiuvetis in oracionibus vestris, ut liberemur ab infidelibus qui sunt in Iudea[g], scilicet Cristum

20 28 5

---

3 -ut om cett alio)11[o] B1 Io. secunda)I. Io. II C1 secunda)II[o] B1 Bc :)II B3 4 vos-)nos- B3 operati)aperti Bc mercedem + plenariam Bb Bc D1-2 5 -iatis)-ietis B1 I[a])I[o] B1 :)I C1 Cor) ad Cor Bb Bc D1-2 XV[o])XV cett mei + vi D2 7 semper om C1 8 in)coram B1 9 -ent)-et D2 :)-ens Bc Bb 11 nost-)vest- D1-2 non om D2 12 Oracii + si C1 15 -ator)-ato B1 :)-ata + que Bc 16 cruoris om B1 B3 :)(blank space) C1 yrudo)irundo B1 Bb Bc C1 :)irugo D1-2 enim om Bc 17 vob-)nob- Bc 20 nos om Bb Bc D1-2

a Hebr X, 35-39 b II Io I, 8 c I Cor XV, 58 d e f Horace, De Arte Poetica, ll.25-6; l.27; ll.474 & 476 g Rom XV, 30-31

confitentibus verbo cum factis illum negant. 8-9

Salutate amicos nostros omnes communiter. Pax Cristi 10
et communicacio spiritus sancti sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen[a].

---

1 negant)negent B3 C1 :)denegent Bb Bc D1-2 3 Amen + etc Bb Bc

a II Cor XIII, 13

Epistola Johannis Leser ad heresiarchas fratres qui se veros apostolos dicunt 235r

Dilectis utinam in Cristo fratribus universis, et specialiter hiis quorum legacio ad nos usque pervenit, Johannes, Petrus, et eorum consodales salutem in Domino pari Cristo vicissitudine.

Dicit enim Ps., Corripiet me iustus in misericordia; oleum autem peccatoris non inpinguet caput meum[a]. Hiis igitur verbis a David premoniti iuste a iustis minime corripi dedignamur. Sed quia condempnata iusticia naturaliter apud omnem scientem sue lucis eclipsim habere non patitur, verum eciam apud homines in ewangelium legittime purgata magis clara invenitur, idcirco parum est nobis ut a vobis iudicemur, aut ab humano die. Nichil enim nobis in hac parte conscii sumus[b], quare correcciones vestre in nobis quidem locum non habent. Reflectantur igitur ad preferentes, et invenient quid corripiant. Nam verba vestra, iudicia, et epistola ad nos missa, quibus nos nitimini corrigere, specialiter et aperte vos tangunt, si oculo racionis intueri velitis. Ad quedam ergo intencionis vestre non ex indignacione sed zelo iusticie commoti et compassione miserie vestre // breviter respondemus. 235v

Dicitis enim nos a viis Domini propter prevaricacionis

---

1 Epistola + heresiarche fratres B1 -archas)-arche B2 ad...fratres om B1 1-2 Epistola...dicunt)Responsio Iohannis D1-3 : +(in different hand) et Petri Waldensis et sociorum eius D3 :)Epistola responsiva quibusdam credencium hereticis Bc 5 Johannes, Petrus)tales B1-2 Bb Bc C2 Domino + Iesu D1-3 7 -ipiet)-ipe Bc iustus om Bc 8 autem om Bc 9 a David)ad B1 iuste)iusti Bc 10 -amur)-atur + michi Bc 11 omnem)hominem Bc :)omnis- D2 lucis)vitis Bc 13 invenitur) iubemur D1-2 idcirco...ut om Bc 14 aut)ut B1-2 enim)tantum B1-2 15 quare)quia D1 in)ut Bc 16 igitur)ergo B2 Bc et om Bc -ient)-iant B1-2 Bc 17 iudicia om Bc nos)vos B1 Bc 18 nitimini) inicium B1 20 -ionis)-iones B2 ex om B2 -ione)-ionis B2 sed + ex C2 22 nos)vos Bc

a Ps CXL, 5 b I Cor IV, 3-4

vicium recessisse, cum timorem Dei non habeamus. O temerarium 22-2,1
iudicium! Quid festucam de oculo eicere niteris alieno![a] Eice
primum trabem de oculo proprio[b], qui de ewangelii observacione
gloriatis. Ut autem de me ipso respondeam, Deus qui veritatis 5
5 est testis ipse scit quod non amore carnalium sed timore Dei
solummodo, et intuitu salutis mee et aliorum, de hac via
distorta et devia non propriis viribus sed Dei adiutus gracia
resilui. Idem de meis similibus factum fore non dubito, non
disciplinam et virtutes, que eciam in paganis quibusdam 10
10 reperiuntur, sed erroris et temeritatis periculum abhorrentes,
scientes illud ad Heb. XII, quod sine fide inpossibile est
placere Deo[c], ut quod corde creditur ore confiteatur, Ro.X:
Corde enim creditur ad iusticiam, ore autem confessio fit ad
salutem[d].
15 Hec est fides cuius lumen nec minis nec 15
persecucionibus unquam potuit obmutescere, quoniam si
obmutesceret lapides clamarent[e], omni suspicione carens,
insidias habens a dextris et a sinistris, scilicet in aperto
et in occulto, cuius filii sunt mixtim boni et mali usquequo
20 ad litus immortalitatis sageha trahatur. Nunc a malis filiis 20
viciis inpugnatur, a gentilibus et iudeis deridetur, ab
hereticis occulte dilaceratur, false interpretatur. Ecce quanta
bella fides sustinet! Nec tamen lucerna illius extingwi valet.
Nec mirum: fundata est enim super firmam petram, scilicet
25 Cristum. Ergo fides supra montem posita[f], et tam multipliciter
inpugnata, irrisa, examinata, nec confusa nec propulsa sed

---

1 -orem)-ore B2 D1 2 oculo om Bb D3 3 oculo om B2 Bb Bc D1-3
4 -atis)-aris Bc Deus)Deo B1 6 et(1st))ut Bc 7 devia)debita D1
adiutus)iuvantis Bb Bc D1-3 :)iuvatus Bc 8 du-)de- D2 non(2nd))
nam D1-2 9 eciam)et B2 10 erroris)errorum B1 -horrentes)-hortes
B1 11 ad om Bb Bc D1-3 12 Deo + Est autem fides approbata sine
qua inpossibile est placere Deo D3 X)17 Bc 13 enim om C2
15 fides + katholica Bb Bc D1-2 lumen)vox B2 : + vel nox C2
16 -escere)-esci Bb Bc C2 D1-3 19 in om Bb D2 -quo om C2
20 filiis om Bc 21 -atur)-antur B1 21-2 a...dilaceratur om Bc
23 illius)eius Bc 25 fides)fidem D2 posita)positam B1 26 irrisa
+ et Bc pro-)re- B2 Bb Bc D1-3

a cf. Mt VII,3-5 b Mt VII,5 c Hebr XI,9 d Rom X,10 f Mt V,14

coram regibus et principibus cognita obtinens // principatum 28
merito dicitur fides approbata; sed fides lucem fugiens, 236r
angulum observans, pugnam vitans non potest asseri fides 3, 1
approbata, et ideo nec regni corona condigna, quia nemo
coronatur nisi qui legittime certaverit[a]. Ymo si esset
verissima, occultata fieret vilissima et Dei familiaritate
indigna; Mt., Qui negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego
eum coram Patre meo[b]. O infelix anima, que fidem tam approbatam,
tam antiquam, quasi novellam scrutari presumit!

Quod autem dicitis, nos ad statum pristinum nec
admonicionibus nec comminacionibus revocari posse: ymo absque
comminacionibus non nostris virtutibus et meritis propriis sed
interna Dei vocacione, qua cor ad cognicionem veritatis
pervenit, sumus revocati - quod adhuc in vobis restat inplendum.
Deus autem, pacis et fidei amator, lux vera animarum,
illuminet et revocet vos ad ovile suum, de quo plus quam CCL
annos heu graviter et periculose errastis[c], ut fiat unum ovile
et unus pastor[d].

Quod vero infertis quod opiniones infinite faciant
nos apostatare - respondemus: non sunt opiniones sed apostolice
instituciones, a cunctis cristianis devotis venerande, non ex
humano studio invente sed ex sancti spiritus inspiracione
tradite. Hoc dico de usu et ordine ecclesie et ministrorum
ecclesie longe ante Silvestrum Papam instituto. Beati qui in
hiis bene conversantur, ve autem eis qui in hiis fuerint

1-4 sed...approbata om B1-2 C2 4 regni)regis Bc 5 -atur)-abitur B1-2 4 con-)in- B1-2 8 eum om B2 Bc meo + etc Bb Bc D1-3 9 tam + -quam Bc 10 nos)vos B2 Bc 11 nec...-ibus om D2 -ari) -are D1 11-12 revocari...comminacionibus om B2 12 nostris)meis C2 13 interna)in eterna Bc cogni-)congrega- D1 14 -enit)-enerit Bc 15 et om Bc amator)amatoris Bc 20 nos)vos Bb sunt om Bc -ice)-icam Bc 21 devotis)devote B2 D1-3 non)nos B1 23 Hoc)Hec D1-2 24 instituto)institute B1 D1-3 :)constitute B2 25 bene om D1 conversantur)conservantur B1-2 :)unde D1 eis)hiis B2 -int)-unt Bc

a II Tim II, 5 b Mt X, 33 c For the calculation upon which this figure is based see infra,18,1.24 - 19,1.5 d Io X, 16

negligentes; Luc. XII, Quis, putas, est fidelis dispensator?[a] 24
etc. 25

Quod autem narratur de scandalo plurimorum: dicitur enim Mt. XIII de Cristo, Et scandalizati sunt in eo;[b] illius scandali causa non erat Cristus sed illorum ceci- // -tas.[c] 236v
Exallegatis respondemus quod scandalum quod absque periculo 4
et fidei lesione vitari non potest non est curandum. Timeant illi de scandalo, qui famam nostram sinistre interpretari nituntur, ut propalata veritas vertatur in odium. Sed tanto gravior erit culpa quanto error cui adheretur evidencius 5
demonstratur; Io. XV, Si non venissem, et locutus eis fuissem, peccatum non haberent.[d]

Exhortacionem vero apostoli ad Heb. XII - Propter quod remissas manus, et soluta genua erigite[e] etc. - gratanter suscipimus, et implere Deo iuvante satagimus. Hanc et nos 10
oblivioni non tradatis. Claudicat[f] enim qui bene credit et male operatur; claudicat[f] qui bene operans male credit, male de Deo et ecclesia sentit. Rectos gressus[g] facit qui sub debito regimine, debita forma, et vera obedientia bene operatur et bene credit. Et illud ad Ro. XIIII: Ne ponatis offendiculum 15
fratribus, vel scandalum.[h] Offendiculum fratribus ponit qui facta alterius incaute reprehendit, et sui oblitus eum secundum faciem iudicat, iudicatum spernit, ut precedens littera declarat. O quanta ordinis perversio, quando is

---

2 etc om D2 :)et prudens Bc 4 XIII)16 D1-3 Et)quod multi D3 illius)istius Bc 5 causa om D1-2 6 quod om B2 7 vitari)veritati D2 -eant)-eantur Bc 8 nostram om D1-2 9 propalata)approbata C2 D3 -atur)-at B2 10 quanto)quantum D1-2 11 XV)III D2 non om Bc 13 ad om Bc D3 XII)XII° D3 14 sol-)sal- D1 15 iuvante)adiuvanta B1 nos)vos Bb Bc 16 -ioni)-ione Bb Bc tra-)cre- Bc 17 operatur + et D1-3 bene)male D1-3 -ans)-atis B1 16-17 Claudicat...credit,male om Bc 18 et + de eius D1-3 : + eius Bb debito regimine om D2 20 illud ad om Bc ad om D3 XIIII)XIIII° D3 24 littera om Bc is om D1-2 :)hiis D3

a Lc XII, 42 b Mt XIII, 57 c cf G in Mt XIII, 54 d Io XV, 22
e Hebr XII, 12 f cf Hebr XII, 13 g Hebr XII, 13 h Rom XIV, 13

iudicat qui ignorat iudicium, causas circumstantes, et effectus! Quando is iudicat qui non habet facultatem iudicandi! Quando eum iudicat cuius subiacet iudicio! Prima Thy. IIII: Seniorem ne increpaveris[a], etc.

Quod autem nos incusatis oves Cristi nobis commissas inter lupos rapaces[b] reliquisse: fatemur nos officium pastorum quadam presumpcione exercuisse superficialiter, auctoritatem vero committentis penitus ignoramus. O stupenda et ammiranda presumpcio! Quam vehemens est iudicium tuum! Ubi est misericordia? Ubi fratrum compassio? // Ubi scripturarum 237[r] 5 ammonicio? Ubi de propriis defectibus timoris recordacio? Iob IX: Verebar omnia opera mea, sciens quod non parceres delinquenti[c]. Sed omnibus hiis postpositis prorumpis voce indomita, et quod intus gerebas venenum effundis, aures et corda non reficiens sed inficiens: illos nominare lupos rapaces[b], quos mercenarios[d] vocare suffecisset, ut geminatis vocabulis expressius eorum malicia demonstraretur, et scissura irremediabilis permaneat. Omnes namque secte et hereses hoc modo, scilicet per prelatorum detestacionem, se adhortari conantur, in erroribus suis aliam causam defensionis non habentes. Ve ergo malis prelatis tanti erroris, tam debilibus et infirmis! Illud autem inproperium non redundat in malos prelatos et ministros sed in Cristum et ecclesiam suam, quia nulla sit hic personarum excepcio, sed una generalis sentencia de illis omnibus datur, quasi omnes sint mali et nemo iustus. Certum est autem quod Cristus

---

4 IIII)IIII° Bb D3 etc)sed obsecra ut patrem Bb Bc D1-3 5 nos) nobis Bc incusatis)(blank space) Bc 6 nos)vos Bb 7 -orum)-oris B2 Bb D1-2 8 penitus om C2 9 tuum om D1-3 10 Ubi(1st) + est Bc Ubi(2nd))Ibi D1 11 reco-)retar- D1-2 12 IX)4 D2 :)19 Bc sciens om D3 non om B1 Bb delinquenti)defectum B1 14 eff-)-off D1-2 non)enim D1-2 :)inde D3 15 -are)-ari D2 rapaces)in- D1-3 quos) quis Bc 17 -aretur)-atur D1-3 18 per om Bc 19 adhortari)abhort--ari B1 :)odortare D1 :)adortaret D3 suis)suam Bc 21 erroris + existentes omnium 22 -und-)-uc- D1-3 et(1st))eciam B2 D1 -tum)-to B1-2 23 hic om B2 22-24 et eccl-...una om Bc 24 illis om Bc quasi)quia D2 autem om Bc quod om D1-2

a I Tim V, 1 b cf Mt VII, 15; Act XX, 29 c Iob IX, 28 d cf Io X, 12--13

ecclesiam suam proprio sanguine redemptam lupis non commisit gubernandam. Et ad hoc cercius est quod illi, quibus Cristus ecclesiam suam non commisit, nullam habent auctoritatem sacra-mentorum. A lupis ergo pasci putantes stulti facti estis[a]. Videte quia factis propriis laqueum vobis inposuistis, qui vos veros pastores esse iactatis et ecclesiam - secundum vestrum iudicium vobis commissam - solum mortis timore lupis reliquistis devorandam. Super hoc consulite ewangelium, Io. X[b].

De talento vero recondito[c], et ovibus pascendis[d]? // 237v 6 possumus dicere illud Isa. III, Non sum medicus, et in domo mea non est panis - scilicet eukaristie; nolite me constituere principem populi[e]. Ve ergo illis qui medici esse volunt vel presumunt, et medicinas ad wlnera curanda non habent.

De fatua vero iniunccione penitencie, quorum vestrorum multa vobis essent recitanda - sed quia ecclesia confessiones vobis factas, penitenciasque a vobis iniunctas non recipit pro sacramento, ideo de hoc tractare vanum nobis videtur.

Quod vero nobis inproperatis quod eis pabula prohibeamus, in veritate respondemus quod pabula, in quantum reficiunt et ad salutem proficiunt, non prohibemus sed commendamus, dum sit absque periculo ovium et secundum formam Cristi et ecclesie sue, scilicet in luce; quia doctrina occulta suspicionem habet, suspicio vero contemptum parit, contemptus autem fructum non habet. Non propterea doctrina est falsa quia occulta, sed occultatur quia falsa. Unde Io. III: Omnis qui male

---

5,23 - 6,1 quia...suam om D3 1 suam om C2 2 hoc)-huc Bb Bc illi)illis Bc 2-3 gubernandam...non om D1 gubernandam...commisit om C2 4 estis)sunt D1 5 quia)quare D3 factis)verbis cett propriis om Bc in- om cett 6 pastores om Bc iact-)voc- D3 7 vobis + esse D3 8 dev-)dem- D2 hoc)hec Bc 10 III)3 Bb Bc D1-2 sum)sine D2 11 me om D2 12 ergo om Bc illis)illi Bc 13 -nda)-ndum D1-2 14 De om D3 15 vobis)nobis D1-2 recit-) narr- cett 16 vobis)nobis Bc D1-2 -que)quod B1 vobis)nobis Bc D1-2 recipit)recepit D3 :)accepit B1-2 17 ideo)igitur Bb no-)vo- Bc 18 Quad)Quot D2 19 in...pabula om B1 22 -ina)-ine B1 occulta om Bc 23 vero)veroc B1 24 non)nam D1-2

a cf Rom I, 22 b cf Io X, 11-13 c cf Mt XXV, 14-30 d cf Io XXI, 17 e Is III, 7

agit odit lucem[a] etc. Prohibiciones ergo viciorum, virtutum, atque morum informaciones fieri concedimus, eciam a quocunque. Ad expediendum articulos fidei, vel ad corrigendum proprio sensu, nullus cautus et sapiens se intromittat, quia nec aliquis doctorum sanctorum hoc ausus est facere; hoc enim pertinet ad ecclesie iudicium generale.

Quod vero dicitis nos veros pastores despicere - non est ita, sed eos amplectimur et amamus. Nec eciam vos despicimus, sed vestram contra ecclesiam rebellionem odimus; non enim persona sed vicium est spernendum. De inmatura autem vestra iactancia vos // tam inverecunde veros dicere pastores mirari conpellimur, et verecundiam eciam sustinemus pro vobis, cum debita forma, debitus ordo, et signum veri pastoris in vobis non reperiatur. 7 238r

Quod vos ipsi scriptura sancta perscrutata iudicare poteritis. O Dei virtus et Dei sapiencia, nove legis institutor et conditor! Ubi est gloriosi tui certaminis triumphus, apostolorum et martirum firma et constans fidei confessio? Ubi vero tue promissionis implecio? Ecclesie inquiens, Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummacionem seculi[b], si nobiscum, Domine, es, quare non sumus ausi fidem tibi placitam ad preceptum tuum confiteri? Numquid non poteras, cum Dei sis virtus, an nesciebas, cum Dei sis sapiencia, ecclesiam tuam ommibus cariorem in aperta luce, in qua eam condidisti, fundasti, et stare decrevisti, conservare, sed ad tantam ignobilitatem, ymo vicium, quasi viribus tuis privatus, eam devenire permisisti, ut pastores illius

---

1 etc om Bb D1-3 4 cau-)tan- Bc et + est Bc 7 vero + vos B1 Bc nos om B1 Bc pastores om D3 des-)as- D2 8 eciam)et Bc vos) nos B1 Bc 9 -siam)-sie Bb D3 odimus)odivimus D1-2 : om D3 10 autem om Bc iactancia + autem D2 11 veros + esse Bc 12 vobis) nobis Bc 13 -iatur)-itur Bc 14 Quod)Quia Bc ipsi)Cristi B1 -ata)-atur B1 15 Dei(1st) om Bc 16 est)de D2 -phus)-phos D2 17 firma et om Bc 18 implecio + etc C2(which ends here) Ecclesie) Ecce omn Ego om D1-2 sum)sine D2 18-19 omnibus diebus om D3 20 quare)quia Bc D1 -itam)-idam B1 21 -ras)-ris Bb 22 cum)quod D3 sis om Bc -cia)-ciam D2 23 -asti)-are Bc 24 ymo om D1 25 de-)per- Bc

a Io III, 20 b Mt XXVIII, 20

non solum lupos a grege non coarcerent sed una cum ovibus se in extrema necessitate luporum subsidiis committerent? O ridiculosa res, plena insania, taliter arbitrari! 17-18 20

Quod autem scribitis de malis signis que in homine reperiuntur, et Neronis hystoria - confitemur tales esse extra viam salutis. Sed de hoc non est nobis respondere, quia Deus, qui consciencie est testis, scit innocentes infamatos excusare, oppositum vero tenentes condempnare; Iob XII: Ipse novit decip-ientem, et eum qui decipitur[a]. 25

Transmisso psalmo // qui de Iuda traditore et eius cohorte prophetare videtur[b], veniamus ad dicta Proverbii, scilicet Oculum qui subsannat patrem, et qui despicit partum matris[c]: 238v 8 scilicet hanc sentenciam nobis timendam profertis, sed non timetis, que notabiliter et aperte tangit auctorem vestrum, qui patrem suum spiritualem subsannavit a quo sacerdocium acceperat, non sicut vos modo sed secundum formam ecclesie (non enim affirmamus eum fuisse sacerdotem , nec eciam negamus, sed loquimur secundum vestram relacionem[d]); despexit eciam partum matris sue ecclesie cui se voto astrinxerat ad obediendum. Unde maior fuit in eo transgressio culpe quam si laycus fuisset, quia maior ibi fuit contemptus. Unde timendum est quod instigante corvo infernali[e] suffusus sit ei oculus intellectus et fidei. Qua fide sublata cecidit in apostasiam. Torrens[e] sancti spiritus gracia, qua anima irrigatur, vel sacrarum scripturarum copia, qua ecclesia fecundatur, vel baptismus, quo ab originali purgamur, intelligatur. 5 10 15

---

1 se om D3 4 sig-)sing- B1 5-6 extra viam)extraneam B2 6 viam) vestram D2 7 -ntes)-nter Bc 8 XII)XIII B1 9 -ntem)-ntes Bc 11 veni-)vene- D2 13 scilicet)sue Bc nobis)vobis Bb Bc 16 non(1st)nos B1 vos)nos B1 ecclesie + nos Bb Bc D1-3 non(2nd) om Bc enim om Bb D1-3 18 eciam)et B1 sue om B2 19 ad om Bc 20 fui-) feci- Bc 22 -usus)-osus cett fidei)fide D3 23 -siam)-sia D1-2 Torrens)Terrene D1-3 qua)sua Bc

a Iob XII, 16 b cf Ps LIV c Prov XXX, 17 d cf EFI I, 19, l.22-25 e cf Prov XXX, 17

Quibus bonis omnibus privatur ab unitate recedens; quod patet per archam Noe typum ecclesie exprimentem. Illius ergo apostasia nostram probat reversionem. 15-16

Illud autem Ps. nos dicere posse, Extraneus factus sum fratribus meis[a] - bene in hoc dicitis. Adiungatur et illud ad Galath. IIII: Testimonium perhibeo vobis; si fieri posset, oculos vestros eruissetis, et dedissetis michi; ergo inimicus factus sum vobis, verum dicens vobis?[b] 20

Quod vero intulistis, bene potest dicere ecclesia nostra - hoc sonat aliam vos habere ecclesiam. Sed que est illa vestra ecclesia? Nos unam tantum novimus ecclesiam katholicam, Cristo // testante, Math. XVI, Super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam[c]. 25 239r

Quod autem Paulum de nobis locutum fuisse, violenter inducitis illud Act. XX: Ego scio quoniam intrabunt post discessum meum lupi rapaces in vos[d]. O utinam idem apostolus viva voce de lupis de quibus predixit vos informaret! Nos autem 9
mores luporum imitari dedignamur, qui furtive pastore dormiente vel absente greges aggrediuntur, preventi vero ab eodem vertuntur in fugam. Unde idem apostolus, quem vos verum pastorem extitisse non dubitatis, paulo ante thema vestrum preallegatum loquitur, dicens, Non enim subterfugi, quominus annunciarem omne consilium Dei vobis[e]. Unde ad verum et fidelem pastorem pertinet non solum oves sibi commissas pascere, verum eciam a lupis defendere, et hoc sine dubio oportet fieri. Et sic, quia 5 10

---

2 -sia)-siam B1-2 3 rev-)conv- B2 4 nos)vos B1 Bb 5 bene)unde Bc D1 -atur)-amur D1 5-6 illud ad)hoc Bc 6 ad om D3 IIII)4° Bb per-)pro- B1-2 Bc D2-3 7 dedissetis + p B1 inimicus)non D1-2 7-8 inimicus...sum)inimici facti sumus Bc 8 -ens)-it Bc dicens vobis om B1-2 vobis)nobis Bc 7-8 ergo...vobis om D3 10 nostra)vestra D2 11 nov-)mon- B1 14 Paulum)paululum Bc 15 XX) XXI D3 14 nobis)vobis B1 16 -sum)-sionem D1-2 meum)nostram D1-2 :)meos Bc rapaces)rapiam D1 :)rapia D2 vos)nos B1 idem + illud Bc 17 vos)nos D1 20 pastorem)apostolum Bc 22 -itur)-or D2 -arem)-are D2-3 23 omne om Bc Dei)de B2 25 lupis)lupo Bc defendere)defensare Bc D1-3

a Ps LXVIII, 9 b Gal IV, 15-16 c Mt XVI, 18 d Act XX, 29
e Act XX, 27

qui officium dedit pastoribus eciam vires ad officium pertin- 13-14
-entes non negavit, alioquin Dei ordo esset inanis et frustra. 15

Quod autem nos monetis converti ad cor, et iudicare an pociora sint que querimus - illud enim consilium preventum est consilio Ecc. XXXII, Fili, sine consilio nichil facias, et post factum non penitebis[a]. Unde non ex obrupto et inproviso sed cum mentis deliberacione, tempore sufficienti, serie sacrarum scripturarum et doctorum exposicione particulatim inspecta, partesque oppositas in libra equitatis ponderantes, utrobique bona et mala hinc inde volventes consideravimus, et inventa est altera pars minus habens. Unam // ergo partem elegimus, optimam 239[v] credentes, que non auferetur a nobis. Hec quoad fidem et subieccionem ecclesie dicta intelligantur, ne de operibus nostris putemur gloriari. Nocitura autem, quamvis cara, secundum sapientis consilium relinquere proponimus[b]. Nullum autem magis est 10 nocivum quam quod sub specie pietatis latet incognitum. Quanto enim veritati est aliquid similius non existens, tanto ad decip- -iendum est efficacius. Non ergo iracundia, vel odium, vel discordia prehabita, sed gladius de quo Mt. X legitur[c] nos scidit a vobis, 5 quamvis contra carnis appetitum; nec mundi oblectamenta, sicut forsitan estimatis, quesivimus in predictis.

