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A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY WARNING AGAINST THE WALDENSIAINS: AN ANONYMOUS TREATISE FROM THE GÖRLITZ MANUSCRIPT MIL. II 52

Abstract: Among the manuscripts formerly held in the library of Görlitz Grammar School (*Gymnasium*) – known as the Milich Library and now housed at the University Library in Wrocław – there is a codex bearing the shelfmark Mil. II 52. In addition to sermons, *quaestiones disputatae*, and theological treatises, it contains a short anonymous text directed against the Waldensians, which, as far as current research suggests, survives only in this single copy. Although the work may have been composed somewhat earlier, the manuscript as a whole was copied in the 1460s or 1470s. This suggests that, at that time, someone still perceived the Waldensians as a tangible threat. The treatise draws in part on *De inquisitione hereticorum*, a work attributed to Pseudo-David of Augsburg, but also includes original passages. Our article contains the first edition of this text, accompanied by an introduction and a concise description of the manuscript.

Keywords: Waldensians, manuscripts, Görlitz, inquisitor's manuals, polemical treatises

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Introduction

When examining homiletic or theological manuscripts produced in the second half of the fifteenth century in Lusatia or Silesia, one does not generally expect to encounter an original treatise against the Waldensians. It appears that by that time – at least for the past fifty years – this particular threat to the Catholic Church in those regions had been neutralized, and there was no pressing need to compose texts of this kind. Even so, the manuscript bearing the shelfmark Mil. II 52, originating from Görlitz, now held at the Wrocław University Library, proved to be a surprise. It contains an anonymous and previously unknown treatise, to which the authors of the catalogue have assigned the title *De secta Waldensium*.

The library of the Grammar School (*Gymnasium*) in Görlitz, known as the Milich Library, was transferred to Wrocław after the Second World War. The origins of the collection go back to Johann Gottlieb Milich (1678–1726), a native of Świdnica, who bequeathed his valuable book collection, the core of which had already been assembled by his father, to the Grammar School library in Görlitz for reasons that remain unknown. In 1785, the library was merged with that of the local Franciscan monastery. In the following decades, it was further enriched with books from the municipal archives, as well as private collections donated by, among others, Johann Gottlob Zobel, Theodor Neumann, and Johann Christian Jancke. The Latin medieval manuscripts, however, originate primarily from the former Franciscan library, which also included the holdings of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul – largely assembled through the bequest of Johann Goschitz vel Goschick – as well as the private library of Paul Schwoffheim, Doctor of Theology, professor, and rector of the University of Leipzig.¹ The short anti-Waldensian treatise *De secta Waldensium* is an example of the fifteenth-century engagement with heresy through the reception of earlier heresiological literature. Karl Ubl has noted that the inquisition led by Petrus Zwicker in Upper Austria in the 1390s sparked general interest in heresy in Austria. Before that, the circulation of thirteenth-century anti-heretical literature,

¹ See the introduction to the catalogue of medieval manuscripts in folio format from the Milich collection: S. Kądzielski, W. Mrozowicz, *Catalogus codicum medii aevi manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Universitatis Wratislaviensis asservantur signa 6055–6124 comprehendens* (Codices Milichiani, vol. 1), Wrocław 1998.

such as the compilation of the Anonymous of Passau, was relatively modest.² Another event that might have raised the clergy's awareness of Waldensianism was Zwicker's inquisition against the Waldensians in Brandenburg and Pomerania, recently redated to November 1393 – March 1394,³ which was geographically closer to Silesia than the Austrian trials. There is some evidence of anti-Waldensian literature circulating in Silesia already in the 1390s. Two manuscripts at the Wrocław University Library, Mil. II 58 and I F 230, have almost identical anti-heretical texts: most importantly the thirteenth-century antiheretical treatise by Benedict of Alignan, excerpts from the thirteenth-century compilation against heretics, Jews, infidels and Antichrist by the Anonymous of Passau, parts of Zwicker's inquisitor's manual, and a copy of the short anti-Waldensian tract *Attendite a falsis prophetis*, written before 1391.⁴ Both manuscripts have, however, an uncertain provenance before the second half of the fifteenth century. Mil. II 58 is first attested at the

² K. Ubl, 'Die Verbrennung Johannes Griessers am 9. September 1411: zur Entstehung eines Klimas der Verfolgung im spätmittelalterlichen Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 119 (2011), 60–90 (71–73). Zwicker's inquisition in Upper Austria has been recently re-dated to 1395–1398, see R. Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany: The Inquisitor Petrus Zwicker and the Waldensians*, *Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 6, Woodbridge 2019, 150–64.

³ R. Välimäki, 'Stettin Revised: Redating a Major Medieval Inquisition of Heresy', *Church History*, 94.1 (2025), 21–60. On the inquisition in Stettin, see esp. W. Wattenbach, 'Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg', *Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademien der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Classe*, 3 (1886), 1–102; D. Kurze, 'Zur Ketzer-geschichte der Mark Brandenburg und Pommerns vornehmlich im 14. Jahrhundert: Luziferianer, Putzkeller und Waldenser', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 16/17 (1968), 50–94; E. Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*, Oxford 2000, 125–44. There is a summary edition of the depositions in *Quellen zur Ketzer-geschichte Brandenburgs und Pommerns*, ed. by D. Kurze, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 45.6, Berlin 1975, 77–261.

⁴ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms Mil. II 58; Ms I F 230 fols 215^{va}–234^{vb}; see Kądzielski, Mrozowicz, *Catalogus codicum*, 193–95; J. Szymański, "Articuli secte Waldensium" na tle antyheretyckich zbiorów rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 42 (2004), 90, 93; Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 119. On the popular but unedited and relatively poorly known treatise by Benedict of Alignan, see J. H. Arnold, 'Benedict of Alignan's *Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores*: A Neglected Anti-Heresy Treatise', *Journal of Medieval History*, 45.1 (2019), 20–54 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2018.1553204>> [accessed 22 September 2025].

