

PART I

On the Eve of the Reformation

ONE

Dissent and Heresy

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“There was hardly a period in the second millennium of ecclesiastical history which accepted with less resistance the Catholic Church’s absolutist claims in matters of dogma” (Moeller, “Religious Life,” p. 15). Moeller’s verdict, however applicable to Germany, does not apply equally to the rest of Europe. Dissent there certainly was: however, it was generally localized, diverse, and uncoordinated. Few would now argue that the Reformation followed upon a crescendo of rising protest against the spiritual and dogmatic claims of the Catholic Church. Many of the strongest movements of medieval religious protest had died down considerably from their previous intensity; the Cathars, in western Europe at least, had died out (Lambert, *Cathars*, pp. 291–6; Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 172–3). One might even ask whether, in most of Europe, the remaining flickering embers of dissent represented the barest residual level of discontent and disobedience, which no system of religious harmonization or repression could be expected to stamp out entirely. Nevertheless, the perennial question of “medieval heresy and the Reformation” cannot be answered so simply. In various parts of Europe medieval dissent and early modern Protestantism overlapped, met, conversed, and mingled with each other. These encounters repay study and comparison.

Many, though not all, movements of religious dissent originated with an intellectual founder or “heresiarch,” who possessed both the learning and the confidence to raise his voice in protest against the received pieties, and inspired the less articulate to follow in his footsteps. Any such potential leader from the theological elite would, however, normally expect to face the challenge of “heresy” long before breaking out, or being forced out, from the academic citadel. The accusation of “heresy” at times meant nothing more than a particularly aggressive ploy in the game of theological disputation. Few academic theologians, in the half-century or so before the Reformation crisis, were willing to air their disputes in public. Wessel Gansfort questioned some conventional wisdom in pastoral theology and on indulgences, but in a paradoxical and profoundly inaccessible scholasticism (Oberman, *Forerunners*, pp. 93–120; Cameron, *European Reformation*, p. 86). Johann Rucherat of Wesel challenged the persistently inflated claims made for indulgences, and was hauled back

into line in 1479 (Ritter, "Romantic and Revolutionary Elements," p. 27; Oberman, *Harvest*, pp. 403ff.). Konrad Summenhart even dared argue that withholding tithes might not after all be a mortal sin: but did so discreetly and in Latin (Oberman, *Masters*, pp. 115–24). By the later fifteenth century, the theological elite seemed sure that academic explanations of theological points ought not to be aired in front of a lay public, let alone any disagreements over them. "In the affairs of the faith, skilled spiritual men are said to understand: the rest of the people only simply to believe," wrote Thomas Netter of Walden, with the damaging effects of the Lollard heresy at the forefront of his mind (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 234; cf. Cameron, *European Reformation*, pp. 83, 450 n. 23).

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, it had briefly seemed possible for the debates of philosophers and theologians to strike fire among a broader community. In Oxford and Prague, a revival of realist Aristotelianism brought renewed certainty that "universals" were real entities rather than semantic abstractions. If there were, as Hus had reportedly argued, a universal donkey, then there was also a universal church, whose attributes could be discussed and compared against those of the real, visible church (Betts, *Essays*, pp. 29–62, 86–106, 132–59, 176–235; Oberman, *Forerunners*, pp. 208–37; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 232). In this scenario, *via antiqua* realism became the ideology of challenge and protest, *via moderna* terminism or "nominalism" the underpinning for fideism and acquiescence in the status quo. However, after ca. 1450, if not before, the distinctions within scholastic theology proved far too subtle for such subversive potentialities to be realized. A new form of neo-Thomism grew up, exemplified by Johannes Capreolus (ca. 1380–1444) and represented in Luther's era by such pillars of orthodoxy as Tommaso di Vio Caietanus and Jakob van Hochstraten. Neo-Thomists habitually argued that divine power inhered in the traditional rites of the church, whereas nominalists regarded the link between the divine plan and its earthly manifestations as a matter of convention or *pactum* (Oberman, *Harvest*, *passim*). While theological disagreement and dissent might in theory have spilled over into the squares and marketplaces, such disagreement was so confused by cross-currents, interconnections, and jargon that it remained, for practical purposes, confined to the academy.

So, across western Europe, and even to some extent within Bohemia, dissent tended to become intellectually proletarianized. This process makes the sources for popular heresy problematic. Late medieval heresy and dissent offer different facets, which are not always easy to relate to each other. Judicial records reveal the evidence of heresy needed to secure conviction, usually in the form of epigraphic statements admitted by the accused, which may be internally inconsistent and lack explanation of their underlying beliefs. Because interrogators looked for a "complete" confession, these statements can sometimes homogenize and exaggerate the nature of heretical dissent. The behavior and conduct of heretics, as important to the historian as their alleged beliefs, may have to be deduced from fragmentary references. On the other hand, literary remains also survive for popular Lollardy and popular Waldensianism. Sermons, pastoral tracts, catechetical materials bear witness to a stern moralistic piety, whose roots were as often from within the shared medieval culture as from within authentic dissent. Though reasoned argument and continuous discourse are present, it is not clear who owned such manuscripts on the eve of the Reformation, how they read them, and what they made of them.

The Geography and Taxonomy of Heresy in Europe

The oldest surviving heretical movement in Europe on the eve of the Reformation was that which churchmen called by the name “Waldensian.” In the writings of medieval theologians, and of most historians since, this movement was traced back to the spontaneous movement of self-abnegation, voluntary poverty, and vernacular preaching initiated and led by Valdesius of Lyon in the 1170s. In its origins it was nothing more than an obstinate insistence that its members preach in public, whether the hierarchy approved or not. It became gradually transmuted, as organized inquisition took shape ca. 1230–50, into a variety of wide-ranging anticlerical and antisacerdotal protest movements, led by itinerant, celibate pastors or “brethren” and conserved amongst sedentary lay followers or “friends.” Other dissenting strands, especially in Lombardy, surely cross-fertilized and reshaped the movement; but the relative silence of the sources makes any clear narrative impossible.