Ad illud Ps., Cum sancto sanctus eris[d]; et tamen Prov. etc.[e]; Qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur ab ea[f]. Respondeo quod dupliciter debet homo vitare malos, aut ut male operantes aut ut 10 male de fide sencientes, hos ut perversos, illos ut subversos.

---

2 Dei)dicitur Bc 3 mon-)mov- D1 5 XXXII)32° D1-2 Fili)Filii B1 6 ob-)ab- D1-3 et om D1-3 -iso)-isio D2 :)-isione D3 9 -que om Bc D2 10 volv-)vol- B1-2 -entes)-endo D1-3 13 ecclesie)eadem D1 14 -emur)-eantur Bc gloriari om B1-2 Bc quamvis + sint D1-2 15 -ntis)-ntes Bc Nullum)Nullam B1 16 Quanto)Quanti B1 : + ergo Bc 17 similius + et D3 18 vel(1st) om Bc 19 X)V B1 20 quamvis om D3 21 forsitan)forte D3 estimatis + sicut B1 22 Ad)De[d] D1-2 sancto)sanctus D2 23 etc om Bb D1-3 inquinabitur...ea)etc D1-3 ea)eo B1-2 Bb 24 ut(2nd) om D3 24-25 aut(1st)...male om Bc 25 hos)hoc D2 ut(2nd) B1-2 D1

a Eccli.XXXII, 24 b cf Cicero, De Officiis, I, iv (ed. W.Miller, London 1913, p. 12) c cf Mt X, 34-35 d Ps XVII, 26 e cf Prov XIII, 20 e Eccli XIII, 1

Primi inpugnant veritatem vel negant factis, secundi verbis. De primis ad Tyt. primo, Confitentur se nosse Deum, factis autem negant[a]. De secundis ad idem III: Hominem hereticum post primam et secundam correpcionem devita, sciens quia subversus est, qui eiusmodi est[b]. Super quo dicit glosa, Hereticus est qui verbis legis legem inpugnat[c].

Quod autem de malicia sacerdotum ex diversis in unum conpilatis (licet non tantum sacerdotes sed generaliter omnes horum participes indifferenter hiis testimoniis increpentur) - non debetis nos tam stolidos et amentes estimare ut mala pre-numerata de illis ignoremus, vel quod eis // consenciamus et 240r eos taliter operantes defendamus. Sed quid sibi volunt hic murmura quasi a sompniantibus prolata? An putatis quia Deus nesciat discernere bonos a malis[d], ut non perdat iustum cum impio?[e] Quod non est Dei iudicium, qui Loth de subversione Sodomorum scivit liberare[f], Iudam vero de numero apostolorum 11 dampnare?[g] Sed boni prelati et pastores hiis contraria sencientes et super hec dolentes sine causa inproperia paciuntur, quia fides recta non sustinet eos omnes esse malos. Sed veri pastores debent corrigere, non detrahere. Qui enim occulte detrahit[h] non est criminis emendator sed augmentator, quia aures debilium in fide et simplicium ex clericorum occulta detraccione et vituperio inficiuntur, et consequenter facilius in heresim prolabuntur. Odium enim ad prelatos multos exclusit a fide. Nescitis vos ipsos et vestros aliter nisi per relacionem de eorum malicia confirmare? An nescitis quod non detraccione sed manifesta

---

2 ad om D3 Tyt)Tim D3 primo)1 B2 Bc D3 -entur)-etur D1-2 se om Bc 3 -dis)-do D1-3 III)3o D1-2 : om Bc 4 subversus)subverbo B1-2 :)secundo Bc est om Bc 5 -modi om omn est(2nd) om B2 6 legem om Bc 5-7 glosa...malicia om D1 8 omnes om B1-2 9 horum) eorum D1-2 10 tam om B1-2 Bb Bc 11-12 cons-...eos om D2 12 tal-) total- D3 -amus)-entes Bc 13 quasi)quia Bc quia)quodD1 15 quod)Illud Bb Bc D1-3 17 -ria)-riis B2 18 et om Bc inproperia + vestra D1-3 21 -ium)-itatis Bc 22 et(1st) om D2 25 vestros) nostros B1 nisi)nec D1-2 : om Bc per)pro Bc -ionem)-ione Bc

a Tit I, 16 b Tit III, 10-11 c G in Tit III, 10, vol. VI, f.130r d cf III Reg III, 9 e cf Ps XXV, 9 f cf Gen XIX, 29 g cf Mt XXVI, 25, et alibi h Eccl X, 11

correccione vicia emendantur? Quanto igitur graviores sunt hominum excessus, tanto veri pastores ardencius et vehemencius contra eos insurgunt ad increpandum et ad arguendum, ut patet de pastoribus veteris et novi testamenti. Unde de Helya dicitur Ecc. XLVIII: Et surrexit Helyas quasi ignis, et verbum ipsius quasi facula ardebat[a]. De hoc habetur III Regum XVIII capitulo usque ad finem, hoc idem de Iohanne Baptista Herodem pro adulterio corrig-ente[b], et sic de aliis apostolis et doctoribus usque nunc. Numquid non legistis Ysaiam, Jeremiam, Ezechiel, atque ceterorum // 240v prophetarum libros, quam gravia erant scelera populi Dei? Unde Ysa. XXVIII: Sacerdotes nescierunt et prophete pre ebrietate[c]; et Ieremias VI: A maiore quippe usque ad minorem omnes avaricie student; a propheta usque ad sacerdotem cuncti faciunt dolum, et curaverunt contriccionem populi mei cum ignominia[d]; et Ezechiel XVI: Vivit, Dominus, et non fecit Sodoma, soror tua, que fecisti 12 tu et filie tue[e]; et Mychea III per totum. Numquid propter hec mala eidem prophete et sacerdotes iusti se a synagoga segregaverunt, aliam sibi constituentes? Non utique, sed segregabant se a culpa et a viciis malorum, non a synagoga. Non ergo dubito ab inicio mundi vel saltem legis tam nove quam veteris semper inter malos existere bonos qui vicia aliorum corrigant.

De hoc autem quod dicitur ad Ro. XIV, Scio et confido in Domino, quia nichil commune per ipsum est, nisi ei qui existimat quid commune esse[f] etc. - hoc est ad propositum nostrum. Igitur non vos sed nos confidentes in Domino[f] Iesu nolumus discern-ere cibos quos sancti patres examinatos manducaverunt et nobis ad

---

1 igitur)ergo Bb D1-3 :)enim Bc B2 3 et om D1-3 5 XLVIII + º D3 ips-)ill- Bc :)e- D3 6 -ebat)-ens B1-2 Bb III)3º Bc XVIII)a.17 D1-2 7 de om D3 10 populi Dei)apostoli dicitur Bc 11 XXVIII + º D3 12 VI + º D2 14 contric-...ignominia)etc D3 15 XVI + º D2 : om Bc Dominus)Deus D2 et om Bb Bc D1-3 16 filie tue)filii tui B1-2 D1-2 Mychea)Math D1-3 III om B2 propter)per D1 16-17 III...sacerdotes om Bc 17 a om Bc 18 et + alii B1 19 a(1st) om Bb Bc D1-3 22 quod om Bc D1 ad om Bc XIV ℣ º D3 :)IIII B1-2 24 quid om Bc

a Eccli XLVIII, 1 b cf Lc III, 19, et alibi c Is VII, 1 d Ier VI, 13-14 e Ez XVI, 48 f Rom XIV, 14

manducandum reliquerunt, ne cum discernentibus dampnemur. 13

Ad illud autem Ro. II, Non enim qui in manifesto Iudeus est[a] - si hanc litteram recte vultis intueri, invenietis vos eam false interpretari; unde non enim qui manifeste Iudeus est[a] (id est non qui ad litteralem observanciam Iudeus est), sed qui in abscondito Iudeus est[b] (id est qui secundum nominis huius interpretacionem Iudeus est, quia Iudeus interpretatur glorif--icans vel confitens[c]; igitur absconsum ponitur hic pro spirituali habitu qui non apparet // visibilis. Ex dictis patet quod qui 241[r] fidem veram corde, ore, et opere confitetur est Iudeus.[g] Oris confessio requiritur ad salutem,[d] ut supra tactum est.

Ad illud autem 3° Regum 18, Numquid non indicatum est tibi domino meo, quid fecerim cum interficeret Iezabel prophetas[e] etc.? - respondemus sic: licet prophete illi absconderentur ad tempus, fides tamen eorum aperta erat et non occulta, et ergo propter apertam et manifestam eorum predicacionem et viciorum 13 detestacionem contra Yezabel et illius pseudoprophetas volebat eos occidere predicta Iezabel. Unde multum differt abscondere personam vel fidem, quia persona est res propria, fides autem est quoddam bonum commune, sine quo non potest esse salus; Mc. ultimo, 5 Qui non crediderit condempnabitur.[f] Ergo bonum tale, scilicet fides sine qua salus haberi non potest, nullatenus debet abscondi. Sed quidam volunt abscondere et non abscondi, qui fidem suam quam asserunt verissimam occultant, ut cum ceteris manifeste possint 10 conversari et pacem habere, qui aliud apparere volunt extra et aliud intra. Hii sunt de quibus dicitur 3° Regum XVIII, Usquequo

---

1 -ntibus)-ndis D2 2 II + ° Bc -eus)-ex B2 4 -ifeste)-u B1-2
6 -ndito)-nso Bc secundum om B2 9 non om Bc 10 corde om Bc
11 tactum)tractatum D1 12 18)19° D2 :)igitur D1 D3 13 quid fecer--im om D1-3 Iezabel prophetas om Bc 14 sic)si Bc D2-3 ad)a Bc
15 -us)-ore Bc -lta)-ltata D1-3 15-16 et non...apertam om Bc
17 et om D1-2 -ebat)-unt Bc 19 vel)et Bc quia)qui B1 20
quoddam om Bc quo)qua Bb Bc D1-3 24 -ant)-atam B1 :)at D1-2 25
qui)quia D1-2 24-25 occ-...aliud om D3 25 vol-)nol- B1 extra)
exemplum D3 3°)3 Bc XVIII + ° D3

a Rom II, 28 b Rom II, 29 c G in Rom II, 28, vol. VI, f. 8[r] d cf Rom X, 10 e III Reg XVIII, 13 f Mc XVI, 16 g cf G in Rom II, 28, vol. VI, f. 8[R]

claudicatis in duas partes?[a] Hec dixit Helyas ad populum qui 12-13
partim Deum partim Baal sequebatur. Idem possumus dicere de hoc,
Io. XI, Iesus iam non in palam ambulabat apud Iudeos,[b] qui aliquando
se ab emulis suis in iracundia et furore accensis ad tempus sub- 15
-traxit, ut illorum furorem sedaret; quo facto iterum apparebat, ut
statim in sequenti capitulo declaratur.[c] Unde de vestra tam incongrua
testimoniorum allegacione facta - et hec a vobis literatis - mirari
compellimur. Quod si layci talia balbutirent, posset eorum // 20
241v
inputari simplicitati; sed simplicitatis excusacio in vobis locum
non capit, quia dicitis videmus. Quapropter vestra discrepacio
non simplicitas sed error voluntarius esse videtur. 25

Quod vero de duplici corde et mundo adherenti recitatis -
respondemus: duplex corde est et duabus viis ingreditur[d] omnis
ypocrita, fraudulentus, et circumventor fratrum in negocio quo-
-cunque sive seculari sive spirituali. Duplex animo[e] vel corde[d] est 14
corde et ore vel fide et opere discrepans. Hiis non inmerito
dicitur Ve.[d] Qualiter vero mundo adherentem hoc in loco capitis
ignoramus. Si ergo quemlibet inter homines commorantem et victum
suum manibus acquirentem asseritis mundo adherere, dampnabitis 5
amicos et subditos vestros et ipsi adherentes adherentibus damp-
-nabimini; si vero inter peccatores conversantem, palam docentem,
predicantem, corrigentem, sacramenta porrigentem, dampnabitis
apostolos et prophetas, ymo Cristum. Baruch III: Post hec super 10
terram visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est;[f] Mc II: Quare
cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat et bibit magister vester?[g]
Et murmur Phariseorum iustificabitis, quibus responsum est, Non

---

1 Hec)Hoc D1-3 2 -atur)-antur B2 Bc de om B2 Bc hoc om Bc 3 Iesus)Iohannes D2 4 -sis)-sus Bc D1-3 5 -ret)-re B1 ut(2nd))et Bc 6 tam)causa D1 inconrua)magna Bc 7 hoc)hec B1-2 Bb Bc vo-) no- B1 -atis)-aliter B1-2 Bb Bc 8 -imur)-untur Bc -et)-it B1 : -int B2 9 -itati)-iter D1 :)-icia Bc 10 capit)habet caput B1-2 -itis)-imus D3 13 et + dicitur B1-2 :)qui Bc dua-)duo- D2 ingr- -editur + ut Bc 14 in)et Bc 15 sive(1st) om D1 D3 16 et(2nd))vel D1-2 opere + dicendum B1 17 capitis + non D3 20 et subditos om Bc 21 -abimini)-amini Bctt 23 III + ° Bb D1-2 :)est Bc hec)hoc B1-2 Bb Bc 24 est + conversatus est B1 II + ° B2 D2 :)IIX° D3 Quare)Qui et Bc 26 Phariseorum)vestrum D2

a III Reg XVIII, 21 b Io XI, 54 c cf Io XI, 47 - XII, 19 d Eccli II, 14 e Iac I, 8 f Bar III, 38 g Mc II, 16

necesse habent sani medico sed qui male habent[a]. Si autem dicitis mundo adherere mundi divicias et honores et delicias amantem, carnis oblectamenta querentem, vere dicitis et iuste; sed nobis talia inponentes infertis calumpniam, vobis autem innocenciam; si solummodo in angulis latitantes a mundo segregati senciuntur, prophete et patriarche, Cristus et apostoli semper mundo adheserunt. Mundus ergo duplex accipitur. Primo ex parte malorum // carnaliter vivencium[b]; de hoc mundo dicitur Io. XV: Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit; si de mundo fuissetis, mundus quod suum erat diligeret: quia vero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus[c]. Huic mundo adherere est operibus pravis consentire, et hoc est dampnabile. Alio modo mundus accipitur pro collacione humani generis, de quo dicitur Io. VI, Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita[d]. Huic mundo adherere est cohabitare, quod est inevitabile. 13-14 15 242r 15

Propo suistis eciam illud Ia. I°, Vir duplex animo[e], quod superius expositum esse constat, et illud Ecc. 29, Vita nequam hospitandi de domo in domum[f]. Illud optime congruit viro vestro, qui de domo ecclesie hospitavit in domum apostatarum, quod est vita nequam[f]. De illo ergo aliqua breviter per ordinem sunt recitanda. Primo quod voti sui factus est violator, et periurus vir, et per consequens ab ordine suo apostata, dato quod fuerit sacerdos cum socio suo Iohanne de Lugduno. Quod autem fuerit voti sui trans-gressor patet per rebellem suam inobedienciam, et per inobedientem rebellionem, quam quinque evidentibus signis aperte probavit. Primo quia usurpavit sibi auctoritatem sacerdotes et ministros ordinandi, 5 10 15

---

1 qui...habent)male etc B1-2 2 et(1st) om B2 D3 14 26-15,1 Non...et (1st) om Bc -tem)-te D1 3 -nis)-ius B1 obl-)del- Bc sed)et Bc 4 vo-)no- B1-2 Bc D2 8 vos)nos B1 odit om D1 9 -uit)-uerunt Bc 11 ego elegi)e. D1-2 9-11 priorem...mundus om B1-2 : si...mundus om Bc 12 -ile)-iliter B1-2 :)-itis Bc 13 accip-)sum- D1-3 dicitur om B2 14 VI)XV B1-2 :)secundo D2 : + ° Bb pro om B1 16 ° om Bc 17 superius)fratribus Bc 29)2 B1-2 19 ecclesie)in domum D3 20 illo)illa D1 recit-)narr- Bc 21 quod)quia Bb Bc D1-3 vir)unus cett 23 -uno)-onio Bb Bc B1-2 vo-)voca- Bc 25 quam)contra B1-2 -ibus)-enter D3 aperte om D1-3 26 quia)quod B2 sibi)sic D1

a Mc II, 17 b cf G in Io XV, 18, vol.V, f.231r c Io XV, 18-19
d Io VI, 52 e Iac I, 8 f Eccli XXIX, 31

quod nullus sacerdos simplex facere potuit, tunc sicut et nunc, 15-
quia ad ordinandum sacerdotes requiritur auctoritas pontificalis -16
et ecclesie consensus ex sanctorum patrum veneranda institucione
propter multa incongrua et mala evitanda que sequerentur si
quilibet sacerdos haberet sacerdotes consecrare et substituere.
De hoc vos habemus testes qui nec ordini vestro hanc conceditis
laxuram ut quilibet presumat aliquem // suscipere in fratrem 242v,
aliis nescientibus vel non consencientibus. Secundo quia modum
consecrandi et ordinandi deturpavit, qui modus est in gradibus
accolitatus, subdyaconatus, dyaconatus, et prespiteratus in loco
solempni, multis coram astantibus; quilibet enim graduum illorum 16
suum speciale habet ministerium. 3° quia habitum sacerdotalem sine
causa mutavit, qui habitus est in tonsura clericali, que si
cognoscitur quo fine sit instituta non est irridenda sed necessaria
fore concedenda. 4° quia horas canonicas sacerdotibus ad dicendum
vel canendum institutas ammovit et irritavit. Omnia hec pretacta
ab ecclesia sunt instituta, et a sanctis patribus incorrupte
observata, longe adhuc ante Silvestrum Papam, quod est cognitum et
scitum veritate plenissima in facie tocius ecclesie omni dubio
procul moto. 5to quia fidem katholicam violavit - vel ipse vel
eius sequaces, ut caucius loquar - que tam longo tempore per-
-manserat incorrupta, a solempnibus et sanctis doctoribus discrete
investigata, probata, fideliter et integre servata.

Hiis omnibus exceptis, posito quod fidem haberetis
verissimam, auctoritatem plenissimam, propter hoc solum non sent-
-iremus vos in statu esse salutis, quod precepta Cristi, apostolorum
et martirum confessionem fidei deridetis. Quod sic probatur: quia
expresse dicitis quod fides vera in palam predicari non possit nec

---

1 quod)quia B2 et)nec Bb Bc et nunc)nec B1-2 4 propter om Bc in- om Bc evi-)vi- cett 5 qui-)quo- Bc 6 vos)nos B1-2 Bc D1-3 -itis)-erit Bc 7 qui-)quo- Bc 9 -randi)-rare B1 et)vel B1 10 dyaconatus et om B2 et)vel B2 : om Bc D1 D3 in)et Bc 14 est om D2 -ria)-tio Bc 15 fore om Bc 16-17 Omnia...incorrupte om D3 18 -huc)hoc D2 21 eius)sui Bc -ar)-or Bc tam)tanto Bc 22 et ...doctoribus om Bc 23 investigata bis Bb D1-3 probata bis Bb D1-3 24 exceptis + post- D3 25 solum om Bc 26 vos)nos Bc -pta)-ptum D2-3 :)-pit D3 -ti)-tus D1 27 fidei)Dei Bc D1 quod)quia Bc : om D3 sic)sum B1-2 -atur)-aturus B1-2 quia)quod Bc 28 -itis) -itur Bc in palam om B2

proficiat; ergo Cristus instituit, et instituendo precepit, quod processum non habet, et quod ad finem preordinatum venire non potest. Quod derisionem esse negari non potest, iuxta illud Luc. XIIII, Quis ex vobis homo // volens turrim edificare non prius sedens computavit sumptus, si haberet ad perficiendum?[a] Sic Cristus cepit edificare et fundare ecclesiam ipsam super montem collocando, lucernam super candelabrum ponendo[b], dicendo, Quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine[c], et non potuit consummare, id est eam, scilicet ecclesiam vel fidem, taliter fundatam in aperto preservare! Ergo ecce derisio! Vidimus autem vos falsos interpretes et expositores, et cognite et manifeste veritatis inpugnatores, specialiter in hoc loco, Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita[d]. De hoc consciencia vestra sit iudex, perspecta littera precedenti et sequenti. Vos ergo multum erratis. Deridetis eciam apostolos et martires, qui stulte pro fidei confessione perierunt, quia secundum iudicium vestrum poterant fidem celare et sic martirium vitare. Ignoratis autem quod sanguis martirum est semen, quod quanto lacius dispergitur tanto vehemencius dilatatur. Nolite, ergo, timere[e]; capilli capitis vestri omnes numerati sunt[e]. Attendite, ergo, vobis, et universo gregi, si in eo vos spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo[f], quia verorum et bonorum pastorum est non solum gentiles et paganos ad fidem vocare sed errantes in fide corrigere et informare.

Vestra eciam Regula[g] narrat - ut ego memorie mee tradidi - quod sicut a tempore Abraham usque ad Cristum numquam defecit

20-21 243r 25 17 5 10 16 20

---

2 et)ei D2 quod om B2 3 Quod...est om Bc 4 XIIII + ° D3 : om D2 non + -ne B2 Bb D3 :)in me D1 : om D2 6 ecclesiam + suam D1-3 ipsam)apertam D1 -per)-pra D3 8 lumine)luce Bb Bc D3 8-9 id est om D3 9 tal-)total- Bc 13 -ita)-itam Bc 14 et + con- D1-2 -atis)-itis D2 eciam)et D2 15 -lte)-lti D1-2 perierunt om D2 16 -erant)-erat D1-2 17 -are)-ari Bc vitare)veritate D1-2 : + non perficerent D2 autem)enim Bc 18 quod)qui B1-2 Bb D1-3 19 omnes om D1-3 20 vob-)nob- D1-2 -rso)-rsi B1-2 si om Bc 22 past--orum)pastor B1-2 23 et om D1 24 narrat + e B2 memorie + d. D1-3 tradidi om Bc 25 sicut)fuit Bc -ecit)-icit B1 D1

a Lc XIV, 28 b cf Mt V, 14-15 c Mt X, 27 d Mt V, 14 e Mt X, 28; 30 f Act XX, 28 f Alternative title for LE; cf LE, I, 1.1,n.

lucerna fidei, sic a Cristo usque nunc[a]. Dicitur eciam ibidem 21-22
quod in principio vestri ordinis in tantum multiplicati sunt[b]
fideles vestri quod aliquando mille aliquando DCC[c]// in uno 243v
synodo congregarentur. Per hec secta vestra deprehenditur non 25
esse ecclesia Dei sed heresis, cum lucerna Dei numquam defecerit,
sed vestra lucerna occultata et ignorata iam deficit. Millenarius 18
eciam vester versus est in centenarium vel minus. Sed ecclesia
seminata in grano synapis surgit in arbore; vos autem seminati in
arbore surgitis in arbore[d], ergo etc. De ecclesia vero in numero
credencium crescente infinita sunt testimonia prophetica et 5
apostolica, enigmatica et aperta.

Dicitis eciam sectam vestram pene CC annos apertam fuisse
et manifeste[e]. Utrum sub specie alicuius religionis steterit aperte
- de hoc non nobis notum, attamen non est inpossibile. In tali
autem fide quam nunc habetis omnino est inpossibile eam predicasse
manifeste, sicut ex dictis vestris duplici racione potest 10
probari. Primo quia dicitis quod tempore Silvestri Pape quidam
eius socius vel socii propter eiusdem Pape excessus et culpas
recesserint ab eo, vitam imitantes apostolicam[f], quo facto ab 15
ecclesia persecucionem sint passi[g]; de quibus tamen nichil memorie
dignum vos narrare audivimus quorum fidem vos dicitis imitari.
Quomodo ergo credendum est quod ecclesia fidem et predicacionem
vestram tot annis sustinuisset quam in precedentibus vos sustinere
noluit? Ergo ecclesia fidem vestram sustinendo doctores suos, 20

---

1 sic + -ut B1 eciam om B1 :)ecclesiam D3 ib- om B1-2 2 sunt) fuerunt Bc D2 :)fuerint B2 Bb D1 D3 3 mille aliquando)vero Bc : + vero Bb D1-3 uno)una D1-3 synodo om Bc 4 hec)hoc D3 5 Dei(1st) om D3 6 -icit)-ecit D2 7 minus)19 B1 8 vos)veros B1-2 autem om Bb Bc D1-3 -ati)-ate D2 8-9 in arbore om B1-2 9 surgitis + in arbore B1-2 vero om B1-2 12 Dicitis + et Bc eciam)et D1 D3 :) in D2 sectam om Bc CC)2 om Bc annos)annis Bc 13 -este)-estes -estasse Bc 14 non + est Bb Bc D1-3 est om Bc 14-15 In... inpossibile om D1-2 15 eam)eum B2 17 quia...tempore)quod ipse Bc 18 -dem om D2 19 -int)-unt B1-2 20 sint)sunt B1 Bc nichil)non B2 21 vos)nos B1 -ivimus)-imus B1-2 22 fidem)fide D2 23 pre--cedentibus + dentibus B1 vos)nos Bc 24 sustinendo + vel D1-2

a cf LE, 4, ll. 5-12 b c cf LE, 3, l.12; ll. 13-14 d cf Mc IV, 31-32 e cf LE, 3, ll.17-18 f cf LE, 1, l.18 -2, l.2, & EFI I, 13, l.15 -14, l.20 g cf LE, 3, l.18 -4, l.2, & EFI I, 15, l.1 -16, l.13

de quorum sanctitate gaudet, sustinuisset dampnatos, videlicet Ambrosium, Augustinum, Ieronimum, Iohannem Crisostomum, Gregorium, et plures alios quibus contraria affirmatis (licet ad defendendum vos eos aliquando allegetis)! // Secundo probatur ex annorum numerositate, quia, computatis annis ab incarnacione Domini usque ad Constantinum imperatorem, scilicet CCCXIIII, cuius tempore Silvester rector et caput fuit ecclesie, et a Constantino et Silvestro usque ad inventorem vestre secte DCCC[a], additis CC ab invencione quibus manifeste dicitis eam extitisse[b], remanent vix L anni usque nunc, scilicet anno Domini M°CCC°LXVIII°, in quibus publice predicare desiit. Huius autem rei memores adhuc essent superstites, quia sunt qui memorie tradiderunt persecucionem factam ante C[c]. Ergo desistamus, rogamus vos, a talibus fabulis propter infamiam ex hoc vobis orituram. Licet enim fautores vestri ex hoc ad tempus firmentur et congaudeant, tamen spuria vitulamina non dabunt radices altas, nec stabile fundamentum collocabunt, et si in ramis in tempore germinaverint[d].