Franciscan library in Görlitz ca 1475,⁵ and I F 230's first known owner was Andreas Rüdiger of Görlitz, a professor at the University of Leipzig in 1458, and there has even been speculation about a Czech origin of the manuscript.⁶ Whether or not these manuscripts were at Görlitz from the late fourteenth century, they were not known to the author of the *De secta Waldensium*, as he was not influenced by any of the texts in these manuscripts. *De secta Waldensium* thus represents a late medieval Silesian transmission of the thirteenth-to-fourteenth-century anti-Waldensian literature that was parallel to rather than influenced by manuscripts Mil. II 58 and I F 230. In the fifteenth century, the threat of Hussitism kept interest in earlier heresies alive: much of the anti-Waldensian literature, both written in the 1390s, but also in the preceding centuries, was transmitted together with anti-Hussite treatises.⁷ The reception and refitting of anti-Waldensian literature into the fifteenth-century context took place in the intellectual circles around the universities of Prague and Vienna, and especially in the latter after the Council of Constance. Waldensians were perceived as the precursor, sometimes allies of the Hussites. The reception of Waldensianism in the framework of Hussitism by fifteenth-century clergy requires a comprehensive study,⁸ but a concrete example of this train of thought is yet another manuscript at the Wrocław University Library, Ms I F 707. The manuscript was compiled in two stages, in 1420 and 1433, by a Bohemian Bachelor of Theology and parish priest, Jiří z Těchnic (Gregorius de Tyechnicz). The antiheretical compilation (fols 122^{ra}–199^{va}) is by Jiří's own hand, and the owner's mark in the rear paste-down states that the volume was bought and partially collected by Jiří in 1420, 'as well as [works] against heresiarchs at Constance,

⁵ Kądzelski, Mrozowicz, *Catalogus codicum*, 195.

⁶ Szymański, "Articuli secte Waldensium", 90.

⁷ R. Välimäki, 'Old Errors, New Sects: The Waldensians, Wyclif and Hus in Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts', in *Golden Leaves and Burned Books. Religious Reform and Conflict in the Long European Reformation*, ed. T. Immonen, G. Müller-Oberhäuser, Turku 2020, 155–86.

⁸ C. Traxler discusses in passing the references to Waldensianism in the anti-Hussite writings of the members of the University of Vienna, but does not trace the sources these authors used, see C. Traxler, *Firmiter velitis resistere: die Auseinandersetzung der Wiener Universität mit dem Hussitismus vom Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418) bis zum Beginn des Basler Konzils (1431–1449)*, Schriften des Archivs der Universität Wien, 27, Göttingen 2019, 121–24, 203–04, 426, 441, 446.

collected by many doctors, where I took part in their compilation'.⁹ The compilation, however, not only contains early anti-Hussite treatises by Mařík Rvačka and Jean Gerson, but also opens with the above-mentioned Petrus Zwicker's *Cum dormirent homines* and ends with Jiří's own list of Waldensian articles of faith. Jiří's own introductory note to the *Cum dormirent homines* links Waldensians to the Wycliffites and Hussites, but also to the Copts, Nicolaitans, Arians and Muslims, among others.¹⁰ At some point, Ms I F 707 ended up to the library of Augustinian Canons of Žagaň, representing the movement of antiheretical compilations of Bohemian origin to Silesia. The *De secta Waldensium* appears to have been born out of this interest in heresy among the fifteenth-century clergy. Unfortunately, and unlike in the case of Jiří z Těchne and his compilation, the author of the *De secta Waldensium* does not refer to any particular events that would inform us of the work's context or the identity of its author. *De secta Waldensium* is a very generic treatise, devoid of any historical specifics: it transmits parts from a two-century-old inquisitorial text against the Waldensians, complemented with patristic quotes. The primary source of the *De secta Waldensium* is an anonymous inquisitor's manual to deal with Waldensians, known as the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. The manual was written in the second half of the thirteenth century and exists in at least two redactions. The so-called short redaction was published in the eighteenth century by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand,¹¹ and the long redaction by Wilhelm Preger in 1879.¹² In the Munich manuscript that Preger used, the text ends with *Explicit tractatus fratris David de inquisitione hereticorum*, and a Stuttgart manuscript of the same redaction has *David de Ordine Minorum* as the author. These attributions, together with the fact that the Munich and Stuttgart manuscripts contain other texts by David of

⁹ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms I F 707, rear paste-down: [...] *Anno domini M^oCCCC^o XX^o eciam collecta contra heresiarchas Constancienses per multos doctores ubi interfui compilationibus.*

¹⁰ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms I F 707, fol. 122^r, see Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 269–70 for the description of the anti-heretical compilation in the manuscript.

¹¹ *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. by E. Martène, D. Ursin, Paris 1717, V, 1777–94. In the critical apparatus: DIH, short.

¹² 'Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier', ed. by W. Preger, *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 14 (1879), 203–35. In the critical apparatus: DIH.

Augsburg, led Preger to assume the German Franciscan was the author of the inquisitor's manual.¹³

Scholars have since challenged Preger's attribution. Mario Esposito and Antoine Dondaine both regarded the short redaction published by E. Martène and U. Durand as an earlier one, possibly of French origin.¹⁴ The long redaction incorporates the entire short redaction, with the exception of the final three chapters,¹⁵ which Dondaine regarded as later additions.¹⁶ The current scholarly consensus is that at least the long redaction was composed in Germany in the second half of the thirteenth century by an inquisitor or someone collaborating with inquisitors, possibly from the circle of the Franciscans David of Augsburg and Berthold of Regensburg.¹⁷

There is no comprehensive study on the transmission history of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. Dondaine listed eight manuscripts for the short redaction and eleven for the long redaction. The manuscripts of the short redaction are older, including thirteenth and fourteenth-century inquisitorial compilation manuscripts. Of the long redaction's manuscripts known to Dondaine, eight out of eleven are either in Wrocław (3 manuscripts) or in Prague (5 manuscripts),¹⁸ indicating a Bohemian-Silesian reception of the work. To this reception we add the *De secta Waldensium* in Mil. II 52, although we have not yet recognized any of the preserved manuscripts as its direct source. There is, however, a section that indicates that the author used neither the short redaction edited by Martène and Durand nor the version of the long redaction edited by Preger. In a manuscript in the Würzburg University Library, there is a copy, unknown to Dondaine, containing a version of the long redaction

¹³ Preger, 'Der Tractat des David von Augsburg', 183–84, 187–88, 235.

