Intellectual links and channels of exchange between pre-Reformation Scotland and Bohemia when reconceptualizing Wycliffite thought

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Abstract

This dissertation compares and contrasts the intellectual environments of Bohemia and Scotland at the beginning of the fifteenth century, with a particular focus on the reconceptualization of Wycliffite theological thought and philosophies at the universities of Prague and St Andrews. In addition to the identification of the shared philosophies and curricula of both universities, the present analysis is based on the assessment of data witnessing the communication between the Lollards in Britain with Czech Hussites and the possible channel of communication aimed at intercultural transmission between Scotland and Bohemia. Two pieces of evidence of such communication are examined in greater detail: the *schedulae* of Quintin Folkhyrde, which were sent to Prague in 1410, and the record of the trial of Pavel Kravař in *Scotichronicon*. The former primary source is transcribed from two original manuscript witnesses and analysed in the present author's translation from the Latin original to English. It is concluded that Lollards and Hussites engaged in mutual intercultural transmission in the studied period and such interchange between Prague and Scotland in particular presented an important contribution to pre-Reformation thought Europe-wide.

Table of Contents

Introduction 6
1 The intellectual environment in Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century 15
1.1 Universities as centres of intellectual, religious, and political life in the Middle Ages 15
1.2 Prague university at the centre of intellectual life of medieval Central Europe 19
1.3 The 'pre-Reformation' culture in Bohemia 29
2 The pre-Reformation intellectual environment in Scotland 32
2.1 The cultural climate of Scotland at the beginning of the fifteenth century 32
2.2 The University of St Andrews as the centre of intellectual life in the late medieval Scotland 36
3 Intellectual interchange between Scotland and Bohemia regarding the reconceptualization of Wycliffe's teaching 41
3.1 Intercultural transmission between Bohemian Hussites and the English and Scottish Wycliffists and Lollards 41
3.2 Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae*: the context and detailed analysis of the transmission of Wycliffite ideas 47
3.3 The inquisitory process with Pavel Kravař, a Czech Hussite martyred in St Andrews 63
Conclusion 68
Bibliography 71
Primary sources 71
Secondary sources 72
Appendix A – Translation of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* 79
Appendix B – Critical edition of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* 84
Appendix C – Manuscript in Prague in X E 24 89
Appendix D – Manuscript in Codex Bautzen VIII°7 94

Note on translation

As part of the assessment of primary sources, this dissertation presents an original study of the *schedulae* written by a Scottish Lollard, Quintin Folkhyrde, and sent in Latin to Prague in 1410. This examination is based on the author's own critical edition collating two manuscripts: the first one is deposited in Codex X E 24 in the National Library in Prague, Czech Republic, the second one is in Codex VIII°7 in the Municipal Library in Bautzen, Germany.

The text has been transcribed and edited from the original manuscripts and translated from Latin to English by the author of this dissertation.

Citations of the original text, analysed in chapter 3 of this dissertation, can be seen in their context in appendix A to this dissertation. The appendix contains the full translation, including the present author's notes on the differences between the two existing manuscript witnesses.

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Introduction

In 1433, a Bohemian Hussite and a professor at Prague university Pavel Kravař was burned in what was arguably Scotland's intellectual centre, St Andrews, as a heretic after a process initiated by the chief inquisitor Lawrence of Lindores. *Scotichronicon* refers to Kravař as a 'German',[1] who was 'fluent and skilled in divinity and in biblical argument, but [who] displayed his stupidity by stubbornly maintaining nearly all the erroneous articles associated with Prague and Wyclif'.[2] The record of the inquisitory process with Kravař in *Scotichronicon* gives a testimonial not only of this particular case of eradication of heresy, but also of the existing communication between the Hussites in Bohemia and the Lollard heretics in Scotland, as well as of the standing of Prague university in Scotland as an internationally important institution of the 'Germans'. The burning of Pavel Kravař did not come out of the blue; rather, it was a culmination of international exchange between Scotland and Bohemia regarding the ideas central to pre-Reformation thought, a channel of communication which had already been working for several decades.

This dissertation enquires into the similarities, differences, and mutual influences between the Czech and the Scottish intellectual environments in the early fifteenth century. This period is explored as crucial in both countries, in terms of the development of philosophical and religious thought. This time preceded the Reformation, but it would be an over-simplification to view it as mere 'grey area' before the 'proper' development of ideas aimed at reforming the church. As Le Goff points out, periodization is a traditional approach in Western historiography, but scholars should not view periods as reflecting 'objective reality'.[3] The reality in this study are the themes characteristic of the thought of the 'pre-Reformation' era.

More specifically, the present research enquires into the reception of Wycliffe's teaching in Scotland and Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The research problem is framed in a broader context of the prevailing philosophies in Scotland and Bohemia at the time. In addition to the examination of the shared features of both intellectual environments, this research deals with the formal communication between the Scottish and the

[1] Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen and Edinburgh, 1987–98), vol. viii, book XVI, no. 20/ p. 277/ line 6.
[2] *Ibid*., lines 13-16.
[3] Jacques Le Goff, *Must we Divide History into Periods?*, trans. Malcolm DeBevoise (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), p. 114.

Czech schools of thought, and with the effects of such interaction on the views of Wycliffe's teaching and the Reformation.

This dissertation draws on the limited evidence that has been preserved of the communication between the two nations, which necessarily leads to a speculative approach. Nevertheless, the analysis of the main themes in the letters of Quintin Folkhyrde and in the record of Pavel Kravař in *Scotichronicon* yields valuable data about Lollard language used in the former source and the perception of Hussitism in the Scottish orthodox thought of the time in the latter source. Even though the scarce evidence does not allow for proving strong links between heterodox thought presented by Scottish Lollardy and Czech Hussitism, it facilitates for at least partial analysis about the shared features of both intellectual environments.

The early fifteenth century in Bohemia was marked by the emergence of the Hussite movement, with Jan Hus acting as the main leader, who openly adhered to the teachings of John Wycliffe, but still considered his ideas not to be undermining the integrity of the Catholic church, and who was martyred as a heretic by the Council of Constance in 1415. The centre of philosophical thought in Bohemia was the University of Prague, which had been established by the emperor Charles IV in 1348. The university was traditionally administratively divided up into four nations, one of them being Czech and the remaining three being German. There were strong theological and philosophical disagreements between the Czech and the German nations, encompassing the traditional philosophical dispute on the nature of universals and the interpretations of Aristotle's works in general, all of which was recontextualized into contemporary politics and arguments on the essential questions of Christian theology. With the spread of ideas aimed at reforming the church, which were interwoven with nationalist feeling, the three German nations were expelled from Prague University by the Decree of Kutná Hora in 1409. The decree was issued at the demand of the prime masters then working at the university, including Jan Hus. Hus's ideas also found strong support in Bohemia among the uneducated common folk and resulted in the Hussite revolution in 1419.

The essential event for the development of the intellectual environment and philosophical thinking in Scotland was the foundation of the University of St Andrews in the early years of the fifteenth century. The university was officially sanctioned by a charter of privileges issued by the bishop Wardlaw in 1412 and received blessings by Pope Benedict XIII through a series of papal bulls in 1413. Similar to Prague University, the University of St Andrews aimed at providing a general curriculum, including arts, as a prerequisite to theology. Also comparably to the University in Prague, the development of philosophical thought at the University of St Andrews was closely linked to developments within the Catholic church. The

strong support for the first Scottish university by Benedict XIII was 'one good fruit of the schism'.[4] Another feature of the University of St Andrews relevant for the present study was its national character as a distinctively Scottish institution – one of the important aspects contributing to the strong papal support for the newly established university was the fact that Scotland had long been loyal to Benedict XIII as one of the claimants to the papal post.[5]

The comparison of these two university environments is therefore essential for the assessment of the respective developments of the themes important to pre-Reformation philosophical thought in both countries. Such comparison and contrast are important, even though there was in fact a very short temporal overlap of activity at the universities in the pre-Reformation era: St Andrews university was founded in 1412 when Prague University had ceased to work in its original cosmopolitan way with the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora in 1409, and developments were further halted by the outbreak of the Hussite revolution in Bohemia in 1419.

The principal research question of this project enquires into the extent to which there was a shared intellectual, philosophical, and religious relationship between Scotland and Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Such inquiry into the philosophical developments in both countries and the political context thereof requires analyses corresponding to more specific research questions, focused on the identification of the main characteristics of the intellectual environments in Scotland and Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century, with respect to the role of universities, namely Prague University and the University of St Andrews, and with regard to the involvement of ecclesiastical establishments therein. In particular, the research questions are focused on investigating the main similarities and differences between the intellectual environments in Scotland and Bohemia in the early fifteenth century and exploring the historiographical evidence which suggests that there was communication and mutual intellectual influence between the two intellectual environments and the interpretation of such evidence in relation to the reception of Wycliffe's teachings.

When delimiting the timeframe of the 'early fifteenth century', the most defining historical moments were considered in the developments of both environments and in their mutual communication. Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation, the early fifteenth century is defined as the period between 1400 and 1433. This includes the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora in 1409, the letters by Quintin Folkhyrde sent from Scotland to Prague in 1410,

[4] Maitland Anderson, *The Beginnings of St. Andrews University: 1410-1418* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1911), p. 346.
[5] *Ibid*., p. 338.

the foundation of the University of St Andrews in 1412, the outbreak of the Hussite revolution in 1419, and the death of the Czech heretic Pavel Kravař in St Andrews in 1433.

There has been an ongoing debate and disagreement in scholarship about the presence and importance of the Lollard movement in Scotland in the late Middle Ages. Sanderson, in her study on the Lollards in Ayrshire, expresses the view that Lollardy was present in late medieval Scotland, but was not particularly strong.[6] Similarly, Dotterweich claims that Lollardy was known in the fifteenth century Scotland, but it was not of 'particularly significant strength'.[7]

Other authors, on the other hand, are convinced of the strong position of Lollardy in Scotland in the pre-Reformation era. These include Stanford Reid, who argued that Lollards were a major influence on the Reformation in Scotland and that those who argued the contrary held a common wrong assumption.[8] Reid further noted that prior to instituting St Andrews university, Scottish students had to seek education abroad, either at Oxford or even further, in continental Europe, and that they necessarily brought back with them doctrines opposing the Catholic church. Because the University of Oxford of the last decades of the fourteenth century was a 'hot-bed of Lollardy', many of the students at St Andrews who had previous experience from Oxford later promoted such anti-Catholic doctrines at St Andrews.[9] Despite Stanford Reid's 1930s work seemingly having been superseded by the views of the likes of Dotterweich, in this context his argument is still valid because it is supported by contemporary evidence-based research as outlined below.

A more recent author on the same side of the spectrum is Stevenson, who makes a similar claim to Stanford Reid: Scottish students at Oxford had exclusively studied at Balliol college, with which Wycliffe was affiliated.[10] Therefore, it can be assumed that they brought Lollard thoughts with them back to Scotland, especially after a Scottish university was established in St Andrews.[11] Secondly, Stevenson assumes that Lollardy might have gotten to Scotland through the clergy who had come from England to Scotland after 1378. Although Stevenson admits that it remains 'entirely speculative' whether there were supporters of

[6] Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), p. 35.
[7] Martin H. Dotterweich, *The emergence of evangelical theology in Scotland to 1550* (University of Edinburgh: PhD thesis, 2002), p. 19.
[8] Stanford W. Reid, 'The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland', *Church History,* vol. 11, no. 4 (1942), p. 269.
[9] *Ibid*., p. 270.
[10] Katie Stevenson, 'Heresy, Inquisition and Late Medieval St Andrews', in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, ed. Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), p. 333.
[11] *Ibid*.

Lollardy even among the clerics in Scotland,[12] she states that it is certain that Lollardy was topical in Scotland at the time, because St Andrews was a refuge for the supporters of the Avignon papacy during the Great Schism and the supporters of either side were prone to accusations of heresy.[13]

More evidence-based arguments supporting the claim that Lollardy was indeed significant in Scotland build on the provable presence of strong efforts by ecclesiastical structures to eradicate Lollardy. This was already noted by MacNab in 1935, who wrote that masters at the faculty of arts of the University of St Andrews had to swear oaths of avoidance of Lollardy in their future academic careers in 1416, prior to receiving their baccalaureate awards of licenses.[14] Such fact can be considered as evidence of the influence of Lollardy and the fear of the ecclesiastical establishment of Wycliffite thought in Scotland.

The inquisitory initiatives and activities of the university's 'inquisitor general' Lawrence of Lindores can also be interpreted as a proof that Lollardy was considered a significant threat to the establishments of the Catholic church in Scotland. Stevenson notes that Lindores wrote numerous treatises against Lollardy,[15] which she views as another piece of evidence confirming the presence of Lollardy in St Andrews and the threat it posed. Additionally, Broadie notes that it is evident from the commentaries to Aristotle written by Lindores that he held nominalist views in the dispute on the nature of universals.[16] According to Broadie, Lindores aimed at preventing teaching the opposing view, *i.e*. realism, but such intention was not followed at St Andrews after Lindores's death.[17] Once again, the effort developed by Lindores to obstruct the spreading of Wycliffite thought speaks of the awareness of Lollard heresy in St Andrews.