20- 21 244r 25 19 5 10 15

Fatemur eciam de signis, prenosticacione, et sapiencia quorundam vestrorum - omnia hec copiosius et longe prestancius in ecclesia reperiuntur, in libris fideliter memorie commendata. 15

Ad ultimum, superna caritate conpulsi ad premuniendum vos, intencionem nostram vobis aperimus, omnem seriem nostri sermonis sub brevi sentencia concludendo, que est quod omnes sectas

---

1 de om D1 2 -sium)-sius omn -inum)-inus B1-2 Augustinum om Bc -imum)-imus B1-2 Bc -annem)-annes B1-2 Crisostomum)Crisostomus B1--2 :)Origenes D3 -orium)-orius B1-2 Bc 3 affirm-)form- Bc 4 vos)nos D2 5 numerositate...annis om Bc 6 scilicet om B1 CCCXIIII)CCCIIII B1-2 :)CCC annis XIIII D1 7 a om Bc :)de D2 8 CC + annos Bb Bc D1-3 10 LXVIII°)LXXIII° D2 12 quia)qui Bc 13 C) (not clear) B1 : + annos D1-3 14 vobis)nobis D1 Bc vestri) nostri B1 15 et om Bc con- om B2 17 et)eciam B2 germinaver--int)geris B2 18 eciam)et Bc signis + et Bb Bc D1-3 sapiencia) sciencia D1-2 20 -untur)-unt D2 21 -ulsi)-usi B1 :)-ulsit D1 22 vos om Bc nostram)vestram B1 Bc D2 nostri)vestri B1 23 que) quod B1-2

a cf LE, 2, l.13 b cf LE, 3, ll.17-18 c This is probably a reference to the extensive inquisition in the diocese of Passau in 1266, i.e. 102 years before the composition of this epistle d Sap IV, 3-4

occultas quascunque credimus esse erroneas. Racio huius est quia si alicui secte occulte salus esset concedenda sequeretur commune dampnum, quia omnes hereses ius illud sibi vindicando taliter se defenderent et manerent incorrecte, et lumen apertum veniret // in contemptum, nec de cetero pro fide et iusticia certare esset commendabile. 18-19-20 244v

Rogamus ergo, vos fratres, instantissime, et obsecramus in Domino Iesu Cristo, ut revertamini ad ovile pastoris, non in culpis sed in fide et decretis sancte ecclesie obedientes, ut opera vestra bona cum fide et obediencia decorata eterne retribucionis digna habeantur. 20

---

2 salus)falsus D1 esset + sic D3 3 sibi om D2 5 contemptum + veniet B1 pro)de Bc fide et)fidei D1-3 esset)essent Bc 8 pastoris)pastorum B1 11 habeantur + etc Bc

Responsio Seyfridi, etc. 41r

Profunde speculacionis viris fratribus in Ytalia etc.

Bonum certamen certare, fidem servare, cursum feliciter consumare.[a] Rex virtutum,[b] celso de [illegible] prelium progressurus adversus principes tenebrarum,[c] viris olim spiritualibus novam castrorum aciem inspiravit novamque cohortem stellarum per universas mundi partes radiancium duxit karitative colligere eosque universo generi humano karitativis stipendiis exhibere meliores, scilicet sacre theologie filios, quos sciencia providos, gracia strenuos, paupertas reddidit expeditos, accingendo eos gladio spiritus[k] sancti super femur suum potentissime,[d] quod est verbum Dei[k] coram regibus et principibus predicando, iuxta illud Ysaie, Super montem excelsum ascende,[e] etc. Ad quod in persona predicantis respondit, Propter Syon non tacebo;[f] quod ipse rex virtutum,[g] confirmat, Math. 10: Quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine; et quod in aure auditis, predicate super tecta,[h] non verentes eos qui corpus occidunt, animam vero non possunt occidere.[i] Huius conclusio: Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in celis est;[j] eosque sic spirituali milicie ascribendo. Inardescens autem spiritus apostaticus spiritus sancti molimina demoliri spiritum mendacii in virtutis spiritum figuravit, ut seducentes seduceret et prevalentibus prevaleret, qui, proch dolor, simplicium 2

---

1 Respansio...etc om Bc B2 :)Epistola Iohannis Leser contra falsos fratres de Ytalia B1 C2 :)Caspar. Epistola...(etc. as B1 & C2) + et multa bona C3 :)Epistola Johannis Leser contra sectenarios fratres de Ytalia B2 :)Contra Petrum Waldensem et Iohannem Lugdunensem : D3: + capitulum primum C3 etc om D2 2 Profunde...etc om D3 viris om B1-2 Bc C2-3 etc)tale B1-2 C2-3 :)talis Bc 3 ser-)conser- Bc 4 cel-)excel- Bc 6 -ualibus)-alibus B2 D1-3 8 -erso)-erse D3 9 mel-)mem- Bc 10 reddidit + et C2-3 14 -it)-et Bc D1-3 15 tacebo + laudare nomen C2-3 : + et propter Iherusalem Bc Math. om B1-2 Bc Math 10 om C3 16 aure)aures D1-3 17 eos om Bc 19 vid-)red- D2 21 sic + -ut D2 spirituali)speciali Bc -cie)-cia Bc 22 spiritum om D2 23 in)et Bc -entes)-tos Bc 24 -ibus)-es Bc -eret)et C3

a II Tim IV, 7 b g Ps LXVII, 13 c Eph VI, 12 d Ps XLIV, 4 e Is XL. 9 f Is LXII, 1 h i Mt X, 27; 28 j Mt V, 16 k Eph VI, 17

credulitates seduxit et chusinum Achitopel consilium exsufflavit[a]. 1-2

Sane vestra michi scripsit sollercia divino et humano munere nichil posse amicicia melius exhiberi. Concedo quia ex consequenti // sequitur quod maior amicicia exhiberi non potest quam quem ab erroris tramite revocare, iuxta illud Iacobi: Fratres mei, si quis erraverit a veritate, et convert-erit quis eum: scire debet quod qui converterit fratrem suum ab errore vie sue, salvabit animam suam a morte, et operiet multitudinem peccatorum[b]. Sicut nostram karitatem apud Deum speramus et homines conprobari, igitur contra vestram amicicia sic arguo ex dictis Cristi: ille est verus amicus qui animam pro ovibus ponit[c]; vos estis e contra; quare etc. Consequencia tenet ex Ecclesiastico 3: Si possideris amicum, in temptacione posside eum[d]. Assumptum probo, quia quicunque capit fugam in amici persecucione non est amicus[e]; quod patet de vobis, quia persecutore ovium et raptore presente vos capitis fugam, ovibus in deserto derelictis[f]; quod de vobis ipse Salvator testatur: Mercenarius est cuius non sunt oves proprie[g], etc. Secundo sic arguo: veri pastoris est oves defendere, cognoscere, reducere, et fovere; vos estis e contra; quare etc. Tenet consequencia, quia in tenebris latitatis, raro in lumine comparentes. Probo assumptum, quia deficiente causa deficit effectus. Si velletis defendere, nescitis unde, quia ab ecclesia demembrati. 41v 5 10 15 20 25

Item scripsistis, Ymmola Deo sacrificium laudis, et 3

---

1 -ates)-as Bc seduxit om Bc 3 michi)me D2 -ino)-ini B1 5 quod)quia Bc amicicia + melius Bc 6 quem)que D3 :)commune Bc -oris)-orum C2 8 ab bis B2 9 a morte om D1-3 op-)cop- D1 D3 :)rep- B1 9-10 et...peccatorum)etc C2-3 10 no-)ve- B2 D1-2 11 -amus)-avimus C3 ve-)no- B1 12 verus)vere D3 13 quare om Bc etc om B2 Consequencia om Bc 14 ex)quia D3 : om Bc C2 D1-2 3 + ° B1 Bc D2 18 de)ex B1-2 C2-3 -ictis)-ictas D1 :)-itas D2 de- om B1 Bc C2 19 est om C3 20 -ris)-rum B1 oves)ovem B1-2 C3 21 estis + pastoris D2 23 deficit + et D3 effectus + quia Bc 24 quia om B1 scripsistis)scribitis B1-2 Bc C2-3 Deo)Deum Bc

a cf II Sam XV, 32 b Iac V, 19-20 c cf Io X, 11; XV, 13 d Eccli VI, 7 e cf Eccli VI, 7 & 10 f cf I Reg XVIII, 28 g Io X, 12

redde altissimo vota tua[a]. Huius exhortacionem in hac parte non refuto, quia utrobique astringor. Pro posse enim subditis meis palam vicia exstirpo, virtutes inserendo, quod sacrificium laudis esse autumo; altissimo autem reddere vota non recuso in quantum suppetit humana fragilitas, nec de voti transgressione me spero vos posse reprehendere, licet quoddam sit solempne, quoddam privatum. De solempni non arguor, quia matri sancte ecclesie non recalcitro; de privato, si quod vobis devoverim, respondete; suggeratis eciam exhortative: Non spondeas super virtutem tuam; et si spoponderis quasi restituens cogita[b]. De voto quo Deo et homini astringor non est vestrum iudicare, sed eius de cuius ovili nunc existo. 1.2

Dicitis quosdam quasi ventoso promittere inpulsu promissum, nec perficientes, quorum excessus sunt increpandi. Et subiungitis, petendo Iohannem et sequaces increpari, ut fratribus promissum pollicitum perficere non recusent. Contra que sic arguo: illud votum est inplendum quod sub debitis obediencia, ordine, forma, et intencione fit; sed votum Iohannis et suorum sequacium est e contrario, quia extra ecclesie obedienciam, preter iuris ordinem, indisposita forma, et erronea intencione; quare etc. Tenet consequencia, quia sicut uxor preter viri consensum non habet committere votum, sic nec ecclesie 4

---

2 meis bis Bc 3 quod)quia C3 -is)-es B2 4 esse om B1-2 Bc C2-3 autumo + id est estimo B1-2 vota + tua D3 5 nec)ne Bc : om D2 6 quod-)qui- B1 :)quos- Bc sit om B1-2 Bc quod-(2nd))quos- Bc 7 -atum)-ant D1 -uor)-uo D1-3 8 quod)quid Bc vo-)no- Bc de ...respondete om D1-3 9 suggeratis)suggeritis C3 D3 :)surgeretis B1-2 eciam)et D2 -ative)-ante Bc spon-)stu- Bc 10 si om C3 spo-)spos- B1 D1-2 spoponderis + et D1-2 11 iud-)vind- B1-2 13 -oso)-osa Bc -lsu)-lso Bc D1-3 :)-lsa B2 14 per-)pro- Bc sint) sic B1 15 et(2nd) om Bc 16 pol-)sol- Bc -tum)-tam B1-2 -ent) -etur D1 17 que)quod B1-2 C2-3 sic om B1-2 Bc C2-3 -guo)-ticulo D2 in-)con- Bc sub om B1-2 C3 -tis)-ta C2 21 quare)quia D1 etc)illud D1 22 sic + -ut B1-2

a Ps XLIX, 14; the vows discussed in the following passage were those which had been taken by the now converted Brothers when they had entered the Waldensian Order; for a description of these vows see Ch.I

b Eccli VIII, 16

minus membrum preter superius. Assumptum probo: ad Romanos, 1-2
Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus subdita sit[a]; quare
persone extra subieccionem posite votum pollicitum irritum est
et vanum. Et sic concluditur quod sponsio Iohannis et aliorum 5
5 non sit irrita sed in melius inmutata, scilicet de rebellione ad
veram obedienciam, de morte ad vitam, de errore ad claram veri
cognicionem. Licet igitur super virtutem spoponderint, tamen de
restitucione laudabili cogitaverunt[b], quocirca vestram cecam 10
obtusitatem et obtusam cecitatem duxi presentibus deprecandam
10 quatenus de heresi et viarum vestrarum errore discedatis vineam
Domini Sabaoth, de cetero non demoliendo ne capiant vos laquei
flagitantis[c].

Innotuit eciam vestra carta vos ammirari obedienciam
meam tanto tempore claruisse, eamque modo nube maligna 15
15 obfuscatam. Ad quod dico vestram insipienciam ammiracione
dignam, quod post veri et sacrarum doctrinarum in ecclesia
militancium cognicionem me in vestro errore hiscitis diucius
conservare. Ignorans enim paternarum tradicionum extiteram 20
emulator; cum autem placuit ei qui me sua doctrina illuminavit,
20 statim non acquievi carni et sanguini[d] sed festinavi reconciliari
ecclesie sacrosancte. Et ideo mea mentalis concepcio non
suffert nubem de cetero malignantem.

Credo enim unam katholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam[e], 25
imitando dictum beati Pauli Apostoli, Eph. 4[o], et aliorum[f], dicens:

---

1 -ius)-ioris C3 ad om Bc 2 potestatibus om Bc quare)quia D1
4 sp-)resp- B1-2 C2-3 5 in om Bc -tata)-ta D1 6 claram + verita-
-tem et D3 7 igitur)ibi D1 :)ergo C2 8 -averunt)-averit B1-2 :
→ -are Bc D1-3 vestram)viam C3 :)viam rectam B2 9 duxi)dixi D3
10 errore)error B2 11 -ant)-at D1 12 flagitantis)flegitontis B2 :
)flagetontis D3 :)flagitontis B1 C3 :)flegetontis D1-2 : + item C2
13 eciam om Bc 14 modo)non Bc : om C2 15 AR)Ob D3 16 -nam)-na
B2 post om B1-2 Bc C2-3 veri)verius D1 17 me bis D1-2 :)vie C3
his-)quies- C2 18 -ionum)-ionem B1 -eram)-erat B1 20 -onciliari)
-alcitrari C3 21 mea)nostra D3 22 -ert)eet D1 23 enim om B2
unam om Bc 24 Apostoli)ad C2-3 4[o])IIII D3 Bc

a Rom XIII, 1 b cf Cantic II, 15 c cf Eccli VIII, 16 d Gal I, 14-
-15 e Symb. Constant. in Enchiridion Symbolorum etc., ed. H. Denzing-
-er & A. Schönmetzer (33rd edn., Freiburg-im-Breisgau, etc., 1965), p.
67 f Cf Papal and Conciliar quotation of Eph. IV, 3-5, e.g. v.5 in
Greg. II, Epistola ad S.Bonifatium, ed. Denzinger, op.cit., p.195

Fratres, solliciti servate unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.[a] 1-2
Una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium.[b] Est enim
unum corpus, unusque spiritus, una spes vocacionis filiorum
ecclesie.[c] Nonne totus liber Canticorum predicat unam sponsam?[i] 5
Ideo probo vos extra ecclesiam, et per consequens in er- // 42r
-rore, tale formans argumentum: in ecclesia Cristi constituti
sunt gradus qui et confirmati, ut ministri et rectores primo a
superiori, scilicet episcopo, suscipiant ordines accolitatus
ad ministerium investigandum, subdyaconatus ad epistolas et 10
prophecias intelligendum, dyaconatus ad ewangelium pronunciandum,
presbiteratus ad conficiendum, porrigendum, et ministrandum
ecclesiastica sacramenta; vos autem omnibus hiis estis exortes;
quare extra ecclesiam. Tenet consequencia, quia qui contradicit 15
institutis contradicit ipsi instituenti. Assumptum probo, quia
illud a sanctis patribus constitutum est qui ceteris prepositi
erant; ideo eis obediendum, iuxta illud Petri, Obedite prepositis
vestris.[d] Si igitur laycus sacerdos, ubi tonsura? Ubi ornatus?
Ubi lectura horarum? Ubi confeccio? Ubi unccio? Re vera vita 20
vestra insania, et finis sine honore.[e]

Autumatis eciam vestro in codice me fore rebellem
suggestione aliorum, tamquam de iusticia dubium, cum ipsam
diffinicionem iusticie alios docuerim, que est unicuique
reddere quod suum est.[f] Vos autem manifestum est in iusticia 25
claudicare, quia ubi obediencia sublimiorum potestatum,[g] ubi
tributum, ubi vectigal, ubi honor?[h] Respondete, nec habetis
unde. Ideo non credatis me ignorare, dicens, usque ad mortem

---

1 -ti)-tate B1 2 unum)una C2 D1 :)unus Bc 3 -que)-quisque C2-3 -onis)-onem Bc 5 et om Bc 6 formans om Bc 7 et(1st) om Bc -ati)-at C3 8 ordines)gradus B1 9 et om D1-2 11 minist-)monst- C3 12 hiis)istis C2 ex-)exh- B1 13 quare)quia D1 14 instit-)stat- B2 Bc C2-3 D1-3 -is)-a Bc -tum)-tam C3 15 con-)in- B2 Bc C3 est om D2 qui)quia B1 16 -dum)-di C3 17 igitur om Bc tons-)cens- D2 Ubi(2nd))ut B1 18 confeccio)confessio C2 :)leccio C3 vita)unccio Bc insania + est B1-2 Bc C2-3 20 fore)forem D1 21 -ione)-io D3 23 vos)vas C3 24 ubi(1st) + est C2 25 -um)-us D1-3 vec-)ves- D1-2 26 Ideo om Bc non om B1 dicems om B1

a b c Eph IV, 3; 5-6; 4 d Hebr XIII, 17; cf I Pet II, 13 - III, 1
e Sap V, 4 f g h cf Rom XIII, 7; 1; 7 i cf (e.g.) Cant IV, 8-12

certa pro iustícia[a]. 1

Ventilastis eciam illud Ecc. VI°, Noli fieri pro amico inimicus proximo[b]. Mallem michi manifestari illam meam inimiciciam. Numquam enim aliquem tantum odiebam quin bonum sue anime desiderio affectarem. Prodeant igitur in palam, dicentes me persecucionem ordinare. Attendentes sitis diligenter, ne scintilla suscitata in vestrum caput incipiat fulminari; nam sepe sagittantem didicit referre sagitta.

Increpastis eciam me factum superficialiter considerare, et internum facientis iudicium non cognoscere. Dico me medullam facti et agentis conscienciam comprehendisse. Non enim inpetuosa manu huiusmodi elegi dissorcium, sed facto ad unguem penetrato. Devorato enim volumine amaricatus est venter meus[c], facta et dicta sanctorum ab ipso Cristo usque hodie in ecclesia considerans; et tocius ecclesie inviolabilem unitatem menti impressi, vestri ordinis primo capiendo confusissimum fundamentum, verbaque vestra confusissime discrepancia, per quod omne testimonium dicitur fore cassum. Cum enim mater ecclesia in suo statu graduali per spiritum sanctum mirabiliter corroborata, per ocularem aspectum inchoata, scilicet Cristo ascendente in loco ydoneo collocata, per Mathiam reintegrata, in die Penthecoste confirmata, eodem die ab infidelibus inpugnata, ab inpugnacione per spiritum sanctum liberata, in suo statu usque mille annos sine lesione firmiter perseverans, surrexit vester Petrus Waldensis cum socio Lugdunensi, scilicet Iohanne, quem asseritis de ewangelii veritate cum Papa

---

1 -ta)-tam D1 2 -astis)-atis B1-2 Bc C2-3 eciam)in B1-2 :)enim C3 VI°)5 B2 Bc C3 D3 -li)-lo C3 : + enim C3 3 Mallem)Male C3 manif--estari om B2 il-)nul- Bc 4 odie-)ode- D2 5 -arem)-are B2 -ant)-antur D1 :)-atur D2-3 igitur)ergo Bc 7 -la)-lam B2 fulminari)sublimari C3 nam om C3 8 -tem)-te D1 referre)auferre Bc :)infic--ere B2 9 -tis)-ti Bc D3 10 -tis)-tes Bc D3 12 diss-)div- C3 D1--3 facto om D1-3 13 -catus)-tatus omn -ter)-tus C3 15 -lem)-le D3 -tri)-tris C3 16 verba-)viam- C2 :)vestra B2 verbaque vestra)vestreque C3 vestra)viam vestram D3 17 omne)esse D2 20 scilicet)sed B1 -eo)-eorum B2 19-20 mirabiliter...collocata om Bc 21 -oste)-osten omn 18-23 graduali...statu om D1-2 24 -ensi)-ense B2 :)-o C2 25 scilicet om D2 -anne)-annis B1

a Eccli IV, 33 b Eccli VI, 1 c Apoc X. 9-10

disputasse, et eiectos et excommunicatos ab ecclesia[a]. Ubi uno loco scribitis eos ewangelium aut per auditum vel scripturam didicisse[b], alio loco scribitis vos non dubitare eos sacerdocio fore functos[c]; propter quod falsum dicitis testimonium. Postpositis ecclesie sanccionibus, a sanctis patribus ad eius firmitatem salubri consilio et rati habitacione confirmatis, statuit discipulos incipiendo in angulis predicare, quod secundum dicta Cristi et omnium sanctorum ecclesia prohibet. Ecce primus error. Si igitur concedatur quod fuerit sacerdos, tamen secundum ecclesie sancciones illo tempore simplex sacerdos non potuit alium sacerdotem consec--rare, sed tantum episcopus. Ecce secundus. Dato igitur quod simplex sacerdos, tamen non potuit dare layco, quia deficiente causa deficit effectus. Ecce tercius. Concedatur quod episcopus fuerit Petrus Waldensis, tamen non potuit consecrare vel peragere divinum ministerium nisi a vinculis excommunicacionis absolutus. Ecce quartus. Quia igitur demembratus ab ecclesia non potuit sibi sumere honorem, iuxta illud, Nemo sibi sumit honorem[d], etc. Ecce quintus. Concedatur igitur quod ecclesia vestra sit ecclesia Cristi - quod absit - et apostolica, scilicet papalis, abiecta propter peccata, tunc sequeretur quod episcopis in nullo esset obediendum, nec aliquod ab eis sacramentum sumendum, sed a vobis; non enim coutuntur Iudei Samaritanis[e]. Ostendite igitur locum vel personas huiusmodi ministerii porrigere sacramenta; certe non

6,27-7

8

---

2 scribitis om D1-2 5 fir-)confir- C2 8 igitur)ergo Bc 9 eccles--ie)occasione D1 11 episcopus + ecclesie B1 C3 ecce + error B1 C3 12 sacerdos + fuerit C3 tamen)tum Bc layco om D2 13 deficit + et D3 Ecce + error B1-2 C2-3 14 consecrare...peragere)perargere cons--ecrare D1 vel om D2 15 nisi)nec D1-2 16 ecce + error C2-3 igitur om Bc sibi)sic C3 17 etc om Bc 18 -atur)-itur D1-2 igitur om Bc ecclesia(2nd))exemplum B1-2 C2 :)exemplum ecclesie C3 19 -ica)-icam C3 20 peccata)predicta D1-3 quod om D1-2 episco--pis)episcopo D2 :)ipsi B1 Bc C3 21 -quod)-quid C3 eis)eo C2 vo-)no- Bc 22 cout-)toc- B1 -untur)-entur B2 : + porrigite C3 igitur)ergo B1-2 Bc C2-3 loc-)soc- Bc 23 personas)per alias B2 ministerii om C2 -ere)-ite B1-2 Bc C2-3

a cf LE 2, l.20 & 3, ll.4-5, and EFI I, 16,ll.16 & 19, and 17, l.11 b This is probably an inprecise reference to LE 2, ll.16-17, where the subject is only one person (Valdes) c cf EFI I 19, l.23 - 20, l.2
d Hebr V, 4 e Io IV, 9

habetis. Auditis solum confessiones; pro reliquis mittitis ad ecclesiam papalem, cum ipsa ecclesia papalis ministret septem sacramenta et multa alia beneficia, et vos tantum unum semi-sacramentum, quia confessio modicum valet nisi comitetur contric io et satisfaccio. Si igitur id quod magis videtur inesse inest, nonne id quod minus certe sit? Quid modo vos wlpes et noctue dicitis de ecclesia vestra verberatis aerem; agite igitur penitenciam. 4-5 10

Revertamur igitur ad originalia, scilicet corporis // ecclesie constitucionem, capiendo illud Mt. XVI: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et porte inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni celorum. Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in celis, et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum in celis[a]. Oportet igitur ibi credi plenariam potestatem ligandi et solvendi. Sequitur alibi, Non dico tibi, Dimitte, septies[b], etc. Quero igitur an sibi soli data sit, simulve ceteris successoribus et apostolis officio sacerdocii fungentibus? Si dicitis sibi soli, contra: tunc sequeretur quod ceteri discipuli non habuissent potestatem ligandi et solvendi; quod est falsum. Falsitas consequencie patet Math. ultimo, Accipite spiritum sanctum[c], et quorum remiseritis[d], etc. Si autem dixeritis quod omnibus apostolis et non eorum successoribus, hoc esset falsum, quia tunc Deus vellet 42v 9

---

1 solum om B2 2 cum + igitur B1 ipsa)igitur C3 D1-3 septem)et D1-3 :)auctoritatem C3 4 nisi)nec D2 id)illud B1-2 Bc C2-3 6 inesse + non Bc nonne)in me B1 : om Bc id)illud B1-2 Bc C2-3 certe + est C3 7 -itis)-ite C3 10 cap-)accip- D2 XVI)XVIII B1-2: XVIII° D3 12 eam om D2 14 super terram om D3 erit + et B1 celis om D1-3 17-18 super...celis)etc Bc :)solutum et in celo C3 15 solvendi)absolvandi D3 16 sequi-)queri- D3 alibi om B2 -te) -tendi B1-2 Bc C2 D3 :)-tende C3 septies + sed septuagies B1 C2-3 : + sed usque septuagies septies B2 17 igitur om B1 -li)-la B2 :) -lo Bc -ve)ut D1-3 :)ne B1-2 cet-)vet- B2 C3 18 -cii)-tum D1-3 -itis)-is C2 19 -eretur)-itur B1 Bc C2-3 21 -pite)-pe D3 21-22 et...etc om D1-3 :)etc Bc 22 dixeritis)dicitis Bc quod om Bc 23 non om Bc esset)est Bc C2

a Mt XVI, 18-19 b Mt XVIII, 22 c d Io XX, 22; 23

quosdam salvos fieri, sed non omnes, et sic nobis successoribus fieret iniuria; quod numquam de Deo credendum est, qui dicit, Volo autem omnes salvos fieri[a]. Si igitur conceditis quod successoribus potestas ligandi et solvendi sit collata, rogo: ostendite a quo, per quem, aut quo tempore sit ablata. Non potestis. Sequitur igitur quod necessario concedatis quod sublato uno capite aliud substituatur, ne corpus ecclesie sit acephalum, et sic talis ordo conservetur usque ad seculi consummacionem. Igitur si corpus ecclesie uno tantum gaudeat capite plura membra habens distinctis operacionibus, consequenter sequitur quod maxima operacio seu potestas conpetat capiti respectu membrorum. Ergo ipsum caput, scilicet Papa, pre aliis potestatem habet ligandi et solvendi, cuius opus est precipuum peccata et vicia et errores ab ecclesia radicitus exstirpare, et virtutes inserere. Ex predictis conclud-itur quod vestri Waldensis et Lugdunensis diffinitiva sentencia, iure et de facto, sunt excommunicacionis maioris vinculo innodandi.