¹⁴ M. Esposito, 'Sur quelques écrits concernant les hérésies et les hérétiques aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 36 (1940), 143–62; A. Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230–1330)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 17 (1947), 85–194 (181–82).

¹⁵ L. J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, 1, Woodbridge 2011, 139.

¹⁶ Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230–1330)', 181.

¹⁷ Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 139; P. Kras, *The System of the Inquisition in Medieval Europe*, Berlin 2020, 282–83.

¹⁸ Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230–1330)', 181–83. The Wrocław manuscripts are in Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Mss I F 117; I F 259; I F 758. The Prague manuscripts are: Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, Mss D LIV; D LVII; E LXX; E LXXVI, and Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms I E 39.

of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. Unlike the version edited by Preger, it concludes with a brief chapter on the distinction between heretics and schismatics.¹⁹ Also in the *De secta Waldensium*, there is a relatively long exposition on the difference between schismatics and heretics, quoting Augustine, Bede, and Gratian's *Decretum* (449^{rb}–^{va}). The section is not based on the Würzburg manuscript, but it might be inspired by a similar version containing discussion on the schism and schismatics.

Although the author of the *De secta Waldensium* adopted the description of Waldensian beliefs and practices from the *De inquisitione hereticorum*, the text in Mil. II 52 should be regarded as an independent work, not a late redaction of the thirteenth-century inquisitor's manual. There are both significant additions and omissions. In many passages, the author of the *De secta Waldensium* significantly paraphrases the earlier work, preserving the meaning if not the wording, and changing the order of presentation.

The most prominent additions are the extensive quotations, both explicit and implicit, of patristic and early medieval theologians: Augustine, Gregory the Great and Bede the Venerable, the latter apparently quoted through homilies of Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853). These are absent from the *De inquisitione hereticorum*, which is a very practical text on Waldensian beliefs and how to interrogate those suspected of Waldensianism, without resorting to any *auctoritates* except for papal bulls regulating inquisitions of heresy. It appears that the author of the *De secta Waldensium* sought to enhance the intellectual quality of the work, adding references to relevant authorities when he found them lacking. Also the omissions point towards learned rather than practical reception of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*. The extensive guidelines for the interrogation of heretics,²⁰ an essential part of an inquisitor's manual, are omitted from the *De secta Waldensium*. The result is a textual chimæra, a treatise jumping from a listing of heretics' errors to exegetics, but without a polemical treatise's disposition that would aim to refute the errors in question systematically. The text has little value for the history of heresy. By the fifteenth century, the description of Waldensians in the *De inquisitione hereticorum* was outdated even by the standards of its own times, surpassed by the comprehensive and well-informed *Cum dormirent*

¹⁹ Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek, Ms M. ch. fol. 51, fols 17^r–21^r.

²⁰ Preger, 'Der Tractat des David von Augsburg', 219–44 (cap. 28–44).

homines (1395) by Petrus Zwicker.²¹ However, *De secta Waldensium* is an important witness to the continuing reception of the *De inquisitione hereticorum* in Central Europe, and to the fifteenth-century engagement with earlier antiheretical literature. Due to its idiosyncratic passages, such as the one on schismatics and heretics, the treatise contains essential information about the transmission history of the *De inquisitione hereticorum*, a study of which remains a *Forschungsdesiderat*.

The manuscript

W = Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Mil. II 52
31,5 × 22 cm. Paper. 454 fols. Second half of the fifteenth century. Two columns.

Contents:

(fols 1^{ra}–331^{va}) Thesaurus novus. Sermones de tempore et de sanctis.

fols 332^v–334^v blank.

(fols 335^{ra}–357^{vb}) Ioannes de Capistrano: De Passione Christi.

fols 358^r–^v blank.

(fols 359^{ra}–381^{ra}) Materies sermonum.

(fol. 381^{ra}–^b) *Ad virgines interrogaciones*.

(fols 381^{rb}–382^{rb}) Quaestiones de nocturna pollutione.

fol. 382 blank.

(fols 383^{ra}–406^{ra}) Ulricus de Lilienfeld OCist: Concordantia caritatis.

fols 406^v–407^v blank.

(fols 408^{ra}–443^{va}) Ps.-Albertus Magnus: Sermones XXXII de corpore Christi.

(fols 443^{va}–447^{rb}) Sermones duo de sanguine Christi.

(fols 445^{va}–447^{rb}) *De decem gradibus amoris*.

(fols 447^{va}–450^{ra}) De secta Waldensium.

(fols 450^{rb}–452^{rb}) Iacobus de Paradiso: Tractatus de indulgentia.

(fol. 452^{rb}) *Constitutio festi corporis Christi cum suis indulgentiis*.

(fols 452^{va}–453^{ra}) Martinus V papa: Bulla de festo Corporis Christi.

(fol. 453^{ra}–^b) Sermo de s. Barbara.

fols 453^v–454^v blank.

²¹ On Zwicker's polemical treatises, see Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 38–103.

Watermarks:

The paper of the corresponding gathering (fols 443–454) can be dated to circa 1457–61 (Piccard, II, XI, 366).

Provenance:

The former grammar school library in Görlitz, known as the Milich Library.

Script:

Eleven scribal bookhands:

M1 (fols 1^{ra}–106^{va}): Urbanus Borchardi, 1461²²; Hybrida Currens.

