

DOCTORAL THESIS

**RADICALS AND HERETICS:
RETHINKING THE DRESDEN SCHOOL IN PRAGUE**

by

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Chapter I: Introduction

Objectives and Methodology

A. OBJECTIVES

The history of the early Bohemian Reformation, more precisely the events of the first half of the 15th century, has been in the forefront of miscellaneous interest ever since the period ended. The initial phases comprising the struggle for the ambivalent “true faith” were followed by utter rejection during the Counter-Reformation, which was subsequently replaced by the perception of the period as the “Golden Age” of Czech history in the nineteenth century, until Palacký’s and then Masaryk’s concepts embedded in a Marxist context were utilized by communist ideology and were recently substituted by a somewhat skeptical recognition of the significance of the period. The appraisal of this period and its perspectives have undergone so many changes and have been subject to such a vast number of studies that it would seem that there are not too many gaps left to fill. However, this is not actually the case. The ideological (mis)uses of the period swayed sentiments about it many times and resulted in a number of studies dealing with similar topics from different viewpoints. Even with the progress of modern historiography, it took several generations of historians to prepare solid foundations for unbiased and analytical research. This development gradually yielded results towards the end of the last century and stimulated interest in the period among a new generation of historians.¹

There has long been palpable tension between German and the Czech researchers dealing with this period. This holds true especially for the history of ideas and the much debated problem of the “ideological” background and orientation of the Hussite movement. There

¹ The best general history of this period in the Czech language with a survey of the historiographical perspectives of the Hussite movement is František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce* (The Hussite Revolution), 4 vols. (Prague: Karolinum, 1995–1996) which is also available in German: František Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, 3 vols. Translated and edited by Thomas Krzenck and Alexander Patschovsky (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002). In English, the best work remains Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967). One of the last contributions to the appraisal of the period during the communism in Czechoslovakia is Peter Morée, “Not Preaching from the Pulpit, but Marching in the Streets: The communist use of Jan Hus,” in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 6, ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2007), 283–296.

were many attempts to track down and identify the origins and causes of the Hussite movement as well as more theoretical efforts to interpret the period within the context of the crises of feudalism or the bourgeois revolution. Such debates have caused many conflicts ever since the early modern period. It is not the aim of this dissertation to address any of these theoretical questions. However, they need to be mentioned at the beginning because the dissertation covers a topic that would have been earlier interpreted as having an explosive content, namely a topic connected to the interactions between the Czechs and Germans at the beginning of the 15th century. For this reason, it might be anticipated that I will also deal with these (from my perspective outdated) points of view. Nevertheless, this is not at all my intention. Why this is so will become clear in the following paragraphs.

What then is the objective of this dissertation? Its main focus will be on a group of people who were active in Prague at the beginning of the 15th century. During the early and formative years of the Hussite movement in Bohemia, roughly from 1412 to 1417, a group of Germans who, it has been suggested, ran a “School” located at the Black Rose House in Prague played an important role in the scholarly disputes of that time.² This group was apparently centred around Peter and Nicholas of Dresden, two well-educated theoreticians with extreme ideas concerning the contemporary state of affairs in the Church and society. Sometime it is believed that they were active at Prague University before the so-called Kutná Hora decree was issued (1409), after which they left for Dresden where they supposedly taught at the *Kreuzschule*, a local school of minor character. Being expelled from there due to their antipapal ideas, they allegedly came back to Prague where they were welcomed by the Czech representatives of the reformist party, settled down in a house called “At the Black Rose” and continued their unspecified teaching activity. The sources record some more names – both teachers and students – connected one way or another to the School, but in a rather obscure and confusing manner. A few incidents in pre-Hussite Prague are also traditionally connected with the School and its supporters. These incidents include inciting the crowds during certain street riots or, on a theoretical level, their defence of the necessity of administering the

² An appraisal of the numerous, intricate and contradicting opinions on the story of the Dresden School will be the main objective of the following chapter where references to relevant literature will be provided. The most important fact is that the existence of the Dresden School was implied in the two best modern syntheses of the Hussite revolution written by Howard Kaminsky, *A History*, 204–220; and František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 58–61. The opinions of Romolo Cegna, who pays long-lasting attention to the most famous representative of the Dresden School, Nicholas of Dresden, will be dealt with separately, see below, page 5.

Eucharist to the laity under both kinds (i. e. under the forms of consecrated bread and wine), a demand that later became the most tantalizing symbol of the whole Hussite movement. The activity of this School, sometimes referred to as the Dresden School due to its alleged place of origin, supposedly proved to be a stimulating element in religious developments in Prague up until the year 1417, and is said to have exerted a strong influence on the radical Hussite parties thereafter.

However, how the concept of this particular School should be understood remains unclear. The assumption that the members of the School moved from Prague to Dresden and back – either alone or together as a group – is unsubstantiated by the source evidence. Neither is it obvious what kind of School this was, whether in Prague or in Dresden, or whether any link existed between these two phases, or, indeed, whether these two phases had anything at all in common. The fundamental bulk of information pertinent to this School is represented by, more or less, contemporary narrative sources that contradict each other in a grand manner, a few mentions of the members' opponents naturally biased by their antipathy, supplemented by a few treatises that some members of the School left to posterity. More importantly, there is an inquisitional protocol surviving in the case of the School disciples' John Drändorf and Peter Turnau, and a fragment of Bartholomew Rautenstock's protocol, which add further confusion to the School's story. Therefore it should not be surprising that no comprehensive picture of this School has been gleaned from the available sources. Yet in modern historiography, there have been a number of mentions and references to this group.³ As will be discussed later, the majority of these contributions were primarily concerned with the Waldensian orientation of the Dresden School, or more precisely of some of the people connected with it, thereby acknowledging the very existence of the School without due analysis of the problem.⁴ A case

³ References to the Dresden School were made in numerous studies and as it is impossible to provide an exhaustive overview here. The existence of the Dresden School is referred to by most of the authors whose works I deal with in the following chapters and for this reason I will not list them now – the bibliography of this dissertation can serve this purpose. References to the Dresden School appear in several biographical tools, for example František Šmahel mentions the School in the entry on Nicholas of Dresden in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6, 1993. CD-ROM (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2000); Siegfried Hoyer in the *Sächsische Biographie* in the entry on Peter of Dresden, [<http://isgv.serveftp.org/saebi/saebi.php>]; Josef Tříška in *Literární činnost předhusitské pražské univerzity* (Literary work of the pre-Hussite University) (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1967), 72; idem, *Životopisný slovník předhusitské pražské univerzity 1348–1409* (Biographical dictionary of the pre-Hussite Prague University 1348–1409) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1981), 388; and elsewhere.

⁴ Amedeo Molnár, *Valdenští. Evropský rozměr jejich vzdoru* (Waldensians. European extension of their opposition) (Prague: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1973), 206–214; see also Robert Kalivoda, *Husitská ideologie* (Hussite ideology) (Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1961), 292–316.

in point is also the question of the German Hussites, as some of the Dresdeners were perceived, and their influence over the radical Hussites.⁵ In all of these studies, nevertheless, the Dresden School was only marginal addenda to research that focused on other problems.⁶ Only a few studies concentrated on the School itself, and these raised a number of questions needing clarification.

In 1965, Howard Kaminsky wrote a short study on the School in his foreword to the edition of a treatise by one of the members of this School, Nicholas of Dresden.⁷ Although he could not rely on evidence of edited and critically assessed material, many of his hypotheses still hold. He rightly determined the reason behind the expulsion of some German masters from Dresden and described some of their subsequent activities in Prague. Lacking evidence of further sources, Kaminsky connected the two phases of the School, i.e. in Dresden and in Prague, as pertaining to a group of the same people. He associated a few names with the Dresden School – alongside Peter of Dresden, Nicholas of Dresden, Friedrich Eppinge, or John Drändorf are mentioned. As an editor of two of Nicholas' treatises, Kaminsky's attention was naturally focused on Nicholas of Dresden and his works. Based on the close reading of relevant treatises, Kaminsky primarily analyzed Nicholas' contribution to the Hussite ideology and the possible influences of and connections with the teachings of John Wyclif, with the influential Bohemian reformer Matthew of Janov, or with popular sectarianism, above all the Waldensians. His comprehensive analysis resulted in the conclusion that Nicholas cannot be identified as a Waldensian heretic, nevertheless he characterized his doctrine as

⁵ For example Franz Machilek, "Deutsche Hussiten," in *Jan Hus zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen: Vorträge des internationalen Symposions in Bayeruth vom 22. bis 26. September 1993*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997), 267–282; Ferdinand Seibt, *Hussitica. Zur Struktur einer Revolution* (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1965), 92–97; Božena Kopiczková, *Jan Želivský (John of Želiv)* (Prague: Melantrich, 1990), 22. See also Petr Čornej, *Velké dějiny země koruny české*, vol. 5, 1402–1437 (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2000), 413–422.

⁶ Apart from the contributions mentioned in the previous footnotes, many modern historians touched upon this topic on more than one occasion and accepted the existence of the Dresden School. Influential contributions include for example František Šmahel, "The Faculty of Liberal Arts 1348–1419," in *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 269; idem, *Dějiny univerzity Karlovy 1348–1990* (A history of the Charles University 1348–1990), vol. 1, 1347/48–1622 (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), 129; Heinrich Butte, *Geschichte Dresdens bis zur Reformationszeit* (Köln and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1967), 100–120; a recent book on the Hussite movement promoted the existence of the Dresden School in the English-speaking environment, see Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride. The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1998), 67, 135. A number of other studies that addressed particular aspects of the Dresden School will be mentioned later.

⁷ *Master Nicholas of Dresden: The Old Color and the New. Selected Works Contrasting the Primitive Church and the Roman Church*. Ed. by Howard Kaminsky, Dean Loy Bilderback, Imre Boba, and Patricia N. Rosenberg.

“Waldensianist”. In another study on Hussite radicalism, Kaminsky examined the most radical university circles in Prague around Nicholas of Dresden and pointed out their connection to a radical Taborite faction of the Hussites, thereby emphasizing the impact of the Dresden School on the religious developments in Prague at the beginning of the Hussite movement.⁸

Around the same time, Romolo Cegna directed his attention to issues connected with the person of Nicholas of Dresden, who was by this time considered to be the leading member of the Dresden School.⁹ As the editor of a number of Nicholas’ treatises, Cegna greatly contributed to general knowledge about this prolific author.¹⁰ The focus of Cegna’s interest was the beginnings of Utraquism and in order to prove Nicholas’s primacy in this matter, he explored vast amounts of material and put forward several attractive hypotheses concerning Nicholas’ life and work. Although the origins of administering the Eucharist to the laity under both species in the Hussite period is nowadays linked with Jacobellus of Misa and not with Nicholas, Cegna’s numerous studies provided a sound basis for further analysis of Nicholas’ ideology. Cegna argued that Nicholas was a typical representative of the medieval Catholic reform movement and denied his affiliation with Waldensian heresy. As far as the Dresden School is concerned, Cegna’s examination of the spread of Nicholas’ treatises in the literature of the Waldensians in France, Italy and Germany is immensely important. Nevertheless, as in Kaminsky’s case, Cegna implicitly assumed that Nicholas was affiliated with the Dresden School and, thus, acknowledged the existence of the Dresden School itself.

Other supplementary information was added in the course of time to these seminal studies. However, most of these contributions were concerned mainly with doctrinal matters related to

(Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 55) (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1965), 5–28.

⁸ Howard Kaminsky, “Hussite Radicalism and the Origins of Tábor 1415–1418,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 10 (1956): 102–130. See also his “The Problematics of later-medieval Heresy,” in *Husitství – reformace – renaissance. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, vol. 1, ed. Jaroslav Pánek, Jaroslav Boubín, Miloslav Polívka and Noemi Rejchrtová (Prague: Historický ústav, 1994), 133–156; or “The Problematics of ‘Heresy’ and ‘The Reformation’,” in *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, ed. František Šmahel (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998), 1–22.

⁹ For one of his best synthetic contributions to the history of this group was published in a study preceding an edition of Nicholas’ treatise, the *Puncta*, see Nicolai (ut dicunt) de Dresda vulgo appellati de Čerruc (De Černá růže id est de Rosa Nigra [†1418]) *Puncta*. Ed. Romolo Cegna. *Medievalia Philosophica Polonorum* 33 (1996): 5–28. Other studies will be dealt with separately. At the very beginning, I would also like to express my gratitude to Romolo Cegna for sharing his opinions and even unpublished material with me.

¹⁰ Nicholas’ treatises *De reliquiis et de veneratione sanctorum: De purgatorio, Expositio super Pater noster* (with Jana Nechutová), *Puncta, Nisi manducaveritis, Tractatus de iuramento* were edited by Cegna. Links to the editions can be found in the bibliography of this dissertation.

the Dresden School and its influence.¹¹ Such polemics have produced a variety of opinions and many unresolved propositions since the ideological orientations and origins of doctrinal concepts are very hard to distinguish in the complex early-fifteenth century intellectual setting. However important these issues might be, there exist other ways to approach the phenomenon of a school or group of scholars.

Determining the existence of the Dresden School is the main objective of the dissertation. My intention is to look anew at all available sources and scrutinize the information in them from the point of view of the people involved in order to discover whether the Dresden School existed as a well-defined group or whether it was rather a random cluster of people who happened to be working in the same place at the same time. If this latter should be the case, I will attempt to look for the reasons why these people were later perceived as a group. As a first step I will analyze the period when the Dresden School was allegedly in operation. This will comprise three stages: firstly, compiling references to the group or its members made by external contemporary sources, be they well-known narrative sources or un-researched manuscript material, subsequently combining this information with the biographies of the people involved and the data they provided about themselves, and lastly, looking for indirect evidence for the existence of the group, which will mean looking for activities that the School members might possibly have shared. The next set of questions will be centred around the later stages of the School's existence and its "afterlife". The existence of the School will be considered through the prism of its possible influence, namely, whether there are signs that the School had an ideological influence on anyone, whether its disciples or supporters markedly shared or promoted identical ideas, or whether there existed any activities that could be generally linked with the consequences of the Dresden School's existence. Last but not least, a few selected sources, relevant to the scrutiny of the later phases of the Dresden School, will be presented in an edited form in the appendices.

Even though my aim is to discuss whether this group can legitimately be called the "Dresden School", this term will be used throughout the dissertation for the sake of clarity. The name will not be placed in quotes and I will also refrain from repeating that it is only a presumption. The group is also sometimes labelled the "Black Rose House School" because its

¹¹ The problem of the ideological orientation of individual members of the Dresden School is discussed in detail below, II.C.2. *Shared doctrine?*, 93–100.

members dwelled in a house with such name in Prague for a period of time, but this appellation shall not be used here either.¹²

¹² The title “Rosa Nigra” or “Rosa Nera” is used by Romolo Cegna, the Czech variant “Černá Růže” often appears in the Czech scholarship. Moreover, a corrupted variant “Czerucz” was used by Cegna on several occasions, which was criticized by František Šmahel, review of *Nicola della Rosa Nera detto da Dresda (1380?–1416? . De reliquiis et De veneratione sanctorum: De purgatorio)*, by Romolo Cegna, *Husitský Tábor 2* (1979): 158–159. For more on this house, see below, *Indirect Evidence*, 89–90. The outcome of this dissertation shall resolve the question whether, or to what extent, are such denominations plausible.

B. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Placing an emphasis on such a small historical unit invites this study to employ an approach within the scope of the *nouvelle histoire*.¹³ An opening remark concerning the methodology is related to the general situation in Czech medieval studies, specifically with scholars dealing with the Hussite movement. It is widely accepted that different historical approaches, whether a traditional paradigm or any of the new approaches, are conditioned by trends in national historiographies as well as other factors. This is especially true if a topic happens to be the object of zealous discussions with various nationalist undercurrents, as was long the case with the history of the Bohemian Reformation. Besides, even though the search for innovative methodological approaches in history flourished from the sixties or seventies of the last century, this debate was for obvious reasons slightly delayed in Eastern European scholarship. The consequence for historians, especially young ones, has been a lack of firm methodological background and uncertainty caused by non-existence of models applicable to source material of their choice.¹⁴ For this reason, I would like to discuss three methodological approaches of the *nouvelle histoire* that may conceivably be applicable to see whether they might be advantageous to use in the analysis of my dissertation topic, namely microhistory, prosopography and the concept of history from below.

At very first sight, microhistorical methods are most likely to attract the attention of anyone concerned with such a particular theme. But because microhistory still lacks a codified

¹³ The literature on the subject is naturally vast and instead of quoting a few randomly chosen fundamental studies on the history of the new history or, for that matter, any other innovative approaches, I would rather like to refer to one of the most recent relevant outlines of the topic by Peter Burke, "Overture. The New History: Its Past and its Future," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 1–24; for a general summary of the last century's trends and methods in Medieval Studies, see *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert. Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz and Jörg Jarnut (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2003).

¹⁴ This certainly does not mean that there were or are no results from methodological discussion and progress among the Czech medievalists, it is only a sigh of uneasiness when entering a field for which no ready examples are at hand. For a detailed examination of the trends and currents in Bohemian scholarship related not only to the Bohemian Reformation, but other epochs as well, see Marin Nodl, *Dějepisectví mezi vědou a politikou. Úvahy o historiografii 19. a 20. století*. (Historiography between Science and Politics. Reflections on historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries) (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2007). Nodl pays considerable attention to questions connected with the *Annales* School and its reception in Czech scholarship, and to social history in general. His publications on this topic are numerous and many-sided, see for example, Martin Nodl, "Die Hussitische Revolution. Zur Genese eines Forschungsparadigmas in der tschechischen Historiographie der 1950er und 1960er Jahre," *Bohemia* 47/1 (2006–2007): 151–171. A useful overview of recent developments in Czech Medieval Studies with bibliographical references is offered by František Šmahel and Josef Žemlička, "Die tschechische Mediävistik 1990–2002," in *Tschechische Mittelalterforschung 1990–2002*, ed. František Šmahel (Prague: Filosofia, 2003), 11–66.

methodology as well as a general concept, it is necessary to discuss briefly whether this methodology would be suitable for studying my topic or not.¹⁵ Microhistory as an extremely varied practice reduces the scale of observation and its – maybe its only – common belief is that by reducing this scale to the microscopic level, explanatory factors that previously went unrecognized will be revealed. Such a result would be quite advantageous when looking at this minor and specific particular within the history of the Hussite movement that has not yet been subjected to a targeted investigation yet. To take this particular problem as a starting point and to analyze it from all possible angles and viewpoints in order to place it within its context is exactly the kind of information that can be qualified a microhistorical procedure. In consequence this would require contextualization of the chosen historical particular – contextualization in its manifold meaning – whether it is the functionalist context, the cultural context as construed by language limitations, or the comparative context. The primary contextualization will be naturally attempted, that is, the role of the Dresden School, if its existence appears verifiable, will be analyzed in the broader context of the situation in Bohemia at the beginning of the 15th century. Nevertheless, to go any further and work with the abstract or applied concept of this particular is beyond the scope of the dissertation. Moreover, it is precisely on this theoretical level where microhistory shows how problematic the social context is – in my case, the most fundamental point made by many of the polemics on microhistory is that creating a solidarity or social bonds can be caused not only by “*similarity of social position but rather ... [by] similarity of position within systems of relationships.*”¹⁶ If the question remains “were there any bonds between the people perceived as the members of the Dresden School?” the social context for this primary examination seems superfluous. Yet, this brings me to another, much more important point, that is, whether the phenomenon of the Dresden School fulfils the parameters of solidarity in the context of some other kind of bonds. This question shall be discussed in greater detail later on.

¹⁵ A major platform for microhistorical subject matters is traditionally represented by the series *Microstori* connected with the names of Carlo Ginzburg and Giovanni Levi, or the review *Quaderni storici*. For more recent discussion of the field, see Jacques Revel, “Micro-analyse et construction du social,” in *Un parcours critique. Douze exercices d'histoire sociale* (Paris: Galaade Éditions, 2006), 56–84.

¹⁶ Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory”, in *New Perspectives*, 112, with reference to the original statement of Maurizio Gribaudi, *Mondo operaio e mito operaio: spazi e percorsi sociali a Torino nel primo Novecento* (Turin: Einaude, 1987).

The method of interpretative prosopography is closely connected to microhistorical practice.¹⁷ There has been a remarkable shift from its perception in the seventies of the last century which perceived prosopography as a study of individuals linked by family, social, economic or political relationships, or in other words, as an investigation of the common background of historical groups within the context of social and political history.¹⁸ Today, it is frequently stressed that the subject of prosopographical studies is not only the individual or that it should be confined within definite groups, but that prosopography represents a multilayered approach to an analysis of networks within whole societies. The distinction between prosopography and biography has come to be defined very clearly over time, although even at present some biographical or genealogical studies tend to be presented as prosopographical.¹⁹ However, it also became evident that prosopography and biography, as well as other sociographic methods, are very much complementary to each other.²⁰ It is apparent that analysis of the Dresden School does not qualify as a prosopographical investigation, even though it might be argued that the Dresden School is seemingly well

¹⁷ Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 101/1 (1971): 46–79. More recently, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*. Ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan. (Oxford: Prosopographica et Genealogica, 2007).

¹⁸ In addition to Stone's inspiring study, the two major definitions were articulated by Claude Nicolet and Karl Ferdinand Werner – for a succinct overview of the various definitions of prosopography, see Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, "Progress or Perversion? Current Issues in Prosopography: An Introduction," (<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/progress-or-perversion.htm>), 2003, last accessed 10 July 2008. For older discussions of the methodological problems connected to medieval prosopography, see the proceedings from the 32nd meeting of *Deutschen Historikertag* published under the auspices of Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch: *Prosopographie als Sozialgeschichte? Methoden personengeschichtlicher Erforschung des Mittelalters* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1978), esp. 44–45, 49–57; Karl Schmidt, "Prosopographische Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters," in *Aspekte der historischen Forschung in Frankreich und Deutschland. Schwerpunkte und Methoden*, ed. Gerhard A. Ritter and Rudolf Vierhaus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1981), 64–72. Problems of prosopographical approaches to late medieval material, which turned out to be fundamentally different from the early medieval material, are discussed, for example, by Peter Moraw, "Personenforschung und deutsches Königstum," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 2 (1975): 7–18; Moraw later focused on the university environment, see his *Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte: Strukturen, Personen, Entwicklungen* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). Sources connected to medieval universities or ecclesiastical milieu represent a specific topic of late medieval prosopography – see, for example, Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des Alten Reiches* (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag Wiesbaden, 1986), or Heribert Müller, *Die Franzosen, Frankreich und das Basler Konzil (1431-1449)*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, and Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1990). A succinct overview of prosopographical developments not only in Bohemia can be found in Martin Nodl, "Středověká prosopografie" (Medieval Prosopography), in *Dějepisectví mezi vědou a politikou*, 173–201.

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the distinction between biography and prosopography, see Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, "Biography, Identity and Names: Understanding the Pursuit of the Individual Prosopography," in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, 139–181.

²⁰ See for example, the volume on *Medieval Lives and the Historian. Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1986), esp. Neithard Bulst's discussion of the methodological problems of prosopography: "Zum Gegenstand und zur Methode von Prosopographie," 1–16.

defined and would present a suitable case study of “the ordinary”. The scale of my inquiry will be very limited as a dozen names does not allow for a prosopographical analysis. Although I will investigate the particular histories of a few individuals (in agreement with biography), my goal is not to achieve a full understanding of their actions, including their psychological motivations (thus, not fulfilling biographical expectations). I will use the method of collecting and combining data on these individuals in one part of my investigation in order to unveil possible connections between members of this particular group. I will not, however, go on to establish a collective biography for this group of individuals or to analyze its identity as a social category (thus, forgoing the goals of prosopography). Without further elaborating on the problem it can be declared that one part of the dissertation will take advantage of a research approach that stands precisely at the point where prosopography and biography overlap with each other.

The group of the Dresden masters mostly comprised members of lower orders and any inquiry into their story will mean an investigation of a lower social strata. Here the concept of the “history from below” which has been and is still being discussed extensively comes to the fore.²¹ The attraction of a fresh perspective on historical events from the point of view of ordinary people as opposed to that of an elite is immense. The prospect of histories written from below opens up space for imaginative use of source materials in a number of topics that previously have been neglected. But even if this approach seems appealing at first sight, it is not appropriate for analysis of the present topic. For one thing, my aim is not to analyze a generally defined problem such as the history of schooling from the perspective of the people below. Far from this, I plan to examine the story of one particular school by examining the people involved in it, to put it plainly, not how the people affected the school but how the ostensible existence of the school affected the perceptions of the people involved in it. Moreover, without subjecting the concept of “below” to a closer examination, there is one significant obstacle. In untangling the “history of a school,” it would be necessary to decide from the first whether the research should concentrate on the history of the Dresden School from the point of view of the ordinary teachers or else, from the point of view of the students. Given the present state of knowledge about this School this would be an impossible task.

²¹ The impact this concept has had is enormous and as an example, let me refer to the journal *Past & Present: a journal of historical studies* where many studies inspired by this concept were presented. For a survey of the developments in this field, see Jim Sharpe, “History From Below,” in *New Perspectives*, 25–42.

Difficulties in defining the subject matter are quite typical of a general problem in the new history. As Jim Sharpe put it, an acceptable “*way round*” the problem is to “*examine the experience of different sections of the lower orders... through the medium of the isolated case study.*”²² Such an approach also subsequently require contextualization but that is obviously beyond the scope of these partial analyses. However, it is precisely the existence of such isolated case studies that can constitute a broader foundation for an overall synthesis which is the only way to approach a deeper understanding of society in the medieval past.

In sum, the dissertation will take advantage of prosopographical approaches in some parts, while with certain reservations it can be perceived as a generally microhistorical handling of a set of questions. Nevertheless, due to the loose theoretical background of microhistory and more importantly because of the large scale of the investigation that needs to be limited for the present purpose, no attempt will be made in this dissertation analyze the social context of this group. I will limit myself to addressing essential questions about the phenomenon of the Dresden School, thus, hoping to lay the groundwork for more complex studies.

Let me return now to the one point that emerged in the previous consideration of what methodologies could be used to investigate the data at my disposal. Namely, did any special bonds exist between the people connected to the Dresden School. If the aim of this study is to deal with a group of people, the first question that inevitably arises is: what are the parameters that might define a late medieval group? As Gerd Althoff showed in his study on medieval groups, bonds between medieval people were far more important than in our times.²³ He examined the three most important group bonds in the life of a medieval person – those constituted by kinship, co-operation and lordship. In his opinion, “*historiography is generally the most useful source if one is looking to understand the consciousness of a medieval individual or a group.*”²⁴ Althoff illustrated this fact using a number of examples taken from

²² Sharpe, “History from Below,” 40. Sharpe was referring to the excellent case studies of Carlo Ginzburg, Natalie Zemon Davis, David Sabeau or Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. Indeed, he used Ginzburg’s work together with that of Barbara A. Hanawalt to very accurately illustrate two entirely opposite types of approaches for the study of a topic from below. Each scholar based their studies on very different source materials: while Ginzburg exploited one remarkably fruitful source to explore the intellectual and spiritual world of one individual, Hanawalt made extensive use of a large body of English coroners’ inquest material to build a vivid picture of everyday life of medieval English peasants.

²³ Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers. Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, transl. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁴ Ibidem, 16.

upper social strata and thus, his findings cannot be of much use for a study of a group of persecuted heretics mainly from the lower orders. Nevertheless, contemporary historiography related in any way to the Dresden School should provide grounds for the first level of analysis in the dissertation. All available contemporary sources and information about the Dresdeners shall be presented as the first step in my analysis.

Concerning the co-operative element of medieval bonds, a comparison of this group to groups of university students seems to be more promising. Rainer-Christoph Schwinges showed that clustering into advantageous circles was very much favoured and widespread among university students in the Middle Ages.²⁵ Despite the fact that we know very little about the educational background of the Dresden masters, the question should be posed as to whether the Dresden School can be perceived as a travelling group of students. The so-called travel-groups were usually formed by well-to-do students who came from neighbouring areas and brought their social status with them. Schwinges argued that poor students formed such groups mainly in periods of crises or for definite purposes under external pressures. For the group in question, the moment of crisis, or rather the external pressures, seem to be present although this will have to be decided upon only closer examination of the personal background of its members. Compiling all available biographical information about each member of the School will therefore present a basic step in the investigation.

Such information must be complemented by data provided by the people themselves. Since some of the members of the Dresden School were active in the literary disputes in Hussite Prague, several texts survive as an outcome of their activities. These will be duly analyzed with a concrete purpose in mind: this examination should provide indirect evidence for the Dresden School's existence. Namely, whether there are doctrinal elements that could be positively ascribed to a common ideology of the group or whether there are certain ideas that were shared by all of its members. It was mentioned earlier that this group has been in

²⁵ Rainer Christoph Schwinges, "Zur Prosopographie studentischer Reisegruppen im Fünfzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Medieval Lives and the Historian*, 333–341. See also the volume edited by Schwinges: *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges and Markus Wriedt (Berlin: Duncker&Humblot, 1996); or one of his late essays: "Das Reich im gelehrten Europa. Ein Essay aus personengeschichtlicher Perspektive," in *Heilig – Römisch – Deutsch. Das Reich im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Bernard Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Dresden: Michel Sandstein Verlag, 2006), 227–250. Schwinges pays a long-lasting attention to the problem of late medieval university scholar, see for example the *Repertorium academicum Germanicum* project lead by Rainer Ch. Schwinges and Peter Moraw that collects biographical and social data on the scholars who studied at universities in the Holy Empire between 1250 and 1550: www.rag-online.org.

focus of scholarly attention mostly due to doctrinal matters related to the origins of the early Bohemian Reformation. The affiliation of the Dresdeners to Waldensianism, or rather contemporary accusations or connections with it, seems at first sight to be the one distinct moment shared by all members of the Dresden School. Even if one does not want to enter into the long discussion about the Waldensianism of the School, this heretical link may possibly be the only parameter consistently applicable to this group. Therefore, it will be discussed in a succinct manner but employing a perspective different from previous attempts. I will base my research on the testimonies of the Dresden masters from the point of view of their belonging to a single group, considering whether they themselves provide evidence that they held similar opinions and elaborated on, or intentionally spread identical themes. Propaganda of certain ideas towards the German lands, of which there are traces within the Dresdeners' treatises, could be seen as another link between the people in question. In other words, an integral part of the dissertation will comprise a search for ideological bonds between the members of the Dresden School.

All these attempts will primarily rest on the contemporary prosopographical data available for each member of the School. It must be stressed at the very beginning that such surveys are almost exclusively based on sources coming from ecclesiastical institutions,²⁶ as no other types of sources, such as charters or memorial sources, survive or are at our disposal for the Dresden School. For this reason, the facts that will be extracted from these sources cannot be taken at face value and their potential biases will have to be carefully considered. This warning is even more pertinent for the next stage in my investigation into the "afterlife" of the Dresden School. Whatever the biases of the contemporary material may be, the subsequent phases of the School's historical existence are subject to fabrication on much larger scale. I will address myself to a question whether the Dresden School only actually came into existence later and whether the only bonds that tie the members of this group together only existed in later historiography.

Last but not least, the question of the Dresdeners' influence and the radiation of their beliefs is another important aspect of the existence of a bond between persons. Traditionally, historians have recognized the influence of some of the Dresden masters on the radical Hussite

²⁶ This is a general problem of most prosopographical studies, as was noted in Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 19, note 52.

parties. Nevertheless, these influences mostly comprise isolated cases of an individual's influence over another individual, such as the fact that Nicholas Biskupec of Pelhřimov (died ca.1460), an important figure within the radical faction in Tábor, drew largely on the works of Nicholas of Dresden, a leading member of the Dresden School. These cases of influence of the Dresden School need to be examined carefully. They can be seen only through an intricate net of textual borrowings producing evidence of various and delicate quality. Nevertheless, there exist sources that could shed more light on this matter. It has been argued that the teachings of Nicholas of Dresden were very soon after the termination of the School's teaching practice in Prague promoted on a theoretical level.²⁷ Allegedly there are a few so far un-researched sources that could attest to a later influence of this School which would in return prove the existence of the School itself. For the purpose of such scrutiny, this 15th-century manuscript material will first have to be explored and then presented in an edited form here. Further evidence for the argument that the Dresden School was a definable group would be if the School had followers. Apart from individuals who profess that they were inspired by the Dresden masters, there may be other signs attesting to this future influence. Collecting the masters' treatises can be regarded as the best example of conscious activity by a group's followers. Existence of such testimonies would bolster the hypothesis that the Dresden School was a clearly defined entity.

As outlined above, the dissertation will address the possible bonds between the members of the Dresden School from three different angles. The main goal of the analysis is to find out whether the Dresden School existed as a clearly defined group and if so, what kind of group it was or where did its concept originate from. It is hoped that thorough examination of the above-mentioned problems will facilitate a better understanding of the phenomenon of the Dresden School which has puzzled many generations of historians up to the present.

²⁷ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 26–28.

Chapter II: Contemporary Period

A. Primary Historiographical Sources

There are several, mostly narrative sources from the fifteenth century, that is, from a period that is coeval with the existence of the Dresden School, which provide basic information about the Dresden School.²⁸ Although their main objective lies elsewhere, they relate how the School was established, where and when it was active and who its leading members were. Along with treatises written by the members of the Dresden School and in some cases with their interrogation protocols, these constitute the most important source of information about the presumed existence of the Dresden School and will therefore be duly analysed in the present chapter. It is necessary to take a closer look at them since – as mentioned at the beginning – apart from being the most important primary information they also cause the greatest confusion because they contradict each other in many different ways. Most of the narrative sources listed below are available in modern editions. In such cases, their reliability and basic information on them are only summarized. Special attention will be paid to the question of whether these texts really come from the period of the Dresden School's activity or whether their information is of later date; it should be stressed that precise dating of these sources is not of crucial importance as far as the history of the School is concerned. Naturally, this is not the case for various manuscript notes and other un-researched material where all available data will be presented in detail. At any rate, because the dating of the following sources is an intriguing matter, in most cases unresolved or at least not precisely specified, the criteria for their listing here will combine the chronological point of view and the reliability factors. Details will be presented in each individual case.

²⁸ A general introduction and overview of the historiographical sources pertinent to the Hussite period can be found in Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 1, 11–15, who summarizes older findings and provides references to older literature; see also Marie Bláhová, “Česká historiografie v husitské revoluci” (Czech historiography in the Hussite revolution), in *Husitství – reformace – renesance. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, vol. 2, ed. Jaroslav Pánek, Jaroslav Boubín, Miloslav Polívka and Noemi Rejchrtová (Prague: Historický ústav, 1994), 439–448; Petr Čornej, *Rozhledy, názory a postoje husitské inteligence v zrcadle dějepisectví 15. století* (Views, opinions and attitudes of the Hussite intellectuals in the mirror of 15th-century historiography) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1986). More recently, a revised edition of Čornej's book is aimed at the wider public: Čornej, Petr. *Tajemství českých kronik: cesty ke kořenům husitské revoluce* (The secrets of the Czech chronicles. Ways to the roots of the Hussite tradition) (Prague – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2003). References to specific publications are provided later.

1. LAURENCE OF BŘEZOVÁ, HUSSITE CHRONICLE

Master Laurence of Březová (1370 – ca. 1437), a personal eyewitness to all the important events that he described and one of the most valuable chroniclers of the Hussite period, related the events of the years 1414–1421 in his narrative about the Hussite movement.²⁹ Having gathered enough sources for his endeavour, he started working on his chronicle in the thirties of the 15th century at the latest. How Laurence proceeded while composing his chronicle is not known – he described the events in a detailed and lively way keeping to a good chronological sequence. Thus, his work gives the impression of having been composed almost concurrently with the incidents in question. Nevertheless, some references to earlier affairs, marked by *protunc*, make it obvious that this was not always the case. The narrative opens by relating the introduction of the lay chalice. It is worth pointing out that his short account of the origins of this practice connects it with the activities of Jacobellus of Misa, something probably widely accepted by his contemporaries. It was only some time later that the story was born that the idea had been suggested to Jacobellus by the German masters, namely by Peter of Dresden. Thus, a Wrocław manuscript of Laurence's Hussite chronicle contained an insertion in the opening narration about the year 1414:

“Anno incarnationis dominice MCCCCXIV, cum misericors et miserator dominus psal. 110. veritatem salutarem, que sacerdotum ignava desidia erat in practica per multa annorum curricula perniciose obmissa, suis fidelibus revelaret ac relevaret deiectam, cuidam honeste vite viro Magistro Petro de Drazdyan, tunc ante ea multis annis in civitate Pragensi moram trahenti, miraculose patefecit, unde magistri Pragenses eidem consencientes istas scripturas collegerunt et collectas ad Constanciense concilium transmiserunt, venerabilis ac divinissima ...”

Even though the presently lost Wrocław manuscript of the Hussite chronicle was the oldest of all the manuscripts containing the whole chronicle (it bore a scribal explicit of 1467), the context clearly shows that its beginning was interpolated. The other copies of this text read only:³⁰

²⁹ The parallel Latin-Czech text of the chronicle was printed by Jaroslav Goll in FRB, vol. 5, 327–534, quote from page 329. The chronicle was translated into modern Czech by František Heřmanský and revised by Marie Bláhová in Vavřinec z Březové, *Husitská kronika* (Prague: Svoboda, 1979). A German translation of the chronicle with commentary was published more recently: *Die Hussiten: Die Chronik des Laurentius von Březová 1414–1421*, ed. by Josef Bujnoch (Graz, Wien, and Köln: Verlag Styria, 1988).

³⁰ Goll, 329–330.

“Anno incarnationis dominice MCCCCXIV venerabilis ac divinissima communio eukaristie sub utraque specie panis scilicet et vini populo communi fidei ministranda per venerandum ac egregium virum Magistrum Jacobellum de Misa, sacre theologie baccalarium formatum, et aliquos sibi tunc in hac materia assistentes sacerdotes est inchoata in urbe inclita et magnifica Pragensi...”

Generally, there are a number of disputable points about the information contained in the Wrocław copy that shed some doubt on the scribe's trustworthiness or his understanding of the text, and these points consequently open the way for various interpretations.³¹ The declaration of the Prague University (mentioned straight after the beginnings of Utraquism in the Wrocław manuscript) is also dated to 1414, although it only took place in 1417,³² a fact that further devalues its testimony. If we disregard the question of Utraquism, which is irrelevant at this point, the important information contained in this chronicle is that Peter of Dresden was active in Prague in the year 1414 where he had lived for some time. However, the passage “*tunc ante ea multis annis in civitate Pragensi moram trahenti*” is not unequivocal if one wants to understand it in the most evident manner, that is, that Peter lived in Prague at that moment had done so for a very long time.³³ However, since the interpretation rests on the existence of one single occurrence, it is impossible to come to any other satisfactory explanation.

At any rate, it must be pointed out that as a singular report among the other six medieval manuscripts of the chronicle, this piece of information does not provide sufficient grounds for accepting Peter's certain presence in Prague before 1414, his departure and subsequent return. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that Laurence's chronicle is probably one of the most reliable accounts of the situation in Hussite Prague coming from the supporters of the reformist party. Therefore common information extracted from the majority of its manuscripts should be taken at face value, which means that (A) the origins of the lay chalice were connected with Jacobellus of Misa and (B) that it is

³¹ For instance, the codex reads *insidia* instead of *desidia*, *trahi* instead of *trahenti* which cannot be unequivocally explained as simply scribal abbreviations.

³² For background on this event, see Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 295–297.

³³ The German translator (*Die Hussiten*, 296) understands the text as follows: “*Im Jahre der Menschwerdung des Herrn 1414, als der gnädige und barmherzige Herr (misericors et miserator dominus, Ps 110,4) die heilbringende Wahrheit, die durch lässige Trägheit der Priester über viele Abläufe von Jahren hinweg schädlicherweise in der Praxis aufgegeben war, seinen Gläubigen offenbarte und die verworfene Wahrheit wieder erhob – er enthüllte sie auf wunderbare Weise einem Mann ehrenvollen Lebenswandels, dem Magister Peter von Dresden, der damals viele Jahre zuvor sich in der Stadt Prag aufhielt, weshalb die ihm zustimmenden Prager Magister entsprechende Schriftstellen sammelten und an das Konstanzer Konzil schickten–, began die Austeilung ... usw.*”

remarkable that Laurence does not mention any Germans living in Prague at that time who assisted Jacobellus in this matter.

2. CHRONICON BREVE REGNI BOHEMIAE

This short account describes the events of 1310–1421 with a few additions for subsequent years, which were copied by Martin of Břilina in 1430 into a codex at present held in the library of the monastery in Schlögl, Austria. When the text addresses the origins of the communion *sub utraque*, it connects it with the year 1416 and reports the following:³⁴

“Eodem anno [i.e. 1416] magister Jacobus heresiarcha cum magistro theutunicorum de Drazdan incepit communicare populum laicalem sub utraque specie contra consuetudinem romane ecclesie et contra preceptum sinodus Constancie. Tunc multi ex sacerdotibus simplicibus eis adhesuerunt et per totam terram discurrentes populum sub utraque specie communicabant, asserentes in predicacionibus, antiquos sacerdotes fures esse huius sacramenti. Tunc eciam paruulos in baptismo sanguine et corpore Christi communicabant et alia sacramenta non curabant.”

This small contemporary compilation was the source for a number of subsequent narratives about the beginnings of the lay chalice, which were however only derivative and did not alter the original report.³⁵ The only thing worth our attention here is that these later accounts supplied the story with a concrete name, that is, the name of Peter of Dresden, giving rise to a theory that has survived until recent times. In the same way, this Dresden theory appears for example in the so-called *Chronicle of the Prague University* that describes the history of the Prague University from its beginning in 1348 until 1421.³⁶

³⁴ Printed by Adolf Horčíčka, “Ein ‘Chronicon breve regni Bohemiae saec. XV’,” *Mittheilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 37/4 (1898/9): 461–467, quotation from p. 464–465.

³⁵ The most important of them is the so-called *Chronicon universitatis Pragensis*, others are discussed in more detail by Heinrich Boehmer, “Magister Peter von Dresden,” *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 36 (1915): 213–215.

³⁶ Printed by Jaroslav Goll in FRB, vol. 5, 565–588, who also analyzes the various layers of this compilation in the foreword to his edition (p. XL–XLII). For more about this chronicle, see Petr Čornej, “Tzv. Kronika univerzity pražské a její místo v husitské historiografii” (The so-called Chronicle of the Prague University and its place within Hussite historiography), *AUC–HUCP* 23/1 (1983): 7–25. The relevant text reads: “Eodem anno Magister Jacobellus cum Magistro Petro Theutonico de Drazdian incepit communicare populum laicalem sub utraque specie contra consuetudinem Romane ecclesie et contra preceptum sacri concilii Constanciensis. Tunc multi ex sacerdotibus simplicibus eis adhererunt et per totam terram discurrentes populum sub utraque specie communicaverunt asserentes in predicacionibus suis, antiquos sacerdotes fures esse huius sacramenti. Tunc eciam parvulos in baptismo corpore et sanguine Christi communicabant et alia sacramenta non curabant.”

Apart from presenting the Dresden master as an instigator of the lay chalice through the advice he gave to Jacobellus, the one valuable piece of information that appears here is the mention of the communion of children, a novelty of the period.

3. JOHN PAPOUŠEK'S NARRATIVE

Another mention of the Dresdeners' group can be found in a description of the Basel *Compactata* composed between 1448–1451 by John Papoušek of Soběslav, which survives in the *Manual* of Ulrich of Telč from the sixties of the 15th century:³⁷

“... venerunt quidam (de) Missna (ss. Petrus) clerici et scholares de Drazden, alii de Pikardia, alii de Anglia qui adhuc plus quam prius infecerunt et intoxicaverunt per suos errores regnum Bohemiae. Tandem fortificata illa secta videns quoque quod Romana ecclesia non habet usum communionis eucharistie sub utraque specie quantum ad populum laicalem seu volgarem ... praxim utriusque speciei incepterunt in civitate Pragensi.”

Its author, Master John Papoušek of Soběslav, twice rector of the Prague University, gradually shifted from his original support of Utraquism to support the Catholic party. He met Enea Silvio Piccolomini during his journey to Bohemia in 1451 and secured several important books for him.³⁸ His description of the *Compactata*, a transcription of the Taborite articles and other anti-Hussite polemics were certainly among these books. It was argued that it was Papoušek who influenced Piccolomini on the point of Waldensian influence over the Taborites.³⁹

As for the matter at hand, it should be pointed out that the confusion of the name of Nicholas of Dresden with that of Peter as an instigator of Utraquism in Prague is sometimes believed to have been caused by Papoušek's original report.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as the name of Peter is only super-scribed in the only surviving copy of Papoušek's report (which was moreover copied only in 1465), this source does not provide firm evidence of Peter's stay in Prague, either. It should also be pointed out that this source is not

³⁷ Under its incipit *Edicio Magistri Johannis Papusskonis de Sobieslaw* it was printed by Konstantin Höfler in *Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* 3. *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* I, *Scriptores*, vol. 7 (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866), 158–162 (footnote), esp. 159. The report is preserved in a single manuscript, now in the Prague National library, shelf mark XI C 8, fol. 296r–305v, which contains a scribal explicit from 1465.

³⁸ *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica*. Ed. Dana Martínková, Alena Hadravová, and Jiří Matl (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 1998): XXXIII.

³⁹ Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 356–357.

⁴⁰ Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 58.

contemporary with the activity of the Dresden School in Prague even if Papoušek did belong to the same generation as the Dresden masters. The comment that these people had infected Bohemia even more than they had before suggests that the group had already been active in Prague earlier. However, the comment does not unequivocally associate these individuals with people who came from Germany; on the contrary, it would seem more logical to understand this comment only as an allusion to the teachings of the Englishmen such as Wyclif and his followers.

All in all, this source does not provide any conclusive evidence concerning the activity of the Dresden School in Prague in the period of concern as its main subject is the introduction of Utraquism in Bohemia and its connection with external influences.

4. HISTORIA BOHEMICA

Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, had the possibility to closely observe the situation in Bohemia when he visited it in 1451. He undertook the challenging project of composing a history of the Czechs from their legendary beginnings until the year 1458 when he started his work. As a proponent of the Roman curia and a fervent opponent of the Hussites, he devoted more than half of his work to this period and despite, or maybe because of his demonstrated hatred of the “heretics, thieves, drunkards and rabble” he recorded a number of valuable, if controversial, observations about them and rendered their cause better known outside Bohemia. He also touched upon the influence of the Germans on the introduction of the lay chalice in Bohemia. In his opinion, it was explicitly Peter of Dresden who convinced Jacobellus of Misa, the leading theoretician of the Czech reformist party, of the necessity for the lay chalice. Interestingly, he is the only one to openly claim that a certain group of Germans had left Bohemia some time earlier only to return there after a short period of time:⁴¹

“Nondum error de sacramento altaris irrepserat, sed attulit novam pestem Petrus Drasensis (id est oppidum Misnae super Albim situm), qui cum aliis Theutonibus paulo ante Bohemiam reliquerat, cognitus inter suos, quia Valdensi lepra infectus esset, patria pulsus; velut haereticorum asylum Pragam repetiit puerorumque docendorum curam accepit. Apud ecclesiam sancti Michaelis per

⁴¹ *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica*, 94–96. Apart from this bilingual Latin – Czech edition, the most recent critical edition with a translation and commentary in an accessible language is: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*, ed. Joseph Hejnic and Hans Rothe, vol. 1 *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe des lateinischen Textes*, ed. Joseph Hejnic, German translation by Eugen Udolph, 236–239 (Köln, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005).

id temporis populum praedicando instruebat Iacobellus Misnensis, litterarum doctrina et morum praestantia iuxta clarus. Petrus aggressus mirari se ait doctum et sanctum virum, qui divina eloquia plebibus exponeret, errorem illum non animadvertisse communionis eucharistiae.”

In accordance with his informant Papoušek, Piccolomini states that the circle of people surrounding Peter of Dresden also exerted influence on Jacobellus on the point of Utraquism. He also repeats, though in clearer words, that Peter together with other Germans had been chased away from Prague and lived in Germany from where he was again expelled because of his Waldensian views. More interestingly, after this he says that only Peter returned to Prague where he took up teaching.

The credibility of this unique source has been the subject of long discussion.⁴² What should be noted is that every piece of information put forward by this source should be treated with due respect but also with caution and meticulous consideration as regards its truth-value. Again, it needs to be stressed that this source is not contemporary with the Dresden School but was written some years later.

5. ANONYMOUS TRACT

A short anonymous account elaborates on the very same theme and provides information on the reasons for the expulsion of the masters from Dresden as well as a list of some of their other tenets.⁴³ This source suggests that the group left Dresden as a direct consequence of the decree by the bishop Rudolph of Meissen, issued on 18 October 1411. This decree prohibited teaching the Bible and Canon law in secondary schools,⁴⁴ and thus, establishes the *terminus post quem* of the Dresdeners’ arrival in Prague:

“Circa annum Domini MCCCCXII in civitate draznensi, Misnensis diocesis, cui tunc praesidebat in episcopatu Joannes dictus Ochmanus, vir fama optima praeclarus et in omni scientiarum genere doctissimus et maturus moribus, Petrus

⁴² For a concise summary of literature on this topic, see Šmahel’s foreword to the *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica*, XLI–LII, LXXXV–XCVII.

⁴³ It was first printed by Franz Martin Pelzel, *Lebensgeschichte des Römischen und Böhmisches Königs Wenceslaus*, vol. 2 (Prague – Leipzig: in der von Schönfeldischen=Meißnerischen Buchhandlung, 1790), 156–158 (appendix), later by Konstantin Höfler in *Geschichtschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* 3, 156–158 (footnote).

⁴⁴ *Urkunden der Markgrafen von Meissen und Landgrafen von Thüringen 1407–1418*. Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae regiae I, Abtheilung B, vol. III. Ed. Hubert Ermisch. (Leipzig: Giesecke&Devrient, 1909), 203–204.

et Nicolaus puerorum eruditores in ipsius nominata civitatis draznensis schola plurimas curiosas moventes questiones illas non sunt veriti juxta capita sua contra auctoritatem sacrae scripturae et sanctorum decretorum sinistre definire inter quas etiam hac movebatur questio: an laicis sit porrigenda communio duplicis speciei videlicet panis et vini in eucharistie sacramento? Quibus questionibus scholarium multitudinem suorum multipliciter infecerunt. Que eorum doctrina cum ad aures viri clarissimi domini Joannis episcopi supra nominati pervenisset, mox ipsos Petrum et Nicolaum cum eorum doctrinae faventibus excludi jussit et eliminari de episcopatu Misnensi. Qui tandem Pragensem ingressi urbem lupi sub pelle ovina per fautorum suorum auxilia et novitatum amatores, quandam domum in civitate nova juxta fossam antique civitatis possederunt et pluralitatem scholarium collegerunt. Et inter alias eorum versucias dogmati faverunt: purgatorium post hanc vitam animarum non esse. Quod sanctorum suffragia non sunt invocanda. Quod papa sive Romanus pontifex sit antichristus cum clero sibi subjecto et quod communio eucharistie sub duplici specie laicis sit administranda et cetera plures eorum erant sinistre, quas docebant, fantasie.”

By mistake the account identified the Meissen bishop as John Hoffmann, a fact that hindered acceptance of its reliability. John Hoffmann was a bishop in Dresden in 1427–1451, which would have moved the dating of the Dresdeners’ expulsion to a later date.⁴⁵ According to Boehmer,⁴⁶ the report was written by an educated cleric who shared his views with the Roman-orientated scholars at Prague University and who possibly belonged to the same generation as Prokop, of whom more will be written in subchapter II.A.7. Nevertheless, this cleric was independent of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Laurence of Březová or of any other well-known sources although he was not very well informed about the situation outside Bohemia.

The anonymous tract is preserved in a single manuscript that the cataloguer dated to the second half of the 15th century. Unfortunately, this dating cannot be specified with more precision.⁴⁷ The content of this manuscript is rather interesting. It is entitled *Articuli*

⁴⁵ Pelzel himself recorded this event in 1417. It consequently found its way into modern literature, for example Dieter Girgensohn, *Peter von Pulkau und die Wiedereinführung des Laienkelches*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 130. Romolo Cegna in *Nicolai ... Puncta*, 13, argues that Hoffmann issued the decree as Bishop Rudolph’s coadjutor. In my opinion, this notion lies on shaky grounds, as the source clearly talks of the residential bishop and there is no other evidence that Hoffmann assumed such an important position shortly after his leaving Prague.

⁴⁶ Boehmer, “Magister Peter,” 218–220.

⁴⁷ The collection of manuscripts in which this codex can be found is presently housed in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague. For basic data on the manuscript (shelf-mark XIX C 17), see Alena Richterová, *Děčínské rukopisy ze sbírky Františka Martina Pelcla (1734–1801), nyní ve fondech Národní knihovny České republiky* (The Děčín manuscripts from the collection of František Martin Pelcl (1734–1801), now in the National Library of the Czech Republic) (Prague: Národní knihovna, 2007), 197–201. The information provided by Pavel Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum proventum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, vol. 2 (Warsaw and Prague: Academia Scientiarum Polona –

Picardorum and it does indeed contain anti-Hussite material aimed against the Tábórite faction, starting with a tract by John of Příbram against Utraquism. This tract is followed by another one on the same topic composed by John de Palomar, a Spanish theologian active at the Council of Basil, and by other works concerned with the question of administering the communion *sub utraque*. Interestingly, the report on the Dresdeners in this manuscript is recorded immediately after the text of the decree of the Council of Constance prohibiting this practice. This decree is also a coherent part of one of Nicholas of Dresden's works in support of Utraquism.⁴⁸ The connection with the question of Utraquism stresses the intention of this report on the Dresdeners. Therefore the fact that the story of the Dresdeners is recorded here can only be understood as another testimony concerning Peter's role in the introduction of the lay chalice. The report would otherwise not fit in with the context of the manuscript. At any rate, the content also attests to a later origin for this manuscript. Thus, the original source of this story cannot be considered contemporary with the activities of the Dresden School in Prague.

What is more interesting, nevertheless, is that this anonymous report is the first to provide a deeper insight into the scope of activities of the Dresdeners. It claims that Peter and a certain Nicholas already discussed "interesting" questions at the school which they ran in Dresden and due to which they were expelled from that city. In Prague, they attracted *pluralitas scholarium*, which is a unique note on the scope of the Dresdeners' impact in Prague. The concrete questions and opinions of the Dresdeners that are mentioned in this report will be examined in detail later.

6. POČÁTKOVÉ HUSITSTVÍ (THE BEGINNINGS OF HUSSITISM)

The so-called Czech rhymed chronicle "Počátkové husitství" (The beginnings of Hussitism),⁴⁹ a short anti-Hussite piece of work reports that a group of scholars together with their students, upon their expulsion from Dresden, settled down in Prague, where they had at their disposal a house called 'At the Black Rose' that belonged to the Czech

Academia Scientiarum Bohemica, 1995), 217, no. 463 erroneously connects this report with manuscript XIX A 50, a copy of the Old Czech Annals written at the beginning of the 17th century.

⁴⁸ The *Apologia*, as this tract is usually entitled, was printed by Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt and Leipzig: n.p., 1698) col. 338–391.

⁴⁹ "Počátkové husitství" (The beginnings of Hussitism). In *Veršované skladby doby husitské*, ed. František Svejkský (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1963), 156–163, the passage quoted below is on pages 158–159.

university nation. The reason for their expulsion from Dresden was apparently their administration of the sacrament under both species. The Czech text reads:⁵⁰

“Na příkopě u Černé ruže
mistři a bakaláři drážďanští bydlěchu
a tu bursu mějíchu,
mistr Petr, mistr Mikuláš,
Engliš a Nikolaus Loripes.
Ti z Drážďan vyhnáni bíchu,
neb tajně boží krev rozdáváchu.
To počechu mistru Jičínovi raditi,
aby počal krev boží rozdávati,
a Jičín se toho přichopi
a mistra Jakúbka k sobě namluvi
a jiných kněží mnoho,
aby se drželi toho.”

The names of the masters were sometimes understood as referring to four different persons, although more often scholars saw only two persons behind them.⁵¹ The Peter in question was sometimes identified with Peter Payne or Peter of Dresden, both of them connected to the Dresden School in other sources as well. Peter Payne associated himself with the Dresden masters only in Prague some time after 1414, that is, after Hus' departure to Constance. Mikuláš, Czech for Nicholas, was understood to be certain Nicholas, possibly a son of Lawrence – as could be deduced from the variant *Lorizes*. Some scholars perceive him as an otherwise unknown Nicholas with the cognomen *Loripes*. The only novelty of this testimony is the mention of the degrees, that is, that the school comprised masters and bachelors and that both Peter and Nicholas held master degrees. The question of Utraquism is not connected here with Jacobellus but with Master Jičín, a later representative of a radical Hussite faction.

The dating of this piece is impossible to establish with any precision. It was suggested that because of its textual congruence in several important details with sources from the second half of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century, the rhymed chronicle

⁵⁰ For the German translation, see the following footnote.

⁵¹ Boehmer, “Magister Peter,” 216–217 thinks there were three people concerned and provides a German translation of the text: “In diesem Jahre (1415) wohnten in Prag am Graben bei der schwarzen Rose die Magister und Baccalaureen aus Dresden und hatten dort ihre Burse. Diese waren Magister Peter, Magister Nikolaus Englisch und Nikolaus Loripes. Sie waren aus Dresden verjagt worden. Denn sie hatten heimlich Gottes Blut ausgeteilt. Sie begannen dem Magister Giczin zu raten, daß er Gottes Blut austeile. Giczin fing es an und beredete den Magister Jakobell und andere Priester, daß sie sich darnach hielten.”

might have been composed around this time.⁵² On the other hand, the fact that it vividly describes events of the early 15th century shifts its dating to an earlier period. Its authorship is sometimes attributed to Prokop, the author of a later Latin chronicle, with the assumption that this piece might represent a preparatory stage in his later work.

7. CHRONICON PROCOPII NOTARII PRAGENSIS

Another important source that mentions the Dresden School in Prague is a fragment of a chronicle written by Prokop (1392/3 – ca. 1482), a scribe of the Prague New Town, who started his work around 1476. His short narrative most probably represents only a draft or preparatory notes for a chronicle and the latest events recorded here fall in the year 1419. It also mentions the story of Peter of Dresden influencing Jacobellus on the matter of the lay chalice and goes on to describe some other activities of the Dresdeners' followers:⁵³

“Tunc Theutunici de Draždan habentes scolam in Nova Civitate penes nigram Rosam, specialiter Petrus, qui suasit Jacobello communionem calicis ad populum, portaverunt tabulas contra apostolicum scriptas et pictas, qualiter Christus in asello et apostoli nudi pedes ipsum secuntur et papa cum cardinalibus in mulis et in vestibus pomposi incedunt, dicentes ad papam: Ecce vita dissimilis! et alias plures tabulas, et sic populum ab obedientia abstraxerunt et suas sectas multiplicabant, legitimis sacerdotibus tunc exclusis.”

Prokop's narrative is the first source to give some insight into the activity of the School' members in Prague other than their previously mentioned teaching endeavors. The procession where the painted boards were carried had to do with the tumultuous events in Prague in 1414 and so it seems that the Dresdeners quickly won some supporters over to their ideas.⁵⁴ In connection with the Dresdeners' supporters, Prokop also recorded the case of the so-called Lipnice ordinations, an event when a number of Hussite followers were ordained priests at the castle of Lipnice in 1417, whereby the most radical of them secured

⁵² An overview of older hypotheses can be found in Svejkský, *Veršované skladby*, 40–41.

⁵³ Printed by Konstantin Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* 1. Fontes rerum Austriacarum I, *Scriptores*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856), 67–76, esp. 72.

⁵⁴ The antithetical scenes comparing Christ with the pope mentioned by Prokop was a well-known theme at that time. In Bohemia it was often connected with Nicholas of Dresden's treatise *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* and its somewhat later adaptations in the richly illuminated Göttingen and Jena codices. The processes are described by František Svejkský, “Divadlo raného a vrcholného feudalismu a krize divadla za husitství” (Theatre in the early and high Feudalism and the crisis of theatre during the Hussite period), in *Dějiny českého divadla*, vol. 1, ed. František Černý and others (Prague: Academia, 1968), 82. Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 25, note 136, connects the events with the period between 1415 and 1417. For more on this subject, see chapter II.C.3. *The Activities of the Disciples: Street Propaganda*, 101–108.

their parochial living.⁵⁵ Even though Prokop did not mention any names, we know from other sources that this group included two supporters of the Dresden School, John Drändorf and Bartholomew Rautenstock.