Von Noelcken makes a similar argument about the Lollards in Britain in general, not specifically about Scottish Lollardy: The inquisitors would not invest such considerable effort to eradicate Lollardy, if the movement was only presented by a small number of supporters or if the movement was deemed to be unsophisticated or otherwise insignificant.[18]

Lollardy was illegal and as such had a sophisticated underground framework for communication. According to Stevenson, the Lollard-Hussite channel of communication was

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[12] Katie Stevenson, 'Lollardy, Hussitism, and the Scottish Inquisition, c. 1390-1527', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. 110, issue 3-4 (2015), p. 686.
[13] *Ibid*., pp. 687-688.
[14] Thomas M. A. MacNab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', *Scottish Church History Society* (1935), p. 16.
[15] Stevenson, 'Heresy', p. 338.
[16] Alexander Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 35.
[17] *Ibid*.
[18] Christina von Noelcken, 'An Unremarked Group of Wycliffite Sermons in Latin', *Modern Philology,* vol. 83, no. 3 (1986), pp. 234-235.

particularly important, because the events in Prague in the early fifteenth century were of international significance.[19] According to Leff, the influence of Wycliffe on the British Isles was rather indirect, as there were no overt Wycliffite followers after the suppression of Sir John Oldcastle's rising.[20] Therefore, the impact of Wycliffe on later Reformation thought was mainly made through the transmission of Wycliffe's ideas on the Hussites.[21] The importance of communication of the Scottish Lollards with Bohemia is also evident from the fact that two of the very few pieces of evidence of Lollardy present to this day are the proof of contact between Hussites and Scottish Lollards: the record of the inquisitory process with Pavel Kravař in *Scotichronicon* and the open letters by Quintin Folkhyrde sent to Prague in 1410.

The importance of mutual communication when examining the shared features of the intellectual environments of Scotland and Bohemia brings us to the necessity of linguistic analysis. Studies have previously been conducted on the language of Lollard sermons, written in Latin[22] and in 'macaronic',[23] a combination of Latin with the vernacular. Anne Hudson has conducted several studies on Lollard thought,[24] Lollard books,[25] and Lollard manuscripts,[26] where she analyses the usage of the vernacular language for Lollard theological writing.

This present dissertation presents an original study of the *schedulae* written by a Scottish Lollard, Quintin Folkhyrde, and sent in Latin to Prague in 1410. This examination is based on the author's own critical edition collating two manuscripts: the first one is deposited in Codex X E 24 in the National Library in Prague, Czech Republic, the second one is deposited in Codex VIII°7 in the Municipal Library in Bautzen, Germany.[27] The text in Prague manuscript is introduced by a clause which reads 'Hec sunt Nova Scocie anno M cccc x Pragam portata', and thus is referred to as *Nova Scocie* in the subsequent passages of this dissertation.

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[19] Stevenson, 'Lollardy', pp. 686-687.
[20] Gordon Leff, 'Wycliff and Hus: A Doctrinal Comparison', in *Wyclif in His Times*, ed. Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 107-108.
[21] *Ibid*.
[22] von Noelcken, 'An Unremarked Group'; David L. Null, *Lollard theology: A soteriological analysis of the English Wycliffite sermon cycle* (MA Thesis, Texas Tech University, 1991).
[23] Patrick J. Horner, *A Macaronic Sermon Collection from Late Medieval England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2006).
[24] Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
[25] Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambledon, 1985).
[26] Anne Hudson and Early English Text Society. *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: The Sermon Omnis Plantacio, the Tract Fundamentum Aliud Nemo Potest Ponere and the Tract De Oblacione Iugis Sacrificii*. vol. 317 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[27] Another preserved manuscript, containing a translation of the text to the Czech language of the fifteenth century, is situated in Vienna, codex 4916. According to Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (pp. 201-202), the text was originally transmitted in Scotland in the vernacular language, and the Latin translation was made with the intent to send the letters to Prague.

The text has been transcribed and edited from the original manuscripts and translated into English by the author of this dissertation. One former edition of the text exists at present, a part of a larger collection entitled *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, which was collated by James Haldenstone in St Andrews in the late fifteenth century and edited by James Houston Baxter in 1930.[28] Baxter's edition allegedly considers both preserved Latin manuscript witnesses. However, the author of this dissertation has identified inaccuracies and omissions in Baxter's edition, as well as differences between the manuscripts deposited in Prague and Bautzen which are not marked by Baxter. Thus, in addition to content analysis, the assessment below aims at correcting the discrepancies in Baxter's edition.

Prior to the English translation presented in this dissertation, no comprehensive translation into English or contemporary Czech of the text has been conducted. Dotterweich presents translations of several short extracts based on Baxter's edition. These are translations of the opening of *Nova Scocie*, of several clauses relevant to the identification of the person of Quintin Folkhyrde,[29] and a longer extract from letter four relating to the priests' duty to preach in the vernacular.[30] Similarly, MacNab presents partial translations of several phrases necessary for the identification of the person of Quintin Folkhyrde and his societal status. The present analysis in this dissertation not only draws on the author's own translation of the text from Latin to English, but also aims at identifying Lollard features in the text, while the content as well as the form and vocabulary are taken into consideration.[31]

The study of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* presented in this dissertation draws on existing scholarship focused on the Lollard language and the features of Lollard writing in general. However, an original viewpoint is offered because the author enquires into the genre of *schedulae*, whereas previous studies of the Latin Lollard language were focused on sermons. At the same time, the studies so far conducted inquiring into genres other than sermons have been focused on writing in the vernacular. The present study thus draws on the knowledge of the abovementioned analyses, but it aims at contributing to the field by offering an original insight into the problem. It has been noted by the researchers in previous studies that one of the problems in studying Lollard language is the difficulty in differentiating between Lollard, or heterodox, and non-Lollard, or orthodox, writing. Hudson notes that the language of radical

[28] James Haldenstone, ed. James H. Baxter, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree: The Letter-Book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews (1418-1443). vol. no.31* (London: Oxford University Press for St. Andrews University, 1930). (Edition of the Latin text of *Nova Scocie*).
[29] Dotterweich, *The emergence*, pp. 19-23.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 24.
[31] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 170-173.

orthodoxy and radical heterodoxy might look 'very much alike'.[32] Hornbeck II also claims that the differentiation between Lollard and non-Lollard writing is obsolete.[33]

However difficult it might be to differentiate between Lollard and non-Lollard texts, the study presented in this dissertation offers insight into writings which are provably Lollard. The analysis herein conducted, which inquires both into the Lollard content and topics of the text and to the Lollard features of the Latin language used, thus contributes to the state of the art by providing a detailed insight into a fragment of Lollard culture in Scotland as it was shared with Bohemia. The main objections to the possibility of studying Lollard writings are herein refuted: von Noelcken notes that the context of the writings has to be considered to make sure that the writing exhibiting Lollard language features is actually not meant to support the opposite view.[34] However, the sole fact that the *schedulae* were sent to Prague and were distributed together with the writings by Jan Hus[35] proves that these letters were part of a Lollard-Hussite channel of communication. Another problem with the identification of Lollard writing might arise, as Hornbeck II notes, with the absence of exact dates of individual writings.[36] As the contents of heterodox thought changed over time,[37] identical topics might have been discussed in the camps on both sides and the identification of heterodox thought is only possible based on the knowledge of the concrete date of production of a piece of writing. Such objections would be irrelevant to the Lollard character of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae*, as we know the date of their transmission to Prague, *i.e.* 1410. Additionally, the analysis of a provably heterodox text might provide knowledge of the features of Lollard writing of the time, which could be useful for future research.

From the inextricability of heterodox writing from its historical, political, and cultural context derives the necessity to study the themes central to pre-Reformation thought with regard to the background of the intellectual environment where it originated. This dissertation therefore combines the study of the cultural interchange between Scotland and Bohemia with the assessment of the shared philosophies of the universities in Prague and St Andrews, of the interconnectedness of the university environments with Christianity and the Catholic church, and of the curricula of the educational establishments.

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[32] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, p. 429.
[33] Patrick J. Hornbeck II, 'Lollard Sermons? Soteriology and Late Medieval Dissent' *Notes and Queries* 53.1 (Mar. 2006), 26-30.
[34] von Noelcken, 'An Unremarked Group', p. 247.
[35] Reginald L. Poole, 'On the Intercourse between English and Bohemian Wycliffites in the Early Years of the Fifteenth Century', *The English Historical Review,* vol. VII, no. XXVI (1892), p. 310.
[36] Hornbeck II, 'Lollard sermons?', p. 26.
[37] The change of Lollard thought with respect to the diminishing perceived importance of predestination was also analysed by Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*.

So far, no comprehensive study has been conducted which would deal with the research problem of mutual influence and shared features between Scottish and Czech intellectual developments in the pre-Reformation era, with particular regard to the reception of Wycliffe's teaching at Prague University and at the University of St Andrews. The communication between Scotland and Bohemia has been partially explored in connection to the persona of Pavel Kravař, in studies authored by Vysny,[38] Spinka,[39] and more recently Van Dussen.[40] The *schedulae* by Quintin Folkhyrde have not yet been studied in depth, and the scholarly literature to date is mostly limited to brief mentions or summaries, written by Poole,[41] Sanderson,[42] Hudson, and Dotterweich.

Considerably more attention has been paid to the communication between English Lollards and Wycliffists with Bohemian Hussites, in works by Van Dussen, David, Leff, Hudson, to name a few. According to Stevenson, Lollardy in Scotland has not yet been paid adequate attention, while scholars have mostly focused on the spread of Lollardy from Oxford in the Southern direction, *i.e*. to London.[43]

The research presented in this dissertation can contribute to current scholarship in two ways. Firstly, this project aims at changing the perceived views on intellectual history of the period by pointing out new testimonies of the reflection of Wycliffe's works by Scottish Lollards and Czech Hussites and by enquiring into the significant change in the intellectual paradigm in both environments, leading to the Reformation and also to more nationally-centred politics. Secondly, the project pursues analysis of primary sources that have not yet been systematically studied or have been studied with an early twentieth-century approach as 'stone monuments'.[44] This is connected to the present author's aim to correct some discrepancies identified in earlier works with primary sources.

[38] Vyšný, Paul, 'A Hussite in Scotland: The Mission of Pavel Kravař to St Andrews in 1433', *Scottish Historical Review,* vol. 82, no. 213 (2003), pp. 1-19.
[39] Matthew Spinka, 'Paul Kravař and the Lollard-Hussite Relations', *Church History,* vol. 25, no. 1 (1956), pp. 16-26.
[40] Michael Van Dussen, 'Conveying Heresy: "A Certayne Student" and the Lollard-Hussite Fellowship', *Viator (Berkeley),* vol. 38, no. 2 (2007), 217-234.
[41] Poole, 'On the Intercourse', pp. 306-311.
[42] Sanderson, *Ayrshire*.
[43] Stevenson, 'Lollardy', p. 686.
[44] Bernard Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant: a critical history of philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 3.

1 The intellectual environment in Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century

1.1 Universities as centres of intellectual, religious, and political life in the Middle Ages

The analysis below is focused on the intellectual environment in Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century, leading to the comparison with Scotland in the following chapter. The purpose of the analysis herein presented is to examine the reception of Wycliffite thinking at the faculties of arts and theology of the university in Prague and the role of the university in shaping the intellectual climate in Bohemia leading to the Hussite revolution and the Reformation. The events at the university of the early fifteenth century, through which the philosophies, theological thought, and cultural climate in general took a nationalist turn, are assessed against the backdrop of the official legal documents which established the university as a cosmopolitan institution with international outreach in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Intellectual life in the Middle Ages was inextricably interwoven with the developments of university settings. Additionally, universities at the time were closely interconnected with Christianity. Such a bond between universities and religion can be further identified in a twofold way. Firstly, university education was inseparable from the core of Christian thought, because such education was aimed at all social classes and, differently from the rhetorical schools of Antiquity, medieval university education was not limited to delivering knowledge to the privileged. Secondly, university education was indivisible from Christian ecclesiastical establishments. As Cobban notes, medieval universities were subjected to episcopal control, and the support by ecclesiastical power and episcopal sponsorship was necessary for a university's survival.[45]

Let us have a closer look at the first interconnection between Christianity and university education. Even though universities originated in ecclesiastical settings as cathedral or monastery schools, they gradually gained academic independence from ecclesiastical authorities in terms of their curricula.[46] Moreover, universities were independent with regard

[45] Alan B. Cobban, 'Episcopal Control in the Mediaeval Universities of Northern Europe', *Studies in Church History*, vol. 5 (1969), p. 1.
[46] David S. Clark, 'The Medieval Origins of Modern Legal Education: Between Church and State', *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, vol. 35, no. 4 (1987), pp. 670-671.

to the social composition of their studentship: not only were medieval universities open to social strata, and thus welcoming middle classes and not only the wealthiest ones, but medieval universities were also egalitarian in terms of the position of lay masters being equal to their pastoral colleagues.[47] Such conception of a comparable position of the lay folk with priests and church dignitaries can be traced back to the philosophical writings of Thomas Aquinas, who argued that both lay and clerical applicants should be accepted to study.[48] Finally, the idea of a medieval university equalled such institution, in accordance with Solomon's Book of Proverbs, to a 'temple of wisdom'.[49] Therefore, university establishment was understood by the medieval society as a reference to the biblical origin of education.