From ca. 1260–1300 onwards Waldensian dissent was persistently and continuously entrenched in specific areas. In some of its earliest milieux, in Quercy and the west-central Pyrenean regions of present-day France, it was wiped out by the middle of the fourteenth century. However, a successor movement rooted itself in the southwestern Alps and became immovably fixed on both sides of the mountain passes. The Waldenses of Piedmont-Savoy and the Dauphiné emerge into the light of the historical record shortly before 1300, their origins unclear. From their tenacious and successful defense of their mountain valleys, it is most likely that they were native peoples of the region, and that the idea of dissent was brought to them from outside. Although locally based inquisitors and bishops made the Waldenses their business from the 1330s at the latest, the difficult terrain and the fierce self-defense of these communities frustrated ecclesiastical justice over and over again. A coalition of ecclesiastical and secular officials finally obtained a crusade bull from Pope Innocent VIII and attacked the Waldensian lay followers of the Dauphiné with armed force over the winter of 1487–8. A total of 160 people were killed; perhaps ten times that number were dragged through the humiliation of ritual penance. Yet even this did not subdue them. They made full (and surprising) use of all legal means to seek redress: after a 20-year legal process they obtained from a special ad hoc royal-cum-papal tribunal at Paris the cancellation of the acts of the inquisition and the crusade made against them (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 11–95, 151–200). Meanwhile it appears that their Piedmontese cousins were not even attacked.

The Alpine Waldenses established links with similar groups further north in France, around Valence, and sent out colonies of Franco-Provençal speakers into parts of Apulia inland west of Manfredonia, and part of Calabria just inland from the port of Paola. A particularly large and important wave of migrations established Waldensian communities in the Luberon, east of Avignon in Provence, in the fifteenth century. Another important early heartland of Waldensian protest was in central northern Italy, in Lombardy, and possibly some regions further south. However, these groups vanished into all but impenetrable obscurity well before the end of the Middle Ages (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 200–6). In the Marche d’Ancona and Spoleto they may have met or interacted, in the second half of the fifteenth century, with the fugitive remnants of the Fraticelli “of the opinion.” These were vehemently antisacerdotal, though hostile ecclesiastical reporting makes ascertaining their precise beliefs and

practices very difficult (Douie, *Nature and Effect*, pp. 243–5; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 42–54).

It is fairly certain that the Lombard Waldenses promoted the spread of their heresy northwards into what is now Austria and eastern Germany in the early thirteenth century. Waldensian heretics were settled in many small communities along parts of the Danube valley no later than the 1260s and remained at least until ca. 1400; their evangelizers carried the message northwards into the German communities of southern and central Bohemia, and into the Brandenburg Mark along the River Oder. Despite many defections of their leaders in the 1360s and 1390s, and the attentions of some exceptionally dedicated, effective (and surprisingly merciful) inquisitors, a small remnant of dissenters were still receiving ministrations from heretic pastors of some sort in the second half of the fifteenth century. Meanwhile, in a somewhat different fashion, growths of Waldensian protest had appeared around 1400 in several southern German towns and cities, notably Mainz, Augsburg, and Strasbourg, also Bern and Freiburg im Uechtland (Fribourg) in the Swiss Confederation (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 96–150 and refs.). Even this geographical diversity may underrepresent the Waldensian presence: reports compiled of some heretics in Hungary and Bosnia in the middle fifteenth century listed “errors” in many respects similar to those of classic Waldensianism, though some importations from late Hussite rhetoric ensure that these groups defy classification.

England remained untouched by Waldensianism properly so called. However, by the end of the Middle Ages the indigenous heretical movement, the Lollard heresy, had established itself as a vehicle for lay anticlerical and antisacerdotal protest, almost a parallel evolution to Waldensianism. Lollardy arose from an intellectual protest against prevailing theological trends. The Oxford arch-realist John Wyclif (d. 1384) united a firm belief in the reality of universals with a strict predestinarianism and a conviction that only those who were in a state of grace could validly bear dominion and exercise ministry in the church. Applied in the real world, these beliefs led some academic followers of Wyclif to inspire others to bypass the hierarchy through a ministry of traveling “poor preachers.” These men, canonically ordained Catholic priests, took the vernacular Scriptures to laypeople and disseminated a morally earnest Gospel, which (if realized in practice) would radically have simplified the ritual and cultic life of late medieval Christianity. They produced a large vernacular literature of sermons and scriptural exegesis, some of it written in massive tomes more appropriate to settled ministry in a church pulpit than to clandestine teaching in private houses (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 225–69; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 60–173; Hudson and Gradon, *English Wycliffite Sermons*; Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*). Sporadic ecclesiastical persecution, the failure of some ill-conceived efforts at political revolt in 1414 and 1431, and the progressive defection of their learned leadership caused Lollardy to dwindle into a movement based on informal gatherings in private houses for reading and discussion by the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Any real threat to the structural institutions of the English Church was by then long past.

After a “dip” in the quantity of documentary evidence for Lollard heresy in the middle fifteenth century, trial records reappear in large quantities from ca. 1480 to ca. 1520, and in many of the same areas as before, especially Kent, London, the Thames Valley and Chilterns, and around Coventry and Bristol. Despite such

geographical and possibly personal continuity, the Lollardy found in England ca. 1500 was different from that seen during the heroic decades of the early 1400s. The traveling ministry of ordained priests ceased: no new ministers were ordained to replace those who died off in the 1440s. In its place less-well-educated lay evangelizers carried around contraband English books and maintained contact between the conventicles of (mostly) small-town artisans where Lollard beliefs persisted. Secondly, no new devotional, educational, or homiletic works can definitely be proved to have been written within this later period (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 269–83; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 446–507; Thomson, *Later Lollards*). The sermons and Bible translations were still circulated; some Lollard tracts would even find their way into print in the sixteenth century. However, it is not known who owned the quite numerous still-surviving manuscripts nor what use they made of them. Paradoxically, for a movement grown from the work of an inaccessible academic, Lollardy's intellectual proletarianization does not seem to have led to inevitable atrophy. The clearer, cruder, antisacerdotal protests of the later period may even have been easier for lay hearers to comprehend.

The great Czech movement of dissent, the Hussite heresy, was beyond question the most formidable challenge to the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the later Middle Ages. Alone of the movements to be discussed in this chapter, it succeeded in supplanting the priesthood and the worship of the Catholic Church, over a large part of Bohemia. It alone included a recognizable functioning “priesthood,” which offered something resembling a complete religious service to its adherents. However, here as elsewhere, an earlier heroic phase had been followed by decades of mutual acrimony, compromises, and schisms. The picture of Hussitism on the eve of the Reformation is therefore complex.