In his work, Prokop drew extensively on Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica* and also incorporated several passages from the Hussite chronicle of Laurence of Březová.⁵⁶ Generally, Prokop included only a few of his personal memories and the chronological sequence of the described events is very uneven. Nevertheless, he was well acquainted with the setting of Prague University, where he himself was awarded a Bachelor of Arts by John Hus in 1410. Thus, he learnt about events that have a special bearing on the history of the Dresden School (such as the above-mentioned street riots in Prague or the Lipnice ordinations) from his own experience.⁵⁷ The quality of Prokop's compilation was recently discussed by Šmahel,⁵⁸ but despite of its rather chaotic character it should be emphasized that Prokop was an important eyewitness to the events he described, even if only from a somewhat later time later and from an opponent's point of view.

8. ADDENDA

There are other minor notes in the manuscript material that contain additional information about some of the members of the Dresden School, most of which are concerned with the introduction of the lay chalice.⁵⁹ These sources – which are connected

⁵⁵ For a detailed explanation of this event, see Kaminsky, "Hussite Radicalism," 122–123, note 3.

⁵⁶ The places that he adopted from Enea Silvio Piccolomini were analyzed by Adolf Bachmann, "Beiträge zur Kunde böhmischer Geschichtsquellen des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts." *Mittheilungen der Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 35/3 (1896/97): 214–222. Addenda in Rudolf Urbánek, K počátkům kronikářské činnosti kancléře Nového města Pražského Prokopa písaře (On the beginnings of the chronicle of Prokop, the chancellor of the Prague New Town), in *Sborník prací k počtě 75. narozenin akademika Václava Vojtíška*, ed. Václav Husa (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1958), 157–178.

⁵⁷ Originally a mild supporter of the Utraquist practice, Prokop made his career in the Prague chancery. On his life and work, see *Lexikon české literatury. Osobnosti, díla, instituce* (Lexicon of Czech literature. Personalities, works, institutions), vol. 3/2, P–Ř, ed. Jiří Opelík (Prague: Academia, 2000), 1116–1117.

⁵⁸ František Šmahel, "Návraty bájně kněžny Libuše a jiné folklorní záznamy v publicistice husitského věku" (Returns of Princess Libuše and other folkloric accounts in reports from the Hussite era), in *Querite primum regnum Dei. Sborník příspěvků k počtě Jany Nechutové*, ed. Helena Krmíčková et al. (Brno: Matices moravská, FF MU, 2006), 538–539.

⁵⁹ Such as a note in the manuscript of the Prague National Library, XI D 8 where a text entitled *Articuli sacerdotum hereticorum et Pikharditarum* mentions the name of Peter of Dresden in connection with Utraquism. This short text was printed by Konstantin Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* 1, 508–514, esp. 509. Another interesting note appears in an old catalogue of the Bohemian Nation College Library from ca. 1420: manuscript B 53 is described as "Item glosa ordinaria Draznensis super prophetas", see Josef Bečka and Emma Urbánková, eds., *Katalogy knihoven kolejí Karlovy univerzity*

with single individuals and thus, cannot be regarded as general evidence pertaining to the Dresden School – will be discussed later on in connection with the relevant men. Only one such note touches on the existence of the Dresden School and therefore should be presented here:⁶⁰

“Ista scripta ad hunc sensum hereticum collecta sunt, redacta in hanc formam per Draznenses, qui de Drazna expulsi plurimos seduxerunt, qui eciam nec de purgatorio, quod est, nec de suffragiis sanctorum tenuerunt, oppositum docendo.”

This note is preserved in a manuscript in the Chapter Library in Prague at the end of a treatise, *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*, by Nicholas of Dresden, one of the leading members of the School. The codex contains a number of Hussite polemics, many of which are related to the problem of Utraquism. They were copied by an opponent of the Hussites as various notes similar in tone to the one presented above reveal. Even though it was copied at a later stage (the cataloguer suggests a date between 1480 and 1490), it shows that there was widespread knowledge among the Hussite adversaries about the German circle being expelled from Dresden, understandably with an underlining resentful note on their having settled in Prague and having had such a strong influence in the events there.

(Catalogues of the college libraries of the Charles University) (Prague: Národní a universitní knihovna, 1948) 112. Unfortunately, this note is not sufficient as a piece of evidence for the existence of the Dresden School and thus, it can only be pointed out here.

⁶⁰ Prague Cathedral Chapter Library, A 79/5, fol. 261r [see Plate 1]. Catalogued by Adolf Patera and Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapituly pražské* (Catalogue of manuscripts of the Metropolitan Chapter Library in Prague), vol. 1 (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1910), 103–105.

9. OVERVIEW

In sum, the contemporary primary material contains information about certain Germans who, upon being expelled from Dresden, settled in Prague some time at the beginning of the 15th century, more precisely around 1414. Nevertheless, this seems to be the only positive evidence that can be gleaned from the sources as the remainder of the events are not at all clear. The majority of the sources mention that they came from Dresden. Only Enea Silvio Piccolomini claims that Peter along with some other Germans was already active in Prague earlier – he does not specify the reason why they left, but if it really happened it might have been connected with the so-called Kutná Hora Decree issued in 1409.⁶¹ Since he drew much on John Papoušek, it is striking that Papoušek's own words about the Dresdeners' earlier activity in Prague are rather vague. As a matter of fact, he only says that the Germans influenced the Bohemians "*plus quam prius*". Nevertheless, the passage is not explicit as it can be understood as referring to the previously mentioned "*heretici de Anglia*" who might have *infected* the kingdom in a more substantial manner than they had earlier as the result of, for example, Wyclif's teaching. The insertion in Laurence of Březová's chronicle is even more doubtful, but even if we accepted its testimony, it refers only to Peter's stay in Prague. Given the contradictory state of the facts, the issue cannot be resolved and will require comparison with the biographical data of the relevant individuals. Therefore the question of the Dresdeners' movements between Bohemia and Germany must be left open for the time being.

Peter of Dresden's name appears in the majority of the sources and his role as a school master in Dresden is positively confirmed. There are mentions of other Germans, but the only other name that we encounter is that of a certain Nicholas. In connection with the pre-Prague period, however, his name is reported only in the anonymous account. The Czech rhymed chronicle talks about Peter and Nicholas in connection with the *bursa* in Prague and does not necessarily state that both Peter and Nicholas were active in Dresden. Moreover, the reference may point at Peter Payne as well. He certainly could have joined

⁶¹ This decree secured three out of the total four votes at the Prague University for the 'Bohemian nation' and as a result, a number of teachers and students of other nationalities, mostly Germans, left Prague. It is still debated how high this number actually was. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that the numbers must have been between 700–800 individuals, even though there are opinions that it may have been even smaller. See, among the numerous studies on the topic, Ferdinand Seibt, "Von Prag bis Rostock: Zur Gründung der Universitäten in Mitteleuropa," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 406–426; or most recently František Šmahel, "The Kuttenberg Decree and the Withdrawal of the German Students from Prague in 1409: A Discussion," in *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter*, 159–171.

the group only later in Prague. Therefore, except for Peter of Dresden, no other person can be clearly connected with the School in Dresden if only the primary narrative sources are taken into account.

It is also indicated that the agitation activity of the group inspired and moved many people and that it was precisely because of the anti-papal character of this activity that the group was expelled from Dresden. The date of their expulsion is fixed as of 18 October 1411. Most of the sources connect the expulsion with their support of the lay chalice, but we hear of other tenets supported by them, too. Only in one case are these tenets proclaimed specifically Waldensian. Even though among the *curiosas questiones* that the Dresden masters debated we can find a denial of purgatory, the authority of the Holy Scripture and other controversial issues, the discussion without exception always revolves around the role of the Dresdeners in the introduction of the lay chalice.

The descriptions of the group mostly resort to the use of terms such as *scholars* or sometimes *clerics*. The sources equally stress the erudition of the members of the group. As for their teaching activities, we hear that they had a school in Dresden. As for Prague, we are told that they lived in a *bursa* and that they attracted “*pluralitatem scholarium*” – which does not necessarily mean that they ran a school there. Only Enea Silvio Piccolomini says that Peter “*puerorum docendorum curam accipit*” (i.e. undertook the teaching of boys) in Prague but then it is worth noting that when talking about Peter being expelled from Prague, Piccolomini states that Peter left with some other Germans; but when it comes to the return, only Peter is mentioned. The teaching activity of the group as an institutional body therefore lacks a firm basis in the sources mentioned here.

Once established in Prague, the Germans quickly became associates of the Bohemian representatives of the Reform movement who provided the group with a refuge at the Black Rose House that belonged to the Bohemian University nation. The Dresdeners pursued some sort of teaching practice there, which was presumably very popular among the Czechs. Students or supporters of these Germans are then connected with some of the street riots and processions that had an important impact on the situation in Prague before the outburst of the Hussite wars.

All in all, the small pieces of information found in individual reports, even when put together, do not provide a clear picture of events surrounding the Dresdeners. If we take into account the earliest sources written at the time when the Dresden masters were supposedly in Prague, we can see that they mostly refer to some Dresdeners (only

sometimes specifically to Peter of Dresden) and the Dresdeners' role in the introduction of the lay chalice. As it has been conclusively demonstrated that the beginnings of Utraquism in Prague are connected with the activities of Jacobellus of Misa with support from Nicholas of Dresden,⁶² these statements must be regarded as false or not useful data for identifying the School's origins. As a matter of fact, it was only Enea Silvio Piccolomini who blamed Peter of Dresden and consequently external German sources for the dissemination of Utraquism in Bohemia. Here again it must be realized that Piccolomini's report must be treated with caution. If we disregard the information provided by his chronicle (and those that drew on him), a slightly different, although more obscure picture of the history of the group begins to take shape. All of a sudden, it is clear that the only positive piece of information we possess is the one cited at the beginning of this overview: that there were some Germans around Peter of Dresden who were expelled from Dresden and who found refuge in Prague. Not a determinate group and not a school in terms of an institutional body of scholars. Therefore, the necessary next step in disentangling the riddle of the Dresden School's history is to assemble all available biographical details about the people involved in it and bring these details together with the data described above.

⁶² The most recent and accomplished discussion about the origins of Utraquism in Bohemia firmly establishing its chronology is Helena Krmíčková, *Studie a texty k počátkům kalicha v Čechách* (Studies and texts concerning the beginnings of the lay chalice in Bohemia) (Brno: Masaryk University, 1997).

Chapter II: Contemporary Evidence

B. Biographies

In the following chapter, biographical data available for each of the alleged members of the Dresden School will be summarized. Every person who was mentioned in the primary sources as connected in any way to the group of Dresdeners will be considered here. Nevertheless, the analysis of the primary contemporary sources in the preceding chapter showed that the only piece of hard evidence related to the Dresden School is that Peter of Dresden taught in Dresden at the *Kreuzschule* and later moved to Prague, possibly accompanied by other Germans. In case of other names recorded in the above sources, the link between them and the Dresden School was not conclusive. This rather dim picture will be supplemented by information from another significant source type, namely the inquisitional protocols, which are available because some of the Dresdeners were burnt at the stake.⁶³ The most valuable information is recorded in the protocol of John Drändorf and Peter Turnau's interrogation, which contains some other names as well.

At any rate, the contemporary narrative sources that were examined in the first step of this research provide basic criteria for the present purpose. Their information will be complemented by references from later and modern literature, and older theories will be compared with newly acquired information. Since most of the Dresdeners were considered to be educated to a higher level, university registers of relevant institutions constitute a source of primary importance.⁶⁴ As many of these registers were recently made accessible in modern editions, they have the potential to reveal previously unknown information. The following portraits therefore present all prosopographical data that could be gleaned from the available sources.

⁶³ This group was once called a "Märtyrerschule" by Boehmer, "Magister Peter," 228, subsequently used by Kaminsky as a "School for Martyrs", see Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 26.

⁶⁴ Paquet, Jacques. *Les matricules univesitaires*. Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, vol. 65. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992); and its supplement: Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen, *Mise à jour du fascicule n° 65 † J. Paquet, Les matricules universitaires* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

Peter of Dresden, Friedrich Eppinge and Nicholas of Dresden belonged to what can be called the first generation of the Dresden School and their names were (even though not in the most reliable way) recorded in the previously described narrative sources. The primary narrative sources suggest that these teachers had a number of students who can be considered the second generation of the School. However, the names of these students were not mentioned and the only source of information about them is constituted by the records of their inquisitional trials. The only exception is the name of Peter Payne, who was active in Prague only after 1414 and who is believed to have belonged to the circle of people influenced by the Dresden School in later phases. This must be mentioned in advance in order to explain the fact that the biographies of the individuals belonging to the “second generation” of the Dresden School are, in most cases, even sketchier than those of Peter and Nicholas of Dresden or Friedrich Eppinge. In all of these cases, I will concentrate on finding out which of these men can be connected to the activities of the Dresden School in Dresden and later in Prague, as well as the connections of each of these individuals to each other. My aim is to elucidate the blurred picture provided by the historiographical sources analyzed above.

1. NICHOLAS OF DRESDEN

In spite of probably being the best known member of this group, Nicholas remains an obscure figure as concerns his life and activities. The nature of the sources does not permit firmly identifying his nationality as either German or Czech. Opinions also differ as to whether he was born in Bohemia and then left Prague for Germany, or whether he came to Prague only after having spent most of his youth in Germany. His affiliation with the Dresden School is not entirely clear either.

Most of the earlier studies on Nicholas' life were hindered by a lack of edited sources. What is known of Nicholas' adolescence is a case in point. According to one of his own treatises, the *Expositio super Pater noster*, he spent eleven years in a cathedral town.⁶⁵ Many researchers attempted to come up with a possible solution of this allusion and their dating of this period often disturbed their otherwise plausible theories concerning Nicholas' life. The fact that this passage was only a textual borrowing from Thomas of Cantimpre's treatise *Bonum universale de apibus* was elucidated only years later by Romolo Cegna.⁶⁶ There are many more pieces of this puzzle. Therefore the following explanation will present only the most important hypotheses and findings. The three most significant events around which Nicholas' biography revolves are his childhood, the place and time of his studies, and the period between 1409–1412, that is, the time he allegedly spent in Dresden.

UNCERTAINTIES CONCERNING NICHOLAS' LIFE

Two widespread but contradicting opinions have long prevailed in Czech scholarship concerning his family background. Josef Truhlář identified him with the bachelor Nicolaus de Drossen who was promoted at the Faculty of Arts of Prague University in 1396 under the aegis of a certain Peter de Drozena, as they are called in the *Liber decanorum* of Prague University.⁶⁷ The confusion of Drossen with Dresden is suggestive but at any rate one

⁶⁵ *Nicolai Dresdensis Expositio super Pater noster*. Ed. Jana Nechutová and Romolo Cegna. *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 30 (1990), 162: "Ego in quadam civitate episcopali annis XI adolevi, ubi LXII canonici sub prebendis pigwissimis ducentarum fere librarum pariziensium in matre ecclesia serviebant, quorum plures erant beneficiorum plurium detentores."

⁶⁶ Cegna first published his discovery in "La tradition pénitentielle des Vaudois et des Hussites et Nicolas de Dresde," *Communio viatorum* 25 (1982): 163–164.

⁶⁷ Based on an entry in *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis*, vol. 1/1, 317–318, the identification was suggested by Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy* (Topography of the city of Prague), vol. 3 (Prague: 1875), 623, n. 34; also Josef Truhlář, "Paběrky z rukopisů Klementinských" (Gleanings

occurrence of a similar place-name in this type of source cannot be considered conclusive. Moreover, it was argued that these two men came from Drozno in the diocese of Lubusz (Brandenburg), and not from Dresden.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, some researchers take it for granted that Nicholas studied in Prague.⁶⁹ Bartoš subsequently pointed out the many similarities in Nicholas' life with that of Nicholas of Prague, a Bachelor in Decrees.⁷⁰ He backed up his hypothesis by the argument that Nicholas was the son of an Old Town citizen, Michal Sedlák, and that he preached in St. Mary of the Lake and later perhaps worked as a vicar at the Saint Martin in the Wall's. According to Bartoš, the family moved to Prague in the 1380s and Nicholas got his cognomen "of Dresden" only upon associating himself with the German masters who came from Dresden. Nevertheless, it was later discovered that a certain bachelor, Nicholas of Prague, worked as a procurator at the Prague consistory between 1402–1415 and thus, his identification with our Nicholas is not possible.⁷¹

The other theory was voiced by Jan Sedlák, who accepted the manuscript evidence⁷² and believed that Nicholas was born in Dresden and later moved to Prague. He had certain reservations as to whether Nicholas had studied at Prague University but was sure that he was a Bachelor of Arts, possibly studied law and was ordained a priest.⁷³ He suggested dating Nicholas' arrival in Prague to a time before 1408 because this was when there arose a controversy over swearing oaths in which, he believed, Nicholas took part by penning a sharp rejection of such a practice.⁷⁴ This suggestion was subsequently refuted since the tract in

from the Klementinum manuscripts), *Věstník České Akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, společnost a umění* 7 (1898): 662; this information was later taken by Tráška, *Životopisný slovník*, 388, 446.

⁶⁸ František Michálek Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina* (Hussitism and Foreign Countries) (Prague: Čin, 1931), 127–128.

⁶⁹ Joseph Theodor Müller, "Magister Nikolaus von Dresden," *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte* 9 (1915): 83; Jutta Fliege, "Eine hussitische Sammelhandschrift in der Stadtbibliothek Dessau," *Studien zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* 4 (1986): 31; Franz Machilek, "Deutsche Hussiten," in *Jan Hus zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen: Vorträge des internationalen Symposions in Bayeruth vom 22. bis 26. September 1993*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997), 271.

⁷⁰ Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 125–131.

⁷¹ Tráška, *Životopisný slovník*, 412–413; Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 157, n. 166.

⁷² A manuscript preserved in the National Library, Prague, III G 9, on fol. 71r and fol. 142v reads *tractatus magistri Nycolay de Drazna*; another manuscript from the same library, V G 19, fol. 251ra reads *sermo ... factus per Nicolaum baccalarium decretorum*; and the same collection contains manuscript V F 22 which on fol. 1r reads *sermo ... factus ... per reverendum presbyterum dominum Nicolaum de Drazna etc.* Similar notes can be found in other material as well.

⁷³ Jan Sedlák, *Mikuláš z Drážďan* (Nicholas of Dresden) (Brno: Hlídka, 1914). A similar opinion was also held by Müller, "Magister Nikolaus," 83; or Matthew Spinka, *John Hus. A Biography* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), 150 and others.

⁷⁴ Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 2; the text in question is Nicholas' *De iuramento*, see Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 30, no. 10.

question can only be dated to a period after 1414.⁷⁵ Sedlák also rejected the evidence of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, who wrote a valuable piece on the history of Bohemia,⁷⁶ and who maintained that Nicholas together with his colleagues left Prague after 1409 as a result of the so-called Kutná Hora Decree.⁷⁷ Sedlák believed that Nicholas did not leave Prague at all because one of the Dresdeners, John Drändorf, confessed that he had studied in Dresden under the masters Peter and Friedrich Eppinge, and not Nicholas.⁷⁸ Only when these two men came to Prague, which according to Sedlák happened sometimes around 1411–1412, did Nicholas become their colleague at the School at the Black Rose House.

An important editor of several of Nicholas' treatises, Romolo Cegna, contributed several valuable suggestions to his biography.⁷⁹ It was mentioned earlier that it was Cegna who refuted Nicholas' alleged autobiographical reference of having spent his youth in a cathedral town as only a textual borrowing.⁸⁰ The main novelty of Cegna's hypothesis is his argument that after 1409, that is, after the issuing of the Kutná Hora Decree, Nicholas left Prague for Wildungen, a small town in Hessen where he took up a post of as rector of a local school. There he came upon the idea of the necessity of the lay chalice, which he later convinced his colleagues of after his return to Prague. Cegna's theory was mostly inspired by his belief in Nicholas' primacy and principal merit in the dispute over the necessity of the lay chalice. Cegna's fundamental argument for this theory rested on dating Nicholas's utraquistic treatise,

⁷⁵ František Michálek Bartoš, "Studie k Husovi a jeho době. 1. Hus a valdenství" (Studies on Hus and his Times. 1. Hus and Waldensianism), *Časopis Národního muzea* 89 (1915): 2–5; Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 9–10, 30.

⁷⁶ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*. Ed. Joseph Hejnic and Hans Rothe. 3 vols. (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005). More about this source in the preceding chapter.

⁷⁷ See above, *Primary Sources*, note 61.

⁷⁸ Drändorf's inquisitional protocol was edited by Hermann Heimpel, ed., *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren aus dem Jahre 1425: Akten der Prozesse gegen die deutschen Hussiten Johannes Drändorf und Peter Turnau, sowie gegen Drändorfs Diener Martin Borchard* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1969), 55–97, 145–195.

⁷⁹ Cegna directed his attention to Nicholas' life in a number of studies. The following should at least be mentioned here: Romolo Cegna, "Appunti su Valdismo e Ussitismo. La teologia sociale di Nicola della Rosa Nera (Cerruc)," *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 130–131 (1971–1972): 3–34, 3–42; idem, "Ancora un incontro con Nicola di Cerruc detto da Dresda," *Communio viatorum* 20 (1977): 17–32; idem, "Początki utrakwizmu w Czechach w latach 1412–1415" (The beginnings of Utraquism in Bohemia in the years 1412–1415), *Przegląd Historyczny* 69 (1978): 103–114; idem, "Encore sur Nicolas de Dresde," *Communio viatorum* 22 (1979): 277–281; idem, "La tradition pénitentielle des Vaudois et des Hussites et Nicolas de Dresde," *Communio viatorum* 25 (1982): 137–170; idem, "La Scuola della Rosa Nera e Nicola detto da Dresda (1380?–1417?)," *Maestro tedesco al Collegio della Rosa Nera in Praga (1412–1415)*" in *Nicolai Dresdensis Expositio super Pater noster*, 5–102; idem, "De fraternitate Christi (Variazioni sul pensiero di Nicola della Rosa Nera detto da Dresda)," in *In memoriam Josefa Macka (1922–1991)*, ed. Miloslav Polívka and František Šmahel (Prague: Historický ústav, 1996), 87–101; *Nicolai ... Puncta*, 5–28; idem, "Nicola della Rosa Nera e le origini del radicalismo antisimoniaco dello Speculum aureum," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 34 (2001): 59–74. Other studies will be mentioned later.

⁸⁰ The mention can be read in *Nicolai Dresdensis Expositio super Pater noster*, 162; see above, note 65.

the *Replica rectori scholarum in Corbach*, to a period between 1409–1411.⁸¹ This, the largest utraquistic tract by Nicholas, was the cause of many disagreements and a number of contrary opinions. Most researchers⁸² date the *Replica* to a period around or after the prohibition of the lay chalice issued by the Council of Constance in July 1415, and consider it a proof that Nicholas took an active part in the spread of Utraquism in Germany. At the same time, it is often stressed that the *Replica* does not bring any new arguments into the utraquistic debate. Since the text of the *Replica* survives in only one copy,⁸³ which is, moreover, badly preserved and still unedited, it is impossible to come up with any conclusive arguments concerning its precise dating. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated through its textual comparison with Nicholas' other treatises that the *Replica* cannot be dated to the period around 1411, but only after 1415. Helena Krmíčková⁸⁴ compared parts of the *Replica* with the text of Nicholas' *Contra Gallum*,⁸⁵ which is firmly dated to 1415, as well as other texts. She could show conclusively that in the *Replica* Nicholas borrowed passages from his own earlier works as well as from those of his colleagues. She therefore argued that this tract should rather be seen as Nicholas' "literary utraquistic epilogue"⁸⁶ in which he compiled a huge number of authorities attesting to the necessity of the lay chalice in order to win his remaining opponents over.

NEW EVIDENCE

Even if the *Replica* is only dated to a later period in Nicholas' life, Cegna rightly pointed out one serious problem, namely that Nicholas' cognomen "of Dresden" lacks a proper explanation. Apart from a few mentions in the manuscript material and in contemporary chronicles, almost nothing is known about his family background or place of birth. This situation is hardly surprising for a medieval man of non-noble origin since the first occasion when such a person could appear in the sources might only be the time of his university

⁸¹ Cegna developed his argument in the studies mentioned in the previous two notes. For basic data on *Replica*, see Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 31, no. 12.

⁸² Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 30; Müller, "Magister Nikolaus", 101, n. 38 even questions whether the *Replica* can be ascribed to Nicholas at all; Bartoš, *Husitsví a cizina*, 153; Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 60, 157, 165.

⁸³ The manuscript is presently housed in the Prague Chapter Library, shelf-mark D 118 – Patera and Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, vol. 1, 407–409.

⁸⁴ Helena Krmíčková, *Studie a texty*, 62–85.

⁸⁵ The *Contra Gallum* is edited in her *Studie a texty*, 165–195. Krmíčková also compared the *Replica* with Jacobellus of Misa's *Salvator noster*, a tract that mentions Hus' death, i.e. it must have been written after July 6, 1415 at the earliest, but possibly even later.

enrolment. Neither Nicholas' childhood nor his studies can be associated with Dresden if one looks for direct evidence. Neither do previously analyzed narrative sources explicitly connect him with the Dresden period of the group. To be precise, in this context it is only the chronicle *Počátkové husitství* and an anonymous account that mention Nicholas' name. The former refers to the names of either two or four individuals, but either way presents them as members of the *collegium* in Prague, not in Dresden. The latter account explicitly refers to Nicholas as Peter of Dresden's colleague at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden but since it also brings in other dubious pieces of information, its credibility can only be accepted with certain reservations. It must be stressed that all these reports come from an anti-Hussite milieu or from the Catholic inquisition. In sum, there does not seem to be enough evidence to connect Nicholas firmly with Dresden. Nevertheless, I will follow previous historians in referring to him as Nicholas of Dresden for historiographical reasons: for the sake of clarity and also due to lack of any other widespread and acceptable name.

To start with, it is necessary to consult the registers of all possible universities where Nicholas could have studied. As mentioned above, the possibility that Nicholas studied at Prague University cannot be accepted without reservation. Moreover, the condition of the primary sources for the history of Prague University hinder any conclusive explanation.⁸⁷ Until now Nicholas' name has not been located in any of the registers of the relevant neighbouring universities in Cracow, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne or Leipzig.⁸⁸ His name,

⁸⁶ Krmíčková, *Studie a texty*, 77.

⁸⁷ There is only a fragment remaining of the *matrica nationis Saxonum* from 1373–1375 and 1382–1383, edited by Ferdinand Doelle, "Ein Fragment der verlorengegangenen Prager Universitätsmatrikel aus dem 14. Jahrhundert," in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, vol. 3. *Per la storia ecclesiastica e civile dell'età di mezzo* (Studi e testi, vol. 39) (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1924), 88–102; the *Liber decanorum* from 1367–1585 which only records examined students; and basically it is only the Law University register that exists in a complete form and Nicholas' name does not appear in it – *Album seu matricula facultatis iuridicae universitatis pragensis ab anno Christi 1372, usque ad annum 1418*, edited in the *Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragenses* series, vol. 2/1. For more on the history of Prague University and the sources, see *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy* (History of the Charles University), vol. 1, 1347/48–1622, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995); or Jiří Kejř, *Dějiny pražské právnické univerzity* (History of Prague University of Law) (Prague: Karolinum, 1995).

⁸⁸ The foundation of Würzburg in 1402 was short-lived and it would not have been possible for Nicholas to study there – see for example, Peter A. Süß, *Grundzüge der Würzburger Universitätsgeschichte 1402–2002. Eine Zusammenschau*. (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 2007). For the relevant registers, see *Album studiosorum universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 1400 ad annum 1489*, ed. A. M. Kosterkiewicz (Cracovia: Typis et impensis universitatis Jagellonicae, 1887); *Księga Promocji Wydziału Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z XV wieku (Liber promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculi decimi quinti)*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000); *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508 (Metrica Universitatis Cracoviensis a. 1400–1508)*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek and Izabela Skierska, 2 vols. (Cracow: Towarzystwo naukowe – Societas Vistulana, 2004); *Die Matrikel der Universität*

however, is recorded in the bachelor's register of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Erfurt, a fact that has so far remained unrecognized in scholarship.⁸⁹ According to this source, "Nycolaus de Dresden" upon enrolment in the winter semester of 1402 took his BA exam in the spring semester of 1405 under dean Theodericus Leubing. His name cannot be traced in the register of the *magistri artium* and it can therefore be assumed that Nicholas continued his studies elsewhere.⁹⁰ It should be noted that the name of "Nycolaus Drosna Pragensis", mentioned above as possibly being the same man as Nicholas of Dresden, is recorded in the registers of Erfurt University where he acquired his MA degree. Therefore these two figures cannot be identical.⁹¹

The gap in our knowledge therefore covers the period when Nicholas acquired further education, most importantly his profound legal knowledge. It would be most logical to assume that these were the approximately seven years Nicholas spent earning his *magister artium* or a degree in law. The manuscript material contains various hints as regards Nicholas' academic accomplishments. Several codices from Prague in which his treatises are preserved refer to him as a *magister artium* or *baccalarius decretorum*.⁹²

Most striking are the following occurrences: An old catalogue of the Bohemian Nation College Library, whose origins can be dated to the 1420s, records the content of manuscript P 9 and entitles it *Tractatus magistri N[icolai] Drasnensis* [see Plate 2].⁹³ Throughout the

Wien, vol. 1, 1377–1450 (Graz and Köln: Böhlau in Komm., 1956); *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386–1662*, vol. 1, *Von 1386 bis 1553*, ed. Gustav Toepke (Heidelberg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1884); *Die Rektorbücher der Universität Heidelberg 1: 1386–1410*, 3 vols., ed. Jürgen Miethke (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1986–1999); *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, vol. 1, 1389–1475, ed. Hermann Keussen (Bonn: Verlag von P. Hanstein, 1928); *Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, ed. Georg Erler. Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae regiae, Hauptteil II, Band 16–17 (Leipzig: 1895–1897).

⁸⁹ *Das Bakkalarenregister der Artistenfakultät der Universität Erfurt 1392–1521*, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges and Klaus Wriedt (Jena and Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1995), 11; the immatriculation year is recorded in Hermann J. C. Weissenborn, ed., *Acten der Erfurter Universitaet*, vol. 1, 1. *Päpstliche Stiftungsbullen*. 2. *Statuten von 1447*. 3. *Allgemeine Studentenmatrikel, erste Hälfte (1392–1492)* (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete, vol. 8) (Halle: Otto Hendel, 1881), 66; this man is (although with reservations) identified by Viktor Hantzsch with a person of the same name appearing in Leipzig in 1409, *Dresdner auf Universitäten vom 14. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Dresden: Verlagshandlung Wilhelm Baensch, 1906), 12–13, whose list, however, contains further confusion and therefore I rely on the data recorded in the modern edition. On the wealthy family of Pistoris, see Heinrich Butte, *Geschichte Dresdens bis zur Reformationszeit* (Köln and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1967), 104.

⁹⁰ Erich Kleineidam, *Universitas studii Erfordensis. Überblick über die Geschichte der Universität Erfurt im Mittelalter 1392–1521*, vol. 1, 1392–1460 (Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1964).

⁹¹ *Das Bakkalarenregister*, 5. Nycolaus Drosna's record claims that he had studied in Prague in 1396. He continued his studies in Erfurt where he matriculated in 1398 and obtained his MA in 1403.

⁹² See above, note 72.

⁹³ The manuscript in question has a new shelf-mark IV G 15 and contains several of Nicholas of Dresden's texts. A facsimile edition of the old catalogues is available in Bečka and Urbánková, *Katalogy knihoven kolejí*, 159. For

catalogue the grades are diligently corrected, as may be seen from several corrections of the titles, a fact that gives weight to its validity.⁹⁴ This title is also consistent with manuscript III G 9 from the same library, which contains Nicholas' *Apologia* under the heading *tractatus magistri Nycolay de Drazdna*.⁹⁵ A note that reads *Expliciunt Puncta magistri Nicolai de D[rzn]a* can be found in another manuscript.⁹⁶ The text of Nicholas' *Puncta* follows here a tract which can be dated by a scribal explicit to 17 February 1414, but based on its content the whole codex cannot be dated more precisely than to a time after 1419.⁹⁷ Most of the manuscripts mentioned are of Prague origin and the fact that his contemporaries regarded him as a *magister artium* could lead to the assumption that Nicholas indeed studied at Prague University and acquired his master degree here.

In this context, the evidence from manuscript V G 19, which finishes Nicholas' sermon on *Nisi manducaveritis* as "*factus ... per Nicolaum baccalarium decretorum*", seems slightly ambiguous [see Plate 3]. It does not really seem feasible for Nicholas to have finished his master degree and acquired a bachelor degree in law between the winter semester of 1405 and the year 1412 when his presence in Prague is ascertained. Even though the testimony of this contemporary source cannot be waved aside very easily, one strong counter-argument exists. Namely, the relevant registers of the Law University of Prague, which survive in full length, do not record Nicholas' name.⁹⁸ The already complicated situation is further confused by one of the students at the Black Rose School in Prague, Bartholomew Rautenstock. Bartholomew

more about the old catalogues, see František Šmahel, "Die Bücherkataloge des Collegium nationis Bohemicae und des Collegium Reczkonis" in *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter*, 405–439. Helena Krmíčková, "Paběrky z rukopisů univerzitních" (Gleanings from the University manuscripts), in *Campana codex civitas. Miroslav Flodr octogenario* (Brno: Archiv města Brna, 2009), 179–211 added a number of valuable points and elaborated on Šmahel's original dating.

⁹⁴ I am grateful to Helena Krmíčková for this information.

⁹⁵ Josef Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Latinorum, qui in c.r. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, vol. 1 (Prague: Regia societas scientiarum Bohemicae, 1905), 212.

⁹⁶ The manuscript in question is Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2148, fol. 156v. There is no modern catalogue for this codex, Basic information on it is provided by František Michálek Bartoš, "Husitika a bohemika několika knihoven německých a švýcarských" (Hussitica and bohemica from several German and Swiss libraries), *Zvláštní otisk z Věstníku Královské české společnosti nauk* 1931/1 (1932): 72–74.

⁹⁷ The *Puncta* are edited by Romolo Cegna in *Nicolai ... Puncta*, 55–150.

⁹⁸ The "Prosopography of Prague University of Law, 1372–1419" research project commenced in 1995/96 at the Charles University in Prague. Originally it aimed at making a re-edition of the register of Prague University of Law. The register is being prepared but several valuable case studies related to this topic have been published already. For general information, see (http://www1.cuni.cz/~borovic/matrika/index_en.htm), last updated 9 November 2003, accessed 18 April 2008, updated information about the project was published only in 2007: Jana Borovičková, Magida Sukkariová and Jiří Stočes, "Český, bavorský a polský univerzitní národ pražské juristické univerzity 1372/1418/19" (Czech, Bavarian and Polish University Nation at the Prague Law University 1372–1418/19), *AUC-HUCP* 33–34/1–2 (1993–1994): 59–75.

confessed that he had studied in Prague with Nicholas whom he called “ein halber Meister, Schulmeister und Lehrer.”⁹⁹ Rautenstock’s statement, made before an inquisition, may suggest that due to Nicholas’ aversion to the system of institutional education, or perhaps for other, more humble reasons, he simply never obtained any other degree.¹⁰⁰ It might also be possible that Nicholas, as a Bachelor of Law, was addressed as a half master as opposed to a holder of a Master of Arts degree since the faculty of law did not require its students to hold an MA degree upon entering.¹⁰¹ At any rate, the conjecture that Nicholas matriculated at or graduated from the Law University in Prague rests on very uncertain grounds.

On the other hand, a strong argument for his close connection with Prague University is Nicholas’ profound knowledge of the teachings of Matthew of Janov.¹⁰² This influential Bohemian theologian of the previous generation (died 1393) inspired many of the Hussite reformers although his works were spread almost exclusively in Bohemia. His main treatise, the *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, is one of the first systematic works of Bohemian reform theology but it came to the fore only at the beginning of the 15th century owing to Jacobellus of Misa and other Czech theologians. Janov’s influence can be traced in Nicholas’ works as well as in the work of Friedrich Eppinge, another member of the Dresden School. It therefore seems plausible that they learned about Janov’s work in Prague. Even if this premise cannot be accepted unambiguously, it would be difficult for anyone to find evidence of Janov’s works outside Bohemia and as a result, this fact adds weight to the likelihood that Nicholas really had a connection with Prague University.

In sum, contemporary documents that contain information about Nicholas’ presence in Prague and regard him as a *magister artium* seemingly attest to his studies at that very university. The state of the extant registers of Prague University supports this hypothesis. Nicholas’ undeniable legal erudition is evident in his rich literary production, although the place where he acquired it has not been identified. Most probably it was not at Prague

⁹⁹ This is what Rautenstock declared to his inquisitor, see *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, ed. Ignaz von Döllinger (New York: B. Franklin, 1970), 628–629.

¹⁰⁰ Kejř, *Dějiny pražské právnické univerzity*, 92, declares that Nicholas’s works, despite being full of quotations from Canon Law, do not correspond to the standard literature produced at the Law Universities.

¹⁰¹ An explanation of this sort was voiced by Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 127.

¹⁰² A basic work on Janov is Vlastimil Kybal, *M. Matěj z Janova. Jeho život, spisy a učení*. (M. Matthew of Janov. His life, works and doctrine) (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1905). More recently, the data and opinions on his life and teachings are summed up in a preface to the 6th volume of his treatise – *Matthiae de Janov dicti Magister Parisiensis Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, ed. Jana Nechutová and Helena Krmíčková (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993).

University. The possibility that he was in touch with Prague University circles that kept him updated on topical issues without enrolling there may well explain his insider's knowledge. Nevertheless, that part that Nicholas played in the theological disputes is documented by the survival of numerous tracts that can only be dated to a period after 1412, a fact that somewhat weakens the supposition that he was resident in Prague before this date.

Therefore, the period between 1405 and 1412 remains obscure in Nicholas' biography. Since the dating of the *Replica* was shown to fall only in the period after 1415, the possibility that Nicholas spent this period as a rector of a local school in Wildungen must be rejected, too. He may have been residing in Dresden in close association with the German masters who left Prague after 1409 and pursued their teaching activities at a local school.¹⁰³ In that case, they would all have gone to Prague after the complaint of Bishop Rudolph of Meissen issued in 1411.¹⁰⁴ This opinion appears in the report of Enea Silvio Piccolomini and the above-mentioned anonymous account. On the other hand, the fact that John Drändorf does not mention Nicholas' name in connection with his studies in Dresden stand in the way of this supposition. Since this account was made before an inquisitor it cannot be considered fully reliable, although the omission of Nicholas' name (either as a fellow student or as a teacher) is rather curious. Consequently, the question where, if at all, Nicholas received further education after his *baccalaureatus artium* in Erfurt must be left open.

To establish when Nicholas started to live and work in Prague is equally difficult. As mentioned above, Jan Sedlák's original suggestion that Nicholas had already arrived in Prague around 1408 was shown to be false, but his dating of the group's arrival in 1411–1412 still holds true. A *de quodlibet* disputation held at Prague University in January 1412 was

¹⁰³ Nicholas' activity at this *Kreuzschule* in Dresden was presented in a number of older, mostly German studies, for example Otto Meltzer, "Die Kreuzschule zu Dresden bis zur Einführung der Reformation (1539)," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Topographie Dresdens und seiner Umgebung* 7 (1886): 34; Herman Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland seit der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 3 (1890): 356; Boehmer, "Magister Peter," 226; Horst Köpstein, "Ohlasy husitského revolučního hnutí v Německu (International reception of Hussitism)," in *Mezinárodní ohlas husitství*, ed. Josef Macek (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1958), 234; Horst Köpstein, "Über die Teilnahme von Deutschen an der hussitischen revolutionären Bewegung – speziell in Böhmen," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 11/1 (1963): 133–134; Butte, *Geschichte Dresdens*, 107–108. One of the most recent studies on the *Kreuzschule*, however, denies that Nicholas had any association of Nicholas with this school, see Siegfried Hoyer, "Peter von Dresden und die Anfänge der Hussitenbewegung," *Dresdner Hefte. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte* 65 (2001): 65. Despite his critical assessment of older sources, Hoyer still mentions Nicholas' childhood allegedly spent in some cathedral town (p. 68).

¹⁰⁴ His decree of 18 October 1411 prohibited teaching of certain tenets that might be associated with the circle around Peter of Dresden, for a more detailed account, see the preceding chapter, *Primary sources*, 22–24.

traditionally considered evidence of Nicholas' presence in Prague. Among the participants in this disputation, presided over by Michael of Malenice, there appears the name Nicolaus Desna.¹⁰⁵ The reconstruction of the participants in this disputation later showed that the listed person was Nicholas of Desná, a different person.¹⁰⁶ Without being able to say whether Nicholas arrived in Prague together with the people from Dresden, it is possible to claim that he was active in Prague in 1412 at the latest. Apart from the testimonies derived from the narrative sources, a number of his treatises that survive in Prague can be dated to 1412 or to a period shortly afterwards and these treatises are tightly connected with contemporary events in Prague.

Prague provided refuge for Nicholas for a period of around three years. Nicholas certainly spent the time between 1412 and 1415 at the Black Rose House in Prague where the Bohemian nation of Prague University had a house. As one of the leading members of the Dresden masters who were active there, Nicholas quickly associated himself with the representatives of the Czech reformist party. The outcome of his interest in current issues was the production of a number of treatises which he composed during this period. Among the most important of these works were his contribution to the introduction of the lay chalice under both species, his rejection of simony and the existence of purgatory, his refusal to take oaths, his defence of the lay apostolate and his generally sharp critiques of the corrupt church, listed in Appendix B.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 4.

¹⁰⁶ Jiří Kejř, "Z disputací na pražské univerzitě v době Husově a husitské" (On disputations at Prague University in the Times of Hus and Hussitism), *Sborník historický* 7 (1960): 65–69, esp. 68. For more about this dispute, see also Franišek Šmahel, "Kvodlibetní diskuse ke kvestii principalis Michala z Malenic roku 1412" (The *quodlibet* disputation on the *questio principalis* of Michal of Malenic from 1412), *AUC-HUCP* 21/1 (1981): 27–52. Biographical data on Nicholas of Dessna are in Tříška, *Životopisný slovník*, 388.

¹⁰⁷ Nicholas' ideas were systematically analyzed by Nechutová, Jana, *Místo Mikuláše z Drážďan v raném reformačním myšlení* (Nicholas of Dresden's place in the early Reformation ideology) (Prague: Academia, 1967). His rich literary legacy comprises around two dozen treatises; the most recently compiled list of his writings is Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 28–32, which was later updated by Cegna: *Nicola della Rosa Nera detto da Dresda (1380? – 1416?) De reliquiis et de veneratione sanctorum: De purgatorio*. Ed. Romolo Cegna. *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 23 (1977): 151–153; reviewed with additions also by Jana Nechutová, *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské university* C 13/15 (1966): 198–200; and by Pavel Spunar and Anežka Vidmanová, *Listy filologické* 90/2 (1967): 208–210. Appendix B contains a list of all Nicholas treatises together with my own additions to the above-mentioned lists.

QUESTION MARKS CONCERNING NICHOLAS' DEATH

The last question concerning Nicholas' life is the period after his departure from Prague. Some disagreement occurred between Nicholas and Prague University, represented by Jacobellus of Misa, concerning several theological topics such as the existence of purgatory. The most prevalent theory is that Nicholas' opinions became too radical for the official Czech representatives of the reformist movement, who had to coordinate the radical and the conservative wings. Moreover, there was also a palpable shift among the Hussites from the general reform of the Church to a movement with more discernible elements of nation-oriented problems. This shift would not have appealed to Nicholas, who in consequence, left Prague. What precise events led to this end, however, is unknown. There is a widespread opinion that Nicholas very likely died a martyr's death in Meissen.¹⁰⁸ In a treatise refuting Nicholas' *De purgatorio* in 1417, canon Šimon of Litovel referred to the esteem in which Nicholas was held due to his life and his martyrdom, although he did not specify where Nicholas died:¹⁰⁹

“Emersit in diebus nostris, scilicet circa annum MCCCCXVI quidam ut dicitur Nicolaus de Czerrucz ... cuius assercioni huic erronee false ac heretice nimisque contrarie quam multos invenio consentaneos tum ex persone gravitate, quam non novi secundum faciem, sed pluribus audiui commendatam, ... que persona eciam {dicitur} post vitam penitenciamque strictam dicitur duxisse et sangwinem suum fertur pro Christo effudisse.”

Another report that has come down to us is a short allusion in a sermon by John Želivský, a radical preacher in the New Town of Prague, who remembered in a public speech in 1419 how Nicholas suffered martyrdom in Meissen:¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 7; Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 141; Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 204; Cegna, *Nicola della Rosa Nera ... De reliquiis*, 39; Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 60, although in another study: *Idea národa v husitských Čechách* (The idea of a nation in the Hussite Bohemia) (Prague: Argo, 2000), 127, note 4, Šmahel stresses that there is no conclusive evidence related to the end of Nicholas' life. A number of scholars accept Nicholas's death in Meissen as well, possibly because it is mentioned in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*.

¹⁰⁹ The treatise is preserved in a manuscript in the Chapter Library in Prague, D 52, fol. 48r–88r (above quotation from fol. 51v), following Nicholas' *De purgatorio*, which is entitled here as “*Errores Nicolai de Czerucz Theotonici contra purgatorium, quos receperunt et defenderunt Thaborite cum ceteris malis*”. Cegna, *Nicola della Rosa Nera ... De reliquiis*, 7–9, contains longer passages from this text. Patera and Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, vol. 1, 361 note that the treatise is ascribed to Simon de Witowia in the contents of the manuscript.

¹¹⁰ Jan Želivský, *Dochovaná kázání z roku 1419* (Surviving sermons from 1419), ed. Amedeo Molnár, vol. 1 (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1953), 126–127. The words in brackets mark marginal additions to the main text, made by the scribe while correcting it.

“O, quantum venenum fuit porrectum magistro Iohanni Huss, Ieronimo, {sive} Michaheli in Polonia et Nicolao sacerdote Crisi in Misna {et hic a magistris in Praga}, non eos nocuit, quia non consenserunt.”

Želivský's position as a radical preacher, who above all was striving to attract the attention of his public, should be considered when judging his actions and proclamations. The possibility that his words may only represent the call of a fervent opponent of the Church familiar with the circumstances must be taken into consideration, too. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any evidence to establish the truth of these statements. Therefore, both of the above references must be treated only as circumstantial evidence for Nicholas' martyrdom in Meissen, although the absence of other sources makes their testimony plausible.

The problem of the *Replica*, Nicholas' treatise seemingly written from the point of view of rector at a school in Wildungen, has been mentioned above. The possibility that it is not a real reply to a real letter seems to have been tacitly accepted but never discussed. Its text consists of material from several of Nicholas' tracts (*Contra Gallum*, *Apologia*), as well as from the works of Jacobellus (*Responsio*, *Salvator noster*). All of these tracts are allegedly quoted by the rector in Corbach to whom the author of the *Replica* replies. It is difficult to imagine that the rector of a local school in Corbach in Germany would invest so much energy first to obtain the treatises in question, second excerpt from them and third put together an invective addressed to a question that in 1415 was already slightly "out of date." It would seem somewhat misplaced to voice such a fervent rejection of the practice after the long discussion about the theological justification of the necessity of the lay chalice that took place between the representatives of the Czech reform movement and Catholic theologians that led to the subsequent prohibition of the lay chalice by the Council of Constance in 1415. More precise information could be provided only by thorough examination of the *Replica*, which will be made possible only when its critical edition is available. Nonetheless, it seems very likely that the *Replica* is only a fictitious discussion between two German rectors, and that it is rather an excerpt from all relevant utraquistic treatises, perhaps aimed at the dissemination of the idea. In short, Wildungen most probably did not provide a home for Nicholas after his departure from Prague.

One of the latest contributions to Nicholas' biography was presented by Jutta Fliege who discovered one of Nicholas' previously unknown sermons.¹¹¹ The *Sermo ad clerum factus per dominum Nicolaum predicatorem theutunicorum in Zacz in anno domini MoCCCCXVI* (henceforth *Sermo 1416*) was discovered in a copy presently housed in a library in Dessau, Germany. The sermon also lacks a critical edition. By presenting several parts of this text, Fliege convincingly showed that its authorship can be positively attributed to Nicholas. She also argued that it is possible that Nicholas worked, even if only for a short time, as a German preacher in Žatec, a royal town in north-western Bohemia. It is indeed true that this area traditionally supported the Hussite movement and Žatec was an important political, economical and ecclesiastical centre of Bohemia at that time.¹¹² Even in earlier times the area was permeated by supporters of different heresies such as the Waldensians. Notably, Peter Payne, a colleague of the Dresden masters at the Black Rose House School in Prague, stayed in Žatec several times. Žatec was the birthplace of several leading figures of the Hussite movement and numerous alumni of its renowned municipal school became graduates of Prague University.¹¹³ The population of the town was multifarious as far as its nationality and religion were concerned and there were nine parish churches, a number surprisingly high even in a Central European context. That is why there were preachers for the German population as well as for the Czechs. However, the hypothesis that Nicholas was active as a German preacher in Žatec is not and cannot be substantiated by the sources.¹¹⁴ In addition, the text of

¹¹¹ Fliege, "Eine hussitische Sammelhandschrift," 25–35.

¹¹² For the history of the town, see for example Petr Holodňák and Ivana Ebelová, ed., *Žatec* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2004).

¹¹³ A case study dealing with a famous citizen of Žatec with a general introduction was presented by Petr Hlaváček, "Curriculum vitae domini Wiczemili (†1411), plebani ecclesiae beatae Mariae virginis in Zacz. Poznámky k církevnímu životu v královském městě Žatci na přelomu 14. a 15. století" (Curriculum vitae domini Wiczemili (†1411), plebani ecclesiae beatae Mariae virginis in Zacz. Comments on the ecclesiastical life in the royal town of Žatec at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries), *Sborník okresního archivu v Lounech* X (2001): 34–47.

¹¹⁴ Ludwig Schlesinger, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Saaz bis zum Jahre 1526* (Prague, Leipzig, and Vienna: Selbstverlag des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, 1892) does not record any person by the name of Nicholas who could have held the post of preacher in Žatec between 1412 to 1419, when, according to Želivský, Nicholas died, and who could be identified with Nicholas of Dresden. The few mentions of this name pertain to different persons; those who remain unidentified do not fit with what we know of Nicholas of Dresden's life – for example "*Nicolaus de ... presb. Prag. dioc.*" who was confirmed as an altar priest at the St. Mary's in Žatec in June 18, 1403 (n. 273, 122). However, the futility of such endeavours, that is, attempting to identify a preacher in Žatec, can be illustrated by another reference: namely, a preacher in Žatec by the name of Nicholas is recorded in an inquisitional process against a tailor, Matthew Hagen, which took place in Berlin in April and June 1458. He confessed that he had been ordained a priest in Žatec by Friedrich Reiser in the presence of Nicholas, a bishop of the same sect. The editor of the inquisitional protocol proposed that this Nicholas could

the *Sermo 1416* can be found in one more copy, namely in a manuscript from Koblenz that contains two other texts by Nicholas.¹¹⁵ This second codex, however, lacks the inscription identifying Nicholas with a German preacher in the above-mentioned town. However, it is very plausible that Nicholas, on his way from Prague, stopped in Žatec where he preached to the German population. This journey of his might have then ended in Meissen, as his colleague John Želivský suggested.

Nothing more can be added to Nicholas' biography. If the testimony of the primary sources is accepted uncritically, it could be said that Nicholas was a German, who studied in Erfurt and at Prague University, from where he left for Dresden, later came back and actively participated in the theoretical disputes before the outbreak of the Hussite wars. After the split with his Czech colleagues he left Prague again and travelling through Žatec he journeyed to Meissen, where his life ended when he was burnt at the stake. If we appraise the sources critically, however, it is not possible to accept most of these suppositions. The picture of his life suddenly becomes quite blurred and the only facts that become certain are that Nicholas studied in Erfurt and subsequently worked in Prague where he composed a number of theoretical treatises calling for a change in the contemporary Church.

be identified with Nicholas Biskupec of Pelhřimov, see Dietrich Kurze, *Quellen zur Kerzergeschichte Brandenburgs und Pommerns* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975) 7, 294, 300.

¹¹⁵ Presently housed in the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, shelf-mark Best. 701 Nr. 198, fol. 201ra–204vb. This codex contains the text of Nicholas' *Apologia* and *Puncta*. The text of the *Sermo 1416*, based on both copies, is edited in Appendix C.

2. PETER OF DRESDEN

Although the most frequently appearing piece of information in the above-mentioned narrative sources is that Peter was the person behind the introduction of the lay chalice in Prague, this idea has now been discarded by historians.¹¹⁶ What is left amounts to this: we learn about a German master (II.A.1., II.A.5., II.A.6.) who led an honest life (II.A.1), teaching in Dresden together with Nicholas of Dresden (II.A.5.). However, because they discussed and spread certain heretical ideas, they were expelled by the local bishop from the Meissen diocese (II.A.5., II.A.6.) after which Peter came back to Prague and continued his teaching activities there (II.A.5., II.A.6., II.A.7.). Two sources mention that Peter had already lived in Prague before the time he returned (II.A.1., II.A.4.), although this data appears not to be completely reliable. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (II.A.4.) specifically relates that Peter first left Bohemia with other Germans at first and also accused him of having connections with the Waldensians in Germany. Having discussed the reliability of the narrative sources in chapter II.A, it became evident that not all of this information can be accepted without reservation. Thus, it is necessary to reassess the validity of these statements as regards Peter's biography.

Nothing is known about Peter's family background or earlier life until the time of his studies, although it is sometimes mentioned that he was born around 1365.¹¹⁷ Probably due to Piccolomini's influence, it has been widely accepted that Peter was active in Prague some time before 1409 and that he returned around 1412.¹¹⁸ It is also believed that Peter's leaving Prague had to do with a change in 1409 in the administration at Prague University where he formerly studied.¹¹⁹ The question of whether Peter had studied in Prague or not brings us back to the beginning of his academic career. There are ambiguities in the entries of the register of the Faculty of Arts, where more than one name appears that could theoretically be identified with our Peter.

¹¹⁶ See above, *Primary sources*, note 62.

¹¹⁷ Claimed by František Šmahel, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6, 1993. CD-ROM. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2000.

¹¹⁸ This was accepted mostly in the older German literature, for instance Otto Meltzer, "Die Kreuzschule zu Dresden," 33–34; Otto Meltzer, "Ein Traktat Peters von Dresden," *Dresdner Geschichtsblätter* 16/4 (1907): 193–202; Otto Richter, "Dresdens Bedeutung in der Geschichte," *Dresdner Geschichtsblätter* 16/4 (1907): 185.

¹¹⁹ The so-called Kutná Hora Decree was issued in 1409. For more detail see chapter *Primary sources*, note 61. The opinion that Peter studied in Prague is accepted with some hesitancy by a number of scholars. His studies in Prague are accepted as fact by Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition," 356; Richter, "Dresdens Bedeutung,"

STUDIES IN PRAGUE

First of all, a certain Petrus de Dreſte received his bachelor degree in 1374.¹²⁰ There also appears a Petrus de Droſena, who took his bachelor exam in 1379, the same name (Petrus de Droſna) is recorded as passing his MA examination in 1386¹²¹ and ſubſequentlſ, in 1395, Mag. Petrus de Droſzna entered the Faculty of Law.¹²² Moreover, the liſt of ordinands from the Prague diocēſe contains the name of Mgr. Petrus Kerszner de Droſna (or Korszner-Droſna), canonicus eccl. Lubucen., who was ordained a ſubdeacon in Prague in 1396 and a deacon in 1397¹²³ while the Lubuc in queſtion can be identified with the ſmall city of Lebuſ in Brandenburg. The occurrences of theſe names came, over time, to be underſtood as one perſon, although ſome ſcholarſ ſuggeſted that theſe might refer to two or more different figures.¹²⁴ The reaſon why Petrus of Droſna might be different from Peter of Dreſden reſts on the fact that the former promoted a certain Nicholas Droſſen for a Bachelor of Arts in Prague in 1397. In older literature, this Nicholas was identified with Nicholas of Dreſden.¹²⁵ Although this identification is a falſe one, it does not diſprove the identification of Peter of Droſna with Peter of Dreſden. Since Peter's name cannot be located in the registers of any other univerſity, it ſeems verſy likely that one of the above names from Prague Univerſity's registers pertains to Peter of Dreſden. The queſtion then remains which one of the Peters who ſtudied in Prague might be identical with Peter of Dreſden.

185; Girgenſohn, *Peter von Pulkau*, 133; Machilek, "Deuſche Huſſiten," 271; others take a more cautious poſition and believe it only likely that he had ſtudied in Prague: Šmahel, *Huſitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 58.

¹²⁰ *Liber decanorum* 1/1, 159. This perſon (ſometimes aſcribed a miſtaken year for his promotion as 1373) is identified with Peter of Dreſden by Mathilde Uhlirz, "Petrus von Dreſden. Ein Beitrag zur Geſchichte des Laienkelches," *Zeitiſchrift des deuſchen Vereines für die Geſchichte Mährens und Schleiſiens* 18 (1914): 236; Boehmer, "Magiſter Peter," 225; Köpſtein, "Über die Teilnahme", 135; Girgenſohn, *Peter von Pulkau*, 133; Butte, *Geſchichte Dreſdens*, 106.

¹²¹ *Liber decanorum* 1/1, 188, 236. His name appears in 1376 as an *asſeſſor* and examiner (ibid., 312, 315, 318, 324).

¹²² *Album ſeu matricula facultatis iuridicae*, 147.

¹²³ Antonius Podlaha, ed., *Liber ordinationum cleri*, vol. 9/1, 1395–1399 (Prague: Sumptibus ſ. f. metropolitani capituli Pragēſis, 1910), 25, 33; a ſearchable database for the *Liber ordinationum cleri* is available in Eva Doležalová, *Svěcenci pražské diecéze 1395–1416* (Ordinands of the Prague diocēſes 1395–1416) (Prague: Historický úſtav, 2010).

¹²⁴ Except for Petrus de Dreſte were the occurrences of the liſted names underſtood as referring to one perſon by Tršška, *Životopisný ſlovník*, 446. Doubts whether the canon of Lubuſz (Lebuſ) diocēſe can be identified with Peter of Dreſden were articulated by Bartoſh, *Huſitství a cizina*, 127–128. Hoyer, "Peter von Dreſden," 63 rejects that Droſna or Drozna can be a Latin variant of Dreſden. *Orbis Latinus* [<http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/Graesse/orblatd.html>], however, does not record Droſna in any variant, and therefore it cannot be decided either way.

¹²⁵ See Nicholas of Dreſden's biography above, page 34.

In sum, there seems to be no reason against accepting the data from the primary source of the university and believing that either Peter of Dreſte received a BA degree from Prague University in 1374 or that Peter of Drosna who had come from Brandenburg, received an MA degree and a degree in Law from the same university. Either of them could have also been ordained a priest in 1396–1397, but the similarity of names makes it more likely that in such a case it would have been the Peter from Brandenburg. However, the fact that Peter of Dresden is addressed only as a *master* by the majority of the primary sources casts certain doubts on the connection between him and a well-educated man with a degree in law such as the above-mentioned Peter from Brandenburg. By the same token, the fact that according to the sources Peter of Dreſte earned only a bachelor degree in Prague makes the matter even more dubious, although this might be explained by the fragmentary nature of the university registers. At any rate, all the above presented conjectures must remain at the level of hypothesis. All that can be said is that Peter of Dresden most probably studied in Prague in the last quarter of the 14th century.

SUBSEQUENT DESTINY – THE *KREUZSCHULE*

Concerning Peter’s subsequent destiny, it has been pointed out that his name can be found in a *Schenkbücher* from Nuremberg in 1405, a fact that was broadly accepted in modern scholarship.¹²⁶ In addition, the oldest *Stadtbuch* of Dresden records the name of Magister Petrus Gerticz in 1406,¹²⁷ a name identified with a Peter who had studied in Prague and later had connections with the *Kreuzschule*. Another securely recorded fact is that between this date and his return to Prague some time after 1412, Peter held the position of rector at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden.¹²⁸ His activities at the *Kreuzschule* are again not very lucidly documented. His name is found among the rectors of the above-mentioned school, although without exact information about how long he held the office. In 1407, a certain Andreas, the

¹²⁶ Franz Machilek, “Ein Eichſtätter Inquisitionsverfahren aus dem Jahre 1460,” *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 34/35 (1975): 441. Machilek pointed to a manuscript presently in Staatsarchiv Nuremberg, Nürnberger Amts- und Stadtbücher, Nr. 313, fol. 96v. Peter’s stay in Nuremberg is referred to in more recent literature, see Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 58; Alexander Patschovsky, “Häresien,” in Walter Brandmüller, ed., *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis zur Schwelle der Neuzeit 2. Das kirchliche Leben* (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1999), 766.

¹²⁷ Elisabeth Boer, *Das älteste Stadtbuch von Dresden 1404–1436* (Dresden: Historische kommission der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1963), 8. A modern edition of the *Stadtbuch* is being prepared by Jörg Oberste, but as far as I know, it is not yet available.