Dicitis eciam quod istam vestram ordinacionem et predicacionem tanto tempore duxeritis manifeste. Quod a fide humana procul pellatur, cum maiora et minora veteris et novi testamenti acta salutaria sint codicibus exarata de vestra secta omni mencione procul pulsa, nec in descripcione aliarum sectarum, - Arrianorum, Nicolaitorum -, et ceterorum. Perpendite igitur utrum medullam comprehenderim, aut agentis inspexerim conscienciam.

Ad hoc ergo quod ruminastis, plurium vestrorum fratrum

---

1 sed)et C3 et sic)nec Bc 2 de Deo om B1 est om D1-3 3 omnes + homines B1-2 fieri)facere C3 conce-)cre- B2 -editis)-edistis C3 :)-essistis C2 5 sit om D3 ab-)ob- B1 7 ne)nec Bc eccles--ie)et esse D1-3 :)Cristi Bc 9 -ens)-entibus D1-3 -tis)-ti D3 10 consequenter)quem C3 11 Ergo)Igitur B1 C3 13 cuius)huius D3 est om B2 B1 C2-3 et(2nd) om B1-2 Bc C3 D3 15 -itiva)-itam B1 D1-2 -cia)-ciam B1 D1-2 sentencia + a B1-2 16 vinculo om D1-3 17 eciam)enim B1-2 Bc C2-3 18 tanto)longo B1-2 Bc C2-3 -eritis)-erit D1 -este)-esta D3 20 salu-)solu- B2 codic-)radic- B1 exarata)extracta Bc 21 nec)nisi B1-2 Bc C2-3 D3 23 utrum)verum D2 -erim)-eram Bc

a cf I Tim II, 4

asserciones hanc habere, quod cum meis fautoribus vestre consciencie bonum non vero sed quo velim iudicio appendamus, inponendo vobis excessus deliratorum et malefactorum, dicendo ius vestri officii indebite presumere - dico ad hoc quod male-dicatur omnis qui a vero bono nos iudicet deviare. Confitemur quod mandatorum observacio omnesque actus virtuosi sunt meritorii, nec a textu sacre pagine unum auferimus apicem, sed ei per omnia fide concordamus. Utinam opere, quod humane ascribimus fragilitati! Peccatores enim nos esse confitemur.

Cum autem gloriamini de operibus vestris bonis - vigiliis, ieiuniis, oracionibus, obsecracionibus, graciarum accionibus -, non expedit dummodo fiant sine obediencia, forma, ordine, et intencione, quia extra ecclesiam. Iudei enim et gentiles hiis similia agunt, sed contremiscunt.[a]

Omni vero in hoc nos convenimus vestram vitam refutando, quia eiecti ab ecclesia extra ordinem et professionem claves ecclesie vobis vi usurpatis, predicando, confessiones audiendo sine auctoritate, indebitis locis et temporibus; quod mentimini vos esse sacerdotes, dum ordines numquam susceperitis. Predicatis vos pauperes, dum plures ollas seu amphoras ac multum thesaurum auri et argenti habeatis in terra conclusum ad emolimentum anti-cristi! Ecclesie clavibus contradicitis; sanctorum doctorum scripta refutatis; peregrinaciones prohibetis; sanctorum venerac-iones subpeditatis; purgatorium negatis; indulgencias patrum cassatis; oraciones pro defunctis exaratis; ordines in ecclesia abdicatis; psalmodiam et cantus ecclesiasticos mutilatis; 11

---

1 asserc-)allic- B1-2 -nem)-ne C3 hanc)hoc B1-2 Bc C2-3 D3 cum) non C2 2 vero)vere B1 C3 3 -essus)-elsus D2 excessus om B1 et om B1 C3 4 vestri)unde Bc 5 -no)-nos Bc dev-)brev- B1-2 C3 8 -ere)-era B1-2 Bc C3 quod)que B1-2 Bc C3 10 vestris bonis om B1 11 vigiliis + et Bc C3 12 -dit)-dunt Bc 13 Omni)Enim C2-3 D1-3 15 nos)vos D1-2 17 vo-)no- Bc vi om B2-3 Bc C2-3 audiendo + sed C2 17-18 predicando...sine om Bc 19 -ines)-inem Bc -eritis) -istis B2 C3 20 vos om C3 ac)autem C3 21 auri)auria Bc et om Bc 21-22 anticristi om Bc 23 scripta...sanctorum om C2 26 ecc1--esiasticos)in ecclesia scitos B1-2 C2-3

a cf (2) Iac II, 19

ecclesiarum rectores spoliatis, et eorum eis subditos derogatis; predicaciones in ecclesia blasphematis; et quam pluribus scandalis ipsam matrem ecclesiam suffocatis. 1-2

De foro iuris dicit ecclesia illud Canticorum, Capite nobis wlpes parvulas[a], etc. Proch pudor, tanti erroris audacia, tante presumpcionis versucia! Dicitis enim in hac parte meam et aliorum opinionem esse distortam, et a rivulis veritatis semotam, simul vestram intencionem aperientes. Dicitis quod zelus iusticie vestro sit de proposito ipsam iusticiam servare sine personarum accepcione[b] illesam. Ad primum dico factum non lippis oculis mentis respexisse et considerasse, // ac statera 43r equitatis pro posse direccius ponderasse, sicut ex precedentibus bene constat. Ad secundum dico iusticiam vestram lesam, conprobando ex eius diffinicione. Reddite ergo unicuique suum[c], Pape obedienciam, iuxta illud Pauli: Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus subdita sit[d]. Similiter oves sublatas ipsi ecclesie reddite. Dic tu ecclesia tripartita[e], regnum in se divisum et desolandum[f]. Ubi tributum? Ubi vectigal? Ubi honor?[g] Ministratis vero pro obediencia calumpniam, pro subieccione controversiam.

Dicitis heu iusticie intendere, timore, odio, gracia et amore postpositis. Pre timore continue fugitis lucem. Ideo detur vobis illud Io., Qui male agit odit lucem[h]. Pre timore plerumque moriemini sine eukaristia et extrema unccione[i], sacerdotes de ecclesia in vestra hospicia verentes introducere.

---

5 no-)vo- Bc parvulas + que demoliuntur B1-2 C3 etc om B2 Proch) Pro hoc D3 -cia)-ciam Bc 7 -nem)-nes Bc a rivulis)semita B1-2 C3 8-9 semotam simul)semota in filis B2 10 factum)fratrum D2 factum non om Bc non)nos B1-2 Bc C2-3 11 -ppis)-ncinis B1-3 12 ex)quia D1-3 -entibus)-ictis B1-2 Bc C2-3 14 suum om C2 15 Pauli)Paulus D2 :)apostoli C2 16 sit + ad Ro. B1-2 C3 sub-)ab- B1-2 Bc C2-3 17 tri-)re- D2 -isum)-isit est C3 et om C2 18 -tum)-tus D1-3 19 -niam)-nia B2 controversiam + etc B1-2 Bc C2-3 (these mss. end at this point) 22 detur)det D3

a Cant II, 15 b I Pet I, 17 c d Rom XIII, 7; 1 e cf the treatise Attendite a falsis prophetis : 'Waldenses constituunt monstrum triceps...tria capita, aliqui enim suorum hæresiarcharum dicuntur Romani, alii Pedemontani, alii vero Alemanni..'(Dokumente, pp.345-6) f cf Mt XII, 25, Mc III, 24, & Lc XI, 17 g cf Rom XIII, 7 h Io III, 20 i cf EFI I 23, 11.12-13

Predicatis nocturno tempore, ne lupus stet in fabula[a]; quasi vespertilio de domibus evolatis. Re vera veritas non querit angulos, sed e contrario. 26-27

Odiose ecclesiam calumpniatis - que vestro non succumbit iudicio, sed e contra - contra Cristum in hac parte clare venientes (dicit enim, Nolite iudicare[b]): condempnare festucam in oculo ecclesie, trabem in tuo minime considerans![c] Eice[d], etc. 12 5

Narrastis eciam rei veritatem sic se habere ut equo modo vestri officii causa producatur. Et fratres admonere ut vitam ducant apostolicam, ut pacifice viventes Cristi discipuli esse videantur! Idem dicitis, omnino contrarium facientes. Vita enim apostolica lege et prophetis approbata plus quam mille annos ante vestrum Waldensis, clare, clarius, clarissime a sanctis patribus illuminata, suis ordinacionibus, constitucion-ibus, conservacionibus et statutis irrevocabiliter perseverans, nulli umquam vitam apostolicam prohibendo, nec propter veritatem ewangelii refutando usque hodie! Ideoque non occultamini propter eorum resistenciam, sed propter vestri inobedienciam et errorem, quod patet ad oculum intuenti, quia principale vite apostolice est universum mundum manifesta predicacione transmeare[e], iuxta illud, Ite, docete omnes gentes[f], Math. ultimo; et illud Ps., In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum[g]; et I[a] Petri 5, Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Dei, non coacte sed spontanee[h]. Est enim quidam modus sponsus nostre generacionis, ac si ita argueret: unaqueque res suo debet principio conformari, et modo suo generacionis, quia ex eodem sumus et nutrimur; sed cristianus natus est non ex sciencia corruptibili, sed per verbum Dei vivi[i] omnibus commune, scilicet per verbum sancti ewangelii, cum omnis caro exarescat ut fenum[j], ut dicit Ysaia; ergo quilibet cristianus ad verbum Dei

---

20 quia)queritur D3 23 I[a])I° D1-2 5)V° D3 27 -nus)-nos D2 -tus)-ture D2 28 -cia(conj))-cie omn

a cf a.a. Cicero, Ad Atticum, Lib. XIII, XXXIIIa, 4 b Mt VII, 1 c cf Mt VII, 4 d Mt VII, 5 e cf Mc XVI, 15 f Mt XXVIII, 19 g Ps XVIII, 5 h I Pet V, 2 i I Pet I, 23 j Is XL, 6-8

12

predicandum debet anhelare vel audiendum. Secundum est 30-31
sublimioribus potestatibus obedire[a], ut supra tactum est. Tercium
sacramenta in ecclesia conficere et ministrare, quod probatur 13
ad Cor. 13°, Ego enim accepi a Domino[b], et Iohannis 13°, Exemplum
dedi vobis[c]. Quartum omnibus bonis temporalibus renunciare, iuxta
illud, Nolite possidere aurum vel argentum[cc], etc., Math. ultimo.
Igitur vester apostolatus in obscuro latitat. Respondete. 5

Deum enim rogitatis videre in examine iusticie, a dextris et a sinistris minime declinantes[d], dicentes vos iusticiam equa lance et statera ponderare. O Deus eterne, qualis gloriacio! - et falsa, cum manifeste iusticia apud vos paciatur recidivum, 10
ut superius sufficienter est probatum. Scitis enim quod a dextris et sinistris non declinare[d] et iusticiam recta lance ponderare non est humanum sed divinum. Ideo fatua est ista relacio. Quia quanto fragilitatem humanam perspicaciori oculo intueor, tanto plura displicibilia menti imprimo - ideo stultum est tantam 15
sibi gloriam vendicare, cum idem rei veritas contradicat.

Scribitis, Querelam vestram nullis suffultam viribus racionis, et quod vos nostra negligencia condempnemus. Respicite igitur raciones precedentes, et respondete proposito. Certum vestra provulgacio recitat nos aquam fontis bibere defedati; 20
concedimus, quia in quantum est possibile per vos fedatam. Ista enim est aqua fontis saturientis quam bibimus, salientis in vitam eternam[e], que fluxit de latere Cristi, quam vos fedastis, eius rivos et rivulos occultando, teste Paulo ad Thymoth., Predica verbum, // insta opportune, inportune, in omni sciencia et 43v
doctrina[f]. Quare de errore me corripitis? Mallem enim de errore expedito iudice vobiscum disputare quam pre largis muneribus gratulari, eo quod vestra rebellio fieret magis palam. Cito vos

---

8-9 a...sinistris om D3 10 equa lance)equalitate D3 -are(conj))-ate D1-3 11 -icia)-iciam D2 13 lance)lauta D1 15 -itatem)-ius D1 16 -tam)-ta D2 18 -itis)-it D1 20 certum)ceterum D1 21 recitat bis D3 23 sat-)scat- D2 24 que(conj))qui D1-3 25 ad)in D3 25 Thymoth. + (blank space) D3

a Rom XIII, 1 b I Cor. XI, 23 c Io XIII, 15 cc Mt X, 9 d cf Prov IV, 27, etc. e Io IV, 14 f II Tim IV, 2

igitur primo, secundo, tercio. Respondete, ne vinculo excommun- 24-
-icacionis innodemini graviori. 14

Iactatis vos abhorrere maliciam; qui enim non abhorret de terra vivencium eradicandus est. Arma vero nostre et vestre iusticie patent creatori, qui, iuxta Ps., reddet unicuique iuxta opera sua[a]. Stultum tamen est de huiusmodi gloriari, quia non qui seipsum commendat, ille probatus est, sed quem Deus commendat[b]. Quomodo ebauditis illum qui dicit, Nichil michi conscius sum, sed in hoc non iustificatus sum[c] ? O Deus, de incorrupta iusticia quis potest gloriari? De rei veritate nullus nisi solus Deus. Ego autem dico me hominem peccatorem Dei misericordiam indigentem.

Scribitis vos velle scribere et declarare quare non cum hominibus conversemini. Patulas aures[d] exhibemus: dicitis propter fraudem que colitur, legalitatem que religatur, dolum qui exercetur, veritatem que inprobatur; et peccatis exigentibus dolum et fraudem locum sibi in ecclesiis vendicare. Propter quod ecclesiam comparatis Babiloni, quod interpretatur confusio[e]; et tum,dicentes tamen horum malorum sapere naturam, et sic in novam fraudulenciam mala addere; ut puer ex utero matris progrediens dolo et fraudibus iam pascatur falsatus, sicut cibus saturetur viciis, et doctrinis inbuatur. Date igitur depositum. Re vera estis in vinculis, nec vestra huiusmodi fatuitas indiget probacionem, quia ab inicio mundi manifestum est omnes patriarchas, prophetas, apostolos, predicatores, rectores et doctores eccles- -iarum propter omnia predicta peccata et multo plura restringenda ac radicitus exstirpanda, et virtutes plurimas inserendas, missos, et destinatos ad revocandum peccatores ad penitenciam; et probat textus sacre scripture quod nullus propter iustos natus est Cristus, sed propter peccatores[f]; et vos fugitis, faciendo contrarium omni

---

8 -itis)-istis D2 9 sum om D2 10 nisi)nec D1 14 qui)que D1-2 15 -atem)-ate D2 18 tamen)causam D1-2 19 addere om D2 ut(conj)) et D1-3 20 fals-(conj))fall- D1-3 cibus)cibis D2-3 28 -lus)-los D1 natus est)neque eciam D3

a Ps LXI, 13 b II Cor X, 18 c I Cor IV, 4 d Horace, Epistularum Lib.I, 18, l.70. e G in Gen X, 10, vol.I, f.58r f cf Mt IX, 13, Mc II, 17, & Lc V, 32

textui sacre scripture; quo applicatis fundamentum fidei certe ad cellas vestras. Re vera fidelis sermo, et omni accepcione dignus, quia Iesus Cristus venit in hunc mundum peccatores salvos facere[a]. Non est opus valentibus medicus, sed male habentibus[b], etc. Probo de C ovibus et X drachmis[c]. Respicite omnes prophetas: dicit Ysa., Omne caput languidum[d]; dicit Ier., A minore usque ad maiorem omnes avaricie student, a propheta usque ad sacerdotem omnes faciunt dolum[e]. Nonne isti omnes palam peccatores insequebantur? Si necesse esset, testes non deficerent in hac parte. 14, 30-15

Perorastis eciam quod vicia, quibus ab infancia nutriantur, etate perfecta convertantur in mores, et non correcc-ioni sed consuetudini committantur. Karissimi, cognoscitisne verum nos in parte occultare? In veritate a iuventute usque hodie quociescunque vidi sacerdotem ambonem ascendere numquam audivi nisi vicia corrigere et virtutes seminare; similiter in scolastico regimine idem. Et presumitis talia! O inpudica meretrix! Dicitis filios ecclesie pronos ad rapinam, promptos ad rapacitatem, sollicitos ad extorsionem, nec curent unde nec a quibus. Dicitis eos inverecundos ut meretricem infrunitam, presumptuosos more furum, aggressores minorum nullum periculum formidantes. O inopportuna accusacio! O calumpniosa detraccio! Respondeat igitur Iacobus 4: Fratres, nolite detrahere alterutrum; qui detrahit fratri detrahit legi[f]; ut vestri et eorum excessus scripti in frontibus[g]. Nec vos lateat nos considerare malos et bonos in ecclesia, quorum vestrum non est iudicare, quod homo videt faciem, Deus autem rimator est cordis, teste Paulo, quod si a vobis iudicer, nichil enim michi conscius sum[h], etc. Vere

---

1 certe om D2 5 -bo)-bacio D3 drach-(conj))dragm- D1-3 7 minore) maiore D2-3 maiorem)minorem D2-3 8 -otem)-otes D3 12 -iantur) -antur D1 16 nisi)nec D2 19-20 a quibus)aliquis D1 20 infrun-(conj))infrom- D1 D3 :)infron- D2 21 -orum)-ierum D3 24 legi om D2 22 accusacio)occasio D3 24 ut + -inam D3 :)nec D2 26 quod)quot D2 27 -et)-ent D3 rima-(conj))rimita- D1-3 teste)testante D3 quod) quid D3 (add) 20 infrun- conj :)infrom- D1 :)infron- D2-3

a I Tim I, 15 b Mt IX, 12 c cf Lc XV, 4-10 d Is I, 5 e Ier VI, 13 f Iac IV, 11 g cf Apoc XIII, 16 h I Cor IV, 3-4

inexcusabilis es, o homo qui iudicas! In quo enim alium iudicas, teipsum condempnas.[a] Nonne vos predicatis dum filios ecclesie surripitis? Nonne furtum facitis dum absconditi ecclesie derogatis? Nonne spoliatis dum ministrorum ecclesie fructus colligitis? Nonne sacrilegium facitis dum sine ordine sacerdocio fungimini? Ut dicitis, solum per confessionem cognoscite, et stupescite lancem vestre iusticie et stateram. O fraudulenta // proter- -vitas! O detractoria loquacitas! - que omnes nullo excepto nititur condempnare. O sancte matris ecclesie filii, considerate talia vicia vobis omnibus nunc ascripta. Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces: a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Colligunt uvas de spinis, et ficus de tribulis.[b] Attendite igitur usque ad exicium. 44r

Scienciam viarum vestrarum nolumus;[c] putamus enim vos omnibus vinculis que sacerdocio ascribitis irretitos. Multa enim garritis in angulis, que omnia restant ad probandum; si essetis X milia nec possetis. O mille volumina Augustini! O salubria dicta Gregorii! O legalis translacio Ieronimi! O venerabilis Bede! Ambrosii! Iohannis Crisostomi! Quorum cooperante gracia sancti spiritus laudabilis est descripcio. O moderni rethores et doctores, quorum profunda est speculacio! Quomodo sine racione inpugnamini a formica et culice respectu leonis et aquile! Ve igitur vobis wlpibus fraudulenter demolientibus virtutum vineam.[d] Et moralem dehonestatis honestatem, qui virtutes in vicia degenerare cogitis; qui vicia sub virtutum specie palliatis; qui prodigialem thesaurum bonorum ecclesie dilapidaciones

---

2 predicatis)(blank space) D2 filios + et oves D3 5 Nonne)In me D1 6 ~~stu-~~obstu- D2-3 -scite)-sate D1 7 et)ad D3 12 sunt om D3 13 Colligunt...tribulis)~~Etc~~ D3 14 ad)in D3 18 -ini)-inus D3 20 -osii)-osius D1-2

a Rom II, 1 b Mt VII, 15-16 c Iob XXI, 14 d cf Cant II, 15

temerarie nuncupatis. Super quo vos ultra percuciamini, 1
prevaricacionem addentes[a]; pinguis admodum ex adipe[b] prodiens
iniquitas vestra: sterilitas metentis falcem detinuit, dictantis
calamum nimium fatigavit. Ideo vestrarum litterarum prolixitatem 5
5 et adulacionum superfluitates prescindentes, ego et socii vobis
monendo consulimus, et consulendo monemus, quatenus vestre erronee
suasioni correccionis rimam infricetis, digitum ori opponentes[c],
ne de cetero verba vestre false religionis famam famancia 10
progrediantur, quibus simplicitas decipitur, virilitas effeminatur,
10 fama leditur, infamia generatur. Indulgenciam et remissionem
omnium peccatorum a sancte matre ecclesia impetrantes vitam
mereamini consequi sempiternam.

---

1 -amini)-emini D2-3 2 pinguis(conj))pignis D1-2 :)piguis D3 3 vestra + viciose inesse vestre D1-3 5 et(2nd)(conj))cum D1-3 socii) sociis D3 11 -cte)-cta D2

a Is I, 5 b cf Is I, 11 c cf Iob XXI, 5

EJL II 1

1

Epistola Johannis Leser contra aliquos fratres sectenarios. 244v

Quamvis diverse sint hereses fidei katholice advers-
-antes, tamen contra illam que michi magis est nota laborare
intendo. Recolo enim me legisse, Qui alios dum potest ab errore
non revocat, se ipsum errare demonstrat[a]. Errori ergo eorum qui
dicuntur Pauperes de Lugduno sive Waldenses compaciens, tractatulum
brevem de diversis auctoritatibus scripture canonice, cui se
credere fatentur, ad gloriam Dei et eorum utilitatem si suscep-
-erint collegi, distinguens illum in partes, que patebunt
prosequendo.

Primo ergo dicendum de fide. Sed, cum isti credant
esse unam fidem, et illam ad salutem esse necessariam, et illam
esse fidem quam ipse Cristus fundavit et apostoli predicaverunt,
igitur non est necesse ista per ordinem probare. Sed, quia Deo
occulto iudicio suo permittente et hostis malignitate procurante
tam multe quam diverse hereses in sancta ecclesia sunt exhorte
- sed non quia permanserunt in ecclesia sed quia exierunt ab
ecclesia facti sunt homines heretici, I[a] Io. 2, Ex nobis
prodierunt[b], etc. - , et quelibet earum // certat se esse 20 245r
sanctam ecclesiam, et fidem apostolicam se habere mentitur,
igitur hoc solum restat ad probandum: qui sint isti qui sanctam 2
et apostolicam fidem servaverunt incorruptam. Respondeo, de Dei

---

1-2 Epistola...sectenarios)Incipit tractatus contra Waldenses et libell-
-um cuiusdam heretici qui precedit Bc aliquos...sectenarios)Waldens-
-es hereticos et presertim contra tractatulum eorum inmediate preceden-
-tem quem appellant Librum Electorum C1 3 -erse)-ersi Bc sint)sunt
Bc 6 -ori)-ore Bc 6-7 qui dicuntur om Bc 7 -uno)-unio B1 8
de om B1-2 Bc 9 -atem)-ate B1 Bc 10 in + (blank space between 1 &
2 cm) B1-2 C1 patebunt + in B1 12 credant + se Bc 14 ipse om
cett -averunt)-abant B2 17 quam)et cett 19 I[a])I C1 no-)vo-
B1 Bc 21 sanctam)fidelem C1 apostol-)kathol- Bc 22 igitur)ergo
C1 restat om B2 sint)sunt Bc

a Decretal. Greg. IX, Lib.V, Tit.VII, De Haereticis c.II, Friedberg, II, p.778 b I Io II, 19

veritate confisus, quod fides recta in illis procul dubio 2-3
est credenda qui eam secundum formam et regulam a Cristo
apostolis institutam integram servaverunt. Forma autem seu 5
regula apostolis et eorum sequacibus data fuit hec - ut
videlicet solempnis et publica esset fidei confessio, iuxta
illud Mt. 10, Quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine[a];
ymo tacentibus ab hac professione comminatur eternam
dampnacionem in eodem, Qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, 10
negabo et ego eum coram Patre meo[b]. Si ergo corde creditur
ad iusticiam, fiat ore confessio ad salutem[c]. Unde Actus 4:
Petrus et Iohannes responderunt, Non enim possumus que
vidimus et audivimus non loqui[d]. Fides enim recta non habet
unde erubescat, quia honesta, nec unde timeat, quia iusta, 15
nec causam quare celetur, quia ad salutem necessaria est.
Ista patet in martiribus, quos nec amor vite, nec timor
mortis, nec obprobrium confusionis a perfeccione fidei
retrahere potuerunt[e]. In vero ergo cristiano ad similitudinem
sui capitis non est **Est** et **Non**; sed est in illis Est et Non 20
qui confitentur ore quod negant corde, vel negant ore quod
tenent in corde. Quare ergo isti non suscipiunt fidem ibi 3
ubi eciam suscipiunt sacramenta? Sed valde abusivum est
credere quod Cristus, qui dilexit ecclesiam, suis fidelibus

---

1 quod)quia Bc 2 est + esse C1 qui)quia Bc 3 -unt)-int B1
seu)et C1 4 -acibus)-entibus Bc hec)hoc Bc 6 lumine + etc C1
7 pro-)con- C1 8 -erit)-erint B1 9 meo + Ro X C1 Si om Bc C1
ergo om C1 creditur om Bc 10 fiat)fit C1 4)4° B2 Bc : + non
enim B1-2 Bc 14 nec)et C1 causam + habet C1 quare)quia Bc
cele-(conj))cole- B1 :)cola- C1 : coloce- B2 celetur)coleteur Bc
15 -et)-ent C1 18 sed est in illis)est si in illo est B2 illis)
illo est B1 Bc Non(3rd) + in illis est B1-2 Bc 19 ore quod)neque
Bc 20 corde)cordis Bc ibi om Bc 21-22 est credere om B2 22
ecclesiam)iusticiam B1

a Mt X, 27 b Mt X, 33 c Rom X, 10 d Act IV, 19-20 e cf G in Mt XVI, 26, vol.V, f.53^{r}

negaverit sacramentorum // amministracionem et comiserit extraneis et infidelibus. Hoc esset quasi membra corporis alimenta susciperent a membris de corpore sequestratis. Hoc in naturali corpore est inpossibile, et in spirituali corpore est prohibitum; 2 Cor. 6: Nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus; que enim participacio iusticie cum iniquitate? aut que societas lucis ad tenebras? aut que convencio Cristi ad Belial? aut que pars fidelis cum infideli?[a] Sed secundum iudicium Waldensium magnam partem habent fideles cum infidelibus, cum ab eis suscipiunt sacram communionem eukaristie, id est corporis et sangwinis Domini, et aliorum sacramentorum.