From the previous point on the importance of university education for medieval Christianity derives the previous note herein made about episcopal control, *i.e*. the second way of interconnection between medieval universities and Christianity. As Rashdall states, the medieval society saw three intertwined pillars or powers, whose 'harmonious cooperation' was essential for the sustainment of the 'life and health of Christendom'.[50] These three pillars were listed as *sacerdotium*, that is ecclesiastical power, *imperium*, or secular power, and *studium*, which was not a mere abstraction, but rather another important pillar of Christianity, linking power to knowledge.[51] However, it would be misleading to view episcopal control as a means of restricting academic freedom only: episcopal control entailed both the restrictions of academic independence and, as Cobban notes, 'aiding the university'.[52] Cobban writes that each bishop who had instituted a university, such as bishop Wardlaw who founded the University of St Andrews, was obliged to provide the institution with financial support and to assist its development into an independent organization.[53]

The universities in the late medieval era could be categorized into two broad types: those following the organizational structure of the University of Bologna and those resembling Paris University. These two sorts of universities differed in their curricula and the structure of academic organization. The curricula of the 'Bolognese type' universities were focused on juristic disciplines and the organization was democratic and egalitarian, where even students

[47] Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895 [1936]), II, p. 91.
[48] George Makdisi, 'Baghdad, Bologna, and scholasticism' in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East Drijvers*, ed. Jan W. Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 154-155.
[49] Holy Bible, New International Version, (Zondervan Publishing House, 1984), Prov. 9.1.
[50] Rashdal, *Medieval universities*, p. 1.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] Cobban, 'Episcopal Control', pp. 1-2.
[53] *Ibid*.

were vested with powers in the university administration.[54] The universities of the 'Parisian type' were more focused on philosophy and theology in their curricula.[55] Masters and doctors were the ones with power in university organization and administration at the institutions of the latter sort.[56] Ecclesiastical control over academic establishments was significantly reduced throughout the course of the fourteenth century, especially at the universities of the Bolognese type. The universities of the Parisian model were more closely connected with episcopacy and the students thereof considered the bishop's involvement equivalent to the strong administrative power of the teaching staff.[57]

The university in Prague, which is further analysed in this chapter, presented a combination of the two university models, offering the study of law aside the *studium generale*. The University of St Andrews, assessed in detail in the following chapter, on the other hand, was purely based in the Parisian model, which made it different from the other, later established, Scottish institutions of higher education. The different models of university establishments at both institutions were also reflected in the respective curricula and the position of law therein. While Prague was one of the few institutions in Europe offering the study of law, legal education was not fully established during the first years of the University of St Andrews. The type of university model was also evident in the interconnectedness between the respective university and ecclesiastical establishments. The University of St Andrews, a purely Parisian institution, was founded with unprecedented Papal support. At the same time, Charles IV as the founder of Prague University did not apprehend the founding documents issued by the church to be of a higher standing to those issued by secular power.

The status of Papal blessing for newly established universities was another modus of the inextricability of medieval educational institutions from Christianity and the church. The universities, set up by bishops, were required to obtain approval through a decree issued either by the Pope or by the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.[58] Papal bulls were issued to grant universities privileges, an institute which was derived from Roman juridical acts aimed at distinguishing educational institutions from other social establishments.[59] Rashdall writes that such Pope's decrees were directed towards granting university students and staff protection

[54] Clark, 'The Medieval Origins', pp. 671-673.
[55] *Ibid*., p. 690.
[56] Cobban, 'Episcopal Control', pp. 5-7.
[57] *Ibid*., p. 8.
[58] University of St Andrews, *A brief history of the university*, available at https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/about/history/brief/, accessed on 10 February 2021.
[59] Hastings Rashdall, 'Chapter 1: Foundings', in *Wisdom's workshop – The rise of the modern university*, ed. James Axtell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 4.

from the jurisdiction of civil courts and such Papal protection related to *studium generale*, that is to arts in addition to theology. The reason for supporting the study of the arts was the perceived necessity to facilitate general literacy to enable scholars to devote themselves to the study of the Bible.[60]

The universities in Prague and St Andrews became important intellectual centres through the process of book-copying, when, according to Catto, such process 'removed the necessity of supranational universities and placed Oxford in much the same position as other leading national academies'.[61] Such process was interconnected with the rising importance of books, which, depending on the 'personal initiative of the masters and students' became not only instruments for study, but also 'a portable form of capital'.[62] The intellectual environment at the university in Prague was primarily, but not exclusively, influenced by the availability of copies of books by Oxford thinkers, particularly Robert Grosseteste and John Wycliffe. [63] Such books were brought to Prague by Bohemian scholars studying at Oxford, such as Vojtěch Rankův z Ježova.[64] The universities served as natural platforms for intellectual debates and thus provided the floor for reforming theological thought, particularly through the organization of academic events tackling autonomous questions (*quaestio*), the 'natural vehicle of academic controversy'[65] regularly held at Oxford and later also brought to Prague as part of a channel of communication between Oxford and Bohemia.

The importance of universities for Christendom was self-evident. Universities were the centres of religious and political social life and centres of culture in the medieval era. The comparative analysis in the following sections points to the salience of university establishments for late medieval culture and from there the prominence of universities for the formation of the characteristic features of pre-Reformation thought in Bohemia and Scotland.

The interconnectedness between the two university institutions in Prague and St Andrews, as studied below, lies not only in their then contemporary importance for the development of theological thought, but also in a combination of political circumstances which led to the creation of conditions that enabled Hussites to seek refuge at St Andrews.[66]

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[60] *Ibid*., pp. 3-6.
[61] Jeremy I. Catto, 'Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford 1356-1430' in *The History of the University of Oxford: Late Medieval Oxford*, ed.Jeremy I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 179.
[62] Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Provision of Books' in *The History of the University of Oxford: Late Medieval Oxford,* ed. Jeremy I. Catto and Ralph Evans, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 408.
[63] Catto, 'Wyclif and Wycliffism', p. 179.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 178.
[65] *Ibid*., p. 180.
[66] *Ibid*., pp. 175-177.

1.2 Prague university at the centre of intellectual life of medieval Central Europe

At the core of the intellectual environment of Bohemia in the later medieval era was Prague University, the first institution of higher education in Central Europe, *i.e*. the area encompassing the territory North of the Alps and East of Paris.[67]

The university in Prague was founded by Charles IV, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, who was at the same time the king of Bohemia. It was instituted with the approval of the most important ecclesiastical dignitaries, namely with the blessing of the Pope and with the support by the archbishop of Prague. The Pope Clement VI had personal ties with the emperor because he had participated in Charles's upbringing as his personal tutor. The archbishop of Prague was called Arnošt of Pardubice and was also the prime counsellor of the emperor Charles IV.

The analysis herein is focused on Prague University as the intellectual nexus of the ideas central to pre-Reformation thought in Bohemia in the early fifteenth century, so it will not go into the detail of the early history of the university. However, the following sections will briefly consider the beginnings of the university in terms of its social importance in domestic and international scholarly circles and its salience in the development of the characteristic pre-Reformation ideas and their international communication, together with the origins of nationalism and nationalist politics.

The foundation of Prague University was sanctioned by both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. As shown in the analysis below, such combination of authoritative involvement created a debate, ongoing till the present day, over the real power of the papacy in establishing the university versus the actual strong involvement of the emperor. The university in Prague was established by three important documents, one of them being of ecclesiastical character and the remaining two being secular. These documents are assessed with particular focus on their role in establishing the university as a cosmopolitan institution while serving primarily the interests of the inhabitants of Bohemia. Secondly, the evaluation of the constituting acts of the university is centred around the respective roles of the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities in the institutionalizing process.

The first founding document of Prague University was a bull issued by Pope Clement VI in 1347, upon a request by Charles IV sent to Rome in 1346. The Pope explicitly mentioned

[67] Michal Svatoš, 'Obecné učení' in *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy 1347/48-1622*, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), p. 37.

that the university was to have international outreach and that the whole of Christendom would benefit from such an institution located in Prague.

Current scholarship, following the twentieth century tradition of research, differs in the view on the role of the papal bull in establishing the university. Some authors claim that the bull itself is the main constituting act. These include Miroslav Boháček[68] and Michal Svatoš, who also notes that apprehending the Papal blessing as the main juridical act is derived from previously developed traditions regarding university establishments.[69] On the other hand, several prominent historians in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries understood the bull as a mere approval of Charles IV's intention to establish a university. These include Jiří Spěváček[70] and Vratislav Václav Tomek.[71]

In any case, the bull is important in constituting the university as a *studium generale*: the Pope establishes 'out of his apostolic competence' that in the 'aforementioned city of Prague, for the eternal future times, the study in any permitted field is to blossom'.[72] Therefore, the university encompassed faculties of arts, medicine, law, and theology. Additionally, the bull played an important role in establishing the university as a 'pan-Christian' institution, making it important not only for the Kingdom of Bohemia or for the Holy Roman Empire, but for the education of the entire Christendom.[73]

The second constituting document was the Founding charter issued by Charles IV himself in 1348. The emperor's intention to establish a university in Prague had already been approved by all important nobility in an Imperial Congress in 1348. Therefore, according to Svatoš, the document became an important political act and the founding of Prague University itself was an important step in regulating the relationship between the Czech lands and the Holy Roman Empire.[74] According to the charter, the 'university foundation in Prague is aimed at the inhabitants of the kingdom, so that they no longer need to travel to foreign lands and they can invite foreigners to study in Prague'.[75]

Svatoš notes that the charter was written in a 'personal tone', with an emphasis on the benefits of the institution for the Czech kingdom, while it in fact copies a similar charter by

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[68] Miroslav Boháček, *Založení a nejstarší organizace pražské university* (Prague: Acta Universitatis Carolinae, 1965), pp. 6-9.
[69] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 34.
[70] Jiří Spěváček, *Karel IV. život a dílo (1316-1378)* (Prague: Karolinum, 1978), p. 372.
[71] Vratislav V. Tomek, *Děje university pražské* (Prague: Tisk knížecí arcibiskupské tiskárny, 1849).
[72] Confirmation of the foundation of Prague University by the People Climent VI Prague, Archive of Charles University, I/3.
[73] František Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis* (Prague: Karolinum, 2016), p. 15.
[74] *Ibid*., p. 35.
[75] Foundation document of Prague University by Charles IV Prague, Archive of Charles University, I/2.

Pier della Vigna relating to the University of Naples.[76] Pier della Vigna was the author of important curricular changes at the University of Naples, which led to the prominence of legal study at Naples aimed at educating more jurists to facilitate the administration of the then recent legal reforms.[77]

Interestingly, Charles IV did not mention the previously issued Papal bull in his charter. Therefore, there is no clear founding date for Prague university, because historians currently agree that the issue of the Papal bull in 1347 was the main constituting act, while Charles IV clearly considered his own charter issued in 1348 as the principal founding document. According to Svatoš, the fact that Charles IV omitted the Pope's document can be interpreted as Charles's view that the university is the 'emperor's creation' serving the inhabitants of his lands.[78] According to Šmahel, Charles IV's politics were shaped by his endeavour to establish a 'certain form of state theology', *i.e*. to prioritize state institutions over the ecclesiastical ones.[79] This is evident in Charles's political tractates as well as in his autobiography entitled *Vita Caroli*, where he attributes his political ideas and important steps to 'promptings' by the Holy Spirit.[80]

Finally, the third legal document establishing Prague university was the so-called 'Diploma of Eisenach', issued by Charles IV in 1349 and entitled after the location where the emperor resided at the time of issue.[81] The diploma only recapitulates the privileges for the university students and staff which had been granted to them by the previous two documents. The importance of the Diploma of Eisenach lies in the emphasised prominence of the Czech lands in relation to education and scholarly institutions.

The Founding charter issued by Charles IV in 1348 mentions both Paris and Bologna as the sources of inspiration for the organization and curricula of Prague University. The combination of the Parisian and Bolognese models was also evident in the inclusion of the study of law aside *studia generalia* at the same institution. The intention to combine the two university models known in Europe at the time was also confirmed by a Statute issued by the archbishop of Prague Arnošt of Pardubice in 1360. The Statute was not only important in terms of establishing and maintaining academic freedom for Prague University as an institution of

[76] *Ibid*.
[77] William A. Stephany, 'Pier della Vigna's self-fulfilling prophecies: The "Eulogy" of Frederick II and "Inferno" 13', *Traditio*, vol. 39 (1982), p. 194.
[78] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 35.
[79] František Šmahel, 'Státní theologie Karla IV.', in *Politické myšlení pozdního středověku a reformace*, ed. Vilém Herold, Ivan Müller, and František Havlíček (Prague: Oikomenh, 2011), p. 121.
[80] *Ibid*., 122-129.
[81] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 36.

studium generale, but for combining the then known university models. The Statute was also important for the international outreach of the university, as it became a source of direct inspiration for similar statutes at the universities in Vienna, Cologne, and Leipzig, where such documents were drafted by Prague University graduates.[82]

The Statute confirmed the then already existing practice of selecting the vice-Rector: if the elected Rector was a member of the faculty of law, the appointed vice-Rector was a representative of the faculty of Arts and *vice versa*.[83] Interestingly, the Statute did not deal with the situation of a member of the faculty of medicine or theology being elected a Rector.[84] However, despite the attempts to include legal studies and *studium generale* within the same institution, the faculty of law administratively separated from the rest of the university in 1372 and a distinct juristic university was established.