M2 (fols 107^{va}–191^{rb}, 335^{ra}–357^{vb}): Cursiva Libraria.

M3 (fols 191^{va}–331^{vb}): Paulus Gelhor, 1461²³; Semihybrida Libraria.

M4 (359^{ra}–381^{ra}): Cursiva Libraria.

M5 (fols 381^{ra}–382^{rb}): Hybrida Libraria.

M6 (fols 383^{ra}–406^{ra}): Cursiva Formata.

M7 (fols 408^{ra}–450^{ra}): Cursiva Formata (written space 22 × 14 cm).

M8 (fols 450^{rb}–452^{rb}): Cursiva Libraria.

M9 (fol. 452^{rb}): Semihybrida Currens.

M10 (fols 452^{va}–453^{ra}): Semihybrida Libraria.

M11 (fol. 453^{ra-b}): Hybrida Currens.

Decoration:

Rubrication and plain initials in red.

Binding:

Original; leather covers over wooden boards with blind-tooling; fitted with two clasps; metal corner fittings and five bosses on both

²² According to colophon on fol. 106^{va}: *Et sic est finis huius partis, scilicet adventualis, per me Urbanum Borchardi sub anno Domini M° CCCC° LXI° feria quarta ante Penthecosten* [20 May 1461]. *Sit laus Deo.*

²³ According to colophon on fol. 331^{vb}: *Et sic est finis huius libri, scilicet partis yemalis. Et finitus per Paulum Gelhor, feria 5ta post festum Annunciacionis gloriosissime virginis Marie quasi hora 5ta sub anno Domini 146 primo* [26 March 1461] etc. *Sit laus...* Gelhor is probably identical with Paulus Gelhor, a vicar at the Wrocław Cathedral, mentioned in 1463 in the constitution for the confraternity of the vicars, edited in J. Heyne, *Dokumentirte Geschichte des Bisthums und Hochstiftes Breslau*, Wrocław 1860, 681–83.

covers (on the rear cover only three extant); title label on the front cover; both the front and rear boards are detached; damaged spine.

Remarks:

Only a fragment of the first leaf, which contains the beginning of the first text in the codex, has been preserved (now fol. I). Both title label which reads: *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis per hyemem...* and the word *yemale* that can be seen on the upper and lower edges of the book block suggest that this volume originally formed part of a larger set, including a summer part. The rear pastedown contains an astronomical table spanning the years 1476–1506, with an added annotation: *Anno Domini 1476 scriptum est.*

Full catalogue description:

Kądzielski, Mrozowicz, *Catalogus*, 169–74.

The origin of the text

We are unable to determine how this manuscript came into the possession of the Milich Library. It is highly probable that it once belonged to the Franciscans in Görlitz; however, it bears no provenance notes or former shelfmarks linking it to that monastery. The only possible clue to its origin is the fact that one of the scribes, Paulus Gelhor, was a priest at the cathedral in Wrocław, which may suggest that the codex originated in Silesia. The manuscript was copied by several scribes, but we have not been able to identify the one responsible for the transcription of *De secta Waldensium*. Notably, the same scribe also copied other works contained in the volume: Ps.-Albertus Magnus: *Sermones XXXII de corpore Christi*; *Sermones duo de sanguine Christi*; *De decem gradibus amoris*. The date of the copy may be indicated by the dating of the paper: ca 1460. Since the treatise contains numerous evident errors in Latin, it is likely that the scribe was not its author, but rather copied it from a source unknown to us.

Editorial principles

Since the text survives in only one manuscript and contains certain minor errors, we decided to make some corrections, which are recorded in the critical apparatus. The quotations have been rendered in italics, while references to the *De inquisitione hereticorum* are marked with guillemets « ». Proper nouns and nomina sacra are capitalized. Punctuation and paragraph division is editorial. The orthography of the manuscripts has mostly been retained, except in the following cases:

- 1) ci/ti before vowels is transcribed as ci;
- 2) u and v (U and V) as in Classical Latin;
- 3) the long j is transcribed as i.

Abbreviations

Aug., In evang. Ioh. = Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by R. Willems, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 36, Turnhout 1954.

Aug., In Math. 16 = Augustinus Hipponensis, *Quaestiones XVI in Matthaeum*, ed. by A. Mutzenbecher, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 44B, Turnhout 1980.

CIC = *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by A. Friedberg, I–II, Leipzig 1879–1881.

DIH = ‘Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier’, ed. by W. Preger, *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 14 (1879), 203–35.

DIH, short = *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. by E. Martène, D. Ursin, V, Paris 1717, 1777–94.

Greg. M., Moral. = Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob, libri I–XXXV*, ed. by M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 143, 143A, 143B, Turnhout 1985.

Haymo Halb., Hom. = Haymo Halberstatensis, *Homilia CXX. Dominica nona post Pentecosten*, ed. by J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*, 118, 640D–646C, Paris 1852.

W – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms. Mil. II 52, fols 447^{va}–450^{ra}