Sed quia sacramenta nove legis non habent effectum virtutum et graciarum nisi in suo corpore mistico, id est in unitate sacrosancte ecclesie manentibus, ideo de unitate eiusdem ecclesie est agendum, quia sicut una est fides katholica sic una est sancta katholica ecclesia, de qua Mt. 16 dicitur, Super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam.[b] Non dicit ecclesias, sed ecclesiam in singulari; hoc idem habetur in symbolo apostolorum, et in symbolo patrum: unam sanctam katholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam;[c] hoc eciam patet in veteri lege, ubi non licuit alicubi construi altare in holocaustum preter illud unicum altare Domini.[d] Unde sequitur, 4 Iosue 22, quod due tribus et dimidia, id est filii Ruben, et

---

1 amministracionem)abstraccionem Bc -iserit)-iseatur Bc 2 -bra)-brum B1 3 de)a C1 6 cum)ad C1 -atem)-atem C1 8 -ial)-ual B1 fidelis)fidei Bc 14 et om B2 in om B1-2 Bc 18 dicitur om C1 :)dum Bc 22 lege)testamento C1 23 sequi-)legi- Bc C1

a II Cor VI, 14-15 b Mt XVI, 18 c Symb. Apost. and Symb. Constant. in Enchiridion Symbolorum etc., ed. H.Denzinger and A.Schönmetzer (33rd edn., Freiburg-im-Breisgau, etc., 1965), pp.20-28, and 67 d cf Ios XXII, 29

filii Gad et dimidia tribus Manasse[a], fecerunt sibi altare preter altare Domini[b]. Quod cum audissent ceteri filii Israel estimabant eos hoc fecisse causa discessionis et apostasie; obiurgabant eos // vehementer, et volebant dispergere 246[r] tamquam legis Dei prevaricatores[c]. Illi vero expurgabant se, et vere, quod illud altare non fecissent in holocaustum sed solummodo in testimonium et memoriale quoddam[d]. Cumque hoc audissent filii Israel placati sunt, et laudaverunt Dominum quod fratres sui crimine scismatis non essent polluti[e].

Altare in holocaustum[f] et sacrificium faciunt, qui ab unitate recedunt, auctoritatem pastoralis officii sibi indebite usurpando; de quibus Libro V°, De Hereticis, ita dicitur: Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites omnem hereticum vel scismaticum cum dyabolo et angelis eius eterni ignis incendio participandum, nisi ante finem vite katholice fuerit incorporatus et reintegratus ecclesie[g]; altare vero in testimonium[h] faciunt, qui aliquam regulam approbatam sibi assumunt in unitate fidei manentes.

De unitate eciam ecclesie loquitur apostolus, I[a] Cor. 12, per similitudinem naturalis corporis, dicems: Sicut enim corpus est unum et membra habet multa, omnia autem membra corporis, cum sint multa, unum corpus sunt: ita et Cristus; etenim in uno spiritu omnes nos in unum corpus baptizati sumus[i].

---

1 -se)-ses omn 3 apostasie + et C1 4 vol-)nol- B1 5 -gis)-ges Bc 6 in om B2 sed + Domino B2 7 -modo om B2 C1 in om B1 et)in B2 -que om C1 : + pars B2 hoc)hec Bc 8 Dominum)Deum Bc C1 10 et)suum Bc C1 12 quibus)quo C1 Libro)Luc(scored through) B1 :)Luc B2 V°)V B1-2 14 scismaticum + et Bc -dio)-dium B1-2 Bc 17 testimonium + se B2 19 eciam om Bc I[a])I Bc C1 21 habet om B1 22 ita)ista B1 23 -enim om C1 in unum corpus om Bc

a f h Ios XXII, 9; 26; 26-27 b c d e cf Ios XXII, 10; 16-20; 26-27; 30-33 g Decretal. Gregor.IX, Lib.V, Tit.VII De Hæreticis, c.III, Friedberg, II, p.778 i I Cor XII, 12-13

Et ad Eph. IV: Solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis; unum corpus et unus spiritus sicut vocati estis in una spe vocacionis vestre; unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptizma[a], etc. Item Ezech. 37: Ecce ego assumam filios Ysrael, et faciam eos gentem unam; et rex unus erit imperans omnibus eis et non erunt ultra due gentes[b], etc. Hanc propheciam ostendit se Cristus adimplere // Ioh. 10: Et alias oves habeo, que non sunt ex hoc ovili; et illas oportet me adducere, et vocem meam audient, et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor[c]. Unitas ecclesie signatur eciam per archam Noe, extra quam nemo salvabatur[d]; Gregorii Libro V° capitulo De Hereticis: Omni homini qui ecclesie katholice non tenet unitatem, neque baptismus, neque elemosina quanta-cumque copiosa, neque mors pro nomine Cristi suscepta proficere poterit ad salutem[e].

246v

Possent Waldenses vel alii heretici dicere, Non dubitamus de unitate ecclesie, nec illa que iam sunt dicta ad probandum unitatem ecclesie sunt contra nos, quia credimus unam esse sanctam et apostolicam ecclesiam sicut et fidem; sed volumus probari que sit illa ecclesia. Respondeo illam ecclesiam esse sanctam que conformis prophecie prophetarum et institucioni Cristi. Duo autem de ecclesia inter cetera sunt specialiter prophetizata, scilicet quod deberet numero et loco dilatari et multiplicari, et quod deberet confirmari.

---

1 ad om C1 IV)X B1 :)4° B2 Bc Solliciti + sitis B1 4 etc om Bc 37)17 B1 5 et(1st) om Bc -iam)-ie Bc 6 etc om C1 7 Et om C1 8 ex)de Bc illas)illos B1-2 Bc 11 Gregorii + 6 B2 C1 : + 6° B1 (cf n. f infra) V°)5 B2 :)II Bc :)II° B1 12 capitulo om C1 13 non om Bc 14 neque)nec B1 15 -erit)-erat Bc 16-17 dicere... dicta om Bc 19 esse om B2 21 conformis + est B2 22 -ioni)-ione B1 23 -izata)-ata B2 C1 22-23 Cristi...numero om Bc 24 -cari)-citer B1

a Eph IV, 3-5 b Ez XXXVII, 21-22 c Io X, 16-17 d cf Gen VII, 23 e Decretal. Gregor.IX, Lib.V, Tit.VII De Haereticis, c.III, Friedberg, II, p.778 f (var. l.11, supra) A confusion with a passage from Gregory in the Sext. Bk.V, Tit.II De Haereticis (Friedberg, II, p.1069).

De primo Ysaias 60: Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, et reges in splendore ortus tui usque quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris[a]. Ecce Ysa. predixit gentes et reges[b] futuros in ecclesia, de quibus ipsa walde multiplicata est. Unde bene dicitur, quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris[a], et supra, 9, Multiplicabitur eius imperium, et pacis eius non erit finis[c]. Et Ps. 71: Et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrarum[d], etc.; in eodem, 21: Remiscentur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terre; et adorabunt in conspectu eius universe familie gencium[e], etc. Et Actus 2°: Dominus autem augebat cottidie qui salvi fierent[f], etc.; et infra, V: Magis autem augebatur credencium in Domino multitudo[g], etc.; Multus quoque numerus credencium conversus est ad Dominum[h], XI. 1-2 5 15

Si autem promissionem Cristi ad ecclesiam factam cessare voluerunt, dicendo quod ecclesia tempore Silvestri pro maiori parte[i] defecerit, vel ponendo illam // multiplic- 247r -acionem ecclesie de qua dictum est adhuc esse futuram[j], sicut quidam eorum in quodam libello quem vocant Librum Electorum mentitus est - (bene vocant Librum Electorum sed illorum de quibus Exodi XV, Electi principes eius submersi sunt in mari Rubro[k]; Electi principes Pharaonis, id est dyaboli qui dicitur Rex tenebrarum, sunt omnes inventores diversarum heresum, qui bene per principes Egypti intelliguntur, quia ecclesiam aperte 7 lucentem nituntur in angulum et obscuritatem transformare, dum 20 25

---

4 walde)Walden Bc 5 bene)autem Bc te om B1-2 Bc 7 erit)est B1-2 mari)mare Bc etc om C1 8-10 in...terre om B1 11 2°)2 B2 C1 aug-)eg- Bc 12 V)II B1 etc om B2 14 XI om C1 :)II° Bc 16 cess-)cass- C1 -unt)-int C1 17 illam)istam Bc 17-18 -iplicacion--em)-itudinem Bc 18 -ut om B1 19 quodam)quid Bc vocant + hunc C1 20 bene)unde Bc mentitus...illorum om B1 illorum + electorum Bc C1 24 per om Bc -te)-tam C1 lucentem)lucem C1 : om Bc

a Is LX, 3, 5; 5 b cf G in Is LX, 5, vol.IV, f.98r c Is IX, 7 d Ps LXXI, 8 e Ps XXI, 28 f Act II, 47 g Act V, 14 h Act XI, 21 i LE 2, l.9 j cf LE 7, ll.2-3 k Ex XV, 4

se in angulis occulte latentes fingunt esse sanctam ecclesiam, 2-3
et sic ostendunt se magis tenebras amare quam lucem[a]; et non
est mirum, quia sicut obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum[b] sic 5
obscuram et occultam volunt habere ecclesiam; sed non solum
principes perierunt, sed eciam omnis multitudo eorum; ita non
solum inventores errorum heu perierunt, sed omnes eorum
sequaces eternam dampnacionem subibunt) - : et ergo, ne
promissio a Cristo ecclesie facta irrita vel quasi ad nichilum 10
devenisse more infidelium putetur, ideo nunc de eius firmitate
dico. Quod ecclesia non debet durare usque ad aliquod tempus,
sed iugiter usque in finem mundi dicitur Mt. ultimo, Ecce ego
vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummacionem seculi[c];
nec in paucitate contemptibili, sicut Waldenses contendunt ubi 15
allegant illud dictum Ieremie 33°, Non interibit vir de
sacerdotibus et levitis ministris meis, vir a facie[e] mea qui
offerat holocausta et incendat sacrificium et cedat victimas
cunctis diebus[d], non attendentes quod in sacro eloquio sepe 20
singulare ponitur pro plurali, sicut Exo. VIII, Venit musca
gravissima[e], id est multitudo muscarum[f]. // Quod si ex illa 247v
littera paucitatem concludere volunt ecclesie et se esse illam
ecclesiam ad quam facta est Dei promissio, quamvis et alie
hereses sint in paucitate, quare non aspiciunt in eadem 25
littera sequencia, ubi dicitur, Sicut numerari non possunt
stelle celi, et metiri arena maris, sic multiplicabo semen
David servi mei, et levitas ministros meos?[g] Et quia isti 8
negant ecclesiam Romanam sanctam et apostolicam esse ecclesiam

---

2 sic + se B2 3 sic + -ut Bc 6 sed + et C1 7 -ibunt)-eunt C1 8 -ta)-tata B1-2 Bc 9 de-)ad- B2 10 dico)dicitur Bc :)dicam vide--licet C1 usque om cett 11 usque + omnibus diebus B1 10 -et)-eat C1 12 omnibus diebus om C1 14 illud om B2 dictum om C1 33°)32 Bc :)XXXIII C1 inter-)intro- Bc 18 -ali)-ale B2 20 illam)istam Bc 23 sequencia + verba C1 24 -iri)-eri B1 : + non potest C1 sic + -ut Bc

a Io III, 19 b Rom I, 21 c Mt XXVIII, 20 d Ier XXXIII, 18, as quoted in LE 5, 11.8-11 e Ex VIII, 24 f cf G in Ex VIII, 24, vol.I, f.140v g Ier XXXIII, 22

quam Dominus per apostolos ex gentilibus et iudeis collegit, ideo bene sequitur ibidem, Factum est verbum Domini ad Ieremiam, dicens, Numquid non vidisti quid populus hic locutus sit, dicens: due cognaciones quas elegerat Dominus abiecte sunt? Et populum meum despexerunt.[a]

Sequitur ergo quomodo ecclesia conformis sit institucioni Cristi. Cristus enim instituit ecclesiam evidentem et apertam, et ordinavit ei ministros in diversis officiis et ordinibus distinctos, atque commisit eis sacramentorum dispencacionem, verbi Dei predicacionem, et hec omnia ut essent palam et fierent in luce. Et quia ecclesia Romana habet eandem conformitatem in omnibus predictis, firmiter credendum est ipsam veram et legittimam esse ecclesiam, quod eciam potest ostendi per iugem successionem.

Hec omnia in novo testamento declarantur. De hoc quod ecclesia fuerit manifesta, Luc. 6: Exiit Iesus in montem orare, et erat pernoctans in oracione; et cum dies factus esset, vocavit discipulos suos, et elegit 12 ex ipsis.[b] In monte et in die elegit eos ut et locus et tempus sibi testimonium perhib-
-erent, ne videlicet in occulto aliquid machinari calumpniaretur. Et sequitur, Et descendit cum illis et stetit in loco campestri, et turba discipulorum eius, et multitudo copio- // -sa plebis$_{248^r}$ ab omni Iudea, et Ierusalem, et maritima, et Thyri, et Sydonis, qui venerant ut audirent illum,[c] qui famam eius longe lateque deferre poterant. Unde ecclesiam volens suo capite adherere statuit ut in loco solempni coram multis sacri 9

---

1 -ilibus)-ibus Bc C1 3 dicens)Domino (1st) B1-2 C1 4 cognac-)congregac- Bc quas bis Bc ele-)alle- B2 6 ecclesia + eorum C1 sit)est C1 7 Cristi + De ministris B2 9 distinctos om Bc 14 -gem)-gum Bc 16 -esta)-este B1 18-19 suos...die om Bc 20 machinari om B2 : + alii C1 -etur)-entur C1

a Ier XXXIII, 23-24 b Lc VI, 12-13 c Lc VI, 17-18

ordines celebrentur. Sed ex verbis ewangelii iam dictis non solum notatur ecclesie status publicus sed eciam ministrorum ordo et vocacio seu eleccio, cum dicitur, Et elegit 12 ex ipsis quos et apostolos nominavit[a], etc.; ille enim elegit eos de cuius auctoritate non licet dubitare. Elegit eos ut excluderetur auctoritatis indebita usurpacio. Nullus verorum ministrorum et pastorum veteris vel novi testamenti nisi vocatus et ordinatus a Deo et a sancta ecclesia curam animarum suscepit. A Deo dico propter illos qui inmediate a Deo constituti, sicut Aaron in veteri testamento et apostoli in novo testamento, et sicut primi parentes inmediate producti sunt a Deo, quia non habuerunt de quibus nascerentur - sed alii de cetero nascebantur ab illis. Sic primos ecclesie rectores ordinavit ut inde alii ordinarentur ab illis.

Et quia illi, quasi de falsa iusticia confidentes, ab unitate sancte ecclesie recesserunt, diversas vias et modos querunt quibus se comprobent missos a Deo; ideo duo sunt consideranda in illis qui se dicunt missos a Deo, ut videlicet signis evidentibus et miraculis clarescant, et tenuerint unitatem et formam ecclesie. Nam quoscumque vocavit Deus eciam eis inspirando ut vel ipsi humiliter susciperent vel aliis ut eos susciperent ad curam animarum, semper unitas, ordo, et consensus ecclesie affuerunt. Et ergo manifeste est Petrum Waldensem non habuisse auctoritatem cure pastoralis // nec usum clavium in amministracione ecclesiastica - de quibus clavibus dicitur Mt. 16, Et tibi dabo claves[b], etc., et infra, 18, Amen dico vobis, quodcumque ligaveritis super terram, erit

---

4 etc om B2 6 verorum)verus C1 7 vel)et B2 C1 -enti)-entorum C1 8-9 et a...Deo om Bc 10 -eri)-ero Bc 10-11 et...testamento om Bc 11 pro-)per- B1 12 sed)et Bc 14 rectores + Deus C1 13-14 Sic...illis om B2 15 quasi)quia C1 :)qui Bc 16 vias) res vas B2 17 se om Bc 18 illis)illos B2 19 et(1st) om B2 20 eciam) et B1 21 vel aliis)ab aliis vel C1 22 animarum + et sic C1 23 ergo om Bc -este)-estum C1 26 tibi)igitur Bc etc om B2 26-27 et infra...ligaveritis om Bc erit)erunt Bc

a Lc VI, 13 b Mt XVI, 19

ligatum et in celo[a] - quia non invenitur miraculis claruisse 2-3
nec in vita nec post vitam, nec eciam habuit consensum ecclesie,
et maxime quantum ad institucionem sui ordinis (si ordo debet
dici) - posito quod fuerit sacerdos - quia per ordinem illum 5
fecit scissuram in ecclesia tam in habitu sacerdotali quam in
ritu consecrandi, quam eciam in articulis fidei. Si ergo
dixerunt eum fuisse sacerdotem sacris ordinibus consecratum
cum socio suo Iohanne, sicut in quadam epistola scripserunt,[b]
et sic eum, et se per eum, habuisse et habere auctoritatem 10
ligandi atque solvendi, per hoc concedunt sacerdotes
successores esse apostolorum. Et si per sacri ordinis
suscepcionem habuit auctoritatem, quare in suis discipulis,
quos ipse instituit, non servavit consecracionis ordinem et
ritum, ut quod ipse susceperat ab aliis alii ita susciperent 15
ab eo? Quia ergo alio modo instituit suos sequaces quam ipse
fuit institutus, mutavit sacri ordinis ritum. Et si mutato
consecrandi ritu mansit usus et auctoritas clavium, iam cassa
et vana est observacio ecclesie in sacris ordinibus celebrandis, 20
qui tamen effectum habuerunt usque ad illum et in illo
secundum eos. Quod patet per hoc quod referunt eum fuisse
consecratum et sic se per eum habere auctoritatem.

Et per hoc eciam apparet quod idem Petrus Waldensis
principium fuit ordinis vel secte eorum, quia si invenisset 25
illius ordinis antecessores ab illis utique tamquam a viris
apostolicis pocius accepisset firmitatem; nec illis obruisset
hystoriographus eorum in libello // quem dicunt Librum 249r
Electorum ostendens tam notabiliter, quasi principalem 11

---

1 celo + etc C1 4 quia om Bc 6 -ulis)-ulo Bc 7 -unt)-int C1
8 sicut om B1-2 Bc 9 sic + se et Bc se)eum Bc -ere)-uere Bc
11 si per om Bc 12 quare)quam Bc 13 instituit + et Bc -ionis)
-iones Bc 14 -erat)-erant B2 ut...aliis om Bc 17 -tu)-tum Bc
21 sic om Bc se per)semper B1-2 Bc -ere)-uisse C1 24 vir-)verb-
B1 -is)-os C1 25 obru-)tacu- C1 26 eorum om B2 libello +
eorum B2 27 ostendens)eundem Bc

a Mt XVIII, 18 b cf EFI I 19, 11.22-25

auctorem posuisset dicens, Post annos autem DCCC a Constantino surrexit quidam[a]; non addit de illo ordine, vel de illis fratribus. Nec eciam ab eo deberent cognominari, scilicet Waldenses.

Notandum eciam quod in eodem libello multa ponuntur que valde sunt suspecta et racioni contraria. Primo in hoc quod narrat de quodam socio Silvestri, qui ob hoc quod idem Silvester ab imperatore bonis temporalibus fuerit dotatus ab eo recessit[b], de quo indeterminate loquitur, quia nec nomen eius ponit, nec condicionem, nec statum, utrum fuerit episcopus vel sacerdos vel cuiuscumque ordinis, nec vitam quomodo vixerit, vel quid fecerit, vel utrum sue perfeccionis reliquerit successores, sed absolute dicit, Socius autem eius, ut enarrari audivi, ab eo recessit[c]. In quadam autem epistola sua corrigunt et ponunt plures socios[d], quorum eciam nec nomina, nec numerum, nec officia ostendunt. Quales autem socii illi fuerint nescio; unum scio, quod eciam tempore apostolorum multi fuerunt episcopi, sacerdotes, et dyaconi; qui spacio trecentorum ab ipsis temporibus apostolorum annorum multiplic-ati usque ad Silvestrum. Multo plures fuerunt qui erant socii Silvestri nec recesserunt ab eo, quod probat synodus que facta est sub eo post Constantini conversionem in qua CCC et XVIII episcopi fuerunt congregati contra heresim Arrii, Alexandrini prespiteri, nisi idem Arrius fuerit unus sociorum illorum qui recesserant a Silvestro.

Item est eciam hoc notandum, quod Silvestrum vocat

---

1 -orem)-oritatem Bc autem + Domini C1 2 illo)isto Bc 3 scili--cet om B2 6 racioni + ecclesie B1 8 bo-)do- C1 -erit)-it cett 9 -it)-erit C1 10 ponit)posuit Bc nec(2nd))et Bc 11 vixer-) fecer- B1 12 quid)qualiter B1 fecer-)vixer- B1 13 dicit om B2 14 epistola om Bc 17 -int)-unt Bc C1 19 apostolorum + hystoriog--raphus et omn 20 -to)-ti B2 qui + omnes B2 Bc : + eius C1 socii + scilicet C1 22 sub)ab B1 23 -unt)-ant B1 Bc 24 presp--iteri)episcopi B2 26 eciam)et Bc vocat)nominat C1

a LE 2, 11.13-14 b cf LE 1, 1.18 - 2, 1.2 c LE 1, 1.18 - 2, 1.1
d cf EFI I 13, 1.16

heresiarcham[a] quem paululum ante vocaverat rectorem ecclesie.[b] Et tamen causam sui erroris non assignat, // nisi quod eum de percepcione bonorum temporalium accusat; quod si pro vicio licuit in eo reprehendi absque iudicio modo pocius debuit appellari avaricia quam heresis. 27-12,1 249v

Nec valet illud quod inferunt, quod audita est vox de celo dicens: Hodie diffusum est venenum in ecclesia Dei.[c] Non est argumentum sufficiens quod **preter hec desierit ecclesia** esse vel Silvester male fecerit accipiens thesaurum. Non enim sequitur quod aliquid est causa mali, ergo est malum, vel quod semper sit malum vel omnibus malum. Exemplum habemus I Regum 8, ubi dixerunt maiores natu de Ysrael ad Samuel, Constitue nobis regem.[d] Et licet Dominus per hoc arguerit eos petentes regem,[e] non tamen ex hoc sequitur quod abiecerit populum suum et quod omnes fuerint mali vel quod omnes reges exinde fuerint mali; ymo David fuit sanctus et electus a Domino. Simile habemus Iudic. 8, ubi Gedeon de inauribus postulatis a filiis Israel fecit ephod in quo postea fornicatus est omnis Israel,[f] id est magna pars de Israel; et tamen forte Gedeon in hoc non peccaverat, quia apostolus ad Heb. ponit eum in vero catalogo sanctorum.[g] Multa ergo possunt fieri bona et bene de quibus in futurum possunt oriri mala. Et ergo vox illa - si verum est quod facta est - potest intelligi per modum prophecie: quod ille thesaurus vel bona que acceperat Silvester a Constantino, scilicet quamvis ille eis bene uteretur **futuris** multis tenderetur in malum, quia sicut bonis ipsa cooperantur in bonum[h] sic malis in malum. Certe satis fuit venenum illis

---

4 modo om C1 8 est + hoc B2 Bc pre-)prop- C1 hec)hoc B2 C1 9 vel + filii B2 10 ergo)igitur C1 11 vel)et C1 13 eos om Bc pet-)pot- B1-2 15 -int(1st))-unt Bc -int(2nd))-unt Bc 16 ymo) nam C1 -vid)-vit B1 18 ephod(conj))ephot C1 :)ex hoc B1-2 Bc est om Bc 20 -erat)-erit B2 eum om Bc vero)numero B1-2 Bc 21 catalogo)chatholago B1-2 :)catholico Bc 22 oriri bis B2 23 est om B2 27 malis + cooperantur cett

a LE 2, l.5 b LE 1, l.9 c EFI I 14, 11.8-9 d I Reg VIII, 4-5 e cf I Reg VIII, 7-8 f cf Iud VIII, 24-28 g cf Hebr XI, 32 h cf Rom VIII, 28

qui ex hoc tantum fuerint scandalizati ut caderent a fide. Mira insania est quod illi tantum de voluntaria pau- // -pertate gloriantur, qui sine labore tam magnos habent thesauros auri et argenti in tuto, et dampnant eos qui habent bona mobilia omnibus periculis exposita, que possunt a predon- -ibus auferri, a gelu, rubigine, pruina, grandine consumi. Et tamen Cristus magis dixit, Nolite possidere aurum et argentum[a] quam Nolite possidere vineas et agros. 250r

Dicunt eciam in eodem quod pars quedam cecidit,[b] et maior pars,[c] quod secundum eum intelligendum est in Silvestro; et pars quedam in veritate permansit[d] per socium illum de quo superius est dictum. Quales autem rectores illius partis fuerint, vel quomodo prefuerint, de hoc nichil ponit, sed transit a Constantino usque ad Petrum Waldensem, inter quos fluxerunt multi anni, quos ipse numerat dicens, Post annos DCCC a Constantino surrexit quidam cuius nomen proprium Petrus,[e] etc. Et quamvis dicat quod numquam lucerna veritatis exstincta sit,[f] sed semper aliqui sanctorum fuerint,[g] tamen non continuat eum ad precedentes, sed incipit quasi a novo auctore, dicens, Surrexit quidam,[h] etc. Sed Romane ecclesie pontifices possunt continuari, sive ascendendo ab ultimo usque ad primum, sive descendendo a primo usque ad ultimum, qui iam est et vocatur Gregorius XI.