The prominent founding documents of Prague University yield a mixed message regarding the international, or national Czech or German character, of the newly established institution. We can identify mentions of the importance of the international character of the institution, as well as guarantees for students and academics of Prague University seeking further qualifications at universities abroad. Simultaneously, all the important founding documents overtly relate the establishment of the university to the benefits for the Czech kingdom. According to Kavka, however, it is not appropriate to frame discussion of the character of the university in this way, as this would mean viewing the reality of a medieval university with the lenses of nationalist disputes of the 19th century.[85] Svatoš further notes that Prague University was undoubtedly a 'universalistic institution', the first university North of the Alps and East of Paris, and the first university of the Empire.[86] According to Šmahel, the reason to place such an important academic institution in Prague was part of the general 'Bohemocentric conception' of the reign of Charles IV.[87] Svatoš makes a similar note that Charles IV reinforced the prominent position of Bohemia by locating the university therein and making the Czech kingdom the facilitator of the material conditions necessary for the institution's existence.[88]

The university was established by secular power but remained entwined with ecclesiastical structures. The first decade of the institution's existence was marked by a lack of

[82] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, p. 38-39.
[83] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 41.
[84] *Ibid*.
[85] František Kavka, *Stručné dějiny University Karlovy* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1964).
[86] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 37.
[87] Šmahel, 'Státní theologie', pp. 119-121.
[88] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 37.

financial and special resources,[89] and so the university depended on the monetary support of the church and the teaching took place in monasteries and in churches.[90] The first official graduate of the university is recorded as late as in 1358 and the graduation ceremony took place in the archbishopric.[91] Even though the university was autonomous in academic matters, which was guaranteed by the abovementioned Statute, it is obvious that complete academic independence was unpracticable, as the main author of the Statute was the archbishop of Prague Arnošt of Pardubice who simultaneously acted as the chancellor of the university.

The university in Prague was an institution at the centre of social life in Bohemia. Its importance relied not only on its undoubted academic prominence in the Central European region,[92] but also in the fact that university education served as a means of social mobility.[93] The beginning of the fifteenth century was marked by significant historical moments, including the disputes about Jan Hus's teachings and the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora.

The events of the first decade of the fifteenth century did not appear out of the blue. The university had clearly been troubled by disputes already in the latter part of the previous century, which was evident in the split into two institutions, where the juristic faculty proclaimed itself an independent university.[94] Yet, the most important event for the development of the university in the early fifteenth century was the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora by Charles IV's son and successor, the Czech king Václav IV. The purpose of the decree was to regulate the ratio of Czech and foreign masters in the university administration. The university encompassed four nations, one being Czech and the remaining four being foreign, namely Bavarian, Saxon, and Polish.[95] It is not certain when exactly such composition originated and whether it was present from the beginnings of the university, as the first mention of the 'nation-structure' dates to 1360.[96] However, it is certain that until the issue of the decree, national 'curia' had been the core of the university organisation and the electoral basis for establishing important functions.[97]

While religious, nationalist, and social conflicts had been ever-present at the university since the 1380s, the Decree of Kutná Hora had much stronger impact than any of the previous

[89] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, p. 25.
[90] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p.39
[91] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', pp. 39-41.
[92] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, p. 37.
[93] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 70.
[94] *Ibid*., p. 85.
[95] Jiří Stočes, *Pražské univerzitní národy roku 1409* (Prague: Karolinum, 2010), pp. 139-162.
[96] Boháček, *Založení*, pp. 16-17.
[97] Marie Haasová-Jelínková, *Správa a kancelář pražské university v době jejího trvání*, Zvláštní otisk Sborníku příspěvků k dějinám hlavního města Prahy, (Prague, 1948).

events. The conflicts of the last decade of the fourteenth century resulted from the abovementioned unique type of organization and administration based in the combination of Parisian and Bolognese models and in the prominence of the members of the faculty of arts and, even more so, the faculty of theology, over medics and jurists.[98] However, as Nodl notes, the conflicts of the end of the fourteenth century had always been resolved and we can assume that until the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora, the agreements between nations had been functional.[99]

The Decree of Kutná Hora was announced in the eponymous town, where the Czech king Václav IV summoned all important university representatives on 18 January 1409. The merit of the document contained a change in the system of voting at university administration. Previously, each university nation had one vote when deciding about academic matters. The decree changed the ratio in favour of the Czech nation, who now had three votes, while the remaining three nations shared one vote amongst themselves. The king supported this change by the fact that the French nation was the leading one at Paris university and the same is true about the 'domestic' nations at Italian universities. Additionally, the king emphasized that the Czech university nation is the 'true heir of this kingdom'.

As a result of this political measure, most staff and students belonging to the foreign nations left the university for newly established institutions in Leipzig, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Vienna, and Cracow. According to recent research by František Šmahel, based on precise calculations derived from university and college records, the number of academics and graduate students who left Prague University because of the Decree of Kutná Hora was around 500 and the number of undergraduate students around 200 or 300.[100] Also according to Šmahel, previous researchers have wrongly assumed that the Czech nation outnumbered the 'foreign' nations and that such discrepancy had been further increasing at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The opposite was actually true, as the members of the Czech nation never formed more than a third of the overall university population, and – for example between 1406 and 1409 – there were as few as 16% of bachelor graduates of the faculty of arts who belonged to the Czech nation.[101]

The Decree of Kutná Hora has often been interpreted as a nationalist act aimed at promoting Czech national interests. However, the true reason for this measure was king

[98] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 85.
[99] Martin Nodl, '„Smíření národů" na pražské universitě na přelomu 14. a 15. století', in *Rituál smíření, Konflikt a jeho řešení ve středověku*, ed. Martin Nodl and Martin Wihoda (Brno, 2008), 261-272.
[100] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, p. 174.
[101] *Ibid*., pp. 169-170.

Václav's attempt to gain the university's support in his endeavour to become the emperor.[102] Václav was planning to claim the empire's throne on the Council of Pisa and the support of Prague university, an important ecclesiastical institution, would grant his claim more weight. Because the foreign nations had agreed not to support the Czech king in this aspiration, Václav was hoping to improve his prospects by changing the voting ratio at the university.[103]

The departure of most of the university population following the decree meant that the university changed its character from an internationally renowned institution to an educational establishment of local importance. Furthermore, the Decree of Kutná Hora modified the relation between the university and the church, as now the university ceased to be an ecclesiastical institution and became subordinated to the Czech king and to Czech nobility.[104] While there are records of previous departures of university professors belonging to 'foreign' nations, the outcomes of the Decree of Kutná Hora were unprecedented. According to Šmahel, the earlier instances of departures could be attributed to the fact that graduates knowledgeable of the university environment in Prague were considered highly qualified and demanded by foreign institutions, which were able to offer better material conditions.[105]

The university in Prague was established as a *studium generale* and encompassed four faculties: arts, theology, medicine, and law. Let us take a closer look at the subjects of study at each of the faculties. However, let us emphasize at the outset of the analysis that the studies at the faculties of arts and theology were the core areas where pre-Reformation thought was focussed.

The core of the study at the *facultas artium* was detailed analysis of Aristotle's writings. According to Šmahel's research, medieval education in arts and philosophy encompassed two essential components: *lectio*, which was reading out loud from Aristotle's work together with interpretation; and *disputatio*, which was a dialogue between the lecturer and the student.[106] The field of arts consisted of seven particular disciplines: three subjects in the humanities known as the *trivium*, namely grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and four subjects related to mathematical calculus called the *quadrivium*, namely arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.[107] The uniting element of the seven disciplines was their 'preliminary' character, because the study at the faculty of arts aimed at providing the student with the basics of literacy

[102] Jiří Kejř, *Jan Hus známý i neznámý (Resumé knihy, která nebude napsána)* (Prague: Karolinum, 2009), p. 61.
[103] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 91.
[104] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, pp. 204-212.
[105] *Ibid*., p. 192.
[106] František Šmahel, 'Fakulta svobodných umění' in *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy I*, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), p. 110.
[107] *Ibid*.

and logical thinking, both being the necessary prerequisites for studying the higher subject of theology.

The faculty of theology was established by the papal bull of Pope Clement VI. Kadlec notes that such Papal support for a theological faculty was unique at the time, as during the Papal schism, the Popes in Avignon were loyal to French interests and were not keen to promote the teaching of theology elsewhere than at Sorbonne.[108] Such a Pope's willingness to support the existence of a theological faculty in Prague can be best attributed to the personal relation between Charles IV and Clement VI, who had been the emperor's personal tutor. As Svatoš notes, the early years of the faculty were marked by difficulties in obtaining qualified teaching staff.[109] The study at the faculty of theology consisted of two parts, each lasting six years. The first part of study led to the degree of bachelor. The student earned several degrees during the second part of study, the final one of them was the degree of doctor awarded after the completion of this part.[110] The prerequisite for the study of theology was usually a master degree earned at the faculty of arts.[111] The course of study consisted of close analysis of the Bible and of Peter Lombard's *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum*, compulsory participation in disputations and giving sermons.[112] Regarding the formation of Reformation ideas in Bohemia, the faculty of theology was important in terms of research outcomes produced by its lecturers. According to Kadlec, theologians at Prague university produced numerous interpretations of the Bible and Lombard's *Sentences*, from which we can deduce that there were proponents of several philosophical schools, namely Thomism, Augustinianism, and nominalism.[113] In the 1360s, scholars of theology at Prague university also authored the first ever Czech translation of the Bible.[114]

The faculty of law was established to enable students to learn canonical law, which was the prime discipline of study at Prague university. At the same time, students were taught Roman law as a supplementary subject. The faculty was also established based on the privilege granted by Pope Clement VI, which made Prague a truly unique place in Central Europe, while the closest locations for the study of law until that point had only been France or Italy.[115] Kejř

[108] Jaroslav Kadlec, 'Teologická fakulta' in *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy I*, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), p. 135.
[109] Svatoš, 'Obecné učení', p. 39.
[110] Kadlec, 'Teologická fakulta', p. 139.
[111] *Ibid*.
[112] *Ibid*., pp. 139-141.
[113] *Ibid*., pp. 147-149.
[114] *Ibid*., p. 148.
[115] Jiří Kejř, 'Právnická fakulta a právnická univerzita' in *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy I*, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), pp. 163-164.

notes that there had been disagreements between the students and academics of the faculties of arts and law since the early years of Prague university. Such disputes were derived from the typically higher social status of the jurists.[116] Such disagreements escalated into the establishment of a separate juristic university in 1372.[117] However, according to Kejř, the separation of the law faculty and the creation of a separate juristic university led to the existence of two universities, which were still considered to constitute a single system of *studium generale*.[118]

The presence of the faculty of medicine since the early years of the university in Prague is not without importance for the formation of the important themes of pre-Reformation philosophies in the Prague and Bohemian intellectual environment, *i.e*. the philosophies related to possible corrections of the Catholic ecclesiastical structures, while the proponents of such changes still considered themselves to be an integral part of the church. Even though study at this faculty was practically oriented, the presence of the fourth faculty and medicine as a discipline of study contributed to the overall prestige of Prague university as a true *studium generale*.[119] This is even more so because until the establishment of the Prague medical faculty, there had only been four educational institutions serving continental Europe and offering the study of medicine, *i.e*. Bologna, Paris, Montpellier, and Salerno; the former three of them being *studium generale*.[120] It is probable that the high prestige of the university was an important factor attracting foreign students and lecturers to Prague. The presence of intellectuals coming from distant parts of Europe enabled Prague to become a thriving intellectual centre of late medieval Europe and the hub of pre-Reformation intellectual developments.

Notwithstanding the importance of all faculties in the establishment of Prague as an important intellectual centre in the early fifteenth century, let us have a closer look at the curriculum of the faculty of arts and its role in the formation of new political ideas. According to Herold, philosophy held a prominent place among the seven disciplines of arts.[121] Grammar and rhetoric were essential disciplines of the *trivium*, but their purpose was mainly preliminary. Similarly, the subjects of the *quadrivium* were important, but logic was the base for all other scholarly work in philosophy. Logic was taught as a practical philosophical discipline, based

[116] *Ibid*., p. 164.
[117] *Ibid*., p. 165.
[118] *Ibid*., p. 166.
[119] Karel Beránek, *O počátcích pražské lékařské fakulty 1348 až 1622*, AUC-HUCP 9/2, (1968), pp. 44-87.
[120] Petr Svobodný, 'Lékařská fakulta' in *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy I*, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), p. 185.
[121] Vilém Herold, 'Ideové kořeny reformace v českých zemích', in *Politické myšlení pozdního středověku a reformace*, ed. Vilém Herold, Ivan Müller, and František Havlíček (Prague, Oikomenh: 2011), p. 193.

on Latin translations of Aristotle's writings. Most attention in teaching logic was paid to Aristotle's *Organon*. Aristotle's other works were studied as part of the subjects of metaphysics and practical philosophy belonging to the courses of the quadrivium. These works included *Ethica Nicomachea*, *Politica*, and the 'pseudo-Aristotelian' *Oeconomica*.[122]

Together with the Latin translations of Aristotle, commentaries to these philosophical works were essential tools of teaching. Commentaries to Aristotle's *Politica* were particularly important for the development of new political thought leading to reforming ideas. According to Korolec, there were at least seven commentaries to *Politica* present in Prague, which are now stored in the National library and in the library of the Metropolitan capitol.[123] Some of these commentaries originated in the thirteenth century, *i.e.* shortly after the translation of Aristotle's work to Latin but before the founding of the university in Prague. The authors of the earliest commentaries to *Politica* included Thomas Aquinas, whose work was completed by Petrus de Alvernia, and Albert the Great. A prominent place among the fourteenth century commentators is held by Walter Burley.[124] Walter Burley's commentary to Aristotle's politics was brought to Prague upon the initiative of Charles IV.[125] This contributed to the great popularity of this work in the Prague intellectual environment and its impact on the characteristic themes of Bohemian pre-Reformation philosophy. Herold notes that Burley's commentary was a direct source of inspiration for another Latin commentary to *Politica*, authored by a Czech philosopher Jenek Václavův z Prahy. Jenek directly copied most of Burley's ideas, which was acceptable in accordance with the medieval apprehension of authorship and copyright.[126]

The last decade of the fourteenth century at Prague university was marked by a growing interest in the works of the English philosopher John Wycliffe. Wycliffe's writings were a direct source of inspiration for Czech Hussites and for the disputes about his philosophy in the early fifteenth century. The members of the Czech university nation were the main proponents of the works of John Wycliffe, especially of his later writings which expressed political thought opposing the mainstream Catholic church.[127]

The disputes about Wycliffe, his Reformation ideas, and his views on the problem of universals were the factors which made Prague a truly unique philosophical centre in the early

[122] *Ibid*., pp. 193-194.
[123] Jerzy B. Korolec, *Středověké komentáře k Aristotelovým dílům na pražské universitě* (Prague: Acta Universitatis Carolinae, 1975), pp. 31-51.
[124] *Ibid*.
[125] Herold, 'Ideové kořeny', p. 205.
[126] *Ibid*., pp. 195-207.
[127] Herold, 'Ideové kořeny', pp. 216-217.

fifteenth century. Additionally, according to Šmahel, the disputations about Wycliffe also brought numerous foreign students and academics to Prague, which contributed to the fact that the Czech nation formed a relative, and shrinking, minority among the university nations.[128]

In addition, and interconnected with, the conflicts about the reception of Wycliffe's thought at Prague university, Prague's intellectual environment was also torn by the dispute about the nature of 'universals'.[129] These two problems were interrelated, because the Czech proponents of Wycliffe to an extent accepted Wycliffe's theory about universals.[130] However, despite the clear inspiration by Wycliffe, the specific approach of Czech masters to universals in the sense of *essentia in re sive essendo* was an original approach to the philosophical problem.