<De secta Waldensium>

Primo ergo secte heretice pravitatis, que hodie multum vigent et nocent in Dei ecclesia, dicuntur pauperes de Lugdimo,²⁴ que in multas sectas dividuntur, que quamvis sibi dividantur et sibi contrariantur, tamen concordant semper contra Christi fideles et ecclesiam catholicam, sicut dicit Gregorius III^o Moraliū: *Condicunt²⁵ sibi heretici, quam prava quedam contra ecclesiam concorditer sentiunt, et a quibus in veritate discrepant, in falsitate concordant.*²⁶ «Ortus istorum hereticorum, qui pauperes de Lugdimo vocantur, sic fertur fuisse: Quod apud dictam civitatem Lugdonum erant quidam simplices layci, qui quodam spiritu inflammati super alias de se presumentes iactabant se omnino secundum²⁷ ewangelium velle vivere et ad litteram observare et hanc formam vivendi percierunt sibi a papa Innocencio confirmari. Confirmacione autem accepta, videntes nonnullos christianos ewangelium ad litteram non servare, iactabant²⁸ et dicebant se solos esse discipulos et apostolorum imitatores et successores, et officium predicacionis sibi iactanter assumpserunt.²⁹ Cumque ecclesia eos videret sensu proprio verba ewangelii interpretari et officium predicacionis sibi usurpare, cum essent layci et ydeote, eos a talibus, ut debuit, prohibuit; que cum obedire noluerunt, eos excommunicavit. Illi autem in hoc claves et auctoritatem apostolicam contempnentes dixerant hoc eis fieri ob invidiam, quia eos ex hoc meliores viderent esse et perfecciores in Christi doctrina et maiorem habere propter favorem, allegantes pro se, quod pro bono opere et perfecto, sicut predicare Christi ewangelium, nullus possit excommunicari, et bonum prohibenti nullus teneatur obedire, et sic illam excommunicacionem [fol. 447vb] reputabant eternam

²⁴ The use of the form *Lugdimo* instead of *Lugduno* indicates that the scribe had limited knowledge of the history of the Waldensians and, while copying this text, misinterpreted the minims.

²⁵ condicunt] concidunt *W*

²⁶ Cf. Greg. M., Moral., Lib. III, c. XXIII, 46 (CCSL 143, p. 144, v. 2–5).

²⁷ secundum] *praecedat* super a scriba del.

²⁸ iactabant] iactabunt *W*

²⁹ assumpserunt] assupserunt *W*

benediccione[m], dicentes sibi fieri, sicut fiebat apostolis a scribis et pharizeis, qui propter Christi doctrinam sunt persecuti et extra sinagogam eiecti.»³⁰ In hac tamen errabant, quia ewangelium docet nullum debere predicare, nisi mittatur, et nullus officium dignitatis sibi debet assumere, nisi sit vocatus a Deo tamquam Aaron. Sic et ewangelica perfeccio magis docet superioribus et rectoribus humiliter obedire quam in singularitate proprii sensus pertinaciter permanere. «Prima ergo heresis eorum est heresis contemptus ecclesiastice potestatis. Et ex hoc traditi sunt sathane et angelis eius et inciderunt in multos errores antiquorum hereticorum et suorum vanarum invencionum, quia se solos et eorum sequaces dicunt esse successores apostolorum et habere claves et auctoritatem homines ligandi et solvendi.»³¹ «Romanam vero ecclesiam, papam et episcopos cum suo clero dicunt possidere divicias seculi nec imitari nec sequi vestigia apostolorum, non esse gubernatores ecclesie, nec talibus dignatur Christus committere dilectam et immaculatam suam sponsam ecclesiam, quam sibi disposavit proprio sanguine, qui eam malis operibus et exemplis prostituunt³² et corrumpunt³³, nec eam virginem Deo castam exhibent, nec in ea puritate, qua³⁴ eam acceperunt, custodiunt. Dicunt eciam, quod inmundus non potest alium mundare nec ligare nec absolvere, nec reus potest reo iudicio reatum placare, nec qui in via perdicionis ambulat, potest alteri ducatum ad celum prebere. Dicunt eciam, quod clerici per astuciam et potenciam tenent laycos sibi subditos, ut dent eis decimas et oblaciones, que pro sua tantum utilitate statuunt et eam lucri sui omnia ecclesiastica ordinaverunt instituta; et hoc non solum dicunt de clero, sed de omnibus eis adherentibus **[fol. 448ra]** et obedientibus iuxta illud: *Si cecus ceco prestat ducatum, ambo in foveam cadunt.*»³⁵ «Dicunt eciam omnes sanctos Christi fideles a tempore beati Silvestri pape esse dampnatos. Nulla miracula dicunt esse vera, que fiunt vel facta sunt vel ecclesia approbat, ymmo nunquam aliqua fuisse facta, nam statuta ecclesie post Christi ascensionem non esse servanda predicant nec

³⁰ Ortus istorum hereticorum [--] extra sinagogam eiecti: cf. DIH, 205–06.

³¹ Prima ergo heresis [--] ligandi et solvendi: cf. DIH, 206.

³² prostituunt] prestituunt *W*

³³ corrumpunt] corrumspunt *W*

³⁴ qua] quam *W*

³⁵ Romanam vero ecclesiam, papam et episcopos [--] foveam cadunt: cf. DIH, 214–15; Mat. 15:14.

alicuius esse valoris. Festa, feriarum ieiunia, ordines, benedicciones, officia ecclesie, consecrationes earum omnino respuunt et blasphemant, et dicunt hec a clericis instituta ratione lucri vel avaricie, ut ea ad usum et quesitum suum reducant,³⁶ et hac occasione, ut a subditis sibi oblationes et pecunias exquirant. Dicunt tunc hominem vere baptizatum, cum eorum sectam acceperit. Quidam eorum dicunt parvulis baptismum non valere, quia actualiter credere non possunt. Sacramentum confirmationis derident, sed eorum magistri manus inponunt loco illius sacramenti. Episcopos, clericos et religiosos ecclesie dicunt esse scribarum et pharizeorum imitatores et apostolorum persecutores. Corpus Christi dicunt non esse in altari vere, sed esse panem benedictum tantum, et ibi esse in figura et quadam similitudine, sicut Christus dicitur leo, petra, ovis, agnus.³⁷ Dicunt, quod peccator sacerdos non potest aliquem solvere aut ligare, cum ipse sit ligatus peccato, et quod quilibet bonus laycus et sciens possit alium absolvere et penitentiam inponere. Extremam unccionem non recipiunt. Oleum vel crisma non plus valere quam aliud oleum. Omnes ordines ecclesie dicunt potius esse maledicciones quam sacramenta. Matrimonium dicunt esse fornicacionem iurata³⁸ et omnem coitum cum legitima esse peccatum mortale, nisi fiat spe prolis, et sic separant virum ab uxore et **[fol. 448rb]** uxorem a viro altero contradicente, si velit intrare sectam eorum. «Quaslibet alias inmundicias luxurie magis esse licitas dicunt quam copulam coniugalem. Continencias laudant, sed urentem libidine concedunt eis satis fieri, quocumque modo turpi allegantes pro se illud Apostoli: *Melius est nubere quam uri*,³⁹ quod exponunt, quod melius est quemlibet actum turpi libidini satisfacere quam intus corde temptari, sed hoc tenent valde occultum, ne per hanc turpitudinem eorum secta vilescat. Omne iuramentum dicunt esse illicitum, dispensant, cum <iurat quis> pro evadenda morte vel ne alius de secta eorum prodatur vel secretum eorum revelet.⁴⁰ Dicunt esse peccatum in Spiritum sanctum prodere eorum sectam vel secretum. Dicunt latrones suspendere et occidere per sententiam, quod sit peccatum mortale. Dicunt etiam animalia bruta non licere occidere, sed cum volunt talia manducare,