¹²⁸ Meltzer, “Die Kreuzschule zu Dresden,” 33–34.

rector who preceded him in the office is recorded in the sources, then the office was vacant for some time and in 1413 Peter's successor, Nicolaus Thirmann, is already recorded as issuing a new school order.¹²⁹ For his predecessor Andreas there is only evidence that he held the office in 1407 without the date of his termination. The same applies to Peter but the series of rectors in Dresden is sketchy even for later periods.¹³⁰ It has not been satisfactorily explained yet how or why he was assigned to this post. If, as is known, Peter was not active in Dresden in the period preceding his installation, the question arises upon what grounds did the council decide to take him on. Siegfried Hoyer rightly voiced the question why a person connected to Waldensian heresy (as Peter was in Nuremberg in 1405) would be assigned such an important function.¹³¹ He links his appointment with the evidence from the Dresden *Stadtbuch* which records Peter's donation to the poor in the above town in 1406 and puts forward a theory that Peter was connected to Dresden through "origin, kin or previous activity" or else he would not have given money to an entirely foreign place. Yet this could be also a shrewdly targeted gift aimed at securing this profitable position. The office of headmaster was often connected with that of the town scribe, but in Peter's case this was probably not so.¹³² The rectors of the *Kreuzschule* were also traditionally expected to hold an MA degree, as was usual in other places at that time, and thus it strengthens the supposition that Peter received a higher degree from Prague University. This would also solve the slightly problematic point that Friedrich Eppinge, a Bachelor in Canon Law from Heidelberg and thus a holder of a higher academic degree, worked under Peter's rectorship at the *Kreuzschule*. At any rate, Peter appointed two masters as his *locati*, or under-teachers, who were known by the names of Friedrich and Nicholas; Friedrich was identical with Friedrich Eppinge. Peter's activity as rector marked a thriving period at the *Kreuzschule*, which will be described in more detail in the subsequent chapter.

Already in October 1411, a decree was issued by Rudolph, bishop of Meissen, regulating the curriculum in secondary schools. The decree was very likely directed at Peter's activity at the *Kreuzschule*.¹³³ It has been also argued that the decree was meant to strengthen the position of the newly founded university in Leipzig and not only regulate secondary

¹²⁹ Meltzer, "Die Kreuzschule zu Dresden," 32–33.

¹³⁰ Otto Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Dresden* (Dresden: Baensch, 1900), 265.

¹³¹ Hoyer, "Peter von Dresden," 64.

¹³² This idea is also rejected by Butte, *Geschichte Dresden*, 107.

¹³³ For more about this decree, see *Primary sources*, note 44.

schools.¹³⁴ In all probability Peter left Dresden under normal circumstances as his successor mentions Peter's rectorship in a collegial tone. Therefore, he very likely left Dresden with the other members of the group around 1411 and moved to Zittau, where he spent a few months – for it was in Zittau that John Drändorf, a student of Peter's from Dresden, met Peter Turnau, who dwelled there between 1411–1412. The group was back in Prague in the summer of 1412 at the latest.

In addition, it has also been claimed that Peter worked as a teacher in Chemnitz and Zwickau at some point. According to the *Chronicon Chemicensis*, Peter held a rectorship in Chemnitz in 1414 after he fled from Dresden.¹³⁵ However, this piece of information without doubt comes from a later source, possibly from the *Annales urbis Misnae* composed by Georgius Fabricius in 1569 who recorded that in 1410 *Petrus ille rediit in Misniam, et ludi moderator fuit primum in patria, deinde Chemnicii et Zuiccauiae*.¹³⁶ Thereafter, the sequence of Peter's travels has been interpreted differently in a number of sources.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, it does not seem very plausible that he left Dresden around 1411, travelled through Chemnitz and Zwickau, and then returned at the latest in 1412 to Prague by way of Zittau. On the other hand, from a geographical point of view, it is possible that setting out in 1405 from Nuremberg Peter would have had time to spend some time in Zwickau and Chemnitz before settling for a few years in Dresden (perhaps even in 1406), from where he later moved through Zittau to Prague.

All in all, because Peter's departure from Prague was formerly connected with the Kutná Hora Decree of 1409, older scholarship accepted that Peter held the office of rector at the

¹³⁴ Hoyer, "Peter von Dresden," 66.

¹³⁵ Explicit reference to this chronicle as a source of this information appears in Cristianvs Schoettgenivs, *Dissertativncvla de Antiquissimis literarvm in terris syperioris Saxoniae fatis* (Dresden: Harpeter 1748), 19.

¹³⁶ Georgius Fabricius Chemnicensis, "Annalium urbis Misnae liber secundus", in *Rerum Misnicarum libri VII*. (Leipzig: E. Voegelin, 1569), 140.

¹³⁷ Fabricius' information was already challenged in the 17th century, for example, Johann-Christophorus, *Dissertatio historica de Petro Dresdensi* (Leipzig: Ch. Michaelis, 1678), par. 17, 98–99 cites Fabricius's opinion but argues that Fabricius got the date (i.e. 1410) wrong – he maintains that Peter left Prague only once in 1409, subsequently accepting the post of teacher in Dresden, then Chemnitz and Zwickau only to return to Prague around 1414. An obscure description is offered for example by Eduard Machatschek, *Geschichte der Bischhöfe des Hochstiftes Meissen in chronologischer Reihenfolge* (Dresden: C.C. Meinhold & Söhne, 1884), 369, 385. That Peter, after leaving Prague around 1409, travelled through Zwickau where there was a Waldensian community, is without any reference to sources mentioned by Butte, *Geschichte Dresdens*, 107. Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 25–26, suggests that Peter travelled the other way around, that is, that he travelled through Zwickau to Dresden.

Kreuzschule only around 1409–1412.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, if the above-listed evidence is taken into account, it seems more logical that Peter already took over this office some time after 1406 and held it until 1411, or shortly before 1412. The hypothesis that Peter left Prague much earlier than 1409 is supported by other minor points, such as his stay in Nuremberg in 1405 and the evidence that he was in Dresden in 1406 (granted his identification with Petrus Gerticz is correct), and possibly also by the short interruption of his journey in Zwickau and Chemnitz. Afterwards he travelled through Zittau to Prague (a fact that none of the above sources contradicts) where he appeared at latest in 1412.

BACK IN PRAGUE – AT THE *BLACK ROSE* HOUSE

Once in Prague, Peter's activity is slightly better recorded – most of the primary narrative sources were presented in the preceding chapter. It is known that he played an important role at the bursa which the German masters ran in the house at the Black Rose and was mentioned as a teacher by some of the students. His efforts here were long associated with the introduction of the lay chalice, which is now known to be untrue. This leaves the view of his reformist activities rather obscure. It was Nicholas of Dresden who took over the role of leading ideologist of the circle while Peter continued to mostly carry out his teaching duties. During this period he allegedly wrote several treatises, although his authorship of some of them is very questionable.¹³⁹ Most confusing is his authorship of a highly popular Aristotelian compendium which is profusely quoted in the scholarly literature.¹⁴⁰ Appendix A contains a list of Peter's treatises along with basic data concerning the surviving manuscripts; moreover, it registers some new copies as well. Nevertheless, because the manuscript tradition of these texts is very dubious in several cases, I will briefly discuss the treatises ascribed to Peter in the following section.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition," 356; Uhlirz, "Petrus von Dresden," 229; Boehmer, "Magister Peter," 227 and others. Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 158–159 discusses why a later date for the Dresdeners arrival in Prague, mentioned in some sources, is not acceptable. He argues that Peter and his colleagues were already in Prague by 1412.

¹³⁹ One of the first, tentative overviews of Peter's works was printed by František Michálek Bartoš, "Nové spisy Petra a Mikuláše z Drážďan (New works of Peter and Nicholas of Dresden)," *Reformační sborník* 8 (1941): 66–67.

¹⁴⁰ Most often based on Charles H. Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries, Authors: Narcissus – Richardus," *Traditio* 28 (1972): 352–354.

¹⁴¹ The numbers under which the tracts are listed here refer to the numbers that appear in Appendix A.

1. A short tract entitled *De congruitate grammaticali* was found and edited by Meltzer.¹⁴² It is preserved in one manuscript in the Czech National Library in Prague and contains a date of 1415. A very short discussion written in the spirit of speculative, so-called modist grammar (the study of how words refer to the world), it deals with the concept of grammatical construction and lists several of the constructibles, commenting for the given purpose on Alexander de Villa Dei's standard grammatical handbook, the *Doctrinale*. Due to its Bohemian origin (it bears an old shelf-mark of Charles college library) and the evidence disclosed by its scribal explicit, it is the only indisputably authentic work of Peter of Dresden.

2. Another tract attributed to Peter is a short commentary on logic that can be found in several manuscripts and old prints, usually entitled *ad Parvulus logicae*.¹⁴³ Lohr listed five manuscripts preserved outside Bohemia¹⁴⁴ and a dozen prints, which were allegedly printed by Bartholomew Arnoldi of Usingen. To this list can be added three manuscripts of Bohemian origin. A manuscript from the collection of the National Museum in Prague (XII F 4), entitled *Draznensis minor* (fol. 337v), has an only slightly different incipit.¹⁴⁵ This text is also preserved incompletely in a manuscript in the Czech National Library, Prague (XIV F 20), where Peter's philosophical manual, which will be presented shortly, is preserved as well.¹⁴⁶ There is another unfinished copy of this text (V H 28) in the same collection.¹⁴⁷

An interesting piece of information comes from a mid-15th-century catalogue which records a lost manuscript from a Carthusian cloister in Erfurt. The manuscript supposedly contained a text entitled *Parva logicalia* with the following note: *Autor istius tractatuli mag. Petrus Gerit, mag. schole in Dresssen, scil. in Missna. Et sicut dicitur, tunc in ultimis suis diebus pervenit ad Boemicam pravitatem et Constancie incineratus*, which is in all probability identical with the text preserved in the above-mentioned manuscripts.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² Meltzer, "Ein Traktat," 200–202; not registered in Lohr's list.

¹⁴³ Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," 353, no. 1.

¹⁴⁴ According to information provided by Bartoš, "Nové spisy," 66, there should be a copy of this text preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, shelf-mark Vatic. lat. 3065, fol. 95. A copy from the same collection listed by Lohr has a different shelf-mark: Vat. lat. 10044. Since Bartoš's information was only mediated through Dr. Bertalot, I am inclined to believe that the shelf-mark is wrong and that there is only one copy of this text in the Vatican collection. It will be possible to verify this, however, when both manuscripts can be examined. Due to the closure of the library, this is impossible at present.

¹⁴⁵ František Michálek Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů Národního musea v Praze* (Catalogue of manuscripts of the National Museum in Prague), vol. 2 (Prague: Melantrich, 1927), 237.

¹⁴⁶ Truhlář, *Catalogus*, vol. 2, 327–328, with an attribution: *Petri Hispani Tractatus de syllogismis*.

¹⁴⁷ Truhlář, *Catalogus*, vol. 1, 418–419.

¹⁴⁸ Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 2, *Bistum Mainz und Erfurt* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), 485. The catalogue mentions Peter's name in

3. The most disputable piece among Peter's literary works is *Parvulus philosophiae naturalis*, a very popular concise manual of natural philosophy.¹⁴⁹ Ever since this commentary was presented and discussed by Martin Grabmann, various "discoveries" were made of individual manuscripts of the *Parvulus*.¹⁵⁰ It is an extract from the well-known treatise *Philosophia pauperum* (or *Summa naturalium*) by Albert of Orlamunde (frequently attributed to Albert the Great), a 13th century compendium which circulated in Central and Eastern Europe well into the 16th century and which was often preserved in manuscripts and also printed together with Peter's treatise.¹⁵¹ Peter's *Parvulus* was also very popular and has supposedly survived in about sixty manuscripts and more than twenty old prints from 1495–1521.¹⁵² In 1499, Bartholomew Arnoldi of Usingen published his own *Parvulus philosophie naturalis* in Leipzig, which was to a certain extent different from Peter's *Parvulus philosophie naturalis* and which added further confusion to the attribution of the *Parvulus*.¹⁵³

The long list of manuscripts which supposedly contain this richly preserved tract still awaits due appraisal and the same applies to its authorship. It is very likely that some of the manuscripts will have to be excluded from the list while others will be added. I can point out that there are two other manuscripts of Bohemian origin that are not registered by Lohr, namely a manuscript presently in the Prague Chapter Library (M 56/1 with a scribal date

connection with two treatises: the first treatise is the present *Parva logicalia* while the other is the *Circa parvulum philosophie glosa magistri Petri de Dessen* (p. 489), that is, a text described in the following entry. The opinion that Peter was burnt in Constance could possibly be explained by the confusion concerning his death in Regensburg, as will be shown below. Certainly, the mention of Constance must be a mistake of some sort, perhaps in connection with Hus as the main representative of the *Boemica pravitas* and his martyrdom in this city. Nevertheless, Constance as Peter's place of death does appear in the literature, for instance in Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," 352.

¹⁴⁹ Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," 353–354, no. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Martin Grabmann, *Die Philosophia pauperum und ihr Verfasser Albert von Orlamünde*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 20/2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1918), 29–33. See also Grabmann, Martin, "Handschriftliche Forschungen und Funde zu den philosophischen Schriften des Petrus Hispanus, des späteren Papstes Johannes XXI," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung* 9 (1936): 80.

¹⁵¹ Scholars still sometimes question its authorship. For more, see *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, and Eckhard Kessler (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 793–794.

¹⁵² Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," 353–354.

¹⁵³ Sebastian Lalla, *Secundum viam modernam. Ontologischer Nominalismus bei Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen*. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003), 77–86 discusses the relationship of Peter's *Parvulus* to the numerous prints of Bartholomew of Usingen and shows that Bartholomew had no idea whose text he himself was commenting on. Furthermore, Bartholomew seems to have been unaware of Peter's connection with the Hussite movement. Lalla identifies Peter with Petrus Gerticz of Dresden (without questioning Peter's authorship of the *Parvulus*); his summary of Peter's biography rests mainly on older German sources and is thus not reliable.

1485)¹⁵⁴ and an incomplete copy in the collection of the National Museum in Prague (8 G 16).¹⁵⁵ In addition, there is another copy in the University Library of Würzburg¹⁵⁶ as well as in Eichstatt.¹⁵⁷ Lohr's list indeed needs a thorough revision as there are some inaccuracies. For example it does not record that the above-mentioned lost manuscript from Erfurt cloister not only contains Peter's *Parva logicalia*, but the *Parvulus philosophiae naturalis* as well.

At any rate, it is noteworthy that some of the manuscripts contain evidence of their authorship, naming expressly either Peter of Dresden or Petrus Gerticz, i.e. one of the possible identifications of Peter of Dresden. A manuscript presently housed in Vienna claims that the author of the *Parvulus* was *Magister Petrus Gerticz, quondam rector scholarum in Dresen*,¹⁵⁸ and finally, a codex from Munich has a heading of *Tractatulus parvus translatus per M. Petrum de Dresden ex summulis Alberti*.¹⁵⁹

Three other treatises were ascribed to Peter with certain reservations. Lohr suggested that a text entitled *Parvulus philosophiae moralis* (no. 4), so far identified in five manuscripts, bears the imprint of Peter's authorship as well.¹⁶⁰ František Šmahel provisionally attributed a short commentary on Aristotle's logic, *Conspectus divisionis universalium* (no. 5), preserved in a single manuscript in Erfurt dated to 1404 to Peter of Dresden.¹⁶¹ It is not clear whether this is a separate piece or only an extract from some other treatise, for example from the *Parva*

¹⁵⁴ Antonín Podlaha, ed., *Doplňky a opravy k soupisu rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské* (Supplements and corrections to the catalogue of manuscripts of the Metropolitan Chapter in Prague) (Prague: Sumptibus S. F. Metropolitani capituli Pragensis, 1928), 39.

¹⁵⁵ Registered by Bartoš, "Nové spisy," 66. Nevertheless, the shelf-mark mentioned by Bartoš is not included in the description of this collection – Pavel Brodský, "Rukopisy Otakara Kruliše-Randy v knihovně Národního muzea (Manuscripts of Otakar Kruliš-Randa in the library of the National Museum)," *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a vzácných tisků* 7/2 (1990): 19–30.

¹⁵⁶ M. ch. F 118, fol. 2r–10v, see Hans Thurn, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, vol. 2/1, *Handschriften aus benediktischen Provenienzen*. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 102–105.

¹⁵⁷ Cod. st. 685 – according to the information provided by A. L. Gabriel, review of *Speculum philosophiae medii aevi: Die Handschriftensammlung des Dominikaners Georg Schwartz († nach 1484)*, by Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen, *Speculum* 71/1 (1996): 159.

¹⁵⁸ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5242, fol. 5v; for a basic description of the contents of the manuscript, see *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 4, *Cod. 5001–6500*. Ed. Academia Caesarica Vindobonensis (Vienna: Gerold, 1870), 72. This manuscript is listed by Lohr under shelf-mark 5243.

¹⁵⁹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18917, fol. 73; pointed out by Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 75, n. 2.

¹⁶⁰ Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," 354, no. 3.

¹⁶¹ František Šmahel, *Verzeichnis der Quellen zum Prager Universalienstreit 1348–1500* (Warsaw, Wrocław, Cracow, and Gdańsk: Ossolineum, 1980), 53. Šmahel records that the tract is copied from fol. 14v on and contains a date of 1404 in it; nevertheless, according to the catalogue, this date with Dresden as a place of origin appears on fol. 25v, while on fol. 7v there is another explicit: *Expl. dicta edita a magistro Petro* – see Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887), 514–515.

logicalia. The very same manuscript as the *Conspectus divisionis universalium* contains another short text with the rubric *Expl. abbreviata posteriorum magistri Petri Dresden reportata* (no. 6) and has, thus, been ascribed to Peter.¹⁶² Nevertheless, the collection contains other manuscripts with similar incipits as these two texts (such as Q 20 or Q 245) and the question of Peter's authorship still needs to be analyzed. To resolve this matter, further investigation into the relevant manuscript material is required.

There is no reason to doubt that Peter composed the first two treatises. On the other hand, there is reason to question his authorship of the third one, the *Parvulus philosophiae naturalis*. It will only be possible, if ever, to resolve the question of Peter of Dresden's authorship when the critical edition of this text becomes available. For the present purpose, the connection between Peter Gerit (as a variant of Gerticz) and the Peter of Dresden attested to in several manuscripts (among them the testimony of the Erfurt manuscript, contemporary with Peter's life, is especially conclusive) adds weight to the suggestion that the Peter who was rector in Dresden was the same man who was a teacher in Prague and the author of this popular treatise.

PETER OF DRESDEN'S DEATH

How long Peter was active in Prague is another difficult issue. Different places and years of his death are given, ranging from 1421 up to 1427. The confusion stems from two contradicting testimonies. The majority of older sources knew of a Peter who was burnt in Regensburg in connection with the processes against Ulrich Grünsleder and Heinrich Ratgebe from Gotha who were burnt at the stake in 1421 and 1423, respectively. First, the unknown author of the *Farrago historica rerum Ratisponensium*, a compilation of older and by now lost sources from after 1519, mentioned that *sacerdos magister Petrus de Dräsen* was caught and burnt in Regensburg under the authority of Bishop Johann of Streitberg (1421–1428).¹⁶³ This evidence was bolstered by Laurentius Hochwart (died 1570), bishop of Regensburg, who composed a *Catalogus episcoporum Ratisponensium*, in which he described the same story

¹⁶² Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," 354, no. 4; in the catalogue it is entitled *Magistri Petri (Hispani?) excerpta ex libris posteriorum analyticorum Aristotelis deprompta* – Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 515.

¹⁶³ *Anonymi Ratisbonensis Farrago Historica rerum Ratisponensium ab Anno Christi DVIII usque ad Annum Christi MDXIX*. Ed. Andreas Felix Oefelius. *Rerum Boicarum scriptores nusquam antehac editi* 2 (Augustae Vindelicorum sumptibus Ignatii Adami et Francisci Antonii Veith bibliopolarum, 1763), 511.

about *Petrus de Draesen*.¹⁶⁴ The wording of the pertinent passage in these two sources is not very clear and the event could have taken place any time between 1421 and 1423.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, a student of the Dresden School, John Drändorf, told the inquisitors during his interrogation on February 13, 1425 that Peter and Friedrich Eppinge both died in Prague.¹⁶⁶ The precise wording, *ambo obierunt Pragae*, was later explained through conjecture as *ambo abierint Pragam*, i.e. that they both left Prague instead of having died in Prague.¹⁶⁷ The result was that scholars either accepted that Peter died in Regensburg, although they ascribed the event to different years, or maintained that he stayed in Prague and died a natural death there. This conjecture was later rejected by the modern editor of Drändorf's inquisitional protocol who found a new copy of the text. In the newly discovered manuscript the passage clearly reads *ambo obierunt Prage* and, thus, the editor concluded that the matter must be decided in favor of Peter's natural death in Prague.¹⁶⁸ However, subsequent scholarship still varies in its opinion concerning Peter's death.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ *Laurentii Hochwarti canonici Ratisp. Catalogus episcoporum Ratisponensium in libros III divisus*. Ed. Andreas Felix Oefelius. *Rerum Boicarum scriptores nusquam antehac editi*, vol. 1 (Augustae Vindelicorum sumptibus Ignatii Adami et Francisci Antonii Veith bibliopolarum, 1763), 217.

¹⁶⁵ Thus, the opinion that Peter's death occurred in 1421 was held by Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Dresden*, 56 and Butte, *Geschichte Dresden*, 108. Girgensohn, *Peter von Pulkau*, 133 thought that Peter might have died between 1421–1423, while Boehmer, "Magister Peter," 228 suggested that his death took place between 1421–1425 (Drändorf's death). A date of death in 1423 was accepted by Horst Köpstein, "Zu den Auswirkungen der hussitischen revolutionären Bewegung in Franken," in *Aus 500 Jahren deutsch-tschechoslowakischer Geschichte*, ed. Karl Obermann and Josef Polišenský (Berlin: Rütten&Loening, 1958), 15. Machatschek, *Geschichte*, 369 suggests an even later date – 1427.

¹⁶⁶ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 69. That Peter died in Prague was accepted by Uhlirz, "Petrus von Dresden," 236. Also Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition," 358 expressed doubts whether the Peter burnt in Regensburg in 1421 is identical with Peter of Dresden who, according to Drändorf, died in Prague.

¹⁶⁷ Meltzer, "Ein Traktat," 197–198.

¹⁶⁸ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 159.

¹⁶⁹ Patschovsky in the *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, 767 holds that there are grounds to believe that Peter died in Regensburg in connection with the processes that took place between 1421–1423; Hoyer, "Peter von Dresden," 68 rejects the idea that Peter died in Regensburg; Machilek, "Deutsche Hussiten," 271 also claims that contrary to earlier opinions Peter died in Prague; the same opinion is held by Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 58.

3. FRIEDRICH EPPINGE

Eppinge's name is not recorded in any of the above-mentioned primary sources with the single exception of John Drändorf's inquisitional protocol, in which he is named as one of Drändorf's teachers. Even though his biographical data are rather sketchy, the few events that are known indicate that Friedrich Eppinge was an influential lawyer who left a marked if short imprint on pre-Hussite Prague.

For a time, Eppinge was identified with a certain Friedrich of Dresden, who received a Bachelor of Arts at Prague University in 1401,¹⁷⁰ but examination of the registers of Heidelberg University has disproved this identification.¹⁷¹ Friedrich Eppinge studied in Heidelberg at the Faculty of Arts in 1395, received a bachelor degree there on 10 January, 1398 and was promoted to *magister artium* on 2 April, 1403. Finally, he received his *baccalariatus in decretis* on 2 April, 1405. The registers record his name in the following forms: *Fredericus Zvelis, clericus Traiectensis dyocesis; Eppighen de Swele; Fridericus Eppinge, clericus Traiectensis dyocesis*; or simply *Fridericus Eppinghen*. The closest form to *Zwele* listed in *Orbis Latinus* is *Swollis* or *Zwolla*, that is, the capital city of the province of Overijssel in the Netherlands, which in the Middle Ages belonged to the diocese of Utrecht. Thus, *Traiectum* mentioned in the registers can be understood only as *Traiectum ad Rhenum*, that is, Utrecht and not *Traiectum ad Mosam* – Maastricht or any other place name.¹⁷² It was at Heidelberg University that Eppinge may have heard a dispute held by Master Jerome of Prague in April 1406, which caused quite a stir due to its defence of Wyclif's Realist ideas.¹⁷³ Heidelberg University took the necessary measures which may have resulted in Eppinge's departure. However, there is no other evidence beyond the fact that he was not active at this university after this date. Some scholars suggested that Eppinge departed to Prague where he

¹⁷⁰ *Liber decanorum* 1/1, 354–355; accepted by Meltzer, “Die Kreuzschule zu Dresden,” 34, 55; Boehmer, “Magister Peter,” 226; Köpstein, “Über die Teilnahme,” 138 and other older literature. Also Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 83 mentions that “there is reason to believe that ... Eppinge and Peter of Dresden had been members of the University of Prague.”

¹⁷¹ Already registered by Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 159–160. *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 1, 60; vol. 2, 366. There is a modern edition of the register for the Faculty of Law where Eppinge's bachelor degree is recorded: *Die Rektorbücher der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 1, 79.

¹⁷² Ferdinand Seibt, *Hussitica. Zur Struktur einer Revolution* (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1965), 93 referred to him as Friedrich Eppingen and this was later explained by Jiří Kejř, *Z počátků české reformace* (From the beginnings of the Bohemian reformation) (Brno: L. Marek, 2006), 179 as if Friedrich was from Eppingen, a town in Baden-Württemberg in southern Germany, very close to Heidelberg.

¹⁷³ For more on this dispute, see František Šmahel, “Mag. Hieronymus von Prag und die Heidelberger Universität,” in *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter*, 526–538.

joined university circles while others oppose this point because Eppinge was never enrolled there.¹⁷⁴ It has also been suggested that if Eppinge had gone to Prague, he would have left it after the Kutná Hora Decree in 1409 together with Peter of Dresden and other Germans.¹⁷⁵ As has been shown above, there are no grounds to believe that Peter of Dresden left Prague at this point although Eppinge might have joined other German masters leaving Prague University in 1409. Whether Friedrich Eppinge left Heidelberg for Prague and subsequently moved on to Dresden, is impossible to decide given the lack of further sources. At any rate, his later presence in Dresden is attested by John Drändorf and thus there are two possible solutions: Eppinge went from Heidelberg to Dresden either straight or through Prague.

In Dresden, Eppinge held the position of *locatus*, a co-teacher to Peter of Dresden at the *Kreuzschule*. His activity here is supported by Drändorf's evidence, who during his interrogation declared that "*magister Fridericus erat humilis et devotus ... et dictum magistrum Fridericum non esse de secta Hussitarum nec fuisse.*"¹⁷⁶ This seemingly unfathomable statement has been explained as a manoeuvre made before the inquisitors. However, there was no reason for Drändorf to hope for himself at that point and it was more likely, as Howard Kaminsky suggested, that Drändorf had some other motive in mind. He may have wished to make it clear that he was a Hussite in doctrine but he was not a member of the Hussite movement, which in 1412 was far too nation-oriented to appeal to him.¹⁷⁷ For this reason, he described his fellow group members in hearty terms, saying that Eppinge was not a member of the Hussite movement but rather a devout and a humble man. Drändorf's other statements testify to a number of radical anti-Roman doctrines that were held and taught by Peter of Dresden and Eppinge at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden, which later brought about their expulsion.

After the forced departure of the group from Dresden, Eppinge's activity is attested in Prague. Here, his active role in the dispute over Wyclif's teaching remains the most remarkable event in his biography. Following the anti-indulgence riots of July 1412, King Wenceslas IV himself decided to settle the issue and called for a meeting in the Old Town

¹⁷⁴ Thus, for example, Kejř, *Z počátků*, 17 argues that Eppinge went from Heidelberg to Prague whereas Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 58 thinks this very unlikely.

¹⁷⁵ This is, more or less, believed by Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 7; Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 25, 156; Kejř, *Z počátků*, 170.

¹⁷⁶ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 69.

¹⁷⁷ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 8–9.

Hall of Prague where Wyclif's teachings were to be condemned.¹⁷⁸ Contrary to his intentions, the rector of Prague University, Master Mark of Hradec, refused to obey the royal command and signed a petition together with two other masters, Master Friedrich Eppinge and Master Prokop of Plzeň, a future leader of the conservative wing of the Hussites.¹⁷⁹ Shortly afterwards, Wyclif's proponents decided to oppose this condemnation and organized a so-called "Wyclif's second tournament" at Prague University. This public defence was led by John Hus, who argued for six of Wyclif's articles, and among the only two associates he had there we find Jacobellus of Misa and Friedrich Eppinge. Eppinge chose to defend article eleven about unjust excommunication. His treatise, known under its incipit *Credo communionem sanctorum*, met with great success as its many extant copies show. It was accepted favourably by his colleagues, too, and Master John Hus praised Eppinge's treatment of the subject in his own treatise *De ecclesia*.¹⁸⁰ Jacobellus of Misa even incorporated the whole text of Eppinge's discourse into his own *Tractatus responsivus* which was long considered Hus's work.¹⁸¹

The year 1412 is the last mention of Eppinge's name in the sources. It has been suggested that he died this very year or soon after, and, accordingly to Drändorf, his death occurred in Prague.¹⁸²

The only treatise Eppinge composed, sometimes called the *Posicio de excommunicacione*, was written in August 1412 and has survived in at least 10 copies.¹⁸³ The topic covers systematically all aspects of unjust excommunication, an issue soon to become pressing in pre-Hussite Prague. Even though its subject was to prove the accuracy of Wyclif's article 11,¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸ For background on this issue, see Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 80–85. The notarized proceedings of this meeting were published by Jan Sedlák, *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým*, vol. 1 (Olomouc: Matice Cyrilometodějská, 1914), 55–65.

¹⁷⁹ This is not included in the notarized proceedings but attested to by John Hus in his treatise *Contra Stanislaum de Znoyma*, see *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica*. Ed. J. Eršil (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1966), 277.

¹⁸⁰ *Magistri Iohannis Hus Tractatus De ecclesia*. Ed. S. H. Thomson (Prague: Komenského evangelická fakulta bohoslovecká, 1958), 216.

¹⁸¹ *Mistra Jana Husi Tractatus responsivus*. Ed. S. H. Thomson (Prague: s.n., 1927), 103–133.

¹⁸² Kejř suggested 1412 as the time of his death, *Z počátků*, 171; Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 8 and Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 58 have set it as late 1412 or early 1413.

¹⁸³ The content of the treatise was analyzed by Kejř, *Z počátků*, 172–176. To Kejř's list of extant manuscripts of this treatise I can add a copy found in the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, MS 594, fol. 322ra–330ra.

¹⁸⁴ Eppinge mentions 45 articles and proceeds to defend two that are pertinent to the topic of unjust excommunication – nevertheless their wording is identical to the wording in the original article. The article in question contains the argument that "No prelate should excommunicate anyone unless he know that man first to

Eppinge does not explicitly refer to it and his approach was distinctly independent from that of Wyclif's. Most importantly, Eppinge did not accept one thesis characteristic of Wyclif, namely the definition of the community of the saints as a corpus predestined to salvation; like many other Hussite reformers, Eppinge differentiated between the Church as an institution and the invisible community of the saints. The conclusion drawn in his *Posicio* was that the excommunication from the actual Church was only declaratory while exclusion from the communion of the saints was mortal for the sinner on whom it was imposed. Therefore, unjust excommunication from the Church was not primarily harmful and was to be feared only in its secondary effects. This position was accepted by other Hussites, too, especially by John Hus in his treatises *De sex erroribus* and *De ecclesia*. Hus already touched upon this topic in his commentaries on Lombard's *Sentences* which he delivered as a lecturer at Prague University between 1407 and 1409. This led scholars to believe that it was Hus who originally developed the argument into its present form. Nevertheless, contrary to earlier opinions that Eppinge drew on Hus, his *Posicio* is distinctly independent from it and from the legal point of view better argued. Unlike Hus and his colleagues who emphasized the moral aspect of guilt and its ethical rightfulness, Eppinge strove to analyze the purely legal aspects of unjust excommunication and based on the legal principles proved the impeccability of Wyclif's article. His *Posicio* can therefore be appreciated as an extremely complex legal treatment of a highly debated issue which Eppinge supported with valuable canonistic material.¹⁸⁵

The fact that in his treatise Eppinge also showed profound knowledge of Matthew of Janov, an influential Bohemian authority who inspired many of the Hussite reformers, is a significant point. It has been pointed out that his teachings were also exploited by Nicholas of Dresden and Janov's doctrine was most probably current within the circle of the German masters. Since Janov's doctrine was known mainly on a local basis, it seems very probable that both Eppinge and Nicholas encountered it in Prague. Whether this was already the case for Eppinge in 1409 (if we accept that he had already spent some time in Prague back then) or only in 1412 is impossible to decide.

have been excommunicated by God. Otherwise, in excommunicating him, the prelate becomes a heretic or excommunicate himself." – English translation by Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 83–84.

¹⁸⁵ Cegna in *Nicolai Dresdensis Expositio super Pater noster*, 66 argued that Eppinge influenced Jacobellus of Misa's ecclesiology, mostly concerning the question of lay communion under both species. Detailed comparison of their treatises showed that both works drew on the writings of Matthew of Janov, an influential source for many Hussite reformers, see Krmíčková, *Studie a texty*, 77–85.

There have been suggestions in the literature that Eppinge composed another treatise, a commentary on the third book of Henry Bohic's *Distinciones Decretalium*. These *Quaestiones super tertium librum Decretalium* are preserved in fragments in a single manuscript in Prague.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that this codex was only in Eppinge's possession and his name appeared in it in the form of an owner's mark, which can be found in another codex containing the first book of Bohic's commentary.¹⁸⁷ Eppinge used Bohic's treatise extensively in his *Posicio* and it is very likely that he possessed all five books of this widespread commentary. Unfortunately, the two Prague codices do not reveal any details about their place of origin that could be of help concerning Eppinge's biography.

¹⁸⁶ Preserved in the National Library in Prague, MS IV C 27, fol. 1r–12v. For more on his authorship, see František Michálek Bartoš, “Do čtyř pražských artikulů” (To the four Prague articles), *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hlavního města Prahy* 5/2 (1925): 56.

¹⁸⁷ Kejř, *Z počátků*, 176–178. The manuscript is preserved in the National Library in Prague, MS V B 17, fol. 1r–210v.

4. JOHN DRÄNDORF

Drändorf's biography is best documented in the inquisitional protocol that has been profusely mentioned above because it contains valuable evidence concerning other members of the Dresden School.¹⁸⁸ The narrative sources do not mention his name, though Prokop's chronicle does record one event that can be associated with Drändorf's life – namely that he was ordained in the castle of Lipnice in 1417.

Born to a noble family in Schlieben,¹⁸⁹ Saxony, around 1390, John Drändorf came from a wealthy background. He had a considerable share of his patrimony at his disposal. However, he renounced it and inspired by *pura paupertas Christi*, he set out on his spiritual journey. Whether or not this was result of the local activity of Waldensian preachers is impossible to say.¹⁹⁰ He certainly did not become a Waldensian missionary, for he told his inquisitors that he was still in possession of his money in 1425.

We know more of his life after he commenced his studies. Drändorf acquired his primary education in a cathedral school in the small town of Aken in Saxony–Anhalt. Some scholars mention that he subsequently studied in Wittenberg, although this is not confirmed by any source evidence.¹⁹¹ The same applies to opinions that he went straight to Dresden from Aken,¹⁹² or that he supposedly studied at the University in Prague. The most commonly accepted opinion is that Drändorf commenced his studies in Prague before 1408 and left the university after the Kutná Hora Decree together with his teachers Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge and moved back to Germany. Nevertheless, Drändorf himself does not speak about the sequence of his study-travels or, for that matter, about being in Prague before 1409. Since the presence of Drändorf's teachers – Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge – in Prague before 1409 has been challenged above, it must be concluded that there is no evidence

¹⁸⁸ His inquisitional protocol was first printed by Johann Erhard Kapp, *Kleine Nachlese einiger, grössten Theils noch ungedruckter, und sonderlich zur Erläuterung der Reformations-Geschichte nützlicher Urkunden*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: n.p., 1730), 33–60; modern edition by Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 55–97, commentary on 145–195, biography on 25–30. For a discussion of this source, see Herman Haupt, “Waldenserthum und Inquisition,” 357; Kurt-Victor Selge, “Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse in der Frühzeit der hussitischen Revolution,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 82 (1971): 167–202.

¹⁸⁹ *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexikon*, vol. 2. Ed. E. H. Kneschke. (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1996), 566–567.

¹⁹⁰ See Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 25; and Selge, “Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse,” 184.

¹⁹¹ For example in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol 1. Ed. F. W. Bautz. (Hamm: Bautz, 1990), 1376–1377.

¹⁹² Otto Meltzer, “Johannes Drändorf, der erste mit Namen bekannte Kreuzschüler.” *Dresdner Geschichtsblätter* 10/2 (1901): 22; similarly Haupt argued that he travelled from Dresden to Prague, after 1409 to Leipzig and then back to Prague, see Haupt, “Waldenserthum und Inquisition,” 357.

attesting the same about Drändorf.¹⁹³ According to his own words, Drändorf also studied at the newly founded university in Leipzig. Since this was founded only in 1409, his studies here could only have followed his initial studies in Prague. Most probably because of his persuasion, he had not graduated from this faculty and thus, the pertinent university registers do not back up his words with indisputable evidence. Therefore, those words can be taken only at face value. To conclude, it does seem more logical to believe that Drändorf only studied in Leipzig before coming to Prague.

From Leipzig, where he may have spent only a short time, he moved on to join the circle of his acquaintances at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden.¹⁹⁴ There he learnt some of the anti-Roman doctrines for which he was later tried, among them the most often repeated one that the head of the *ecclesia militans* was not the Pope, but Christ. These radical tendencies were also behind the expulsion of the group from Dresden as the result of a decree issued by the bishop of Meissen in 1411.

From the *Kreuzschule*, Drändorf moved to Zittau to avoid the consequences of the decree since Zittau belonged to the diocese of Prague. Unlike his teachers who most probably passed through Zittau straight on to Prague, he stayed there for some time and carried on with his studies. Here he met his later close fellow Peter Turnau. Together with Turnau, they studied logic with a certain Master Albertus. Afterwards they both moved to Prague where they found shelter with the other German masters at the Black Rose House in the New Town of Prague.

Drändorf's activity in Prague is positively confirmed by the fact that he possessed a codex which originated in Prague in 1412 into which he copied Nicholas of Lira's *Postil* on parts of the New Testament. His ownership is attested by an author who composed a set of glosses on this very commentary in the above-mentioned manuscript, who was most probably another member of the group, Conradus Stoecklin.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Drändorf's stay in Prague before 1409 is rejected by Nodl on the grounds of the time Drändorf publicly objected to taking the oath, see Martin Nodl, "*Iurare vel promittere*. Příspěvek k problematice pražských univerzitních statut" (*Iurare vel promittere*. A contribution to the problem of the statutes of Prague University), *AUC-HUCP* 47/1–2 (2007): 50–53.

¹⁹⁴ An idea put forward by Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 155–156 where he tried to refute earlier opinions which challenged the course of Drändorf's travels, such as Kaminsky's in *Master Nicholas*, 7.

¹⁹⁵ The codex is preserved in the Chapter Library in Prague, MS A 40/1 – on fol. 70v it reads: "*Joannes Draendorf scripsit ... et complevit Prage a. d. 1412.*"; the ownership is supported by a note on the first folio of the manuscript: "*Draendorfs est liber iste*". For more about the glosses, see Augustin Neumann, "Glossy v Drändorfově postile (The glosses in Drändorf's Postil)," *Hlídka* 41/11 (1924): 457–465.

The next important episode in his life was his ordination at Lipnice, an affair that has been described previously.¹⁹⁶ Within the general framework of the establishment of Utraquism throughout Bohemia, and more concretely in order to secure parishes for Hussite priests who had been unable to acquire these posts for some time, the need arose in 1417 to ordain a number of priests who would be installed in parishes. The leading Hussite baron, Lord Čeněk of Vartemberk, met this need by forcing Herman Schwab of Mindelheim, a suffragan of the Prague archdiocese and a titular bishop of Nicopolis, to ordain many candidates for priesthood in his castle of Lipnice on 6 March, 1417. An important detail is that, as Drändorf himself declared, he refused to swear the usual oath on this occasion and only made a promise of chastity and poverty.¹⁹⁷ Following his ordination he was installed as parish priest in Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus) in southern Bohemia where he worked for about three years. During this time he preached both there and in Prague and worked in the region until the outbreak of the Hussite wars.

Around 1424, he went back to Germany and commenced an astonishing travelling enterprise.¹⁹⁸ He journeyed through Prague to Vogtland which he reached in April 1424. There he met his servant and fellow countryman Martin Borchard, a weaver by profession.¹⁹⁹ From here he wended his way through the upper Rhine region as far as Basel where he was probably not allowed to preach and merely exhorted several people against taking oaths. Then he continued through Franconia where he took on another servant, a young tailor called Hans from the village of Marktbergel near Windesheim, who remained in his service until the end of his days in Speyer. While being tortured, Drändorf declared that both of his servants were oath-objectors by their own will and that he did not influence them on this point at all. He also confessed that he had the intention of going to Rome to obtain a pardon from the Pope for his sins. If this incredible testimony is to be believed, he probably must have changed his mind in Basel, because a short while after that he travelled down the Rhine and already in the summer of 1424 was preaching against the Beghards somewhere in Brabant.²⁰⁰ Most probably alone or

¹⁹⁶ *Primary sources*, 26–27, for more detailed account, see Kaminsky, “Hussite Radicalism,” 121–125.

¹⁹⁷ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 73.

¹⁹⁸ The sequence of his travels is based solely on data from his inquisitional protocol. These are summarized by Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 27–29 with links to relevant places in the protocol.

¹⁹⁹ Borchard was interrogated during the same process as Drändorf but was sentenced to a milder penalty. The record of his interrogation is published by Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 97–105, 196–202.

²⁰⁰ This piece of information was not provided by Drändorf himself, but by his servant Borchard, see Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 99–100, 197–198. Lacking further specification, this journey was later connected

only with Hans he hurried back, since in early September 1424 he could be found in Speyer, a town in Rheinland-Pfalz. Here, he met his colleague from Zittau and Prague, Peter Turnau, who held the position of rector at the local school and might have been hoping to secure a place for his friend Drändorf, too. This eventful year, however, had not yet ended for Drändorf as both he and Turnau set out on a short journey to Heilbronn some time after September 8. They stayed there for about a month and it is very likely that during this period he made contacts with various people, not only in Heilbronn, but also in the neighboring settlements (Weinsberg or Wimpfen) in order to carry out a plan to build a network of communities. Around the end of October they both returned to Speyer and worked diligently on the manifesto *Misericors deus* criticizing the moral decline of the clergy based on three points: unjust excommunication, blind obedience, and the secular rule of the clergy. The contents and importance of this manifesto will be analyzed later on.

In January 1425, both of them started out again for Heilbronn but this time separately. Drändorf first visited Weinsberg, a city on which an interdict had been placed since 1422, and preached there against the clergy who denied the deceased their Catholic funerals. He also addressed three letters to the citizens of Weinsberg in which he exhorted them to reject ecclesiastical bans in secular matters. His appeal for an armed revolt was one of the reasons that compelled the representatives of the establishment to act. From Weinsberg he ventured to Heilbronn relying on the support of Turnau's local friends and helpers. Nevertheless, he was soon recognized, denounced and eventually arrested together with both of his servants some time before 4 February, 1424.²⁰¹ It seems likely that two documents were confiscated as probative evidence upon his arrest – a draft of his *Misericors deus* manifest and the letters to the citizens of Weinsberg, which were presented during his trial. His case was ultimately

with Drändorf's preaching activity in Cologne and with his stay in Bonn where he allegedly met two fellows of the same religious persuasion – see Selge, "Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse," 188; Franz Machilek, "Aufschwung und Niedergang der Zusammenarbeit von Waldensern und Hussiten im 15. Jahrhundert (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse in Deutschland)," in *Friedrich Reiser und die „waldensisch-hussitische Internationale“*, ed. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz-Tremp (Heidelberg, Ubstadt-Weiher, and Basel: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2006), 290. Nevertheless, this is not exactly in accordance with the protocol. There is only evidence concerning Drändorf's prevarication when he was asked about his intended community networking – he had said that he knew of a priest in Cologne (number 35 in his protocol, p. 71); secondly, after being questioned about his accomplices he said that there was a priest in Bonn (number 146, 85). For this reason, it cannot be accepted that he preached in Cologne or Bonn or had found any number of accomplices there.

²⁰¹ Borchard, upon revoking all his previous beliefs, was sentenced to the usual penalty for sinners; nothing is known about the destiny of Drändorf's second servant, Hans, who probably got away with an even milder punishment.

transferred to Heidelberg and handed over to the authority of the bishop of Worms, Johannes II of Fleckenstein. It took place in the house of the bishop of Speyer, Raban of Helmstatt, with the masters of Heidelberg University in attendance, namely Nicholas Magni de Jawor and Johannes Lagenator de Francofordia. The interrogation began on 13 February, 1425 and ended four days later, followed by his burning on 17 February, 1425.

5. PETER TURNAU

Peter Turnau's association with the Dresden School is based solely on his connection with Drändorf and on the fact that they both fell victim to the processes of 1425. He is not mentioned by name in any of the narrative sources analyzed above and the single source concerning his life is the record of his interrogation.²⁰²

Peter Turnau was born in Tolkemit near Elbing in Prussia to a fairly wealthy family as his inheritance covered his wide-ranging travels, books, medical and other expenses and provided for his comfortable life. In 1411 he moved from his hometown to Zittau where he studied logic under a certain Master Albert and it was here that he met his fatal acquaintance, John Drändorf. At the beginning of 1412, together with Drändorf, he moved to Prague to study logic but he also frequented lectures at other faculties. After a year, he briefly returned home but subsequently settled again in Prague where he stayed for another two years. This time he boarded at Charles College and continued attending lectures of different teachers. He went to lectures on Bible interpretation by Hus' opponent, John of Hildesheim (Hildessen), and Thomas of Silesia (further unspecified) but refused to ever go to a lecture by Peter of Dresden. Although he had heard from other people that Peter of Dresden was allegedly humble, pious and a good man, Turnau did not like the doctrines to which Peter of Dresden had professed. Turnau also confessed that for a very short time he was a *commensalis* of Drändorf, yet without any precise dating or reference to a place where this occurred.²⁰³ This has later been interpreted to indicate that they both boarded at the Black Rose House in Prague with the other German masters (such as Peter and Nicholas of Dresden) even though this was by no means explicitly expressed by Turnau.²⁰⁴ Even if Turnau's denial of his connection with the circle around Peter of Dresden can be seen as manoeuvring before his inquisitors – albeit hardly understandable – the fact that he mentioned Charles College as the place he boarded and not the Black Rose House is significant. As mentioned above, his only link with the Dresdeners had been established through Drändorf whom he met first in Zittau in 1411 or 1412, then in Prague and finally in Speyer. There is no evidence that members of the Dresden School other than Drändorf dwelled in Zittau; the situation in Prague is not clear; and thus it is possible that

²⁰² Published by Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 106–144, 202–243, biography summarized on 30–33.

²⁰³ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 109, number 21.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 207.

Turnau was in touch only with Drändorf (later in Speyer) and that he did not establish closer contacts with the members of the Dresden School in Prague.

At any rate, leaving Prague at the end of 1414²⁰⁵ Turnau moved on to Bologna to study law. His name is not recorded in the registers of the German nation of Bologna University yet his studies there have been accepted in scholarship.²⁰⁶ His stay in Bologna can only be dated based on the name of Ludovicus de Garsiis, who (as Turnau himself claimed) promoted him to Bachelor of Law and who taught in Bologna as *doctor decretorum* between 1419 and 1445.²⁰⁷ It should also be mentioned that according to an older opinion Turnau studied in Prague: a certain Petrus Tornow was admitted to the faculty of law there in 1377.²⁰⁸ Heimpel rejected this earlier suggestion on the grounds of Turnau's other confessions, namely because Turnau first left his homeland only in 1411 and believed that at the time of his trial (1425) his father was still alive. This clearly shows that the two figures cannot be the same person. Nevertheless, the absence of Turnau's name in the register of Bologna University still leaves space for hesitation. As it stands, we have only Turnau's own words to rely on and to believe that after seven years at the university, that is from 1415–1421, he received a BA *in decretis* from the University of Bologna.

At the beginning of 1422 he set out on a journey to the East to see – as he himself put it – the miracles of the world. Travelling through Greece he reached Crete in April 1422 where he stayed for about four months. His plan to continue to Jerusalem was abandoned and Turnau returned to Prague through Venice. The literary product of this enterprise is a short Latin tract

²⁰⁵ In his own words, it took place “around the beginning of the Council of Constance” which in accordance with his previous travels could only have been at the very end of 1414. Nevertheless, there are opinions that his departure from Prague might only have taken place in 1415, for example Selge, “Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse,” 186.

²⁰⁶ His name does not appear in Gustav C. Knod, *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna (1289–1562). Biographischer Index zu den Acta nationis Germanicae universitatis Bononiensis* (Berlin: Decker, 1899); Jürg Schmutz, *Juristen für das Reich. Die deutschen Rechtsstudenten an der Universität Bologna 1265–1425* (Basel: Schwabe, 2000). Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 208 explains this fact by Turnau's solitary character and consequently Turnau's studies in Bologna are not doubted by scholars, see Selge, “Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse,” 186; Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 59 and others; Machilek, “Deutsche Hussiten,” 277 holds that Turnau was a teacher of Canon Law in Bologna.

²⁰⁷ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 108–109, 208.

²⁰⁸ *Album seu matricula facultatis iuridicae*, 124; presented by František Michálek Bartoš, “Německého husity Petra Turnova spis o řádech a zvycích církve východní” (A treatise on the customs and rites of the Eastern Church by the German Hussite Petr Turnov), *Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk* 1 (1915): 4.

describing the rites of the Eastern Church and comparing the most interesting of them with the Western tradition.²⁰⁹

As he was prevented from returning to his homeland by some riots, Turnau spent a few weeks in Prague where he got in touch with his friends – he mentioned Laurentius of Reichenbach, a future secretary of Prokop Holý. Before the end of 1422 he travelled to Franconia in order to teach and thus, undertook a rectorship in Heidingsfeld (part of Würzburg) where he stayed for three quarters of a year, from October 1422 through June 1423. Subsequently, he continued on to Speyer, which he reached in the summer of 1423. There, with the help of some citizens of Speyer who were well connected to the chapter, Turnau obtained the position of rector of the local cathedral school.

In Speyer he was soon joined by Drändorf who arrived there from Brabant at the latest in September 1424. In fact, Turnau confessed that he was not at all glad to meet Drändorf again and was frightened and trembled every time they met. However, because of their earlier friendship he helped him. Whatever the actual situation may have been, the two of them journeyed to Heilbronn at the end of September 1424 and again in January the following year, although this time separately. Turnau claimed that the pretext for his second visit to Heilbronn was to apply for a preaching office endowed by the rich widow Anna Mettelbach.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, at this point Turnau was warned by an unknown benefactor about Drändorf's arrest. He left Heilbronn at once but was arrested as soon as he returned to Speyer.

His process took place in the residence of Raban, the bishop of Speyer, in Udenheim (today Philippsburg) because, unlike Drändorf, Turnau as a local man belonged under his authority. The questioning started on 26 February, 1425 and was in every respect different from Drändorf's. Turnau was deemed a "milder" heretic and the judges took much more care to force him revoke his erroneous opinions. Turnau's views were less resolute and radical than Drändorf's and Turnau often backed them up by learned juristic arguments which were more familiar to the inquisitors. As the process drew close to its inevitable end, Turnau unsuccessfully attempted to escape from the prison in order to beg the bishop for mercy.

²⁰⁹ Edited by Bartoš, "Německého husity Petra Turnova spis," 13–25; discussed by Selge, "Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse," 189–190. Czech translation by Jakub Jíří Jukl, "Německého husity Petra Turnova spis po rádech a zvycích církve východní" (A treatise on the customs and rites of the Eastern Church by the German Hussite Peter Turnov), *Theologická revue* 75/3–4 (2004): 437–450, who dates Turnau's journey differently. However, since it is based on outdated information, I have not taken it into consideration here.

²¹⁰ Details about this endowment by Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 218–220.

Having failed in all his attempts at conveying his, as he deemed it, justified case, Turnau persevered in his views and chose not to betray the evangelical truth of which he was convinced. He was therefore burnt on 11 June, 1425.

6. BARTHOLOMEW RAUTENSTOCK

Rautenstock's connection with the Dresden School has been established following his own confession when he named Peter and Nicholas of Dresden as his teachers in Prague. He was caught by the inquisition in Germany some time around or after 1450 and the short record of his trial is the single source about his life.²¹¹

Rautenstock was active in Bavaria, supposedly he came from the small town of Burgbernheim in the area between Würzburg and Ansbach.²¹² There is no information available concerning his family or social background. He claimed to have studied in Prague with Masters Peter and Nicholas, though not at a college, but in a *Hof*. His reference to his teacher Nicholas whom he called "a half-master" added confusion to Nicholas' biography and was discussed earlier. At any rate, he was undoubtedly referring to the school that the German masters allegedly ran at the Black Rose House in Prague and this testimony is the first explicit mention of this school made by one of its students. Rautenstock claimed that this was the place where he had learnt the heretical tenets for which he was later tried, but he did not specify when he studied there. That it was some time before 1417 can be deduced from the following data.

He also confessed that he was asked at the school to take holy orders and was thus, consecrated a priest in the castle of Lipnice on 6 March, 1417 together with Drändorf and others. On this occasion he refused to swear the usual oath and pay the usual fee (which one of the doctors paid for him) but was nevertheless provided with the *littere*. Following his ordination he was assigned to St. Mary of the Lake in Prague where he preached, celebrated mass, heard confessions, offered communion to laymen under both species and ministered to a congregation of most probably German Hussites for over a year.²¹³

His bad conscience about not being properly ordained made him give up this post and consequently he married and settled down with his wife in Burgbernheim. Ten years later his wife died and he set out to preach in Bohemia again. With his adult son he made several trips to Franconia. He preached in the area around Tirschenreuth, Kemnat, Pegnitz, Nuremberg and

²¹¹ Printed in *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte*, vol. 2, 626–629. Rautenstock's connection with the Dresden School was suggested and held by Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 3; Kaminsky, "Hussite Radicalism," 122; or Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 59.

²¹² Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition," 352, note 1; Boehmer, "Magister Peter," 223; Machilek, "Deutsche Hussiten," 280.

the area around Würzburg.²¹⁴ During his travels he found shelter with his friends and relatives, of whom he mentioned only his dead brother-in-law Heinz Weingarten and two others. Apparently the town of Windsheim also provided shelter for him for a while.²¹⁵ This kind of itinerant preaching and the use of the hospitality of a network of friends and believers was very much in the style of Waldensian preachers. It has also been suggested that Rautenstock was one of the twelve “apostles” sent by the Hussites from Tábor to Germany to spread their ideas and who later formed the so-called Hussite-Waldensian diaspora.²¹⁶

While on his way back to Bohemia, Rautenstock was caught in Nuremberg and arrested. The protocol of his interrogation in Nuremberg can, with certain reservations, be dated to 1450 or 1460.²¹⁷ If we accept that he left Bohemia a year after his ordination (in 1418) and subsequently spent ten years with his wife in Burgbernheim (i.e. 1418–1428), then he would have had to spend at least twenty two years preaching in Franconia before being caught (i.e. the period between 1428 and 1450). The confessions made by Bartholomew Rautenstock are, as Franz Machilek observed, very similar to the articles recorded during a process in Eichstatt in 1460 and do not reveal any specific information that would help to date them.²¹⁸ The confessions include the denial of purgatory, intercession of saints, use of holy images, critique of indulgences and public confessions and the necessity to offer communion to the laity sub utraque. Rautenstock also generally attacked the secular dominion of the Church. Nevertheless, it must also be taken into consideration that the surviving copy of the inquisitional protocol might be of a younger date than Rautenstock’s trial. For the time being, the date of Bartholomew Rautenstock’s death remains unspecified.²¹⁹

²¹³ Rautenstock’s reference to the church “Zum See” was interpreted as being St. Mary of the Lake by Boehmer, “Magister Peter,” 228; Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 263.

²¹⁴ Haupt, “Waldenserthum und Inquisition,” 352, note 1 dates this period to 1440–1450.

²¹⁵ Machilek, “Aufschwung und Niedergang” 302, n. 125 where it is pointed out that there is a number of minor but important discrepancies between the original manuscript and Döllinger’s print of the inquisitional protocol.

²¹⁶ Machilek, “Deutsche Hussiten,” 280.

²¹⁷ Boehmer, “Magister Peter,” 223, 228 who also states that Rautenstock died in Nuremberg.

²¹⁸ Machilek, “Aufschwung und Niedergang”, 302. The proceedings of the process of Eichstatt were printed by Machilek, “Ein Eichstätter Inquisitionsverfahren,” 417–446.

²¹⁹ Döllinger printed the record from Munich’s Reichsarchiv but it has not been possible to reassess the dating of the manuscript. Even the names that Rautenstock gave as his friends do not help in specifying the dating.

7. CONRADUS STOECKLIN

The single mention of this name in connection with the Dresden School comes from a manuscript into which John Drändorf copied a commentary on Lira's *Postil*.²²⁰ According to the manuscript, Lira's commentary on the gospels and on St. Paul's letters was copied in 1412, as it reads "*Prage reportata per Johannem Draendorf a. D. 1412*".²²¹ This text was subsequently commented upon in the form of marginal glosses which distinctly show the influence of Nicholas of Dresden's teachings.²²² In the glosses there is a sharp rejection of taking oaths, all killings, public confessions and critiques of other Catholic positions concerning the sacraments or penitence. Some of the authorities used by the glossator to support his arguments are modelled in a fashion similar to arguments in Nicholas' treatises (adjustment of longer quotations, referring to Pseudo-Chrysostomus' treatise as to *De opere imperfecto* etc.). According to a note on fol. 175r they were copied by a certain Conradus Stoecklin and their connection to Prague is expressed on fol. 6v: "*sicut audiui Prage a predicatore ad sanctum Clementem, scilicet a Petro monacho*". The glossator also reflects on the actual beginnings of Utraquism in Prague. Thus their origin can be dated to a time after 1414. Without further substantiation Kaminsky suggested that they must have been written before 1417, possibly because of Drändorf's itinerary.²²³ To establish the date of origin of the glosses is, however, impossible because they were not copied by Drändorf, but by his fellow Hussite Stoecklin or perhaps even others. The same applies to their author, about whom nothing can be found in the sources – the only seemingly pertinent occurrence of a similar name in the register of Prague University comes from a too early period.²²⁴ Due to the contents of his commentary, Conradus Stoecklin can be considered either a member of the circle around Nicholas of Dresden and John Drändorf in Prague, or only someone who sympathised with the group and promoted their ideas in the same environment some time later.

²²⁰ First proposed by Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 3; noted also by Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 25, n. 135.

²²¹ Prague Chapter Library, shelf-mark A 40/1, fol. 55v – Patera and Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, vol. 1, 37.

²²² The glosses were printed and analyzed by Neumann, "Glossy v Drändorfově postile, 457–465.

²²³ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 25, n. 135.

²²⁴ "*Conradus Stekelink de natione Saxonum assumptus in iure 1372*" – *Album seu matricula facultatis juridicae*, 119.

8. PETER PAYNE

A famous English supporter of the Hussites and one of their leading diplomats is sometimes also considered a member of the Dresden School.²²⁵ The connection rests on two vague comments in the narrative sources discussed above. The so-called *Počátkové husitství* (II.A.6.) names a certain Peter among the masters living at the Black Rose House in Prague. This Peter is sometimes identified with Peter Payne, but sometimes also with Peter of Dresden.²²⁶ Another possible reference to Payne can be read in John Papoušek's narrative (II.A.3.). Papoušek accused clerics and scholars from Germany and England of having "infected" the kingdom of Bohemia, especially on the point of Utraquism. This comment has often been stressed by historians in order to underline the connection between Waldensian and Wycliffite teachings with the Bohemian Reformation.²²⁷

The eventful life of Peter Payne has been described by numerous scholars.²²⁸ Payne was born around 1380 in Hough on the Hill in Lincolnshire and educated in Oxford. He commenced his studies shortly before 1400 and graduated as a Master of Arts some time before 1406. He soon became acquainted with Wyclif's ideas and among his contacts we can name his fellow student and later opponent Peter Partridge, or Sir John Oldcastle, a Lollard dissenter who later corresponded with John Hus. Payne's activity is traditionally linked with the irregular proceedings at the university concerning a testimonial of Wyclif's probity issued on 6 October, 1406. Allegedly, Payne arranged for a university seal to be attached to this letter as a guarantee that Wyclif was a virtuous and pious man, who was never convicted of heresy. This letter was then delivered to the Bohemian sympathizers of Wyclif through the mediation of two Czech students, Nicholas Faulfiš and George of Kněhnice. The letter was made public by Jerome of Prague in dramatic circumstances at the so-called *Knín-quodlibet* disputation in

²²⁵ Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 134; Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 25; Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, n. 59.