The Hussite movement had arisen out of a fortuitous confluence of three spiritual strands. From the late fourteenth century a succession of vigorous, accessible preachers at Prague had inveighed against sin, especially the sins committed by the most materialistic and corrupt of the clergy. Secondly, Czech academics had striven to restore the prestige of the Czech “nation” within the Charles University in Prague against the institutionalized preponderance of ethnic Germans. Thirdly, Wyclif's philosophical ultra-realism was imported both as an intellectual counterweight to German nominalism and as underpinning for a sharp denunciation of moral abuses in the church. As reforming preacher, philosophical realist, and Czech nationalist, the theologian Jan Hus combined all three strands. However, Jan Hus was not Wyclif, and Hussitism was not Lollardy. In his theological writings Hus did not teach a neo-Donatist rejection of the sacramental ministry of sinful priests as Wyclif did. Hus became a martyr, and an inspiration to a range of diverse religious movements, because his cause was entangled in the complex and shifting ecclesiastical politics at the end of the Great Schism. The king of Bohemia, Václav IV, first encouraged the Czech reformists at the university to secure its adherence to the Pisan papacy, then abandoned their cause when the fathers of the Council of Constance made their hostility to Hus clear. Hus was burned, by the cruelest of ironies, because he refused to recant errors which (he claimed) he never held in the first place and were not present in his writings: he was therefore, in canon law, an obstinate and unrepentant heretic (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 284–316; Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 1–88; Kaminsky, *Hussite Revolution*, pp. 7–23, 97–140).

The Hussite movement was led, in spirit, by a “heresiarch” who was no longer there to direct its course, and who almost certainly would have disapproved of many of the forms which it took. At the risk of oversimplification, one can identify four strands to mid-fifteenth-century Hussitism. Most conservative and hieratic were elements within the Czech priestly and academic elite who insisted, on the inspiration of Hus’s colleague Jakoubek of Stribro, on giving lay communicants the chalice of consecrated wine in the Eucharist: laypeople had traditionally been refused the chalice in western Catholic practice in the Middle Ages. These “Utraquists” (who gave communion *sub utraque specie*, in both kinds) rapidly formed a separate allegiance within the Czech clergy, supported by a regional nobility outraged by the slur on their nation caused by Hus’s condemnation and burning. In most other respects, socially and liturgically, the Utraquists were conservatives. A second strand was represented by the radical urban protest which flared up among the lesser guildsmen and artisans of Prague at the preaching of the former Premonstratensian canon Jan Želivský: by force of pulpit oratory and popular insurrection he exerted decisive influence in Prague until a coup led to his overthrow and execution in 1422 (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 316–26; Kaminsky, *Hussite Revolution*, pp. 141–264, 434–94; Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 90ff.).

The third strand, on which Želivský depended but which outlived him, was the radical, millenarian reformism of the so-called “Taborites.” To the alarm of the university masters and the aristocracy, these fervent apocalyptic believers gathered together at five towns designated as gathering-places of the elect, and set up a new order, social as well as religious. Under Jan Žižka (d. 1424) they became an astonishingly effective fighting force: their victories undoubtedly saved the entire Hussite enterprise against repeated Catholic crusades during the 1420s. In their liturgical life they practiced the utmost simplicity, in contrast to the relative conservatism of the Utraquists (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 323–4, 328–32; Heymann, *Žižka*; Kaminsky, *Hussite Revolution*, pp. 310–433; Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 95–107, 140–1). In their so-called “little bishop” Mikuláš of Pelhrimov they possessed a theologian who articulated their founding documents and gave them some continuity. Ultimately, the Utraquists came to find the church-in-arms of the Taborites an encumbrance as they negotiated with the fathers of the Council of Basel. A coalition of moderate Utraquists and their allies defeated the Taborites in battle at Lipany (May 30, 1434) and outflanked them in negotiation, shaping an agreement with the Council of Basel known as the *Compactata*. This document gave some quasi-legal status to the Utraquist Church within the Roman communion, though problems over the ordination of priests and the apostolic succession dogged it for decades. Taboritism persisted in its hilltop fortress of the Hradište (renamed Tábor) until it surrendered to the Hussite King of Bohemia George of Podebrady in 1452. The Utraquists, meanwhile, consolidated their position in the Kutná Hora agreement of 1485, which was made permanent in 1512 (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 344–8, 356–8; Williams, *Radical Reformation*, pp. 317–20; Odložilik, *Hussite King*; Heymann, *George of Bohemia*).

Although Taboritism was a spent force by the Reformation, it influenced the fourth strand of Hussite dissent, the politically pacifist but theologically radical “Unity of Brethren.” Petr Chelčický (ca. 1380–ca. 1467), formerly called Peter of Zahorka, became disillusioned with the Taborites because of their dependence on

violence and political force to spread the word. By a dialectical process rather like that seen later in Anabaptism, Chelčický turned away from the idea of political conquest in a religious cause to the opposite extreme: he advocated complete renunciation of political office and political structures, and rejected not only warfare but all use of the sword to kill, even in justice. Around 1458 Gregory Krajcí, nephew of the Hussite Archbishop-elect of Prague Jan Rokycana, founded a community at Kunvald to live by Chelčický's teachings. This grew into the "Unity of Brethren," which consisted after 1467 of a separate, self-sustaining priesthood and a lay fellowship to which it ministered. Its first ordinands received a form of ordination from a follower of the Hussite-Waldensian German missionary Friedrich Reiser, who had been executed in 1458 (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 352–6; Williams, *Radical Reformation*, pp. 320–32; Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 149–50). The Unity became the theological repository of Taborite ideas, shorn of their militant features. Though gradual attenuation of some of its doctrines regarding participation in secular society caused a schism in the 1490s, it survived into the sixteenth century and grew in influence. Its leading theologian on the eve of the Reformation, Lukas of Prague (ca. 1458–1528), wrote works of real stature in the radical Hussite tradition.