³⁶ reducant] reducat *W*

³⁷ Cf. Aug., In evang. Ioh., Tractatus LXXX, c. 2 (CCSL 36, p. 528, v. 10–13).

³⁸ Dicunt etiam omnes sanctos [–] fornicacionem iurata: cf. DIH, 206–07.

³⁹ 1 Cor. 7:10.

⁴⁰ revelet] revelat *W*

suspendunt super fumum⁴¹ ignis,⁴² donec per se moriantur. Vestes cum inmundiciis excutiunt contra ignem vel intingunt in aquam callidam et sic dicunt ea⁴³ esse per se mortua et non per eos occisa. Et sic in aliis eorum observanciis falsis et fictis conscienciis se et suos sequaces illudunt. Dicunt post mortem duas vias tantum esse: vel ad penitentiam vel ad infernum, et sic purgatorium negant nec suffragia defunctis prodesse concedunt.»⁴⁴ «Sanctos in celo dicunt nostras oraciones non percipere, quia eorum corpora semiplena et mortua sunt. Spiritus vero tam remote a nobis distant, ut nos nec visu nec auditu percipere possint, ideo superfluum et vacuum est suffragia sanctorum inpetrare. Ideo suffragia sanctorum non inplorant nec eorum ymagines venerantur nec [fol. 448va] dies festos celebrant nec ieiunia servant et omni tempore comedunt, quod eis apponitur, et carnes in quadragesima, quando non timent a fidelibus deprehendi. Peregrinationes negant dicentes, quod Deus non delectatur in afflictione suorum amicorum, cum sine hiis potens sit eos salvare. Quidam tamen eorum multum se affligunt ieiuniis, vigiliis et peregrinationibus, ut nomen sanctitatis apud simplices sibi possint⁴⁵ acquirere. Dicunt, quod malus sacerdos non possit conficere baptisma et secundum eos in mortali peccato non valet, et si qui in mortali baptizati fuerunt, iterato debent ab eorum sacerdotibus baptizari. Dicunt, quod tam virgines, quam coniugate possunt predicare; vetus testamentum non recipiunt, dicentes ewangelio novo superveniente cetera transferunt, tamen excipiunt ex veteri testamento et novo et auctoritates sanctorum, que videntur pro eorum secta prodesse, ut per ea nos inpugnent et se defendant et simplices facilius seducant, pulchris sanctorum auctoritatibus suam sacrilegam sectam tolerantes. Illas vero sentencias, que videntur destruere eorum sectas et errores, tacite pretermittunt.»⁴⁶ Unde Beda in sermone: *Ut heretici simplicium fratrum corda facilius decipere possint, quasi ovium vestimentis se induunt, dum catholicorum sentencias sue doctrine interserunt, quia si mala semper dicerent, cicius cogniti rei deprehendentur. Et ideo*

⁴¹ super fumum] superfumant[?] W

⁴² super fumum ignis] recte super ignem et fumum

⁴³ ea] scilicet animalia (cf. ut supra)

⁴⁴ Quaslibet alias [-] prodesse concedunt: cf. DIH, 207–08.

⁴⁵ possint] possunt W

⁴⁶ Sanctos in celo [-] tacite pretermittunt: cf. DIH, 208–09. The contents are essentially the same, but the wording differs at times significantly.

*mala bonis miscent, ut dum libenter auditur, quod verum est, falsum inmixtum non facile discernatur.*⁴⁷ «Quanto ergo maius irrationalia et detestabilia faciunt et producunt, tantum eorum error et vilitas detegitur et agnoscitur, agnita vero facilius cavetur.»⁴⁸ Unde Salvator dicit: *A fructibus [fol. 448vb] eorum cognoscetis eos.*⁴⁹ Ubi dicit Beda: *Sicut non laudatur arbor ex pulchritudine foliorum vel florum, sed ex habundancia fructuum, sic hereticus non est simulacione et ypocrisi laudandus, sed ex fructu bone operacionis.*⁵⁰ «Et ideo pauperum secta de Lugdimo aliis periculosior est christianis, quia ratione simulate sanctitatis primorum sanctorum apostolorum successores se dicunt propter quedam exteriorum operum⁵¹ apostolorum imitationem, scilicet quia apostoli pro pauperibus collectas in ecclesia colligebant et in domibus fidelium, antequam essent ecclesie, docebant vel sacra misteria celebra<ba>nt et discipulos per diversas provincias ad predicandum destinabant. Sic isti heretici diversa fingant sibi nomina; non enim se dicunt hereticos, sed veros christianos, amicos Dei et pauperes sectatores apostolorum,»⁵² et ob hoc in magnam superbiam extolluntur, quia preferunt se omnibus prelatis ecclesie in dignitate et auctoritate. Preferunt se eciam sanctis in celo, beate Virgini in hoc, quod dicunt Deo dilectos⁵³ ita, quod quidquid pecierunt a Deo, exaudiantur. Ita, quod reccior⁵⁴ eorum oracione nulla penitus est nec in ecclesia militante nec triumphante, quod tamen falsum videmus ad sensum, quod nulli dubium est, quin petant, quando examinantur: ut vincant, ut nos ad eorum errorem trahant,⁵⁵ se et suas ne comburantur, exoptant, quod tamen non obtinent. «Ex eadem simulacione miscent se religiosi et clericis, ut se contegant in tempore inquisitionis, eis testimonium reddant, frequentant ecclesias et predicationes, in omnibus se religiosissime gerunt,⁵⁶ mores compositos, verba precisa et quasi limata et cauta libenter locuntur de Deo, [fol. 449ra] de sanctis et de virtutibus et de viciis cavendis et bona

⁴⁷ Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 641A–B).