²²⁶ The identification with Peter Payne was assumed by authors mentioned in the previous note; on the other hand, Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 3 believed that the chronicler had confused Peter Payne with Peter of Dresden.

²²⁷ Thus, Payne's close relationship with Nicholas of Dresden was assumed by Jean Gonnet and Amedeo Molnár, *Les Vaudois au Moyen Age* (Torino: Claudiana, 1974), 220–229.

²²⁸ The latest biography of Peter Payne was compiled by František Šmahel, who revised and published it on several occasions – his original entry in the *New Dictionary of National Biography* was enlarged and furnished with footnotes in his "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," in *In memoriam Josefa Macka (1922–1991)*, ed. Miloslav Polívka and František Šmahel (Prague: Historický ústav, 1996), 141–160; another revised version was published in German: "Magister Peter Payne: Curriculum vitae eines englischen Nonkonformisten," in *Friedrich Reiser*, 241–260; the latest English version without footnotes was published in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 43 (2004), art. 21650. Previous secondary literature on Payne's biography is summarized there.

January 1409.²²⁹ The central point of this disputation, named after its principal speaker Master Matthew of Knín, was a defence of Wyclif's ideas, planned and organized by the leader of the Wycliffite party, Jerome of Prague, together with other Czech supporters of extreme Realism. The outcome of this dispute represents one minor triumph for the reformist party and contributed to making Wyclif's cause a public matter.

From 1408, Payne acted as the principal of one of the Oxford Halls of residence, namely the White Hall, and in 1410 became the principal of neighbouring St. Edmund's Hall as well. St. Edmund's Hall had been already a strong Wycliffite centre, especially in connection with its previous principal, William Taylor, and thus, it is not surprising that Payne also zealously continued to discuss and spread Wyclif's tenets in Oxford, London and elsewhere. As a result of these activities, Payne entered into a controversy with Thomas Netter of Walden, the Carmelite defender of Catholic doctrine, and later with the university chancellor, Thomas Arundel, who was more than keen to purge the realm of heretics. The situation gradually became aggravated and following the arrest of Sir John Oldcastle in 1413, Payne deemed it wiser to leave England.²³⁰ The date of his departure is not unanimously accepted in scholarship, but it most probably took place in late autumn 1413.²³¹

On his way to Bohemia, Payne travelled through Germany and spent some time in the Rhineland. Here, he established contacts with the local Waldensian community and in the southern German town of Deutach he personally met a prominent Waldensian emissary, Friedrich Reiser.²³² He reached Bohemia only after Hus' departure for the Council of Constance, that is, after 11 October, 1414.

²²⁹ The struggle over Wyclif's teachings at Prague University, which began as late as 1403, came to a climax in 1409, mainly in connection with the national undercurrent that permeated the originally academic discussion over Wyclif's extreme Realism and that resulted in the Kutná Hora Decree issued in this year. For background on the situation in Prague, see František Šmahel, "Wyclif's Fortune in Hussite Bohemia," in *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter*, 467–489.

²³⁰ For background on Oldcastle's revolt and situation in England, see Robert R. Betts, "Peter Payne in England", in *Sborník přednášek věnovaných životu a dílu anglického husity Petra Payna–Engliše 1456–1956*, ed. Josef Polišenský (Prague: Universitas Carolina, 1957), 3–14, esp. 11–12; which was later reprinted in his collection *Essays in Czech History* (London: Athlone Pr., 1969), 236–246. See also Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation. Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 99–102.

²³¹ Šmahel, "Magister Peter Payne," 243 where other opinions about the date are listed, ranging from 1413 to 1416.

²³² The evidence for Payne's time in Germany is admittedly vague, mostly due to the loss of the inquisitional protocol of Friedrich Reiser and Anna Weiler, on which it is based. The protocol in question recorded their interrogation in Strassbourg in 1548, which was printed in 1822 by Andreas Jung but subsequently lost, see Šmahel, "Magister Peter Payne," 244.

In Prague, Payne quickly joined in the activities of the reformist party. His opinions are known due to a number of treatises that survived from this period in which Payne commented on the most topical issues.²³³ By way of introducing himself, Payne participated in the discussion about the necessity of the lay chalice and the first surviving tract in his literary production, the *Quia nostri temporis homines*, was written at the beginning of February 1415.²³⁴ In it, Payne defended the necessity of the administration of the Eucharist to the laity under both species, by which he supported his colleague Jacobellus of Misa, one of the leading representatives of the reformist party in Prague. Among other issues in which Payne subsequently participated, was the problem of taking oaths, the theory of predestination and free will, or the worship of images. The denial of oath-taking was traditionally considered to be of Waldensian or Lollard origin. Most often it has been ascribed to Payne's contacts with Waldensians in Germany on his flight from England. However, Payne could have just as well been influenced by the Lollard opposition to oaths that he may have learnt in England.²³⁵ Payne was admitted to the board of Masters of Prague University only on 13 February, 1417,²³⁶ and consequently acted as an examiner at the bachelor exams. It has also been suggested that the conservative circles of Prague University delayed Payne's acceptance because of his contacts with the Dresden masters at the Black Rose House in Prague.²³⁷

Apart from the ambiguous statement of the *Počátkové husitství*, there is unfortunately no evidence concerning these contacts. During his early days in Prague, Payne composed a mnemotechnical device, which is often considered an evidence of his teaching activities and an outcome of his connection with the school of the German masters.²³⁸ The text, preserved in a single manuscript, is entitled *Dicta Magistri Petri Henkliss* and can therefore be positively attributed to Payne, who was very often referred to as Peter "English" in Bohemia [see Plate

²³³ His literary production was catalogued by František Michálek Bartoš, *Literární činnost M. Jana Rokycany, M. Jana Příbrama, M. Petra Payna* (The literary work of M. Jan Rokycana, M. Jan Příbram, M. Petr Payne). *Sbírka pramenů k poznání literárního života československého*, vol. 3, no. 9 (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1928), 93–111.

²³⁴ Edited by Krmíčková, *Studie a texty*, 148–164, where she also summarizes older opinions concerning Peter's authorship of this tract (35–38).

²³⁵ Argued by Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 371. Payne already refused to swear an oath in Oxford.

²³⁶ *Liber decanorum* 1/1, 443. Payne's career in Prague is described at length by Bartoš, "M. Petr Engliš v zápase husitské revoluce" (M. Petr Engliš in the conflict of the Hussite revolution), in *Sborník přednášek*, 25–28, who also proposed that Payne was admitted to the University in Prague so late because of his refusal to swear an oath. This was later refuted by Martin Nodl, "Iurare vel promittere," 55–56.

²³⁷ Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," 145–146.

²³⁸ Thus Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," 146.

4].²³⁹ The manuscript, now held in Vienna, contains numerous texts written by Bohemian reformers and originated most probably between 1420 and 1421.²⁴⁰ Payne's text is as yet unedited and even a perfunctory examination of it indicates a need to appraise the text critically. First, there seem to be two independent parts. The first one starts on fol. 278r and deals with *Impedimenta penitencie oris in foro ecclesie*, as a graphic representation of the material on the preceding folio 277v suggests, and is therefore very likely connected to a previous anonymous section listed in the catalogue under *Miscellanea de praedicatione, de oratione Dominica, de decem praeceptis etc.* on fol. 263r–277v.²⁴¹ This does not seem to have any connection with teaching, whatsoever. This is then followed on fol. 279r–285v by a text entitled *De alienis peccatis*, which does not seem to be a device for students either, but rather a shorter treatment of the same topic, i.e. confession. Nevertheless, it will be possible to analyze this text only once it is edited. At any rate, the alleged connection of this text to Payne's teaching activities can already be refuted at present.

Payne's career in Bohemia soon took on a different shape. The inner tensions at Prague University connected to the nations comprising it made it perhaps impossible for Payne to participate more actively. Nevertheless, he soon won recognition in a different field. Because of his determined defence of the lay chalice and his boldness and resolution in defending Wyclif's doctrines, he was chosen by the university masters to lead a Hussite legacy to King Sigismund in Kutná Hora in 1420. From this point on, Payne became a chief diplomat of the Hussites and participated in almost all major negotiations during the war period of 1420–1434. One of his most accomplished performances was in the meeting in Bratislava in 1429, which after a nine-year-long period of wars marked the beginning of difficult peace negotiations.

In the meantime, Payne also became one of the four leading members of Prague consistory and held this position until 1434. During the war period between 1432–1434, Payne lived in the monastery of *Na Slovanech* in the New Town of Prague, the only utraquistic convent with continuing Slavonic rite. It was most probably here that Payne started on his theoretical preparations for the upcoming polemics about Wyclif's teachings and for this reason he undertook or perhaps even initiated works on a catalogue of Wyclif's writings together with

²³⁹ Listed in Bartoš, *Literární činnost*, 98, no. 6.

²⁴⁰ MS 4550, see *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 3, 308–309.

²⁴¹ *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 3, 309.

their indexes.²⁴² This highly sophisticated and unique research tool²⁴³ was in England primarily aimed at preaching. In Bohemia, however, due to Payne's initiative it was adjusted to serve a new purpose, namely a quick reference-finder during live theological discussion. Payne was able to exploit this tool on the occasion of the Council of Basel.

Peter Payne was subsequently a leading figure in many Hussite missions, yet his momentous achievement came only during the Hussite negotiation with the Council in Basel in 1433, the final clash over the Hussite programme. Out of the concise formulation of the Hussite programme, the so-called Four articles of Prague, Payne was assigned to defend the article concerning the poverty of the clergy, which he disputed with one of the most adroit theologians of the time, John Palomar. In his sharp invective, Payne argued that both divine and human law effective in the time of the law of grace forbade clergy any temporal power or secular possessions.²⁴⁴ He concentrated on the evidence of the poverty of the *ecclesia primitiva* and minutely analyzed the concepts of *possessio*, *dominio* and *ius*, supporting his conclusions by authoritative statements from the Bible, the Church fathers, modern theologians (including Wyclif) as well as from Canon Law. His polemic provoked Palomar to such an extent that he admitted the partial validity of Payne's line of argument, which he nevertheless rejected as a whole. Palomar went as far as to challenge Payne to lock themselves up in a closed room until they could reach agreement. Payne declined to do this, claiming that they would bite each other.²⁴⁵

Payne's appearance before the council provoked another reaction, namely from his own countrymen. They accused him of having been charged of heresy and treason in England in connection with the rebellion of Sir John Oldcastle. Fortunately for Payne, the Bohemian

²⁴² Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," 150. Payne's authorship of individual indexes is discussed by Anne Hudson, "*Accessus ad auctorem*: the case of John Wyclif," in *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), no. VII, 333–337. I will discuss this enterprise in more detail in the chapter on the later influence of the Dresden School.

²⁴³ Analyzed by Anne Hudson who has carried out research on it on several occasions: Anne Hudson, "The Hussite catalogues of Wyclif's works," in *Husitství – reformace – renesance. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, vol. 1, ed. Jaroslav Pánek, Jaroslav Boubín, Miloslav Polívka and Noemi Rejchrtová (Prague: Historický ústav, 1994), 401–417; eadem, "The Hussite Catalogue of Wyclif's Works," in *Studies in the Transmission*, no. III, 1–35.

²⁴⁴ *Petri Payne Anglici Positio, replica et propositio in concilio Basiliensi a. 1433 atque oratio ad Sigismundum regem a. 1429 Bratislaviae pronunciatae*, ed. František Michálek Bartoš (Tábor: Taboriensis ecclesia evangelica fratrum Bohemorum, 1949): esp. 1–78.

²⁴⁵ This interesting incident and Payne's other witty retorts are recorded in the "Petri Zatecensis Liber diurnus de gestis Bohemorum in concilio Basileensi," in *Monumenta conciliorum generalium seculi decimi quinti*, vol. 1, ed. František Palacký and Ernestus Birk (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1857), 335–336.

legacy took him into their protection and Payne once more escaped the charges. The dispute between the Bohemian reformers and the Basel theologians lasted from January 16 until April 14, 1433 and because no agreement was reached, it was subsequently moved from Basel to Prague.

Payne continued to play a leading role in the following disputes as well. The diet of October 1434 elected Payne arbiter of the doctrinal disputes that had arisen between the two most important Hussite wings, the Prague and the Tábor parties. This put Payne in a rather awkward position as his personal preference linked him with the radical Tábor party, as the only true proponent of Wyclif's ideas among the Hussites. At the same time, however, he felt the urge to respond to the need for unity of the Hussite movement. After several attempts to postpone his final statement, he was forced to bring it forward at the end of September or beginning of October 1436 after Sigismund was acknowledged king of Bohemia. In his declaration Payne agreed with the representative of the moderate party, John Rokycana, thus, angering his supporters from the Tábor party. His decision however, did not please any of the parties involved and a new committee was elected to come up with a new statement.

During this period, another attempt was made to summon Payne to appear before the council, which he escaped by moving to Žatec, a town in north-western Bohemia, some time in 1437. The result was that King Sigismund expelled Payne as a foreigner from the country and Payne went into hiding.²⁴⁶ In 1438, he was captured and imprisoned by the Catholic lord Burian of Gutenstein but was ransomed by his Taborite supporters in 1440.

Subsequently, over a long period of eight years, Payne does not appear to have been active publicly. It has been suggested that because of this coincidence, Payne might be identified with the figure of Constantinus Anglicus, an envoy of the Bohemian utraquistic consistory who appeared in Constantinople in 1452. This conjecture has not been proved and is rejected by the majority of modern scholars.²⁴⁷ Payne's last public appearance can be dated to September 1452. He spent the rest of his life in the monastery of *Na Slovanech* in Prague where he died in 1455 or 1456.

²⁴⁶ A narrative source of late origin, the so-called *Brevis narratio de statu religionis in Boiémica gente* from 1562, states that at this time Payne took refuge with Peter Chelčický, the famous Bohemian reformer. For more detail, see Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," 157, note 89.

²⁴⁷ Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," 158.

Payne's late arrival in Prague (i.e. end of 1414) is itself the principal objection against his active connection with the activities of the Dresden masters in Prague. As has been described above, Friedrich Eppinge, one of the leading figures connected to the bursa at the Black Rose House in Prague, is recorded in the sources for the last time in 1412. Payne might have encountered Peter of Dresden, who died in Prague at an unknown date. Nicholas of Dresden was most probably not in Prague after 1415. He could have also met some of the students or subsequent supporters of the German masters, such as John Drändorf, who was in Prague in 1412 and spent time in southern Bohemia between 1417 and 1424; Peter Turnau, who briefly stopped in Prague at the end of 1422; or Bartholomew Rautenstock, who was in Prague until ca. 1418. It has been mentioned that both Payne and before him Nicholas of Dresden had contacts with the traditionally Waldensian region in Žatec. Yet none of this amounts to actual evidence that Payne had a connection with the Dresden School. It can be assumed that as a fervent reformer of the contemporary church, Payne might have found the reformist ideas circulating in the bursa at the Black Rose House in Prague attractive. However, from the very beginning, Payne primarily defended Wyclif's ideas and never displayed familiarity with the particular ideas or works of the German masters. Even if he very likely knew about the group, Payne neither consciously identified himself with them nor promoted their ideas. Thus, the relation of Peter Payne to the Dresden School remains an attractive proposition that is not substantiated by the source evidence.

Chapter II: Contemporary Evidence

C. Indirect Evidence for the Existence of the Group

1. TEACHING

As was shown, the scholarly literature often mentions the teaching activity of the Dresden School as one of the possible bonds between the people involved in it one way or another.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the analysis of the primary sources in the previous chapters revealed that the activity of the group as an institutional body lacks a firm background, which was furthermore substantiated by the biographical data of the School's members. The biographical data also revealed that until the period spent in Dresden the people in question had relatively little in common. To be precise, the only possible bond was that some of them may have studied at the university in Prague, but their subsequent destinies varied greatly. Therefore, the following question needs to be asked: Can the so-called Dresden School be perceived as a schooling institution whose origins can be traced to Dresden; and if this is the case, what kind of an institution was it? The main focus of the analysis will be placed on the story of the School, rather than on the people it included. It is necessary to divide this examination into two parts, one involving an analysis of the activities of the relevant people at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden, while the other one will focus on the period the group spent in Prague at the Black Rose House. In another words, the main purpose of the following analysis is to find out whether the people in question show an affiliation with the Dresden School as a distinct schooling institution.

²⁴⁸ See above, *Introduction*, 2–3.

THE DRESDEN PERIOD

Firstly, the activity of the Dresdeners at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden must be examined in order to clarify whether it was only Peter of Dresden who worked here, or whether a distinct group of people formed around Peter already at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden and consequently moved to Prague together. The primary narrative sources expressly mention only the name of Peter of Dresden in connection with Dresden. As Peter's colleague in Dresden, a certain Nicholas is mentioned in the anonymous account (II.A.5.), which is, nevertheless, later in origin and of doubtful value. It was argued above that its author was not very well informed about the situation outside Bohemia and that he included the story of Peter and Nicholas' expulsion from Dresden in order to substantiate Peter's role in the introduction of Utraquism in Prague – i.e. this connection does not rest on reliable grounds. Combined with the biographical analysis, it is still impossible to know whether Nicholas was ever in Dresden or not. A further outcome of the biographical examination arose from the inquisitional protocol of John Drändorf, who claimed to have studied in Dresden under Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge. This, in consequence, contradicts acceptance of Nicholas' activity in Dresden. The implication of the two pieces of evidence is that we can acknowledge that Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge on the side of the teachers and John Drändorf on the side of the students were active in Dresden, while Nicholas of Dresden's role remains uncertain.

The existence of three names cannot in itself attest to the existence of a schooling institution. I will therefore take a closer look at what is known about the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden in this period and see what kind of connection between the *Kreuzschule* and the above names can be traced in the available sources.

The *Kreuzschule* in Dresden was the oldest school in Dresden, a grammar school connected to the local church of St. Cross (*Kreuzkirche*) and its choir.²⁴⁹ The first mention pertaining to its existence can be found in a charter from April 6, 1300 that was witnessed by the rector of the school (*Cunradus rector puerorum in Dresden*). Official spending on the school is documented by the sources in 1370, while a school-house built in 1480/1481 burnt down and a new building on the south side of the church was in

²⁴⁹ The history of the *Kreuzschule* is discussed widely in older German literature, the best older synopsis is Meltzer, "Die Kreuzschule zu Dresden" 1–62; for more recent contribution, see Butte, *Geschichte Dresdens*, 100–120.

existence by 1493. The choir played an important role in the school and in the life of the church from its very beginning. The choir participated on various occasions connected to masses, psalmody and the like. From 1408 on, the school rector was to provide six pupils who could accompany by singing from sunset till midnight the priests going to administer the Eucharist to the sick and the dying. The evidence on how much money the school rector received for this obligation in 1405, 1411 and later indicates that it was a demanding task.²⁵⁰ Yet no concrete information about the scale of human resources required for the task is known. In connection with the Midsummer Eve of 1370, there is mention of the rector and 18 members (*Schulgesellen, socii*) of the school being invited for a festive banquet, but these must have comprised not only the teaching staff but also more advanced students of the school. However, the heavy duties of the choir might have allowed for perhaps larger numbers than the below-mentioned four members of teaching staff.²⁵¹ Another glimpse into the matter is recorded by the first school-order issued by rector Nicholas Thirmann in 1413, which is a unique source of information for the studied period.²⁵² It mostly records the various incomes of the school, yet in passing it also mentions the division of pupils into three classes and touches upon the course of the school-year. The curriculum comprised the seven liberal arts and prepared students for higher university education. The teaching staff comprised a rector, two teachers (*locati*) and one teaching assistant (*signator* or *calefactor*) as well as one advanced student. The students were divided into three groups – those who read the *Doctrinale* by Alexander of Villedieu and were active in the choir; those who dealt with logic; and finally those who dealt with philosophy. Further data concerning the students could be deduced from the numbers of students from Dresden who studied at neighbouring universities.²⁵³ Between 1373 and 1409 (when the university in Leipzig was founded), Viktor Hantzsch counted altogether 20 students from Dresden at various universities. Most of these students frequented the university in Prague (14 out of 20; 4 studied in Erfurt, 1 in Cologne and 1

²⁵⁰ The sums and references to relevant entries in the *Stadtbuch* are given by Meltzer, “Die Kreuzschule zu Dresden”, 26–27.

²⁵¹ See Butte, *Geschichte Dresdens*, 102.

²⁵² Otto Meltzer, “Über die älteste Schulordnung der Kreuzschule zu Dresden,” *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 14 (1893): 291–311; Hubert Ermisch, “Die älteste Schulordnung der Kreuzschule zu Dresden,” *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 13 (1892): 346–347. The school-order was last printed in *Das Älteste Stadtbuch von Dresden*, 186–188.

²⁵³ Hantzsch, *Dresdner auf Universitäten*, 10–13.

in Cracow); after 1409 almost without exception students preferred the university in Leipzig (until the mid-15 century, out of the 55 students only 3 studied elsewhere). The possible connection of the members of the Dresden School and Prague University was discussed above: Peter of Dresden most probably studied in Prague before his rectorship at the *Kreuzschule*; so did Nicholas of Dresden and Peter Turnau, and most likely also John Drändorf. Sadly, none of the names recorded in the university registers can be firmly connected with the group around Peter of Dresden – that is, other than previously known names. Apart from the above mentioned, there is no further information about actual instruction at the school, about the detailed structure and size of the student body or the staff at the *Kreuzschule* from this period. Subsequently, it is known that substantial changes took place in the school in 1539, brought on by the onset of the Reformation. There are, however, of no interest for the studied period.

As mentioned, the oldest school-order represents a source of primary value, mostly because it contains a piece of valuable information about Peter of Dresden. It was formulated by Nicholas Thirmann, Peter's successor in the office between 1412/1413 and 1418. The period when Peter held the office is vaguely delimited by the year 1407, when his predecessor Andreas still held this function, and the accession of Thirmann in 1412 at the latest. Even though Thirmann carried out many changes after Peter's departure from Dresden, he describes Peter's rectorship in a collegial tone – in two places he justifies his orders by referring to their previous existence under Master Peter's rectorship. What follows from this is that Peter must have left Dresden under normal circumstances, even if there was pressure on him and his colleagues to leave.

Peter's role as a schoolmaster of the *Kreuzschule* (ca. after 1407–1411) marked a unique period in its history. The inquisitional protocol of John Drändorf claims that Friedrich Eppinge was a co-teacher to Peter in Dresden.²⁵⁴ Another member of the staff at the *Kreuzschule* in Peters' time was one "Nicolaus", as recorded in the anonymous account.²⁵⁵ It was discussed above that this person cannot be positively identified with Nicholas of Dresden. Many of the students in the time of Peter's rectorship are believed to have been itinerant students with nonconformist ideas, but the only student known by

²⁵⁴ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 69.

²⁵⁵ See above, *Primary Sources*, 22–23.

his given name is John Drändorf. However, there were probably more people attracted by the subjects taught and discussed openly as well as privately in the circles around the *Kreuzschule*. The ideas that circulated here in this period are hinted at by the decree of the Meissen bishop Rudolph, which seems to be aimed at Peter of Dresden.²⁵⁶ On 18 October 1411, Rudolph issued a decree that banned the teaching of the Bible and the Canon Law at particular schools, admonishing the rectors of these schools to be content with instruction solely in the liberal arts. In addition, it says that the gospels, hymns and the sequences can be exposed in the vernacular. The bishop stressed that the prescribed instruction had been especially transgressed in Dresden and warned against the dangerous heresy that could spread from there, clearly pointing to the activity of Peter of Dresden at the *Kreuzschule*. This fact is supported by evidence from the anonymous tract, which gives concrete examples of the heresies the bishop must have feared. Its main point was to accuse Peter of Dresden and his fellow, Nicholas, of spreading the necessity of the lay chalice and of having convinced large numbers of their students of it (*scholarium multitudinem suorum multipliciter infecerunt*). Apart from this, the report states that Peter and Nicholas discussed other interesting questions, though without further specification, and because of these issues they were expelled from Dresden.

The situation at the *Kreuzschule* changed significantly under the new rector. For Nicholas Thirmann, a fiery and ambitious man interested in the Church and politics, the office of the rector was above all a means to fight the heretics. He fought against itinerant students who might contaminate the school with dangerous Hussite ideas through enforcing an entrance examination and an enrolment fee. This was also in all probability the driving force behind his new school-order. Therefore, his reaction must be understood in the given context as a counter-reaction to the situation at the *Kreuzschule* under Peter's rectorship. Peter's rectorship marked an exceptional and very likely attractive period of the history of the *Kreuzschule* that came to a rather rapid end. Still, the absence of further information does not allow us to accept the existence of an institutionalized enterprise. It seems more probable that it was the single-handed activity of Peter of Dresden which proved to be successful and was continued elsewhere.

²⁵⁶ *Urkunden der Markgrafen von Meissen und Landgrafen von Thüringen 1407–1418*, 203–204. For more on the decree, see *Primary Sources*, 22–23.

The fact that two of his colleagues moved with Peter to Prague does not change this picture. Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge were in Prague by the summer of 1412, though there are no details as to how they got there from Dresden. Nevertheless, it is not likely that the group travelled from Dresden to Prague together. John Drändorf travelled to Prague through Zittau, where he spent some time together with his future colleague Peter Turnau. They studied logic at a particular school under a certain Master Albertus, and subsequently moved to Prague together.²⁵⁷ Turnau had other contacts in Zittau, for example with a certain Johannes Lubras, a Bachelor of Arts from Prague University from 1399.²⁵⁸ But Lubras stayed in Zittau and became a teacher and chaplain there. He did not join his friend on his move to Prague, so the tempting idea of extending the network of the Dresdeners must be dismissed.

All in all, the scarcity of names outlined above and the lack of other information disprove the hypothesis that the teaching enterprise at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden was transferred to Prague on institutional grounds. Peter of Dresden in all likelihood influenced and inspired two members of the *Kreuzschule* to follow him to Prague, but that is all there is to it. Let us now take a closer look at the situation in Prague, which might still modify the perspective on the people previously active in Dresden.

²⁵⁷ On the school in Zittau, founded in May 1310, see Johannes Müller, “Die Anfänge des sächsischen Schulwesens,” *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 8 (1887): 251–252.

²⁵⁸ Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren*, 206.

THE PRAGUE PERIOD

A number of sources indicate the presence of the above-mentioned names in Prague by 1412 at the latest. As far as the narrative sources are concerned, the chronicle *Beginnings of Hussitism* (II.A.6.) records that Peter and Nicholas ran a *bursa* at the Black Rose House in Prague and the teaching activity of the Dresdeners in Prague is confirmed by manuscript material, too (II.A.8.). The *Chronicon Procopii* (II.A.7.) also reveals that the Germans had a school in the New Town of Prague. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (II.A.4.) claims that Peter of Dresden undertook the teaching of boys in Prague (*puerorum docendorum curam accepit*). The above-mentioned anonymous tract (II.A.5.) tells us that Peter and Nicholas attracted a multitude of scholars (*pluralitatem scholarium collegerunt*). Yet the evidence for the existence of a “School” in Prague is not at all conclusive.

What is certain is the place where the Dresdeners found their refuge. The house called “At the Black Rose” in the New Town of Prague was bought by the *Nacio Bohemorum* of Prague University and served as one of its main centres.²⁵⁹ Previously it belonged to the wealthy family of the Rotlev, who sold it to the University in 1402 and its masters kept it until 1430. This large house, one of the most important university properties in the neighbourhood and one of the three houses belonging to the *Nacio Bohemorum*, was witness to many important events of the time. For instance, during the struggle over Wyclif’s ideas, which was under way in Prague from 1403 and in which the Dresdeners also played a role, the Black Rose House hosted a general meeting of the *Nacio Bohemorum* of Prague University. During the assembly on May 24, 1408, the reformist party around John Hus yielded to the pressure from the Prague archbishop and agreed not to interpret any of Wyclif’s articles in a heretical sense, which was an important turning point in the struggle. The house “At the Black Rose” is where the group of the German

²⁵⁹ Wáclav Wladivoj Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu Pražského* (Fundamentals of the old topography of Prague), vol. 2, *Nové Město Pražské* (New Town of Prague) (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1866), 188. See also Karel Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách a umění středověku* (Antichrist in the teachings and art of the Middle Ages) (Prague: Česká akademie, 1918), 145–146; for more on the topography see Jan Vlk, ed., *Dějiny Prahy* (History of Prague), vol. 1, *Od nejstarších dob do sloučení měst pražských [1784]* (From the oldest times to the union of the towns of Prague [1784]) (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 1997), 208–209.

masters found shelter and because of this, the group is sometimes referred to as the “Black Rose School”.²⁶⁰

The sources suggest that the German masters ran a bursa in this house.²⁶¹ According to the students’ testimony, among the teachers at the Black Rose House were Peter and Nicholas of Dresden. Peter Turnau did not even board at the Black Rose House and denied ever having heard a lecture by Peter of Dresden – which, as a matter of fact, also attests to Peter’s teaching activity. The interesting thing is that, as in Dresden, the German masters also attracted a number of scholars and students in Prague.

Apart from these direct references, the treatises of the members of the School represent another indicator of their teaching activities. Hence Peter’s role as a teacher in Prague is substantiated by the evidence of his treatises, since most of these were composed in Prague and became popular manuals among the students. Nicholas of Dresden allegedly composed a short catechetic tract that survived in a single manuscript in Cracow.²⁶² The copy contains an explicit *Explicit decalogus utilis pro informacione puerorum*, yet it is certainly not written for young boys. As an exposition of the Decalogue and the sacraments, the text rather seems to be targeted at their teachers and priests. Being composed around 1412, it belongs to one of the oldest works of Nicholas of Dresden²⁶³ and it can be understood as another testimony of his teaching activity. Another catechism ascribed to Nicholas, the *Tractatus de fide catholica*, was also composed for students and not for uneducated laity, as its length, structure and content clearly show.²⁶⁴ Supposing that the text was written between 1415 and 1417, as the editor of the text suggested, it would be another piece of evidence that Nicholas worked as a teacher in Prague. Another member of the School, Peter Payne, composed a treatise that has been classified as a device for students, namely mnemonic verses for students entitled

²⁶⁰ This name *Rosa Nera* or *Rosa Nigra* is often used by Romolo Cegna, who focused his extensive research mainly on the fate of Nicholas of Dresden, see *Nicolai Dresdensis Expositio super Pater noster*, 5–67; see also above, *Introduction*, 5.

²⁶¹ On the development of meaning of the word *bursa* in connection with the university life, see František Šmahel, “Scholae, collegia et bursae universitatis Pragensis. Ein Beitrag zum Wortschatz der mittelalterlichen Universitäten,” in *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter*, 85–102.

²⁶² MS 2148, Biblioteka Jagiellońska Krakow, fol. 2r–21r. See also Emil Havelka, *Husitské katechismy* (Hussite catechisms) (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1938), 100–110.

²⁶³ Havelka, *Husitské katechismy*, 108–109 dates it to the period before 1412, possibly even to 1410.

²⁶⁴ Havelka, *Husitské katechismy*, 81–91, edition on p. 192–205; the text was edited anew by Jiří Daňhelka, ed., *Drobné spisy české* (Shorter Czech writings), *Opera omnia Iohannis Hus IV* (Prague: Academia, 1985), 532–542.

the *Dicta*.²⁶⁵ I have argued above that the single copy of this text preserved in Vienna needs a thorough critical appraisal because it does not seem to be a homogenous piece. It has to be said however that the content of one of its parts deals with a topic similar to the “catechetic” tracts by Nicholas because it also interprets the Decalogue and touches upon the problem of penitence among other things. Nevertheless, because Payne’s teaching activities are not, unlike Nicholas’, endorsed by the testimonies of his possible students, the evidence of this short treatise cannot support the supposition that Payne ever worked in Prague as a teacher.

It would be very interesting to know how the members of the School attracted ‘the flocks’ in Prague, as the narrative sources suggest. The anonymous tract calls the Dresdeners’ supporters *novitatum amatores*, i.e. the lovers of novelties. Unfortunately, there is not much direct evidence about the actual ideas that the Dresdeners supposedly promoted in Prague through their teaching activities. The prime theme for most of the relevant reports is the role of the Dresdeners in the introduction of the lay chalice. The dissemination of Utraquism in Prague only started around 1414 under the leadership of Jacobellus of Misa. Jacobellus received support for the matter in writings from Nicholas of Dresden as well as from Peter Payne. As far as their extant treatises are concerned, other members of the School did not address the question of the lay chalice at all. Peter of Dresden wrote popular treatises for students on grammar, logic and philosophy, but these do not reflect any novelties that were topical in Prague at the time. The only exception is a short tract on the problem of universals, which may be attributed to him only with reservation. On the other hand, Friedrich Eppinge addressed the highly appealing topic of unjust excommunication. In his *Posicio de excommunicacione* from 1412, he argued the case of unjust excommunication from a refined legal point of view and presented the impeccable conclusion that excommunication from the institutional Church does not cause harm, a point soon to be readily accepted by his reformist colleagues. The set of glosses composed by Conradus Stoecklin in Prague reflect on oath-taking, killing, or public confessions, and criticize Catholic positions on sacraments or penitence; generally they are very much in the spirit of Nicholas of Dresden’s teaching. The date of their

²⁶⁵ Bartoš, *Literární činnost*, 98, no. 6. See above, *Biographies*, 78–79.

origin cannot be settled with precision but they seem to be of later origin and their connection to the teaching of the Dresdeners remains vague.

The wide scope of issues covered by the Dresdeners, as presented above, justifies on the one hand the assumption that the group disseminated an attractive flow of ideas. On the other hand, the very diversity of issues hinders the acceptance of the original assumption, i.e. that the Dresden School represented an ideologically compact group. Unfortunately, the lack of comparative material hampers any insight into the opinions of the individual members on similar issues. But above all, there is no apparent link between the evidence on teaching activities of the individuals and their involvement in the topical issues of the time. In another words, the treatises which point to the teaching of Peter of Dresden, Nicholas or Peter Payne are entirely different from those that found a lively echo in the life of pre-Hussite Prague, covering topics such as the lay chalice, rejection of killing or oath-taking. At any rate, the reason for the present survey was to connect the two phases in the existence of the School in Dresden and in Prague. Given what was presented above, this is impossible. Undeniably there were a number of people interested in the ideas of Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge at the *Kreuzschule*. The bursa in Prague also attracted many students, but here the major role was played by Nicholas of Dresden, while Peter and Friedrich gradually withdrew. Therefore, the institutional character of the Dresden school – as far as its staff, their biographical data and ideas that were promoted by its alleged members are concerned – is not substantiated by the sources. The *Kreuzschule* in Dresden and the bursa in Prague were two different things in terms of teaching institutions.

2. SHARED DOCTRINE?

Since the teaching activities of the group described above failed to support the alleged existence of the Dresden School, scrutiny of the doctrines to which the members of the group professed might yet alter the perspective. Here, an issue that was constructed against the Dresdeners a long time ago is encountered which repeatedly appears in the scholarly literature until modern times. The question stood and still stands: were the Germans around Peter and Nicholas of Dresden Waldensians? Are the ideas they held specifically Waldensian?²⁶⁶ Even after the contributions on the Dresden School by Howard Kaminsky and Romolo Cegna,²⁶⁷ this problem preoccupies many authors who dedicate themselves to doctrinal matters connected to the Dresdeners.

The precariousness of these enterprises is apparent. For such a purpose, all opinions that can be abstracted either from the narrative sources or from the treatises of the members should be examined. But as it emerged from the previous data, the lack of comparative material renders this a fruitless enterprise. On the one hand, the narrative sources do not contain enough data on the members' Waldensianism; on the other hand, it is basically only the treatises of Nicholas of Dresden which are available for analysis of his doctrinal background. Moreover, I have explained at the very beginning of this dissertation that it is not my primary aim to analyze the doctrinal matters related to the Dresden School; not only because such attempts have been made already (with conflicting and limited results), but also because this work is intended to approach the history of the Dresden School from a different standpoint.²⁶⁸ In my opinion, the problem with the Dresden School and its "doctrine" is quite different. First of all, it should be

²⁶⁶ Rudolf Holinka wrote a pioneering study on the problem of heresies in Bohemia entitled *Sektářství v Čechách před revolucí husitskou* (Heresies in Bohemia before the Hussite revolution) (Bratislava: Filosofická fakulta university Komenského, 1929). The Waldensian orientation of the Dresden School was discussed at length by F. M. Bartoš and J. Sedlák in their previously mentioned studies. Apart from Kaminsky's and Cegna's contributions, the Waldensianism of the Dresdeners was discussed more recently by František Šmahel, "Crypto- et semi-vaudois dans la Bôhème hussite," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 217/1 (2000): 101–120.

²⁶⁷ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 5–28; Cegna, "Appunti su Valdismo e Ussitismo," 3–34, 3–42. One of Cegna's latest contributions is "Il *Tractatus de iuramento* di Nicola della Rosa Nera," *Aevum* 82/2 (2008): 429–489.

²⁶⁸ Nevertheless, I do not intend to avoid this issue on theoretical grounds, for example, because of the present discussion on the semantic meaning of 'Waldensianism' or 'Waldensianisms' underway among historians of this movement, see for example Peter Biller, "Goodbye to Waldensianism?", *Past and Present* 192 (2006): 3–33; and one of the most recent contributions by Grado Giovanni Merlo, "Itinerari storiografici dell'ultimo decennio", in *Valdesi medievali. Bilanci e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. Marina Benedetti (Torino: Claudiana, 2009), 11–21.

determined whether the Dresden School represented a distinct group. Only in that case can its doctrinal impact be analyzed. Nevertheless, for the sake of illustration, past polemics and the main points contained therein will be briefly surveyed here. Contemporary evidence from the primary sources will serve as a point of departure.

The doctrines allegedly held by the members of the Dresden School, as revealed in the primary narrative sources, comprised the following: The majority of the extant sources from this period accused the Germans, most often Peter or Nicholas, of introducing the idea of the necessity of the lay chalice in Prague, or already even in Dresden. The contemporary compilation *Chronicon breve* (II.A.2.) added that the Germans also administered the communion to children. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (II.A.4.) accused Peter of being infected by Waldensianism. The anonymous tract (II.A.5.) is the only source to give a fuller account of the doctrines that the Germans held. According to its author, the Germans did not believe in purgatory, and for that matter in the redemptive function of the saints' intercessions (this is recorded in the manuscript note II.A.8. as well), and it records among other "fantasies" that the Germans taught the idea of the Pope being the Antichrist.

What immediately catches the eye is the apparent tone and iteration of the idea(s) purportedly held by the Dresdeners. The question of the introduction of the lay chalice has been settled previously in favour of Jacobellus of Misa as the chief agent in the matter, invaluable assisted by Nicholas of Dresden. As concerns the communion of children, Nicholas probably played a more important role as it was he who for the first time collected relevant theological authorities in favour of this requirement in 1415.²⁶⁹ At any rate, the justification of the necessity of the lay chalice in Prague was the common enterprise not only of Jacobellus and Nicholas, but it bore the mark of other influences, primarily that of Matthew of Janov's former requirement of frequent communion.²⁷⁰ Bearing this in mind and considering that other Dresdeners did not participate in this

²⁶⁹ Namely in his treatise *Contra Gallum* – for more details and the background of this problem, see Helena Krmíčková, "Několik poznámek k přijímání malíčků 1414–1416" (A couple of notes on the communion of children 1414–1416), *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* C 44 (1997): 59–69.

²⁷⁰ On Janov see above, *Biographies*, 41; Helena Krmíčková, "The Janovite Theory and the Renewal of the Lay Chalice," in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 3, ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2000), 63–68.

heated discussion (with the exception of Peter Payne), the spread of Utraquism cannot be considered a distinct trait of the Dresdeners' doctrine.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini gave the attack a more general framework by accusing the group of supporting Waldensian heresies. The accusation rested on the same grounds as the anonymous tract or the manuscript note. The ostensible Waldensianism resided in the denial of oath-taking and the existence of purgatory as well as in the sharp criticism of the Pope, which resulted in his identification with the Antichrist. In one way or another, only Nicholas of Dresden, John Drändorf, Bartholomew Rautenstock and Peter Payne can be connected to Waldensianism if the contemporary sources are considered.

In the case of John Drändorf and Bartholomew of Rautenstock, the accusation of their Waldensianism rested on their refusal to swear an oath. The occasion when this happened was the Lipnice ordinations in 1417, an important event in the establishment of Hussite Utraquism in Bohemia which has been described previously.²⁷¹ While Rautenstock simply refused to swear an oath, Drändorf claimed to have made a vow of chastity and poverty. From the inquisitional protocol it seems that Rautenstock held ideas similarly radical to those of Nicholas of Dresden.²⁷² He did not believe in the intercessions of saints or the Virgin Mary, denied the existence of the purgatory, criticised the use of holy images as well as indulgences and public confessions. On the other hand, John Drändorf's opinions were somewhat milder. Kaminsky classified them as a protest "against the jurisdictional aspects of the Church – its property, dominion, excommunications, hierarchical authority etc."²⁷³

Peter Payne had undeniable contacts with the Waldensian community in Germany, where he met the prominent Waldensian emissary Friedrich Reiser. However, his connection with or his influence over the Dresden masters in Prague was rejected based on this very late date of arrival in Prague.²⁷⁴ For this reason, his case is not relevant where the shared ideology of the group is concerned. At any rate, Payne's treatises show that he held moderately reformist ideas, among which his denial of oaths was the most

²⁷¹ See *Primary Sources*, 26–27 and the pertinent passages in biographical descriptions of Drändorf and Rautenstock. The background of this event is described in Kaminsky, "Hussite Radicalism," 121–125.

²⁷² The protocol is printed by Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte* 2, 626–629.

²⁷³ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 25.

²⁷⁴ See above, *Biographies*, 77. On Payne's travels and his arrival in Prague, see Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," 144–147.

radical.²⁷⁵ Anne Hudson showed that Payne's opposition to oaths was influenced both by Waldensians and Lollards and that Payne may have already formed his opinions in England.²⁷⁶

Much more peculiar is the question of Nicholas of Dresden's Waldensianism. For one thing, Nicholas left behind about two dozen of treatises in which he expressed his sharp criticism of the contemporary Church and called for a change in the existing order.²⁷⁷ Most popular among them was an antithetic treatise comparing the life of Christ with that of the Roman Pope (*Tabule veteris et novi coloris* or *Cortina de Anticristo*), his contribution to the debate on the necessity of the lay chalice (*Nisi manducaveritis, Apologia, Contra Gallum* and others), his defence of the freedom of preaching (*De quadruplici missione*) or the *Dialogus de purgatorio*, all of which are preserved in numerous manuscripts. In Czech scholarship, a debate whether Nicholas was a Waldensian heretic or not was opened by Jan Sedlák who detected Waldensian elements in Nicholas' writings.²⁷⁸ According to him, Nicholas' efforts towards the introduction of the lay chalice, his denial of purgatory, all killing, taking of oaths or his requirement of free preaching for everyone, including women, were part of a rejection of the Roman Church and an attempt to return to the practice of the Primitive Church. Sedlák identified these claims as Waldensian and also pointed out that Nicholas' teaching was later taken up by some of the radical Hussite factions, mostly the Taborites. The ensuing debate revolved primarily around the "Hussite Waldensianism" of Nicholas' opinions and scholars have not yet reached a consensus on this issue.²⁷⁹ But while Nicholas' influence on the radical Hussite factions is accepted by the majority of scholars,²⁸⁰ the extent to which he himself was affected by Waldensian, Wycliffite and other sources continues to

²⁷⁵ A list of Payne's treatises was collected by Bartoš, *Literární činnost M. Jana Rokycany, M. Jana Příbrama, M. Petra Payna*, 93–111.

²⁷⁶ Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 371–372.

²⁷⁷ The list of Nicholas' rich literary legacy was compiled by Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 28–32; subsequently updated by Cegna: *Nicola della Rosa Nera ... De reliquiis*, 151–153; minor addenda supplied by Jana Nechutová, Pavel Spunar and Anežka Vidmanová – see above, *Biographies*, 43, note 107. My own supplements appear in the list of Nicholas' treatises in Appendix B.

²⁷⁸ Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 51–54. Sedlák's opinion was rejected by Müller, "Magister Nikolaus," 102–109.

²⁷⁹ Nicholas was also classified as a Waldensian heretic by Josef Pekař, *Žižka a jeho doba* (Žižka and his times), vol. 2 (Prague: Odeon, 1992), 14–18.

²⁸⁰ An overview of older opinions is summarised by Božena Kopiczková, "Pražský radikalismus a valdenství" (Prague radicalism and Waldensianism), *Pražský sborník historický* 20 (1987): 5–34; more about Prague radicalism in her monograph concerning a leading figure in these circles: Kopiczková, *Jan Želivský*, 9–48, 196–199.

cause discrepancies. F. M. Bartoš for instance argued that Waldensian ideas were mediated to Nicholas through Peter Payne.²⁸¹ The concept of “Hussite Waldensianism” was originally developed by Robert Kalivoda, who argued that the radical elements in Nicholas’ doctrine were simply a synthesis of the most radical Hussite propositions with popular Waldensian principles.²⁸² Due to the anti-Church social ideology, represented by the Waldensian heresy, the requirements of these two systems may have – under given circumstances – amalgamated and the radical Hussite factions subsequently adopted some of the Waldensian elements. Kalivoda also pointed out that Nicholas as an educated person may have – with the help of Wyclifism – provided the radical Hussite circles with a fair theoretical background for social change. The subsequent analysis of certain aspects of Nicholas’ doctrine, carried out by Jana Nechutová, who examined Nicholas’ views on temporal wealth and poverty of the Church, the nature of the Church, simony, observance of the six minimal commands or the stress on the law of God, outwardly endorsed Kalivoda’s theory.²⁸³ Yet Nechutová’s investigation serves the opposite purpose as well since the material she assembled arouses doubts about Nicholas’ Waldensianism.²⁸⁴ Concurrently with Nechutová, Howard Kaminsky published his study on Nicholas’ doctrine, based primarily on an analysis of two of Nicholas’ treatises that he had edited, the *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* and the *Consuetudo et ritus primitive ecclesie et moderne*.²⁸⁵ Kaminsky developed a more restrained position, highlighted Nicholas’ ideological consonance with external (Wyclif) as well as internal sources (Matthew of Janov) and closely examined the development of the proclaimed Waldensian ideas in Nicholas’ treatises. He showed convincingly that Nicholas’ doctrines at first did not go much beyond those of contemporary Hussite theoreticians. However, they took a more radical shape only at a later stage, around 1415. The *modus operandi* and the learned argumentation, full of canonistic constructions, typical of Nicholas, complemented certain extreme points traceable in Nicholas’ works and led Kaminsky to

²⁸¹ Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 113–125. The Waldensian influence of Payne over Nicholas was rejected by Pekař, *Žižka a jeho doba*, 14–18.

²⁸² Robert Kalivoda, *Husitská ideologie* (Hussite ideology) (Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1961), 292–316.

²⁸³ Nechutová, *Místo Mikuláše*, esp. 61–71. A similar position is held by Paul de Vooght, “Le traité «De usuris» de Nicolas de Dresde,” *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 44 (1977): 150–175.

²⁸⁴ Pointed out by Kejř, “Z nové literatury o Mikuláši z Drážďan,” *Právněhistorické studie* 15 (1971): 225–227.

²⁸⁵ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 9–24; expanded on in idem, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 204–220.

suggest that Nicholas' doctrine was not Waldensian but "Waldensianist". A restrained position toward Nicholas' Waldensianism gradually achieved prominence and it is often stressed that the synthesis of Wycliffite-Hussite ideology is on certain level undistinguishable from popular sectarianism, including the Waldensianism.²⁸⁶ Along these lines, Romolo Cegna reached the conclusion that Nicholas was a typical representative of the medieval Catholic reform movement.²⁸⁷ His long-standing scholarly interest in Nicholas is based on the close reading of his treatises, a number of which Cegna edited himself.²⁸⁸ Cegna at first examined Nicholas' participation in the debate on Utraquism in Prague. Based on the dating of one of Nicholas' longest utraquistic polemics, the *Replica rectori scholarum in Corbach*, he justified Nicholas' primacy in the dispute over the necessity of the lay chalice. However, the chronology of Nicholas' utraquistic treatises, which has been established over the course of time differently as more of the works became accessible in critical editions, refuted this theory.²⁸⁹ Cegna also meticulously analyzed the authorities that Nicholas quoted in his works and pointed out the central place of Pseudo-Chrysostom's *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem* and the significance of the six minimal commandments in Nicholas' teaching. According to Cegna, the denial of purgatory as well as the refusal to swear oaths, which are traditionally labelled as Waldensian, were in Nicholas' interpretation only a radical application of the *lex Dei* and his concept of the Church as a spiritual body. All these appeals for evangelical reform, as Cegna argues, have a bearing on the imitation of Christ in the spirit of the *Devotio moderna*, but they are not the results of Nicholas' explicit affiliation with Waldensian heresy.²⁹⁰ Cegna also noted the later influence of Nicholas'

²⁸⁶ Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 60. Among historians of the Waldensian movement, this opinion was also expressed by Amedeo Molnár, *Valdenští*, 209–210 and in his other works.

²⁸⁷ A number of Cegna's studies have been mentioned already, see above, *Biographies*, 36, note 79.

²⁸⁸ Cegna edited the *De reliquiis et de veneratione sanctorum: De purgatorio, Expositio super Pater noster* (with Jana Nechutová), *Puncta, Nisi manducaveritis, Tractatus de iuramento*. Links to the editions can be found in the appendix where Nicholas' treatises are listed.

²⁸⁹ Krmíčková, *Studie a texty*, 61–85. One of her latest contributions to the chronology of Utraquism in Prague is Helena Krmíčková, "Jakoubkova utrakvistická díla z roku 1414" (Jacobellus' utraquistic treatises from 1414), in *Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Texty a jejich působení*, ed. Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Filosofia, 2006), 171–181.

²⁹⁰ See one of his latest studies on the vows, Romolo Cegna, "Il *Tractatus de iuramento* di Nicola della Rosa Nera," 429 – 462; as well as idem, "Alcunas sposicions sobre alcuns passage de sant Mt.," in *Valdesi medievali*, 255–268. A complex treatment of various aspects of Waldensian ideology was carried out earlier by Cegna, see Romolo Cegna, *Fede ed etica Valdese nel quattrocento. Il «Libro espositivo» e il*

treatises that can be traced in the literature of the Waldensians in Provence, Italy and Germany, which supported some of his theories. Based on a close reading of the *Confessio Taboritarum*, probably the most refined formulation of the programme of Tabor written by Nicholas Biskupec of Pelhřimov, Cegna examined the literary borrowings from Nicholas of Dresden's works that appear here.²⁹¹ The Waldensians secured and translated the *Confessio Taboritarum* for themselves and elaborated on it,²⁹² yet the assumption formulated by Cegna that the Waldensians drew directly on Nicholas Biskupec's models, i.e. on Nicholas of Dresden or John Hus, has not been accepted in the scholarship.²⁹³ The afterlife of Nicholas' works, be it among the Waldensians or the Lollards, is doubtless very interesting and research into this matter will certainly achieve valuable results. For the present purpose, however, it cannot be pursued further.²⁹⁴ Whatever case can be made for Nicholas' alleged Waldensianism, the long-lasting discussion about it overshadowed all other possibly interesting aspects of his doctrine. Moreover, influences of other doctrinal systems that could be found in Nicholas' works have been disregarded, such as the doctrines of the Lollards or the Free Spirit.²⁹⁵

At any rate, the overview of the ideas which the members of the Dresden School presumably held does not alter the present perspective on the School itself. Even though

«*Tesoro e luce della fede*» (Torino: Claudiana, 1982); and idem, *Medioevo cristiano e penitenza Valdese. Il «Libro espositivo» e il «Tesoro e luce della fede» (parte seconda)* (Torino: Claudiana, 1994).

²⁹¹ *Confessio Taboritarum*, ed. Amedeo Molnár and Romolo Cegna (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1983). The Czech translation was published earlier: Mikuláš z Pelhřimova, *Vyznání a obrana Táborů* (Confession and defence of the Taborites), trans. František M. Dobiáš and Amedeo Molnár (Prague: Academia, 1972). There are also older prints of the *Confessio*, the first was already published by Flacius Illyricus in 1568.

²⁹² The obvious influence of Nicholas Biskupec's work on various Waldensian texts such as the *Tresor e lume de fe* or the *Libro espositivo*, was analyzed by Amedeo Molnár, "Ohlas Tábořské konfese u románských valdenských (The reception of the Taborite confession by the Romance Waldensians)." *Strahovská knihovna* 5–6 (1970–1971): 201–208. See also idem, "Tresor e lume de fe. En marge di traité de dogmatique vaudoise," *Communio viatorum* 7/3–4 (1964): 285–289.

²⁹³ Romolo Cegna, "Oportet et haereses esse," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 3 (1967): 56–64, see also Amedeo Molnár, "Hus' *De matrimonio* and its Waldensian version," *Communio viatorum* 1/2–3 (1958): 142–157.

²⁹⁴ For example the commentary on the Apocalypse, *Opus arduum valde*, and its connection to the Hussites or Wyclif still deserves attention. Romolo Cegna, who examined copies of this text preserved in Bohemian libraries, is preparing a transcription of this text. For the background of this issue, see one of the latest contributions by a specialist on the Lollards, Anne Hudson, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

²⁹⁵ Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 61 pointed this out and called for an investigation of this link in several places. See also Howard Kaminsky, "The Problematics of later-medieval Heresy," 133–156; or his older study: idem, "The Free Spirit in the Hussite Revolution," in *Millennial Dreams in the Actions*, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (The Hague: Mouton, 1962), 166–186.

it is not the aim of this work to analyze doctrinal matters, it is clear that a closer scrutiny of this issue will be hindered by the lack of comparative material. Similarly to the teaching activities, the opinions of the members of the Dresden School, as much as they can be known, do not point to the actual existence of the group as a School.

3. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DISCIPLES

STREET PROPAGANDA

A distinctive feature of a school is the existence of its supporters or disciples. The narrative sources record a few hints that suggest that the Dresden School indeed had a number of supporters who took an active part in the riots in Prague before the outbreak of the Hussite wars. The *Chronicon Procopii* (II.A.7.) described that during one such riot in 1414, the supporters of the Dresdeners carried wooden boards painted with antithetical scenes comparing Christ and the Pope. The anonymous tract (II.A.5.) recorded that the Dresdeners identified the Pope with the Antichrist. The use of antithetical images depicting contradictory scenes from the lives of Christ and the Antichrist is documented on several occasions in 15th-century Bohemia. Such antitheses undoubtedly drew on an older tradition but some of them could be directly connected with the antitheses that appear in a treatise composed by Nicholas of Dresden, the *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*. The link between Nicholas' *Tabule* and the disciples of the Dresdeners in Prague will be examined in the following.²⁹⁶

Pictorial caricatures were a favoured and successful means of propaganda, and not only during the Hussite movement.²⁹⁷ A full cycle of antitheses depicting scenes from the life of Christ and the Pope survives from this period which is unmistakably of Bohemian provenance. These antitheses have mostly attracted the attention of art historians because they are preserved in two illuminated codices dating from the late 15th and early 16th centuries – the so called Göttingen and Jena codices.²⁹⁸ Both of them contain an old Czech adaptation of Nicholas' Latin *Tabule* [see Plates 5–8]. The relationship between Nicholas' original Latin text and its Czech adaptations in these two codices was subject

²⁹⁶ I have presented some of the following findings in my article "Communicating Texts Through Images: Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule*," in *Public Communication in European Reformation Artistic and Other Media in Central Europe 1380–1620*, ed. Milena Bartlová and Michal Šroněk (Prague: Artefactum, 2007), 29–37.

²⁹⁷ Karel Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách a umění středověku a husitské obrazové antithese* (Antichrist in the teachings and art of the Middle Ages and Hussite pictorial antitheses) (Prague: Česká akademie, 1918), 139–172. For the theoretical background of Hussite propaganda, see Karel Hruza, "Propaganda, Kommunikation und Öffentlichkeit im Mittelalter," in *Propaganda, Kommunikation und Öffentlichkeit im Mittelalter (11.–16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Karel Hruza (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), 9–25.

²⁹⁸ The literature on both codices is vast. Recently, a facsimile edition of the Jena codex with a big commentary in both Czech and English has become available, see *The Jena codex* (Prague: Gallery, 2009). For the Göttingen codex, see Viktor Svec, *Bildagitation. Antipäpstliche Bildpolemik der böhmischen Reformation im Göttinger Hussitenkodex* (Weimar: VDG, 1994).

to an enduring discussion and presently it is accepted that the illuminated codices were modelled on different examples and adjusted the original Latin text in different ways [see Plates 9–10].²⁹⁹ In consequence, this supported the opinion that such pictorial antitheses were widespread among the Hussites. Nicholas' text itself served either as a libretto for certain wall-paintings or painted boards (or standards) that were being carried during the street riots in Prague; or Nicholas was inspired by some already existing pictorial antitheses and made good use of them in his *Tabule*.

Apart from the pictorial antitheses preserved in the Göttingen and Jena codices, various allusions to these very antitheses can be read in narrative historical sources of Bohemian origin. In one of his sermons, Hus describes a concrete antithesis of Christ riding a donkey and the Pope on a lavishly harnessed horse.³⁰⁰ This image is then echoed in a number of narrative sources from a later period,³⁰¹ where further antitheses were described. This information led to the assumption that wall paintings inspired by Nicholas' *Tabule* had existed in the Bethlehem chapel in Prague, an important centre of the reform movement where preachers (including Hus himself) sermonized in the Czech language. This attractive supposition was, however, rejected.³⁰²

An important source of information concerning the cycle of antitheses is a tract written around 1417 that directly opposes the text of Nicholas' *Tabule*. In manuscripts it is often entitled *Responsiones ad obiecciones et picturas* and its author is traditionally considered to be Stephen of Pálež [see Plate 12].³⁰³ The author spoke of many pictures

²⁹⁹ An analysis of the Jena codex was carried out by Miloslav Vlk, "K otázce předlohy Jenského kodexu" (On the model of the Jena codex), *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze A XVII* (1963): 1–19; idem, "Paleografický rozbor Jenského kodexu" (Palaeographical analysis of the Jena codex), *Sborník historický* 14 (1966): 49–74; idem, "Jenský kodex – kodikologický rozbor" (The Jena codex – a codicological analysis), *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze A XXI* (1967): 73–106.

³⁰⁰ Jan Hus, *Česká nedělní postila: vyloženie svatých čtení nedělních* (Czech Sunday Postil: expositions of Sunday Bible readings), ed. Jiří Daňhelka (Prague: Academia, 1992), 178.

³⁰¹ For instance, in the chronicles of Hájek, Theobald or Schwalb, or Weigl's testimonial of Mathias Döring's treatise – information about these sources and their survey, together with a discussion of their information is in Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách*, 140–143.

³⁰² The assumption was based on information from the above sources and combined with an alleged dream that Hus described in one of his letters from the prison in Constance where he described rich wall-paintings in the Bethlehem chapel. Miloslav Vlk, "Obrazy v Betlémské kapli. Rozbor historických pramenů" (Paintings in the Bethlehem chapel. An analysis of historical sources), *Časopis Národního muzea* 130/1 (1961): 151–169, eventually refuted the connection between the antitheses and the hypothetical wall-paintings in the Bethlehem chapel. See also Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 27–28.

³⁰³ A transcription of the text based on a single manuscript from the Prague Chapter Library was prepared by Antonín Podlaha and printed in Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách*, 237–247 with an attribution to Stephen of Pálež. The text was also attributed to Stanislav of Znojmo or Hus himself. For its manuscript tradition, see

that contrasted scenes from the life of Christ, supported by passages from the Bible, with the pictures of the Antichrist, backed up by Church privileges and decrees. He explicitly mentioned that the heretics attempted to assail the Roman Church in their “*tabulis et picturis*” and described the scenes that appear in several pictures.³⁰⁴ The *Responsiones* describe several particular paintings for which a source could be found in Nicholas’ *Tabule*. However, the themes of the *Tabule* and their attribution to concrete pictures (i.e. their descriptions) in the *Responsiones* were partially mixed up. This led to two different conclusions: either the author of the *Responsiones* was describing (perhaps by heart) some wall-paintings, or that he only copied a text that might have accompanied the *Tabule* with the pictures.³⁰⁵

Later on Flacius Illyricus mentioned a very old book written “roughly a hundred years ago” that contained several opposing pictures of Christ and the Pope accompanied by a text.³⁰⁶ The scene Flacius described as an example also appears in the *Tabule* along with the satirical verse mentioned by him. Echoes of similar textual antitheses can be read in various later treatises. However, there is yet another kind of evidence attesting to the existence of the particular antitheses that could be connected with Nicholas’ *Tabule*.