Et post modicum dicit, urbem Romanam ingressus coram heresiarcha de fide et religione disputavit.[i] Per hoc quod illum vocat heresiarcham concludit non solum Silvestrum sed

---

1 -int)-unt cett 2 illi om Bc 3 -te om B1 6 gelu)gili Bc pruina + et C1 7 et)nec C1 13 fuerint om C1 :)fuerunt Bc -int (2nd))-unt Bc C1 nichil)non B2 Bc 15 anni + post C1 ipse om Bc annos + Domini C1 16 a Constantino om C1 cuius om Bc 17 etc om Bc 17-18 exstincta sit)exstinxerit B1-2 Bc 18 -int)-unt Bc 19 -ore)-oritate Bc 22 a)de B2 usque om B2 23 XI)XI^us cett 24 modicum om Bc coram)quorum B2

a Mt X, 9 b LE 2, ll.8-9 c cf LE 2, ll.9-10 d LE 2, l.11 e LE 2, ll.13-14 f g LE 4, ll.7-8; 15-16 h LE 2, ll.13-14 i LE 2, ll.19-20

omnes sibi succedentes fuisse heresiarchas; et quia ipsi sunt capita tocius ecclesie tota ecclesia est infecta. Et ergo mendacium est quicquid dicit ecclesia de martiribus, de confessoribus, de virginibus, et de omnibus qui fuerunt post Silvestrum; et illa signa et miracula // que dicuntur de beato Gregorio et aliis summis pontificibus qui post Silvestrum prefuerunt mendosa sunt. Item Ieronimus, Ambrosius, Athanasius, Martinus, Crisostomus, Augustinus - omnes perierunt quia omnes membra fuerunt ecclesie, et de eorum sanctitate et miraculis ipsa falso gloriatur, nec est sibi in aliquo fides adhibenda: quod est horrendum credere! Qui ergo talia senciunt de ecclesia katholica inter maximos hereticos et anticristos non minimi sunt conputandi, quia non solum adversantur ecclesie sed illi a quo ipsa directe et linealiter successione hereditaria procedit. Et igitur auctoritas illius in omni re dubia valet. Unde Augustinus, Contra Manicheos, Certum est quod in re dubia ad fidem et certitudinem valeat katholice ecclesie auctoritas, que ab ipsis fundatissimis sedibus apostolorum usque ad hodiernum diem succedencium sibi--met episcoporum serie et tot populorum consensione confirmatur.[a] Item Kalixtus Papa: Non decet a capite membra discrepare, sed iuxta scripture testimonium omnia membra caput sequuntur.[b] Item Gregorius: Preceptis apostolicis non dura superbia resistatur, sed per obedienciam, que a sancta Romana ecclesia et apostolica auctoritate iussa sunt, salutifere inpleantur, si eiusdem sancte Dei ecclesie, que est caput nostrum, communionem

26-14,1 250v 15

---

3 martiribus + et B2 8 Athanasius om C1 15 auctoritas + in B2
17 -bia)-bis B2 et om Bc -eat)-et B1 18 funda-)fuden- B1 Bc
19 -encium)-endum Bc 20 -firmatur)-tinuatur C1 21 discrepare om B1-2 Bc 22 -ut)-it Bc

a Augustine, Contra Faustum Manich., 1, II, c.2, PL XLII, col.246; quoted in Gratian, Decreti Pars Prima, Dist.XI, c.IX, Friedberg, I, p.25
b Calixtus I, Epistola I ad Benedictum Episcopum, Gratian, Decreti Pars Prima, Dist. XII, c.I, Friedberg, I, col.27

habere desideratis[a]. 1

Item notandum eciam: per hoc quod dicitur predicavit, discipulos fecit[b] idem Petrus Waldensis intelligitur non missus quamvis predicavit, discipulos fecit[b], quia non dicitur a quo vel a quibus fuerit missus, et quia fuerat excommunicatus a Papa. Nullus autem episcopus vel sacerdos habet potestatem aliquam excommunicatum ab ecclesia mittere ad predicandum. Quia ergo non missus excommunicatus predicavit, certum est quod non erat verus sed pseudo-apostolus. Si autem dixerint eum iniuste excommunicatum, et a spiritu sancto missum, oportet quod hoc // probetur, vel per specialem propheciam, ut de Iohanne Baptista dicitur per Ysaiam, Ego vox clamantis in deserto[c], etc., vel per miracula, ut dicitur de Moyse, qui virgam vertit in colubrum[d], Exod. 7. Qui ergo sue missionis testimonium non habent, et contra prohibicionem et ordinem ecclesie locuntur, certissime non veri sed pseudo-apostoli sunt. Si ergo sine testimonio scripture vel ordinacione ecclesie predicantes essent recipiendi iam nulla ecclesie esset stabilitas, nec una maneret fides sed tot quot sunt hereses, quia omnes heretici dicunt se missos a spiritu sancto; ergo omnes sunt indifferenter recipiendi et nullus repellendus, quod tamen nullus scismaticus in sua secta concedit. Et sic volunt ut ecclesia sustineat quod nec ipsi sustinere volunt; qua racione Runcares[e] vel alii ab ecclesia exhorbitati minus sunt recipiendi quam Waldenses? 5 10 251r 15 20 25

Ecce quam callidus est ille serpens antiquus[f], ut sua

2-3 predicavit...fecit om B1-2 Bc 3 idem om Bc 4 quamvis)per hoc quod dicitur B1-2 Bc quia)et B1-2 Bc 7 -quam)-quem B2 C1 8 non + est C1 missus + est C1 : + missus et B2 est)esse Bc 6-8 a... excommunicatus om Bc 9 autem om B2 -int)-unt Bc 13 etc om Bc C1 16 veri)viri Bc 17 -antes)-atores C1 19 quot)quod B1-2 22 ut) quod C1 23 qua om Bc Runc-)Runt- B1 25 -idus)-idens B1 vt + quod B1-2 Bc

a Gregory IV, Epistola, PL CLXXXVII, col.62; quoted in Gratian, Decreti Pars Prima, Dist.XII, c.2, Friedberg, I, col.27. b LE 2, 1.19 c Is XL, 3 d cf Ex VIII, 8-10 e The Runcarii were probably an Italian splinter group formed in the early 13th century under the dissident Waldensian John of Ronco (cf Nickson,'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.282) f Apoc XII, 9

prava que hominibus quos decipit ingerit fingat esse a spiritu sancto; ut sic transfiguratus Sathanas in angelum lucis[a] facilius ecclesie unitatem disiungat, que sibi est terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata[b], ut sic ovibus dispersis furetur et mactet et perdat[c]. Secundum testimonium ergo veritatis valde vigilanter cavendum est nobis ab illis qui non intrant per hostium sed ascendunt aliunde[d]. Non ergo alliciat nos species pietatis in istis, nec terreat exemplum pravitatis in illis ut decepti a fide ab unitate cadamus, sed viam regiam gradiamur[e], neque ad dextram neque ad sinistram declinantes[f]. Scio namque superbos, avaros, luxuriosos, symoniacos, et omni scelere pollutos in ecclesia; // sed numquam propter malos heredit- 251v -atem suam perdidit Cristus. Nam, ut apostolus ait, 2 ad Thym. 2, In magna autem domo non solum sunt vasa aurea, et argentea, sed et lignea, et fictilia; et quedam quidem in honorem, quedam autem in contumeliam; si quis autem mundaverit se ab istis, erit vas in honorem[g]; etc. Ecce apostolus malos et bonos ostendit esse in ecclesia. Hoc idem ostendit Dominus in quadam parabola, scilicet sagene misse in mare Mt. 13[h], quod si pisces boni a sagena recessissent propter malos non utique electi fuissent in vasa. Numquid ergo propter filios malos relinquam matrem piam que culpam non habet[i], et non pocius adherebo ei propter bonos? Quod si non credidero eam habere bonos non illi sed michi incredulitas mea nocebit. Sequitur ergo dictum beati Augustini, qui ait, Quisquis in hac sancta ecclesia bene vixerit, nichil

---

1 que om B1-2 Bc -gat)-git Bc 5 -tet)-tat Bc 8 terreat)intrat B2 :)mittat Bc illis)aliis C1 9 a...unitate)a fidei unitate C1 11 et)eciam B1 12 prop-)pre- B1 Bc 13 ad om C1 14 2)et Bc et)sed Bc 16 mun-)emun- C1 17 esse om Bc 18 Dominus)Deus Bc 19 mare + etc C1 21 ergo om Bc 22 ei...bonos om Bc 23 sed + non Bc 24 -itur)-amur C1 25 sancta)sacra Bc

a II Cor XI, 14 b Cantic VI, 3, 9 c Io X, 10 d Io X, 1 e f Num XXI, 22; XX, 17 g II Tim II, 20-21 h cf Mt XIII, 47-50 i cf Eph V, 27

ei preiudicant aliena peccata, quia in ea Unusquisque portabit suum onus[a], sicut ait apostolus[b]. 28-17, 1

Item nota eciam quod dicit, data sibi sentenciam extra synagogam factus est[c]. Ecclesiam vocat synagogam ut insinuet eum iniuste eiectum et excommunicatum more apostolorum, de quibus dicitur, Iohannis 16, Absque synagogis facient vos[d], etc. 5

---

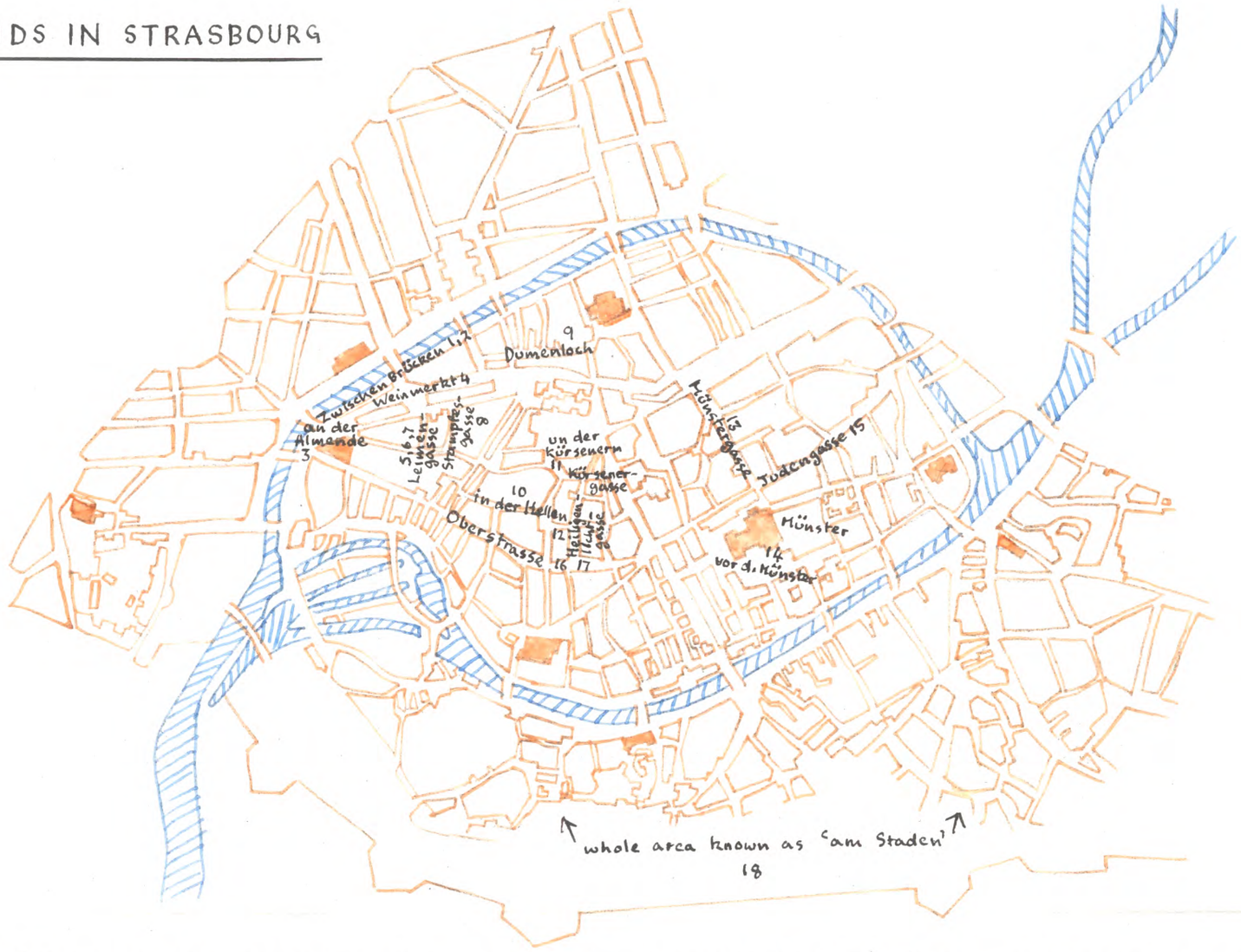
3 eciam om B2 5 eiectum)erectum B1 Bc et om Bc

a (Unus-...onus) Gal VI, 5 b Augustine, Epistola CXLI, c.5, PL XXXIII, col.579; quoted in Gratian, Decreti Pars Secunda, C.XXIII, q.IV, c.VII, Friedberg, I, col.901 c LE 3, 11.4-5 d Io XVI, 2

Map I

Map I

FRIENDS IN STRASBOURG



1 Zwischen Brücken: the residence in 1400 of the converted Brother Nicholas of Solothurn.

2 Zwischen Brücken: husband, wife and children all friends in the beerhouse 'zum Hirtze', which was the main meeting-place for sermons and confessions; these took place at the back of the house.

3 An der Almende: residence of Berner Contzelin, clothier.

4 Winmerkt: 'zum Schwartzen Buchstaben', residence of Eilse and her maid, and meeting-place for sermons & confessions.

5 Leimengasse: residence of C. Erlebach, weaver, Council member; his wife and child, brother, sister-in-law, niece and step-brother were also friends.

6 Leimengasse: residence of H. Waser, clothier, whose three sisters and daughter were also friends.

7 Leimengasse: residence of Agnes Strackeu, wife of a weaver; she was suspected of being a friend.

8 Stampfesgasse: residence of K. Eilse, wife of a wool-spinner.

9 Dumenloch: residence of a weaver who may have been a friend.

10 In der Hellen: residence of Jeckelin the cobbler and his sister.

11 Un der Kürsenern: house 'zum Flesser', used for confessions.

12 Heiligenlichtgasse: opposite this was a Beguinage in which lived a friend, Schwester Petersche.

13 Münstergasse: residence of H. zur Bircken, tailor and Council member, brother-in-law of Jeckelin (no. 10); his wife and two sons (one a merchant, the other a council-member and judge, boasting a coat of arms) were also friends.

14 Vor dem Münster: residence of Ellin, a hatter, and her son.

15 Judengasse: residence of M. Miltenbergin and her daughter.

16 Oberstrasse: residence of J. Blumstein, nobleman, and his mother; Brothers were received here.

17 Oberstrasse bei Katzenbühen: residence of V. Haderer, merchant, and his wife; his servant was also a friend; it was a meeting-place for confessions and sermons.

18 Am Staden: residence of B. Katherine.

Note: this map shows the streets in which friends lived; it does not show the location of their houses in these streets.

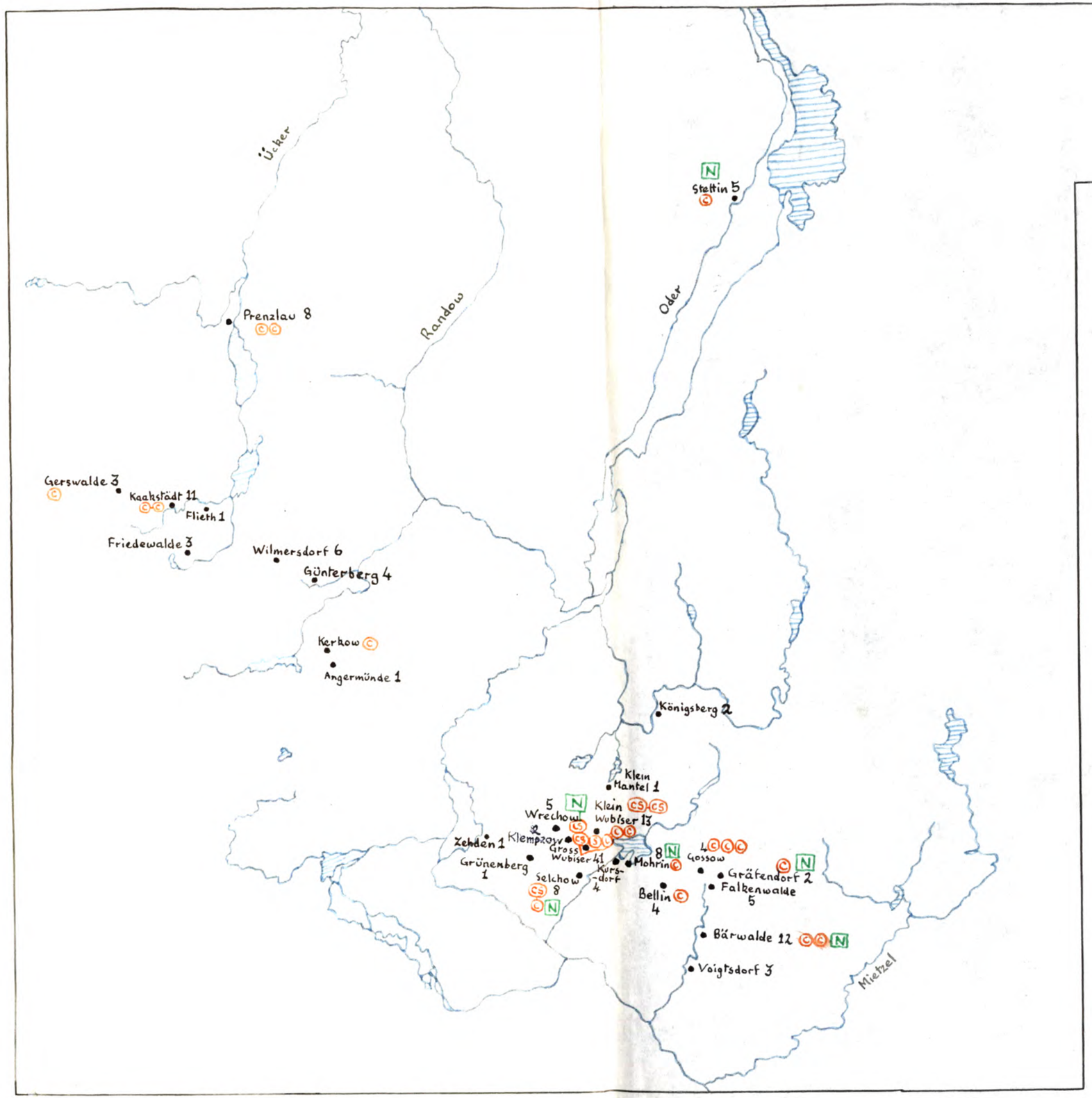
Map II

FRIENDS IN BRANDENBURG AND POMERANIA

The number written in black by each place-name indicates the number who were tried in 1392-4, taken from the surviving processes.

The coloured symbols refer to pastoral visits by Brothers in the autumns of 1391 and 1392:-

- Ⓒ indicates a house in which confessions were heard;
- Ⓢ indicates a house in which sermons were delivered;
- ⓒⓢ indicates a house in which both activities took place;
- Ⓝ indicates explicit references to the presence of the Brother Nicholas of Solothurn.



Appendix I: the Cum dormirent treatise

The Cum dormirent treatise,a polemical refutation of Waldensian beliefs,is extant in 45 mss. In 8 of these it is copied together with a short tract against the Waldensians,the Refutatio Errorum(R)[1]. In 16 it forms part of a collection of documents relating to or emanating from the inquisition of Waldensians in the last decade of the 14th century and the first few years of the 15th,and mainly from the activities during this period of the inquisitor Zwicker. These are partly forms: forms for the institution of an inquisitor(Zwicker by the Bishop of Passau),and the commission of substitutes(parish priests of Steyer and nearby Garsten by Zwicker)(a)[2]; forms of oaths -to tell the truth,of abjuration,and of expurgation,in German or Latin[3],and referring to the Bishops of Passau or Regensburg[4],and a Latin form of absolution(b); a list of questions,used by Zwicker in Brandenburg in 1392-4(c)[5]; alternatively,another set of oaths in German(less complete),referring to the Archbishbps of Mainz or Prague,and another set of questions(bc_1)[6]; sentences for various penalties,ranging from the mildest(circulation in public of one's parish Church every Sunday prior to mass for a set period) to the most severe(relaxation to the secular arm),including some imposed by Zwicker in Austria and Hungary[7](d,d_1); three other forms, e.g. absolution of a parish priest by Zwicker[8](e). It also includes notes of interest: two lists of Brothers,the second drawn up in 1391[9] (f,h); a note on the killing of a parish priest by Waldensians[10](i); and a letter written by Zwicker in 1395 on the danger of the Waldensian heresy[11](j). Finally it contains the Cum Dormirent treatise itself(C),written in 1395. The collection is referred to as PP.

---

1 ed.Gretser,cols.302g-307f. 2 Only in St Florian XI 234,f.88ra(among the mss.I have been able to examine). The following is only a preliminary and brief survey of a body of literature which deserves and needs an independent study. 3 All are in German,except where otherwise indicated in the list of mss. 4 All refer to the Bishop of Passau,except where otherwise indicated,etc. 5 Ed.Friess,'Patarener',pp.266-71.
6 Ed.Gretser,cols.308h-310a. 7 Ed.Dokumente,pp.346-51,and Haupt, Waldenserthum,pp.114-24(d_1); d sentences contain no ref.to name or habitation of those convicted,no date,etc.,and are not edited. 8 Ed. Haupt,Codex Teplensis,pp.34-5. 9 Ed.ibid.,pp.35-6,and Dokumente,pp. 330-1(also,Kurze,'Ketzergeschichte',p.94). 10 Ed.Friess,'Patarener', p.266. Nickson,'Pseudo-Reinerius',p.281 n.1,corrects one date in Friess, 1343,to 1393; in fact it is given as 1396 in this ms.,and 1390 in the other ms.(Seitenstetten 252,f.170ra)used by Friess.
11 Ed.Dokumente,pp.305-11,Friess,'Patarener,pp.262-6,etc.

The following are the mss. of the PP, with brief notes on date, provenance, and contents in those cases where full catalogues or my own examination has provided this information:-

Budapest Nat.Mus.106, f.1^{r}-33^{r}: CC,b; formerly in the possession of N.de Jankovich.

Harburg II,1,2^{o},129, f.139^{r}-152^{v}: CC,b(in Latin with no episcopal reference),d,j; in the possession of the Benedictine house of St Mang in Füssen(15c).

Hohenfurt 61, f.4^{v}-65(?): CC,b,i,j.

Munich CLM 5338, f.213^{r}-248^{r}: CC,d_1,b,j; prov.: Episcopal and Collegiate Church in Chiemsee.

Munich CLM 15125, f.170^{ra}-208^{vb}: CC,b,d_1,j; prov.: St John's(Can.Reg.) Rebdorf.

Munich CLM 22373, f.222^{va}-255^{ra}: C,b,d_1,i,j; prov.: Premonstratensian house at Windberg.

Salzburg St Peter's B.VIII.9, f.297^{ra}-307^{va}: C,b(in Latin and with no episcopal reference),d,i,j; prov.: St Peter's(Benedictine).

Salzburg St Peter's B.V.I., f.33^{v}-73^{v}: C,bc_1(Mainz),h,f; prov.: St Peter's.

Seitenstetten 188, f.1^{r}-56^{v} & 57^{v}-62^{r}: C,b,h,i,j; prov.: f.1^{r}: ex libris Georgii Aerdingari; later Benedictine house of Seitenstetten.

Seitenstetten 252, f.168^{va}-192^{vb}: C,,b,h,i,j; prov.: inside front cover- liber domini Wolfgang dictus Gleuzz; later Seitenstetten.

St Florian XI 234, f.84^{vb}-112^{vb}: C,a,Bc_1(without forms of oaths),f,h^{1}; prov.: St Florian(15c).

St Paul-im-Lavanttal 26_4, f.226^{ra}-243^{vb}: C,i,j; prov.: Benedictine house of Spital-am-Pyhrn(15c).

St Paul-im-Lavanttal 77_4, f.300^{ra}-334^{rb}: C,b,d_1,i,j; prov.: as above.

Vat.Pal.Lat.677, f.43^{r}-106^{r}: C,b(Regensburg),bc_1(fragmentarily),f,h; prov.: Palatine Library of Heidelberg.

Wolfenbüttel Cod.Helmst.403, ff.1^{ra}-7^{ra},10^{ra}-14^{rb},26^{ra}-48^{vb}: C(in overlapping parts originating in 2 mss.),b(fragmentarily),h,i,j.

Würzburg Univ.Lib.Mch.f.51, f. -(?)-38^{v}: C,d_1,e,f.

---

1 The Brother John of Dichartz is given in this as nunc vero relapsus (f.84^{va}).

Some other mss.which do not contain C contain elements of PP:- Bamberg P.VI.9,f.118-122(b); Berlin lat.fol.704,ff.190^{ra-va},197va-198^{rb}, 199ra-200^{rb}(b,d_1); Hohenfurt 123,f.280-2^{v}(j); Schlägl 168 Cpl(816b)166, f.177^{r}-180^{v}(j).