The Hussite Church was exclusively a Czech-speaking phenomenon based in parts of Bohemia and Moravia. However, Friedrich Reiser (d. 1458) received some form of ordination from Mikuláš of Pelhrimov in 1431 and led missionary expeditions into Germany in the 1430s and 1450s until his capture and execution. His followers espoused more of traditional clandestine popular heresy, and less of the church-building ambition of the Hussites. In northeastern Germany they approached the same villages as the Waldensian pastors of a century or so before. Though it would be rash to make any claims about either their survival or disappearance, they caused little serious concern to the church and were barely known to the reformers, if at all.

Living Heresy

To the inquisitor and ecclesiastical judge, dissent consisted essentially in a set of affirmations – or perhaps merely reluctant admissions – that the accused person had rejected some element of the church's agreed teachings. To the historian, it is just as vital to see how the heretics lived. Too much concentration on doctrinal statements can mask vital differences between the Reformation and its antecedents, and thus betray the essential quality of the reformers' achievements.

The remainder of this discussion will follow thematic lines rather than examining each heretical movement in turn. The purpose of this approach is simply to avoid repetition. Many of the popular dissenting movements of the late Middle Ages turned against the same traits of a hierarchical, wealthy, ritualized church and its worship: one might even argue that the very nature of such a church provoked such repeated reactions. The dissenters' behavior followed similar lines, because sheer necessity and the behavior of officialdom dictated that certain survival strategies be followed. Similarities in conduct and attitudes can be discerned between movements which we know to be historically quite unrelated, such as Waldensianism and Lollardy. Given that such similarities exist between unrelated movements, historians must be wary of assuming that any two heretic groups who exhibit similarity of "official" ecclesiasti-

cal nomenclature, and similarity of behavior, were in very truth sprung from a common source or inspired by a shared founder.

Before the Reformation, unless there was some alternative religious establishment set up (as in Bohemia), “heretics” normally attended the services of the Catholic Church in their parishes. In the primitive years of English Lollardy, it was possible in some regions to hear a Lollard priest preaching within the parish church itself. However, after ca. 1450 one could only attend a Catholic church service. Church attendance may have served chiefly to allay the suspicions of the majority. Some Lollards apparently claimed sickness to excuse those occasions when they did not attend. Occasional comments from witnesses, for instance that Lollards looked to heaven rather than at the host when it was elevated, confirm that they attended mass; others confessed to breaking fasts before attending services (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 149–51; Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 68–9, 264–5). The evidence from across continental Europe suggests the same for late Waldensianism. Waldenses attended services in their churches; sometimes they even made pilgrimages or required masses to be said for their relatives. Their behavior while in church, in respect of the use of holy water, or adoration of the host, might be in some respect abnormal: but they still turned up for regular worship. Likewise, such popular heretics, by the general consent of the sources, usually made their annual confession of sins and received communion at Easter. Masters and followers, wrote the late fourteenth-century inquisitor Peter Zwicker, received baptism and the Eucharist from the Catholic clergy (Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp. 84–7, 92–5, 100–1; *Waldenses*, pp. 123, 132–7). Even in the early years of the Reformation, when to admit to participation in Catholic rites was a great embarrassment, a Waldensian pastor or *barbe* like Georges Morel could admit to Johannes Oecolampadius, with unconscious paradox, that the sacraments were given to the people not by the *barbes* but by the “members of Antichrist.” The reformers would express grave misgivings at this self-contamination by participation in idolatrous worship (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 213, 237–8; Vinay, *Confessioni di fede*, pp. 42–3, 52–4, 84).

However, minimal conformity to the rites and cults of the late Middle Ages was itself a statement of sorts. A close economic and legal survey of the Waldensian communities of the Luberon, in Provence, has shown that they, like others, endowed obit masses for their deceased relatives and bequeathed money for masses for themselves, but did so on a less flamboyant scale than their neighbors. They kept to ancient, more restrained post-mortem devotions, while their Catholic neighbors willingly paid up for the great inflation of those devotions popular at the time (Audisio, *Vaudois du Luberon*, pp. 202–24, 264–74). It would be fascinating to discover how far Waldensian followers absented themselves from patronal celebrations, Corpus Christi processions, or other manifestations of late medieval voluntary religion. In theory they disapproved of them all. All the movements studied in this chapter held that some, most, or all of the Catholic priesthood were contaminated by sin: above all by their abandonment of apostolic poverty, their acceptance of worldly authority, their simoniacal and materialistic practices. To receive the sacraments from such priests ought to have troubled consciences. Heretics might have tried to seek out those priests who were better or less sinful than most (as the Patarenes of Milan allegedly did in the late eleventh century). However, there is no sign that late medieval heretics appraised the priesthood in this way. Some priests made approving noises about a

group of Waldenses, while another spoke of the same people with exasperation and enmity: but one cannot deduce how far such diverse sentiments responded to religiously motivated hostility shown by the heretics (Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 76).

Outside the universities, heresy was a communal activity: like-minded groups came together for mutual instruction, support, and discipline. Outside Bohemia, such behavior was necessarily somewhat clandestine. Heretical gatherings took place typically in private homes, in the evenings or at night. Waldenses in the Alpine valleys would sometimes meet further up the valleys; those who lived in the German towns of fourteenth-century Bohemia sometimes constructed hidden rooms or cellars where they could gather undetected (Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 89; *Waldenses*, p. 114). Many Lollards were literate in the vernacular (though not usually in Latin) and could therefore read to each other from their Biblical translations and books of sermons and tracts. Later Lollardy, it would appear, was a cooperative exercise (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 180–200). Waldenses were, in contrast, generally less literate. They had, however, an itinerant, celibate elite of pastors or *barbes*, who could read the books that they carried with them, and also knew parts of Scripture by heart. These pastors preached to the assembled gatherings as well as advising individuals in private (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 216–26).