In 1412, Voksa of Valdštejn probably together with Jerome of Prague and the students of Prague University organized a street procession connected with the protests against indulgences.³⁰⁷ Their criticism was aimed at the Roman Church and the Pope, and a student dressed up as the whore of Babylon, bedizened with charters and bulls, acted in the procession.³⁰⁸ Such street processions quickly became widespread and the existence of painted boards in another procession is later mentioned in Prokop’s chronicle, who explicitly writes that the Dresdeners carried “*tabulas contra apostolicum scriptas et*

Pavel Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 202–203, no. 412. Here and elsewhere, the *Responsiones* are considered to be a part of a longer treatise refuting certain Hussite ideas, see Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 27–28. For more about this treatise and its manuscript transmission, see below, III.B.2. *The Collecta et excerpta*.

³⁰⁴ “...prout lucide apparet in tabulis et picturis ipsorum. Depingunt enim in una parte tabulae papam equitantem et insigniis apostolicae dignitatis utentem ... In alia vero parte depingunt Christum pauperem, crucem suam in humeris bajulantem...”, Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách*, 237.

³⁰⁵ Karel Stejskal, “Poznámky k současnému stavu bádání o Jenském kodexu” (Notes on the present state of knowledge concerning the Jena codex), *Umění* 9 (1961): 13.

³⁰⁶ Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách*, 168 where he quotes the relevant passage from Flacius.

³⁰⁷ Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 253.

³⁰⁸ Svejkský, “Divadlo,” 82, points out a parallel to similar figures that appeared in carnival processions in Nürnberg in the 16th century, see Samuel L. Sumberg, *The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

pictas” in the rebellious events of 1414.³⁰⁹ Prokop mentions the antithesis of Christ riding a donkey and the Pope on a lavishly harnessed horse – that is, the same as the one referred to by Hus, which also appears in Nicholas’ *Tabule*. Both of these street productions had a certain theatrical character. Their main point, however, had to lie in the pictorial performance and not in the spoken word that could not have been of great effect due to the dynamics of the street performances. Under such circumstances, perhaps only short satirical melodies or chanting could have been employed which at first sight have nothing to do with polemical literature. The only possible connection is the survival of some short satirical tunes that were frequently composed by the students, who were at the same time active in the street performances.³¹⁰ At any rate, the necessity to promptly react to the situation resulted in the embellishment of the painted boards or standards being inspired by the above-mentioned antitheses, whether textual or pictorial. Their impact must have been sufficiently strong, their existence well-known and their authority must have been generally accepted in the given group so that the students could have taken advantage of them without hesitation.

One seemingly minor issue connected to the text tradition of Nicholas’ *Tabule*, a text mentioned in connection with the antitheses in the above-mentioned sources, has a strong bearing on the Dresden School disciples’ involvement in the street riots. It can also contribute to the debated relationship between the *Tabule* and its illuminations.

This treatise is considered to be one of the oldest in Nicholas’ rich literary production and was composed some time around 1412.³¹¹ The text has come down to us in fifteen manuscript copies, out of which three contain only excerpts or an incomplete text, and another three are deemed to represent an independent phase of text development. As for its content, the *Tabule* comprise a collection of authorities divided into nine parts – the *tabule* or tables – illustrating the contrasts between the praxis of the primitive Church and that of the contemporary corrupted Roman Church. They do so with the help of passages from the Bible and the Church Fathers contrasted with quotations from the Decretals and glosses on Canon Law.

³⁰⁹ See above, *Primary sources*, 26.

³¹⁰ Svejkský, “Divadlo,” 83.

³¹¹ For the list of surviving copies of the text, see Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 28–29, no. 2, edition of the text follows on pages 38–65.

The title *Tabule* has caused some confusion among historians. The whole text has nine parts marked as *tabule*. Each *tabula* gathers material for one theme but could have rendered inspiration for several pictures. In three of the preserved manuscripts the text is entitled *Novus color et antiquus* and this terminology prompted some researchers to think of the treatise in relation to paintings. However, the manuscripts of the *Tabule* themselves contain evidence that *lex divina antiquus color, lex humana novus color*, that is, the old colour represents the divine law and the new colour the human law. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that such terms were traditional in medieval rhetoric.³¹² Nicholas quoted the *Tabule* as the *Cortina de Anticristo* (*cortina* meaning a carpet, a curtain or a drape, but it can also have the figurative meaning of ‘a collection of authorities’).³¹³ Apart from this title, some manuscripts read the incipit as *Conversacio Christi opposita conversacioni Antichristi*,³¹⁴ which is also preserved in the polemic against the *Tabule*, the above-mentioned *Responsiones*. The copies dating from the later 15th century often read the subsequently widespread and accepted title *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*, or also *Antithesis Christi et Antichristi*.

The structure of the work does not permit an unequivocal opinion to be formed concerning its illuminations. In the preserved copies of Nicholas’ *Tabule*, only rubricated headings of every table can be found, together with the numbering of the theses, which to some extent indicate the structure of the text. One copy contains a truncated drawing [see Plate 11] and this fact together with notes in several other manuscripts such as *Cristus portans crucem – papa equitans in equo* led to the hypothesis that these represented certain instructions for painters.³¹⁵ The structure of the whole text is so confusing so that

³¹² For medieval rhetorical figures in a Czech context, see Josef Tříška, *Rétorický styl a pražská univerzitní literatura ve středověku* (Rhetorical style and Prague University literature in the Middle Ages) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1977). As an interesting example, it can be mentioned that in another treatise written by Nicholas, the *Apologia* composed around 1415, two scribes (MS Cracow, BJ 2148, fol. 172v and 1690, fol. 249va) designated one part of the text as a *tabula* although based on the majority of manuscripts it should read *conclusio* – a fact that indicates the identical perception of both terms as text-division tools.

³¹³ Dana Martínková and others, eds., *Latinitatis mediæ ævi lexicon Bohemorum*, vol. 1 (Prague: Academia, 1987), 953.

³¹⁴ Such a title in one of the Vienna manuscripts (ÖNB 4343) led Loserth to consider the text a dialogue and to edit the incomplete text based on this manuscript in a corresponding form, see Johann Loserth, “Ein kirchenpolitischer Dialog aus der Blütezeit des Taboritentums,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 46/2 (1907): 107–121.

³¹⁵ Such opinions are surveyed and discussed by František Šmahel, “Die *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* als audiovisuelles Medium hussitischer Agitation,” *Studie o rukopisech* 29 (1992): 97–98.

it has not been unequivocally clarified even by its critical edition.³¹⁶ Nevertheless, the most controversial issue concerning the relationship between the original text of the *Tabule* and its supposed illuminations still lies in the question of whether the Latin text of the *Tabule* was written first and then illuminated (if at all), or whether it was some wall-paintings (or other pictorial medium) that existed first and provided inspiration for Nicholas' *Tabule* – in short, which medium affected the origin of the other.

František Šmahel came up with an intriguing hypothesis concerning the *Tabule*. He tried to explain the position of some of the tables in the illuminated codices from Jena and Göttingen through the layout and perception of the wall-paintings in the house at the Black Rose in Prague where Nicholas and his colleagues lived and worked.³¹⁷ As Šmahel argued, the distribution of the wall-paintings in the house may match the layout of the tables in the Göttingen codex where they appear in a slightly distorted order: first comes the ninth table, followed by tables 5 to 8 and completed by tables 1 to 4. This could correspond to tables 5–8 and 1–4 being on the side walls and the ninth table on the central pillar in the atrium at the Black Rose House. From the codicological point of view, this hypothesis does not rest on very sound foundations as the order of the quires, especially in the Jena codex, is so distorted that it cannot offer solid evidence for any such conclusion. Nevertheless, from another point of view, this does not matter at all. For Šmahel rightly pointed out that the most powerful effect of the wall-paintings that presumably did exist could have been reached only through an audio-visual performance during which a learned interpreter with a good command of Latin assisted in the collective perception of the paintings closely connected with the text.³¹⁸

A little piece of information can be added to the function of the text that has so far been interpreted with the help of the presently known complete manuscripts of the *Tabule*. The text tradition of the *Tabule* has been rich and varied since its very beginnings. Let us repeat that nine of the manuscripts known so far represent the tradition

³¹⁶ Edited by Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 38–65.

³¹⁷ Šmahel, “Die Tabule,” 95–105.

³¹⁸ Šmahel discussed the question of the visual perception of written texts in Bohemia at the end of the Middle Ages in other studies as well, see for example Šmahel, “Od středověku k novověku: Modi legendi et videndi” (From Middle Ages to Modern Times: Modi legendi et videndi), *Umění* 32 (1984): 318–330; idem, “Das Lesen der unlesbaren Inschriften: Männer mit Zeigestäben,” in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 453–467.

of the lengthy collection of authorities; another six copies contain only incomplete texts or abridged excerpts, and out of these three are considered to be representatives of a different phase of text development. These incomplete texts still require some attention because their examination could result in the reconstruction of a text that is quite different from the one we know at present. This is all the more so since the relationship between the *Tabule* and their later illuminated Czech adaptations is still not entirely clear.

A manuscript preserved today in the archive in Herrnhut, Germany, displays a close connection to the illuminations and can be dated to a time close to the actual origin of the Latin *Tabule*.³¹⁹ It contains *sermones synodales* by John Hus, a few sermons of John Wyclif and various *hussitica*, the youngest of which can be dated to 1412.³²⁰ The decree of Rudolph, Bishop of Meissen, from 1411, based on which the group around Peter of Dresden were forced to leave the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden, is preserved solely in this manuscript. Last but not least, there is also an excerpt from Nicholas' *Tabule*. The manuscript contains a scribal explicit of 1412 and none of the inner or outer signs of the codex contradict the acceptance of this date. Providing that the text of the *Tabule* was composed around the beginning of the year 1412, it might be one of the oldest copies of this text – both of the dated manuscripts containing the complete text of the *Tabule* were copied at the earliest in 1417.

The excerpt copied in the Herrnhut manuscript contains passages from the fifth table, followed by the contradicting authorities from the second, first, third and fourth tables and the *testes de Antichristo* are summed up at the end. It is remarkable that the passages are organized in a way that corresponds to the antithetical character of the text, that is, a *pars Christi* on one side faces a *pars pape* on the other side. These inscriptions are also noted in the upper margins of each folio of the excerpt. Thus, on folio 94v a heading “*pars Cristi, que debet depingi baiulans crucem*” appears which faces on folio 95r “*pars pape, que debet depingi iuxta tenorem privilegii*” [see Plates 13 and 14]. Headings “*pars Cristi*” facing “*pars pape*” can be found in the subsequent opposite folios 95v and 96r.

³¹⁹ MS Herrnhut, Unitätsarchiv, AB.II.R.1.16.a, fol. 93v–97r. The editors of the *Tabule* did not include this manuscript in their edition. Nevertheless, it is briefly described in the foreword to the edition, see Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 34, 37. I would like to express my thanks to Howard Kaminsky, who directed my attention to this manuscript and, before I could consult it in person, kindly shared his unpublished notes with me.

³²⁰ The unpublished catalogue compiled by Dr. Joseph Müller is accessible in the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut.

Moreover, blank spaces that seem to have been left for the pictures can be found here as well: “*pars pape*” on folio 94r is written in the middle of the page, leaving the upper part blank [see Plate 15]. The layout of this copy thus attests to an explicit connection between the picture decoration and the text in a manuscript that is very close to the origin of the *Tabule* themselves.

Whether the Herrnhut manuscript represents a rudiment of the original text of the *Tabule* or, on the contrary, it is only a preparation for the textual edition of the *Tabule* as inspired by certain paintings cannot be unequivocally decided. The existence of the Herrnhut manuscript introduces one essential implication to the intricate situation concerning the images and the *Tabule*, namely that already around 1412, that is at a time very close to the composition of the *Tabule*, their pictorial decoration was intended as a means for the promotion of the ideas they contained. And because other sources attest to the use of antithetical pictures in the street riots in Prague in 1412 or 1414, the link between Nicholas *Tabule* and the students who carried these antithetical pictures in these street processions becomes more apparent. If the message of the *Tabule* in a simplified version of striking antitheses on portable wooden boards was to be successfully used in the street performances, contemporaries had to be familiar with the existence of the polemic paintings and the accompanying text interpreting their meaning. And it is precisely here that – for the first time – we can see a flash of the influence that the circle around Nicholas did exert on the wider masses. In order to utilize the pictorial potential of the *Tabule* on the spur of the moment (i.e. when preparing for a street performance), previous discussions on how and what to extract from the paintings or the text must have taken place – and the existence of the abridged version of the *Tabule* with its layout from this very period attests precisely to this. The assumption that the Dresdeners in Prague cooperated with the students of the University can moreover be supported by the activity of Friedrich Eppinge – namely his involvement in the struggle over Wyclif’s articles in Prague that took place at the University, the result of which was Eppinge’s treatise on unjust excommunication from April 1412. At the same time, it should be stressed that both events relate only to the period in Prague and do not apply to possible earlier phases in the existence of the Dresden School. At any rate, once settled at the Black Rose House, the German masters did attract some attention amongst the Reformist party supporters.

PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY

Other activities that may possibly have been shared by the Dresdeners should also be surveyed here. Closely connected to the question of Waldensianism, the Dresden School was regarded as the prime agent in the rapprochement of Hussite and Waldensian ideologies. Amedeo Molnár came up with the concept of “waldensich-hussitische Internationale” and tried to show that the synthesis of ideas was followed by the amalgamation of organizational structures, which continued even after the end of the Hussite wars.³²¹ Molnár understood the missionary work of the people from the Dresden School as the propagation of Hussite ideas in Germany, closely linked with the pro-Waldensian orientation of the Dresden School. The concept of the Waldensian-Hussite international was extensively debated over the course of time in the scholarship,³²² although the Waldensian influence over the Hussite radicals is not at all easy to perceive or trace in the sources. For the present purpose, it is necessary to pay some attention to the travelling enterprises through which the individual members of the School, who were often labelled Hussite emissaries,³²³ attempted to disseminate their ideas. The reason for this is to find out whether their missionary vocation could have had a common basis which could be understood as a characteristic trait of the members of the Dresden School.

The travels of the first generation of the teachers of the Dresden School, namely Peter, Nicholas and Friedrich Eppinge, do not indicate any common intention. Peter visited Nuremberg in 1405 on his own but we know nothing of the reasons and the background to this voyage. His subsequent travels, now together with Eppinge, were limited to the teaching activities in Dresden. Eppinge’s movements are determined by the course of his studies, similarly to Nicholas’, whose whereabouts are even more difficult to trace. On the other hand, a manuscript reference suggests that Nicholas of Dresden propagated his ideas through preaching at least on one occasion when he stopped in Žatec

³²¹ Molnár, *Valdenští*, 206–214, who had already used this term – even though to describe the cooperation of the Waldensians with the Taborite radicals – in his earlier studies.

³²² See, for instance, the proceedings of a conference devoted solely to this topic: *Friedrich Reiser und die „waldensich-hussitische Internationale“ im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp (Heidelberg, Ubstadt-Weiher, and Basel: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2006), especially the contribution of Albert de Lange (p. 29–74) where he surveys the past discussions of this concept. František Šmahel in his *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 4, 118–144 also devoted a chapter to the Hussite international, though he treated the subject from a wider point of view.

³²³ Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 4, 124.

in north-western Bohemia and preached to its German population in 1416.³²⁴ Apart from this, only one treatise of Nicholas of Dresden can be considered evidence of a possible promotion of his ideas. The *Replica rectori scholarum in Corbach* was composed after 1415 and brings in a huge number of authorities attesting to the necessity of the lay chalice.³²⁵ The treatise is styled as the letter of the rector of a local school in Wildungen, Germany, to the rector of another school in Corbach. It has been explained above that the *Replica* can be perceived as a kind of “literary epilogue” of Nicholas’ because in it he quotes and excerpts his own as well as his colleagues’ utraquistic treatises. In 1415, when the debate about Utraquism in Bohemia was concluded, the *raison d’être* of the *Replica* may very likely have been to disseminate the idea of Utraquism to Germany as the dedication suggests.

As opposed to the first generation, the activities and travels of John Drändorf and Peter Turnau were quite different. For one thing, we know that Drändorf was a fervent preacher and thus, he openly spread his ideas this way. The manifesto he composed together with his fellow Turnau very openly served the same purpose, i.e. to change the affairs of the world. As the detailed sequence of their travels was described above, let me only repeat that they moved around separately. Only in September 1424 did Drändorf join his colleague Turnau in Speyer. At that time Turnau held the position of rector of the local cathedral school. After a short mission to the nearby city of Heilbronn, they returned and worked on a manifesto entitled *Misericors deus*, calling for a change in the existing order. This short exhortation deals with the three *vincula*, i.e. bonds which the Lord imposed on Christians because of their sins. These are unjust excommunication, blind obedience and the third, surpassing the previous two, the secular rule of the clergy. The paragraph on unjust excommunication is rather short. It consists basically of six authorities, yet it is surprising that Turnau (who as an educated lawyer very likely supplied the canonistic authorities) did not utilize the material on the topic compiled by Friedrich Eppinge. It was explained above that Eppinge’s *Posicio de excommunicacione* written in Prague in 1412 is the most complex legal treatment of this hot issue and, because it argued the matter based on the difference between the institutional Church and

³²⁴ The so-called *Sermo 1416* which Nicholas presumably preached in Žatec is edited in Appendix C, more about it in *Biographies*, 46–47.

³²⁵ See above, *Biographies*, 36–37, 45.

the community of the saints, it supported the conclusion that unjust excommunication is not harmful. It is impossible that this line of argument was unknown to Turnau from his Prague days. However, out of the six authorities that appear in the manifesto, only three can be read in Eppinge's *Posicio*.³²⁶ On the other hand, the second parts of the manifesto, dealing with blind obedience, consists of passages from the same part of the Canon law as the previous one (namely various canons from C. 11 q. 3 of the *Decretum Gratiani* are quoted), which can also be read in numerous treatises of, for instance, Nicholas of Dresden. Thus, it is also possible that Turnau simply excerpted only one place from the Canon law. Still, it is rather striking that Eppinge's major breakthrough in the matter of unjust excommunication was omitted utterly by his colleague Turnau. In the third part of the manifesto, the secular rule of the clergy is refuted with the help of several Biblical passages and it is argued that the bishops who have secular power are successors of the emperors and not of Christ or his apostles. The conclusion contains an exhortation to break free from the oppression of these bonds and invites all to verify the validity of the presented claims in the *libris cathenatis*, which are hidden in monasteries and churches. In addition to this, Drändorf composed three letters to the citizens of Weinsberg, a town afflicted by an ecclesiastical ban. Similarly as in the manifesto, Drändorf pointed out the invalidity of the interdict and called for an armed revolt. The establishment very quickly reacted to such appeals and upon Drändorf's arrest, these documents were presented at his trial. The letters and the manifesto were a part of a greater scheme to build a network of communities that failed and both Drändorf and Turnau were burnt as heretics. Interestingly, it is not clear how much of all this was solely Drändorf's activity. Turnau certainly held less radical views than Drändorf and told the inquisitors that he only helped Drändorf unwillingly. During their discussions about the manifesto, Turnau strove to moderate some of Drändorf's views, for example he tried to convince him that priests living in sin still should be obeyed (which is also confirmed during his trial), and he did not partake in the styling of the emotional foreword to the manifesto either. How much of this was manoeuvring in front of the tribunal is impossible to say. Nonetheless, it is clear

³²⁶ As a matter of fact, two of them are a part of a single quotation – a passage from the Canon law (C. 11 q. 3. c. 90) is supported by a Biblical quotation (Matth. 5, 11 and Luc. 6, 22); in the same manner they appear at the end of Eppinge's treatise (*Tractatus responsivus*, 133). The third one is another quotation from the Canon Law (C. 11 q. 3 c. 46), see *Tractatus responsivus*, 128.

enough that the *spiritus agens* in the Weinsberg agitation was John Drändorf, who took advantage of the position and the network of contacts that his friend Turnau had established in the area previously.³²⁷ The two men reached this destination along different paths and the reasons for their opposition to the Church rested on different foundations. Thus, it seems that their joint enterprise was not instigated by the circle of the Germans at the Black Rose House in Prague.

Before settling in Speyer, the cosmopolitan Turnau toured other places, too. Turnau travelled to Zittau, Prague and Bologna to further his studies while his subsequent journey to the East had yet another reason. Turnau claimed that he wanted to see the *mirabilia mundi* and visited Greece and Crete. He nevertheless abandoned the original plan to continue to Jerusalem and returned to Bohemia through Venice. In Prague he informed the Hussite reformers about the customs and rites of the Eastern Church in a short piece of writing.³²⁸ Nevertheless, all these enterprises bear little relation to the grand project Turnau later undertook with Drändorf in Germany.

Bartholomew Rautenstock is another member of the Dresden School who in the course of his missionary work travelled and preached in various places. Following his ordination in 1417, Rautenstock preached to a German congregation in Prague for over a year. After this he married and settled in Germany for ten years but when his wife died, he set out on several trips and preached all over Franconia. During his trips he took advantage of the network of his friends and his style of itinerant preaching led scholars to suggest that he might have been one of the twelve “apostles” sent by the Taborites to Germany.³²⁹ How long his missionary work lasted remains unknown. What is known for certain is that Rautenstock was ultimately caught by the inquisition and burnt in Nuremberg some time between 1450 and 1460.

The eventful destiny of Peter Payne who travelled a great deal as chief diplomat of the Hussite legacies and who took part in various official negotiations pertain to a later period. Moreover, it has been argued at the very beginning that because of he arrived in Prague only in 1414 when most of the Dresdeners were gone, Payne’s contacts with the

³²⁷ Selge, “Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse,” 183–202 brings critical insight to the matter of their cooperation.

³²⁸ His short tract was edited by Bartoš, “Německého husity Petra Turnova spis,” 13–25.

³²⁹ Machilek, “Deutsche Hussiten,” 280. The sequence of Rautenstock’s travels are described above, *Biographies*, 73–74.

Dresden School could not have been of a formative nature. At any rate, his travels had nothing in common with the missionary work of the other members, as described above.

It is clear that the biographical data, which alone disclosed the disparate paths of the individual members of the Dresden School, are an obstacle to the supposition that their travelling activities might have represented a common enterprise. In spite of this, it has not been entirely fruitless to examine the matter from a different angle. The missionary activities of the members of the Dresden School are certainly remarkable. Apart from those described above, there might have been others who set out to preach in Germany but are not witnessed by the sources. For all we know, Nicholas of Dresden might have encountered his martyrdom in Germany, in Meissen. Obviously we know nothing about other disciples who might have been inspired by this example. On the other hand, it is also evident that the reasons behind the individuals' travels varied, just like their opinions on various doctrinal matters were different. The members of the Dresden School certainly did not share or promote a distinct programme. Yet the lifestyle, itinerant preaching and the zeal to acquire and spread the truth of the gospel echoed throughout many of their travels. The examination of the possible bonds of the group based on their teaching activities, doctrinal persuasion and the promotional performances of their disciples revealed that their missionary zeal is possibly the only thing that can be regarded as indirect evidence for the existence of this group.

Chapter III: The later Influence of the Dresden School

A. Followers – Collecting the Dresdeners' treatises

The previous scrutiny of the evidence contemporary with the supposed existence of the Dresden School suggests that the School is a later construct. Nevertheless, the preceding chapters also indicate that in terms of the influence of the School, the situation may be different. I have shown that some of the supporters of the Dresden School in Prague took an active part in street propaganda in the period when the German masters still lived at the Black Rose House, or shortly afterwards. There are other pieces of information that point to the radiation of the influence of the School, which come from a somewhat later period. In the very first place I would like to discuss the supposition that there were conscious attempts at collecting the treatises of the masters of the School. Such an activity can be regarded as a distinct sign that a school had followers and would indeed provide first-rate circumstantial evidence that the Dresden School existed.

Nevertheless, it has to be stressed at the very beginning that it was only one member of the School, Nicholas of Dresden, whose treatises were ever collected. Nevertheless, the existence of the “collected editions”, as they were called,³³⁰ is such a significant feature for the problem of the existence of the Dresden School that it must be discussed in detail here. Howard Kaminsky in his study on the Dresden School noted that there were a few codices which contained material mostly by Nicholas. To be precise, he listed five manuscripts presently kept in Prague, Brno, Cracow, Bautzen, and Basel which could be regarded as a kind of “collected editions” of Nicholas of Dresden's works. Without further specification, Kaminsky put forward the hypothesis that the mere existence of such collections indicates the existence of the followers of the Dresden School. Because our knowledge concerning the dating and authorship of the tractates copied in these codices has advanced substantially from Kaminsky's times, and also because new evidence can be added to his original argument, I will survey the relevant manuscripts in detail.

³³⁰ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 25.

(1) First of all, a codex presently housed in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague, shelf-mark IV G 15, can be justly considered such an attempt.³³¹ The title *Tractatus Drazdanensis* can still be read on the cover of the codex, which, with four exceptions, contains works only by Nicholas. As the content of the texts in the codex makes clear, it was very likely commissioned by someone from the Hussite milieu. It bears an old shelf-mark of the Prague University and it is also recorded in the old catalogue of the Bohemian Nation College Library.³³² The entry in this old catalogue, however, is rather peculiar due to its brevity and it is possible that it was added to the list only later.³³³ It has two scribal explicits from 1417 and it can indeed be dated to the period before 1417. Unfortunately, the codex does not disclose further details concerning its ownership, the only evidence is that before the university it probably belonged to an unknown priest by the name of Zachař.³³⁴

The four works not written by Nicholas are John Hus' treatises *De sex erroribus* and *De matrimonio*, Jacobellus of Misa's *Salvator noster* and a treatise *De corea*, presently ascribed to Conrad Waldhauser.³³⁵ The rest of the codex is taken up by ten treatises composed by Nicholas of Dresden, for one of which this is a *codex unicus*. In order of appearance, the manuscript contains Nicholas' *Puncta* and *Super Pater noster*, and further on the *De quadruplici missione* and *Querite primum regnum Dei*. The next four texts deal with the question of Utraquism, namely *Contra Gallum*, *Apologia*, *Sermo ad clerum Nisi manducaveritis* as well as the collection of authorities for the chalice which are nowadays considered a separate text, the so-called *Collecta*. Two other treatises by Nicholas, which are closely associated with each other, appear at the very end of the codex, i.e. the *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* and *Consuetudo et ritus primitive ecclesie et moderne*, which survives only in this codex.

³³¹ Truhlář, *Catalogus*, vol. 1, 299–300.

³³² Its old shelf-mark is P 9. The catalogue is available in a facsimile edition, see Bečka and Urbánková, *Katalogy knihoven kolejí*, 73; for additional valuable observations concerning this codex, see Krmíčková, "Paběrky", 199–200.

³³³ The entry is entitled *Tractatus magistri N. Dresdensis* and records only five texts of the codex in an unusually short manner. Krmíčková, "Paběrky," 199 explains this by suggesting that the compiler of the catalogue either at first forgot about this codex and supplied its description only later when there was not enough space on the page; or perhaps that the codex was not on the shelf when the catalogue was being compiled; or maybe that it was shelved later instead of some *deperditum*. It should be stressed however that the codex bears no signs of its shelf-mark having been rewritten.

³³⁴ A note "knyez Zacharz" written by a 15th-century hand appears on the rear pastedown of the codex.

³³⁵ See *Verfasserlexikon. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, ed. Wolfgang Stammeler and Karl Langosch, red. Christine Stöckinger-Löser (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 265–266.

(2) A number of Nicholas' treatises are preserved in codex Mk 102 from the Moravian Library in Brno.³³⁶ This collection of Hussite texts dated by a scribal explicit to 1419 lacks further information as regards its history or ownership. It contains twentyseven text units which comprise six treatises by Nicholas, a number that constitutes one third of his whole literary production. Notably, among other treatises this codex also contains two texts which we encountered in the Prague codex IV G 15, namely John Hus' *De sex erroribus* and Waldhauser's *De corea*. It also contains a tract *Ad honorem*, written by Jacobellus of Misa and John of Příbram, which survives in a Cracow manuscript that will be discussed presently. Nicholas' works copied to this codex were all written in 1415. Among them the *Apologia*, *De quadruplici missione*, and *Querite primum regnum Dei* appear also in the above Prague manuscript. Apart from these, there are three more works by Nicholas, namely *De proprio sacerdote et casibus*, *Dialogus de purgatorio* and *De imaginibus*.

(3) A collection of Hussite texts preserved in the University Library in Cracow, shelf-mark BJ 2148, also reflects the literary legacy of Nicholas to a great extent.³³⁷ It contains texts composed in the period between 1405 and 1419 which deal with various Hussite matters. One of the texts copied here bears an explicit of 17. 2. 1414 although the date of the origin of the codex cannot be given more precisely than *post 1419*. A 15th-century hand noted the short content of the codex on the pastedown, which reveals that it must have been in the possession of an opponent of the Hussites: *Decretum concilii Constanciensis contra utriusque speciei communionem cum ceteris tractatibus hereticorum Bohemicorum. Datum per Magistrum Iohannem de Radochonce*. Further details concerning its ownership or history are not available.

Five texts by Nicholas that appear here were copied also in the above-mentioned codex in Prague – namely the *Apologia*, *Puncta*, *Sermo ad clerum Nisi manducaveritis* together with the authorities entitled *Collecta*, and the *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*, where the above-mentioned explicit appears. Furthermore, the codex contains two other texts by Nicholas, for which the Cracow codex represents a *codex unicus*: one of them is a sermon on the text *Quod fuit ab inicio* while the other is a short catechism ascribed to Nicholas, referred to as *Dialogus*

³³⁶ Vladislav Dokoupil, "*Soupis rukopisů mikulovské dietrichsteinské knihovny*" (List of manuscripts from the Dietrichstein Library of Mikulov) (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1958), 177–182. Sometimes an old shelf-mark of this manuscript II.123 appears in the literature.

³³⁷ Since the modern catalogue of this collection has not reached the number 2148, the best information about this codex can be found in Bartoš, "Husitika a bohemika," 72–74.

*utilis pro informacione puerum.*³³⁸ Among texts of authors other than Nicholas, the only parallel between this and the other codices analyzed here is a tract *Ad honorem* by Jacobellus of Misa and John of Příbram, which can be found in the Brno codex as well.

(4) Another codex that contains more than a handful of Nicholas' works is a manuscript presently kept in the Stadtbibliothek Bautzen, Germany, shelf-mark 8^o 8.³³⁹ Based on its watermark, the codex must have been produced between 1417 and 1426, but again, there are no further details about its ownership. As far as its contents are concerned, it is closely related to the previously mentioned manuscripts. It includes five texts from Nicholas' literary legacy, all of which are also copied in some of the previously mentioned codices. Two of these, the *Apologia* and *Puncta*, are preserved both in Prague and Cracow; another two (*Contra Gallum* and *Super Pater noster*) are copied only in the Prague codex; and the *De quadruplici missione* can be found in the codices kept in Brno and Prague. In this Bautzen copy, four of Nicholas' texts are copied in the last part of the codex while a few folios between two of them were left blank, which might have accommodated further items by Nicholas. Among other texts that appear in this codex, *De sex erroribus* by Hus and Waldhauser's *De corea* can be found also in Prague and Brno while *Salvator noster* by Jacobellus was copied to the Prague codex as well.

(5) The last of the "collected editions" is represented by a manuscript from the University Library in Basel, shelf-mark A X 66.³⁴⁰ This manuscript was in possession of the influential Dominican theologian, John of Dubrovnik, who played an important role in the negotiations with the Hussites at the Council of Basel. This is indicated by a note in the codex.³⁴¹ Unfortunately, its origin cannot be dated with any precision. It contains several treatises by John Hus, Jacobellus of Misa and John Wyclif, out of which only one could be found in the codices described above (Hus' *De matrimonio* in the Prague manuscript). The codex contains

³³⁸ The catechism consists of two parts which are to a certain extent independent and for this reason they were catalogued as two units, see Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 32. Havelka, *Husitské katechismy*, 100–110 convincingly showed that it is one homogenous text. For more about this and other Nicholas' catechisms, see above, *Indirect evidence*, 90.

³³⁹ There are two descriptions of this manuscript: Václav Flajšhans, "Bohemika Gersdorfské knihovny v Budyšině" (Bohemica of the Gersdorf library in Bautzen), *Časopis musea království českého* 83/1 (1909): 137; Thomas Krzenck, "Die Bautzener Hussitica der ehemaligen Gersdorfschen Bibliothek," *Studie o rukopisech* 31 (1995–1996): 175–176. Both of them give different foliation, which however, does not entirely correspond to the present foliation in the codex.

³⁴⁰ Bartoš, "Husitika a bohemika," 55–57.

³⁴¹ The following note can be read on the pastedown: "*Hic liber est fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum conventus Basiliensis et est de libris domini Cardinalis Sancti Sixti vulgariter de Regusio nominate. Oretur pro eo.*"

four treatises of Nicholas, namely *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*, *Puncta*, and *Sermo ad clerum Nisi manducaveritis* together with the authorities entitled *Collecta*, all of which can be found in the manuscripts in Prague and Cracow. Only the treatise *Puncta* is also preserved in the Bautzen codex.

(6) There are other codices which could be similarly regarded as attempts at copying more of Nicholas' treatises. With certain reservations a codex from the Lobkovic Library in Roudnice, now in the National Library in Prague, shelf mark XXIII F 204, could be mentioned here. It bears an old shelf-mark of this famous collection (MS 322) and contains three texts undoubtedly ascribable to Nicholas – *De imaginibus*, *De quadruplici missione* and *De proprio sacerdote et casibus*. All of these can be found in the codex now in Brno, *De quadruplici missione* survives also in the Prague and Bautzen manuscripts. Ahead of these three treatises, the codex contains a few shorter texts whose style and content, according to F. M. Bartoš, suggest that they could have been written by Nicholas.³⁴² The notes deal with different human occupations and various sins connected to them (fol. 38r–40r, *De labore corporali*), rebuke the practice connected to penitence (fol. 41r–43v), or women's luxury (fol. 43v–46r); moreover, the relationship between the Church and the state (fol. 46v) as well as a critique of the wrongdoings of priests, especially in relation to the Eucharist (fol. 46v–47r), are briefly discussed, and the concluding passages reproach the neglect of the kiss-of-peace in the liturgy and defend the necessity of the lay chalice (fol. 47v–49v, *De osculo pacis*).³⁴³ Nicholas indeed dealt with all these issues in his works, yet the positive attribution of these notes cannot be resolved here because they have not been found in any other surviving copies.

³⁴² Bartoš, "Nové spisy," 64–66.

³⁴³ Kateřina Urbánková, "De codicillis manu scriptis Bibliothecae Universitatis Pragensis XXIII F 204 foliis 38r–43v" (M.A. thesis, Masaryk University, 1999), paid attention to some of these texts and transcribed the *De labore corporali* and the text on fol. 41r–43v and argued that while they are closely associated as far as their content is concerned, they differ greatly in style. Nevertheless, the authorities quoted in both texts are characteristic of Nicholas (Urbánková pointed out textual congruences with Nicholas' *Querite primum regnum Dei*) and in my opinion only comparison with more material can convincingly show the connection or disparity between these texts and other texts by Nicholas. At any rate, Urbánková rightly showed that a short text on fol. 40r is an extract, even if somewhat jumbled, from Hus' treatise *De sanguine Christi glorificato* (37–41), which precedes an excerpt from another tract by Hus, *De libris haereticorum legendis*, on fol. 40v.

In order to make this overview clearer, let us take a look at the situation from the opposite standpoint. The following list of treatises and their occurrence in the manuscripts mentioned above will illustrate the situation more plainly.³⁴⁴

Puncta: 1, 3, 4, 5

De quadruplici missione: 1, 2, 4, 6

Apologia: 1, 2, 3, 4

Sermo ad clerum Nisi manducaveritis: 1, 3, 5

Collecta: 1, 3, 5

Tabule veteris et novi coloris: 1, 3, 5

Super Pater noster: 1, 4

Contra Gallum: 1, 4

De proprio sacerdote et casibus: 2, 6

De imaginibus: 2, 6

Querite primum regnum Dei: 1, 2

Treatises written by other authors that appear more than once in the manuscripts discussed above could also add weight to the pattern:

Conrad Waldhauser, *De corea*: 1, 2, 4

John Hus, *De sex erroribus*: 1, 2, 4

John Hus, *De matrimonio*: 1, 5

Jacobellus of Misa, *Salvator noster*: 1, 4

Jacobellus of Misa and John of Příbram, *Ad honorem*: 2, 3

It is obvious from the above survey that a few treatises by Nicholas were copied over and over. It is evident that the manuscripts now in Prague (1), Brno (2) and Bautzen (4) show very remarkable textual congruence. More closely connected are the Prague and Bautzen codices, which contain eight identical texts. Yet they could not have been copied from one another.³⁴⁵ The Prague (1) and Cracow (3) codices contain five identical treatises of Nicholas but were also copied from different originals. The same applies to the manuscripts in Cracow (3) and Basel (5), which hold four common texts. The list evidently shows that the suggestion

³⁴⁴ The numbers refer to the order of appearance of the codices as described above, i.e. Prague IV G 15 = 1, Brno Mk 102 = 2, BJ 2148 = 3, Bautzen 8° 8 = 4, Basel A X 66 = 5, Prague XXIII F 204 = 6. Occurrences of texts in single copies are not included (i.e. *Consuetudo et ritus primitive ecclesie et moderne*, *Dialogus de purgatorio*, *Quod fuit ab initio* and the short catechism).

³⁴⁵ I have compared the copy of Nicholas' *Apologia* in these three codices in full detail when preparing its critical edition. The critical apparatus justifies this hypothesis. It also demonstrates that all three codices were modelled on different archetypes. For more details about the affiliation of these codices, see Petra Mutlová, "Mikuláš z Drážďan *Apologie* proti rozhodnutí kostnického sněmu" (Nicholas of Dresden's *Apologia* against the decision of the Council of Constance) (Ph.D. diss., Masaryk University, 2007), 58–73.

mentioned at the beginning of this chapter can be confirmed. Namely, that Kaminsky rightly observed that there were attempts at collecting and copying Nicholas' treatises. Besides, there are other codices which contain more texts by Nicholas, which seem to have been copied more frequently and which were mentioned above – for example a manuscript now in Koblenz contains *Puncta*, one of Nicholas' most popular tracts *Apologia*, and the so-called *Sermo 1416*.³⁴⁶

Nevertheless, I have also stressed that the above-described evidence relates only to Nicholas of Dresden. It has been said earlier that other members of this group have not left behind enough material for comparison. We may or may not agree with Howard Kaminsky's idea that the existence of these codices attests "to the continued action of his [Nicholas'] German disciples"³⁴⁷ – although we know nothing about the people who ordered and copied the texts. In either case, there is no evidence for the existence of the followers of the *Dresden School* itself. However, Kaminsky's argument rested on firmer grounds than the collected treatises, namely on the combination of this manuscript testimony with the circulation of Nicholas' ideas on a theoretical level. Before analyzing this latter supposition in the following chapter, I would like to add another small piece of information about how Nicholas' works reverberated in the Hussite setting. This, I believe, might have a more palpable bearing on the existence of the disciples of the Dresden School.

Nicholas is the author of a sharp reaction to the prohibition of the lay chalice, one of the most topical issues of the time, published by the Council of Constance on 15 June, 1415. His *Apologia*³⁴⁸ was a very popular text, which in spite of being rather lengthy survives in fifteen medieval manuscripts and was frequently copied together with Nicholas' other texts, as was shown above. It is not a Utraquistic polemic in the real sense of the word because the necessity of the lay chalice was already argued for and widely accepted by Hussite reformers at this point, and Utraquism was underway on a practical level, too. The *Apologia* minutely analyzes and refutes the arguments of the Catholic theologians against the chalice and proves the inadequacy of the decision of the Council of Constance. By doing so in such an accurate

³⁴⁶ Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 198. See Eef Overgaauw, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften im Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz*, vol. 2, *Die nichtarchivischen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe Best. 701 Nr. 191-992*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 71–76.

³⁴⁷ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 25.

³⁴⁸ An inaccurate transcription of the *Apologia* based on a single copy was printed by Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt and Leipzig: n.p., 1698) col. 338–391. I have prepared a critical edition of the text based on all surviving manuscripts, which will soon appear in print.

manner, it was labelled “an official statement”³⁴⁹ or a response of the Hussites to the Council’s decree. Yet it could not have been aimed at public reading nor is it likely that it could have provided material for preachers. There are other texts which served the purpose of announcing the council’s rejection and publicizing it among the wider masses, such as Jacobellus of Misa’s concise report written in Czech.³⁵⁰ From this point of view, the Latin *Apologia* is a lengthy and scholarly treatment of the topic, whose impact can be sought mostly among educated university circles. It is surprising that a thematic index to this text survives in one of the fifteen extant manuscripts of the *Apologia* [see Plate 16].³⁵¹ Due to rebinding of the codex, the index does not immediately follow the text of the *Apologia* (though it is written by the same scribe), which is probably why it has so far gone unrecognized in the scholarly literature. The *Apologia* was written between July and August 1415 and the index is preserved in a codex that can be dated to a period after 1420.

The index is not strikingly sophisticated in its composition – it consists of alphabetically grouped short glosses, which appear in the margins of the text.³⁵² These are subdivided by letters A to P, which are noted *in margine* of the text, and the index refers to them as well. The structure of the *Apologia* is complicated, the basic outline is that the text is divided into six *conclusiones* (i.e. conclusions of the doctors in Constance), each of which is followed by Nicholas’ response; the last part of the treatise comprises the full-text version of the decree of the Constance theologians prohibiting the lay chalice and Nicholas’ sharp rejection of their arguments. In the index, this is reflected by cross-references to these conclusions, though in a somewhat peculiar manner: even though the beginnings of each conclusion are distinctly highlighted in this copy, the marks in the margins do not always match them. The references to the conclusions complement the references to the glosses and the letters in the index.

It is not necessary to describe the structure of this tool in detail, because for the present purpose its existence alone is an interesting matter. Why should this be so? Indexes and tools

³⁴⁹ Expressed by Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 75.

³⁵⁰ The Old Czech *Zpráva, jak sněm konstanský o svátosti večere Kristovy nařídil* (Account of the Council of Constance’s decision about Christ’s Supper) was edited by Mirek Čejka and Helena Krmíčková, *Dvě staročeská utrakvistická díla Jakoubka ze Stříbra* (Two Old Czech Utraquist works by Jacobellus of Misa) (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2009), 98–108.

³⁵¹ National Library Prague, shelf-mark VII E 27, fol. 70r.

³⁵² I have examined this index in detail in my article “*Sed prugdolor, finis sine fine*: O edici *Apologie* Mikuláše z Drážďan” (*Sed prugdolor, finis sine fine*: On the edition of Nicholas of Dresden’s *Apologia*), *Studia historica Brunensia* 56/1–2 (2009): 21–36.

facilitating orientation in medieval manuscripts were standard academic tools in this period.³⁵³ Nevertheless, they were limited to the study of the Bible and several standard patristic authorities, such as Augustine, Gregory or Jerome; outside of this context, they appear rather sporadically.³⁵⁴ Symptomatically, indexes and text-division tools appear more often in 15th-century Bohemia, because the success of the Early Bohemian Reformation was to a large extent conditioned by the ability of the Czech reformers to spread their arguments. Thus, the analytical treatment of larger quantities of written material grew in importance. Various systems for basic orientation in manuscripts can be found in Bohemian manuscripts at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries – the most famous example being the so-called “ukazovadla” (“indicators”) used by John Hus in some of his treatises. These have to do with the need to denote shorter sections within chapters with the help of letters of the alphabet and survived mainly in treatises connected to preaching where the need to quickly locate a piece of information was fundamental.³⁵⁵ Nevertheless, there are a few more examples of indexing letters in treatises, where the connection with preaching is not at all evident and where no index survived.³⁵⁶ The indexes to Wyclif’s works that were compiled in Bohemia had probably yet another function.³⁵⁷ The Bohemian copies were modelled on the system of indexing Wyclif’s works devised in England. There, the indexes existed mostly in treatises

³⁵³ See Mary A. Rouse, and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991). M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1991) also contains many helpful observations related to the question of *ordo* and *ordinatio* in medieval manuscripts.

³⁵⁴ I leave out their existence in the encyclopaedias, biological treatises and the like, which built on the elaborated system of ordering information in the Arabic culture and are not relevant in this respect.

³⁵⁵ Hus’ “indicators” survived only in some of his treatises, such as in his Latin *Postilla* and *De ecclesia*, or in the *Výklady* (Expositions) and *Knížky o svatokupectví* (Books on simony) written in Czech. They are basically an adaptation of the system of sequential marginal notes employed to gloss literary texts, which appeared at the end of the 14th century, see Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 260.

³⁵⁶ I can point out two examples relevant in this context that have not been given any attention: in the first systematic work of the Bohemian reform theology, Matthew of Janov’s *Regule Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, a single copy out of the six preserved manuscripts contains indexing letters – Chapter Library, Prague, C 64; in Nicholas of Dresden’s *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* letters subdividing chapters are also preserved – Chapter Library, Prague, O 50, fol. 127r–132v.

³⁵⁷ Anne Hudson thoroughly analyzed and explained the origins and significance of these tools – some of the pertinent articles were published in her collected studies, see Anne Hudson, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif’s Writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); see eadem, “The Hussite catalogues of Wyclif’s works,” in *Husitství – reformace – renesance. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, vol. 1, ed. Jaroslav Pánek, Jaroslav Boubín, Miloslav Polívka and Noemi Rejchrtová (Prague: Historický ústav, 1994), 401–417.

that were primarily aimed at preachers, as Anne Hudson pointed out.³⁵⁸ In Bohemia, the indexes were adjusted to serve a new purpose, namely as a quick reference-finder perhaps during a live theological discussion. The contemporary sources suggest that Peter Payne participated in this project as he himself might have needed such a tool at the Council of Basel, where he acted as an important representative of the Hussites.³⁵⁹ Even if Payne's involvement in compiling all indexes surviving in Bohemia cannot be accepted, he can be credited with at least two of them.³⁶⁰ However weak it may be, the link between Peter Payne and the compilation of the indexes is of primary importance for the topic of the dissertation.

It has been noted in the scholarship that the existence of indexes to Wyclif's works is interesting.³⁶¹ But if it is understandable in Wyclif's case, the existence of an index to Nicholas of Dresden's *Apologia* is a rather different issue. Why should anyone feel the urge to locate passages in a treatise which, as I have shown, could not have been useful for, or exploited by, preachers? Neither can Nicholas' authority be compared with that of Wyclif, whose writings were likely to attract a huge amount of attention and thus, an effort to render his texts quickly accessible is understandable. One possible explanation could be the person(s) of the compiler of the index. If in the case of Wyclif's Bohemian indexes there is a link between Peter Payne and a circle of Hussite disciples who compiled these indexes, it might suggest something of the same kind for Nicholas' *Apologia*. The point is that these indexes must have been a collective enterprise, as Anne Hudson has pointed out.³⁶² The stress on the analytical work with written material would also clarify the existence of an index to a treatise which otherwise does not seem to need it. If we assume that Peter Payne (though his connection with the Dresden School is vague) played a role in introducing the indexing method to Bohemia (and this was then used in dealing with Wyclif's works), then the fact that the same method was used to index a treatise by a member of the Dresden School connects the circle of the followers of Payne with those of the Dresden School. Thus, for the first time, we get a hint that the followers of the School existed – even if the evidence is highly speculative.

³⁵⁸ Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 105 quotes a prefatory note in the index to Wyclif's *Opus Evangelicum* where it is directly stated that the index should aid those who are to preach the word of God (*verbum Domini euangelizare volentes*).

³⁵⁹ Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," 150; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 106.

³⁶⁰ Hudson, "Accessus ad auctorem: the case of John Wyclif," in *Studies in the Transmission*, n. VII, 333–337, presents evidence that some of the indexes were compiled prior to Payne's arrival in Prague and revises his participation in the indexing project.

³⁶¹ Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 105.

An important question – as far as the existence of the Dresden School is concerned – is how the index to the *Apologia* fits into the story chronologically. Unfortunately the available sources do not allow us to reconstruct the exact course of events. We know that the index to the *Apologia* originated around 1420 in Prague, which is when some of Wyclif's indexes were compiled and when Payne was already in Prague, too.³⁶³ In other words, the connection between Peter and Nicholas through the indexing tool apparently exists. If we then assume that it was not Peter himself who indexed Nicholas, then it is logical that it was someone in his circle. Furthermore, only an interest in theoretical issues could explain the highly unusual feature of indexing a complicated yet not standard theological treatise.

³⁶² Hudson, "Accessus ad auctorem," 341.

³⁶³ However, Payne's own indexes probably originated from a later time, see Hudson, "Accessus ad auctorem," 335–337.

B. 15th-century Manuscript Sources

It has been discussed above that the ideas of Nicholas of Dresden undoubtedly had an impact on the radical wing of the Hussites.³⁶⁴ Moreover, Howard Kaminsky also suggested that after 1415 a certain kind of “intellectual activity promoting Nicholas’ program” existed.³⁶⁵ His argument was based on the existence of a list of heretical ideas resembling Nicholas of Dresden’s teachings which was directly connected with Nicholas’ treatises. Kaminsky drew our attention to a parody of a confession that a heretic might have made to an inquisitor, whose text greatly resembles the opinions of Nicholas of Dresden. Kaminsky then argued that another source, a Catholic author’s refutation of certain heretical ideas, which goes on to disprove the argumentation of one particular treatise by Nicholas, runs along the same lines as the previously mentioned text. In consequence, this supposition supported the hypothesis that a distinctive program of the Dresden school existed and that it was also promoted on a theoretical level. My intention here is to take a closer look at the mentioned sources, which have not yet been critically edited. For this reason, a thorough scrutiny of the relevant manuscript sources has to be carried out.

³⁶⁴ Kaminsky, “Hussite Radicalism,” 122–125; see above, *Shared Doctrine?*, 96–99. A general survey of the history of Tábor, the centre of the radical Hussites, was carried out by František Šmahel, *Dějiny Tábora* (The history of Tábor) (České Budějovice: Jihočeské nakladatelství, 1988–1990).

³⁶⁵ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 26. Kaminsky’s suggestion inspired much of this argument that attempts to examine the question in full detail.

1. THE *CONFESSIO*

The firstly mentioned source, a parody of a heretical confession, is preserved in three manuscripts presently housed in Prague, Vienna and Wrocław.³⁶⁶ It consists of a number of points criticizing Roman Catholic confessional practice and was therefore entitled *Confessio heretica et falsa* or *Confessio hussitarum* or *Articuli hereticorum* by the copyists. Its extremely radical contents suggest that it originated around 1418 but certainly before 1419 when the Taborite movement emerged and when the internal polemics of the Hussites over the Taborites surpassed the anti-Romanism that echoed in the polemics written by the Hussites until that point.³⁶⁷ This dating is also in accordance with the time of composition of the three extant manuscripts of the *Confessio*:

1. National Library, Prague, XII F 30, fol. 40v–41v³⁶⁸

The manuscript can be dated to the first half of the 15th century and it was most probably written in Bohemia. It bears an old shelf mark of the Jesuit college library in Prague, the so-called *Clementinum*, but further data on its history are not available. In its present condition, it is only a fragment of an originally larger codex which contains mostly *hussitica* from this period.³⁶⁹ A number of works connected to the Council of Constance can be found here (for example the news concerning the death of John Hus), as well as Stanislaus of Znojmo's *Sermo contra errores Ioannis Hus* from 1412,³⁷⁰ John of Falkenberg's *Tractatus de renunciatione papae*³⁷¹ and Mauritius of Prague's reply to the same entitled *Defensio pape Gregorii XII*,³⁷² or a widely disseminated letter *Eloquenti viro* written by Nicholas of Dinkesbühl.³⁷³

³⁶⁶ Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 95, no. 141.

³⁶⁷ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 27.

³⁶⁸ The manuscript was lost for some time and thus, it was reported by Josef Truhlář, "Paběrky z rukopisů Klementinských" (Gleanings from the Klementinum manuscripts), *Český časopis historický* 10 (1904): 202; later on, the National Library acquired it from a private owner and therefore it is recorded as being in its possession by Emma Urbánková, "Přirůstky rukopisného oddělení Universitní knihovny od vydání tištěných katalogů" (Additions of the Manuscript Department of the University Library since the Publication of the Printed Catalogues), *Knihovna* 1 (1957): 45; for a modern register, see Marie Tošnerová and others, eds., *Průvodce po rukopisných fondech v České republice*, vol. 4, *Rukopisné fondy centrálních a církevních knihoven České republiky* (Prague: Archiv AV ČR, 2004), 100, no. 198.

³⁶⁹ Only the first part of the codex is preserved nowadays. It comprises some 60 folios, although not from the very beginning, because the old numbering starts with the number 25.

³⁷⁰ Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 297–298, no. 811, a transcription based on three codices was published by Jan Sedlák, "Mgri Stanislai de Znoyma Sermo contra quinque articulos Wiclef," *Hlídky* 28 (1911): appendix 47–60.

³⁷¹ Printed by Gustav Sommerfeldt, "Johann Falkenbergs Stellung zur Papstfrage in der Zeit vor dem Pisaner Konzil (1408)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 31 (1910): 426–437.

The confession in this codex is entitled *Articuli hereticorum videlicet Wyklephistarum* and its title claims it was written in 1418. The text starts as a satirical confession but drops the satirical tone at the end and concludes with a threat listing what happens to those who are not obedient to the Catholic Church.³⁷⁴

2. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 4314, fol. 134v–135r³⁷⁵

This voluminous codex dates from the second half of the 15th century and a scribal note on fol. 142r specifies its date of origin as 1459. It is very likely that most of the texts in this codex were copied in Bohemia. The confession appears in the second part of the codex among material related to Bohemian negotiations at the Council of Constance, which are certainly of Bohemian origin. Short glosses in Czech as well as entire Czech passages appear here, for example in several sermons by John of Příbram,³⁷⁶ Šimon of Tišnov³⁷⁷ and others, that is, in the works of the opponents of the Hussites. The language and the content of the Czech glosses show that the text of the confession was copied to this manuscript by a Czech scribe, apparently someone from a Catholic milieu.

The context in which the confession appears in this codex is rather interesting. It is entitled here as *Confessio heretica et falsa que concordat cum valdensibus*. It is preceded by *Posicio*

³⁷² Jaroslav Kadlec, “Literární činnost mistra Mařka Rvačky” (Literary activity of Master Mařk Rvačka), in *Pocta Dr. Emmě Urbánkové*, ed. Pavel R. Pokorný (Prague: Státní knihovna ČSR, 1979), 148, n. 8; Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 308–309, no. 856.

³⁷³ On the authorship, see Alois Madre, *Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl. Leben und Schriften* (Münster: 1965), 252–254 and Rudolf Damerau, *Texte zum Problem des Laienkelchs* (Gießen: 1969), 4–17; see also Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 204–206, no. 415 and vol. 1, 286, no. 778c. Brandmüller, Walter. “Fata libelli. Eine Hussitica-Handschrift aus Neapel,” *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 11 (1979): 166, no. 31 records another copy preserved in the library of Naples that was copied by a Czech scribe in Constance in 1418. The letter was printed by Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum*, vol. 3, col. 338–391.

³⁷⁴ On fol. 41v it reads: “Ego magister Jacobus dictus Hněvek: I budeš se hněvati, o to péče žádně neměj, přideť ta hodina, jenž všecko spolu zaplatíš.” The gloss plays with the name *Hněvek* where one can hear an allusion to the Czech word *hněvat se* = be angry: “I am Master Jacobus, called Hněvek: And you will be angry, do not worry about that, there will come an hour when you have to pay for all this.”

³⁷⁵ *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 3, *Cod. 3501–5000*. Ed. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (Vienna: Gerold, 1869), 238–239; Karl Schwarzenberg, *Katalog der kroatischen, polnischen und tschechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna: Brüder Holinek, 1972), 113–119. Based solely on this copy, the text was printed by Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte*, vol. 2, 688–691. I found out about this print only after I had prepared my own edition, mostly because Döllinger does not index this text under the entry *Waldenser* or its variations. Nevertheless, he knew only about this copy of the confession to which I can add two more derived from a different model. Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 95, no. 141, did not know about the existence of this print either, as it was arguably unknown in the Czech scholarship; nor was it known elsewhere, as Kaminsky did not mention it either. It is symptomatic that Döllinger listed the text in the table of contents as “Confessio eines Picarden”, IX.

³⁷⁶ Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 158–159, no. 301.

³⁷⁷ Spunar *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 347–348, no. 971.

articulorum Iohannis Rozkydale (fol. 132v), *articuli Iohannis Wicleff dudum condempnati Londoniis anno Domini 1380* (fol. 133r–133v) and by *articuli valdensium* 32 (fol. 134r)³⁷⁸; on fol. 135r it is followed by a few lines entitled *articuli Thaboritarum Prokopa Holého*.³⁷⁹ All of these were written by one scribe and the sequence of these short texts gives the impression that they were to serve as a kind of comparison. Namely, the tenets of Wyclif and the Waldensians are compared with examples of other sectarian articles. The title of the confession clearly marks its connection with Waldensian teachings.

3. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław, I F 773, fol. 171vb–172ra³⁸⁰

A scribal explicit on fol. 128r dates this codex to 1409 although an old catalogue of this collection accepts by mistake the date of 1449, which appears on the spine of the codex. A note on the front pastedown appries that the manuscript belonged to the Corpus Christi Church in Wrocław; no other data on its ownership or history are available. Among other things, the codex contains excerpts from the work of Matthew of Janov and the *Revelations* of St. Bridget. A welter of shorter German and Latin texts is followed by some of Wyclif's articles condemned in London (fol. 170rb–171vb), which in a shorter version appear also in the Vienna manuscript discussed above. The red title *Hec sunt contra Wyclif* seems to conclude the text of the articles and these are then followed by the *Confessio*. It is entitled here as *Confessio hussitarum dampnabilissima*, though the last word seems to have been added in a different hand. Similarly to the Prague manuscript, a connection of the *Confessio* with Wyclif's doctrines is encountered, even though the evidence is in this case only circumstantial. The *Confessio* is followed by the articles of Jacobellus of Misa in support of a simplified rite of Mass (fol. 172ra–rb).³⁸¹ These two pieces are written in the same hand and since a couple of empty folios follow, a richer selection of heretical articles might have been intended.

³⁷⁸ These articles were printed solely based on this manuscript by Holinka, *Sektářství v Čechách*, 182–183.

³⁷⁹ Ed. Pavel Spunar, “K literární pozůstalosti kněze Prokopa Holého” (On the literary inheritance of the priest Prokop Holý), in *Pocta Dr. Emmě Urbánkové*, 330–331. Unknown to Spunar, who believed this articles had so far escaped scholarly attention, this short text is also printed in Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte*, vol. 2, 691.

³⁸⁰ The collection lacks a modern catalogue and the only aid is an old German, partly handwritten, partly typescript, catalogue, see Willi Goeber, *Katalog rękopisów dawnej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu* (Catalogue of manuscripts from the Old University Library in Wrocław), vol. 5, I F 661–778, fol. 789–790. This manuscript is not registered in any of the preliminary lists of Bohemian material housed in Wrocław, see Anežka Schmidtová, “Z bohemik vřatislavské universitní knihovny” (Bohemica from the Wrocław University Library), *Listy filologické* 83 (1960): 98–105.

³⁸¹ Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 235–236, no. 634.

As a point of reference, the *Confessio* is available in a critical edition in Appendix D.³⁸² In all three surviving manuscripts of the *Confessio*, an attempt can be traced to identify the tenets presented with a certain heretical source, either the Waldensian or Wycliffite doctrine. However, a straightforward comparison of various teachings can be seen only in the Vienna codex. Because the Vienna manuscript labels the contents of the *Confessio* as Waldensian, let us take a closer look at these two items as they appear in this codex.³⁸³

If the two sets of articles in this codex are juxtaposed, an interesting fact immediately catches the eye. The Waldensian articles do not mention the problem of the communion at all – a topic repeatedly dealt with in the *Confessio*, and one which also makes its Hussite context clear. There are further points which can be read only in the *Confessio*:

- Communion in both kinds should be administered every day and whether it is done before or after meals is of no importance
- Consecration of the Eucharist can take place at any time
- Offerings should not be given for penance
- The Holy Cross should not be worshipped
- Extreme Unction is of no use
- Neither the Pope nor any other human being should be obeyed, only God
- Human inventions, such as reading canonical hours or participating in everyday sermons, do not need to be observed

On the other hand, the Waldensian articles mention a number of other points that are not in the *Confessio*. Interestingly, among these may be found the claim that it is not licit to kill and to swear oaths, an opinion which often finds echoes in the Hussite milieu and which can certainly be found in Nicholas of Dresden's teachings. The list marks other typical tenets as Waldensian, for example the requirement that priests should work physically; the opinion that confirmation is not one of the sacraments; that funerals can take place anywhere; that the

³⁸² I have published a draft of the edition in my article “Vybrané prameny k existenci drážďanské školy” (Selected sources on the existence of the Dresden School), in *Querite primum regnum Dei*, 558–560.