While the Czech masters at the university adopted Wycliffe's realist approach to universals, Prague as one of the most important intellectual centres of the Holy Roman Empire was also a centre that followed the tradition of Parisian nominalism. Nominalism at Prague's Faculty of Arts at the beginning of the fifteenth century was greatly influenced by the commentaries to Aristotle's work by Marsilius of Inghen. The main proponents of nominalism were the German masters at the university.[131]

1.3 The 'pre-Reformation' culture in Bohemia

The university in Prague was undoubtedly the main factor in the formation of the intellectual climate in Bohemia and contributed immensely, in the area of Central Europe, to the formation of the themes characteristic of pre-Reformation thought, *i.e.* the thoughts preceding and enabling the crystallization of the main philosophical and theological viewpoints of the Reformation. Historiography often points to the early fifteenth century in Bohemia as the 'pre-Hussite' era, and the thinkers of the time are typically listed as 'Hus's' predecessors.[132]

However widespread is the apprehension of the early fifteenth century in Prague as the pre-Hussite era, Marin claims that such a view is an 'historiographical myth'.[133] Nevertheless, Marin also points to the fact that such a myth is 'as old as Hussitism itself', because Hus himself

[128] František Šmahel, 'Wyclif's Fortune in Hussite Bohemia', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 43, (1970), pp. 16-34.
[129] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, p. 372.
[130] *Ibid*., p. 390.
[131] Vilém Herold, 'Filosofie na pražské universitě předhusitské doby: Schola Aristotelis nebo Platoni divinissimi', in *Filosofické listy*, vol. 47 (Prague: Akademia, 1999), p. 6.
[132] Herold, 'Ideové kořeny', p. 161.
[133] Olivier Marin, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois. Années 1360-1419* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), p. 11.

referred to Konrád Walshauser, Jan Milíč z Kroměříže, and Matěj z Janova as to his own ideological predecessors.[134]

The fact that pre-Reformation thinking had such support in Bohemia can be attributed to the formation of an important intellectual centre in Prague, the university with four faculties and thus the only institution of *studium generale* present in Central Europe. According to Charles IV, Prague was chosen for establishing such important university, because it was 'the capital and a particularly important city of the kingdom' which was 'subject to a particular favour of the king'.[135] The university was to become 'another decoration' of the Czech kingdom. Due to the previous 'scholar tradition' in Prague, the city was 'fit for the establishment of a *studium generale*'.[136]

Prague became the centre of disputes about Wycliffe's teachings and their political implications. Such arguments were focused on three topics: the nature of universals, transubstantiation, and the conception of the church.[137] Such disputes were often formalized in the so-called 'quodlibet disputations', a new phenomenon that emerged at the end of the fourteenth century. These disputations were the ground for the development of new political ideas based on contemporary philosophical problems, and could be held 'on anything', in Latin *de quolibet*.[138] The disputations were originally held at theological faculties of medieval universities, but at the beginning of the fifteenth century, they also took place at the faculty of arts of Prague university.[139]

After the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora, when the majority of academics left Prague and found new posts at German universities in Heidelberg and Lepizig *etc*., proliferating numbers of complaints about the heretics of Prague authored by the expelled academics appeared.[140] The immediate cause for actions against the proponents of Wycliffe's teachings was a quodlibet disputation between master Blaseus Lupus and master Jerome of Prague in April 1409.[141] One of such actions was the order of the archbishop of Prague Zbyněk Zajíc of Hazmburk, who requested the burning of seventeen books of Wycliffe's writings, which were identified as containing dangerous heretic ideas by a committee specifically appointed for this

[134] *Ibid*., p. 13.
[135] Foundation document of Prague University by Charles IV Prague, Archive of Charles University, I/2.
[136] *Ibid*.
[137] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, pp. 326-335.
[138] Vilém Herold, 'Jan Hus a Husitství', in *Politické myšlení pozdního středověku a reformace*, ed. Vilém Herold, Ivan Müller, and František Havlíček, (Prague, Oikomenh: 2011), p. 238.
[139] *Ibid*., pp. 245-247.
[140] *Ibid*., p. 255.
[141] Jiří Kejř, *Kvodlibetní disputace na pražské universitě* (Prague: Charles University, 1971).

purpose.[142] The defence of the burnt books became the subject of many subsequent quodlibet disputations.[143]

Overall, the disputes about Wycliffe's teachings at Prague university and the formation of the core themes of pre-Reformation thought in 'pre-Hussite' Bohemia were immensely complex. Modern historiography has not yet tackled the issue in its fullness. Historiographical analysis is, as Šmahel claims, biased and has not departed from the romantic patriotism or nationalist ideologies of the twentieth century.[144]

[142] Herold, 'Filosofie na pražské universitě', p. 6.
[143] Herold, 'Jan Hus a Husitství', pp. 260-270.
[144] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, pp. 180-184.

2 The pre-Reformation intellectual environment in Scotland

2.1 The cultural climate of Scotland at the beginning of the fifteenth century

In the analysis of the shared intellectual, philosophical, and religious relationship between Bohemia and Scotland, it is necessary to assess the main characteristics of the intellectual environments in the two countries at the beginning of the fifteenth century. This chapter contains an in-depth inquiry into the philosophical and cultural developments in Scotland in the first decades of the fifteenth century, with a particular focus on the role of the University of St Andrews with regard to the involvement of the ecclesiastical establishments therein.

Despite certain similarities between Scottish Lollardy and the Hussite movement in Bohemia, the two environments differed in the consecutiveness of the most important historical events related to the development of their university environments and the official ecclesiastical establishments. In Bohemia, there had already been a university in Prague with international outreach since 1348. The early fifteenth century in Prague was marked by a nationalist turn at the university and the subsequent lessening of the international impact of the institution. The first Scottish university was established formally in 1413, while teaching had been there since 1410. Therefore, while Prague university of the early fifteenth century accommodated students and academics from foreign nations, Scottish students at this time period had to seek education at Oxford, in Paris, and at other destinations in Europe.

In terms of ecclesiastical independence, the Scottish intellectual environment gained self-governance in the twelfth century, with the establishment of the bishopric in Glasgow.[145] However, the first archbishopric in Scotland was set up in St Andrews in 1472 and in Glasgow in 1492, at a time when there had been an archbishopric in Prague since 1344.

The beginnings of the fifteenth century were the ideal time for the development of an independent Scottish intellectual climate, as this was a time of 'prosperity and relative peace in Scotland', when Scotland was freed from warfare with England and presented a cosmopolitan centre with international ties.[146] This was the perfect period for Scotland to aspire for establishing an independent kingdom with a sovereign king.[147]

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[145] Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 125-126.
[146] Tom Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2015), pp. 34-40.
[147] Broun, *Scottish Independence*, p. 281.

Until the founding of the University of St Andrews, some Scottish students sought education at Oxford university, Balliol College, and many others were educated at foreign institutions, especially in France. The University of St Andrews was established during the Great Schism, when Scotland was a supporter of the papacy residing in Avignon, as opposed to England who was in support of the pope in Bologna.[148] During the pre-Reformation period, St Andrews was founded 'expressly as a bulwark against heresy and "errors"'.[149] The university only turned away from Catholicism later in the course of time with the political and preaching activities of John Knox and others.[150]

The founding of the University of St Andrews as a thriving intellectual centre was a vital step for the development of the themes central to pre-Reformation thinking in Scotland. The prime pre-Reformation strand reflecting Wycliff's philosophical and theological thought in its beliefs and practices in the British Isles was Lollardy, which, according to Sanderson, was present in Scotland, but was not particularly strong.[151] Moreover, according to Stevenson, it remains 'entirely speculative' whether there were supporters of Lollardy even among the clerics in Scotland.[152] One reason for the lack of evidence of Lollardy in Scotland was the fact that due to the pressure for jobs in the church, it might have been wiser for Lollards to stay discreet.

Other scholars, however, present evidence that Lollardy was an influential strand of theological thinking in Scotland of the fifteenth century. Reid argues that there has not yet been enough scholarly attention paid to the Wycliffite tradition in Scotland and that it is a common wrong assumption that Lollards lacked influence in the fifteenth century in Scotland. On the contrary, Reid claims that Lollards were the major influence on the Reformation in Scotland.[153] While there is a lack of evidence for such claims, Reid supports his point by pointing to the fact that prior to instituting St Andrews university, Scottish students had to seek education either at Oxford or even further abroad in continental Europe. They necessarily brought back with them to Scotland doctrines opposing the Catholic church. Because the University of Oxford of the last decades of the fourteenth century was a 'hot-bed of Lollardy', many of the students at St Andrews who had previous experience from Oxford later promoted such anti-

[148] Blaise Cronin, *Cathedrals of Learning: Great and Ancient Universities of Western Europe* (Cambridge: Chandos Publishing, 2016), p. 27.
[149] Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, p. 25.
[150] Cronin, *Cathedrals*, p. 28.
[151] Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 35.
[152] Stevenson, 'Heresy', p. 333.
[153] Reid, 'The Lollards', p. 269.

Catholic doctrines at St Andrews.[154] MacNab notes that masters at the faculty of arts had to swear oaths of avoidance of Lollardy in their future academic careers, prior to receiving their awards of licenses.[155] Such fact can be considered as evidence of the influence of Lollardy and the fear of the ecclesiastical establishment of Wycliffite thought in Scotland.

St Andrews was indisputably the prime intellectual and religious capital of Scotland. Such environment could naturally become a centre of both orthodox and heterodox, or, from the point of view of the fifteenth century, heretical, thought. St Andrews was the main bastion of the church authorities who aimed at preserving orthodox Catholicism in its pure form, and thus the effort to eradicate any heretical thinking and preaching was an important part of the life at the University of St Andrews in its early years.[156] Because the University of St Andrews was instituted relatively early during what Mason calls the 'revolution in educational provision' throughout the fifteenth century, the university was part of Scotland's 'ecclesiastical capital'.[157] The other Scottish educational institutions were only founded decades later, in particular the University of Glasgow in 1451 and King's College in Aberdeen in 1495.[158] Due to such role of St Andrews, it became central to the political developments of the Scottish kingdom as well as for the evolution of religious and theological thought and for the international exchange of pre-Reformation heterodox ideologies.[159] St Andrews at the beginning of the fifteenth century became a refuge for those who supported the papacy in Avignon, which was accompanied with 'bitter controversy'.[160] As part of the city's role as the Scottish ecclesiastical capital, giving Scotland 'ecclesiastical freedom',[161] the intellectuals residing therein were in time with international trends in philosophy and engaged in international communication and thus contributed to the city's standing as the 'second Rome' for Scotland.[162]

Together with the British Isles, another important centre of heretical thinking of the early fifteenth century was Bohemia. While there is sporadic evidence for the contact between Lollards in Scotland and the Hussites in Bohemia, the political events in Prague surrounding

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[154] *Ibid*., p. 270.
[155] MacNab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', p. 16.
[156] *Ibid*., p. 331.
[157] Roger A. Mason, 'University, City and Society', in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, ed. Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), p. 268.
[158] Steven J. Reid, 'Ane Uniformitie in Doctrine and good Order': The Scottish Universities in the Age of the Covenant, 1638–1649', in *History of Universities: Volume XXIX/2*, ed. Mordechai Feingold and Alexander Broadie (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 15.
[159] Mason, 'University', p. 268.
[160] Stevenson, 'Heresy', p. 333.
[161] Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 125-126.
[162] Ian Campbell, 'Planning for Pilgrims: St Andrews as the Second Rome', *Innes Review*, vol. 64, no. 1, (2013), p. 10.

the political and preaching activities of Jan Hus were in close correlation with correspondence exchange between Hussites and the Lollards on the British Isles. The events in Prague were of 'international significance'[163] and thus were put on the agenda of the Council in Constance, together with the intention to resolve the Great Schism. Both Lollards and Hussites accepted the Wycliffite views regarding the criticised corruption of the clergy and the inessentiality of the clergy in human communication with God.[164]

St Andrews could only act as a centre of international contact of Scottish Lollards until the mid-fifteenth century, before the prominent position of St Andrews weakened. The impact of St Andrews in the development of late medieval ecclesiastical politics was interconnected with the status of its patron saint, St Andrew. The prominent status of St Andrews within international ecclesiastical settings was supported by the practice of continental courts to send sinners for 'penitential pilgrimages' to Scotland as a punishment.[165] The time period of the founding of the university in St Andrews was marked by a 'nationalist trend in Scottish religious practice'[166] and St Andrew served as the national patron saint of Scotland. In St Andrews, this tendency overpowered the 'cosmopolitan devotional trend' in the religious practice of the fifteenth century, which was later evident at other Scottish religious sites, where international saints were internalized into the domestic practice, such as St Nicholas in Aberdeen.[167]

The prominence of St Andrew as the prime national Scottish saint declined during the course of the fifteenth century, which led to the diminished importance of the city of St Andrews in ecclesiastical developments and to the subsequent lessening of the role of the University of St Andrews in the development of thought. The decline in importance of Andrew as a Patron Saint was partly caused by the diminishing practice of penitential pilgrimage.[168] Additionally, St Andrew was overshadowed by another Scottish national saint, Ninian, with Paisley as the pilgrimage centre. The cathedral chapter in St Andrews was involved in efforts to promote St Andrews to compete with other cathedral shrines in Scotland in the later Middle

[163] Stevenson, 'Heresy', p. 334.
[164] *Ibid*.
[165] David Ditchburn, '"Saints at the door don't make miracles"? The contrasting fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c. 1450-1550', in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare *et al*. (Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 69-75.
[166] David McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *Innes Review,* vol. 19, no. 1, (1968), pp. 3-14.
[167] Turpie, *Kind Neighbours*, p. 34.
[168] Ditchburn, 'Saints', p. 90-92.