Waldensian *barbes*, with their greater reputation for austerity and holiness than the Catholic priesthood, were expected to hear the confessions of their followers and assign penances to them. Whereas Lollards and Hussites appear to have regarded the paraphernalia of canonical absolution as a needless concentration of spiritual power into earthly hands, Waldenses had, from the middle thirteenth century onwards, seen auricular confession as a rite to imitate. Neither the sins confessed nor the penances assigned were distinctive or unusual; penitents were told to fast on simple food, to learn and repeat the standard prayers of the church (Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp. 90–2; *Waldenses*, pp. 72, 83, 115, 128, 130, 158, 185, 187–8). Confession was the only sacrament that the Waldensian pastorate claimed to dispense: *barbes* neither baptized nor consecrated. Popular heretics were consistently reluctant to “usurp” the ritual acts of the priesthood in any other respect. When a handful of German Waldenses performed a form of Eucharist, others vehemently criticized them (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 128–9 and nn. 162–3). In Lollardy, there were occasional rumors of individual laypeople consecrating a form of irregular Eucharist, but they were so rare as to arouse special comment (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 151). Mainstream Utraquist Hussites, who had ordained priests to dispense the sacraments, were very sensitive about ensuring apostolic succession and due ordination. As a result, great backlogs of ordinands built up when canonically ordained bishops were not available. Emergency measures, for instance the importation of an Italian bishop in 1482, relieved the pressure (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 356–7). Even the more radical Unity of Brethren sought legitimation of its priesthood from outside, through its links with Friedrich Reiser’s spiritual heirs. From the perspective of the sixteenth century, the issue of whether medieval heretics “rebaptized” followers when they converted from Catholicism to dissent would become highly sensitive. In 1530 Martin Bucer warned the Provençal Waldenses in copious and unnecessary detail against the evils of rebaptizing (Vinay, *Confessioni di fede*, pp. 86–102). The only later medieval heretics who appear to have rebaptized those who joined them from the ranks of

Catholicism were some of the Unity of Brethren; and they gradually abandoned the practice in the early sixteenth century (Cameron, *Waldenses*, p. 239; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 385).

Though rebaptism was a red herring, it raises the important issue of how dissenting groups perceived themselves as social entities. Most late medieval heretics evinced some unease at participation in the messy and bloody business of everyday politics and government. Both Lollards and Waldenses at various times objected to killing people in judicial execution or otherwise, an objection which (if taken consistently) would have precluded wielding the office of magistrate. Lollards also objected to the idea of “just war” and denounced crusading (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 367–70; Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 34, 46, 52, 85, 103, 234). Similar objections were attributed to Nicholas of Dresden, the German radical who briefly associated himself with the Prague Hussites in the 1410s. Most pacifist of all the Hussites, of course, was Petr Chelčický. The Unity of Brethren, however, demonstrate how a radical rejection of killing could pose intractable problems. The first members of the Unity were expected by their founding fathers to renounce all attributes of worldly power entirely; yet as the movement grew toward the end of the fifteenth century, and attracted more well-born adherents, it proved necessary to attenuate the primitive founders’ ideals. The “major Unity” from the 1490s onwards dispensed with these strict prohibitions, and their theologian Lukas of Prague justified their doing so (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 352, 355; Brock, *Political and Social Doctrines*). Of course, heretics from isolated rural communities, who had little prospect of wielding high justice, lost little by repudiating it. In reality Waldensian villages, whether in the northeast German Uckermark or the southwestern Alps, did supply members of their number to serve as magistrates. In the Alps (though not in Germany) they were also ready to use lethal force to defend themselves, as the sixteenth-century reformers would discover to their chagrin (Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp. 17–20, 163, 193; *Waldenses*, pp. 141, 196, 276–8).

The swearing of oaths poses further problems of apparent inconsistency in the heretics’ behavior. Christ told his followers “not to swear at all,” although that prohibition had been attenuated and glossed in the church for many centuries (Matthew 5: 33–7). To refuse to swear an oath to tell the truth under interrogation, or to withhold an oath of fealty or allegiance, was to cast oneself into virtual outlawry among other Christians. Yet allegations were persistently made against Lollards and Waldenses, as well as against some radical Hussites, that they would not take even a legal oath. Many heretics, under interrogation, said that to ask for the swearing of an oath, or to swear one, was a sin. Sometimes, especially in early fourteenth-century French and German Waldensianism, followers stubbornly (and potentially suicidally) refused to swear when urged to do so before ecclesiastical judges (Limborch, *Liber Sententiarum*, pp. 289–91; Cameron, *Waldenses*, p. 116). However, even as early as the thirteenth century, Waldenses allegedly found ways to wriggle out of the prohibition, or to justify minimal cooperation with the judicial oath; a similarly equivocal or balanced approach is found among some Lollards (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 105–7 and refs.; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 371–4). By the late fifteenth century, the Waldenses of Provence, beyond question, swore oaths to make contracts and verify legal documents. Their Alpine cousins even took oaths from each other to preserve the secrecy of the movement (Audisio, *Vaudois du Luberon*, pp. 205–8;

Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 190–1). All heretics, Lollards and Waldenses alike, objected to the promiscuous and blasphemous affirmation of every possible statement by a casual oath: so, one might add, did many medieval moralistic writers (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 225–6). Context is crucial here. Among ordinary late medieval layfolk, to keep one's speech ostentatiously pure and modest was to stand out from one's neighbors. To avoid blasphemy might not have been a theological "offense," but it must have been a clear and visible cultural marker.

Another potential social marker of late medieval heretics was their attitude to intermarriage with the rest of the Catholic population. Since most late medieval dissenters performed mandatory Catholic practices, intermarriage was not absolutely impracticable. Some German Waldenses married Catholic spouses fairly readily. However, if a group had secrets to hide, or a strong self-consciousness as a defensive and persecuted minority, endogamy could result. Alpine Waldenses usually avoided intermarriage with Catholics, and were accused of holding themselves aloof and superior. In their colonies, in Provence or southern Italy, language, customs, and group identity tended to make them marry even more exclusively with each other. Though no such reason existed for the Lollards of London, an ecclesiastical investigator in 1521 asked whether it was a Lollard practice to marry only amongst each other's families (Audisio, *Vaudois du Luberon*, pp. 110–14; Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp. 105–6; *Waldenses*, pp. 131, 191, 201; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 87).