⁴⁸ Quanto ergo maius [–] facilius cavetur: cf. DIH, 211.

⁴⁹ Matthew 7:16.

⁵⁰ Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 642C–D).

⁵¹ exteriorum operum] exteriora opera W

⁵² Et ideo pauperum secta [–] sectatores apostolorum: cf. DIH, 211.

⁵³ dilectionis[?] W

⁵⁴ recta W

⁵⁵ trahant] trahunt W

⁵⁶ regunt] gerunt W

agenda persuadent, ut sic cum libenter audiantur, virus sue perfidie inde facilius valeant infundere.»⁵⁷ «Intersunt eciam nobiscum divinis, offerunt ad altare, percipiunt sacramenta, confitentur sacerdotibus, ieiunia ecclesie colunt, festa et benedicciones inclinatio capite a sacerdote suscipiunt. Cum tamen hec et similia irrideant et dampnosa eis indicent et prophana,»⁵⁸ de quibus dicit Beda in sermone: *Bonos se ostendunt, ut simplicium animas ad suam heresim rapere possint.*⁵⁹ «Omnino eorum studio adhibent, ut multas ad suos errores deducant puellas, parvulos docent ewangelium et epistolas a puericia, ut eorum asuescant erroribus, et iubent alios socios et socias eadem docere.»⁶⁰ Cavere iubent a religiosis et clericis et eorum familiaribus et fidei zelatoribus, ne deprehendantur et prodantur; postea tradunt et docent aliquas, quas sciunt, oraciones de beata Virgine et de sancta Katherina, in quibus suadent castitatem, virtuose vivere, vicia cavere, vestigia Christi et apostolorum imitari. «Fingunt eciam quosdam ritmos, quos vocant “tres gradus sancti Augustini”, in quibus docent supradicta. Post hec blandis eas agrediuntur verbis, cum viderint dociles, et eos sequi et auscultare dicendo: “Primo ad veram lucem venisti et aurum pro cupro vere doctrine invenisti.” Et tunc inmiscent calide ibi suos ritus et hereses, ut melius alliciant eos ad adiscenda et forcius inprimant memorie, sicut et nos primo proponimus laycis symbolum et dominicam oracionem [fol. 449rb] etc.»⁶¹ De hiis dicit Beda in sermone: *Noli in heretico attendere verborum folia, verba pulchra, sed fidei pravitatem; noli attendere in christiano solummodo famam bone operationis, sed fructum inquire perfecte sanctificationis; noli adtendere ad ligwam, sed ad manum.*⁶² Sic enim populus christianus et scismaticus est scandalum et infeccio fidelium sicut hereticus, quorum doctrinam dat beatus Augustinus in omelia dicens, quod *inter hereticos et malos catholicos et scismaticos hec interest differentia, quod heretici male credunt*,⁶³ illi vero vera credentes non vivunt ita, ut credunt; *scismaticos vero fides diversa non facit, sed commixtionis disrupta societas.*⁶⁴ Et hii tres a Salvatore nomine zizanie,

⁵⁷ Ex eadem simulacione [-] valeant infundere: cf. DIH, 217.

⁵⁸ Intersunt eciam nobiscum [-] indicent et prophana, cf. DIH, 212.

⁵⁹ Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 641C).

⁶⁰ Omnino eorum studio adhibent [-] eadem docere: cf. DIH, 213.

⁶¹ Fingunt eciam quosdam [-] et dominicam oracionem: cf. DIH, 215.

⁶² Cf. Haymo Halb., Hom. (PL 118, 641C).

⁶³ Cf. Aug., In Math. 16, q. 11 (CCSL 44B, p. 125, v. 21-23).

⁶⁴ Cf. ut supra (v. 25-26).

palee et ariste designantur. Unde beatus Augustinus in eadem omelia dicit: *Nomine zizania intelliguntur heretici, qui non unius ecclesie societate vel unius fidei, sed societate nominis unius christiani in hoc mundo bonis permiscuntur. Illi vero, qui in eadem fide mali sunt, palea potius, que fundamentum habet cum frumento radicemque communem,*⁶⁵ *quam zizaniam nuncupant. Scismatici vero magis videntur spicis corruptis esse similiores*⁶⁶ *vel paleis aristarum fractis vel scissis et de segete ereptis.*⁶⁷ Item nota differentiam inter scisma et heresim secundum Ieronimum et habetur transsumptively in canone XXIII^o questione III: *Inter scisma et heresim hoc interesse arbitror, quod heresis perversum docma habet, scisma per rationalem discessionem ab ecclesia pariter separatur.*⁶⁸ Idem ibidem: *Quicumque scripturam aliter intelligit* [fol. 449va] *quam sensus Spiritus sancti flagitat, a quo scriptura est, licet ab ecclesia non recessit, tamen hereticus appellari potest.* Requiritur sibi etiam sibi [!] heretici hii amicos vicinorum militum et baronum prout possunt, ut eos foveant, protegant et in eorum terris dilatare permittunt, et sic cum de eis predicatur vel inquiretur, concitant dominos vel dominas, cives vel rusticos et pro hiis et pro eorum magistris et doctoribus inponunt collectas, sicut pro pauperibus fecerunt apostoli, et ex hac protectione heretici multum contra clerum animantur et nocent eos infamando, ipsis detrahendo iura ecclesiastica, vilipendendo ita, quod in talibus in spirituali non potest procedere. Sed tunc caucius est et «pro fide modus utilior proponere aliquid de fide et dicat <predicator>: “Ista est veritas fidei et ita credit sancta mater ecclesia.”»⁶⁹ Et si quis contra hanc veritatem prediceret occulte et manifeste, hereticus et infidelis, et ipsum protegentem et foventem esse excommunicatum et fautorem hereticorum. In principio huius heresis et secte omnes nominabantur pauperes de Lugdimio, sed tempore succedente ex⁷⁰ ambicione pro primatu erroris contententes divisi sunt inter se in diversas hereses et opinionum altercationes. Unde quidam dicunt baptizatos ab ecclesia ab eorum sacerdotibus rebaptizari, quidam vero simpliciter negant baptismum; quidam vero corpus Christi confici tantum ab eorum magistris, quidam