Ages.[169] Nevertheless, the church dignitaries of Paisley were more successful in the promotion of St Ninian's parish church thereof as a destination of pilgrimage, partly due to the fact that Paisley held a more practical location on the way from Glasgow to Whithorn and partly because St Ninian continued to make miracles long after there had been no more miracles attributed to St Andrew.[170]

2.2 The University of St Andrews as the centre of intellectual life in the late medieval Scotland

The founding of the University of St Andrews was a major step towards Scottish academic independence, which was coupled with ecclesiastical and political autonomy of the kingdom. Prior to the establishment of St Andrews university, Scottish students sought education both on the British Isles and on the European continent. According to Stevenson, the mobility of Scottish students between Oxford and St Andrews contributed to the spread of Wycliffite ideas and Lollardy in Scotland.[171] Broadie, on the other hand, notes that Oxford and Cambridge were not particularly popular for young Scots seeking higher education, because of the troubled relation between the kingdoms of Scotland and England at the time.[172] Therefore, for most Scottish students, Paris or Bologna were the desired destinations for student mobility.[173]

The University of St Andrews was, as outlined in detail below, 'one good fruit of the schism',[174] since it was an embodiment of Scotland's support for the popes in Avignon. Therefore, its organizational structure closely followed that of Paris, while the later-established university in Glasgow was closer to the Bolognese model in the first decades of its existence.[175] In addition to France and Italy, other popular continental destinations for Scottish students in the late fourteenth century included Germany, Austria, Poland, and Spain.[176]

Even when having in mind all the impact the University of St Andrews had on the kingdom of Scotland or the Scottish nation, it would still be inappropriate to view it as an institution serving solely to Scotland. As Durkan claims, the universities in the middle ages

[169] Tom Turpie, 'When the Miracles Ceased: Shrine and Cult Management at St Andrews and Scottish Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages', in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult,* City, ed. Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), p. 85.
[170] Ditchburn, 'Saints', p. 93.
[171] Stevenson, 'Heresy', p. 334.
[172] Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, p. 34.
[173] *Ibid*.
[174] Anderson, 'The Beginnings', p. 346.
[175] Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, p. 34.
[176] *Ibid*.

were mostly international institutions.[177] On the other hand, belonging to a particular nation was not without importance at a medieval university, as nations were part of the organizational structure of such institutions.[178] According to Rait, the division of each faculty of a medieval university into nations was derived from former organizational settings based in belonging to particular guilds.[179]

The University of St Andrews was founded at the beginning of the second decade of the fifteenth century. According to Rashdall, it is impossible to 'pin down' the earliest founding dates for medieval universities, because they were created through gradual establishment rather than through a single constitutive act.[180] Nevertheless, the set-up of a university institution in the Scottish spiritual capital of St Andrews was a salient event for the further development of a specific Scottish intellectual environment and philosophical thinking.

The university was privileged by a charter issued by Bishop Henry Wardlaw in 1411 and received blessings from Benedict XIII, residing in Avignon, through a series of papal bulls in 1413. According to Anderson, such strong papal support evident through the number of supporting bulls issued was 'unprecedented in university history'.[181] The fifth bull was addressed to the bishop of Brechin and the archdeacons of St Andrews and Glasgow, who were thus vested as the 'conservators'[182] of the privileges of the university. This procedure was in accordance with the ecclesiastical supervision over universities common at the time.[183]

The University of St Andrews, as an institution of *studium generale*, consisted of the faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine. The faculty of arts was established as the first one, in 1416, the faculties of divinity and canon law followed, and the status and workings of the faculty of medicine are, according to Henderson, 'doubtful'.[184] Similarly to Henderson, Woodman also notes that in spite of the official status of the university as a *studium generale*, the study of medicine and law was not fully established at the beginnings of St Andrews

[177] John Durkan, *The Scottish universities in the Middle Ages, 1413-1560* (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1959), p. 2.
[178] Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), p. 156.
[179] Robert S. Rait, *Life in the Medieval University* (Luton: Andrews UK Limited, 2012), p. 10.
[180] Rashdall, 'Chapter 1: Foundings', p. 3.
[181] Anderson, 'The Beginnings', p. 338.
[182] *Ibid*., p. 341.
[183] Cobban, 'Episcopal Control', p. 1.
[184] Elizabeth Henderson, 'St Andrews University Library', in *Treasures of St Andrews University Library*, ed. Norman H. Reid (London: Third Millennium Publishing 2010), pp. 16–25.

university, and thus the only universities in the early fifteenth century accommodating such curricula, outside Oxford and Cambridge, were Paris, Bologna, Montpellier, and Prague.[185]

The curriculum of the faculty of arts was based in the study of Aristotle's logic and physics, through medieval Latin commentaries.[186] Students were taught through public intellectual debates entitled *disputatio* and *conventus*, as the entire culture of medieval institutions was focused on oral transmission of knowledge.[187] Differently from the present-day emphasis on creativity and self-expression, teaching at the medieval faculty of arts was focused on the ability to memorize information and follow the teacher's argument.[188]

The curriculum of the faculty of arts consisted of two parts, the first one lasting at least eighteen months and leading to the degree of a bachelor, the second part ending with the license and awarding the bachelor with master's insignia.[189] Education in philosophy at St Andrews, as it was typical for institutions North of the Alps, was centred around the acquisition of the profane ability of literacy to be able to study the Bible, and thus the study of the arts was directly subordinated to the study of theology.[190] The system was similar to that described above at the university in Prague: The study of the arts was called the *trivium* and was based in the taxonomy and the classificatory schemes of the Antient Greek and Roman philosophy.[191] The *quadrivium* encompassed arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy and was also directly derived from the ancient Greek and Roman knowledge, primarily Pliny and Varro.[192]

The philosophies prevailing at the university of St Andrews were those in the scholastic tradition, based in the study of Aristotle's works transmitted to the Medieval Ages from Antiquity through commentators by Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore of Seville.[193] The tradition of the dispute about the nature of the universals had already been set in Scottish philosophy prior to the founding of the University of St Andrews, namely through the works of Duns Scotus.[194]

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[185] Isla Woodman, *Education and Episcopacy: The Universities of Scotland in the Fifteenth Century* (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2011), pp. 31-32.
[186] Henderson, 'St Andrews', p. 18.
[187] Cronin, *Cathedrals*, p. 38.
[188] Mary Carruthers, *The book of memory: A study of memory in medieval culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[189] Scottish History Society & Annie I. Dunlop, *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree, 1413-1588* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1964), pp. 1xxx-1xxxii.
[190] Gordon Leff, 'The Trivium and the Three Philosophies', in *A History of the University in Europe: Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 309.
[191] *Ibid*., p. 310.
[192] John North, 'The quadrivium', in *A History of the University in Europe: Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 337.
[193] Dunlop, *Acta Facultatis*, nos. 54-55.
[194] Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, p. 14.

The university's 'inquisitor general' Lawrence of Lindores was a lecturer at the faculties of both theology and arts and wrote his own commentaries on Aristotle's treatises. It is evident from such commentaries that Lindores held nominalist views in the dispute on the nature of universals.[195] According to Broadie, Lindores aimed at preventing teaching the opposing view, *i.e*. realism, but such intention was not followed at St Andrews after Lindores's death.[196]

The Czech and Scottish intellectual environments centred around the universities of St Andrews and Prague shared many similar features, derived from the character of study the universities facilitated. Both universities were established primarily as *studia generalia*, sharing similar structures of the study at the respective faculties of arts, subdivided into the so-called *trivium* and *quadrivium*. The curricula at the faculties of arts at both universities were based in the studies of Latin translations of Aristotle.

The University of St Andrews was an international institution, accommodating not only Scottish students and academics, but also foreign ones. The academic communities at both universities were composed of nations, which were the base for the institutions' organizational structures; however, the position of Prague University was of a more international prominence, concentrating students and lecturers from the entire Europe. Foreigners were attracted to Prague by the possibility to study law, which was otherwise only available in Paris, Bologna, and Montpellier at the European continent and in Oxford and Cambridge at the British Isles. Another feature attracting foreigners to Prague was the ongoing academic debate on Wycliffite teaching and on the nature of universals.

The predominant view at the dispute on universals held at St Andrews was nominalist, which was supported by the strong position of Lawrence of Lindores. Prague University, on the other hand, was torn by conflict between the proponents of nominalism and realism, the former view being held by the academics belonging to the three German nations, the latter one held by members of the Czech nation. Such polarity of opinions was unquestionably a strong factor attracting foreigners to Prague, but it also contributed to the exodus of the German masters from the university, following the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora, and to the subsequent loss of the institution's outstanding international reputation.

The comparison and contrast of the two intellectual environments reveals that both provided fruitful conditions for the formation of new theological thought. However, Prague

[195] *Ibid*., p. 35.
[196] *Ibid*.

University provided more favourable settings for heterodox thinking. The following chapter is focused on the analysis of possible channels of exchange between the two nations and intellectual environments. Even though there is limited evidence for established communication between the two nations, there are certainly some shared features between both intellectual settings, which might have impacted mutual communication that we are presently aware of.

3 Intellectual interchange between Scotland and Bohemia regarding the reconceptualization of Wycliffe's teaching

3.1 Intercultural transmission between Bohemian Hussites and the English and Scottish Wycliffists and Lollards

The Hussites in Bohemia and Lollards in England and Scotland were involved in mutual intellectual and intercultural interchange at the onset of the fifteenth century. Wycliffe's works had already been known in Bohemia since the end of the fourteenth century.[197] However, mutual communication became even more frequent in the first two decades of the fifteenth century. One of the reasons for the increased intensity in exchange might have been, as Hudson notes, the desire to seek authoritative copies of Wycliffe's writings.[198]

While the interchange between Bohemia and English and Scottish Lollards is herein assessed, the ideological stance presently entitled 'Lollardy' can be ascribed to a Europe-wide trend in the early fifteenth century. According to Van Engen, the name of the movement originates in the Dutch language, though some authors promote anglophone etymologies of the term, and refers to 'mumbling prayers' and thus to people who are considered 'hyperreligious' and hold 'dubious spiritual views and practices'.[199] Van Engen further writes that even though the expression originated in the European continent, it became closely associated with heresy in England and Scotland and earned new connotations with the appearance of Wycliffism and later on with the spread of Wycliffe's ideas on the continent.[200]

When assessing Lollardy, it is important to place the movement in its historical context. According to Lutton, Lollardy as a heterodox piety evolved dynamically together with the 'changing nature of orthodox religion'.[201] The appeal of 'heresy' was thus grounded in its responsiveness to the changing boundaries as against the 'established beliefs'.[202] Similarly to Lollardy, Hussitism did not appear out of the blue and was founded on the philosophies of Jan Hus's predecessors such as Matěj z Janova, Jan Milíč z Kroměříže, and Conrad Waldhauser,

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[197] Anne Hudson, 'From Oxford to Prague: The Writings of John Wyclif and His English Followers in Bohemia', *The Slavonic and East European Review (1928),* vol. 75, no. 4 (1997), p. 644.
[198] *Ibid*.
[199] John Van Engen, 'A World Astir: Europe and Religion in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. John P. Hornbeck II and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), p. 11.
[200] *Ibid*., p. 12.
[201] Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and orthodox religion in pre-Reformation England: reconstructing piety*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 6.
[202] *Ibid*., p. 5.

even though Herold notes that drawing on such genealogy is more of a 'historical myth', though 'as old as Hussitism itself'.[203] Both Lollardy and Hussitism can be viewed as ideological predecessors for the Reformation, as drawing links to a certain 'continuity' was an asset to the new reformers who could draw a link to their 'protesting predecessors' and thus demonstrate that they were not founding an entirely 'new tradition'.[204] Lambert points to the comparability of the Hussite movement in Bohemia with Lollardy in England, while emphasizing the different context of historical events in both countries: Lollardy became reduced to 'a few of the clergy and some hardy artisan circles in England' after the defeat of Oldcastle's rebellion, while at the same time Hussite supporters among nobility and merchant classes were still 'intimidating' their opponents in Bohemia.[205]