A debate has grown up in recent years over the role of women in popular dissenting movements. In the Middle Ages, clerical writers alleged, to show how utterly subversive and disorderly dissenting movements were, that they allowed not only laymen but also laywomen to lead their religious activities. In the early years of Waldensian protest, some women were reported as traveling around in the company of the preaching and supposedly celibate "brethren." From time to time occasional references are made to "female masters" of the sect, or to "sisters" with whom the traveling brethren stayed while in training. Given that the clergy would have seized on any signs of female participation with scornful glee, it is striking just how little evidence there is of it. Recent work on the Lollards and the Waldenses has argued, independently, that dissenters did not transcend the social values of their world. Women remained confined to secondary roles (McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy*; Shahar, *Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect*; but cf. Biller, "Preaching of the Waldensian Sisters"). When dissent was practiced in private homes, women were intimately and indispensably involved as the hosts, protectors, concealers, and hearers of traveling heretical teachers. Women on trial were often as articulate and defiant in their heresy as their menfolk (see e.g. Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 137, nn. 230, 232). However, their role was fundamentally little different from that of Catholic laywomen.

These behavioral traits tended to accrue around religious dissenters at the end of the Middle Ages: minimal participation in the official cult; private exhortation and reading from vernacular Scriptures and works of piety; reservations, rarely taken to extremes, regarding participation in civic office, oath-swearing, and killing people in war or justice; plain, modest, controlled speech; and a tendency to become a people apart, more visibly devout and contained than was normal. A late fourteenth-century inquisitor lamented that the "heresiarchs" did not "preach to great sinners, to the

litigious, fornicators, deceivers, thieves, . . . usurers, rapists, and other criminals; you only draw to yourselves those whom you have heard are peaceful, quiet, silent, composed, who but for you would remain sons of the kingdom” (cited in Cameron, *Waldenses*, p. 137). Heresy promoted a quiet, interiorized devotion, hostile to the crassness of the everyday, materialistic cult. Its vehemence was verbal; its rejections of the spiritual claims of the church largely theoretical.

Believing Badly

Jacobus Simancas summed up the problem: a heretic was “not one who lives badly, but one who believes badly” (Simancas, *De Catholicis Institutionibus*, p. 228). Many heretics actually lived rather well by contemporary ethical standards, but their beliefs doomed them to hostility and attack from the majority. Heresy, as a legal offense, consisted in affirmations of disbelief. These affirmations, as encapsulated in thousands of “repetitions” of heretics’ beliefs read out at the conclusion of an inquisitorial trial, pose real problems as historical sources. They tell us only that the judges formed the impression that a heretic believed such-and-such, and therefore incorporated a given point into the trial record. How they formed that impression, and how truly such an impression was grounded in the facts, becomes a matter of historical judgment. Jan Hus’s sentence contains the absurd claim that he believed himself to be a fourth person of the Trinity (Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, p. 85 and n. 78). Admittedly an extreme example, it reflects the medieval ecclesiastics’ typical conviction, that heretics “really” believed what the inquisitors and their manuals thought they believed, rather than whatever untidy equivocations or bewildered statements the accused themselves produced. Interrogating a heretic often meant extracting evidence of the interrogator’s preconceptions.

One key problem was that heretical words were rarely, if ever, backed up by consistent actions on those words. It is not difficult to draw up some sort of schema of popular heresy, with due allowance for the nuances of individual interpretation and the differences between various groups. One must not assume, however, that those assigned such beliefs always behaved as though they held them. The starting point for any presentation of heretical beliefs must be their attitude to the Catholic Church. Late medieval heretics argued that the church was tainted by sin; the possession of great wealth and political power had corrupted it. They were not unique in saying such things: many reforming preachers and Doctors of Theology said much the same. However, most heretics went beyond mere anticlericalism to argue that a church so sinful, and priests so flawed, could not rightly bear spiritual dominion, preach the Gospel, absolve sinners, or administer the sacraments of grace. Spiritual power, as some Waldensian followers put it, depended on sanctity (Cameron, *Reformation of the Heretics*, pp. 79–80). In its crude form, such an argument constituted a revival of the Donatist heresy, which had long since been argued down in the works of Augustine. Wyclif, with his towering certainty that spiritual power belonged to the elect only, could go down this road. Jan Hus did not; and indeed in the St. Wenceslas’s Synod held at Prague on September 28, 1418, leading followers of Hus explicitly disavowed this and other such radical beliefs (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 297, 322). However, the Hussites repeatedly played on the graphic contrasts between the apostolic church with its simplicity, poverty, and humility, and the

modern church with its power, greed, pride, and pomp. Illustrations on church walls and in manuscripts showed Christ humbly washing the feet of the apostles while the pope grandly allowed rulers to kiss his feet (Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 230–1, 235–49). Whether theological “Donatism” was taught or not, the effect was much the same: the pomp and grandeur of the modern church showed its anti-Christian nature.

Many other doctrines depended on the belief that the church on earth had received, as it were by divine delegation, the responsibility to mediate and transmit grace, and to give or withhold absolution. Most movements, though by no means all heretics, taught people to reject those beliefs. The doctrine of purgatory, in its developed late medieval form, derived from the argument that sins absolved on earth too late for earthly penance to be completed must be worked out through suffering in the hereafter. All manner of religious rituals practiced by the living on earth might work for the benefit of souls in purgatory, above all the memorial mass. Waldenses, many Lollards, and the Taborite wing of Hussitism all renounced belief in purgatory, though many individuals found it difficult to live by such statements (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 46, 75–6, 85, 90–1, 103, 115, 135–6, 187–8, 230; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 309–10, 323, 469). A Taborite text argued that the godly were purged of their sins in this life: by the word of God, works of faith and piety, almsgiving, suffering adversities, through abundance of charity, by forgiving offenses, and by turning sinners away from their way of life.

Pilgrimages, saints, their images and their relics, and the whole concept of a host of heavenly intercessors linked to the earthly church likewise aroused withering skepticism. Lollards drew poignant contrasts between the needy poor, the true images of God, who often lacked necessary alms, and the wealthy images to which pilgrimages were commonly made. Inert and senseless idols were covered with vast wealth while human beings went in want, and stories of false miracles were spread around to encourage yet more largesse from pilgrims (Hudson, *Selections*, pp. 83–8). Taborites, drawing heavily on Wyclif’s *Trialogus*, argued that Christ was the sole mediator, and that it was foolish to address saints as though God “were like an earthly sovereign whose anger needs to be calmed by their intercessors.” God alone was to be worshipped, said many Waldenses. Yet here as elsewhere, beliefs are hard to pin down, and practice often belied theory. Waldenses ought not to have learned the Ave Maria if they believed prayers to saints to be superfluous, yet many did. Why, indeed, did the entirely Waldensian village of Freissinières press the archbishop of Embrun to restore the “ornaments and jewels” of their parish church which had been removed in the aftermath of the 1487/8 crusade (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 89–90, 128, 132–3, 187–8; *Reformation of the Heretics*, p. 100)?