⁶⁵ Cf. ut supra (v. 13–17).

⁶⁶ similiores] seclisiores[?] W

⁶⁷ Cf. ut supra (v. 27–29).

⁶⁸ Cf. CIC, Decretum Gratiani, p. 2, c. 24, q. 3, c. 26 (ed. Friedberg, II, col. 997).

⁶⁹ Pro fide [-] ecclesia. cf. DIH, 218.

⁷⁰ ex] praecedat ab a scriba del.

simplicem panem benedictum esse in altari; et unaqueque secta denominatur ab eorum [fol. 449vb] auctoribus suarum opinionum. «Unde quidam dicuntur Ordibarii, quidam Arnoltiste, quidam Runcarii, quidam Waldenses, quidam Malibratii. Hii omnes, et si qui alii sunt quodam alio nomine, vocantur pauperes de Lugdimo. Hii sunt sectatores diversarum heresum et se mutuo agnoscunt et se mutuo detestantur et condemnant et suos complices a consorcio alterius secte custodiunt, ne ab eis seducantur, nec unus prodit alium de sua heresi, ne forte vicissim se prodant. In hoc tamen omnes concordant, quod exosam habent ecclesiam catholicam, que eis semper adversatur eos convertendo et eorum errores per doctrine veritatem ipsosque condemnando iudicio seculari tradendo per acceptam a Deo potestatem.»⁷¹ De divisione et diversitate heresum dicit beatus Gregorius III Moraliū: *Heretici proprium hoc habent, quod in eo gradu, in quo de ecclesia exeunt, diu stare non possunt, sed ad deteriora ruunt et sciendo peiiora in multis partibus se scindunt atque a semetipsis plerum longius confusionis sue altercacione dividunt.*⁷² Et subdit ibidem: *Ruptis autem et eorum, qui eorum erroribus inwlvuntur, corpus ostenditur, quia sepe scisset sequacibus malicia eorum cognicionis apponitur, ut discordia dolos patefaciat,*⁷³ *quos gravis culpa concordie prius clauderat;*⁷⁴ et isto modo manifeste apparet eos esse falsos et simulatores Christi, et apostolorum imitatores. «Cum ei dicunt non debere occidere et explicata erronea-[fol. 450ra]-que consciencia animalia, bruta et eciam pulicem non occidant, cum tamen

⁷¹ Unde quidam dicuntur [--] a Deo potestatem, cf. DIH, 216. The version edited by Preger has the following heretical sects: 'Pouer Leun', 'Ortidiebarii', 'Arnontuste', 'Runcharii' and 'Waltenses', but not 'Malibrarii', who are found e.g. at Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms XI. D. 5, fol. 12^r, *De sectis haeticorum: Secte hereticorum sunt septuaginta due, quarum in Bohemia sunt quattuor: Waldenses, malibrarii, runctani (?), Manichei*. The text in Ms XI. D. 5 is a version of the notice on more than seventy sects of heretics from the treatise of the Anonymous of Passau, cf. A. Patschovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymus: ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer, Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1968, 25. The 'Malibrarii' are not, however, a common name of a heretical sect in the transmission of the Anonymous of Passau's treatise. The author of the *De inquisitione hereticorum* regards these as separate heretical sects, not identical to Pauperes de Lugduno. It is possible that 'Pouer Leun' refers to French Waldensians and 'Waltenses' the Lombard Waldensians.

⁷² Cf. Greg. M., Moral., Lib. III, c. XXV, 48 (CCSL 143, p. 145, v. 6–10).

⁷³ patefaciat] patefaceat W

⁷⁴ Cf. Greg. M., Moral., Lib. III, c. XXV, 48 (CCSL 143, p. 145, v. 13–16).

ewangelium dicat *principem non sine causa ferre gladium*⁷⁵, et ipsi suis complicitibus dant intelligere obsequium Deo et sibi prestare, si occidant eos, per quos timent se et suam sectam exterminare, ut plures inquisitores christianorum ab eis sunt occisi.»⁷⁶ Falsitas autem omnium dictorum suorum et posicionum patebit, cum solventur posiciones et motiva antiquorum hereticorum contra unumquemque articulorum sacre fidei, qui secundum aliquos XV, secundum aliquos XIII et in simbolo apostolorum ponuntur, quorum princeps apostolorum primum ponit dicens: *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem* etc. Explicit.

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⁷⁵ Rm 13:4.

⁷⁶ Cum ei dicunt non debere occidere [--] ab eis sunt occisi: cf. DIH, p. 217. Instead of *plures inquisitores christianorum*, DIH refers to the martyrdom of Peter of Verona (1252): *Et sic fuit occisus sanctus Petrus de ordine predicatorum, et quidam alii*. The canonization of Peter in 1253 is thus the definite *terminus post quem* for DIH. See Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 139.

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