Lambert's analysis brings us to the question of which societal classes were represented in the heterodox movements in England, Scotland, and Bohemia. As Herold notes, 'preaching' was the main means of transmitting heterodox thought and therefore, reformative ideas could be communicated and propagated to uneducated and unprivileged masses of lay people.[206] According to Aston, the ideas that later contributed to the Reformation were the successors of Lollardy. This allowed the proclaimers of such ideas to add 'vernacular arguments' to their ideologies.[207] While Lollardy and Hussitism was appealing to the common folk, it was also popular at 'high places' and among the 'ruling classes', be it 'both lay and ecclesiastical'.[208] At the same time as these movements were transmitted to broad masses through preaching, they were closely tied with the learned classes and the university environments. Lambert writes that the 'proto-Lollards' were a small group of 'academically trained men' who mediated Wycliffe's ideas to both priesthood and the wider audience.[209] Rex further elaborates on the noteworthy fact that Wycliffe's ideas had such a significant outreach 'beyond the academic circles in which they were originally conceived'.[210] Rex writes that it would be an oversimplification to conclude that Lollardy as a popular heresy was directly inspired by Wycliffe, because the Lollard movement was in itself 'far too diverse' to be viewed as being

[203] Vilém Herold, 'The Spiritual Background of the Czech Reformation: Precursors of Janu Hus', in *A Companion to Jan Hus*, ed. František Šmahel and Ota Pavlíček (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2015), pp. 69-70.
[204] Margaret Aston, *Lollards and reformers: images and literacy in late medieval religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), pp. 219-220.
[205] Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval heresy: popular movements from the Gregorian reform to the Reformation*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 306.
[206] Herold, 'The Spiritual Background', pp. 70-71.
[207] Aston, *Lollards and reformers*, p. 220.
[208] Kenneth B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian kings and Lollard knights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 139.
[209] Lambert, *Medieval heresy*, p. 266.
[210] Richard Rex, *The Lollards* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), p. 54.

based on the work of a single theologian.[211] At the same time, it is undoubtable that both Lollardy and Hussitism were linked through many features, the close ties with the intellectual environments of national university institutions being one of the remarkable similarities between both strands of thoughts or ideologies.

This chapter is focused on the assessment of the impact of British Lollardy on the European continent and *vice versa*, while it is indubitable that Bohemia held a prominent role among European nations with regard to the reception and recontextualization of Wycliffism.

The intellectual environment in Prague was shaped by the then topical conflict about the nature of universals, and so the university in Prague provided intellectual platform for Wycliffite thinkers such as Jerome of Prague.[212] The conflict over universals thus 'created […] the Hussite reform as it came to shape in terms of both philosophy and theology'.[213]

The first salient link between Bohemia and the British Isles, with England in particular, was the marriage of the king Richard II to Anne of Luxembourg, also known as Anne of Bohemia, the marriage lasting between 1372 and 1384. Anne was a daughter of the previous emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles IV, aforementioned in chapter 1 as the founder of the university in Prague. Additionally, she was a sister of the then current Bohemian king, Václav IV. The marriage was certainly a product of communication between the two countries and inevitably established further close links between the two nations, or at least the nobility thereof. Older historiography attributes the origins of mutual transmission of Reformation thought between the two countries to this marriage.[214] Van Dussen, on the other hand, claims that the 'Anglo-Bohemian cultural communication'[215] established through the marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia, had 'no direct effect on reformist heterodox communication',[216] and that all historical accounts claiming the contrary are products of the historiography of the 16th century.[217]

On the other hand, one of the undisputable facts about Queen Anne's contribution to the development and international transmission of reformist ideas worked in the opposite direction, *i.e.* from Bohemia to England. According to David, Queen Anne brought to England

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[211] *Ibid*.
[212] Thomas A. Fudge, *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 34-35.
[213] *Ibid*., p. 34.
[214] Spinka, 'Paul Kravař', p. 16.
[215] Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 12.
[216] *Ibid*., p. 13.
[217] *Ibid*., p. 16.

her Czech and German translations of the Bible,[218] which inspired the early English reformers in their further endeavour.[219]

According to Van Dussen, Bohemian Hussites were, together with British Lollards, one of the prime influences on English reformists.[220] The common ground for these reformist movements included the Wycliffite approach to the Gospel, the requirement for preaching in the vernacular, and the demand for church poverty and giving out to the poor. The reform movements in both countries generally agreed on matters of 'ecclesiastical government'.[221] On the other hand, Jan Hus and his followers disagreed with Wycliffe's refusal of the concept of transubstantiation.[222]

The true intercultural transmission aiming at reforming the church was established after Queen Anne's death through several modes of communication. One important step in transmitting from the British Isles to Bohemia the ideas of the pre-Reformation era, *i.e*. those thoughts which led to the formation of the main tenets of pre-Reformation philosophical and theological ideologies, was the establishment of a scholarship for Czech students to be educated at Oxford, which was set up as a legacy of Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježova in 1388.[223] The first scholar who brought Wycliffe's works to Prague was a graduate of this scholarship programme, Jerome of Prague, who returned to Bohemia from his studies in 1401 and, according to Spinka, was a prime influence on Jan Hus, who himself made numerous copies of Wycliffe's works for his personal use.[224]

The University of Oxford and the English academic world in general were not the only international influences on the themes important to Czech pre-Reformation thought. Prior to the establishment of the bursary by Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježova, Czech students were influenced by the university in Paris. Only the outbreak of the papal schism motivated these students to move to Oxford, because Bohemia and England were loyal to the popes in Rome, as opposed to Paris university, who generally supported the popes in Avignon.[225]

Van Dussen notes that there was lively communication between the English and the Czechs during the last years of the fourteenth century, which surpassed interests in religious

[218] Zdeněk David, 'Religious Contacts with England during the Bohemian Reformation', in *Proceedings of the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice 11* (2018), p. 159.
[219] *Ibid*.
[220] Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, p. 14.
[221] David, 'Religious Contacts', p. 158.
[222] Leff, 'Wyclif and Hus', pp. 105-108.
[223] Hudson, 'From Oxford to Prague', p. 646.
[224] Spinka, 'Paul Kravař', p. 16.
[225] Vilém Herold, 'The University of Paris and the Foundations of the Bohemian Reformation', in *Proceedings of the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice 3* (2000), p. 17.

matters and encompassed other aspects of cultural life.[226] However, the connection between Bohemian Hussites and English Lollards became the most prominent channel of communication at the beginning of the fifteenth century,[227] thus making the transmission of theological ideas and the questions of religious practices the primary area of interchange. Because Wycliffe's teachings were considered the 'primary subject'[228] of heresy in the fifteenth century England, such communication gave rise to actions of the inquisition, including the burning of Wycliffe's writing both in England and Bohemia and the martyrdom of Jan Hus at the Council of Constance in 1415.

Wycliffe's teaching held a prominent place among the subjects to the communication between Bohemia and Britain. However, there were other authors whose work was transmitted in between the two cultural spheres, such as Richard Rolle.[229]

The university environments in both countries were the essential centres for developing, disseminating, and accepting new theological and philosophical ideas. Even though such exchange of information was not limited to university settings, much of it was closely related to educational establishments. While Wycliffe had been well known in Prague prior to the onset of the fifteenth century,[230] a significant contribution to the knowledge of Wycliffe's writings was made by Mikuláš Faulfiš and Jiří of Kněhnice, who travelled from Prague to Oxford between 1406 and 1407 and brought with them to Prague copies of Wycliffe's books which they had themselves copied at villages of Braybrooke and Kemerton, the then residences of English Lollards expelled from Oxford University.[231]

The best illustrating example of the mutual interchange between Britain and Bohemia is the persona of Peter Payne, whose mission from England to Prague confirms the view that the stream of information between the two countries was working in both directions. Peter Payne fled from England to Bohemia in 1414, just missing Jan Hus who had already departed for his trial at the Council of Constance. Hornbeck II and Van Dussen suggest that the reason for Payne's escape from England was the closure of 'any chance of official support for Wycliffism in England'.[232] While still resident in England, Payne had been one of the most

[226] Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, p. 37.
[227] *Ibid*.
[228] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 50-55.
[229] Emily H. Allen, 'Some Fourteenth Century Borrowings from "Ancren Riwle"', *The Modern Language Review,* vol. 18/no. 1 (1923), pp. 1-3.
[230] Hudson, 'From Oxford to Prague', p. 647.
[231] *Ibid*., pp. 642-643.
[232] John P. Hornbeck II and Michael Van Dussen, 'Introduction: The Europe of Wycliffism', in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. John P. Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 12-13.

active initiators of the communication between the Hussites and Lollards.[233] Upon his relocation to Bohemia, he became one of the most significant political figures throughout the Hussite revolution, also working as a diplomat in negotiations with the ecclesiastical structures of both the Western and the Eastern Christianity.[234]

During the early years of the second decade of the fifteenth century, Jan Hus engaged himself in correspondent communication with the English Lollards Richard Wyche[235] and Sir John Oldcastle.[236] Hus's work and the philosophy of the realists at Prague university followed not only Wycliffe himself, but also Wycliffe's philosophical predecessors, specifically Robert Grosseteste.[237]

While Wycliffe was overtly the main source of Jan Hus's philosophical and theological doctrine, the latter differed significantly in major areas. Most importantly, Jan Hus did not follow John Wycliffe in his complete refusal of the notion of transubstantiation.[238] Additionally, Hus typically used Wycliffe's terminology, but gave it a different, often contrary, meaning.[239]

According to Pospíšil, Hus was mostly truthful to Wycliffe's philosophy, while often differing in his approach to theology.[240] Šmahel suggests that Hus's writing might have been motivated by Hus's aim to avoid the attention of the inquisition.[241] This is important for the analysis in the sections below, focusing on the intellectual interchange between Bohemia and Scotland regarding 'ecclesiastical politics' and the 'moral lapses of ecclesiastical establishment'.[242]

Finally, this brief overview of the communication channels between Bohemia and England illustrates that such interchange surpassed the importance for the two nations involved. One of the uniting elements of the reformist spirituality in both countries was the questioning of Papal authority and the outcomes from the mutual exchange served as the source of inspiration for other national reformed churches. According to David, the Utraquist church

[233] Hudson, 'From Oxford to Prague', pp. 647-649.
[234] Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, pp. 69-70.
[235] Christina von Noelcken, 'Richard Wyche, a Certain Knight, and the Beginning of the End', in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp. 147-150.
[236] Novotný, *M. Jana Husi Korespondence*, No. 85.
[237] Vilém Herold, *Pražská Univerzita A Wyclif: Wyclifovo Učení O Ideách A Geneze Husitského Revolučního Myšlení* (Prague: Knižnice Archivu Univerzity Karlovy, 1985), p. 71.
[238] Stephen E. Lahey, *John Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 104.
[239] David, 'Religious Contacts', pp. 160-161.
[240] Ctirad V. Pospíšil, *Husovská dilemata* (Prague: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2015), pp. 174-177.
[241] František Šmahel, *Jan Hus* (Prague: Argo, 2013), p. 263.
[242] David, 'Religious Contacts', pp. 159-160.

established in Bohemia as a result of the Hussite movement was a model for other national churches in Western Christianity.[243]

Following this brief analysis of the intellectual exchange between Bohemia and England, the following section focuses on the relation between Scotland and Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. There are two salient moments in the historiography of Scotland, which closely relate the Scottish intellectual environment with that of Bohemia: the letters of Quintin Folkhyrde sent to Prague in 1410 and the visit of a Bohemian Hussite Pavel Kravař to St Andrews in 1433. After a brief overview of the historiographical context, the following sections contain a detailed analysis of the primary sources witnessing these two occurrences of the mutual interchange between Bohemia and Scotland.

3.2 Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae*: the context and detailed analysis of the transmission of Wycliffite ideas

Let us now consider the first important moment illustrating the relation between Bohemian Hussites and Scottish Lollards at the onset of the fifteenth century. Prior to presenting a detailed analysis of the *schedulae* by Quintin Folkhyrde, a brief overview of the historical context of this document is given below.

The letters authored by Quintin Folkhyrde and in the literature usually referred to as *Nova Scocie* (news of Scotland) were sent from Scotland to Prague in 1410. The letters were not originally written with the intention to be sent to Prague; rather, they are four open letters addressed to all Christians; to the bishop of Glasgow and the clergy of Scotland; to the secular nobility; and to the lower clergy respectively. The accent on the Glasgow bishopric, out of all the contemporary Scottish diocesan sees might be due to the long Glaswegian tradition of conscientious papalism.[244] According to Poole, the letters were brought to Prague together with the correspondence of Richard Wyche and Sir John Oldcastle via London.[245] However, there is no preserved evidence providing a sufficient explanation as to why the *schedulae* were sent to Prague. One hypothetical explanation might be the existence of a channel of communication between Bohemia and Scotland. Nevertheless, due to the lack of evidence, the details of such exchange remain unclear.

[243] Zdeněk David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*, (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003), pp. 1-2.
[244] Gordon Donaldson, 'The Scottish Episcopate at the Reformation', *The English Historical Review*, vol. LX, no. CCXXXVIII (1945), p. 353.
[245] Poole, 'On the Intercourse', pp. 310-311.