Late medieval heretics were ambivalent about the sacraments of the church. Some doubts about the sacraments might arise simply from the suspicion that the priests were not good enough truly to administer them. Also, the elaborateness of the ritual, and the claim to provide infallible grace, might invite doubt and rejection. Some later Lollard confessions, and many treatises written against the Waldenses, reeled off a list of rejections of each of the sacraments in turn. God’s grace, the argument ran, did not need to be routed through ceremonies performed by an earthly institution (see e.g. Tanner, *Heresy Trials in . . . Norwich*, pp. 94–5, 111, 159–60, 165, 176–7, 179, 185, 194, 196–9, 205). While Taborites retained the seven sacraments, they

took a different approach: every sacrament as currently performed in the church was full of redundant and excessive ceremonial, and needed rigorous pruning and simplification to return it to the primitive ideal. The supreme sacrament, of course, was the Eucharist: it was performed many times daily and watched by the laity in the hope of specific spiritual benefits. Lollard beliefs about the Eucharist are somewhat complex; Wyclif's philosophical objections to transubstantiation were barely susceptible of transmission to lay readers. By the eve of the Reformation most Lollards rejected a transubstantiated presence in favor of a symbolic or representational one. Even the Taborites, sprung from the supremely Eucharistic Hussite movement, came to reject transubstantiation as it was generally taught. The consecrated host was "the body of Christ by resemblance, and by the cogitations and affections of those who receive it," as Mikuláš of Pelhrimov put it (Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 142–3 and nn. 80–1). Some Waldenses also had reservations about the real presence. The Austrian Andreas Hesel thought that if the host were really Christ's body, it would long since have been entirely eaten up by the faithful (Döllinger, *Dokumente*, pp. 343–4). However, since doubts over the Eucharistic presence were not part of the standard repertoire of questions asked of suspected Waldenses, such statements were rare. Because Waldenses were baptized, confessed, took communion, and married like other Christians, doubts about the sacraments only found expression, at most, in casual statements or unostentatious withdrawal from voluntary aspects of the cult.

Apocalypticism and prophecy were so widely diffused throughout later medieval and early modern culture that it becomes difficult to say how far apocalypticism was a feature of heresy. Belief in a coming judgment can offer attractive compensation to a minority which suffers persecution in the here and now. The first Taborites really thought that the elect should gather together in places of refuge to await a new order in the world. The administration of the chalice to the laity became a symbol that the world was being renewed in readiness for the end-time (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 324; Kaminsky, *Hussite Revolution*, pp. 336–60; Fudge, *Magnificent Ride*, pp. 143ff., 166). The problem with such expectations was the same as at any other period: the more concentrated and imminent the expectation, the sooner disappointment set in. More moderate beliefs, which incorporated the long run of world history into the time-frame of the Book of Revelation, proved more durable. Several Lollard tracts interpreted their own age as that in which Satan had been loosed from his thousand-year period in chains, and allowed to wreak destruction in the church (Revelation 20: 1–3; Hudson, *Selections*, pp. 93, 112, 126). The same chronology would be appropriated in the schemes of church history produced by John Foxe in the reformed tradition (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 1, pp. 4–5; Cameron, "Medieval Heretics as Protestant Martyrs," pp. 205–6). Millennial expectations, if not too specific, could last a long time: the early sixteenth-century Lollard evangelizer John Hacker taught his London followers about a future millennium in which all evil priests would be killed (Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 106 and n. 125).

Dissenting Texts

The priestly hierarchy kept its distance from the common herd by conserving a literature and a system of law in Latin, the language of the educated. Dissenters, who

sought to establish a pattern of religious life independent of the hierarchy, naturally enough sought access to the Scriptures and other religious literature in the vernacular. Valdesius at Lyon in the 1170s arranged to have certain key extracts from Scripture translated into the vernacular at the very inception of his movement, and thereafter learning of Scripture texts in translation became very common (Patschovsky, "Literacy of Waldensianism," pp. 113–23). Hussitism long retained Latin scholars within the movement, though even conservative Utraquists wished the Scripture lessons in the mass to be read in Czech: like the lay chalice, the vernacular helped to dismantle the wall between priests and laity (Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 333). After Wyclif, Lollards produced a copious vernacular literature. The mere possession of religious books in English came to be regarded as a convenient means to identify a heretic at the end of the Middle Ages (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 470–1, 486–7). Apart from language and ownership, there was often little else that was "heretical" about heretics' books. The key text was of course the Bible itself. Waldensian translations were in various languages, and most are lost. There survive five incomplete Bibles in an Alpine version of Franco-Provençal. Usually the New Testament is nearly complete, while only selected books of moral and homiletic value from the Old Testament are included (Cameron, *Waldenses*, p. 217 n. 29; Papini, *Valdo di Lione*, pp. 347–74). The Lollard Bible was, by contrast, a full translation which went through two distinct recensions. The early version was a verbatim rendering into cumbersome and scholarly English, only suitable for use by a priest who already knew some Latin; this was succeeded, in the late 1390s, by a much more flowing translation in idiomatic Middle English (Hudson, *Selections*, pp. 40–1, 46–9; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 247; Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*).

In both Lollard and Waldensian milieux there was preserved a large literature of sermons, catechesis, and moral tracts. At the end of the Middle Ages a curious line of filiation linked the three movements discussed in this chapter. Wyclif's later writings were imported into Bohemia, and helped to shape the more radical ecclesiological criticism of the Taborites and the Unity of Brethren. By the 1520s, some of these works from the Taborites and the Unity were translated into Alpine Franco-Provençal. Though the exact means of transmission are unknown, the antisacerdotal legacy of Wyclif, Mikuláš of Pelhrimov, and Lukas of Prague became briefly available in the language of the Waldenses. However, it is not always clear that such works were prized for their dissenting content. Collections of manuscripts sometimes contained works of uncontroversial Catholic instruction mixed up with anticlerical criticism. Many heretical sermons, from whatever source, resorted to the same laborious and, to modern eyes, unsatisfactory allegorizing as their Catholic counterparts (Brenon, "Waldensian Books," pp. 150–8; Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 216–31). The sermon literature offers a useful corrective to the impression given by the trial records. The former dwells, overwhelmingly, on the moral obligations of the Christian. Christianity appears as a stern, demanding code of moral righteousness. Such sermons convey precisely the heaping-up of moral demands and obligations that Martin Luther would later look back on with such horror. To criticize the hollow ceremonial consolations of the priesthood was half the story. The other half was that heretics expected their followers to live by a strict moral law of purity and self-restraint (Cameron, *Waldenses*, p. 302; but cf. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 355–6).