The following mss. contain C and R:- Gdansk.Mar.f.294,f.203^{v}-226^{v} (prov.: Church of Mary,Gdansk); Mar.f.295,f.191^{r}-218^{r}(written in Bohemia, 1404,and later in the Church of Mary); Harburg II,1,2^{o},127,f.131ra-158^{vb} (prov.: St Mang in Füssen in 15c); Herzogenburg 22,f.162^{r}-192^{r}(prov.: Aug.house of Herzogenburg); Leipzig Univ.Lib.602,f.303ra-336va; Pennsylvania Ms.Lea lat.22,f.308ra-362^{r}; Prague Univ.Lib.X B 2,f.141ra-168ra; Met.Cap.CLX,f.284va-274ra(in the possession of Mag.J.Herttemberger); Wrocław I.Q.43,f.42^{r}-77^{v}(prov.: Dominican convent of Wrocław).

The following mss.contain only C:- Dubrovnik Dominican Convent Cod. 30,f.147va-168ra(prov.: Germany); Göttweig XV 250,f.194^{r}-227^{v}(prov.: Benedictine house of Göttweig); Krakow DD X 22,f.1^{r}-12^{v}(incomplete); Munich CLM 5614,f.260va-284ra(1444; prov.: Aug.house of Diessen in 15c); CLM 8680,f.176ra-202^{vb}(prov.: Carmelite house in Munich); CLM 17562, f.154^{r}-181^{r}(1462,prov.: Abbey of Schöntal); CLM 19539,f.223ra-252ra(1458; for prov. see below); CLM 26756,f.1^{v}-33^{r}(prov.: Dominican convent in Regensburg; later City Library); Olomouc State Archive MC 57,f.157ra-174^{vb}(prov.: Metropolitan Chapter in Olomouc); Paris Mazarine 1683(1185), f.6^{r}-33^{v}; Prague Univ.Lib.X B 7,f.72ra-98^{rb}; XIII E 5,f.152^{v}-182^{v}(in possession of Martin,P.p.in Plana,in 15c); Met.Cap.CLXIX,f.75^{rb}-101^{vb} (in possession of Mag.J.Herttemberger in 15c); Seitenstetten 106,f.108ra-131^{vb}(f.1^{r}: Henrici Puchanacz); 213,f.108va-133va(prov.: Benedictine house of Seitenstetten); Vienna 4219(Theol.216),f.212^{r}-232^{v}(1444); Zwettl 185,f.121^{r}-141^{r}(prov.: Cistercian house of Zwettl in 15c).

In addition to these C exists in extracts in Vienna Nat.Lib.4511,f. 159^{r}-160^{r},and once existed in an ms. in Tegernsee which I have not been able to trace. The Benedictine house of St Ägidien in Nuremberg also possessed a copy of C in the fifteenth century[1].

Authorship

The only edition of C is the 17th century edition of Jacob Gretser.

---

1 Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz,III, Tl.III,1939 (ed.P.Ruf),p.477,ll.15-16.

In this it is printed together with a short tract(P),and both are attributed to Peter of Pilichdorf. Peter,a secular clergyman and prominent member of the University of Vienna in the last two decades of the 14th century[1],has left no other writings. Some doubt about the attribution to him of C arises immediately from the fact that this attribution does not occur in the other 45 known mss. of C. This doubt is supported by the internal evidence of the treatise C and the tract P which clearly indicates that they were not by the same author. The author of C displays considerable and detailed knowledge of the beliefs and way of life of the Brothers and their adherents. Their beliefs are given precisely in the form in which they appear in processes; many incidental details show knowledge of the sort of information given in these records -the trades of Brothers prior to entry into the Order[2], women who were friends being forbidden to tell their husbands of their affiliation[3],<u>etc.</u> The author knew of the manner of the dispersion of Waldensians on a European scale[4],inquisitorial activities in Thuringia in 1391 and Brandenburg in1392-4[5],and the situation at the time of writing with regard to inquisitorial activity in Austria and Hungary[6]. Its author knew the <u>LE</u> and <u>EFI I</u>,and almost certainly also the treatise of Moneta of Cremona and the <u>De Inquisitione Hereticorum</u>. However,whatever his knowledge of other literature,he set out to answer the Waldensians on their own ground -the bible: <u>Hic,Waldensis haresiarcha,perpende,qui ea,quae in Biblia ponuntur,accipis</u>[7]. There is,therefore,in all the 22 pages of the printed edition not one patristic reference; the author appeals to the bible alone. The P tract stands in contrast. It shows less knowledge of the Waldensians but greater erudition. Its author knew the <u>LE</u>,but shows no other special knowledge of the Brothers'

---

1 Peter,otherwise known as Peter of Höbersdorf(<u>Die Matrikel der Univ.Wien I: 1377-1450</u>(Graz/Cologne,1954),p.10),is described as rector of the parish Church of Nerden in1382(<u>ibid.</u>,p.10),and parish priest of Pilichdorf and canon of Vienna in 1388(<u>ibid.</u>,p.26); he was procurator of the Austrian nation in 1385(J.Aschbach,<u>Geschichte der Wiener Univ.</u>(Vienna,1865),pp.109, 593),twice rector of the University(1382,1388; <u>Matrikel</u>,pp.10 & 26),and once Dean of the Theological faculty(1401-2(Aschbach,<u>op.cit.</u>,p.586),of which he was,according to Aschbach,the most important member after the deaths of Langenstein and Henry of Oyta(<u>ibid.</u>,p.160). 2 Gretser,col. 279h. 3 Col.281a. 4 Col.281d. 5 Col.281e. 6 Col.281e. 7 Col. 288d.

and friends' way of life and beliefs. Unlike the author of C he supports his points by extensive reference to the Fathers and Doctors (of which there are 9 instances in the part printed in three pages by Gretser[1]), and reference to Aristotle and Haymo of Halberstadt[2]. More importantly, the terminology employed by the authors of C and P differs in crucial areas. The author of C invariably calls his opponents Waldenses, whereas although the author of P used this term[3] he preferred to call them Pauperes de Lugduno[4]. Further, Valdes is Waldensis to the author of C[5], but Waldis to the author of P[6]. It seems clear from these that C and P are by different authors.

How did the erroneous attribution in Gretser's edition arise? Gretser used three mss. for his edition of C: a Diessen ms., for which he wrote in 1611[7], which can be identified with Munich CLM 5614[8]; an ms. from St Nicholas-prope-Passau, which can be identified with Munich CLM 16170[9]; and an ms. from the Benedictine monastery of Tegernsee[10]. The earlier history of this third ms., which contained the P tract and the attribution to Pilichdorf, can be traced, but not unfortunately its later. It appears in Tegernsee catalogues of 1500 and 1610[11]. The Abbot of Tegernsee, Paul Widmann, who may have become aquainted with Gretser when studying under the Jesuits in Ingolstadt(1586-92)[12]-a period when Gretser was teaching philosophy there- sent the ms. to Gretser for use in his edition[13]. Gretser appears to have returned it, for it re-appears in a catalogue of 1620[14]. However by 1700 the ms. seems to have left the monastery, for it does not appear in the catalogue of that year[15] or in

---

1 Gretser, cols.299f,g,h,301a,b,h,302a,d,e. 2 Cols.300g,h,301b. 3 Col. 301a,e. 4 Cols.300b,301e. 5 Col.278d. 6 Col.300g. 7 Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge III, tl.I, p.104. 8 On the basis of date and a comparison of the two texts. 9 On the basis of variant readings. 10 This is not the Tegernsee ms. listed above(CLM 19539) which was a late aquisition by Tegernsee. 11 Munich CBM Cat.22, f.148^{r}(under sig.K 25); CBM Cat.3, f.345^{r}(under new sig.A 64q). 12 See P.Lindner, 'Familia S. Quirini in Tegernsee II', Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte, L, 1898, p.12 n.608 for Widmann. For Gretser's activities in Ingolstadt see B.Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten etc.I(Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1907), pp.669-70. 13 Gretser, col.277f-g. 14 CBM Cat.23, f.131^{r}. 15 CBM Cat.24.

later catalogues. It is not identifiable with any of the 45 mss. of the C treatise which I have been able to find.

In default of the opportunity of examining this ms. we must fall back on Gretser's text and entries in Tegernsee catalogues. These suggest one hypothesis which could explain the erroneous attribution. Gretser's text and the catalogues suggest that this was the formal lay-out of the ms.:-

	Teg.ms.A 64a(former K 25)
1) Rubr.	Petri de Pilichsdorf...Tractatus contra heresim Waldensium[1]
2) Inc.of C	Cum dormirent hòmines...
expl.of C &	...et tu illud dampnas./Salvator noster
inc.of P	Iesus
3) Expl. of P	...et hos devita[2].
	Explicit tractatus contra Pauperes de Lugduno editus per venerabilem Doctorem et Magistrum Petrum de Pilichdorf..[3]

Gretser's reference to the formal explicit of C in the Diessen ms. in order to show that P was a separate work shows that C lacked a formal explicit and P a formal incipit,and that P probably followed on very closely. An exact analogy of this layout is found in the mss. of C and the short tract R,where one finds the two items copied closely and given only one incipit and one explicit,e.g.:-

	Harburg II,1,2°,127	
f.131^{r}	Tractatus contra errores Waldensium	Rubr.
f.131ra	Dum dormierint homines...	Inc.of C.
f.157^{vb}	...et tu illud dampnas etc.Sequitur/	Expl. of C
	Notandum quod...	& inc.of R.
f.170va	...viderit expedire etc. Explicit	Expl.of R.
	tractatus contra errores Waldensium.	

---

1 Gretser's title indicates that this entry(1610) referred to the rubric.
2 P is only given in fragmentary form in Gretser's edition; I use the opening and closing words of it in this edition for illustrative purposes. 3 Gretser's explicit(col.299c-d).

The mistake made by the rubricator here, treating C and P as forming one treatise, arose naturally from the fact that a short tract was written at the end of a long treatise without any break, and dealt with the same matter. Exactly the same error -i.e. providing an incipit for C and an explicit for P- was made by the rubricators of the two Gdansk mss. and the Herzogenburg ms., and the modern cataloguers of these, in giving the opening words of C and the closing words of P, have followed them in this error[1]. Something analogous may have happened with the Tegernsee ms. My suggestion is this: C was copied without an ascription, and P copied immediately after it and containing an ascription to Pilichdorf; then the rubricator, erroneously seeing C and P as forming one treatise, transferred the ascription he saw at the end of this one treatise to its beginning; alternatively this error might have been perpetrated by one of those engaged in preparing the alphabetically ordered catalogues of 1483 or later -seeing C's lack of an ascription at the beginning (when examining the ms. for the catalogue entry), and supplying it from the end of P[2]. Although this is highly conjectural, the analogous errors of 15th century rubricators and modern cataloguers in the case of C and R make the conjecture very plausible.

Who was the author of C? Several mss. of the PP attribute the PP in general to Peter Zwicker: Vat.Lat.677(f.43^{r}: Processus Domini Petri de ordine Celestinorum inquisitoris....), Hohenfurt 61 (f.1^{v}: Processus Domini Petri de ordine...), Seitenstetten 188 (on cover of binding of 15c and f.1^{r}: Processus Domini Petri Celestinorum), Munich CLM 22373 (front end paper: Item tractatus bonos contra hereticos Waldenses compilatus a fratre Petro provinciali ordinis Celestinorum), St Paul-im-Lavanttal 77$_{4}$ (front end paper: Dicta fratris Petri ordinis Celestinorum.....). Munich CLM 15125, finally, encloses the whole of the PP within this ascription: f.170ra Incipit tractatus Waldensium Magistri Petri. Ego frater Petrus provincialis ordinis Celestinorum... f.208va Explicit tractatus Waldensium Magistri Petri etc . Among the mss. of C alone one carries an

---

1 See the descriptions in O.Günther, Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek V: Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St Marien in Danzig, Danzig, 1921, pp.393-9, and Die Hss.der Stiftsbibliothek Herzogenburg (typescript, Stiftsbibliothek), p.38. 2 For the cataloguing activity in Tegernsee in the second half of the 15th century, and the catalogue of 1483, see C. Schmeller, 'Ueber Bücherkataloge etc.', Serapeum, Sept.15 1841, pp.268-71.

an ascription which may be interpreted as an ascription to Zwicker (Mazarine 1683(1185),f.6^{r}): Scriptum D P C contra Waldenses... This could be interpreted as follows: Scriptum Domini Petri Celestinorum,or Scriptum Domini Petri Celestini[1].

It seems quite probable that C was composed by Zwicker in 1395. The contents accord with this: they reveal the great knowledge of the author,which Zwicker certainly possessed; particular items in it may be matched in Zwicker's processes in Brandenburg;e.g.Zwicker was told that the Waldensians abhorred Luciferan practices[2],and the notion that the Waldensians abhorred Luciferans re-appears in C[3]; Zwicker was told that wives were forbidden to tell their husbands about affiliation[4], and this re-appears in C[5]; the wording of beliefs at the heading of each chapter follows closely the wording of beliefs in these processes. Further,the reference in C to inquisitorial activity in Brandenburg is of course a reference to Zwicker's activities: to the author's?

The circumstances of composition may be suggested. Zwicker was in Steyer in 1395,the apparent centre for inquisitorial activities in this and the following years[6],together with the parish and monastery of Garsten -the parish priests of Steyer and Garsten acted as his deputies when he was absent,and Zwicker seems to have had close relations with the Benedictine monastery in Garsten,which was possibly the repository of his processes[7]and certainly where he was eventually buried[8]. He appears to have seen a need to combat the Waldensians of the area on the literary front,as well as by more direct means,for this was the area where they had been implanted for over 150 years,as he said in 1395[9],and were most numerous. He therefore wrote an open letter to the faithful in general, but particularly in Austria,warning them of the danger of the heresy[10]. It seems possible that it was accompanied by the simultaneous composition of a treatise refuting the Waldensians on their own ground,the bible. A suitable library would have been at hand,that of the monastery at Garsten

---

1 He appears as Petrum Celestinum in a list of Brothers(Haupt,Codex Teplensis,p.35). 2 Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelf.348 Novi,f.9^{r}(...'nauseam habeant..'). 3 Gretser,col.280e('...nauseant...'). 4 Gretser,col.281a. 5 Wattenbach,'Inquisition',pp.38 and 47. 6 See Haupt,Waldenserthum,pp.82 ff. 7 See Ch.II ii for the processes present in the 17th century in Garsten. 8 Haupt,Waldenserthum,p.82; this was based on a statement by Pritz(cited ibid,p.82 n.3) for which I have been unable to find the source. 9 Friess,'Patarener',p.262. 10 Ed. ibid.,p.262-6.

which certainly possessed around this time some relevant literature, the treatise of Moneta of Cremona[1] and three items from the correspondence, the LE, EFI I, and EJL II[2]. The latter were certainly used by the author of C, and in one instance provide circumstantial support for this suggestion:- where the C treatise appears to follow the wording of the LE on the conversion of Peter Waldensis, it follows the variant reading seen in the former Garsten ms. but in no other surviving ms.[3]

It must be stated that much of this is conjectural. Further study of the text of C is needed. However, at this stage, the following may be stated: Gretser's ascription of both the C and P treatises to Pilichdorf was erroneous. It is probable that P was by Pilichdorf. It is probable, on the basis of ascriptions in other mss., internal evidence, and circumstantial evidence that C was composed by Peter Zwicker.

---

1 Linz Studienbibliothek 296(o.s.62); the ms. is of the 14th century and was formerly bound with the ms. cited in the following note. 2 Ms. C1 in the list of mss. in Part II. 3 See the parallel texts in Part II v, and other readings in the edition.

Appendix II: mss. of literature on the Waldensians

The following is a short list of the major items of literature on the Waldensians composed in German-speaking areas between the mid-13th century and the end of the 14th century, and those -including some of non-German origin- circulating in this area into the fifteenth century, together with some notes of unnoticed mss., the provenance of mss., and, in a few cases, notes on the present state of study.

1. The treatise of the Anonymous of Passau

The mss. of this have been listed by Patschovsky, and its text has been given an exhaustive study by him.[1] In addition to those mss. listed in his work the following should be noted:-

Karlsruhe 364 f,6^{r}-8^{v} [2]

Harburg II,1,4^{o},4,f.129^{ra}-134^{vb} [3] . The latter appears to be another ms. of Patschovsky's recension P, including items 1-8 in pp.68-70 of his study. It was in the library of St Mang in Füssen in the 15th century (marked emptus 1467 together with a note on ownership).

2. The Pseudo-Reinerius treatise

Dr Nickson has studied fully the relationship between this and its earlier recension, the treatise of the Anonymous of Passau, and has listed 37 mss. of it. The following should be added to this list:

Würzburg Univ.Lib. M.ch.f.51,f.10^{r}-17^{r}; written c.1470 in eastern Franconia; later in the library of the Jesuit college in Würzburg;

Salzburg Erzabtei St Peter B I 37,f.372^{r}-375^{r}; prov.: St Peter;

St Pölten Ms.83,f.53^{v}-84^{v};

Olomouc Statni Archiv 224,f.225^{ra}-229^{vb};

Krakow Univ.Lib. Ms.1309,f.257^{rb}-271^{rb}; probably from Sandomierz or Krakow; marginalia throughout by Bartholomaeus of Jaslo(M.A. of Prague, professor at Krakow, ob.1407; later in hands of Lucas of Wielki Kozmin(B.Theol. of Krakow, ob.1412/3); on his death into the library of the University.[4]

---

1 Der Passauer Anonymus etc.(Schriften der MGH XXII), Stuttgart, 1968.
2 Printed in Dokumente, pp.702-3, with the reference 'Cod.Carlsruh.', but not found by Patschovsky. 3 Jointly found by Dr Nickson and myself.
4 Information of the director Dr. J. Baumgart.

In addition to these it should be noted that the treatise exists in Brno Archiv Mesta N.62.S.90 (in which the text cannot,fo the most part,be recovered because of extensive damage to the ms. through fire),and existed in a now lost ms. from the library of the Church of St James in Brno (see App.III).

3. The report of the inquisition in Krems,1315

The following ms. should be added to those noted by Nickson:-

Michaelbeuern Man.Cart.85,f.125^{v}-126^{v}; 15c; prov.: Michaelbeuern.

The text follows closely that of K in Nickson's edition.[1]

4. The De Inquisitione Hereticorum

This valuable treatise was edited by Preger[2]and ascribed to David of Augsburg[3]. Fr Dondaine has shown the improbability of this ascription, indicated the lines of a future study,and listed some mss.[4] Fr Kaeppeli has added to this list[5]. The following mss. should be added to those noted by the Dominicans:-

Harburg II,1,2°,85,f.143^{ra-vb}(incomplete); ff.160^{v} and 188^{v} dated 1461 and 1462; prov.: St Mang in Füssen in 15c.

St Paul-im-Lavanttal 71$_{4}$,f.170ra-173^{vb}; see ms. D2 in Pt.II ii.

Berlin Lat.Fol.704,f.195va-197va; see ms.C2 in Pt.II ii.

Třeboň A 16,f.28^{r}-33^{v}; for prov. see Nickson,'Pseudo-Reinerius', p.263.

Seitenstetten 213,f.1^{r}-5^{r}; 15c; prov.: Seitenstetten.

Dates and provenance of the mss. noted by Fr Dondaine and Fr Kaeppeli:-

Wrocław Univ.Lib. I F 117: second half of 15c; prov.: library of regular Canons in Zagan(Sagan).

Wrocław Univ.Lib. I F 259; beginning of 15c; prov.: Collegiate Church in Głogów(Glogau)in 15c.

---

1 See Nickson,'Pseudo-Reinerius',pp.304 ff. 2 ABAW,XIV,2,1876,pp.183-235. 3 See A.Dondaine,'Le Manuel de l'Inquisiteur(1230-1330)',AFP,XVII, 1947,p.180 n.31 on this attribution. 4 Ibid.,pp.180-3. 5 T.Kaeppeli, 'Traités anti-Vaudois etc.',AFP,XXIV,1954,p.304.

Wrocław Univ.Lib.I F 758: 14-15c; prov.: Corpus Christi Church in Wrocław.

Munich CLM 15312: 15c; prov.: Premonstratensian house in Roggenburg.

For the dates and provenance of the mss. noted by Fr Kaeppeli, see mss. B1, Bc, and C3 in Pt.II ii.

5. The correspondence

See Pt.II.

6. The anonymous treatise Attendite a falsis prophetis.

This is a treatise which has never been fully edited[1], and has not been studied. It was written before 1391 (the date on ms.B1), and probably before 1374 (the probable date of ms.D2). It makes a reference to the 'codices quasi nonnullos' of the Waldensians, probably the EFI I, and LE; if these are the documents referred to, it was written after c.1365/7. It is plausible that it was composed for the benefit of the faithful at the same time as the polemical elements of the correspondence were being composed for the benefit of the Brothers -in the last two or three years of the '60's and early years of the '70's. Its contents are the following: statements of Waldensian beliefs followed by counterposed scriptural authorities and some comments. The description of Waldensian beliefs follows the general pattern of later 14th century documents: that is to say, the notion, common in literature of the 13th and early 14th centuries, that the Waldensians rejected all the sacraments of the Church, and that they themselves consecrated, is not attributed to them, and the only actions attributed to the Brothers in this area are those of preaching and hearing confessions. The wide popularity of this tract in the years following its composition may have suggested the need for a more systematic and thorough work along the same lines --which is what the Cum dormirent treatise of 1395 is.

Fr Kaeppeli has noted some mss. of this tract[2]; for the dates and provenance of some of these see mss.B1, Bc, A4, C3, D1 in Pt.II ii. In addition, the following may be noted:-

Klagenfurt Studienbibliothek Pap.Ms.149, f.76r-79v; prov.: Eberndorf (sig: 6f 1470).

---

1 Extracts appear in Dokumente, pp.304-5 and 344-5. 2 T.Kaeppeli, op.cit., p.303.

Harburg II,1,2°,85,f.4^{ra-b}: for this ms.,see 4 above;
St Paul-im-Lavanttal 71$_4$,f.144ra-146^{vb}: see ms.D2 in Pt.II ii;
Prague Metropolitan Chapter 1587 (O III),f.165^{v}-168^{v};
Prague Strahov D.C.III 3,f.658ra-663ra;
Linz Studienbibliothek 346 (o.s.185),f.188^{v}-191^{v}: 15c; prov.: Gleink in 15c.
Seitenstetten 217,f.108ra-110ra; prov.: Seitenstetten;
Wrocław Univ.Lib.I F 230,f.227^{r}- (?); f.234^{v} dated 1399; prov.: in poss. of Mag.A.Fudig 1478; later lib.of Dominicans in Wrocław[1];
Wroclaw Univ.Lib.I F 240,f.257^{v}-(?); c.1415; prov.: Convent in Zielona Gora(Grünberg) in 15c; later in library of regular canons in Zagan;
Munich CLM 22363,f.241^{vb}-245ra; 15c; prov.: Windberg

7. The Vita et conversacio

This document,containing a description of the way of life of the Brothers,the manner of their entry into the Order,and their articles of belief,is one of the most important from the later 14th century. Versions have been edited by Schmidt[2],Friess[3],and Werner[4],and Werner has devoted some pages to its discussion[5]. However,the precise relationship between the various versions of this is still not clear,and will not be so until more mss. are collected and all their texts collated and studied. The following are preliminary remarks.

On first examination the document appears to fall into three versions: 1) C1,in Schmidt's Strasbourg ms.,Vienna Nat.Lib.4761,f.194^{r}-195^{v},Prague Metropolitan Chapter D 54,f.51^{r}-53^{r} and Ø 29,f.137^{v}-138^{r}(for these last 3 mss. see mss.A1,3-4 in Pt.II ii),and Harburg II,1,2°,78(prov.: St Mang in Füssen in 15c)[6]; this consists of a)a short list of the Brothers' beliefs,b)their conversacio,and c)a summary description of entry into the Order with a list of articles of belief and vows;

2) C2,in Friess and Werner; this consists of a)the conversacio

---

1 For information on these and other Wroclaw mss. I am indebted to Dr J. Pelczyna and Mgr.J.Ozog; my microfilms of I F 230 and 240 do not unfortunately extend to the end,in each case,of the Attendite tract.
2 Schmidt,'Actenstücke',pp.243-4. 3 Friess,'Patarener',pp.257-61.
4 E.Werner,'Nachrichten etc.',Wiss.Zeit.der K.-M.-Univ.Leipzig,G.-und S. R 12,1963(Beilage),pp.265-71. 5 Ibid.,pp.215-225. 6 F.245^{vb}-246^{rb}; on the latter there is a list of questions to be put to a Brother,not known in any other ms. and unedited.

of the Brothers(similar to C1),b)the entry into the Order,which differs from C1 in that much more detail about preliminaries to entry is given,articles are mentioned,not listed,and the precise form and order of vows is different,and c)a long list of items of belief and practice,including more details about the Brothers[1]; 3) C3,contained in Wiesbaden 35,f.113^{r}-116^{r}(15c from Cistercian house of Eberbach),Trier Priester-Seminar 81(o.s.380,385),f.147^{r}-149^{r}(15c from Benedictine monastery of St Eucharias-Mathias by Trier),Trier Stadtbibliothek 680/879,f.87^{v}-90^{r}(f.87^{v}: 1434), Michelstadt Pfarrbibliothek Db 685,f.220ra-222va(in the poss. in 15c of Dr Nikolaus Matz,prof. in Freiburg-im-Breisgau -Matz founded the Michelstadt library in 1499)[2],and a Prague ms.[3] This is similar to C2,but is preceded by another list of the vows taken by a Brother,different in order and precise wording; it therefore contains two lists of vows.

C1 is given a <u>terminus</u> by the date -1404- of Schmidt's ms. C2 and C3 are given a <u>terminus</u> at the other end by the mention in the items of belief and practice of objections to the Universities of Prague and Vienna. This points to the last third of the 14th century,although it should be pointed out that the list of items of belief and practice and the description of entry into the Waldensian Order may have separate origins and hence different dates. The latter is most plausibly associated with the entry into the Church of converted Brothers <u>c</u>.1365/7, or the entry of those Brothers listed in the 1390's.