³⁸³ I use my edition of the *Confessio* in Appendix D and the Waldensian articles available in Holinka, *Sektářství v Čechách*, 182–183.

excommunication of sinful priests is worthless; that holy water does not wash away sins; and that what the priest says during the Mass is useless. The list also records the distinctly Waldensian conviction that they themselves are the only true followers of Christ and that anyone outside their sect will be damned. They also scorn official education and pass on their teachings secretly. They criticize sumptuous decoration in churches, including big bells, and a number of other practicalities, such as the Litany of Rogation days. It is stressed that priest should not have any secular possessions and by way of conclusion it is observed that according to the Waldensians the Pope, his cardinals, the prelates and the secular rulers will not be redeemed.

Apart from these aspects, the common points that appear in both sources can be summarized as follows:

- The Blessed Virgin Mary or any other saint or their relics should not be worshipped
- There is no purgatory and thus it is pointless to say prayers for the dead
- Ordinations are of no use
- Indulgences are worthless
- Confession does not have to be said to priests (*Articuli Waldensium*: confession can be made to any person; *Confessio*: confession to God is enough)
- Neither the Pope nor the bishops or any other prelates have a higher authority than a simple priest
- Building of sumptuous churches and decorating them is vainglorious and no one should support it. There should be no images or sculptures in churches and singing during the Mass is of no use

The survey shows that the common points of the *Confessio* and the Waldensian articles are overshadowed by the differences between the articles that they do not share (i.e. from the contents point of view, not quantitatively). It is also evident that the content of the *Confessio* does not wholly correspond to actual Waldensian tenets, neither to those held by Wyclif. Moreover, similar extreme opinions are documented elsewhere in Bohemia in this period.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁴ For example, there is an anonymous account on “delicts” of the same kind that were traced in Bohemia in 1416, for details see Kaminsky, “Hussite Radicalism,” 111.

Regardless of how extreme we consider the beliefs that the *Confessio* depicts, the nub of the story lies elsewhere. That is to say that if the *Confessio* was copied as an example of Waldensian tenets, then it reveals more of its contemporary reception than we can argue from our present standpoint. The fact that it cannot be identified with one distinct doctrinal system seems to bolster this supposition. Nevertheless, the point here is not to connect the *Confessio* with Waldensian or Wycliffite ideas. Far from trying to classify the array of articles contained in the *Confessio*, the present analysis aims at discovering whether similar ideas were promoted by other sources, which would point to their dissemination on a more general level. For that reason, another example will be presented.

2. THE *COLLECTA ET EXCERPTA*

Around the same time, i.e. in 1418, a Catholic author undertook the task of refuting certain heretical ideas that very much resembled those contained in the above false confession. The treatise consists of two parts that are to a certain extent independent. The first part comprises twenty-one articles of the same tendency as the *Confessio*, while the second has the particular task of refuting the text of Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*. In the manuscript material, these two parts are preserved either together or independently, a fact that caused some confusion. Both parts survive together at least in eight manuscripts, the first part exists in three other separate copies while the second one in another four.³⁸⁵ The first part is a selection of quotations from Benedict of Marseilles' voluminous treatise *Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores* but the inclusion of infant communion, which is a very distinct Hussite novelty, marks it as a clearly anti-Hussite work. This is bolstered by the author's choice of dealing with ideas displaying particularly strong anti-Hussite tendencies. Moreover, the fact that in eight copies this first part is followed by a text that manifestly associates itself with Nicholas' *Tabule* proves its Hussite connotations beyond any doubt. The first part is usually entitled *Collecta et excerpta de summa Benedicti abbatis Marsilie super capitulo Firmiter credimus* with an incipit *Una est fidelium universalis ecclesia, que vivit in veritate fidei*. The second part is entitled *Incipiunt responsiones et obiecciones ad picturas Hus* and its author is probably Stephen of Pálež, an ardent opponent of the Hussite party.³⁸⁶ The length of the text and the lack of its edition render it difficult to comprehend its complicated structure and hence to carry out a detailed examination of its contents. The task of preparing a critical edition of this long and richly-preserved tract exceeds the limits of this dissertation. Nevertheless, a survey of the manuscripts in which these texts are preserved is the necessary first step which will also suit the purpose of grasping the contents of the treatise. I will limit myself to presenting the most important passages of this treatise based on a reliable copy in Appendix E.

³⁸⁵ An incomplete list can be found in Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 202–203, no. 412, which is augmented and corrected in a few points in the following. The copies which I add to Spunar's list are discussed later. There were obviously other copies of both of the analyzed texts which are presently lost: one such manuscript was, for example, in the collection of the parish church of St. Jacob in Brno, old shelf-mark 93; see Sedlák, *Mikuláš*, 2, 13, who was able to see this manuscript while the modern catalogue of the collection registers this copy as lost, see Stanislav Petr, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny při farním kostele svatého Jakuba v Brně* (Catalogue of manuscripts from the library of the parish church of St. Jacob in Brno) (Prague: Masarykův ústav a Archiv Akademie věd ČR, 2007), XIX.

Since the survey of the manuscripts is not aimed at appraising individual copies on account of preparing a critical edition, only basic data are listed.

The copies in which both parts are preserved together are the following:

- I. Chapter Library, Prague, D 119, fol. 4r–137r³⁸⁷
- II. University Library, Leipzig, 602, fol. 3v–43rb³⁸⁸
- III. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław, I F 308, fol. 12ra–54va³⁸⁹
- IV. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław, I Q 87, fol. 58r–122v³⁹⁰
- V. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, 421, fol. 210v–242v³⁹¹
- VI. University Library, Basel, E I 9, fol. 351r–376r³⁹²
- VII. British Museum, London, Arundel 458, fol. 107r–147v³⁹³
- VIII. Vatican Library, Vatican, Ottob. Lat. 350, fol. 209v–241v³⁹⁴

The first part, the so-called *Collecta et excerpta*, exists independently in the following copies:

- I. National Library, Prague, I F 18, fol. 227v–233v³⁹⁵

³⁸⁶ An inaccurate transcription of this second part based on a single copy was printed by Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách*, 237–238 who used a manuscript from the Prague Chapter Library, shelf-mark O 50. The wording of this copy differs to a great extent from the other manuscripts.

³⁸⁷ Podlaha and Patera, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, vol. 1, 409–410. According to a scribal explicit on fol. 137r, the text was copied to this codex in 1521: “*Per me mgrm Wolffgangum organistam de Brunna a.d. 1521.*”

³⁸⁸ Peter Burkhart, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig*, vol. 5, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften*, vol. 2/1, *Die theologischen Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 247–252. The text was copied here in 1431, as the colophon shows and according to the watermark the whole codex originated between 1421 and 1433. The codex contains another treatise by Nicholas, the *Apologia*.

³⁸⁹ Goeber, *Katalog rękopisów*, vol. 2, I F 300–430, fol. 10–12. The codex contains scribal explicit of 1458, 1459 and 1463.

³⁹⁰ Goeber, *Katalog rękopisów*, vol. 14, I Q 71–120, fol. 148–149.

³⁹¹ According to the catalogue, the codex was written around 1440, see Maria Kowalczyk and others, eds., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 2, *Numeros continens inde ab 332 usque ad 444* (Wrocław: Instytut Ossolinianum, 1982), 262–267.

³⁹² Bartoš, “Husitika a bohemika,” 58–63. I could not personally consult this manuscript but according to the catalogue it contains the anti-Hussite polemics of Stephen of Pálec, Johannes Nider and others, and can be dated to the period around 1431.

³⁹³ I was not able to consult this manuscript in person, but the on-line catalogue of the collection dates it to the 15th century, see [\[http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/37415.htm&Search=Arundel.%20458%20&Highlight=T\]](http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/37415.htm&Search=Arundel.%20458%20&Highlight=T), accessed 2 June 2010. Nevertheless, the manuscript does not appear in Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts c. 700–1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1979).

³⁹⁴ Due to the long-term closure of the library, I was not able to see this copy myself and because there is no catalogue available, I have relied on data from Jaroslav Prokeš, *Husitika vatikánské knihovny v Římě* (Hussitica in

- II. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław, I F 237, fol. 133ra–165vb³⁹⁶
- III. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, 423, fol. 74r–97v³⁹⁷

The second part, the *Responsiones et obiecciones ad picturas*, survives separately in four copies:

- I. Chapter Library, Prague, O 50, fol. 133r–137v³⁹⁸
- II. Chapter Library, Prague, B 22/2, fol. 89r–93v³⁹⁹
- III. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, 423, fol. 170r–175r⁴⁰⁰
- IV. Dominican Monastery, Cracow, R XV 14, fol. 321r–326v⁴⁰¹

Naturally, there might be other copies in which either of these texts survives.⁴⁰² Notwithstanding, even this outline of manuscripts indicates that the way the two texts are preserved is intricate. Out of the eight codices where they are preserved together, the copyist of the Leipzig manuscript considered the two parts to have been written by the same author. In

the Vatican library in Rome) (Prague: Orbis, 1928), 56–57. Different information was presented by Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 49–50.

³⁹⁵ Truhlář, *Catalogus*, vol. 1, 100–104. The manuscript dates from the second half of the 15th century (it was copied by the famous scribe Ulrich Crux of Telč between 1463 and 1492) and contains various treatises against the heretics. It is interesting that the text of the *Collecta and excerpta* is here immediately preceded by the *Passau Anonymus*, a well-known anti-heretical collection, see Alexander Patschovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymus. Ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer, Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968), 68–75.

³⁹⁶ Goeber, *Katalog rękopisów*, vol. 1, I F 226–299, fol. 26–29. The codex contains scribal explicit 1428 and 1429. The catalogue registers older foliation, according to which the text is copied on fol. 128ra–160vb. After the end of the *Collecta and excerpta*, there are three empty folios and so it is possible that the scribe might have even intended to copy the *Responsiones*.

³⁹⁷ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 2, 269–298. There are three different foliations: according to the oldest red numbers the text is on fol. 88r–111v (with a mistake); another numbering was erased but is still visible (75r–98v).

³⁹⁸ Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, vol. 2, 522–525. The catalogue dates it to the first half of the 15th century, the majority of the many mostly anti-Hussite items were composed around 1420.

³⁹⁹ Podlaha and Patera, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, vol. 1, 194–195, the end of the treatise is missing from this copy.

⁴⁰⁰ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 2, 269–298. According to two other foliations that appear here, the text is on fol. 187r–192r (old red numbers) or 171r–176r (barely visible modern pencil).

⁴⁰¹ I have not seen this manuscript and hence I rely on the data from Spunar, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 203; and Zofia Włodek, “Inventaire des manuscrits médiévaux latins, philosophiques et théologiques de la Bibliothèque des Pères Dominicains de Cracovie,” *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 14 (1970): 168–173, no. 21.

⁴⁰² I was not able to verify Kaminsky’s reference to a “MS Padua, Library of St. John, Pluteo VII, fol. 190r–249r”, see Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 49, because I have not seen the manuscript; nor was I able to see “Stuttgart, MS Theol. fol. 76 XI, fol. 1–116v: *Ex Benedicti, abbatis Massiliensis, libro fidei tractatus duo contra Hussitas scripti a. 1424*,” see Bartoš, “Husitika a bohemika,” 23, who presented even more confusing

Cracow 421 both texts are copied by the same scribe and follow each other without any interruption, hence here they must have been considered a coherent text. In Wrocław I Q 87 the two texts were copied one after the other as well, but given separate titles, although the scribe knew that they were the work of the same author.⁴⁰³ In Wrocław I F 308 they are also copied together, but here the scribe considers the two parts to be independent treatises, as revealed by the explicit of the first one and the red title of the second one [see Plate 21]. A table of contents on the flyleaf shows that a later cataloguer was of the same opinion.

In Cracow 423, which is listed under the copies containing only the first part, both parts appear. However, they are copied far away from each other and on different sexterns. The whole codex was written by more than one scribe and the watermarks on the folios on which the two parts were written are also different. Nevertheless, both the *Collecta et excerpta* and the *Responsiones* were copied by the same scribe and it is therefore possible that the sexterns were bound together only subsequently. At any rate, both parts have rubricated titles and explicits lacking any reference that they are the work of one author and thus might have been considered two different tracts by the scribe. However, this still does not exclude the possibility that they were copied from an original where the two texts were part of one coherent tract.

Prague O 50 contains the *Responsiones*, although with a number of imperfections. A longer omission is evident at the beginning of the text where a passage about Christ's poverty and how his example should be followed has been skipped and which in the Leipzig manuscript and both Cracow codices stretches over two columns or half a folio. Even a perfunctory examination discloses that the wording of this copy is different from the other copies. Nevertheless, it is in this very codex that the *Responsiones* are immediately preceded by the text of Nicholas' *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* (fol. 127r–132v), which gives unparalleled evidence for the link between this tract and Nicholas. Moreover, in subsequent folios 143r–144r there is a sample of what seems to be an extract from the *Collecta et excerpta*, i.e. from the first part.

In sum, it seems justifiable to consider the *Collecta et excerpta* and the *Responsiones* one treatise. Another detail supports this opinion. Prague I F 18 at first sight contains the whole

information concerning this codex in his article "Po stopách obrazů v Betlémské kapli z doby Husovy" (Tracing the images in the Bethlehem Chapel in Hus' times), *Jihočeský sborník historický* 20 (1951): 122, note 5.

⁴⁰³ Fol. 112v: "*Incipiunt Responsiones ad obiecciones et picturas et est secundus tractatulus eiusdem doctoris.*"

text of the *Collecta et excerpta*. Yet closer inspection reveals that the beginning of this copy is indeed identical with the beginning of the *Collecta et excerpta* although the text is not complete. The first two chapters read the same text as the other analyzed copies but towards the end of the second chapter it begins to display fundamental discrepancies. This incomplete copy contains only the following chapters:

1. *Una est fidelium universalis ecclesia*
2. *Ecclesia Romana non defecit sub Silvestro sicut heretici dicunt*
7. *Solis sacerdotibus missis et ordinatis licet sacrificia ministrare et predicare*
6. *De contemptentibus statuta et sacros canones*
18. *Quomodo heretici dicunt quod soli Deo est confitendum*

The last chapter that appears in this codex is entitled *Heretici qualiter inpuignant ecclesiam Romanam* and turned out to be an extract from the *Responsiones*. This fact bolsters the hypothesis that the *Collecta et excerpta* and the *Responsiones* were accepted – if not as a homogenous text – at least as two very closely connected parts of one treatise.

Turning now from the manuscript copies to the content of the *Collecta et excerpta*, Appendix E will serve as a point of reference as it contains an index of the twenty-one chapters of this treatise as well as selected passages from it.⁴⁰⁴ After preliminary collation of the copies listed above, I chose a manuscript from Leipzig (shelf-mark 602) for this task. This may be one of the oldest copies among those that contain both parts of the treatise. The author disproves several points criticizing the contemporary church starting with a rebuttal of an imputation that the Roman Church became corrupted after the so-called Donation of Constantine. He confronts objections against the profuse power of the Roman Church, its

⁴⁰⁴ The index of chapters in the appendix is printed in Latin only; for the sake of illustration an English translation follows here, which I have adopted from Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 27, with some adaptations as he obviously used a different manuscript for compiling his list: 1. The Roman Church is not the only universal Church founded by Christ. 2. The Roman Church became corrupted due to the Donation of Constantine; spiritual persons cannot possess temporal goods. 3. The church does not include evil people, but only the good. 4. The church does not have the power of the keys and of binding and loosing. 5. The holy orders are worthless. 6. Not only priests may consecrate the Eucharist, offer sacrifice etc. 7. The constitutions of the church and the holy canons are worthless. 8. The ministrations of sinful prelates are worthless. 9. Evil prelates have no power to excommunicate. 10. The church cannot excommunicate the good unless sin excommunicates them. 11. Prelates have no power to excommunicate but should commit punishment to God only. 12. It is not licit in the church of God to kill heretics physically and to remove the evil from amongst the good. 13. The miracles performed in the church are not of God. 14. Rejections of indulgences and assertion that offerings given for them are venal. 15. Opposition to material churches and their dedications. 16. Destruction of images of Christ and the saints in the church. 17. Denial that purgatory exists and that suffrages for the dead are of any use. 18. Confession should not be made to priests but only to God. 19. The bread and wine remain in the Eucharist after consecration. 20. Communion should be given to newly born children. 21. Communion should be given to the laity in both kinds.

constitutions, holy orders and other general points concerning its dominion. It deals with invectives against the corrupted prelates and their authority to excommunicate and hear confessions and discusses the problem of the killing of heretics. A few chapters are devoted to the practices related to miracles, indulgences, and confession, the author presents arguments in favour of the existence of purgatory and the role of images in churches. Several chapters are devoted to the Eucharist and its administration under both species to everyone, including infants.

As can be seen from the texts of these two sources in the Appendix, the twenty-one points which the author of the *Collecta et excerpta* chose to defend are very close to the arguments of the false *Confessio*. The major difference is that the *Confessio* does not deal with questions that might rank as academic, i.e. with the Donation of Constantine and the general repudiation of the Roman Church. Neither is it addressed to the problem of excommunicating and persecuting heretics. What stands out in this context is that the *Confessio* disregards the problem of infant communion, which was, as I have pointed out earlier, a very distinct Hussite novelty, which started to be discussed around 1415.⁴⁰⁵ On the other hand, the false confession reflects in great detail on a number of practical matters connected to the authority of priests – it analyzes various modes of confession, payments to priests for masses, tithes, extreme unction and the like.

In sum, the *Confessio* is styled in a much simpler tone as it was probably intended as an imitation of a plain heretic's confession. In contrast, the *Collecta et excerpta* must have been written by an educated person who positioned his refutation within the framework of a theoretical discussion of certain theological and canonistic points. Nevertheless, they are similar as far as their contents are concerned. Moreover, the contents of these two sources clearly show that they were aimed against the Hussites, more specifically against the doctrines of Nicholas of Dresden, as the connection of the *Collecta et excerpta* and the *Responsiones* demonstrated. The context in which the *Confessio* was received among popular sectarians takes the argument a bit further. The fact that its original link to the works of Nicholas of Dresden evaporated and instead the message of the *Confessio* was understood as a sample of Waldensian, Wycliffite or some other heretical ideas, can be understood as a sign of its vigour.

⁴⁰⁵ For the background to this issue, see Helena Krmíčková, "Několik poznámek," 59–69; David R. Holeton, *La communion des tout-petits enfants: Étude du mouvement eucharistique en Bohême vers la fin du Moyen-Âge* (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 1989).

Because the opinions that appear in the *Confessio* and in the *Collecta et excerpta* cannot be identified with one distinct heretical system, but show remarkable congruence, they may well have represented an outline of compact opinions. It can therefore be concluded that the ideas analyzed above were indeed promoted on a theoretical level, as Howard Kaminsky originally suggested. On the other hand, from the point of view of the Dresden School such a conclusion does not change the situation much. All the examples primarily pointed to the dissemination of the works and opinions of Nicholas of Dresden. Only circumstantial evidence hints that there might have been other people at work who were interested in more than only Nicholas' ideas.

Chapter IV: Conclusions

The aim of the dissertation was to examine the existence of the so-called Dresden School and determine the extent to which the numerous references to it that appear in scholarly literature are justifiable. It have sought to analyze the concept of this particular School, namely whether it was a clearly defined group in terms of being teaching institution or whether any of the other activities of its members attest to the existence of the School. I have tried to examine all possible direct and indirect sources coming from the period contemporary with the supposed existence of the Dresden School related both to the alleged members of the School and the School itself. In the second part of the dissertation I scrutinized the “afterlife” of the Dresden School and considered its existence through the prism of its possible sphere(s) of influence. I examined and analyzed several manuscripts and made some of my findings accessible in the appendices. These contain critical editions of two treatises of the members of the Dresden School (in one case it is a text inspired by a member of the Dresden School), as well as the transcription of selected parts of a treatise similarly important for the present investigation. The list of treatises of Peter and Nicholas of Dresden, in which I summed up older information and supplemented it with my own findings, will hopefully serve as a tool of basic orientation for anyone interested in the works of these two influential men.

In the first part, I surveyed a number of historiographical sources from the 15th century that refer in one way or another to the Dresden School or its members.⁴⁰⁶ The information contained in these sources is to a large extent contradictory. The only positive evidence derived from them is that there were some Germans who were expelled from Dresden after 1411 who settled in Prague after this date. Enea Silvio Piccolomini’s information that these men were previously in Prague and left the town as a consequence of the Kutná Hora decree in 1409 is not corroborated by any other source; moreover, a comparison of the sources which Piccolomini exploited suggests that this piece of information is in all likelihood his own addition to the story. Only a later interpolation to an otherwise reliable source – the chronicle of Laurence of Březová – states that Peter of Dresden alone lived in Prague at some point, left

⁴⁰⁶ Most of these sources are of Bohemian origin, a fact that underlines the territorial limitation of the studied problem. The fact that I did not discuss other sources (from outside Bohemia) means that these do not contain any information about the Dresden School.

it and eventually returned. The assumption that a group of Germans originally studied at Prague University and made a full circle by coming back to support the Reform movement in Bohemia cannot therefore be supported. Based solely on the historiographical sources, the teaching activity of the people connected to the Dresden School as an institutional body also lacks firm evidence. Moreover, critical assessment of the sources revealed that the only name that can be undoubtedly connected with the Dresden phase of the School is that of Peter of Dresden. The majority of these sources were concerned with the question of the introduction of the lay chalice and perceived this as the main reason behind the expulsion of the School from Dresden. Without exception it was Peter of Dresden who was mentioned in connection with this practice. The chronology of the beginnings of Hussite Utraquism, as determined by modern scholarship, however, refuted Peter's role in this issue.⁴⁰⁷ Other tenets held by the members of the School point to its anti-papal character but only in one case were these beliefs labelled Waldensian in contemporary writing. All sources agree that once these Germans settled in Prague, they promptly associated themselves with the Bohemian representatives of the Reform movement and that some of the men played a significant role in religious developments in Prague before the outbreak of the wars. Yet the picture gleaned from the narrative sources is rather fuzzy and certainly does not provide grounds for considering the German masters as a determinate group or a school in terms of an institutional body of scholars.

The next step in disentangling the riddle of the Dresden School was to combine the information extracted from historiographical sources with the available biographical data of the pertinent people. In other words, I attempted to picture the story of the Dresden School through the prism of the people involved. In the case of Nicholas of Dresden, a critical appraisal of the sources allows for only one positive conclusion, namely that he studied in Erfurt until 1405 and worked in Prague for some time after 1412.⁴⁰⁸ There is no evidence for Nicholas' activity in the period between 1405 and 1412, when he may or may not have worked at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden. The only fact that can be accepted without doubt is that between 1412 and 1415 Nicholas worked in Prague and the numerous treatises he composed there had a palpable influence on the reformist circles connected with Prague University.

⁴⁰⁷ A critical survey of the origins of the lay chalice in Bohemia and Peter's role in it can be found in Krmíčková, *Studie a texty*, 3–15.

⁴⁰⁸ Nevertheless, I pointed out that there is room for doubt even concerning Nicholas' studies in Erfurt.

However, he did not spend his last days in Prague (although his possible martyrdom in Germany is not supported by source evidence). Regarding Peter of Dresden, the picture is even more obscure. The survey of both positive and negative evidence of university registers implies that Peter studied in Prague. Two names figure in the registers of Prague University which can be connected with Peter of Dresden and it followed from my survey that the identification of Peter with Peter of Dreßte (bachelor in Arts 1374) seems to be more reasonable. Peter's presence is positively attested to in Nuremberg in 1405; along the way from there he might have stayed in Zwickau and Chemnitz; and from 1407 until ca. 1411 he worked at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden; subsequently moving to Prague where he also died. A number of treatises ascribed to him survive, but their authorship is highly doubtful, above all in the case of the well-spread and very popular Aristotelian compendium. Some of the copies of this tract contain evidence about one Petrus Gerticz as their author, who is often identified with the famous rector of the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden. Yet the question of the connection between these two names still awaits clarification and the first step in doing so should be the preparation of critical editions of the relevant treatises. This task unfortunately exceeds the scope of this dissertation, nonetheless a preparatory step has been taken, i.e. a survey of the extant copies of Peter's works, available here in Appendix A. Friedrich Eppinge started his academic career at the University of Heidelberg and left it some time after 1406. Whether he went to Prague after this point or straight to Dresden, where his presence is positively attested, is impossible to decide due to lack of source evidence. He certainly worked in Dresden as a co-teacher of Peter of Dresden and followed him to Prague around 1412. In Prague, Eppinge's career reached its height during the dispute over Wyclif's teachings in 1412. The defence of the article on unjust excommunication was one of the most remarkable and influential contributions of Friedrich Eppinge to the Hussite movement. It is considered the most complex treatment of a pressing issue of the period and illustrates the possible legal orientation of the people connected to the Dresden School. Eppinge most probably died in Prague shortly after 1412 as there is no more evidence of his life in the sources. John Drändorf is the only one of the supposed group about whose family background we are better informed. This nobleman from Saxony studied in Leipzig, Dresden and Prague, although the sequence of his study-travels is not clear. However, at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden, Drändorf certainly studied under Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge; after 1411 he moved to Zittau where he

studied together with another man connected to the Dresden School, Peter Turnau; subsequently he moved to Prague. Drändorf was ordained a priest at Lipnice in 1417 and worked as a parish priest in southern Bohemia. Most probably as a consequence of the outbreak of the wars in Bohemia, around 1424 he left for Germany to carry out an astonishing travelling enterprise. After months of assiduous travelling, Drändorf teamed up with his former colleague and friend Peter Turnau in Speyer and tried to carry out a plan to change the existing social order. They composed a manifesto calling for armed revolt resulting in his arrest. John Drändorf was burned as a heretic in 1425. Peter Turnau is connected with the Dresden School solely because of the claim by John Drändorf and also because he fell victim to the same process in 1425 as his friend Drändorf. Turnau came from a wealthy family from Prussia and studied in Zittau in 1411 where he met John Drändorf for the first time. During his inquisition process, Turnau refused to connect his presence in Prague after 1412 with the bursa at the Black Rose House and thus, it may be possible that he had no contacts with the circle of German masters there. At the end of 1414 Turnau left Prague for Bologna where he obtained a degree in law, a fact that brings him closer to the legal orientation of the Dresden School. In 1422, Turnau journeyed to the East; on his way home from Crete he stopped shortly in Prague and continued to Germany. He obtained the position of rector of a local cathedral school in Speyer in 1423, in 1424 he was joined by John Drändorf, and in consequence of their attempt at a revolt he was burnt at the stake by the inquisition – just as Drändorf – in 1425. Another man burnt by the German inquisition, Bartholomew Rautenstock, confessed to have studied in Prague with Peter and Nicholas of Dresden and his testimony is the only explicit mention of the bursa at the Black Rose House in Prague. Rautenstock was also ordained at Lipnice in 1417 along with John Drändorf and subsequently worked as a priest in Prague. Later he married and settled down in Germany, although some time after his wife's death he set out to preach again in Bohemia and then in Germany. He was caught and burnt by the inquisition in Nuremberg at an unknown date, but at the latest in the middle of the 15th century. A hint that the German masters in Prague had some sympathizers is presented by Conradus Stoecklin, who glossed a commentary on Nicholas Lira's *Postil* copied by John Drändorf in Prague. This vague link is the only connection that can be drawn between the otherwise unknown Stoecklin and the Germans active in Prague after 1412. Last but not least, a direct link between the famous English supporter of the Hussites, Peter Payne, and the Dresden School must be

rejected, too. Payne left England some time around 1413 and travelled through Germany (where he may or may not have got in touch with the prominent Waldensian emissary Friedrich Reiser); it is certain that Payne did not reach Prague before late 1414. The chronology of his travels proves that he could not have had contacts with the Germans before this date in Dresden. The suggestion that Payne was admitted to the conservative board of Masters of Prague University only in 1417 because of his contacts with the German radicals at the Black Rose House and his refusal to swear an oath must be rejected as well, as the analysis of the Statutes concerning the oath-proceedings at Prague University showed.⁴⁰⁹ Another weak link between Payne and the teaching activities of the Dresdeners in Prague, namely the existence of mnemonic verses composed by Payne, the *Dicta*, cannot be accepted either, because its content is not in agreement with this supposition. The only connection between Payne's activities and the Dresden School in Prague is thus constituted by rather vague and indirect evidence, namely by his participation in compiling indexes for Wyclif's works in the 1430s which will be discussed below.

In sum, the biographical data of the people considered to be members of the Dresden School do not justify the supposition that the School existed and operated as a group. First of all, there is no evidence that the group was connected to Prague University before 1409 and moved to Germany as a consequence of the Kutná Hora Decree of 1409. Some of the men might have studied at Prague University before this date, but even if this is so, they did not flee from there together. As far as the Dresden phase of the group is concerned, only Peter of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge as teachers and John Drändorf as a student can be traced at the *Kreuzschule*, yet even they did not move to Prague together after their expulsion from Dresden in 1411. Moreover, there remains a large gap in our knowledge: the identification of Peter of Dresden as the rector of the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden with the author(s) of the treatises that survive and are ascribed to him – in all likelihood these are works by more than one person. The most influential member of the Dresden School, Nicholas of Dresden, can only be unequivocally linked with the activity of the School in Prague. The same holds true for other men, namely Bartholomew Rautenstock and Conrad Stoecklin. John Drändorf studied both in Dresden and in Prague and can be linked with two other students of the School on the following occasions: 1. Together with Bartholomew Rautenstock they can be traced among the

⁴⁰⁹ Nodl, "Iurare vel promittere," 55–56; see above, *Biographies*, 78.

radicals who were ordained at Lipnice in 1417 and 2. Drändorf together with Peter Turnau took part in the travelling and exhorting enterprise in Germany. Yet during his interrogation Turnau refused to admit to having anything in common with the German masters either in Dresden or in Prague. Peter Payne cannot be directly connected to the Dresden School in either place although he might have been in touch with the German masters or their students in Prague after 1414, that is, when the two leading figures of the bursa in Prague – Peter and Nicholas – were most probably not active there any more. Therefore there is also a dearth of positive evidence for accepting the activity of the Dresden School in Prague on institutional grounds.

As a next step, I tried to survey indirect evidence that might point to the existence of the School. I analyzed three topics: the teaching activities of the Dresden School, the doctrine its members might have shared, and the possible activities of its disciples. The situation at the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden showed that the circulation of nonconformist ideas under Peter of Dresden as rector was the single-handed activity of this one man. And even though Peter's activity inspired two members of the *Kreuzschule* to follow him to Prague, this does not allow the hypothesis that the Dresden School was transferred to Prague on institutional grounds to be accepted. The situation in Prague was rather different. A number of sources attest to that fact that Peter and Nicholas ran a bursa at the Black Rose House where many topical issues of the time were discussed. Yet the attractive flow of ideas spreading from this bursa, which found vivid echos in the life of pre-Hussite Prague, was entirely different from those contained in the treatises that could be connected to the teaching activities of Peter of Dresden, Nicholas or Peter Payne. In any case, the two phases of the School in Dresden and in Prague cannot be connected and the institutional character of the Dresden School – in so far as its staff and the ideas that were promoted by its alleged members are concerned – must be therefore rejected.

Closely connected is the issue of the doctrines shared by the alleged members of the School. In my opinion it is precisely here that the case constructed against the German masters connected to the Dresden School starts; the accusation that they were involved in spreading Waldensian ideas is probably the first instance when they were treated as a group. The problem is twofold: on the one hand, the narrative sources do not contain sufficient evidence on the members' Waldensianism; on the other hand it is only the treatises of Nicholas of Dresden where grounds exist for an analysis of his Waldensian persuasion. The results of

previous scholarship dealing with the doctrinal impact of the School were based exclusively on the teachings of Nicholas of Dresden and are largely contradictory. From the point of view of the present analysis, such results are at any rate less important – as long as the Dresden School cannot be identified as a distinct group, it is not possible to speak about its doctrinal impact. This ambivalence can be illustrated by a couple of further particulars that emerged during the course of my examination. For example, the teachings of Matthew of Janov, an influential authority, who inspired many of the Hussite reformers but whose doctrine was known only locally, are reflected upon in the works of Nicholas of Dresden and Friedrich Eppinge – a fact that might support the acquaintance of the Dresdeners with specifically Bohemian sources and consequently highlight the bonds between the individual members of the group. By contrast, in the manifesto that John Drändorf composed together with Peter Turnau in Germany, a major breakthrough in the matter of unjust excommunication treated earlier by Friedrich Eppinge in Prague is utterly disregarded. Therefore, it must be concluded that as far as the available comparative material allows us to see, the circle of the individuals connected to the Dresden School do not represent an ideologically definable group.

A slightly different picture emerged from the analysis of the disciples of the Dresden School, that is, of those activities that the sources suggested the members of the group had taken part in. Close scrutiny of the text-tradition of a treatise by Nicholas of Dresden, the *Tabule veteris et novi coloris* written around 1412, and wooden boards with antithetical illuminations from this very treatise carried by the supporters of the Hussites⁴¹⁰ during the street riots in Prague in 1412 and 1414 indicates that the School must have had followers of some kind. It must be emphasized that this supposition is tied solely to the Prague period of the School. It is, however, the first actual glimpse of the influence exerted by the circle of the Dresdeners. Another activity shared by some of the members of the Dresden School was their itinerant preaching and their travelling enterprise. Nevertheless, a survey of the travels of the pertinent individuals showed that these did not have much in common. With the exception of John Drändorf and Peter Turnau's efforts in Germany (and even this was above all the initiative of Drändorf only), the hypothesis that people from the Dresden School propagated certain Hussite ideas in Germany and that their travels indicate a common intention cannot be accepted. Therefore the travelling enterprises and the missionary vocation cannot be

⁴¹⁰ Procop's chronicle says that they were "the Germans from Dresden", see above, *Primary Sources*, 26.

considered a characteristic trait of the members of the Dresden School. Yet the examination of the possible bonds of the group based on their teaching activities, doctrinal persuasion and the promotional performances of their disciples revealed that there are a few hints that can be classified as indirect evidence of the influence exerted by this group: namely, the actual existence of its disciples.

This outcome was subsequently placed in the focus of my further investigations and coeval evidence of the existence of the Dresden School has therefore been supplied with information coming from a later period. A very distinct sign of the existence of a school is the existence of collected works by the masters of the school. In the case of the treatises of Nicholas of Dresden, such conscious attempts have indeed been carried out. However, this evidence relates only to Nicholas of Dresden, a fact that creates an obstacle to making the assumption that these collected editions can be regarded as a sign of the activity of the followers of the Dresden School, and not only of Nicholas. Nevertheless, the investigation into one particular example of how Nicholas' works reverberated in the Hussite setting showed that there is more to this problem. The existence of an index to Nicholas' treatise *Apologia* made it possible to connect – even if only circumstantially – the circle of the Bohemian compilers of indexes to Wyclif's works, including Peter Payne, with the indexing attempt made for the *Apologia*. In other words, the connection between Peter Payne and Nicholas of Dresden through the indexing tool indicates the possible existence of a larger number of people who can be regarded as followers of the Dresden School.

Such a highly speculative idea naturally needed further substantiation. To a certain extent, this is provided by the evidence from the 15th-century manuscript sources that were examined in the next step of the research, as I took up and elaborated upon Howard Kaminsky's suggestion that after 1415 there existed "intellectual activity promoting Nicholas' program."⁴¹¹ This hypothesis was based on the existence of two treatises dealing with similar heresies that were very much in the line of argumentation of Nicholas of Dresden's works, and in one case, even directly connected to it. The scrutiny of unedited manuscript material resulted in a critical assessment of the textual tradition of these two texts and a critical edition of the *Confessio* as well as a transcription of selected parts of the lengthy *Collecta et excerpta*. The *Confessio*, a parody of a confession that a heretic might have made to an inquisitor written around 1418,

⁴¹¹ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 26.

criticizes Catholic confessional practice. Interestingly, in some manuscripts, the parody was copied in such a way as to serve as an example of Waldensian or Wycliffite tenets. Much more complex is the case of the other analyzed treatise, the *Collecta et excerpta*. This refutation of a number of heretical ideas by a Catholic author seems to comprise two parts which are to a certain extent independent with the second part directly opposing a tract by Nicholas of Dresden. Both parts are amply preserved and a critical appraisal of the extant copies revealed that they must have been part of a longer tract, directly linked to the refutation of Nicholas' *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*. Moreover, the contents of these two sources clearly show that they were aimed against the Hussites, as the refutation of infant communion, a very distinct Hussite novelty, proved. Both the *Confessio* and the *Collecta et excerpta* address very similar heretical ideas and refute them, which permits the following conjecture: Because the opinions that appear in both of these treatises cannot be identified with one distinct heretical system but they show remarkable congruence, they may therefore have represented an outline of particular ideas. As there is a direct link between the *Collecta et excerpta* and a treatise by Nicholas of Dresden, it can be concluded that Nicholas' ideas were indeed promoted on a theoretical level as Kaminsky originally suggested. Unfortunately for the matter at hand, it brings us back to the very beginning – this evidence points again only to the dissemination of the works and opinions of Nicholas of Dresden alone and not of the Dresden School.

To conclude: None of the sources analyzed above, either from the period contemporary with the activities of the Dresden School or from the period that followed immediately, contain evidence that the Dresden School actually ever existed. Certainly the *Kreuzschule* in Dresden and the bursa at the Black Rose House in Prague did not have much in common, although there were a few people who were active in both places. The circle of the people connected to the bursa in Prague, however, exerted some influence on the representatives of the Reform movement, although this pertains chiefly to Nicholas of Dresden. On the other hand, the direct evidence that there were people interested in the ideas and works of Nicholas of Dresden can be indirectly connected with the activities of the circle of reformers around Peter Payne. Taking this speculation a bit further, we might interpret these hints as if there were people who could be regarded as the sympathizers or disciples of the bursa in Prague. The existence of the followers of the Dresden School might consequently point to the actual existence of the School at least at this level. Nevertheless, because the above-mentioned

indirect evidence comes from a later period, it seems that the whole idea of the Dresden School is also a later construct.

A theoretical problem emerges here that grew in importance during the course of this research: an applicable definition of a school or of a group of scholars at the beginning of the 15th century is, to say the least, an intricate matter. As a point of departure, Gerd Althoff's parameters of a medieval group were discussed.⁴¹² Of the three types of bonds that were of primary importance for medieval people, the one constituted by co-operation seemed to have the most bearing on the group of masters from the Dresden School. Yet it followed that the lack of source evidence made it impossible to classify the studied people as a travelling group of university students, as defined by Rainer-Christoph Schwinges. Examples from the very period studied here also show that defining a group is a highly complicated matter. For instance, Eduard Maur carried out several prosopographical investigations into the history of the radical faction of the Hussites in Tabor and for him the lack of solid biographical data represented the prime objection in defining a group.⁴¹³ At any rate, the term "group" was often used in earlier scholarship without further theoretical definition. In one of the pioneering studies into the history of Hussite radicalism by Howard Kaminsky, the Taborites were for example, classified as the pupils of Jacobellus of Misa because of their defence of several tenets voiced by Jacobellus and because of their appeals to his authority.⁴¹⁴ The reception of the beliefs of an individual (in the present study this might be the case of Nicholas of Dresden) were also traditionally considered to be a form of doctrinal influence. For the matter at hand, it is important that signs of the doctrinal impact of the Dresden School were sought in the works of the Hussite radical preachers, or later in the environment of the Unity of the Czech Brethren and elsewhere. The most revealing example is represented by the *Confessio Taboritarum* by Nicholas Biskupec of Pelhřimov, who utilized Nicholas of Dresden's treatise *De purgatorio* to a large extent.⁴¹⁵ Although the intricate network of textual borrowings between these two

⁴¹² See above, *Methodology and methods*, 12–15.

⁴¹³ Eduard Maur, "Pavel z Olešné a jeho družina" (Pavel of Olešná and his group), in *Husitství – reformace – renesance. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, vol. 2, ed. Jaroslav Pánek, Jaroslav Boubín, Miloslav Polívka and Noemi Rejchrtová (Prague: Historický ústav, 1994), 449–463; see also idem, "Příspěvek k prosopografii duchovních tábořské orientace v počátcích husitské revoluce" (Contribution to the prosopography of Taborite priests in the beginnings of the Hussite revolution), *Táborský archiv* 9 (1999): 49–89.

⁴¹⁴ That Tabor's defence of a simplified ritual was based on Jacobellus' requirement was later endorsed by Jacobellus himself who referred to the original unity of spirit between himself and the Taborites, see Kaminsky, "Hussite Radicalism," 123.

⁴¹⁵ See above, *Indirect Evidence*, 98–99.

treatises may reveal interesting facts, there is one essential implication in such an approach for the present study: the alleged doctrinal influence relates only to Nicholas of Dresden and not to the whole group. Nicholas' doctrines indeed spread among the radical Hussites, as further examples from manuscript material indicate, however, they should not be taken as a sign that the group as a whole had some kind of impact.⁴¹⁶ Even though there are other figures from the later period who had some contacts with the Dresdeners, they cannot be directly classified as the followers of the Dresden School due to a dearth of further evidence.⁴¹⁷ Such a conclusion cannot be surprising, as even in the case of John Wyclif and the Lollards, a problem of much greater significance that is far better and more richly documented than the Dresden School, the religious identity of the followers is a very complex matter.⁴¹⁸

An example of similar methodological ambiguity in researching a 'school' is presented by the intricate case of the school of Chartres. Until 1970, prevailing opinion held it that Chartres with its cathedral school represented an important educational centre of humanist tradition in the early 12th century. The great reputation of this school had been based on the fame and achievements of several accomplished medieval humanist thinkers connected to it including Bernard of Chartres, Gilbert of Poitiers, Thierry of Chartres or William of Conches. An important piece of evidence for this was provided by John of Salisbury and his *Metalogicon* (1159) in which he wrote about the work and specific interest in Platonism of his great master, Bernard; moreover, he identified several of his teachers as kindred spirits and the followers of

⁴¹⁶ For example a marginal note by an anti-Hussite copyist in one copy of Nicholas' tract *De purgatorio* preserved in Chapter Library, Prague, D 52, fol. 21v, claims that the errors of Nicholas were adopted by the Taborites: "*Errores Nicolai de Czerucz theotonici contra purgatorium, quos receperunt et defenderunt Thaborite cum ceteris malis. ... Sequentem tractatum nulli cautum est legere*"; see Patera and Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, vol. 1, 361.

⁴¹⁷ Such is the case of John Jičín, the only Prague master to join the radical faction of the Taborites. He held doctrines similar to Nicholas of Dresden and he is linked to the Dresdeners in Prague in the chronicle *The Beginnings of Hussitism*, see above, *Primary Sources*, 24–26; for biographical data of Jičín, see Tříška, *Životopisný slovník*, 245. Another figure whose connection to the Dresden School is obscure but sometimes referred to is Laurentius of Reichenbach, a Silesian priest and possibly later a secretary to Prokop Holý, the leader of Tabor, whose name was mentioned during the interrogation by John Dräendorf; see Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitionen-Verfahren*, 85, 109, 187; see also Machilek, "Deutsche Hussiten," 275. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether Laurentius can indeed be identified as Prokop's secretary because the various references to this suggestion that appear in scholarly literature (such as Seibt, *Hussitica*, 97 and others) are based on Josef Macek, *Prokop Veliký* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1953), 196, note 188, who in turn refers to *Johannis de Ragusio Tractatus quomodo Bohemi reducti sunt ad unitatem ecclesiae*, where it is explicitly said that Prokop sent his secretary called "Wigleff" to Prague, see *Monumenta conciliorum generalium seculi decimi quinti*, vol. 1, ed. František Palacký and Ernestus Birk (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1857), 146.

⁴¹⁸ I found the study on the given problem by Jeremy Catto, "Fellows and Helpers: The Religious Identity of the Followers of Wyclif," in *The Medieval Church, Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life*, ed. Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 141–161, very inspiring.

Bernard. Such evidence made it easy to assume that these scholars had been closely associated and consider them the ‘founding members’ of the School of Chartres. Without clarification, the expression ‘school of Chartres’ has been used to refer to the cathedral school or the group of the above-mentioned humanists. In 1970, Richard Southern published a study in which he argued that the fame of this school had been overstated. Based on the comparison of the masters who taught in Chartres and in Paris, he showed that the work of these masters is much more likely to have been connected with Paris and dismissed the innovative value of their intellectual programme. In his conclusion, Southern claimed that the school of Chartres was actually a myth.⁴¹⁹ His valuable contribution encouraged renewed critical attention to the historical and intellectual importance of the school of Chartres.⁴²⁰ Recently, for instance, Édouard Jeuneau delineated a fascinating portrait of the school and argued that the school did exist but was not as important as previously thought.⁴²¹ Winthrop Wetherbee’s assessment, which he put forward in one of his many studies on the subject, offers a conclusion, which, *mutatis mutandis*, could be relevant for the present dissertation as well. He wrote: “Whatever value we assign to their [i.e. the masters’] writings, they embody the thought, if not of the school of Chartres itself, then of the school of Bernard of Chartres. On this basis I will refer to them ... as the ‘Chartrians’.”⁴²² Even though the role of a teacher in the early twelfth and in the fifteenth century was certainly not identical, we encounter a similar situation in the case of the Dresden School: the affinity of some men with one great master or teacher (Peter or Nicholas of Dresden) created a later perception of them as a group. There are intriguing

⁴¹⁹ Richard W. Southern, “Humanism and the School of Chartres,” in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York and Evanston: Harper&Row, 1970), 61–85; idem, “The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres,” in *Renaissance and the Renewal in the twelfth century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 113–137, where references to older studies on the School of Chartres can be found (e.g. the pioneering contributions of R. L. Poole or A. Clerval from the 19th century). The most challenging responses to Southern’s studies were offered by Nikolaus M. Häring, “Chartres and Paris Revisited,” in *Essays in Honor of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O’Donnell (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 268–329; Peter Dronke, “New Approaches to the School of Chartres,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1969): 117–140 and others.

⁴²⁰ Apart from the responses to Southern’s arguments listed in the previous footnote, see, for example, Winthrop Wetherbee, “The School of Chartres,” in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jorge J. E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 36–44, with bibliography.

⁴²¹ Édouard Jeuneau, *Rethinking the School of Chartres*, transl. Claude Paul Desmarais (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), which book also inspired the title of this work.

⁴²² Wetherbee, “The School of Chartres,” 37.

parallels from other periods and settings,⁴²³ however, the Chartres School aptly illustrates the methodological complications involved.

The conclusion of this dissertation is that the Dresden School did not exist in the lifetime of its alleged members and their immediate followers. Yet, in one sense the School definitely existed (and exists today): as an historical construct. The question emerges as to when and why this construct came into being, and, in a broader context, how its history is connected to the present dissertation. I analyzed only the contemporary phases of the alleged existence of the Dresden School and not later material – however, we have seen hints that it may have been as early as the late fifteenth century that the fabrication of the concept of the Dresden School began. The history of the Dresden School as a construct is therefore apparently long and complicated. It would be interesting to find out where and when exactly the name “Dresden School” appeared for the first time, how its usage spread and whom it comprised in various periods. However, this would be beyond the scope of this present study – for one thing it moves into a time beyond the medieval period and for another, the topic in itself is vast enough to provide material for another dissertation. Moreover, how the tradition was constructed and how this historiographical fiction developed is a research question in its own right.

⁴²³ A later English analogy was pointed out to me by Professor Anne Hudson, for which I am very grateful: The case of the so-called White Horse tavern (or Inn) in Cambridge, located on the campus of the present King’s College. In the 16th century, this place reportedly served as a meeting place for English scholars who discussed Luther’s ideas as well as Erasmus’ recently completed Greek New Testament. Those who started regularly meeting there in the 1520s supposedly included Thomas Bilney, Robert Barnes, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer and others. These meetings were often seen as an important stimulus for the English Reformation as a whole. Due to regular discussions about the latest theological developments in Germany and mostly because of frequent mentions of Luther’s works, the place was soon nicknamed ‘Little Germany’. Even though historical documentation for this is scarce, the importance of the White Horse tavern is mentioned profusely in scholarly literature without reference to source evidence, see, for example, Elizabeth Leedham-Green, *A Concise History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 44.

EPILOGUE

The fact that the Dresden School has been identified as a group in the public consciousness without actual source evidence, as I tried to show in the course of this study, brings me to some concluding remarks concerning the present state of Hussite studies. The intensive development of Czech medieval studies over the last two decades gave rise to many innovative approaches, including the history of the Hussite movement. The research focused on more theoretical questions and on the multi-causal interpretation of the spiritual uprising of the period.⁴²⁴ The attempt to understand the many aspects of the historical development leading to the outbreak of the Hussite wars is best represented by the *Hussite revolution* by František Šmahel. Šmahel's in-depth analyses have always been based on the close reading of the sources, and were on many occasions bolstered and accompanied by critical editions of the analyzed texts. The *Centre for Medieval Studies*, recently founded by the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and the Charles University in Prague, supports and provides background for a number of younger researches who – very much owing to the influence of František Šmahel – pay due attention in their interdisciplinary studies to the manuscript sources and their editing. Our knowledge of the sources and their critical accessibility is expanding rapidly, fostered by new trends in the digitization and cataloguing of written sources.⁴²⁵

Given the above facts, it might be surprising that for example the works of John Hus, the most famous Bohemian figure of the early Bohemian Reformation, are not yet fully accessible in modern critical editions. The calls for a full appraisal of Hus' contribution to the period already began in the 1950s and subsequently the project of editing the *Magistri Iohannis Hus Opera omnia* was launched by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The monumentally conceived series of critical editions nevertheless soon languished for want of editors.⁴²⁶ In

⁴²⁴ For a survey of the development of research into the Hussite movement, see, for example, František Šmahel and Josef Žemlička, "Die tschechische Mediävistik 1990–2002," in *Tschechische Mittelalterforschung 1990–2002*, ed. František Šmahel (Prague: Filosofia, 2003), 57–66.

⁴²⁵ For example the National Library of the Czech Republic is an active member of the *Manuscriptorium* project, which makes information about historical book resources accessible and develops a virtual library of the digitalized documents. Thanks to this fact many manuscripts from the Hussite period are now available in electronic form.

⁴²⁶ In June 1993, the newly established "Commission for the Study of the Problems Connected with the Person, the Life and the Work of Master Jan Hus", connected to the Czech Bishops' Conference under the chairmanship of Cardinal Miloslav Vlk, had to exhort the project that was at that time still limping along, for more, see František J. Holeček, "The Problems of the Person, the the Life and the Work of Jan Hus: The Significance and the Task of a Commission of the Czech Bishops' Conference", in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious*

1999, Anežka Vidmanová, an important editor of Hus' works, published an overview of the critical series of Hus' *Opera omnia*, laid out in 26 volumes, each containing several of the total number of ca. 300 texts written by Hus. Vidmanová observed that while all of Hus' Czech treatises were available in critical editions, the Latin works were in a less fortunate condition. Out of the 21 volumes that should comprise Hus' Latin treatises, only five have been critically edited in the Academia series.⁴²⁷ To date, two more volumes have been published and a few more are currently under preparation. This major change took place following an agreement between the committee responsible for editing Hus' *Opera omnia* and the Brepols publishing house, which included the series in their prestigious *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, which in consequence gained support for more editorial projects.⁴²⁸ Nevertheless, given the present poor economic circumstances the continuation of these projects is now rather doubtful and in seeking financial support, preference is given to projects with more far-reaching research questions that preferably contextualize Bohemian phenomena within more general research on a European level.

Such a situation is rather symptomatic. Although the need for interdisciplinary approaches challenges historians to embark upon editing projects, support for essential editorial enterprises is not strong. The result is that despite enormous theoretical and methodological advances due to a wide range of interdisciplinary and innovative approaches, there are still many constructs unsubstantiated in the sources which linger on in the scholarly literature. I tried to show this in the case of the Dresden School, but there are of course even more apt

Practice, vol. 2, ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holton (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1998), 39–47; Magdaléna Pokorná, "Projekt vydávání Husových spisů v ČSAV" (The project of editing Hus' treatises in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences), *Acta universitatis Carolinae – Historia universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 40/1–2 (2000): 85–91. One of the few achievements of this project was a new list of Hus' treatises that incorporated new manuscript findings: Pavel Spunar and František Michálek Bartoš, *Soupis pramenů k literární činnosti M. Jana Husa a M. Jeronýma Pražského* (List of sources pertaining to the literary activity of Master John Hus and Master Jerome of Prague) (Prague: Historický ústav ČSAV, 1965).

⁴²⁷ Anežka Vidmanová, *Základní vydání spisů M. Jana Husa – Le principali edizioni degli scritti del Maestro Jan Hus* (Prague: Knihovna Akademie věd České republiky, 1999); these comprise Hus' *Sermones de tempore qui Collecta dicuntur*; *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi*; *Leccionarium bipartitum, pars hiemalis*; *Postilla adumbrata*; *Polemica*; plus there were two more volumes ready to be published in the Academia series, namely the *Quodlibet* edited by B. Ryba in 1948, the other was a volume XIXb prepared and printed earlier by Vidmanová herself, although without the critical apparatus, the *Positiones – Recommendationes – Sermones*.

⁴²⁸ In 2004 the *Questiones* were published as CCCM 25 and in 2006 the *Quodlibet* (CCCM 211). Financial support has been given to larger editorial enterprises and thus, more volumes are under preparation – Jana Zachová from the Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague prepared an edition of Hus' *Dicta*; a team under the leadership of Jana Nechutová and Helena Krmíčková in Brno prepared a volume comprising Hus' exegetical treatises (*Enarratio Psalmorum*, *Expositio Decalogi*, *Expositio super Pater noster brevis*, *Super Credo* and *De quadruplici sensu Sacre scripture*); vol. XXI *Tractatus annorum 1408–1412* as well as vol. XXIV *Constanciensia* are also under preparation.

examples: for instance when František Šmahel recently took a closer look at the so-called Compactata of Basel, a document of primary importance containing the decrees that governed relations between the Hussites and the Roman Church after the Council of Basel, he showed that it is not at all clear what exactly can be included in this body of sources and voiced the urgent need to critically edit the Compactata anew.⁴²⁹ In a similar manner, I hope that by approaching a long-standing problem through the critical examination of primary sources, my dissertation will facilitate a better understanding of what the Dresden School was and what it was not.

⁴²⁹ František Šmahel, “Basilejská kompaktáta, jejich zpísemnění a ratifikace” (The Compactata of Basel, their drafting and ratification), *Studia mediaevalia Bohemica* 1/2 (2009): 187–229.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LIST OF TREATISES BY PETER OF DRESDEN

Since there is no available list of Peter's treatises, the following list summarizes all identified copies along with their basic data, i.e. title, incipit and explicit, list of extant manuscripts and possible date of origin.

1. De congruitate grammaticalis

Inc.: *Congruitas grammaticalis consistit in debita proporcione ... x ... et sic est finis tractatuli grammaticalis Petri de Dresden.*

MS: 1. Prague, National Library, V H 21, fol. 166v–167v

Date: ca. 1415

2. Parvulus logicae (Parva logicalia; Parvulus logicae antiquorum; Compendium totius logicae; Summa compendiaria totius logicae)

Inc.: *Propositio est oratio vere vel false significans indicando, ut homo currit ... x ... et multae aliae regulae consequentiales patent ubi supra.*

- MS:
1. Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, CA 4° 245, fol. 1r–32r
 2. Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2084, fol. 104r–217r
 3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14880, fol. 2r–37r
 4. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10044, fol. 13–26
 5. Prague, National Museum, XII F 4, fol. 337v–341r (Inc. *Propositio est oratio indicativa*)
 6. Prague, National Library, XIV F 20, fol. 1r–16v, incomplete (Inc. *Propositio est oratio x expl. octava regula est a particulari ad suam indefinitam*)
 7. Prague, National Library, V H 28, fol. 81r–85v, incomplete (Inc. *Propositio est oratio indicativa x expl. tertia maiorem variat servatque minorem*)
 8. Erfurt, Carthusian monastery Salvatorberg, now lost (*Autor istius tractatuli mag. Petrus Gerit, mag. schole in Dresssen, scil. in Missna. Et sicut dicitur, tunc in ultimis suis diebus pervenit ad Boemicam pravitatem et Constancie incineratus*)

Date: N/A

3. Parvulus philosophiae naturalis

Inc.: *Natura est principium et causa movendi et quiescendi eius, in quo est principium per se et non secundum accidens. Et alia est forma, alia materia ... x ... sed Deum non agnoscit per abstractionem, quia similitudo abstracta simplicior est illo, a quo fit abstractio, Deo autem nihil est simplicius.*

MS: Additions to Lohr's list of 60 manuscripts:¹

1. Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, M 56, fol. 1r–88v (1485)
2. Prague, National Museum, Kruliš-Randa 8 G 16, fol. 1–13
3. Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. st. 685
4. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. f. 118, fol. 2r–10v
5. Erfurt, Carthusian monastery Salvatorberg, now lost

Date: N/A

DUBIA:

4. *Parvulus philosophiae moralis*

Inc.: *Licet homo inter alia animalia magis sit corpore erectus donisque naturalibus et viribus ac potenciis corporis ... x ... cognoscimus quod nobis concedat qui sine fine vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

- MS:
1. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 40 (Rose No. 984), fol. 61–82r
 2. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. qu. 97 (Rose No. 982), fol. 146r–168r
 3. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Philol. 41C, fol. 31–49, 63–74
 4. Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, N° 53, fol. 318–343 (1467)
 5. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 8401, fol. 405r–424v

Date: N/A

5. *Conspectus divisionis universalium*

Inc.: *Universale est duplex: reale / loycale ...*

MS: Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, CA 4° 271, fol. 14v

Date: ca. 1404

6. *Abbreviata Posteriorum*

Inc.: *Omnis doctrina et omnis disciplina intellectiva ... x ... homo est realis propter realitatem est sic est finis huius. ... Explicit abbreviata posteriorum magistri Petri Dresden reportata.*

MS: Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, CA 4° 271, fol. 124r–126r

Date: ca. 1404

¹ Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," 353 – 354, no. 2. A couple of more additions to Lohr's list were presented by Josef Tříška, "Příspevky k středověké literární universitě" (Contributions to the medieval literary university), *AUC-HUCP* 9/2 (1968): 20, out of which the following references are incorrect: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. qu. 826, nr. 7; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1069, fol. 143r; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4937, fol. 5242, fol. 5r–46v. I could not verify Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2117, fol. 2v; Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1050, fol. 168v.

APPENDIX B
LIST OF TREATISES BY NICHOLAS OF DRESDEN

The following list records treatises presently ascribed to Nicholas, followed by more dubious attributions. It is based on the list compiled by Howard Kaminsky² and includes subsequent additions.³ In the case where a critical edition is available, a link to it is provided without further data. The only exception to this rule is presented by manuscripts that were either unknown to the editors of the given edition, or newly discovered and thus, not recorded in Kaminsky's list. In the case where a critical edition is as yet unavailable, the basic data for the treatise are listed, i.e. title, incipit, explicit, list of extant manuscripts and presumed date of origin.

1. De iure et eius divisione

Inc.: *Color duplex novus et vetus ... x ... nisi papa cum cardinalibus etc.*

MS: 1. Prague, National Library, III G 16, fol. 127v–128r

Date: ca. 1412/1416

2. Tabule veteris et novi coloris (*Cortina de anticristo*)

Ed.: *Master Nicholas of Dresden. The Old Color and the New*. Ed. Howard Kaminsky, Dean Loy Bilderback, Imre Boba and Patricia N. Rosenberg. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 55, 38–65. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1965.⁴

3. Consuetudo et ritus primitive ecclesie et moderne seu derivative

Ed.: *Master Nicholas of Dresden. The Old Color and the New*. Ed. Howard Kaminsky, Dean Loy Bilderback, Imre Boba and Patricia N. Rosenberg. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 55, 66–85. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1965.

4. De libera verbi Dei predicacione

Inc.: *Ve michi, quia tacui ... Is. VI. Quia vergente mundi vespere... x ... coronam quam dignetur.*

MS: 1. Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, D 52, fol. 227r–234v, 173v–174r

Date: ca. 1412/1414

5. De quadruplici missione

Ed.: Sedlák, Jan. *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým* 1 (1914): 95–117.⁵

² Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 28–32.

³ Apart from my own additions, the list extracts data from Cegna, *Nicolai ... Puncta*, 38–39; Nechutová, *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské university* C 13/15 (1966): 198–200; Spunar and Vidmanová, *Listy filologické* 90/2 (1967): 208–210.