Heresy and the Reformation

In the later sixteenth century, Protestant apologists would claim the late medieval dissenters as their forebears, as the hidden “true church” that existed while Satan was unbound and the visible church was given over to error. That identification was not made immediately. Indeed, at first it was Catholic critics, theologians like Johann Eck, who hoped to blacken and shame the reformers by associating them with disreputable and already outcast heretics (Cameron, “Medieval Heretics as Protestant Martyrs,” pp. 187–8). It is tempting to assume that a preexistent body of dissent must have provided a useful seed-bed for the Reformation to take root. However, there is an issue of scale to consider here. The reformers aspired to reshape whole churches, not cells of followers in private houses. The Waldenses of the southwestern Alps, an exceptionally compact and numerous group of dissenters, comprised a few thousand. Abjurations of Lollards in England, at their peak, usually ran into dozens rather than hundreds in any given diocese (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 450, 466). Heretics were always a minority. If a minority’s heretical inclinations predisposed the majority against dissent, then the reformers’ task could actually be made harder, not easier. Then again, if a compact, defiant heretical community were confronted, as the Waldenses were from the 1530s, with evangelists from a new creed, sprung from the clergy whom they despised, they might find that shared hostility to Catholicism was not quite enough to build an easy or immediate alliance.

In the event, most heretical communities were gradually overwhelmed by the greater seismic shifts in sixteenth-century church history. In Bohemia, where the Utraquist Church and the Unity of Brethren had a visible identity and public structures, there was frequent dialogue with the reformers, but no formal union until the adoption of the *Confessio Bohemica* of 1575; even then the separate communions retained their identities. The Unity of Brethren in particular grew in influence and confidence in the later sixteenth century. The Waldenses of the Alps, according to an old historical tradition, were thought to have taken a collective decision to adhere to reformed teachings in a meeting of the *barbes* in the autumn of 1532. Close study of both of the sources alleged to demonstrate that decision, and of the founding and early history of the Reformed churches of the Alps and Provence, has shown a different story. From the 1550s onwards the Church of Geneva was able to offer the Alpine churches a wholly new cadre of trained ministers, who would reshape the religious life of the Waldensian communities and give them, for the first time, settled Reformed churches worshipping in the reformed manner. Great efforts and disproportionately large numbers of ministers were expended in creating this enclave of rebellious Protestantism in a Savoy dominated by Catholicism (Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 232–84; cf. Audisio, *Vaudois du Luberon*, pp. 409–26). The Lollards experienced a long period of gradual integration into the untidy and confused world of the early English Reformation. Early reforming evangelizers behaved rather like Lollard colporteurs, and their objections to the Catholic Church often used similar rhetorical devices. Geographical studies suggest that some areas of previous Lollard strength were particularly welcoming to Protestantism at parish level (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 473–507; Davis, *Heresy and Reformation*).

Ultimately, though, medieval popular heretics and reformers were engaged in different enterprises. Heretics largely shared the ethical standards of the Catholic

Church, including its belief that the ideal for a priest was to be chaste and pure, living as a poor, apostolic ascetic. They objected above all to the church's perceived gross failure to live up to those standards. Reformers would argue that the whole system of works righteousness built on those ethical values was radically misconceived. The Reformation presented a new theological message, from which an entire program of reform could be rolled out with relative consistency. Where that program established itself, not only the medieval church, but also the dissenting remnants who opposed it, would be swept away.

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FURTHER READING

General histories of heresy are rare. Fortunately, the second edition of M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, offers an exceptionally thorough and careful introduction. Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the*

Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c.1250–c.1450 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999; originally published as 2 vols., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967) is centered on theology rather than society. There are many important essays in P. Biller and A. Hudson, eds., *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Introductions to Waldensianism include Gabriel Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c.1170–c.1570*, translated by Claire Davison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and E. Cameron, *Waldenses*. P. Biller, *The Waldenses, 1170–1530: Between a Religious Order and a Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) offers a collection of often controversial essays. Of the work published in other languages, C. Papini, *Valdo di Lione e i "poveri nello spirito"* and the older J. Gonnet and A. Molnar, *Les Vaudois au moyen âge* (Turin: Claudiana, 1974) both concentrate on the early period. Martin Schneider, *Europäisches Waldensertum im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, 51 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981) is particularly well grounded in the primary sources.

On Lollardy, the corpus of Anne Hudson, especially her *Premature Reformation*, is fundamental, though she always attributes the maximum degree of intellectual sophistication and historical impact possible to her subjects. Her essays are collected in A. Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambledon, 1985). A. Hudson and P. Gradon, eds., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 5 vols., is an exemplary edition of one of the largest bodies of surviving heretical texts. J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards 1414–1520*, explores the inquisitorial records of the period, while M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, gathers together some important essays.

The largest English-language discussion of Hussitism, Howard Kaminsky's *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, does not take the story beyond 1424. It is continued in F. M. Bartos, *The Hussite Revolution, 1424–1437* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs and Columbia University Press, 1986). František Šmahel, *La Révolution hussite: Une anomalie historique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985) offers a short introduction in French. T. A. Fudge's *The Magnificent Ride* is particularly valuable on the cultural and visual aspects of Hussite literature. The best discussion in English of the theological underpinning of Hussite thought remains that in older works, especially the papers in R. R. Betts, *Essays in Czech History*. P. Brock, *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Czech Brethren*, is one of very few books in English to explore the later history of the Hussite movement, alongside Rudolf Ríčan, *The History of the Unity of Brethren: A Protestant Hussite Church in Bohemia and Moravia*, translated by C. Daniel Crews (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Church in America, 1992).