8. <u>Inquisitor's manuals</u>

The treatise of the Anonymous of Passau(<u>c</u>.1266) and its later recension,the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise,contain some information and forms(<u>e.g.</u> lists of questions) of use to an inquisitor,but lack most forms necessary for the process(<u>e.g.</u> oaths) and lack official texts(for the most part) and consultations of jurists of the sort to be found in contemporary French manuals. Two manuals copied in the 14th century,

---

1 I have not been able to find the ms. at the basis of the fragmentary edition in <u>Dokumente</u>,pp.367-9; note in addition Vat.Pal.Lat.677,f.47^{v}-51^{r}, Salzburg St Peter B V I,f.33^{v}-35^{v},St Florian XI 234,f.84va-85^{vb}(<u>i.e.</u> the <u>Vita</u> inside the PP). 2 First noted by Haupt,'Waldensia',<u>Z.f.KirchenG.</u> X,1889,pp.328-9. 3 Listed <u>ibid.</u>

containing,for the most part,material typical of the French manuals of the later thirteenth and early 14th centuries described by Dondaine[1], circulated in German-speaking lands at this time(Vat.Lat.4265[2],Linz 177[3], doubtless because of the lack of a native product. Wattenbach has noted a handbook designed for use in Poland and Silesia (late 14th-early 15th century[4]),and the copy of Eymericus' Directorium in the Metropolitan Chapter in Gniezno(Gnesen; ms.36) was used in this area. The need for a handbook precisely adapted to the needs of inquisitors working in Germany-speaking lands against the largest sect,the Waldensian, eventually led to the efficient compilation,the Processus Petri,of the last decade of the 14th century(see App.I).

9) Treatises of non-German composition

Polemical treatises against heretics,including the Waldensians, composed in other countries also circulated in German-speaking lands. Four mss. contain the De fide catholica contra hereticos of Alain de Lille(Stams 39,f.1^{r}-85^{r},Prague Metropolitan Chapter 1207,f.177^{r}-225^{v}, 527,f.70^{r}-88^{v},Vienna Nat.Lib.4511(Theol.920),f.113^{r}-158^{v}); two mss. contain the Adversus Catharos et Valdenses etc. of Moneta of Cremona (Linz 296 o.s.62 -14th century from Garsten- ,and see below),and one of these also contains the Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno of Rainer Sacconi(Munich CLM 14620,from the Benedictine monastery of St Emmeran in Regensburg). A systematic search would reveal,probably,many more.

10) Catalogues

Fifteenth century library catalogues show the dispersion of some mss. of literature against the Waldensians which can no longer be identified: 'Secta hereticorum Baldensium' in a Melk catalogue of 1483[5], 'Tractatus contra Waldenses' in the library of the parish church of St Sebald in Nuremberg[6],etc.[7]

****

The purpose of App.I and the list above has been to point to the

---

1 Dondaine,op.cit.,passim. 2 Noted ibid.,p.106 n.62. 3 From Garsten; both mss. have material of German provenance,including notes on Beghards and an oath of abjuration in German. 4 W.Wattenbach,'Ueber das Handbuch etc.',Ab.d.K.A.d.Wiss.z.Berlin,Ph.-hist.Cl.4,1889,pp.1-28. 5 Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs,I,ed.T.Gottlieb, Vienna,1915,p.224,l.15. 6 Mitt.Bib.kat.Deutschlands u.d.Schweiz,III,tl. III,ed.P.Ruf,Munich,1939,p.683,l.26. 7 See,e.g.,ibid.,p.634,l.14,p. 470,l.5-6,for other examples.

to the need for further study. First of all,this phenomenon -the composition of literature on the Waldensians and their inquisition in German-speaking lands between the mid-thirteenth century and the end of the 14th century- and the circulation of this and literature of non-German provenance from this period up to the later 15th century in very large numbers of mss. is a phenomenon of such size and significance that it deserves an independent study in which the sources and content of each item are analysed,together with the inter-relationship of items, all possible mss. listed and examined,and an Übersicht given of this literature,its characteristics,and its contemporary dispersion and influence is given. However,it will be a very long time before any such study becomes possible. Although the work of Nickson and Patschovsky has cleared the earlier ground,and my own edition of the correspondence has tackled one substantial body from the later period,many individual problems remain: the De Inquisitione Hereticorum,Vita et Conversacio, and Processus Petri need to be studied,and,prior to this,there is needed a catalogue of the relevant mss.,together with the despoliation of unprinted as well as printed catalogues of the 15th century. My short list and remarks given above,and my work on the Processus Petri,both side-lines of this thesis,are exploratory notes which I hope will point the way; they are in no way intended to be definitive. The same remark applies to the map of literature which I have drawn up: it consists of mss. whose location prior to 1500 is known(shown in bold ink),and mss. whose probable location at this period is known(shown in faint beige).[1] This again is intended as a note of work in progress,and is not definitive; it is restricted by the numbers of those mss.about which I have been able to obtain firm information,through catalogues,librarians,or personal examination. A more nearly definitive map would,of course,include no mss. in the second category. Similar qualifications apply to my remarks on the general characteristics of this literature in the introduction, which are mainly extensions of points made by Grundmann: these are intended to suggest what may appear to be some of the lines of development in this literature after such a general study as the one adumbrated above.

---

1 These include mss. whose provenance in religious libraries which existed at this period is known,which,however,either lack firm evidence of ownership at this period,or(/and)have not yet been examined closely enough to reveal whether or not such firm indications appear in them.

Appendix III: details about Waldensians and Beghards in a lost ms.

In a handwritten catalogue of mss. in the City Archives of Brno I came across a description of an ms. which promised to give valuable new information about inquisitorial activity c.1400 against Waldensians and Beghards. On requesting to see the ms. I was told that it was lost. Subsequent efforts to trace it have failed.

The ms. formed part of the library of the Church in St James in Brno, a collection which passed into the Mährisches Landesarchiv,and then into the City Archives; the ms. was lost before this last move(information of the archivist). It is described on folios 65^{r}-67^{v} of the catalogue (Catalogus antiquissimae bibliothecae ad S.Jacobum Brunnae Moravorum a patre Alexio Habrich...1782 compilatus...a patre Mauro Simonio... recensionibus et annotationibus auctus,anno 1805[1]), and the description, which in part is quotation,is very informative. Parts of this are summarised below,parts reproduced; in the latter case the underlining, punctuation,and spacing per line is exactly that of the description.

(f.65^{r}) N.99. Instructio pro inquisitoribus haereticae pravitatis.

Anno 1399 Codex Chartaceus in 4^{to},bene conservatus, scriptura cum multis contractionibus,satis legibilis legibilis(sic). Continet:
(A treatise on the Eucharist,etc.)
..... Recensentur 14 errores haere
ticorum,sequuntur formulae sententiae Diffi
nitivae,forma Abjurationis idiomato Germanico
(f.65^{v}) item..(there follow the chapter headings of the Pseudo-Reinerius treatise,and the description of a treatise on law)...
(f.66^{r}) D.Tractatus de fidei Articulis et sacramentis,cum contrariis erroribus.
Adjunguntur errores sectae Waldensium et Armenorum.

E.Abjurationes sectae Beguardorum coram inquisi toribus.

---

1 Mährisches Landesarchiv sig.O.99; now City Archives ms.no.7254.

Anno Domini 1399.die 19 Maji,in domo Domini Patris Iohannis Nazzach[1],Canonici Ecclesiae S.Stephani Bamberge,in presencia Domini Martini Inquisitoris[2]/fuit hic Martinus Altarista in Ecclesia B.Mariae ante laetam Curiam Pragae,pro ut inferius videbitur/ abjuravit Hainricus Schön Beguardus,et est absolutus presentibus Dominis: Bertholdo[3]Custode in Vorcheim,et Wolframo[4] Bambergensis Dioecesis.

Anno et loco ut supra,17.Iunii,Iohannes Burg venit Jussu Domini Plebani Ecclesiae S.Laurencii in Nurenberga, ad presenciam Domini Martini Inquisitoris; Inductus fuit ad haeresim Beguardorum per Johannem Koch in Herbipoli. Abjuravit presentibus iisdem testibus.

Anno et loco ut supra 14 Maji in Curia Episco
(f.66[v]) pali Bambergensi in presencia Domini Martini Inquisitoris,ac mei Iohannis Frank[4] notarii publici, Margaretha de Rottenburg inquisita et reducta in carcerem,testibus Friderico Heiden, Friderico Styber[5], et Friderico Aussess[6]Canonico Bambergensi,et Bertholdo Custode in Vorcheim. 22[do] Maji e Carcere reducta,interrogata,quoci ens predicaverit in Domo,vulgariter: ein guth Wort. Est dimissa testibus ut supra,et Ioan ne Capellano in Plasveburg. Sequuntur adhuc quattuor eiusmodi inquisitiones Beguardorum eodem anno et loco, inter testes leguntur: Rudolphus Rauhe Diaconus,Iohannes Waldy

---

1 Noted in J.Kist,Die Matrikel der Geistlichkeit des Bistums Bamberg 1400-1556(Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte,IV Reihe: Matrikeln fränkische Schulen und Stände),4,1958,no.4521.
2 For Martin,see Haupt,Waldenserthum,pp.57-8 and 82ff. 3 Matrikel,1,no. 1133. 4 Perhaps Wolfram von Kronach,Matrikel,6,no.6745. 5 Matrikel,5, no.6097. 6 Matrikel,1,no.112.

Vicarius in Ecclesia Bambergensi, et Heinr
cus Swind Clericus.

Sequitur forma Juramenti de veritate dicen
da, forma Juramenti Expurgationis, forma
Juramenti Coexpurgationis, forma Abjura
tionis sectae Waldensium[1]. Frater Petrus de
Prussia[2], Provincialis fratrum Ordinis Celestino
rum per Alemanniam hearetice pravitatis in
(f.67[r]) quisitor per Civitatem et Diocesim Baciensem[3]
etc Datum Budae[4] Anno Domini 1404, die 1. mensis
Iunii.
Eodem anno et loco abjuravit Elizabet Suijdem
conversa per Dominum Henricum de Olmutz in
Broda Hungaricali[5].
Eodem anno abjuravit Kenslinus et Elizabeth etc.
actum in Wienna Dioecesis Pataviensis, testibus
Friderico Seligenstat Presbytero, Nicolao Gotschalck
Canonico[6], et Joanne de Damm, Socio fratris Petri
Inquisitoris, ordin. Celestinorum.

---

1 These are the forms of oaths from the handbook Processus Petri; see Friess's edition of them, 'Patarener', pp.266-7 and 268-70. 2 Although Zwicker was born in Prussia (Wormditten -see Haupt, Waldenserthum, p.57 n. 2), this is the only instance in which he appears styled in this way. Elsewhere he appears as Frater Petrus...provincialis etc. (in the sentences printed ibid., pp.114, 117, 118, 121); fratrem Petrum Celestinum (in the list of Brothers printed by Haupt, Codex Teplensis, p.35); Magister Petrus Zwickerus/Czwickers (J.B.Carpzov, Analecta Fastorum Zittaviensium, Leipzig, 1716, pp.107-8, and Haupt, Waldenserthum, p.57 n.2; Magistri Petri (incipit of Processus Petri in Munich CLM 15125, f.170[ra]); and Magister Petrus Inquisitor at the head of a short expository note on the Pater Noster in St Florian XI 96, f.298[r]. The latter is the only writing of his I have found outside those discussed in App.I. For his career, see Haupt, Waldenserthum, pp.57-8, 82ff. 3 The only instance Zwicker appears thus empowered. 4 The only instance of inquisitorial activity against Waldensians in Buda; one Brother was living in Buda after his conversion (Haupt, Codex Teplensis, p.35 -other converted Brothers lived in Strasbourg and Prague after their conversions, i.e. where there were communities of friends)- and the two details suggest the strong possibility of a community of friends in Buda. 5 Uhersky Brod. Henry was trying friends c.1365-80 in Austria (see Haupt, Waldenserthum, p.80 and n.2), but there is no other record of his activity, or that of any other inquisitor, in Brod. 6 Nicholas was a former Brother (see Kurze, 'Ketzergeschichte', pp. 90-1); See Ch.I&II, and Pt.II iii for other Brothers helping inquisitors after conversion.

Sequitur: Tractatus de obligationibus Clericorum

Denuo: Forma absolutionis ab haeresi Waldensium.

In Nomine Domini Amen. Nos Martinus Al
tarista in Ecclesia beate Marie Virginis ante
letam curiam /in dem Trinkirche/ Civitatis Pra
gensis, Inquisitor haereticae pravitatis,ac Re
verendissimis in Christo Patribus Domine
Alberto et Lamberto, moderno et antiquo Epis.
copis Bambergensibus etc Anno Domini 1399
nona Mensis Iunii, in Choro Sancti Petri Eccle
sie Bambergensis, presentibus Venerabilibus
Viris Domino Iringo Archiepiscopo Ananien
si, Wilhelmo Abbate, Henrico de Possenstein

(f.67^{v}) Johanne de Eylofstein, Henrico de Hornsberg
Johanne de Miltz, Canonicis Ecclesie Bamber
gehsis, et aliis quam pluribus testibus.

Bibliography

The Bibliography is divided into four sections:-

1. Manuscript Sources
2. Printed Sources
3. Secondary Sources
4. Bibliographies.

Although there is some overlapping the Bibliography does not include the mss. and secondary literature listed in Part II i and ii(b), q.v., nor the mss. listed in Appendices I and II, q.v. Section 2 includes articles containing texts where these texts constitute the main relevance of the work. In those cases where a very small section of a printed source is relevant I have provided page references.

I Manuscript Sources

Brno, City Archives, ms.no.7254

Fribourg, Archives d'État:-

Geistliche Sachen no.26

Reg.Not.32 (will of Willi Mossu)

Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Reichenauer Pap.Ms.48

Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CC 826

Linz, Studienbibliothek, 177 (o.s.69)

Prague, National Museum, XV D 2

Rome, Vatican Library:-

Vat.Lat.4265

Pal.Lat.677

St Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI 234

St Paul-im-Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, 92_4

Schloss Harburg, Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, II, 1, 2^{o}, 78

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 680/879

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek:-

Cod.Guelf.348 Novi

Cod.Helmst.403

II Printed Sources

Die Acht-, Verbots-, und Fehdebücher Nurnbergs von 1285-1400, ed.W.

Schultheiss (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg,II,1960).

Annales Bingenses...J.Scholl,ed.E.Sanger,Mainz,1853 (p.173).

Die Berner Chronik des Conrad Justinger,ed.G.Studer,Bern,1871.

G.Boffito,'Eretici in Piemonte etc.',Studi e documenti di storia e diritto,XVIII,1897,pp.381-431 (pp.391-402).

Salvo Burci,Liber Supra Stella,ed.I da Milano,Aevum,XIX,1945,pp.281-341.

A.J.Caesar,Annales Ducatus Styriae,III,Vienna,1777 (pp.313-4).

H.J.Chaytor,Six Vaudois Poems,Cambridge,1930.

Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis,MGH,Scriptores,XXVI.

Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte,Leipzig,Stuttgart/Gotha,1862- : I Nürnberg I,1862 (p.362); III Nürnberg III,1864 (p.297); IV Augsburg I,1865 (pp.96-7); V Augsburg II,1866 (pp.45-6); X Nürnberg IV,1872 (pp.136-7); XXII Augsburg III,1892 (pp.40-1 and 346-8); XXXIV Augsburg IX,1929 (pp.221-2).

David of Augsburg: see Tractatus etc. below.

I.von Döllinger,Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der Valdesier und Katharer (Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters II),Munich, 1890.

Fasti Limpurgenses,Mainz,1619,(pp.45-6).

M.Flacius Illyricus,Catalogus Testium Veritatis,Geneva,1608.

G.E.Friess,'Patarener,Begharden,und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters',Oesterreichische Vierteljahrschrift für katholische Theologie,II,1872,pp.209-72 (pp.254-72).

C.T.Gemeiner,Die Regensburgische Chronik,II,Regensburg,1803 (pp.186-7 and 209).

J.Goll,Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bohmischen Brüder, I,Prague,1878.

G.Gonnet,Enchiridion Fontium Valdensium,I,Torre Pellice,1958.

V.F.de Gudenus,Codex Diplomaticus Anecdotorum,III,Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1751,(pp.598-600).

B.Gui,Manuel de l'Inquisiteur,ed.G.Mollat (Les Classiques de l'histoire de France 8-9),1926-7.

I.Hlaváček,'Inkvisice v Čechách ve 30.letech 14.století',Československý časopis historický,V,1957,pp.526-38 (pp.535-8).

J.Krone,Fra Dolcino und die Patarener etc.,Leipzig,1844 (pp.201-3).

A.Lecoy de la Marche,Anecdotes historiques...d'Étienne de Bourbon, Paris,1877.

Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum,ed.M.de La Bigne,XXV,Lyons,1677.

Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz,II-III,ed.P.Lehmann and P.Ruf,Munich,1928-39.

Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs,I,ed.T.Gottlieb, Vienna,1915.

Mittelalterliche Wirtschaft im Alltag: Quellen zur Geschichte von Gewerbe,Handel,und Industrie des 14 und 15 Jahrhunderts aus den Notariatsregistern von Freiburg im Uechtland,ed.H.Ammann,I,Aarau, 1942.

Moneta of Cremona,Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque,ed.T. A.Ricchini,Rome,1743.

M.A.E.Nickson: see III below.

V.Prevenhuber's Annales Styrenses,Nuremberg,1740.

Recueil Diplomatique du Canton de Fribourg,V,ed.Dr Berchtold,Fribourg, 1853.

Rerum Boicarum Scriptores,ed.A.F.Oefele,Vienna,1763 (p.620).

T.W.Röhrich,Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche des Elsasses,I,Strasbourg,1855.

G.Schepfs,'Ein kapitel von Ketzer',Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit,N.F.26,1879,no.5,pp.140-2.

C.Schmidt,'Actenstücke besonders zur Geschichte der Waldenser', Zeitschrift für die katholische Theologie,XXII,1852,pp.238-262.

Scriptores Rerum Austriacarum,ed.H.Pez,I,Leipzig,1721 (p.1244).

Das Stadtrecht von Bern,I-II(Sammlung Schweizerischen Rechtsquellen: Abt.II: Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Bern),ed.F.Welti,etc.,1902, 1939 (pp.127-8; p.98).

Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte,ed.J.von Hormayr,N.F. Jhrg.V,Munich,1834 (p.119).

J.Truhlař,'Paběrky z rukopisu Klementinskych',Vestnik České Akad.,r. VIII,1899,pp.353-7.

J.Truhlař,'Inkvisice Waldenských v Trnavé r.1400',Český časopis historický,1903,pp.196-8.

Tractatus de Inquisitione hereticorum,ed.W.Preger,ABAW,XIV,2,1879, pp.181-235.

Die Urkunden der Stadt Dinkelsbühl, ed. L. Schnurrer (Bayerische Archivinventare XV, Munich, 1960) (p. 79).

Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg, Abt. I, VI, ed. J. Fritz, Strasbourg, 1899 (pp. 836-7).

W. Wattenbach, 'Ueber die Secte der Brüder vom freien Geiste', Sitzungs-berichte der Konigl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1887, XXIX, pp. 517-44 (pp. 518-21).

H. Weigel, 'Ein Waldenserverhör in Rothenburg im Jahre 1394', Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte, XXIII, 1917, pp. 81-6 (pp. 83-6).

G. Weitzecker, 'Processo di un Valdese nell'anno 1451', La Rivista Cristiana, An. IX, 1881, pp. 363-7 (pp. 364-7).

E. Werner: see E. Werner, Nachrichten etc. in III below.

G. Will, Kleine Beiträge zu der Diplomatik und deren Literatur, Altdorf, 1789.

Note: the following works listed in III also contain printed sources :- H. Boehmer, 'Waldenser von Zwickau etc.', C. Bürckstümmer, 'Waldenser in Dinkelsbühl etc.', H. Haupt, Waldenserthum, Codex Teplensis, 'Ein deutsche Traktat', D. Kürze, 'Ketzergeschichte', M. A. E. Nickson, 'The "Pseudo-Reinerius" ', G. F. Ochsenbein, Volksleben, W. Preger, 'Beiträge'.

III Secondary Sources

G. Barnes Fiertz, 'An unusual trial under the Inquisition at Fribourg, Switzerland, in 1399', Speculum, XVII, 3, 1943, pp. 340-57.

P. P. Bernard, 'Heresy in 14th century Austria', Medievalia et Humanistica, Fasc. X, 1956, pp. 50-63.

H. Boehmer, art. 'Die Waldenser' in Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche, XX, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 799-840.

H. Boehmer, 'Die Waldenser von Zwickau und Umgegend', Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, LXIII, 1915, pp. 1-38.

C. Bürckstümmer, 'Waldenser in Dinkelsbühl', Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte, XIX, 1913, pp. 272-5.

A. Dondaine, 'Aux origines du Valdèisme. Une profession de foi de Valdes', AFP, XVI, 1946, pp. 191-242.

A. Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'Inquisiteur (1230-1330)', AFP, XVII, 1947, pp. 55-194.

M. Erbstösser, Sozialreligiöse strömungen im späten Mittelalter, Berlin, 1970.

M.Esposito,'Sur quelques manuscrits de l'ancienne littérature religieuse des Vaudois du Piémont',Revue d'histoire écclesiastique,XLVI,1951, pp.127-159.

F.Falk,'Waldensertum im Mainz zu Ende des 14 Jahrhunderts',Der Katholik, LXXXIII,2,pp.263-5.

H.Finke,'Waldenserprocess in Regensburg',Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,IV,1890,2,pp.345-6.

G.Gonnet,'I Valdesi d'Austria nella seconda metà del secolo XIV',BSSV, CXI,1962,pp.5-41.

G.Gonnet, Le Confessioni di Fede Valdese Prima della Riforma,Turin,1967.

H.Grundmann,'Der Typus des Ketzers in Mittelalterlicher Anschaung',in Kultur- und Universalgeschichte.Walter Goetz zu seinem 60 Geburtstage etc.,Leipzig/Berlin,1927,pp.91-107.

H.Grundmann,Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter,(2ed.),Darmstadt,1961.

H.Grundmann,Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte.Ein Handbuch.II,G 1),(2ed.),Göttingen,1967.

H.Grundmann,'Ketzerverhöre des Spätmittelalters als quellenkritisches Problem',Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,XXI,1965, pp.519-575.

H.Haupt,Die Religiösen Sekten in Franken vor der Reformation,Würzburg, 1882.

H.Haupt,Die Deutsche Bibelübersetzung der Mittelalterlichen Waldenser etc.,Würzburg,1885.

H.Haupt,Der Waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis...gegen die Angriff von Dr Franz Jostes,Würzburg,1886.

H.Haupt,'Waldensia',Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,X,1889,pp.311-29.

H.Haupt,'Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalterlichen Waldenserthums',Historische Zeitschrift,LXI,pp.39-68.

H.Haupt,Waldenserthum und Inquisition im Südöstlichen Deutschland, Freiburg-im-Breisgau,1890; this is a reprint,with some additional notes, from Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,I,1889,pp.285-330 and III,1890,pp.337-411.

H.Haupt,'Deutsche-Böhmische Waldenser um 1340',Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,XIV,1894,pp.1-18.

H.Haupt,'Ein deutscher Traktat über die österreichischen Waldenser des 13 Jahrhunderts',Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,XXIII,1902,pp.187-190.

T.Kaeppeli,'Un processo contro i Valdesi di Piemonte...nel 1335',Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,I,1947,pp.285-291.

H.Kaminsky,A history of the Hussite Revolution,California,1967.

G.Koch,Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter(Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte IX),Berlin,1962.

F.Kropatscheck,Das Schriftprinzip der Lutherischen Kirche I: Die Vor--geschichte,Leipzig,1904.

D.Kurze,'Zur Ketzergeschichte der Mark Brandenburg und Pommerns vornehmlich im 14 Jahrhundert',Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands,XVI/XVII,1968,pp.50-94.

G.Leff,Heresy in the Later Middle Ages.The relation of heterodoxy to dissent c.1250-c.1450,I&II,Manchester/New York,1967.

R.Lerner,The heresy of the Free Spirit in the later Middle Ages, California,1972.

E.Montet,Histoire littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont,Paris,1885.

K.Müller,Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen bis zum Anfang des 14 Jahrhunderts,Gotha,1886.

M.A.E.Nickson,'The "Pseudo-Reinerius" treatise,the final stage of a 13th century work on heresy from the diocese of Passau',Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge,LXII,1967(1968),pp.255-314.

G.F.Ochsenbein,Aus dem Schweizerischen Volksleben des XV Jahrhunderts etc. Bern,1881.

A.Patschovsky,Der Passauer Anonymus.Ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer,Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des 13.Jahrhunderts(Schriften der MGH XXII), Stuttgart,1968.

W.Preger,'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter',ABAW,XIII, I,1877,pp.179-250.

W.Preger,'Ueber das Verhältnis der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern des 14. Jahrhunderts',ABAW,XVIII,1,1889,pp.3-111.

J.Sax,Die Bischöfe und Reichsfürsten von Eichstädt,Landshut,1884 (p.270).

J.M.Schneidt,Thesaurus Iuris Franconici,Hft.XVI,Abschn.I,Würzburg,1789.

A.Schönbach,'Studien zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt III: Das Wirken Bertholds von Regensburg',Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,CXLVII, 5,1904.

W.Wattenbach,'Ueber die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg',Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der

Wissenschaften zu Berlin(1886),Phil.-hist.Classe 4,1887,pp.1-102.

W.Wattenbach,'Ueber das Handbuch eines Inquisitors in der Kirchen--bibliothek St.Nicolai in Greifswald',Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin(1888),Phil.-hist.Classe 4, 1889,pp.1-28.

E.Werner,'Ideologische Aspekte des deutsch-österreichischen Waldensertums im 14.Jahrhundert',Studi Medievali,Ser.3a,An.IV,Fasc.I, 1963,pp.218-237.

E.Werner,'Nachrichten über spätmittelalterliche Ketzer aus tschechoslovakischen Archiven und Bibliotheken',Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig,Gesellschafts- und sprachwiss.Reihe XII,1963,Beilage,pp.215-284.

IV Bibliographies

A.Armand-Hugon and G.Gonnet,'Bibliografia valdese',BSSV,XCIII,1953,pp. 1-275.

H.Grundmann,Bibliographie zur Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters(1900--1966) (Sussidi Eruditi XX),Rome,1967.

Z.Kulcsár,Eretnekmozgalmak a XI-XIV.században (A Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtar Kiadványai XXII),Budapest,1964.