⁴ Spunar and Vidmanová, 209, add a copy from the Moravian Library, Brno, Mk 92, fol. 423sq., to the list of manuscripts of the *Tabule*, which in my opinion is not an extract of the treatise in question; the same applies to D 52, Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, fol. 226r.

⁵ Not a critical edition, Sedlák collated manuscript IV G 15 from the National Library, Prague with MS 4673, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; other five copies of this text are listed by Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 29, no. 5.

6. Puncta

Ed.: Nicolai (ut dicunt) de Dresda vulgo appellati de Čerruc (De Černá růže id est de Rosa Nigra [†1418]) *Puncta*. Ed. Romolo Cegna. *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 33 (1996): 55–156.

7. Sermo ad clerum de materia sanguinis (Nisi manducaveritis)

Ed.: Nicolai Dresdensis *Sermo ad clerum de materia sanguinis*. In *Puncta*, 157–187. Ed. Romolo Cegna.

Krmíčková, Helena. “Příspěvek k edici kázání Mikuláše z Drážďan *Sermo ad clerum Nisi manducaveritis*” (Contribution to the Edition of Nicholas of Dresden’s tract *Sermo ad clerum Nisi manducaveritis*). *Listy filologické* 123 (2000): 251–299.

Add. MS: Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2148, fol. 182r–206v

8. Collecta auctoritatum de materia sanguinis⁶

Inc.: *Thomas terciā [2^a] parte Summe sue questione LXXVI [XLVI] ... x ... ad coronam celestis glorie pervenire. Amen.*

MS: Prague, National Library, III G 28, fol. 179v–193v

Prague, National Library, IV G 15, fol. 213vb–230ra

Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, A 163, fol. 231v–240r

Basel, University Library, A X 66, fol. 336v–352r (Expl.: ... *pervenire etc. Et sic finis.*)

Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2148, fol. 193v–206v (Expl.: ... *sangwis domini nostri Iesu Cristi.*)

Date: ca. September 1414

9. De iuramento I.

Ed.: Sedlák, Jan. *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým* 1 (1914): 86–94.

10. De iuramento II.

⁶ Kaminsky included this collection of authorities testifying to the necessity of the lay chalice under no. 7 of his list, the *Sermo ad clerum de materia sanguinis*; Cegna, “Appunti su Valdismo e Ussitismo,” 130 (1971): 20–21 suggested considering it an autonomous tract and that is why it was not printed in his edition of the above tract. Cegna suggested that the *Collecta* ends with a note “...*omni celesti benedictione et gracia repleamur. Amen. Hec omnia de verbo ad verbum ex tractatu ubi supra breviter sunt collecta*” (III G 28, fol. 190r; IV G 15, fol. 226rb; A 163, fol. 238r; A X 66, fol. 348r; BJ 2148, fol. 203r – hence the title), although the text continues in the following ca. four folios and ends with the explicit recorded above in my list. Nevertheless, there is a noticeable break in the text at this point, all manuscripts (with the only exception of A 163) start on a new line; in codex BJ 2148 the break is emphasized by a space left for an initial of the closing part (starting with *Bernardus in sermone ad Petrum*), moreover, the text stretches over another half a folio in this codex, adding a few more authorities which do not appear in other manuscripts. In IV G 15, the text continues on fol. 230ra–232rb with further Eucharistic quotations (*Nisi manducaveritis ... x ... excelencia huius venerabilis sacramenti etc. Amen.*). It remains to be decided whether this might be another separate text of Nicholas. Basic comparison of manuscripts IV G 15 and BJ 2148 reveals that the two additions do not contain identical quotations. I am therefore inclined to believe that the text in IV G 15 might indeed be a separate text by Nicholas. A critical edition of the *Collecta* and the two additions mentioned above should resolve this problem.

Ed.: Romolo Cegna, "Il *Tractatus de iuramento* di Nicola della Rosa Nera." *Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche* 82/2 (2008): 462–489.

11. De usuris

Ed.: Paul de Vooght, "Le traité «De usuris» de Nicolas de Dresde," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 44 (1977): 177–210, 45 (1978): 181–235.

12. Quod fuit ab inicio

Inc.: *Quod fuit ab inicio quod audivimus quod vidimus oculis nostris ... x ... et ultimo etc pro quo sit Deus benedictus in secula seculorum amen.*

MS: Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2148, fol. 33v–38v

Date: ca. May 1415

13. Apologia (*De conclusionibus doctorum in Constancia*)

Inc.: *Prima conclusio. Cristus post cenam instituit ... x ... illic et minister meus erit amen.*

MS.: Prague, National Library, IV G 15, fol. 166ra–192va⁷

Prague, National Library, III G 9, f. 71r–98r

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4937, fol. 47r–66r

Prague, National Library, XI D 9, fol. 174r–201v

Brno, Moravian Library, Mk 102, fol. 59r–80v

Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2148, fol. 29r–33r, 163r–179v

Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1690, fol. 243ra–254vb

Bautzen, Stadtbibliothek, 8^o 8, fol. 135v–172r

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 602, fol. 243va–256ra

Prague, National Library, VII E 27, fol. 38r–62r

Prague, National Library, IX F 7, fol. 1r–33v

Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 198, fol. 206ra–229va

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I Q 90, fol. 245r–269r

Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, O 13, fol. 75r–86v

Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, O 73, fol. 150r, 151r–154v, 156r–166r

Date: ca. July–August 1415

14. Contra Gallum

Ed.: Nicolaus de Dresda, *Contra Gallum*. In *Studie a texty k počátkům kalicha v Čechách* (Studies and texts concerning the origins of the lay chalice in Bohemia), ed. Helena Krmíčková, 165–195. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1997.

Add. MS: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4521, fol. 156r–167v

⁷ Kaminsky, *Master Nicholas*, 31, lists only three manuscripts of this treatise (namely III G 9 and IV G 15 from the Prague National Library and Brno Mk 102), but gives either older shelf-marks or inaccurate numbers of the folios and that is why they appear in this list as well. An inaccurate transcription of the *Apologia* based on a single copy (now lost) was printed by Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt and Leipzig: n.p., 1698) col. 338–391. I have prepared a critical edition of the text based on all surviving manuscripts which will soon appear in print.

15. Replica rectori scholarum in Corbach

Inc.: *Dominus Iesus, deus et homo, cuius perfecta sunt opera ... x ... et supra intellectum apostolus...*

MS: Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, D 118, fol. 1r–51v

Date: ca. 1415

16. Super Pater noster

Ed.: *Nicolai Dresdensis Expositio super Pater noster*. Ed. Jana Nechutová and Romolo Cegna. *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 30 (1990): 113–212.

17. Querite primum regnum Dei

Ed.: Nicolaus de Dresda, *Querite primum regnum Dei*. Ed. Jana Nechutová. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.

18. Dialogus de purgatorio

Ed.: 1. Paul de Vooght, “Le dialogue «De purgatorio» (1415) de Nicolas de Dresde,” *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 42 (1975): 132–223.

2. Nicola della Rosa Nera detto da Dresda (1380?–1416?), *De reliquiis et De veneratione sanctorum: De purgatorio*. Ed. Romolo Cegna. *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 23 (1977).

19. De imaginibus

Ed.: Jana Nechutová, “Nicolai de Dresda ‘De imaginibus’.” *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* E 15 (1970): 211–240.

20. De proprio sacerdote et casibus

Inc.: *Dominus noster Iesus Christus, lapis angularis, assit huic nostro principio ... x ... sanguinem dedit. Hec Augustinus.*

MS: Brno, Moravian Library, Mk 102, fol. 83r–88r

Prague, National Library, XXIII F 204, fol. 70v–73v (Inc. *Hic notabis primo, quod in hoc sacramento ... x ... solite in glosa. Et sic est finis.*)⁸

Date: ca. 1415

21. Sermo ad clerum factus per dominum Nicolaum predicatorem Theutunicorum in Zacz in anno Domini M^oCCCCXVI (*Sermo ad clerum 1416*)

Inc.: *Sermo ad clerum factus per dominum Nicolaum ... Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis ... x ... sanguis vero pro anima nostra sumitur et effusus est etc.*

MS: Dessau, Georg HS 50, fol. 25v–29r

⁸ Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 152–153 suggested including this work among the authentic works by Nicholas although he knew only of the Brno codex; a decade later in his “Nové spisy,” 65 he announced the discovery of the text in the above Prague codex. Nevertheless, the codex now in the National Library in Prague contains only very fragmentary excerpts and based on a perfunctory examination, I tend to believe that the Brno codex will turn out to be a *codex unicus* of this text.

Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 198, fol. 201ra–204vb
Date: 1416
Ed.: Appendix C
Jutta Fliege, “Eine hussitische Sammelhandschrift in der Stadtbibliothek Dessau.”
Studien zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 4 (1986): 31–35.

22. Decalogus utilis pro informacione puerorum

Inc.: *Est ergo primum mandatum prime tabule ... x ... explicit decalogus utilis pro informacione puerorum ... erit et minister meus filius.*

MS: Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2148, fol. 2r–21r

Date: 1410?–1412

Emil Havelka, *Husitské katechismy* (Hussite catechisms) (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1938), 100–110.

23. Tractatus de fide catholica

Ed.: 1. Havelka, *Husitské katechismy*, 192–205.

2. Jiří Daňhelka, ed., *Drobné spisy české* (Shorter Czech writings), *Opera omnia Iohannis Hus IV* (Prague: Academia, 1985), 532–542.

DUBIA:**24. De Christi victoria et Antichristi casu**

Inc.: *Christus verus deus et verus homo ... x ... in pecunia divinabunt etc. Michee 3*

MS: lost, mentioned in Otto Brunfels, *Processus consistorialis martyrii Iohannis Hus*, Strassburg 1524/1525

25. Sermo super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribe (De heresi)

Inc.: *Tunc Iesus locutus est ad turbas ... Hic Salvator ostendit ... x ... benedictus in secula seculorum.*

MS: Prague, National Library, V E 28, fol. 97v–102v

26. De simonia

Inc.: *Ubi enim maius periculum ... x ... satis habetur ista materia.*

MS: Prague, National Library, V E 28, fol. 104r–129v

27. Questiones circa quartam partem Sentenciarum⁹

Inc.: *Utrum sacerdos per potestatem clavium possit quoad penam dimittere peccatum et arguitur quod non ... x ... (fol. 163va) a fornicacione et adulterio excusatur ... (fol. 201va) iudicio confirmatur. Et sic est finis illius.*

MS: Prague, National Library, X D 10, fol. 128va–163va, 196va–201va

28. De malicia cleri evitanda

Inc.: *Tue s sacerdos in eternum ... x ... rex pacificus Iesus Cristus.*

MS: Prague, National Library, V E 28, fol. 142r–149v

29. De ecclesia

Inc.: *Ecce pro vera significacione exxlesie expresse...*

MS: Herrnhut, Unitätsarchiv, AB.II.R.1.16.a, fol. 121r–126v

30. Collection of shorter treatises (De labore corporali, De deceptionibus sacerdotum, De impedimentis paenitentiae, De ornamentis mulierum, De duobus gladiis, De bonis et malis sacerdotibus, De osculo pacis)¹⁰

Inc.: *Labor corporalis est utilis ad culpe purgacionem ... x ... a populo Dei ablacione etc.*

Prague, National Library, XXIII F 204, fol. 38r–49v

31. Viginti dicta contra fornicarios (Questiones pulchre et utiles)¹¹

Inc.: *Fornicacio et omnis inmundicia aut avaricia nec nominetur ... x ... a qua malediccionem liberos et liberatos nos perducatur rex pacificus Iesus Cristus in vitam eternam amen.*

MS: Brno, Moravian Library, Mk 108, fol. 63v–67r

Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library, A 163, fol. 173r

⁹ Nicholas refers to such a work in his *De purgatorio*, see Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, 148–149; Tříška, *Literární činnost*, 59.

¹⁰ Bartoš, “Nové spisy,” 64–66, see above, *Later sources*, 113.

¹¹ Spunar and Vidmanová, 209.

Appendix C

Nicholas of Dresden, *Sermo 1416* (critical edition)

The text of this short treatise can be found in two manuscripts, presently housed in Koblenz and Dessau in Germany.¹² Jutta Fliege, who discovered and identified the Dessau copy of the text, printed the so-called *Teiledition* of the text based on the Dessau manuscript. This meant that she did not reproduce the text *in extenso*, but printed only references to the quoted sources with an incipit and explicit of the passages. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why scholars paid only scant attention to this text although certainly further confusions were caused by the fact that the *Sermo 1416* has an identical incipit (*Nisi manducaveritis*) with two other tracts by Nicholas, the so-called *Contra Gallum* (no. 14 above) and the *Sermo ad clerum de materia sanguinis* (no. 7 above). The aim of the present critical edition is to resolve the situation by bringing a reliable text of the *Sermo 1416* reconstructed with the help of both surviving manuscripts.

The Koblenz manuscript serves as the basic text for the present edition of the *Sermo 1416*. A comparison of the two copies revealed that not only is the Koblenz manuscript of an older date, but in several places it contains better variants of the text. Moreover, it preserves other tracts positively ascribed to Nicholas, the *Puncta* and the *Apologia*. The text ends differently in the two versions. I accept the manuscript testimony of the Koblenz copy, which ends with the explicit (*Explicit tractatus de sangwine*). The Dessau copy lacks this explicit and continues with a folio-long passage that contains excerpts from old missals (in its own words) on the same topic. This addition is not part of Nicholas's treatise and therefore is not edited here.

The codicological survey also showed that the two manuscripts were not copied from the same model and that they both stem from a different original. That is why the text had to be emended on the few occasions where neither of the copies preserves an acceptable solution. Moreover, when the Dessau manuscript contains a better reading, which is – in case of a quotation of some authority – also supported by the original source, then it is given preference in the main text. At any rate, the edition follows the graphic expression of the Koblenz scribe, who was however, heavily influenced by his German, more specifically his Bavarian pronunciation. That is why several rather peculiar variants appear in the text. The scribe often replaces *b/v*, which can be considered typically medieval. Even more specific, however, are the changes from *v/f* and the ablative or infinitive endings *e/i*, which can be ascribed to his specific style, and others. Yet in cases where confusion might arise, the apparatus records reading of the Dessau manuscript as well. The apparatus records all relevant variant readings of the two manuscripts, while scribal flaws, graphical versions or variant readings of the quoted authorities are not registered. The authorities alluded to by Nicholas are identified in the source apparatus. Literal Bible quotations are placed in italics, other sources are placed between double quotation marks and printed in regular type.

¹² For their shelf-marks, see above, Appendix B, no. 21. See Jutta Fliege, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Dessau. Bestandverzeichnis aus dem Zentralinventar mittelalterlicher Handschriften (ZIF)* (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1986), 51–57; Overgaauw, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften im Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz*, 71–76.

Synopsis codicum:

K – cod. archiv. Confluentis, Best. 701 Nr. 198, fol. 201ra–204vb

D – cod. archiv. Dessaviensis, Georg. Hs. 50, fol. 25v–29r

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Cyprianus, Thascius Caecilius. *Opera omnia*. Ed. G. Hartel. 3 vols. CSEL, 3/1–3. Vindobonae: Apud C. Geroldi filium bibliopolam academiae, 1868–1871. [CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 73 = CSEL 3/2; *De lapsis* = CSEL 3/1, *Epistola VI* (p. 235–264)]

Gregorius Magnus. *Homiliae in euangelia*. Ed. R. Étaix. CCSL, vol. 141. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. [GREG. M., *In euang.*]

Guilelmus de Mone Lauduno. *Sacramentale*. Prague, National Library, V B 17, fol. 224ra–297ra.

Iacopo da Varaze. *Legenda Aurea*. Ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. Millennio Medievale 6. Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998. [IACOB. VOR., *Leg.*]

Ioannes Andreae. *In quinque Decretalium libros Novella Commentaria*. Venetiis: apud Franciscum Franciscum, Senensem, 1581. [IOH. ANDREAE, *Novella*]

S. Thomae de Aquino *Summa theologiae*. Vol. 4. *Tertia pars*. Cura et studio Instituti studiorum medievalium Ottaviensis ad textum S. Pii pp. V. iussu confectum recognita. Ottawa: Collège Dominicain d'Ottawa, 1941. [THOM. AQ., *Summa theol.* 3]

| Sermo ad clerum factus per dominum Nicolaum, K 201ra D
 predicatorem Theutunicorum in Zacz, in anno Domini 25v
 M°CCCCXVI

5 *Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis
 eius sangwinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Qui
 manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sangwinem,
 habet vitam eternam et ego resuscitabo eum in
 novissimo die. Caro enim mea vere est cibus et sangwis
 10 meus vere est potus. Qui manducat meam carnem et
 bibit meum sangwinem, in me manet et ego in illo. Et
 sequitur: Hec dixit in synagoga docens in Capharnaum,
 Iohannis VI. Sic celestis studens, sanctus Paulus,
 secundum quod accepit a Domino, tradidit omnibus
 15 Carintiis, prima Corindiorum XI dicens:
*Quocienscumque manducabitis panem hunc et calicem
 Domini bibetis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis, donec
 veniat. Itaque quicumque manducaverit panem hunc et
 calicem biberit indigne, reus erit corporis et sangwinis
 20 Domini. Probet autem seipsum homo et sic de pane illo
 edat et de calice bibat. Qui manducat et bibit indigne,
 iudicium sibi manducat et bibit. Et dicit Iohannis, ubi
 supra: Verba, que ego locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita
 sunt, super quo loco dicit beatus Augustinus et ponitur
 25 De consecracione, distincione II, Prima: “Spiritualiter
 intelligite, que locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod
 videtis, manducaturi estis et bibituri illum sangwinem,
 quem effusuri sunt illi, qui me crucifigent. Vobis
 sacramentum aliquod commendavi, | spiritualiter K 201rb
 30 intellectum vivificabit vos, caro autem quitquam non**

1 Sermo – MoCCCCXVI] om. K || 9 novissimo] novissima K ||
 17 bibetis] bibitis K || 18 Itaque] ita D || 22 dicit] dicit Salvator D ||
 26 Non] nota K

5 Nisi – illo] Ioh. 6, 54-57 || 12 Hec – Capharnaum] Ioh. 6, 60 ||
 16 Quocienscumque – bibit] I Cor. 11, 26-29 || 23 Verba – sunt] Ioh. 6, 64
 || 25 Spiritualiter – prodest] De consecr. D. 2 c. 44, Friedberg I, 1330

prodest.” Dicit Glosa ibidem: “Carnalis intellectus: Carnalem intellectum vocat eorum intelligenciam, qui credunt corpus Cristi per partes | dividi,” sed “spiritus, id est spiritualis intellectus, est, qui iustificat, id est prodest ad salutem,” quasi diceret: “Non in eadem specie vel grossicie et representacione, qua me videtis et qua me pati videbitis, nam manducabitis carnem meam et sangwinem meum bibetis, sed in sacramento.” Hec ibi. Et concordat Ieronimus in epistola Ephesyorum et ponitur IIII distincione, *Dupliciter*. Et Albertus, frater Ordinis predicatorum, episcopus quondam Ratisponensis, in Summa sua de corpore Domini nostri Iesu Cristi dicit: “Nec de hoc Cristus reprehendit Iudeos carnaliter intelligentes, quod corpus spiritu vivifico plenum et divinum intelligerunt, sed potius reprehendit eos, qui tale suum corpus intelligere nolebant, quod caro sua esset dentibus lasceranda et non esset vivifica et divina et dentibus non lasceranda, sed sumenda et tamen integra et sana mansura. Et hoc est, quod dixit: Verba, que locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt.” “Spiritus est, qui hiis verbis ad vitam eternam vivificat, caro autem, si sola dentibus discerpatur, sicut vos carnalibus cogitacionibus pleni intelligentes, non prodest quicquam.” Et | quia, secundum eundem, “invitati ad hoc sacramentum sunt omnes fideles Cristo in sacramento cum apostolis et discipulis communicantes, qui omnes aurea bibunt

8 bibetis] bibitis K || 14 spiritu] suum D || 16 tale] taliter D || 17 nolebant] em. sec. Albertum, volebant KD || 20 dixit] duxit D || 22 si sola] sola si D || 23 discerpatur] em. sec. Albertum, discrepatur KD; cogitacionibus] desideriis D || 24 quicquam] quicquam, invitati sunt omnes fideles ad hoc sacramentum D || 26 Cristo] Cristi K

1 Carnalis – dividi] De consecr. D. 2 c. 44, glossa ad ‘caro autem’, 1934 || 3 spiritus – salutem] De consecr. D. 2 c. 44, glossa ad ‘spiritus’ et ‘qui vivificat’, 1934 || 5 Non – sacramento] De consecr. D. 2 c. 44, glossa ad ‘hoc corpus’, 1934 || 9 Ieronimus – Dupliciter] cfr. De consecr. D. 2 c. 49, Friedberg I, 1332 || 13 Nec – sunt] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 6, 2, 2 (p. 390) || 21 Spiritus – quicquam] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 3, 2, 5 (p. 300) || 25 invitati – infertur] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 3, 1, 3, (p. 248)

pocula, quia omnis eorum refeccio in splendore deitatis
 anministratur et cibi refeccionis eorum aliis et aliis
 vasis gracie inferuntur, quia in corpore cibus et
 sanguine potus, in anima pigwis redempcio, in spiritu
 5 vita, in deitate omnis gracie gustus infertur.” Ideo
 beatus Cyprianus martir in epistola XXIII ad Cecilium
 de sacramentis Dominici calicis dicit: “Quidam episcopi
 vel ignoranter vel simpliciter in calice Dominico
 santificando et plebi ministrando non hoc faciunt, quod
 10 Iesus Cristus, Dominus et Deus noster, sacrificii huius
 autor et doctor, fecit et docuit, religiosum pariter et
 necessarium duxi de hoc litteras facere, ut si quis adhuc
 in isto errore tenetur, veritatis luce perspecta ad
 radicem atque originem tradicionis Dominice
 15 revertatur.” “Nam si sacerdotes Dei et Cristi sumus, non
 inuenio, quem magis sequi quam Cristum debeamus.
 Quare si in lumine Cristi ambulare volumus, a preceptis
 et monitis eius non recedamus.” “Et eadem, que
 Magister docuit et fecit, discipulos quoque decet
 20 observare et facere. Neque ipse Apostolus neque
 angelus de celo annunciare potest aliter, pretequam
 quod Cristus docuit, similiter et apostoli eius
 annunciaverunt.” “Sed et alio in loco ponit | et dicit: Qui K 201vb
 solverit unum ex mandatis istis minimis, et sic docuerit
 25 homines, minimus vocabitur in regno celorum. Quod si
 nec minima de mandatis Dominicis licet solvere, quanto
 magis tam magna, tam grandia, tam ad ipsum Dominice
 passionis et nostre redempcionis sacramentum
 pertinencia phas non est infringere aut in aliud, quam
 30 quod divinitus institutum sit, humana tradicionem

1 deitatis] divinitatis D || 3 et] in D || 4 pigwis] pinguis D || 5 gustus]
 iustus K || 6 XXIII] 34 D || 15 et] om. K || 19 decet] docet D ||
 24 solverit] solvit K || 25 Quod si] quasi diceret scilicet D || 27 tam²]
 quam D || 29 phas] per hos K || 30 institutum sit] sit institutum D

7 Quidam – revertatur] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 63, 1 (p. 701) || 15 Nam –
 recedamus] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 63, 18 (p. 716) || 18 Et – annunciaverunt]
 CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 63, 10-11 (p. 709) || 23 Sed – mutare] CYPRIAN., *Epist.*
 63, 14 (p. 713)

mutare?” Hec ille. Unde Albertus, ubi supra, dicit: “Nec ista sunt egena elementa, de quibus dicit Paulus Gallatarum IIII, sed potius sunt elementa, in quorum effectu Deus constituit salutem nostram, quia quamvis
5 talibus corporalibus elementis salutem non allegaverit, tamen in illis elementis salus invenitur et perditur vita, quando non requiruntur, nisi articulus necessitatis et non contemptus religionis elementum sacramentale excludat.” Et idem dicit: “Cum obicitur nec triticum nec
10 vinum communiter invenitur, quia in terris aquilonaribus glaciale frigiditati constrictis nec triticum nascitur neque vinum, et sic cum in terris illis diffusa sit ecclesia, videtur, quod illa pars ecclesie frequenter tanto privetur sacramento, quod valde inconveniens esse
15 videtur, ex quo in eo consistit necessarium remedium contra peccatum, dicendum, quod triticum et vinum aut ubique sunt aut defacili et de propinquo ad usum | K 202ra sacramenti adducuntur. Si autem alicubi non inveniuntur nec aliquando et non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis hoc efficeret, dicimus cum
20 Augustino, quod Cristus ideo sacramentis suis gratiam suam non allegavit, quod gratiam suam sacramentalem etiam sine sacramentis in habentibus fidem et devocionem ad sacramentum operetur. Et hoc vocatur spiritualis percepcio sacramenti et in hoc casu dicit
25 Augustinus: Ut quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede et manducasti. Sicut et ille, in quo baptismus non ex contemptu religionis, sed per articulum necessitatis

1 ille] ille. Quod sacramentum eukaristie de necessitate salutis ([D 26v) est cuilibet contrarium ecclesie sub specie panis et vini D || 3 Gallatarum] ad Gallatas D || 4 constituit] instituit D || 5 allegaverit] obligaverit D || 6 tamen] cum K || 9 Et] Obieccio: Ubique non nascitur vinum aut triticum. Et D || 11 glaciale] glaciali D || 12 neque] nec D || 16 aut] que K || 18 alicubi] alicui K || 20 efficeret] efficeret, quando sufficit spiritualiter manducare D || 21 Cristus ideo] ideo Deus D || 22 suam¹] om. D || 24 hoc] hec D || 28 contemptu] conceptu D

1 Nec – excludat] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 6, 2, 1 (p. 365) || 9 Cum – reputatur] *ibid.* (p. 367)

excluditur, non amittit fructum baptismi, sed baptisatus
baptismo flaminis in Spiritu sancto reputatur.” Hec ille.
Et concordat Thomas parte tertia Summe sue, questione
LXXX, *De usu huius sacramenti*, articulo I, dicens,
5 quod “plenius inducit sacramenti affectum ipsa
sacramenti suscepco quam solum dissiderium.” Et
eadem questione, articulo XI, dicit: “Spiritualis
manducacio includit votum sive desiderium concipiendi
hoc sacramentum et ideo sine voto percipiendi hoc
10 sacramentum non potest haberi salus. Frustra autem
esset votum, nisi inpleretur, quando oportunitas adesset.
Et ideo manifestum est, quod homo tenetur hoc
sacramentum sumere non solum ex statuto ecclesie, sed
eciam ex mandato Domini dicentis: Hoc facite in meam
15 commemoracionem, et iterum: Nisi manducaveritis
carnem Filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem, non
habebitis vitam in vobis.” | Unde Cyprianus in epistola, K 202rb
ubi supra, inquit: “Sed frater karissime, id, quod
constat Dominum fecisse, faciamus. Si quis autem de
20 antecessoribus nostris vel ingnoranter vel simpliciter
non hoc observavit et tenuit, autem quod nos Dominus
facere exemplo et magisterio suo docuit, potest
simplicitati eius de indulgencia Domini venia concedi.
Nobis vero non potest ingnoscere, qui nunc a Domino
25 moniti | et instructi sumus.” Hec ille. Et sic secundum D 27r
Albertum, ubi supra, cum “queritur, quid de terris, in
quibus nullomodo vinum possit haberi, videtur, quod de
hoc consultacio ad curiam haberi debeat; tamen propter
intollerabile dampnum animarum, quod incurrit ex

3 Et concordat] *om.* K || 5 affectum] effectum D || 8 concipiendi]
percipiendi D || 11 quando] *om.* D; adesset] adesset. Thomas: Illud
sacramentum est sumendum non solum ex statuto ecclesie, sed eciam ex
mandato Domini D || 18 ubi] ut D; id] illud D || 21 observavit] observabit
K; autem] *om.* D

5 plenius – dissiderium] THOM. AQ., *Summa theol.* 3, 80, 1 (p. 2990b) ||
7 Spiritualis – vobis] THOM. AQ., *Summa theol.* 3, 80, 11 (p. 3006b) ||
18 Sed – sumus] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 63, 17 (p. 715) || 26 queritur –
sacramentum] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 6, 4, 2 (p. 426)

sacramenti infectu, videtur cum talibus dispensandum, ut corpus Cristi sine calice haberent et conficerent sacramentum,” quia “perditur vita, quando non requiruntur,” ut supra secundum eundem. Et concordat

5 Thomas, ubi supra, questione LXXIII, *De eukaristia*, articulo primo, inquit: “Licet non in omnibus terris nascatur triticum et vinum, tamen defacili ad omnes terras deferri potest, quantum sufficit ad usum huius sacramenti.” Et ibi arguitur sic: “Hoc sacramentum

10 competit sanis et infirmis, sed vinum nocet quibusdam infirmis, ergo videtur, quod vinum non debeat esse materia huius sacramenti,” dicit, “quod vinum modica sumptum quantitate non potest egrotanti multum noceri.” Et ideo, secundum eundem, ubi supra,

15 questione LXXVI, *De modo, quo Cristus existit in hoc sacramento*, articulo II: “Quamvis totus Cristus sit sub utraque specie, non tamen | frustra, quia hoc est K 202va
conveniens usui huius sacramenti, ut seorsum exhibeatur fidelibus corpus Cristi in cibum et sangwis

20 in potum, quia corpus exhibetur pro salute corporis et sangwis pro salute anime.” Et idem, ubi supra, questione LXXIX, *De effectibus huius sacramenti*, articulo VII, dicit, “quod sumpcio pertinet ad rationem sacramenti, sed ablacio pertinet ad rationem sacrificii.

25 Et ideo ex hoc, quod aliquis sumit corpus Cristi, vel eciam plures, non accrescit aliis aliquod iuvamentum. Sic ergo hoc sacramentum sumentibus prodest per modum sacramenti et per modum sacrificii, quia pro omnibus sumentibus offertur; sed aliis, qui non sumunt,

30 prodest per modum sacrificii.” Et sequitur secundum

1 infectu] defectu D || 2 corpus] *em. sec. Albertum*, corporis KD || 9 arguitur] arguit D || 14 eundem] eum K || 18 huius] huic D || 23 VII] II^o D || 30 per] pro K

3 perditur – requiruntur] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 6, 2, 1 (p. 365) || 6 Licet – noceri] THOM. AQ., *Summa theol.* 3, 74, 1 (p. 2929a, 2928b, 2929a-b) || 16 Quamvis – anime] THOM. AQ., *Summa theol.* 3, 76, 2 (p. 2951a) || 23 quod – sacrificii] THOM. AQ., *Summa theol.* 3, 79, 7 (p. 2988a, 2987b)

eundem, “quod sicut passio Cristi prodest quidem omnibus ad remissionem culpe et adeptionem gracie et glorie, sed affectum non habet nisi in illis, qui passioni Cristi coniunguntur per fidem et karitatem; ita eciam
5 hoc sacramentum, quod est memoriale Dominice passionis, non habet effectum nisi in illis, qui coniunguntur huic sacramento per fidem et karitatem.” Hec ille. Et secundum Cyprianum, epistula XIII ad Tybaritanos: “Scire debetis, pro certo credere ac tenere
10 pressure diem super capud esse cepisse et ocasum seculi atque Anticristi tempora appropinquasse, ut parati omnes ad prelium stemus nec quicquam nisi gloriam eterne vite et coronam confessionis Dominice cogitemus, nec putemus talia esse, que veniunt, qualia fuerunt illa, | K 202vb
15 que transierunt. Gravior nunc et verocior punga inminet, ad quam fide incorrupta et virtute robusta parare se debeant milites Cristi, considerantes idcirco se cottidie calicem sangwinis Cristi bibere, ut possint et ipsi proprium sangwinem fundere. Hoc est enim velle
20 cum Cristo invenire, sed quod Cristus exemplificavit et docuit et fecit imitari secundum Iohannem apostolum dicentem: Qui dicit se in Cristo manere, | debet D 27v
25 quomodo ipse ambulavit et ipse ambulare.” Et idem, epistola XXXIII ad Cecilium, *De lapsis*, inquit: “Ac vero nunc non infirmis, sed fortibus pax necessaria est, nec morientibus, sed viventibus communicacio a nobis danda est, ut quos excitamus et ortamur ad prelium non inermes et nudos relinquamus, sed proteccione Cristi sangwinis et corporis muniamur. Nam quomodo
30 docemus aut provocamus eos in confessione sangwinem

3 affectum] effectum D || **12** ad] *om.* K; eterne vite] vite eterne D || **19** proprium] propter Cristum D || **20** quod] id quod D; exemplificavit] *om.* D || **24** XXXIII] XXXVII D; Ac] sic D || **27** excitamus] excitemus D || **28** Cristi sangwinis] sanguinis Cristi D || **30** docemus] dicemus K; aut] ut D

1 quod – karitatem] *ibid.* (p. 2987b) || **9** Scire – ambulare] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 58, 1 (p. 656-657) || **24** Ac – admittimus] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 57, 2 (p. 651-652)

- suum fundere, si eis militaturis Cristi sangwinem denegamus? Aut quomodo ad martirii poculum ydoneos facimus, si non eos prius ad bibendum in ecclesia Domini poculum iure comunicacionis admittimus?”
- 5 “Obesse autem mali bonis non debent, sed magis mali a bonis adiuvari. Nec ideo martirium facturis pax neganda est, quia sunt quidam negaturi, cum propter hoc pax | K 203ra danda sit omnibus militaturis, ne per ignoranciam nostram ille incipiat preteriri, qui habet in prelio
- 10 coronari.” “Quid tamen bonus miles, qui sua derelinquit et contempta domo et parentibus aut liberis sequi Dominum suum maluit sine pace et sine comunicacione decedit? Nonne nobis vel negligencia segnis vel duricia crudelis ascribetur in die iudicii,
- 15 quod pastores nobis creditas et comissas oves nec curare in pace nec in acie voluerimus armare? Quia ydoneus esse non potest ad martirium, qui ab ecclesia non armatur ad prelium.” Et secundum eundem in dicta epistola XXXIII: “Sic incipit et passionibus Cristi
- 20 fraternitas in persecucionibus retardari, dum in oblacionibus discit de sangwine eius et cruore confundi. Quomodo autem possumus propter Cristum sangwinem fundere, qui sangwinem Cristi erubescimus bibere?”
- 25 “Qui tunc demom potest letificare in ecclesia bibentem turbam, si quod bibitur, Dominicam teneat veritatem.”
- “Redeat igitur in cor nostrum non ambulasse nos in viis Domini et abiecisse legem Dei, precepta eius et monita salutaria, numquam voluisse servare,” secundum eundem, epistola III, *De lapsis*. “Nam in primitiva

4 iure comunicacionis] in representacione K || 7 pax – sit] danda sit pax D || 8 danda sit] *bis* K || 9 qui] quoniam K || 10 tamen] autem D; sua] omnia sua bona D || 18 dicta] dominica D

5 Obesse – coronari] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 57, 3 (p. 653) || 10 Quid – prelium] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 57, 4 (p. 654, 653) || 19 Sic – bibere] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 63, 15 (p. 713-714) || 24 Qui – veritatem] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 63, 11 (p. 710) || 26 Redeat – servare] CYPRIAN., *De lapsis* 21 (p. 253) || 29 Nam – specie] NICOL. LIR., *I. Cor.* 11, 28 ad ‘et sic de pane illo edat’ (col. 297)

ecclesia sic dabatur fidelibus sub duplici specie,” “in
 utraque enim specie communicabant antiquitus fideles,”
 ut | dicit Lira Proverbiorum IX super illo *Et bibite* K 203rb
vinum, quod miscui vobis, et sic Paulus tradidit omnibus
 5 Corinthiis, secundum quod a Domino dicit se accepisse,
 quia docens in synagoga in Capharnaum dixit non
 tantum discipulis, sed turbis: *Nisi manducaveritis*
carnem Filii hominis et biberitis etc., ut supra. Sic
 legimus de sancto Donato, quod “cum quadam die missa
 10 celebrata populus communicaret et dyaconus
 communicatis Christi sanguinem propinaret, subito
 paganorum impulsu dyaconus cecidit et calicem
 sanctum fregit.” Et idem dixit Cyprianus, epistola III,
 de quadam puella infanti propter timorem a parentibus
 15 relictam apud ydolatrias, | qui ei panem mero mixtum D 28r
 ydolo oblatum tradiderunt, quam recipiens postea mater
 secum detulit ad ecclesiam ipso Cypriano presente et
 sacrificante; “sollemnibus vero adimpletis dyaconus
 ferre calicem cepit et accipientibus ceteris eius puelle
 20 locus adveniret, faciem suam parvula instinctu divine
 maiestatis <avertere>, os labiis eius obdurantibus
 premere calicem quem recusare perstitit, tum dyaconus
 et reluctandi de sacramento calicis infudit. Tunc
 sequitur singultus et fomitus in corpore atque ore
 25 violato eucharistia permanere non potuit, sanctificatus in
 Domini sanguine potus de pollutis visceribus erupit. Et
 cum alius et ipse maculatus sacrificio a sacerdote
 celebrato partem cum ceteris | ausus est latenter K 203va
 accipere, sanctum Domini edere et contractare non

6 quia] qui D || **14** infanti] infanti K || **16** oblatum] oblata D || **19** ferre
 calicem] calicem ferre D || **20** adveniret] advenit D || **21** avertere] *add.*
sec. Cyprianum, om. KD; eius] eis K; obdurantibus] obdormantibus K ||
23 et] *om. D*; de] de facta D; infudit] et fudit K || **28** latenter] letanter K ||
29 Domini] Deum D

1 in – fideles] NICOL. LIR., *Prou.* 9, 5 ad ‘Et bibite vinum’ (col. 1641) ||
3 Et – vobis] *Prou.* 9, 5 || **7** Nisi – biberitis] Ioh. 6, 54 || **9** cum – fregit]
 IACOB. VOR., *Leg.* 111 (p. 748) || **18** sollemnibus – invenit] CYPRIAN.,
De lapsis 25-26 (p. 255-256)

potuit et cinerem ferre se apertis manibus invenit.”
 Unde dicit Augustinus XXIII, questione V, *De occidendis*: “Absit, ut ea, que propter bonum aut licitum
 facimus aut habemus, si quid per hec preter nostram
 5 voluntatem cuiquam male acciderit, nobis inputetur.
 Alioquin nec ferramenta domestica aut agrescia sunt
 habenda, ne quis ex eis vel se vel alterum interrimat,
 nec arbores plantande, ne quis ex eis se inde suspendat,
 nec fenestra facienda, ne per hanc se quisquam
 10 precipitet.” Aut ideo non deberent cristianorum boves
 habere cornua aut equus ungulas aut dentes canes “et
 quidquam plura commemorem? Quid est in usu
 hominum, unde non possit perniciēs irrogari?” Hec ille.
 Et sic non obstat, quod allegatur ab aliquibus in
 15 contrarium periculum effusionis. Unde dicit Iohannes
 Andree cum Hostiensi, Extra, Qui filii sunt legitimi,
 Per venerabilem, super § Paulus: “Non recurrimus ad
 fabulas, exempla vel mendicata suffragia, nec ad
 positivum, quod ponitur et deponitur, in quo est sepe
 20 pro ratione voluntas, sed ad ius divinum et
 inpermutabile.” Ideo Crisostomus dicit super Mattheum:
 “Omnis doctor servus est legis, quia neque supra legem
 addere potest neque deponere aliquid secundum
 proprium intellectum, sed hoc tantummodo predicat,
 25 quod habetur in lege. Nec enim potest mens | humana K 203vb
 detractare, quod sapiencia dictat. Sic enim ait Salimon:
 Ne addas ad verba Dei neque detrahas inde; qui autem
 hoc ausus est facere, se sapienciozem putat esse quam
 Deum et incipit falsus esse testis.” Unde dicit

1 se] sepe K || 2 dicit Augustinus] Augustinus dicit D; De] *om.* D || 3 aut]
 ac D || 11 cornua] cornuta D; et] aut D || 12 commemorem]
 commemorarem D || 21 Crisostomus dicit] dicit Crisostomus D ||
 23 neque deponere] aliquid de suo sensu neque subtrahere D || 27 inde]
 ab inde D || 28 ausus est] est ausus D

3 Absit – irrogari] C. 23 q. 5 c. 8, Friedberg I, 932-933 || 17 Non –
 inpermutabile] IOH. ANDREAE, *Novella ad X* 4.17.13 (fol. 59ra) ||
 22 Omnis – testis] PS. CHRYSOST., *In Matth.* 20 (col. 747)

- Cyprianus in epistola XXXIII, “quod Cristus debeat solus audiri, pater eciam de celo contestatur dicens: Hic est Filius meus dilectissimus, in quo bene consensi, ipsum audite. Quare si solus Cristus audiendus est, non debemus attendere, quid alius ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid qui ante omnes est Cristus prior fecerit, neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed Dei veritatem etc.” Unde Augustinus VIII distincione, *Qui contempta*, dicit: “Qui contempta veritati presumit consuetudinem sequi, aut circa fratres infidus est et malignus, quibus veritas revelatur, aut circa Deum ingratus est, inspiracione cuius ecclesia eius instruitur. Nam Dominus in ewangelio: ‘Ego sum,’ inquit, ‘veritas,’ non dixit: ‘Ego sum consuetudo.’ | D 28v
- 15 Itaque veritate manifestata cedat consuetudo veritati. Revelacione ergo facta cedat consuetudo veritati, quia et Petrus, qui circumcidebat, cessit Paulo veritatem predicanti. Igitur cum Cristus veritas sit, magis veritatem quam consuetudinem sequi debemus, quia consuetudinem ratio et veritas semper excludit.” Hec ille. Ideo Albertus, ubi supra, inquit: “Quia ex omnibus ewangelistis | accipitur, quod Cristus sub una specie K 204ra
- 20 panis corpus suum tradidit et sub altera specie vini tradidit sangwinem et sic servandum instituit. Et cum Cristus accio nostra sit instructio, pro certo hec duo nobis observanda esse precepit.” Concordat Bernardus in sermone sua ad Petrum de corpore Cristi <et> dicit, quod “Cristus discipulis suis huius sacramenti formam scripsit, efficaciam explicuit, idem fieri precepit.” “Et
- 25 ideo sub una specie corpus et sub altera tradimus
- 30

1 debeat solus] solus debeat D || 3 consensi] sensi D || 10 veritati] veritate D || 16 Revelacione – veritati] om. D || 17 cessit] cessat K || 21 ubi – inquit] inquit ubi supra D || 27 sua] om. D; et] add., om. KD || 29 explicuit] explicavit D

1 quod – etc] CYPRIAN., *Epist.* 63, 14 (p. 712) || 9 Qui² – excludit] D. 8 c. 6, Friedberg I, 14-15 || 21 Quia – precepit] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 3, 2, 5 (p. 298) || 28 Cristus – precepit] PS. BERNARD., *Serm. excell. sacr.* 4 (col. 983D) || 29 Et – nutrimenti] ALBERT., *De sacr. euch.* 3, 2, 5 (p. 298)

sangwinem. Huius autem facti Cristi et ecclesie hec est
causa, quia quamvis effectus et operationes
accidentales multa valde sint in sacramentis, tamen
unus effectus est substancialis in omnibus sacramentis,
5 per quem sacramenta abinvicem distingwuntur. In
sacramento ergo cibi spiritualis debet attendi aliqua
operacio substancialis, per quam ab aliis dividitur
sacramentis. Et tamen in baptismo detur esse
substancialis spirituale per generacionem spiritualem,
10 sicut dicit Dyonisius. In sacramento confirmacionis
detur incrementum per confirmacionem et
confortacionem virtutis, ita communiter ad idem esse
conservandum et restaurandum et augendum datur in
eucaristia edulium spirituale. Edulium autem spirituale
15 non habet fieri nisi sub elemento visibili, sicut et cetera
sacramenta, quia sacramentum ecclesie nichil in gracia | K 204rb
causat, quod ex similitudine non significat. Signare
autem non habet nisi ex elemento visibili et corporali.
Cum ergo alimentum ad nature perfeccionem non possit
20 perfecte significari, nisi in edulio cibi et potus, oportet,
quod elementum cibi et potus sit in sacramento.
Nutrimentum enim spirituale non perficitur sine potus
significatione, sicut et nutrimentum corporale non
perficitur sine potu, et sicut post nutrimentum corporale
25 sumitur potus ad perfeccionem nutrimenti, ita in
nutrimento spirituali datus est potus spiritualis ad
perfeccionem nutrimenti spiritualis, qui a nutrimento
habet divisam operacionem in satisfaccione sitis et
lacione nutrimenti.” Hec et alia pulchra de ista materia
30 per eundem. Gwilhelmus de Monte Lauduno in

8 sacramentis] sacramentum K || 10 In] Et in D || 12 communiter]
consequenter D || 13 conservandum] servandum D || 16 gracia – causat]
gracie cause sic D || 17 causat] *em. sec. Albertum*, esse K; Signare]
significare D || 18 nisi] nec K || 19 possit] posset D || 21 elementum]
alimentum K || 25 sumitur] sumatur K

Sacramentali suo dicit, quod “recipiendo corpus totam
veritatem accipit, non totum sacramentum, ideo in
multis locis communicatur sub pane et vino, id est cum
toto sacramento.” Gregorius et ponitur De
5 consecracione, distincione II, *Quis*: “Quippe corpus
sumitur, eius caro in salutem partitur populi, eius
sangwis non iam in manus infidelium, sed in ora
fidelium funditur.” Idem in Omelia Paschali et
concordat De consecracione, distincione II, in dicto
10 capitulo *Quid sit*: “Pensandum nobis est, quid de Pascha
lex | loquitur, ut indagemus subtilius an de Cristo dicta K 204va
videantur. Moyses quippe ait: Sument quoque de
sangwine agni ac ponent supra utrumque postem et
subliminaribus domorum, | in quibus conmedent illum. D 29r
15 Quisnam sit sanguis agni, non iam audiendo, sed
bibendo didicistis. Qui sangwis super utrumque postem
accipitur, quando non solum ore corporis, sed eciam
cordis hauritur. In utroque enim poste agni sangwis
ponitur, quando sacramentum passionis illius cum ore
20 ad redempcionem sumitur, ad imitationem quoque cum
intenta mente cogitatur. Nam qui sic sangwinem
redemptoris nostri accipit, ut ymitari passionem illius
necdum velid, in uno poste sangwinem posuit.”
Augustinus, De consecracione, distincione II: “Dum
25 frangitur hostia, dum sangwis de calice in ora fidelium
funditur, quid aliud quam Dominici corporis in cruce
ymolacio eiusque sangwinis de latere effusio
designatur?” Ambrosius, De consecracione, distincione
II: “Si, quocienscunqe effunditur sangwis Cristi, in

3 sub] cum D || 5 Quis] Quit sit D; Quippe] Eius quippe D || 12 Sument]
sumunt K || 13 ponent] ponunt K; supra] super D || 15 sanguis] sangwine
K; non iam] iam non D || 25 ora fidelium] ore K

1 recipiendo – sacramento] GUILIELMUS DE MONTE LAUDUNO,
Sacramentale, fol. 258va || 5 Quippe – funditur] De consecr. D. 2 c. 73,
Friedberg I, 1343 || 10 Pensandum – posuit] GREG. M., *In euang.* 22, 7 (p.
186); cfr. De consecr. D. 2. c. 73, Friedberg I, 1343-1344 || 24 Dum –
designatur] De consecr. D. 2 c. 38, Friedberg I, 1327 || 29 Si – sangwinis]
De consecr. D. 2 c. 14, Friedberg I, 1319

remissionem peccatorum effunditur, debeo merito
semper accipere, qui semper pecco, medicinam
sangwinis.” “Testamentum ergo sangwine constitutum
est, quia beneficii divini sangwis testis est. Unde ad
5 tuicionem corporis et anime percipimus, | quia caro K 204vb
Cristi pro salute corporis, sangwis vero pro anima
nostra sumitur et effusus est etc. etc.” Explicit tractatus
de sangwine.

1 remissionem] redempcionem K || **7** etc etc] Hec ille etc. D; Explicit –
sangwine] *om.* D

3 Testamentum – etc²] AMBROSIATR., *In Cor. I* 11, 26 (p. 127-128)

Appendix D

***Confessio heretica et falsa* (critical edition)**

Confessio heretica et falsa que concordat cum	V 134v, P
Valdensibus	40v, W
	171vb

5 Primo confiteor, quia confessus fui credens, quod
 sacerdos posset me absolvere a peccatis. Item peccavi,
 quia penitenciam assumpsit a sacerdote michi iniunctam
 et omnia, que sacerdos michi mandavit, feci, ad que
 tamen non tenebar nec fui obligatus. Item peccavi, quia
 10 communionem eucharistie recepi tantum sub una specie
 panis, que non fuit communio totalis. Item peccavi, quia
 non communicavi cottidie, sed propter actum
 conjugalem obmisi. Item peccavi, quia offertorium dedi
 et alias oblationes, que michi mandaverint sacrilegi pro
 penitencia. Item peccavi, quia persolvi decimas, caseos,
 15 ova etc. et ex illis plebanus vixit laucius et expendit
 cum concubinis. Item peccavi, quia visitavi missas
 concubinariorum sciens eos esse concubenarios. Item
 peccavi, quia dedi a confessione unum denarium seu
 halensem vel nummum vel grossum. Item peccavi, quia
 20 posui genua coram cruce de mandato confessoris dicens
 quinque Pater noster. Item peccavi, <quia> ieiunavi pro
 penitencia de mandato confessoris et credidi per hoc

1 Confessio – Valdensibus] Articuli hereticorum, videlicet
 Wyklephistarum anno Domini M^oCCCC^oXVIII^o
 conscriptorum P, Confessio hussitarum dampnabilissima W
 || 4 quia] quod PW; fui] sum PW || 5 sacerdos] presbiter W
 peccavi quia] *om.* PW || 6 a – iniunctam] *om.* PW ||
 7 sacerdos michi] *om.* PW; ad] *om.* P; ad – tamen] cum W ||
 8 nec] et non PW; obligatus] ligatus PW; peccavi quia] *om.*
 PW || 9 una] *om.* PW || 10 communio] *om.* PW; peccavi quia]
om. PW || 11 cottidie] omni die PW || 12 peccavi quia] *om.*
 PW; offertorium] offertoria P || 13 michi mandaverint]
 mandaverint michi PW; sacrilegi] sacerdotes PW ||
 14 peccavi quia] *om.* PW; caseos ova] ova, caseos PW ||
 15 illis] hiis PW || 16 cum] pro PW; peccavi quia] *om.* PW ||
 17 concubinariorum] concubinatorum W; concubenarios]
 tales PW || 18 peccavi quia] *om.* PW; dedi – confessione]
 pro confessione dedi P; a] pro W; unum – seu] *om.* P
 denarium seu] *om.* W || 19 vel¹] *om.* PW; peccavi quia] *om.*
 PW || 20 posui] flexi P; dicens] dicendo PW || 21 peccavi]
om. PW; quia] *add.*, *om.* VPW || 22 de – credidi] credens PW

- penam purgatorii michi diminui. Item peccavi, quia
exoravi pro defunctis, quod tamen non est opus nec
valet aliquid nisi quisque pro se satisfaciat solus. Item
peccavi, quia nutriti pauperes aut presbiteros pro
5 peccatis meis et ipsi fuerunt inebriati. Item peccavi,
quia in extremis infirmitatibus misi pro sacerdote, ut
me ungeret, et ab illa unccione dedi grossum unum.
Item peccavi, quia dedi candelas et unum grossum, ut
presbiteri nominarent nomina meorum predecessorum.] W 172ra
10 Item peccavi, quia credidi esse purgatorium, quod
tamen non est, nisi hic benefacere, pro me post mortem
nullus bene faciet. Item peccavi, quia dedi pro copula II
grossos, quod tamen non fuit necessarium, quia maius
est votum. | Item peccavi, quia missas, vigiliis et P 41r
15 psalteria persolvi, quod tamen nichil prodest. Item
peccavi, quia in missa apposui collectas pro animabus
carorum et per hoc aliquid recepi. Item peccavi, quia
non visitavi cottidie sermones propter labores et
nutrimentum meum non credens, quod omnia adiciantur
20 michi. Item peccavi, quia pro edificiis ecclesiarum et
ornamentorum dedi pecunias credens hoc esse templum
Dei, nam ubique est orandum. Item peccavi, quia
transivi pro indulgenciis et manus adiutrices porrexi
credens recipere indulgencias. Item peccavi, quia

1 penam – diminui] diminui penam purgatorii PW; peccavi
quia] *om.* PW || 3 se] seipso PW; satisfaciat solus] faciat PW
|| 4 peccavi quia] *om.* PW; aut] et PW || 5 peccatis] amicis et
caris W, caris P; fuerunt inebriati] inebriati fuerunt PW
peccavi quia] *om.* PW || 6 sacerdote] presbitero PW ||
7 ungeret] inungeret PW; grossum unum] unum grossum PW
|| 8 peccavi quia] *om.* PW || 9 presbiteri nominarent]
presbiter nominaret PW || 10 peccavi quia] *om.* PW || 11 pro
– faciet] post mortem nullus pro me faciat PW || 12 peccavi
quia] *om.* PW; pro] de PW; II] unum vel duos P || 13 maius]
om. P || 14 peccavi quia] *om.* PW; et] *om.* PW || 15 tamen]
om. P || 16 peccavi quia] *om.* PW; in missa] missam
officians PW || 17 aliquid] etiam aliquid P; peccavi quia]
om. W; quia] quod P || 19 omnia] hec omnia PW; adiciantur]
adiciuntur PW || 20 peccavi quia] *om.* PW ||
21 ornamentorum] ornamentis P; pecunias] *om.* PW; esse]
om. V || 22 peccavi quia] *om.* PW || 23 adiutrices porrexi]
porrexi adiutrices PW || 24 peccavi quia] *om.* PW

credidi, quod sunt indulgencie et credidi, quod valeant
ad diminucionem pene vel culpe. Item peccavi, quia non
postulavi communionem sub utraque specie. Item
peccavi, quia confessus fui presbitero et ipse fuit peyor
5 me. Item peccavi, quia credidi, quod sit sacerdotibus
confitendum, quod tamen nulli debet esse confessio nisi
soli Deo, quia solus Deus dimittit peccata sic, quod post
mortem anima statim ascendit in celum aut in infirmum.
Item peccavi, quia affixi candelas isti vel illi sanctorum
10 et offertorium dedi. Item peccavi, quia ieiunia et vota
persolvi sanctis, quod tamen nullus tenetur et nichil
prodest. Item peccavi, quia credidi, quod sancti possint
me iuvare in aliquo, quod tamen non est verum, quia
seipsos iuvare non possunt. Item peccavi, quia credidi,
15 quod beata Virgo plus posset quam aliquis sanctorum,
quod tamen non est, quia non plus potest quam alius
sanctus. Item peccavi, quia visitavi sepulchra sanctorum
et flexi genua coram eis. Item peccavi, quia ymaginibus
reverenciam exhibui cernando genua vel candelas coram

1 sunt indulgencie] indulgencie sunt PW; et – culpe] *om.*
PW || **2** peccavi quia] *om.* PW || **3** communionem]
communionem eucaristie PW; specie] specie. Item credidi,
quod indulgencie aliquid valeant ad diminucionem pene et
culpe P, specie. Item credidi, quod indulgencie aliquid
valeant ad dimissionem pene vel culpe W || **4** peccavi quia]
om. PW; fui] sum PW || **5** Item – tamen] quia W; peccavi –
tamen] *om.* P || **6** esse] fieri PW || **7** Deus] *om.* W; dimittit
peccata] peccata dimittit PW; sic] sic est W; post] statim
post W || **8** anima statim] statim anima P; anima – ascendit]
transit anima W; ascendit] transit P; in¹] ad PW; aut] vel
PW; in²] ad PW || **9** Item – dedi] *om.* PW || **10** peccavi quia]
om. PW; ieiunia – sanctis] vota feci sanctis et persolvi cum
ieiuniis et ceteris bonis W || **11** persolvi – tamen] persolvere
sanctis P; nullus – prodest] nichil prodest quia vota sanctis
persolvere nullus tenetur W || **12** peccavi quia] *om.* PW
possint] possent P, possunt W || **13** iuvare – aliquo] aliquid
iuvare PW; tamen] *om.* P || **14** possunt] possunt. Item affixi
candelas isti vel illi sanctorum et offertoria dedi PW
peccavi quia] *om.* W; peccavi – quod] *om.* P || **15** quod –
Virgo] beatam Mariam Virginem W; Virgo] Virgo Maria P
plus posset] esse potencioem W; plus – quia] *om.* P
aliquis] alium W || **16** non¹ – quia] *om.* V; quam] nisi ut PW
|| **17** sanctus] sanctorum PW; peccavi quia] *om.* PW ||
18 peccavi quia] *om.* PW || **19** exhibui] feci PW; candelas]
ponens candelas PW; coram eis] *om.* W

- eis applicando. Item peccavi, quia ossa sanctorum
osculatus fui, que tamen sunt ut alia ossa in ossario. | V 135r
Item peccavi, quia calices et alia ornamenta ecclesie
emi, que tamen sunt inanis gloria. Item peccavi, quia
5 credidi, quod in missa cantus et alie attinencie sint
necessarie, quod tamen non sunt necessaria nisi
consecratio corporis et sanguinis Christi. Item peccavi,
quia credidi, quod ad omnia sacramenta non est opus de
aliqua solempnitate nisi sola forma sacramentorum.
10 Item peccavi, quia credidi, quod uncciones et crismata
fuissent sacramenta, cum tamen non sunt de necessitate
salutis, quia melius est sine eis mori quam aliquid pro
eis dare. Item peccavi, quia non credidi, quod alius
sacerdos alium non possit ordinare, cum tamen bene
15 potest. | Item peccavi, quia dedi et solvi ab ordinacione, W 172rb
cum tamen melius est esse laycum et officiare. Item
peccavi, quia credidi, quod auctoritas pape sit maior,
cum tamen non extendit se magis nisi quam alterius
presbiteri. | Item peccavi, quia credidi, quod papa P 41v
20 potest diminuere culpam et penam per aliquas
indulgentias. Item peccavi, quia credidi, quod pape sit
obediendum, si est malus, nec eciam alicui prelatorum,

1 applicando] *om.* PW; peccavi quia] *om.* PW || 2 fui] sum
PW; que] quod V; sunt] non sunt nisi P, non sunt W; in] *om.*
W || 3 peccavi quia] *om.* PW; et – emi] emi et ornamenta
ecclesiis V, emi, ornamenta ecclesie et alia P || 4 que] quod
P; sunt] non est nisi P, est W; Item] Ego magister Iacobus
W; peccavi – quod] *om.* PW || 5 cantus – nisi] nichil aliud est
necessarium nisi PW || 7 consecratio] confectio P, confessio
W; Christi] Domini PW; peccavi – quod] *om.* PW || 8 omnia –
sola] opera solempnitatum opus sit solempnizare, cum tamen
non est opus nisi V; de aliqua] *om.* P || 10 peccavi – quod]
om. PW; uncciones] inunctiones PW || 11 fuissent – tamen]
om. PW || 12 sine eis] ita PW; aliquid – eis] pro eis aliquid
PW || 13 Item – potest] Item presbiter, qui est ordinatus,
potest alium ordinare PW || 15 peccavi quia] *om.* PW; dedi –
solvi] dare aliquid PW; ab] de PW || 16 cum tamen] *om.* PW
est] *om.* V || 17 peccavi – quod] *om.* PW; sit – tamen] *om.*
PW || 18 magis] maius W || 19 peccavi – quod] *om.* PW ||
20 potest] non potest PW; diminuere] dimittere W; culpam –
penam] penam et culpam PW || 21 peccavi – quod] *om.* PW
sit obediendum] non debet fieri obediencia PW || 22 eciam]
om. PW

si sunt mali. Item peccavi, quia credidi, quod sit alicui
obediendum homini, cum tamen soli Deo est
obediendum. Item peccavi, quia non credidi, quod
quilibet sacerdos possit confirmare, cum tamen quilibet
5 potest, quia hoc episcopi propter suum questum et
avariciam reservaverunt sibi, quia qui potest conficere
corpus Christi et sangwinem, potest consecrare et alia
sacramenta et ordinare et ecclesias consecrare. Item
peccavi, quia non credidi, quod non possit corpus Christi
10 et sangwis confici, quociens necessarium fuerit per
diem, cum tamen potest confici quocienscunque opus
fuerit per diem. Item peccavi, quia non credidi, quod
non ieiunus posset communicare, cum ieiunus et non
ieiunus potest recipere corpus Christi et sangwinem
15 Christi post cenam vel ante cenam. Item peccavi, quia
horas canonicas non dicere credidi esse peccatum, cum
tamen horas canonicas non est de necessitate nec peccat
obmittere eas, quia sunt institutiones humane, sed
tantum necessarium est omni die dicere VII Pater
20 noster, quia Cristus sic instituit.

1 Item – obediendum] Item nulli hominum debet obediencia nisi soli Deo P, Item nulli hominum debet fieri obediencia nisi soli Deo W || **3** Item – consecrare] Item qui potest conficere corpus Christi et sangwinem Christi, potest ministrare, potest et alia omnia sacramenta et ordinare et ecclesias consecrare. Item quilibet presbiter potest confirmare, quia propter recipere sibi episcopi servaverunt P, Item qui potest conficere corpus Christi et sangwinem Christi, potest ministrare alia omnia. Item quilibet presbiter potest sacramenta ordinare et ecclesias consecrare et confirmare, quia propter recipere sibi episcopi reservaverunt W || **8** Item – diem] Item quocienscunque opus fuerit, potest confici corpus Christi et sanguis P, Item quocienscunque opus fuerit, potest confici corpus et sagwis Christi W || **12** peccavi – cum] *om.* PW || **14** Christi] *om.* PW || **15** Christi] *om.* P; vel] et PW; peccavi – tamen] *om.* PW || **17** canonicas] canonicas dicere PW; peccat] peccant PW || **18** obmittere] obmittendo PW || **20** instituit] instituit. Ego magister Iacobus, dictus Hněvek: "I budeš sě hněvati, o to péče žádně neměj, přideť ta hodina, jenž všecko spolu zaplatíš." P

Appendix E

Collecta et excerpta (selected parts)

Synopsis codicum:

- L** – cod. bibl. Univ. Lipsiensis, 602, fol. 3r–36ra¹
- Va** – cod. bibl. Univ. Vratislaviensis, I F 237, fol. 133ra–165vb
- Vb** – cod. bibl. Univ. Vratislaviensis, I Q 87, fol. 58r–112r
- Vc** – cod. bibl. Univ. Vratislaviensis, I F 308, fol. 12ra–46vb
- P** – cod. bibl. Univ. Pragensis, I F 18, fol. 227v–233v
- Ca** – cod. bibl. Univ. Jagellonensis, 421, fol. 210vb–237ra
- Cb** – cod. bibl. Univ. Jagellonensis, 423, fol. 74r–97v

¹ It has been explained above (*Later sources* III.B.2) that a critical edition of the whole text of the *Collecta and excerpta* would exceed the scope of this dissertation and that is why only selected parts are presented in this appendix. These comprise two chapters which are distinctly connected to the literary activities of Nicholas of Dresden, the main figure of the Dresden School, that is, chapters 20 and 21 concerning the Utraquistic rite. In order to be able to identify the treatise in other manuscripts, I present its first two chapters as well, but also because there are copies in which only these two chapters are recorded – such as the Prague codex, shelf-mark I F 18. Since this is only a preparation for a critical edition, quotations of authorities are not identified in the apparatus. Preliminary collation of the manuscripts available to me justified basing the following transcription solely on the manuscript from Leipzig (**L**). Nevertheless, the wording of this codex had to be emended in several places. When an emendation was based on any of the surviving copies of this text that I have examined, its *siglum* is recorded in the critical apparatus. That is why *sigla* have also been assigned to these codices in the outline of the manuscripts above.

Capitulum primum continet, quod una est fides ecclesie
sancte Romane, extra quam nemo salvatur in alia
5 quacumque fide, quam illius ecclesie, in qua sola
perfecta fides invenitur etc.

Capitulum secundum contra illos, qui dicunt Romanam
ecclesiam defecisse propter temporalia data per
Constantinum ecclesie, spiritualibus personis
10 temporalia bona possidere non debere etc.

Capitulum tertium contra illos, qui dicunt in ecclesia
malos non esse, sed ipsam bonos solummodo continere
debere etc.

Capitulum quartum contra negantes claves ecclesie et
15 potestatem ligandi et solvendi.

Capitulum quintum contra illos, qui sacris sacerdotum
ordinibus contradicunt.

Capitulum sextum contra negantes, quod presbiteris
liceat conficere vel sacrificare et cetera facere solis
20 ordinatis et missis etc.

Capitulum septimum contra illos, qui constitutionibus
ecclesie et sacris canonibus contradicunt.

Capitulum octavum contra illos, qui dicunt, quod
propter peccata prelatorum et sacerdotum nichil eorum
25 administracio valeat nec sacramenta posse conficere nec
solvere nec ligare etc.

Capitolum nonum contra illos, qui dicunt prelatos malos
alios excommunicare non posse etc.

Capitulum decimum contra illos, qui dicunt in ecclesia
non posse excommunicare bonos et quod nisi peccatum
30 excommunicat, alias excommunicacio nichil <est>.

Capitulum undecimum contra illos, qui dicunt prelatis
ecclesie non debere excommunicare, persecui nec vitare
malos, sed vindictam committere soli Deo etc.

Capitulum duodecimum, quod licitum est in ecclesia Dei corporaliter occidere hereticos et malos tollendi de medio bonorum etc.

5 Capitulum tertium decimum contra illos, qui miracula, que fiunt in ecclesia, ex Deo dicunt non esse.

Capitulum quartum decimum contra negantes indulgencias et elemosinas et oblaciones, que dantur pro consequendis, dicunt eas venales etc.

10 Capitulum quintum decimum contra illos, qui ecclesiis materialibus et dedicacionibus contradicunt.

Capitulum sextum decimum contra illos, qui ymagines Cristi et sanctorum destruunt.

Capitulum decimum septimum contra illos, qui negant purgatorium et nihil prodesse suffragia animarum.

15 Capitulum decimum octavum, contra illos, qui dicunt sacerdotibus non esse confitendum, sed soli Deo.

Capitulum decimum nonum contra illos, qui dicunt in sacramento eukaristie post consecracionem panis et vini materiam remanere etc.

20 [Capitulum vicesimum contra illos, qui pueros in cunabulis nuper natos sacramento eukaristie dicunt esse procurandos. L 3v

25 Capitulum vicesimum primum contra illos, qui dicunt populum laycalem sub utraque specie esse communicandum etc.

30 Item tractatus secundus eiusdem doctoris continet varias obiecciones hereticorum, ritui sancte ecclesie et fidei oppositas et soluciones earundem et specialiter contra picturas tabularum domino apostolico detrahendum et contra habitum et honestatem vescium prelatorum et contra questum sacerdotum in ecclesia Dei ministrantium et alia multa scripta utilia, prout clare patent in legendo et cetera etc.

Hec sunt collecta et excerpta ex summa Benedicti abbatis Marsilie super capitulo Firmiter credimus de suma trinitate et fide katholica, additis paucis aliis contra diversos errores presentes et futuros
5 inpugnancium fidem catholicam ecclesie sancte Romane, qui clavibus, ministris, sacramentis ecclesie multiplici, prout subscribitur, contradicunt et qualiter eis auctoritatibus, rationibus et exemplis sit obviandum etc.

10

In primo capitulo continetur, quod una est fides ecclesie Romane, extra quam nemo salvatur in alia quacumque fide, quam illius ecclesie, in qua sola perfecta fides invenitur etc. Sequitur in forma.

15

Una est fidelium universalis ecclesia, que vivit in unitate fidei et in credulitate articulorum ac sacramentorum et in una conformitate signorum sacramentalium universe fidei, articulo XXIII^o, questione prima, *Hec est fides*. Huius universalis

20

ecclesie radix est fides, Romanorum I^o: Iustus ex fide vivit sicut arbor ex radice. Ipsa est enim fundamentum edificii spiritualis, prima Corinthiorum tercio: Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere preter id, quod positum est, quod est Cristus Iesus, id est fides Iesu

25

Cristi. Quare ergo prima cognicio ecclesie ex fide est, per illam enim primo cognoscitur et distinguitur ab ecclesia malignancium, Gallatarum 2^o: Cognoscite, qui ex fide sunt, hii Filii Dei sunt. Ideo premisit Apostolus de fide, per quam ecclesia consistit, Hebreorum XI^o:

30

Fides est substantia sperandarum rerum, sine qua impossibile est | placere Deo. Que una dicitur collective sicut multa membra unum corpus, Romanorum XII^o; et sicut in uno corpore multa membra habemus etc., LXXXIX distincione, *Singula*; et sicut multa grana unus panis, sic unum corpus multi sumus, prima Corinthiorum X^o. Una et nulla alia est ecclesia, nisi que

L 4ra

est in apostolica radice fundata, XXIII, questione prima, *Pudenda*, de qua dictum est Matthei XVI^o: Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et XXIII, questione prima, *Loquitur*. Que propterea
5 sancta et katholica est, quia recte credit in Deum, De consecratione, distinctione III^a, *Prima*. Nec due possunt esse ecclesie, quia unam, que corpus Christi est, constat esse ecclesiam, que in duo vel in plura dividi non potest. Simul enim, cum ab ea quisque discesserit,
10 de ecclesia esse desistit, XXIII, questione I^a, *Scisma*. Et ideo nichil debet sic formidare christianus, quam separari a corpore eius. Si quis enim separatur a corpore Christi, non est membrum eius; si non est membrum eius, non vegetatur a spiritu eius, XI,
15 questione III^a, *Nichil* et XXIII, questione VII^a, *Quemadmodum*. Christus enim caput ecclesie est, Ephesiorum V^o; ecclesia vero corpus et membra Christi sunt, I^a Corinthiorum VI^o. Nescitis, quia corpora vestra membra Christi sunt? Huius ecclesie fidei unitas cadet in
20 preteritos, presentes et futuros, nam qui preibant | et L 4rb sequebantur, clamabant: Osanna filio David, Matthei XXI^o. Est enim una semper fides et eadem, quia super uno fundamento fundata est, quia ab uno cepit esse origo, quia per unam columbam, unam electam, unam
25 perfectam, signata, Canticorum VI^o. Quia unum corpus in Cristo, quia unus spiritus, per gratiam eius unita et vivificata, quia in unam spem vocata una fide, uno baptismo, uni Deo, uni Domino ad serviendum in caritate coniuncta, hec autem una ecclesia in
30 multitudinem incremento fecunditatis extenditur, sicut unum lumen solis in multos radios, sicut una arbor in multos ramos, sicut unus fons in multos rivolos, sicut planius hec habentur XXIII, questione I^a, *Loquitur*. Nec obstat diversitas observanciarum religionum et
35 ordinum diversorum statuum unius ecclesie, sicut in uno ovili oves diversorum karacterum et vellerum,

quarum tamen unum lac, unus pastor et unum ovile, sic
 in ecclesia Cristi dicitur Iohannis X^o: Ego sum pastor
 bonus etc. Multa diversitas invenitur, quia alii sunt
 coniugati, alii virgines, alii continentes et tot
 5 diversorum varietates ordinum, qui tamen ex eiusdem
 fidei, spei et caritatis unica religione concordant, sicut
 dicit beatus Augustinus, sicut per eandem viam alius
 pedes, alius eques, alius solus, alius comitatu incedit,
 sic per eandem viam | cristianitatis diversorum ordinum L 4va
 10 professores, in qua alius sic, sic alius ibat, omnes
 tendentes ad unum terminum, videlicet ad salutem. Hec
 siquidem ecclesia incepit a primo iusto Abel, in quo
 percepit et persecucionem pati et in persecucionibus
 crescit ecclesia usque in finem seculi numquam
 15 desinitura et in ea Abel esse rennuit, quem Cayn
 malicia non exercet. Quod autem ecclesia fuit ante
 adventum Cristi, patet Actuum XXVI^o, nichil extra
 dicens nisi ea, que locuti sunt prophete. Item prima
 Corinthiorum III^o: Habentes eundem spiritum, sicut
 20 scriptum est: Credidi, propter quod locutus sum, et nos
 credimus, propter quod et loquimur. Una ergo et eadem
 fides fuit in antiquis sanctis, qui fuerunt ante adventum
 Cristi, et in illis, qui post fuerunt, sed sicut illi
 credebant Cristum esse venturum, sic nos credimus
 25 ipsum iam venisse, ut sic mutantur tempora, sed non
 fides. Unde illi quasi milites in acie precedebant regem
 contra diabolum pugnaturi, muniti sacramentis illius
 temporis quasi armis quibusdam. Idem enim
 operabantur in illis oblaciones et sacrificia mediante
 30 fide, quod postea sub lege scripta circumcisio, idem sub
 gracia baptismus, quia per hec a peccato tam originali,
 quam actuali iustificabantur, De consecracione,
 distincione III^a, *Quod et aput nos* et capitulo
 sequenti. Sed ianua regni celestis non | erit eis aperta, L 4vb
 35 donec Cristus ascendens in celum ianuam sequentibus

10 alius sic] *bis* L

aperiret, tamen in sinu Abrahe, id est in tranquilla
 requie, servabantur. Qui vero post incarnationem quasi
 milites sequentes regem habentes sacramenta fidei
 tamquam arma contra vicia pugnaturi, sive igitur sancti
 5 fuerunt tempore naturalis legis ab Adam, Abraham
 usque ad Moysen, sive tempore scripte legis a Moyse
 usque ad Cristum, sive tempore gracie a Cristo usque in
 finem mundi, omnes unam fidem habuerunt, uni regi
 Cristo militaverunt, unum tirannum diabolum
 10 superaverunt, qui genus humanum deceperat
 fraudulenter et detinuerat violenter. A Cristo igitur
 incepit ecclesia, que dicitur modo Romana, iuxta illud
 Mathei XVI^o: Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram
 edificabo ecclesiam meam. Petrus ergo successit
 15 Cristo, Clemens Petro et sic de aliis usque ad finem
 seculi duraturis, extra cuius ecclesie unionem sicut
 extra archam Noe quisque perit dampnationis diluvio et
 sicut extra ovile queque ovis permanens morsibus
 luporum exponitur et furi patet, qui non venit, nisi ut
 20 furetur et mactet et perdat etc.

Capitulum secundum contra illos, qui dicunt Romanam
 ecclesiam defecisse propter temporalia data per L 5ra
 Constantinum ecclesie et bona temporalia spiritualibus
 25 personis possidere non debere.

Quod autem hec sancta Romana ecclesia non defecit
 tempore beati Silvestri pape propter temporalia data per
 Constantinum imperatorem ecclesie experigencia
 incrementi declarat et dotacionem ecclesie in
 30 temporalibus Deus ratam et gratam ostendit per
 approbacionem miraculorum in mundacione Constantini
 a lepra, in suscitacione thauri et in miraculo ligacionis
 draconis, ut habetur in legenda sancti Silvestri. Sed
 quidam obiciunt heretici, quod Silvester non successit
 35 Cristo, sed Constantino, inducentes illud Mathei XX^o:

Scitis, quia principes gencium dominantur eorum, et qui maiores sunt, potestatem exercent in eos, non ita erit inter eos. Respondetur, quod per hoc ambicio fugienda innuitur et Silvester successit Cristo in auctoritate pontificali, Constantino vero in auctoritate imperiali, ut patet ex privilegiis ecclesie Romane concessis, et patet XCVI distinccione, *Constantinus* et fuit completa prophesia Danielis VII^o: Regnum autem et potestas et magnitudo regni, que subter omne celum est, detur populo sanctorum Altissimi. Cristus autem | auctoritate regnum huius mundi habuit, sicut ipse ayt Matthei ultimo: Data est michi omnis potestas in celo et in terra. Et qui habent, ab ipso habent, Proverbiorum VIII^o: Per me reges regnant, et Danielis III^o: Deus celi regnum et fortitudinem et imperium dedit tibi. Et cui vult, tribuit illud, ideo de sancto Petro dicitur: Tibi tradidit Deus omnia regna mundi et ideo tradite sunt tibi claves regni celorum. Item obiciunt, quod Cristus fugit regnum huius mundi, Iohannis VI^o. Respondetur: Quia tunc venit Cristus, ut pateretur, et patri obediens esset usque ad mortem et ut propter hoc illum Deus exaltaret et daret ei nomen, quod est super omne nomen, nec eciam decuit <tunc> Cristum recipere regna mundi huius ab hiis, qui dare sibi non poterant, videlicet a turba, que subfuit Romano imperio, sed pocius decuit Cristum recipere cessionem imperii per Silvestrum, suum vicarium, a Constantino imperatore, qui veniens ad fidem habuit et potuit Cristo dare imperium et ut sic lapis abscisus de monte sine manibus percussit statuum in pedibus ferreis, Danielis II^o. Et quod iterum obiciunt heretici regnum meum non est de hoc mundo, ut dicitur Iohannis decimo, respondetur, quod dedit michi Pater, maius est omnibus, ut dicitur ibidem. Cuius est quasi minima porcio mundus iste, ideo pocius econverso

L 5rb

mundus iste est | de regno Cristi, non tamen protunc L 5va
sibi datus a Patre, sed post clarifficacionem sibi
dandus, ut dixerat Iohannis XII^o: Nunc princeps huius
mundi eicietur foras, et ego, si exaltatus fuero, a terra
5 omnia traham ad meipsum. Gens enim et regnum, quod
non servierit sibi, peribit, Ysaye LXI^o. Parvulus datus
est nobis etc., super solium David et super humerum
eius sedebit, ut confirmaret et corroboraret illud amodo
usque in sempiternum. Item Luce primo: Dominus dabit
10 illi sedem patris sui David et regnabit in domo Iacob in
eternum et regni eius non erit finis; sed illud regnum
appellant ecclesiam, ergo non fuit finis ecclesie, ex quo
incepit esse. Item Danielis II^o: In diebus illis suscitabit
Deus celi regnum, quod in eternum non dissipabitur et
15 regnum eius alteri populo non tradetur. Conminuet
autem et consumet universa regna hec et ipsum stabit in
eternum. Secundum quod vidisti, quod de monte
abscisus est lapis sine manibus et conminuet testam et
ferrum et es, argentum et aurum. Iste lapis est Cristus,
20 I^a Petri II^o. Sine manibus, id est sine virili opere
abscisus de monte, id est de beata Virgine vel de cetu
sanctorum patrum Veteris testamenti. Item Matthei
ultimo: Vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad
consumacionem seculi. Item | Luce XXII^o dixit Cristus: L 5vb
25 Ego pro te rogavi, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua etc.
Ergo fides eius non defecit, ergo nec ecclesia, quia
fides Cristi non nisi in eius ecclesia invenitur. Item
Iohannis XVII^o Cristus orans ad Patrem dicit: Non pro
eis tantum rogo, scilicet apostolis, sed pro eis, qui
30 credituri sunt per verbum illorum in me; ad idem
Ephesiorum II^o et III^o. Philippensium primo: Tronus
tuus Deus in seculum seculi, virga direccionis, virga
regni tui. Tronus, id est ecclesia Dei, que modo Romana
dicitur et omnibus est ecclesiis preferenda, quia Petrus
35 fuit a Cristo caput ecclesie constitutus dicente: Tu

vocaberis Cephas, quod interpretatur caput. Item: Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et eius vicarius et claviger regni celestis effectus, ideo post ascensionem Domini ab omnibus apostolis electus et princeps perfectus et fuit ab universis statutum, ut tam ipse, quam quilibet successor eius princeps et caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, [et] ut XXI distincione, *In novo* et XXII, *Sacrosancta*. Post iterum Romam veniens et iterum inde recedere volens obviam Cristum habuit dicentem sibi: Venio Romam. Et Petrus ad eum: Iterum crucifigi reversus Romam omnium princeps electus, viginti quinque annos et menses septem rexit ecclesiam ibidem crucifixus. Ideo Romana sedes apostolorum martirio | dedicata omnium obtinet principatum, ut ubi fuerat caput supersticionis, ibi fieret caput sanctitatis, et que erat magistra erroris, fieret discipula veritatis, et ubi fuerat principatus tocius orbis, ibi esset caput tocius cristianitatis. Propter quod qui Romanam spernit ecclesiam, hereticus iudicatur, XXIII, questione I^a, *Hec est fides* et distincione XIX, *Nulli phas est*. Et qui privilegia Romane ecclesie auferre conatur, hereticus est dicendus, distincione XXII, *Omnes*. Quociens enim de arduis negociis agitur vel de fide questio oritur, ad ipsam est recurrendum, et quicquid decreverit vel diffinierit, firmiter est tenendum et credendum, XXIII, questione I^a, *Quociens* et XII distincione, *Preceptis*. Extra quam nullus salvatur, XXIII distincione, *Qui episcopus*, nam aqua diluvii omnes, quos extra archam invenit, extinxit, XXIII, questione prima, quia ex sola catholica Romana ecclesia conspicitur veritas; sola est, que in terra positos custodit valida compagine caritatis. Augustinus, De fide ad Petrum: Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites non solum omnes paganos, sed eciam omnes Iudeos, hereticos atque scismaticos, qui extra

L 6ra

31 in terra] intra VbVc, intra se C. 24 q. 1 c. 22, Friedberg I, 974; in – positos] interpositos Ca

ecclesiam catholicam finiunt vitam, in ignem eternum
positos, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius. Et ideo
non est orandum pro eis, quia quibus vivis non
communicavimus, nec mortuis comunicare debemus,
5 XXIII, questione I^a, *Scisma* et questione II^a, | *Sane* et L 6rb
Extra, De sententia excommunicationis, *A nobis*. Non
igitur defecit Romana ecclesia per adeptionem
temporalis dominii a Costantino vel ab aliis regibus
sive principibus. Non enim papa per hoc factus est
10 imperator vel rex, sed caput imperii vel regni illius
regis vel imperatoris, qui de gentilitatis errore
convertitur et subdit obediencie et dominio ecclesie se
et sua. Et hoc videtur rationibus congruere, ut quilibet
habens in potestate sua bona conmutare poterit vel dare,
15 cui voluerit, conveniencius autem hoc transitoria
conmutare poterit in eterna et dare illi, a quo sunt
omnia bona donata, Cristo videlicet et eius vicario et
ecclesie sue sancte. Et si non liceret ecclesie habere
temporalia et possidere, quid restaret aliud, nisi quod
20 increduli heretici ac tyranni contempta ecclesie
obediencia mox in exterminacionem totius ecclesie et
fidei cristiane procederent, quantum possent. Et si licet
inferioribus ecclesie membris pro defensione sua,
videlicet regibus, principibus secularibus, regna,
25 ducatus habere et possessiones atque terras, a forciori
licebit membris superioribus spiritualibus, videlicet
principibus, hec habere et possidere, alioquin pro
conservacione maioris minor esset providencia minoris
vero maior a Deo concessa, quod esset contra
30 ordinatissimam providenciam et disposicionem iusti
Dei. Et si quis contenderet omnes iustos viros
ecclesiasticos catholicos habere bona | temporalia et L 6va
propria non debere, hoc inconveniens sequeretur: Aut
omnia temporalia non esse, aut inimicorum, hereticorum
35 et tyrannorum fidei omnia ista esse. Convenit igitur

ecclesie temporalia habere, sine quibus spiritualia Domini stare non possunt. Et si quis allegaverit statum ecclesie primitive, in qua plurimi dimissis omnibus pauperem Cristum sequebantur, et similiter illud
 5 ewangelium: Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus, que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus, respondetur, quod illud rationabiliter et necessarie fieri oportuit in propagacione tunc nascentis ecclesie, aliud vero nunc in conservacione ecclesie roborate et dotate imperio regnis
 10 finibusque terrarum. Impossibile enim tunc fuerat cristianis sub dominio existentibus imperatoris et regum nondum cristianorum, sed Cristi fidem exstirpare conancium, sua bona temporalia sub ipsis existencia retinere, ideo tunc congrue cuncta, que poterant,
 15 vendita cristianis pauperibus erogabant. Quare Philippus, Philippi imperatoris filius, thezauros imperiales dedit ecclesie et beato Sixto pape et eosdem thezauros beatus Laurencius facta de eisdem inquisicione dispersit, dedit pauperibus cristianis, quia
 20 protunc nec thezauros nec possessiones retinere poterant sub imperatore Decio, fidei cristiane persecutore. Nunc vero postquam | imperatores, reges L 6vb
 finesque terrarum iugo fidei colla subdiderunt, esset stultissimum adversariis fidei ista dimittere, quibus
 25 pacem katholice fidei et ecclesie necessario tuerentur. Patet igitur, quod temporalium adepcione non defecit ecclesia, sed eorum usu debito felici potius proficiat incremento etc.

30 | Capitulum vicesimum contra illos, qui pueros nuper L 33va
 natos sacramento altaris communicant.
 In eo eciam veritati et ritui katholice fidei contradicunt heretici, quod pueros eciam nondum baptizatos sacramento eukaristie procurare nituntur et procurandos
 35 omnimode dicunt, allegantes illud Iohannis VI^o: Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis. Super quo verbo

respondet Nicolaus de Lira dicens: Ex eo, quod dicitur
hic: Nisi manducaveritis etc., dicunt Greci, quod hoc
sacramentum est tante necessitatis, quod eciam pueris
debeat dari, sicut et baptizmus, quod est falsum, quia in
5 sumente sacramentum corporis Cristi requiritur actualis
devocio et reverencia, que non potest esse in pueris, et
ideo hoc verbum non inportat preceptum et tantummodo
intelligitur de adultis, quibus necessarium est ad
salutem hoc sacramentum in voto, saltem si in re non
10 potest habere. Hec Lira. | Et quod talis opinio Grechorum L 33vb
et hereticorum in hoc ipsos sequencium sit erronea et
katholice fidei contraria, ex ewangelicis auctoribus et
racionibus declaratur. Prima ratio: Sicut enim dicit
Cristus Iohannis VIº: Spiritus est, qui vivificat, caro
15 autem non prodest quicquam. Verba, que locutus sum
vobis, spiritus et vita sunt, Glosa Lire: id est
spiritualem habent intellectum, manducatur enim corpus
Cristi aliquando sacramentaliter tantum et non
spiritualiter. Et ut sic, dicit: Caro, id est carnalis et non
20 spiritualis manducacio, non prodest quicquam.
Aliquando vero manducatur spiritualiter et talis
manducacio est necessaria ad salutem et de hac dicitur:
Nisi manducaveritis carnem etc. De hac eciam
manducacione glozat se intelligere, cum dicit: Verba,
25 que ego locutus sum, spiritus et vita sunt, id est de
spirituali manducacione intelligenda sunt, cum dicitur:
Nisi manducaveritis etc. Dupliciter ergo conmeditur
corpus Cristi, quia dupliciter intelligitur esse corpus
Cristi. Unomodo, scilicet verum, quod de virgine traxit
30 et in cruce pepependit, de hoc dicitur Matthei XXVIº,
Luce XXIIº, Marci XXIII, I Corinthiorum XI: Hoc est
corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur; et hoc
conmeditur sacramentaliter, id est sub specie panis.
Aliomodo, scilicet misticum, quod est ecclesie Cristi
35 spiritu vegetato, de quo dicit Apostolus I Corinthiorum
Xº: Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus; et hoc

coneditur spiritualiter, id est fide | cordis. L 34ra
 Sacramentaliter comedunt tam boni, quam mali,
 spiritualiter soli boni. In malis est essencia non salubris
 efficacia; in bonis vero utroque modo. Sacramentaliter
 5 comedit tam Petrus, quam Iudas, unus ad salutem, alter
 ad dampnationem, XXIII, questione quarta, *Tu bonus*.
 Spiritualiter manducat, qui manet in unitate Cristi et
 ecclesie, quam significat sacramentum. Qui credit in
 eum, manducat eum. Augustinus: Crede et manducasti,
 10 De consecracione, distincione II^a, *Ut quid paras*. Et
 ipsa Veritas aiit Iohannis VI^o: Qui manducat meam
 carnem et bibit meum sagwinem, in me manet et ego in
 eo. De hac materia dicitur De consecracione,
 distincione II, *Dupliciter* et capitulo *Crede in Cristum*.
 15 Cum ergo de hac spirituali manducacione intelligatur
 inducta auctoritas, scilicet: Nisi manducaveritis, non
 erit necesse neque conveniens, ut hoc sacramento
 cibentur pueri iam baptizmi sacramento renati, quia ut
 sic iam manducaverunt carnem Cristi et sagwinem eius
 20 biberunt, quia in Cristo manent et Cristus in eis. Et hoc
 exponit Augustinus in omelia dicens: Hoc est
 manducare illa escam et bibere illum potum - in Cristo
 manere et Cristum in se manentem habere. Ac per hoc
 qui non manet in Cristo et in quo non manet Cristus,
 25 procul dubio non manducat spiritualiter eius carnem,
 licet dentibus premat sacramentum etc. Pueri ergo, qui
 ut sic manducaverunt, habent in se vitam eternam, ut
 dicit auctoritas: | Quare non erat eis necessaria nec L 34rb
 conveniens talis perceptio sacramenti? Si vero pueris
 30 ante baptismum porrigitur sacramentum corporis Cristi,
 ut heretici moderni facere dicuntur, hoc fit ad maiorem
 dampnationem et interitum puerorum, quia manducant
 indigne et iuducium sibi manducant et bibunt. Ex quo,
 quod in originali, quod est peccatum mortale,
 35 existentibus et nondum filiis datur panis filiorum

carnibus non mittendus. Secundo ex ratione Nicolay de Lira super eodem capitulo Iohannis VI^{to} huius opinionis error ostenditur, cum dicit: Sicut enim in vita corporali cibus est necessarius ad vitam conservandam, ita in vita
5 spirituali hoc sacramentum est necessarium vite spiritualis conservatum. Sed sicut baptismus est quedam spiritualis generacio sine vita, ita eukaristia est quedam spiritualis manducacio sine cibus. Hec Lira. Cum ergo puero nato vita corporali mox cibus corporalis et
10 solidus dari non convenit, ymmo esset ridiculum, si mater infantulo tenero carnes, caseum, panes porrigeret, qui sunt cibi virorum esuriencium, ita simpliciter puero nato et in baptismo vita spirituali renato non convenit nec necese est, ut mox cibo spirituali sive eukaristie
15 cibetur sacramento, donec in vita spirituali esuriet et langweat et confortacione cibi indigeat, id est donec ad verum rationis | usum perveniat. Et ex rancore seu L 34va peccati fomiti adolescencia hominis iam ad malum pronior et quasi iam langwens per abusum liberi arbitrii
20 a gracia baptismali cadere potens, tunc primo cibo illo spirituali corporis Cristi sacramentaliter cibari et in gracia confortari convenit et in ea iugiter conservari. Tercia ratio ex ewangelio Iohannis III^o capitulo elicetur, ubi dicit: Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et
25 spiritu, non potest intrare regnum Dei, et Marci ultimo: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus est. Et in Symbulo Nyceno: Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Si ergo secundum opinionem hereticorum in pueris baptizatis esset necessaria
30 percepcio corporis Cristi et sanguinis ad consequendam vitam eternam, sequeretur, quod sacramentum baptismi esset insufficiens ad salutem et pre allegata ewangelii et simboli loca essent veritati contraria, quod patet erroneum esse. Quarto contra errorem illorum potest
35 taliter perswaderi: Si ad necessitatem vite eterne non

sufficeret baptismi gracia et spiritualis manducacio
 carnis et sangwinis Iesu Cristi per unionem
 incorporacionis sui mistici corporis, sed necessario
 requiretur sacramentalis <percepcio> eukaristie
 5 sacramenti, sequeretur necessario innumerabilium
 dampnacio animarum et plus quam tercie partis regni
 Cristi animarum subtraccio crederetur ab inicio
 videlicet katholice fidei usque ad annos Domini
 M^oCCCC^oXXIII^o, | omnium sanctorum infancium post L 34vb
 10 baptisma discedencium et ante percepcionem huius
 sacramenti decedencium omnium stolidorum ratione
 carencium, quibus Romana ecclesia hoc sacramentum
 porrigere non consuevit. Ecce quomodo draco talis
 15 erroneus huius mulieris ecclesie emulus nititur quasi
 terciam partem stellarum abstrahere, dum omnium
 talium saluti derogat, per tales adinventiones erroneas a
 seculo non auditas. Item cum Dominus hoc
 sacramentum sumendum institueret, condicionem et
 modum illud sumencium precepto subinfert ita dicendo,
 20 ut habetur in canone Misse: Hoc quocienscumque
 feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis. Et I Corinthiorum
 XI^o: Quocienscumque manducabitis panem hunc et
 calicem Domini bibetis, mortem Domini annunciiabitis,
 donec veniat. Cum ergo pueri in cunabulis neque
 25 memoriam Cristi passionis neque possibilitatem
 annunciandi mortem Domini habere poterint, si percepcio
 corporis Cristi esset eorum saluti necessaria,
 sequeretur, quod per hoc ad quoddam ipsis tunc
 impossibile urgerentur, si necessario requiretur
 30 sacramentalis percepcio sacramenti eukaristie. Et si
 ante usum rationis discerent, necessario dampnarentur
 aut pro transgressione precepti huius condicionis
 sumencium aut pro carencia huius necessarii

4 percepcio] *add. sec.* VaVbVcCaCb, *om.* L || 5 sequeretur] *em. sec.* VbVcCa, sequitur LVa || 6 tercie partis] *em. sec.* VaVbVcCaCb, *tercia* pars L || 11 decedencium] *em. sec.* VaVbVcCaCb, et L || 16 erroneas] *em. sec.* VaVcCaCb, *erraneorum* L

sacramenti. Item beatus Paulus sicut a Domino accepit,
ita tradidit nobis formam | necessariam omnium L 35ra
sumencium hoc sacramentum, ita dicendo I
Corinthiorum XI^o: Probet autem seipsum homo etc.
5 usque non diiudicans, id est discrecionem habens inter
hunc cibum et alium, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.
Quare ergo omnes infantuli, omnes frenetici ac ratione
carentes artarentur ad sumendum sibi dampnacionis
iudicium, si ipsis preter voluntatem et rationem
10 ipsorum, que nondum est, hoc sacramentum quasi per
violenciam traderetur? Ex quo neque diiudicare poterint
corpus Domini nec probare seipsos. Item cum Dominus
verbo et exemplo tocus humani generis necessaria
docuisset, dixit discipulis Iohannis XVI^o: Multa vobis
15 habeo dicere etc., cum autem venerit ille Spiritus
veritatis, ille docebit vos omnem veritatem. Cum ergo
neque per Cristum neque per apostolos nec successores
ipsorum Romanos pontifices usque ad presencia
tempora edoctum, tentum sit et determinatum, quod
20 parvulis percepto baptisme ante usum rationis debeat
tradi sacramentum corporis Cristi et quod hoc sit
ipsorum saluti necessarium, manifeste sequitur, quod
Cristus et Spiritus sanctus non tradidit ecclesie sue
omnem necessariam veritatem et quia istud retraxit,
25 causa dampnacionis extitit innumerabilium animarum
promissa sua minime adimplendo. Item divina
providencia ordinavit, ut sicut cibus corporeus
virtutibus corporalibus effectualiter conferat, scilicet
appetitive, nutritive et digestive, ipsas confortando et in
30 operationes naturales et necessarias dirigendo, | sic L 35rb
eciam cibus ille spiritualis Cristi sacramenti virtutibus
spiritualibus et potenciis rationalis anime, videlicet
memorie, intellectui et voluntati, similiter conferat
ipsas effectualiter dirigendo, ut memoria iugiter Cristi
35 beneficia memoretur, ob quorum memoriam iussit hoc

summi sacramentum. Et ut intellectus discernens digne
 diiudicet corpus Domini et ut voluntas velit et diligat,
 quod in hoc sacramento percipitur, et in dilectionis
 probacionem exhibicione operis manifesta eius
 5 observet. Nam dixit: Si quis diligit me, mandata
 servabit. Si igitur cibus spiritualis sacramenti corporis
 Cristi necessario dandus esset pueris at aliis non
 utentibus ratione, sequeretur, quod cibus corporalis
 esset prestancior, nobilior, efficacior et dignior in suis
 10 operacionibus, quam cibus spiritualis operacionis
 effectum, cum ille in operationes suas efficaciter posset.
 Iste vero spiritualis cibus in pueris quoad suas
 operationes inutilis sit et cassus, cum in pueris nondum
 voluntas sit libera, que huius sacramenti virtute esset a
 15 viciis retrahenda et in virtutibus confortanda. Quare ex
 premissis relinquitur hunc cibum spirituale corporis
 Cristi non esse necessarium infantibus et lactantibus
 spiritualia nondum memorare, intelligere et velle
 potentibus, sed eis sufficere per baptismum gratiam
 20 expiatis carnem Cristi et sanguinem spiritualiter
 manducasse. Item infallibilis veritatis | videntur L 35va
 sentencie obviare docentes esse salutem necessariam
 perceptionem sacramenti eucharistie in parvulis gratia
 baptismali renatis, cum non solum in Novo, verum
 25 etiam in Veteri testamento originali culpa per
 circumcisionem abolita preter huius sacramenti
 perceptionem ante ipsius etiam institutionem
 parvulorum talium sit regnum celorum aperta tamen
 prius ipsis per mortem Cristi ianua regni. Nam dicitur
 30 Matthei XIX^o: Oblati sunt Iesu parvuli, ut manus eis
 inponeret. Discipuli autem increpabant eos, quibus ait
 Iesus: Sinite parvulos ad me venire, talium est enim
 regnum celorum. Non erit ergo eis protunc necessaria
 eucharistie sacramenti perceptio, quominus salvabuntur,

prout sancta Romana ac universalis ecclesia hactenus
tenuit atque tenet etc.

5 Capitulum XXI contra illos, qui populum laycalem sub
utraque specie procurant sacramenti.

Nonne igitur singulari arrogancia nituntur heretici
sancte Romane ecclesie ritibus insultare in eo, quod
populum utriusque sexus sub utraque specie
communicant sacramenti ea solummodo ratione, ut per
10 aliquas auctoritates, licet inpertinenter inductas,
videantur sanctam ecclesiam de errore vocasse? In| L 35vb
ducunt enim hoc, quod habetur De consecratione,
disctinccione II^a, *Comperimus*, quomodo non solum in
Cristi carne, sed eciam in sangwine suo sit
15 communicacio facienda, quia Cristus, cum dedisset
discipulis suis corpus suum, similiter et calicem <dedit
eis>. Quibus respondetur, sicut dicit gloza [sic]
eiusdem capituli, quod hoc est intelligendum de solis
sacerdotibus conficientibus hoc sacramentum, quibus
20 sicut non licet in una sola specie conficere, ut
perficiatur institutionis ministerium, sic non licet eis
nisi utrasque sumere species sacramenti. Secus vero est
de populo, qui ex institutione ecclesie Romane sub sola
specie panis verum corpus et sangwinem Domini
25 veraciter manducat et bibit concomitative et per hoc ad
omnes auctoritates, quas pro se inducere possunt, et
eciam ad consuetudinem ecclesie primitive breviter est
respondendum, quod quamvis panis transsubstanciatur
in corpus Cristi et vinum in sangwinem, tamen sub
30 utraque specie est corpus et sangwis et integer Cristus.
Non enim corpus Cristi est sine sangwine et anima nec
sangwis sine corpore et anima, sed species panis est
sacramentum, id est sacrum signum et proprium solius
corporis, et species vini est solius sangwinis
35 sacramentum, sed utrumque sumitur sub utroque, De

consecracione, distincione II^a, *Utrum*. Sic itaque
populus utrumque sumens sub sola specie panis per
consequens non facit contra auctoritates | in oppositum L 36ra
allegandas propter constitutionem ecclesie factam ex
5 certis causis ad multa vitanda pericula, cui eciam est
per omnia obediendum. Qui enim constitutionibus
ecclesie Romane contradicit, hereticus est censendus,
XXIII, questione I^a, *Hec est fides*. Insuper et nunc in
proximo sacro Constanciensis concilio est
10 determinatum, ut omnis, qui populares homines sub
utraque specie sacramenti procurare presumpserit,
tamquam hereticus habeatur. Si qui vero
constitutionibus non obedierint neque ad obediendum et
credendum rationibus, auctoribus et exemplis induci
15 poterint, contra tales est procedendum, ut in capitulo
XII^o superius continetur. Si vero ad unitatem ecclesie
reddire voluerint, per veritatis congnicionem deposito
errore recitatis recipiendi sunt et amplectendi
visceribus caritatis etc.
20 Explicit tractatulus excerptus ex libro fidei edito super
capitulo Firmiter credimus de Summa trinitate contra
errores inpugnancium fidem rectam.

11 presumpserit] presumpserit sacramenti L

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Plates

vii qd no e pias sup fca que oparet
 ei nec quis dicat p' tunc ita facit
 quis arguet cora eo via eius Job
 xxi xxi xli Brege d'antypod vii qd
 Erit tunc edula magna qualis no
 fuit ab inicio mundi qd no neq flet
 aye xxi vii qd Et erunt in gla
 flama p m captivi et ruina dicit
 damal xi xxi Et dicit e ioh fca
 Betu di sancto p vince ioh p fa
 ciet ut quicq ymagine bafaa
 foma bafalam antypm no adon
 uerit. i ei no obedierit occidet. p
 ne quis possit eme bona vitor
 reparet ut suos dei acquirat vel
 veritatem fude aut vede. doce
 p dicitur nisi qui habet dicitur
 i vite p doctus conformitatis antyp
 Apoll vii xxi e illa temptacione
 no p partes sed p totu mundu ex
 mabit fdales vo illa tempe non
 p dicitur qd ta qd exquirat habe
 bit tunc boni h' dicit m dicitur
 p qaymo sup apoll vii qd Et pedes
 eius sicut pedes vti Apoll vii
 pedes antypm fuit p dicitur p mund
 qm fcedit et ficut vresus e al
 mundu coarctans pedus deuotus
 amans mel p dulcia sic illi erit
 imidi p luxuria p coarctabit q
 natu illis acqfctet et dulcia
 tpalia amant h' glo xxi Antyp
 nafcit m Babilonia babilon e roma
 Tpat. Alro xxi Impie age mpy
 neq intelligit omis mpy porro
 docti intelligit deuoti exccat
 p m pftm dicit xxi p n cor xxi
 Et si eia age e eron m h' p
 que pnt e age ut no fuitat
 illudis euangelii glorie cypri q
 e ymago mnsibilis dei xxi flet

Et intellectus h' pphae non est
 introductus bonis p deuotis f' b' ma
 ludis p mpy h' b' ita id p damel
 xxi Talis qui vigilat p custodit
 vestimenta sua ne nudus ambulet
 p videat impetudo eius apoll xxi
 xxi Quidet m m fides cu dicitur q
 m oculis ut m ficiat fuorum
 Insidat qd leo m fpecula sua ca
 pe pmpere di auctu ei p p
 xxi Ita ut m tupo dicit p dicit
 ostendet p fca p fca aduety
 m omi p dicitur m dicit qd qui
 pnt eo qd m dicit vntat no dicit
 n dicit h' p dicit h' m dicit p pnt
 bit qd p pnt mutare leges et tpa
 damal vii xxi Et tunc euclabur
 illa mpy que dicit m ficiat
 f' m dicit h' dicit h' dicit
 aduety fca no fuit no fca p
 m dicit m dicit p bonis opibus
 h' fuit amo fda m p dicit xxi
 arma fuit xpiam h' p dicit dicit
 d'officij ama fuit dicit m dicit
 m dicit p dicit p dicit p dicit
 p dicit p dicit p dicit p dicit
 a fda xpi p dicit h' h' dicit
 p dicit m dicit p dicit p dicit
 doctores no dicit antyp h' p dicit
 b' dicit m fca apoll dicit qm
 Blas p h' con eia

Ita fca adhuc f' m h' dicit
 collon fuit cadacta m h' dicit
 p dicit q d dicit expul
 plimios p dicit qui dicit
 n d' fca qd e n d' fca
 fragis fca dicit oppo
 fca dicit

Plate 1:
 Prague, Cathedral Chapter Library, A 79/5, fol. 261r

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apz Dapham palest con da hus Epli
co apz Samslam et Dapham
con mellestas de apz hus con
da Samslam et hus con da m
doctoz puz de mellest et ltu ex
con de apz Samslam con da ro
pham hus de mo apz Samslam con
hus mellest con qdros fimo qd de
pham palest dectoz apz Dapham
de Epla duplicato apz de mellest con
conclus doctoz fac deca de apz
lophus hus ad azlos doctoz con que
acta sunt in fomo de mellest 1212
ano de puz onga de lator an ordo
pe m puz con pda fimo onga et
de fimo (p a

88

p 10

Remo ad Cler
Joh Ep sup illa Remo p^o ledi

Plate 2:
Old catalogue of the Bohemian Nation College Library with the content of codex P 9
Prague, National Library, VI E f 8

o Sano Augg. d' huc p'gato

[illegible]

Plate 3:
Nicholas of Dresden, sermon on *Nisi manducaveritis*
with the explicit "*per Nicolaum baccalarium decretorum*"
Prague, National Library, V G 19, fol. 251r

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Plate 4:
Peter Payne, *Dicta*
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4550, fol. 278r

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Plate 6:
 Jena codex – Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
 Prague, Library of the National museum, IV B 24, fol. 13r

wieteli co sem vānil nām swr nazwate mie miste
 apanem a dobie diece gsem zagiste Procz myl sem u noli
 wasse miste apan. V wv gedē dūchelo mate noli nra dē
 niet sluka wiet si pma frelio am pos lant wietay gest colio
 lēay; pos tal gest ho. Wieteli tēto wiet. Solahostawone bu
 dece wvmiteli tēto. Zleow sedz was prawm yat wie tēz sem
 wv woli **Janus** dē wv nerodte nazwam brā mista nelo
 gedē gest miste was bry sūw. a wv wssiatm bratzie gste
 Dte nerodte sobie nazwam nazem nelo gedē gest ote was
 tēz wvmiteli tēto wieteli tēz was bry sūw. a wv wssiatm
 wssiatm tēz se pomyssige pomyse bry a tēz se mē pomyssie bry

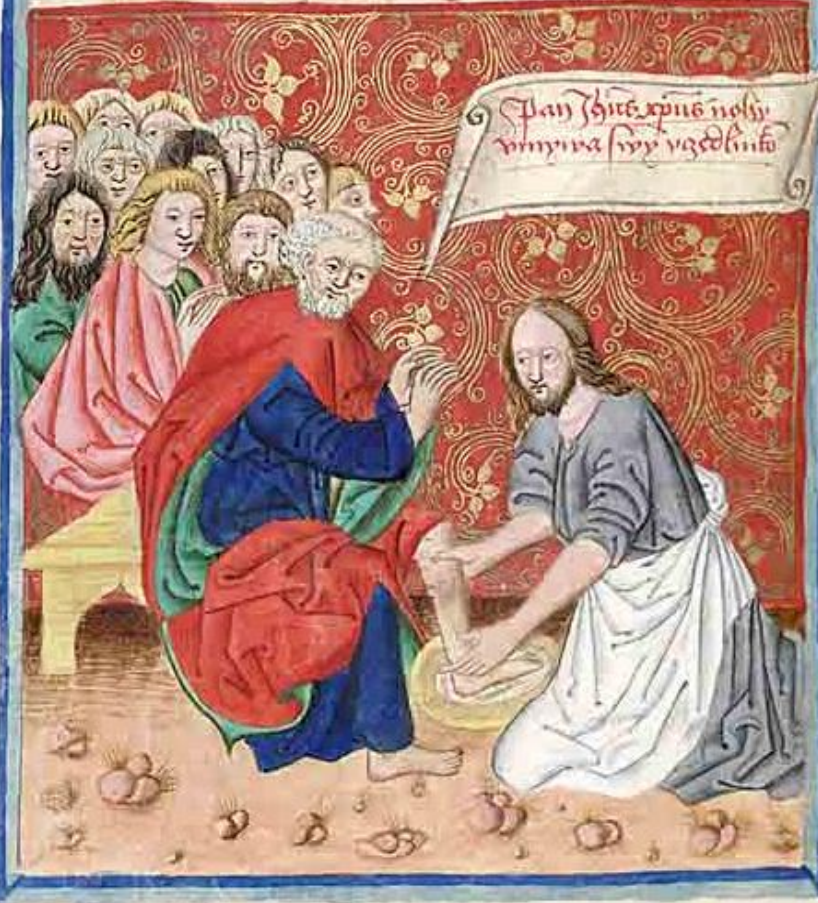


Plate 7:

Jena codex – Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
 Prague, Library of the National museum, IV B 24, fol. 34v



Plate 8:

Jena codex – Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
Prague, Library of the National museum, IV B 24, fol. 35r



Plate 9:
Jena codex – Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
Prague, Library of the National museum, IV B 24, fol. 24v



Plate 10:

Göttingen codex – Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. 182, fol. 30r

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.pe x' q d' de p'ge haimlue c'ton
 Jm 43 vidiq eu 2 no erat app' i eo 2 de p'deani 9 cu de p'p'u
 2 no m'p' 7 v'or v'it d'oloy 2 p'ete inf'mitate 127
 Joh 18 Regu meud no e de h' m'do
 ay 8 f'9 h'or no h' v' cad p'm i d'et
 ay 24 Judunt eu p'ma 2 m'p'o't ei p' coroy
 h'u 12 ho q's me co'st' iudice a d'p're p'm v'ide i m' alio d'
 Joh 6 Jh' d' at cu cogni'ss q' v'et' e't ut facer' cu rege
 fugit i m'de ipe solue
 da d' p'b i d'ga su d'mb 2 no ho
 da d' p'b a 2 p'p'ice d'ue i testatu p'm d'a q'p'da p'at
 q' repleri p'at t're d'mib' m'q'tati ne autu h'u p'at
 co'sis q' p'mp 2 m'op' laudab't no' p'm
 p'e j p'e j'o Sactes q' no coru'p' am'o 2 a'g'o d'ep't
 e'p'e de vana iud' co'p'te p'at'ie d'ic'o'ib' si p'p'o p'ig'
 q' agui m'at'u'lati 2 i m'adati i p'
 Jm 43 Corq'meu dedi p'p'u'e h' 7 q' e'ae n' q'd'ic'o
 ay 4 orate p'p'equ'e h' 2 calup'h' nos
 luce q' n'ep'it an' 9 p'p'o e'p' f'9 h'or n' v'e' a' p' si p'lu'e
 ay 4 no n' v'ed solue h'ge si ad'p'le iota v' 7 a' v' 9 ap'o
 no p'hib't a' h'ge d'o' o' f'at Joh 10 No p't solui p'p'm
 Joh 8 Amcipo f'a'o n' si p'd' docuit me p'r p'e f'a'o
 Joh 4 No p't f'9 a'p'e fac'e q'ca' n' q' v'idet p'ic' p'm
 fac'ete d'ic'o' n' e' f'e'at h' 2 f'9 p't f'at

Plate 13:

Excerpt from Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
 Herrnhut, Unitätsarchiv, AB.II.R.1.16.a, fol. 94v

Plate 14:
Excerpt from Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
Herrnhut, Unitätsarchiv, AB.II.R.1.16.a, fol. 95r

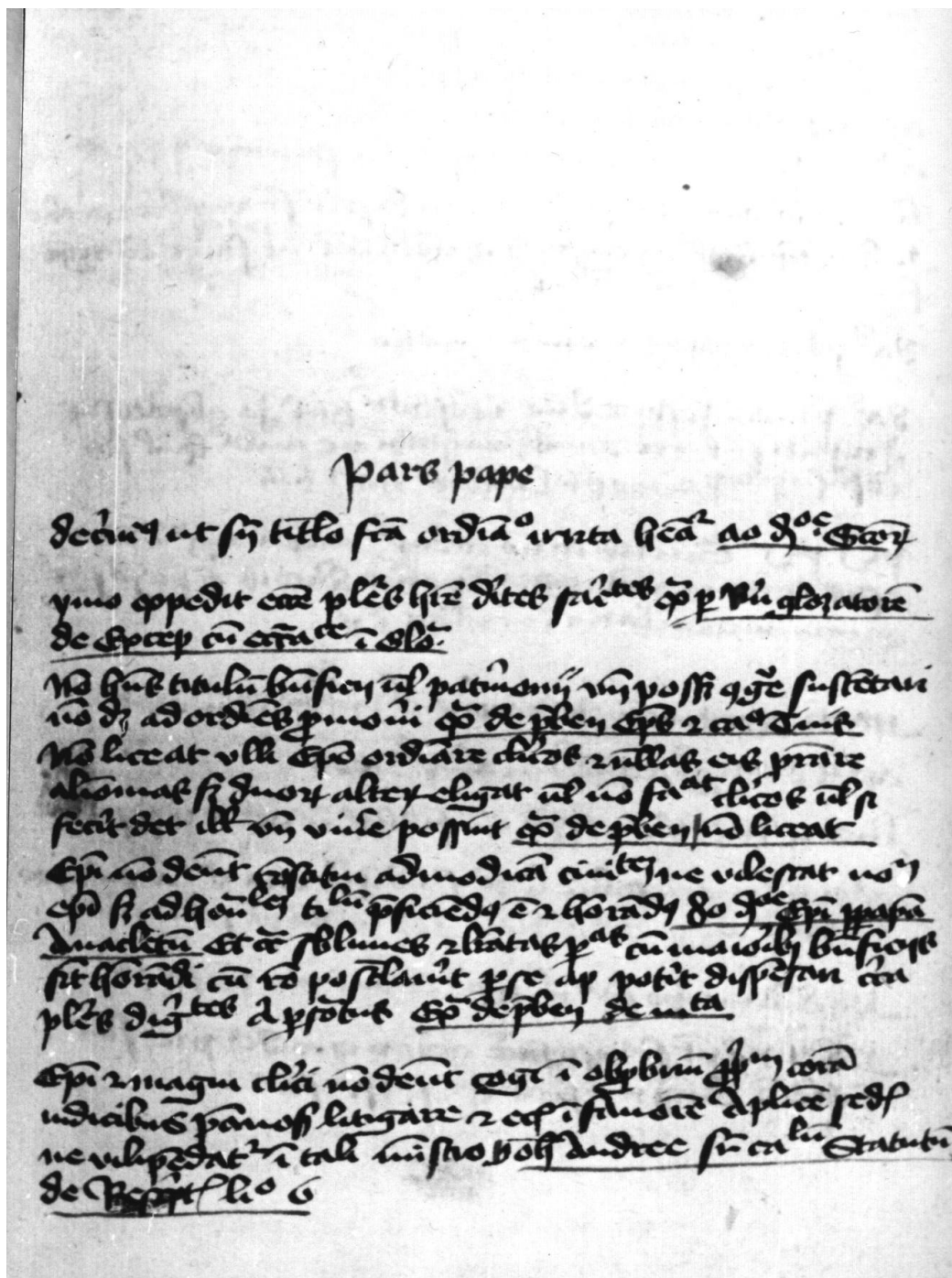


Plate 15:

Excerpt from Nicholas of Dresden's *Tabule veteris et novi coloris*
 Herrnhut, Unitätsarchiv, AB.II.R.1.16.a, fol. 94r

June 20 b

[illegible]

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Articuli hereticoꝝ & videri vult phisicis
 Primo confiteor qd qd fessu su aude qd sacerdos posset
 me in absolutione apu
 Et pnia assumpsi & ora q madamit feci que tunc tenebar
 et no fin ligacy
 Et comunioz eucharistie recepi tunc sub spe panis q no
 fuit totalis
 Et no comuniam oi die fessu actu gingale obmisi
 Et offertoria dedi & alias oblationes q madamit in
 sacerdotes pnia
 Et pssimi deias omi cascos & ex hys plbu
 vixit laudis & expedit p qndomis
 Et visitam missas qndomis & sacros eos ecclesiales
 Et professio dedi halley m^m vel gross
 Et flexi genua cora deo demadato qfessor & credo
 qiq p m
 Et semiam pnia aude p h^m diminni peni p gator
 Et exorani p defunct. qd tunc no est op^m valet aliq
 nisi quisq p se po faciat
 Et mitui pampes & pssibros p car^m meis & p i ebri
 at ficiat
 Et iextimis ifmitatibz nisi pssibros ut me i vngit
 & abilla vntate dedi vnu grossu
 Et dedi candelas & vnu grossu ut pssibit noiet noia
 meoꝝ predecessoꝝ
 Et credidi ee p m gatorum q tunc no est nisi hic
 bon fare p morte nullq p me faciat
 Ite dedi de copula vnu nl dnos gross qd tunc no fuit
 niam quia est votum

Plate 17:

Confessio heretica et falsa

Prague, National Library, XII F 30, fol. 40v

Capitulu vna pmi contra illos q qui pnt in audibis mup nate
 sacramento eukarie dicit esse pnuandus
 Capitulu vna pmi pmi con illos qui dicit m m luyadez sub
 utrag ppe de esse conuicandum et
 Item tractatus pmi eusq doctor conmet quas obuato nec
 hanc oritur hanc eue i fidei oportas a plures carud et
 ppealiter conputuas tabularp domo ppealio de hanc
 Et cont qtu i honestate vestiu plura et con qruetu sa
 cerdotu in eua dei mstratu Et alia msta psta vilia pnt
 clare patent in legendo et teti it it ac

Hec sunt collecta et excerpta ex prima vnduti pblatis
 mar filie sup capitulo firmiter dnm de pua tmitate
 et fide catholica additu pauas alijs con dmsos erues
 pntes et futuos mptignatu fide catholica eue ste romae
 qui claudus mstris pmetis eue mptignatu pnt pntibit
 cont dicit et qualiter eis auctoritibz romibz et excerptis sit
 obviandu et
 In pmo capitu cont met q vna e fides eue romae ex quam
 nemo saluat in alia quauq fide q illius eue in qua sola
 psta fides mactetur it Sequitur in forma

Vna e fides vniuersalis eua q vult in vmtate fidei et
 m euditate articuloz ac sacramento Et in vna conformite
 signoz pme lu vniuers fidei p rudo p m qst
 pma h est fides huc vniuersalis eua radus e fides roma i
 iustis ex fide vult pnt arbor p radice huc e em fundamtu
 edis p pntis p eoz tas affudamtu aliud nemo pnt pnt
 pnt it qd pntu est quod e pntis huc e fides huc pnti pnt
 q pma cogio eue ex fide e pntis em pmo cogitatur et
 distiguitur ab eua maligna ncu Gall ro cogitate q ex fide
 pnt huc pnt dei pnt qd pntis pntis de fide pntis eua co
 pnt huc pnt pntis e fides e pntis pntis pntis pntis pntis

CEU eTD Collection

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breuit. vidend. Quid pmo pa
 nis transmut. in corpus xpi
 et vniu. in sanguine tunc so
 utiq. spe est corpus et sanguis
 et integer xpus. Nō enī cor
 pus xpi ē sine sanguine et
 aīa nō sanguis sine corpore et
 aīa. Sed spes panis ē sacme
 tu. i. sacm. signū et pūd po
 lūe corpōis. Et spes vniu.
 ē solūe sanguis sacm. Et
 vtrūq. sūt subiecta. De
 cō. 2. 4. dicit. Sic ita pmo
 vtrūq. sumens subiecta spe pa
 nis p. conspiciet nō facit cont
 radictiones in oppositu allega
 das ppter consuetud. ecclie fac
 tam ex causis rectis ad multa
 vitanda pda. Qui ecclia est
 obediendū p omnia. Qui enī
 consuetudin. tunc ecclie cont
 rariū hēbit est censendus p
 xpi. q. 1. Hec est fides. Insup
 et in pmo nūc sacro. Con
 stan. Concilio determinat. ē ut
 omnes qui p. tales homines sub
 vtrāq. spe panis psumunt
 tamq. hēbent hēbent. Si q
 vō ecclie consuetudin. nō obedi
 unt. neq. ad obediendū h. acce
 dunt. Antiquitatibus tōmbus
 et exemplis nōna potuerūt
 cont. tales procedend. et put
 in xpi. ca. 6. huius tractatuli sup. p
 continet. Si vō ad unitatem
 ecclie redire voluerūt p. veniūt.

cognat. de p. creatur. eride
 recipiendi sunt. et amplectendi
 in visceribus caritatis.

Explicit tractatulus p. p. p.
 ex libro fidei dīto super ca.
 f. firmiter credi. De S. m.
 trinitate et fide catholica.
 Cont. errores impugnat.
 in fidei rectam.

Incipit responsiones ad obier
 ciones et putinas. Ques.

Extractuli prescripti ma
 teria tamq. ex quodam
 fundamento posito facili. scilicet
 p. obiectones et argumeta
 vnde p. p. et h. p. p.
 quibus sancta catholica ro
 na ecclie sacros canones sac
 menta. dātes. m. p. p. bona
 ecclie beneficia p. p. v. p. p.
 la. p. p. p. et omnia que ad
 eccliam p. p. multiplicat
 impugnat. nō cessant. Car
 tantes in omnibus scripturis
 vetis et noui testamenti nūc
 ceteri canonib. et nom. p. p.
 vbiq. contrarietates et p. p.
 nādas statu. tunc ecclie potuit
 m. m. m. Allegantes Ca
 nones cont. canones. Nec au
 rant p. p. n. d. p. et
 p. p. p. d. p. p. et m. p.
 concordie contraria. Et in v
 parte contradictionis p. p. p.

Nicholas of Dresden, *Sermo 1416*
Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Georg HS 50, fol. 25v