As for the author of the letters, MacNab presents evidence that Quintin Folkhyrde was a real person, as there are records of a person of this name in the *Calendar of patent rolls* in 1407: one is a 'safe conduct' issued at Nottingham castle allowing Folkhyrde to pass to London and one is a similar entry from Beverley, allowing Folkhyrde to return to Scotland.[246] According to Sanderson, the 'combination of unusual names' suggests that the person mentioned in the *Calendar* is identical with the author of the letters *Nova Scocie*.[247] The name is evidently a pseudonym, corresponding to how Quintin Folkhyrde entitles himself in the first letter, *i.e*. '*pastor populi*'.[248] While secondary sources mostly agree on spelling the name as "Quintin Folkhyrde",[249] or "Quentin Folkhyrde"[250] the historical sources offer variations in the name, such as the Latin version "Quintinus Folkhyrde", "Folkherd", or "Folkherde" in the letters *Nova Scocie* and "Quintin Folkard" in the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*.[251]

In terms of the societal status of Quintin Folkhyrde, he entitles himself as '*armiger*' in the letters. This is translated as a 'squire' by MacNab[252] and a 'knight' by Spinka.[253] Dotterweich notes that Quintin Folkhyrde belonged to the lesser nobility, because he himself performed the tasks he expected from the nobility in letter four.[254]

The letters are sometimes wrongly interpreted as a correspondence primarily aimed at Prague. According to Hudson, they were rather open letters, distributed in the first decade of the fifteenth century in Scotland in the vernacular language, *i.e*. Scots, to anyone who was interested. They were translated to Latin for the purposes of their sending to Prague.[255] The letters are now preserved in two Latin manuscripts, one posited in Bautzen and one in the National library in Prague. Additionally, the letters were translated into the vernacular language of Bohemia, *i.e*. the Czech language of the fifteenth century. The old-Czech language version of the letters is preserved in a manuscript in the National Library in Vienna.

The answer to the question as to who the receiving audience of the letters in Bohemia were also remains a speculative one. The translation of the letters into Czech facilitated,

[246] MacNab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', p. 14.
[247] Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 37.
[248] First letter.
[249] *Cf*. MacNab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', p. 14; Poole, 'On the Intercourse', p. 310.
[250] *Cf*. Stevenson, 'Heresy', p. 334.
[251] *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 4, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1888) 144, no. 696.
[252] MacNab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', p. 11.
[253] Spinka, 'Paul Kravař', p. 20.
[254] Dotterweich, *The emergence*, pp. 20-21.
[255] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 201-2.

according to Spinka, their 'considerable effect upon the common people of Bohemia'.[256] Spinka, however, does not specify how the letters could have been further transmitted to the 'common people'. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the letters might have been read out loud during sermons, as this was the case for much of the international communication in the Bohemia of Hus's time.[257] Nevertheless, Dotterweich views the translation of the letters into contemporary Czech as an 'intriguing fact which is difficult to explain'[258] and refutes Spinka's assertion as 'entirely speculative'.[259]

The translation of the letters into the national language of Bohemia was in accordance with the Reformation thought, especially the priests' duty to preach.[260] Preaching in national languages was equally important in Bohemia - The bourgeoisie formed a large part of the society at the beginning of the fifteenth century and preaching in Czech was particularly directed to this societal group. The primary goal was, in accordance with the spirit of the Reformation, to make the Gospel accessible to lay people and to enable them to build up their relationship with God based on faith and not based on the ecclesiastical establishments. The second purpose of preaching in Czech was a political one: the reformed church was meant to be united by the shared beliefs and able to oppose the perceived wrongs of the established church in a way similar to that described in the letters by Quintin. The author of this dissertation assumes that the letters did not bring to Prague in 1410 any new information which would not have already been topical anyway. The importance and possible popularity of the letters lied in the fact that it described another Christian community, a Scottish one, which shared similar views on the corrections of the wrongdoings of the church. The present author believes that the letters were aimed at a broader lay audience and thus were written in the Scots vernacular and subsequently translated into the Czech vernacular.

As will be shown in the detailed analysis below, the letters bear Lollard overtones, mainly based in the criticism of the contemporary catholic church: the clergy's failure to preach[261] and the priests' emphasis on the collection of tithes rather than on giving alms to the poor.[262]

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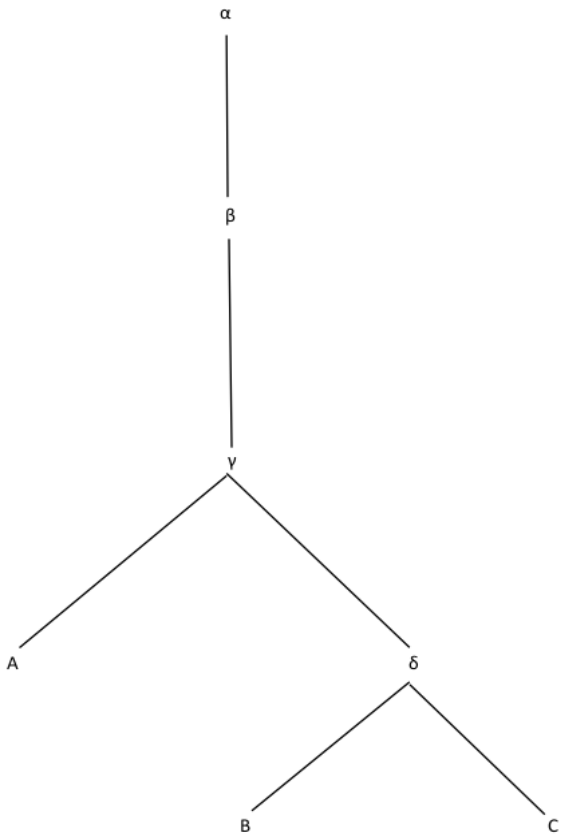
[256] Spinka, 'Paul Kravař', p. 18.
[257] Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis*, p. 391.
[258] Dotterweich, *The emergence*, p. 22.
[259] *Ibid*.
[260] *Cf*. Stephen E. Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 109; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 353-355.
[261] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 353-355.
[262] *Ibid*., pp. 345-346.

Even though very little is known about the persona of Quintin Folkhyrde, his societal status and origin and about his activities, historiographical evidence suggests that he really existed and travelled not only across Scotland, as noted by Sanderson[263] and as it is presented in the internal evidence in the letters, but also throughout England.[264] The fact that one of the very few pieces of evidence of Lollardy in Scotland are the letters sent to Prague proves the existence of a certain channel of communication between Scottish Lollards and Bohemian Hussites, though further details of such interchange remain speculative. Given the contextual information on the person of Quintin Folkhyrde and the letters *Nova Scocie* above, the analysis below is focused on the identification of Lollard ideas and transmission of Wycliffite thought in the letters. The assessment is based on the identification of several ecclesiological topics. In particular, the two overarching broader themes in the analysis presented include the accountability of the clergy and the requirement to preach in the vernacular languages, intelligible to the public.[265] More specifically, the theme of the accountability of the priests is identified through the depiction of the topics of selling indulgences, collecting tithes,[266] and gathering ecclesiastical property, as opposed to the church poverty and giving out to the poor and needy.[267] The theme of preaching in ways intelligible to the general public is assessed with regard to the topics of preaching in national languages rather than Latin,[268] preaching the Holy Scripture, and adhering to such preaching in the real life of the clergy.

The analysis below is based on two manuscript versions of the text: one deposited in the National library in Prague in Codex X E 24 and one deposited in the Municipal Library in Bautzen in Codex VIII°7. The manuscripts were transcribed, edited, and translated into English by the author of this dissertation. Based on secondary literature,[269] the relationship of the examined manuscripts and the other preserved manuscript witnesses to the original text has been reconstructed as shown in the diagram below:

[263] Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, pp. 39-40.
[264] MacNab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', p. 14.
[265] Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, pp. 40-41.
[266] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 345-346.
[267] Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, pp. 40-41.
[268] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 353-355.
[269] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* on the translation of the text from the vernacular original to Latin; Jan Sedlák, *M. Jan Hus* (Prague: Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1915) on the translation into medieval Czech and the subsequent translations into Latin; The diagrammatic depiction of the relationship of the preserved manuscript witnesses to the original text follows the methodology set by Alice Taylor, 'The Assizes of David, King of Scots, 1124-53', *Scottish Historical Review* 91 (2012), 197-238.

The relationship between the manuscript witnesses and the original text



α ..... Unknown English text (the original text handed out by Quintin Folkhyrde)
β ..... Latin translation brought to Prague
γ ..... Hypothetical 15th century-Czech translation
δ ..... Hypothetical Latin translation
A ..... Preserved 15th century-Czech copy, manuscript stored at Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienne, Codex 4916
B ..... Preserved Latin copy, manuscript stored at National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, Codex X E 24
C ..... Preserved Latin copy, manuscript stored at Stadtbibliothek, Bautzen, Codex VIII° 7

The present analysis identifying Lollard features in the text takes into consideration content as well as the vocabulary and the linguistic form in general. According to Hudson, the 'hostile opponents' of Lollards typically pointed out a distinct 'mode of speech' and 'style of argument' of the Lollard movement.[270] The analysis below is focused on the specific

[270] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, p. 165.

vocabulary usually employed by Lollards and identifiable in the *schedulae*. While some of the features of such specific vocabulary only appear in the texts written in the English vernacular, as they are a result of the necessity to translate theological concepts from Latin,[271] some identified below are used universally, even in the text of the *schedulae* written in Latin. This particularly concerns words and phrases, regularly used otherwise, which are in Lollard writing employed with a 'semantic force characteristic of Lollards'.[272] Even though the assessment of the semantic force is a matter of subjective judgement, the below analysis of the *schedulae* points to the occurrences where the specific employment of such vocabulary is self-evident.

The text of the letters opens with a title and an introduction relating to all four of the letters. Because the letters contain mutual cross-references, indicating that they were produced gradually as their author travelled through the Scottish countryside, it can be assumed that the title and the introduction were added only later in time, when the four *schedulae* were compiled together and translated into Latin for the purpose of their transmission to Prague.

> This is the Scottish news brought to Prague around the year 1410.
>
> There is one knight who is called Quintinus Folkhyrde and who is the shepherd of the people, who rose on the basis of God's strong arm. He rides through motherlands and countries where he announces through the native language things, which follow in letters and he gives them out to whoever asks for them.[273]

This brief description in the introduction is an evidence of the formal aspects of the letters, *i.e.* their distribution to all those who were interested and might potentially be converted for the Lollard cause, which proves that the text was produced by a Lollard. According to Hudson, the form of *schedulae* is one typical of the Lollard writings.[274] The text of the introduction suggests that the letters were not actually *epistolae*, as they are presented by MacNab,[275] *i.e.* letters primarily aimed at the correspondence between the sender and the addressee. Rather, they are open letters - *schedulae*, each one addressed to a particular group of people, the purpose of which is the transmission of information to the public. The intention of the author to distribute the letters publicly is evident from the announcements that they will be distributed to 'whoever asks for them'. This initial section also explicitly links the letters to Lollardy when the author

[271] *Ibid*., p. 173.
[272] *Ibid*., p. 170.
[273] This citation as well as all the subsequent citations of the original text are taken from the present author's own translation of the Latin text to English. Full translation, including notes on the differences between the two manuscripts and corrections of Baxter's edition in *Copiale*, is presented in appendix A to this dissertation.
[274] Anne Hudson, 'Some Aspects of Lollard Book Production', *Studies in Church History,* vol. 9, (1972), p. 148.
[275] MacNab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', pp. 14-16.

emphasises the Lollards' requirement that preaching should be done in the vernacular languages, when announcing that Quintin 'announces [things] through the native language'.

The first letter is addressed 'to the entire Christian world'. It sets the ground for distinguishing between the addressees of the following three letters. Quintin Folkhyrde is truthful to the Christian tradition of triadic divisions, often linked to the reconceptualization of Aristotle in the Western Christian philosophy.[276] In addition, Quintin subdivides the Christian endeavour to fight the evil into three parts, saying that 'that [it is] Christ's church which in this miserable life fights the devil, the world and the body'.

People, as well as the church, are divided into three sorts. The influence of Wycliffe's theology can herein be seen in the focus on the importance of spiritual, rather than material goods.[277] Quintin writes about the first group of people, *i.e*. lay people who are not of noble origin:

> May God's will be now and forever, Amen. May it clearly be let known to everybody that Christ's church, which in this miserable life fights the devil, the world and the body, is composed of three parts. Out of these three parts, the first and the lowest is the general people, which makes a living through its work and its craft, and this part is well and thrives if they serve God's commandments and devote themselves truly to their work and if they listen to God's gospel.

The second sort of people are the nobility. Quintin points to the danger of the abuse of power and authority. This is consonant with Wycliffe's view that possessing secular authority is unchristianly and breaches the original ideas on which the church and Christianity are laid down.[278] Another evidence of Wycliffite ideas in the letters is the reference to St Augustine's theology with regard to the theories of 'justice of property ownership':[279]

> The second part of the church are the earthly lords. And this part, when it acts in a way appropriate to its office, is better than the first one, but this position is more dangerous for it (because it has more reasons for sin). The duty of this part of society is to recognize God's law and to defend it, to defend Christ's servants and to kill antichrist's messengers. For this reason, they are given a sword and, according to St Augustine, the king is God's vicar. But for this sort, arrogance, earthly passion and pleasure is very dangerous.

Thirdly, the sort of people whom Quintin mostly criticises are the clergy, whom he sees as abusing their 'vow of poverty'.[280] This echoes Wycliffe's opinion that any clergyman, even

[276] Aristotle, *De Caelo* 268a.
[277] Stephen E. Lahey, *John Wyclif* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 196.
[278] Lahey, *John Wyclif*, p. 190.
[279] *Ibid*., p. 202.
[280] Lahey, *John Wyclif*, pp. 198-199.

one of a very high status such as the 'Roman pontiff' may be openly criticised by those who are their subordinates and even laymen:[281]

> The third part of the true church is the clergy, which is the best, indeed inasmuch as it properly exerts what pertains to its office. This sort must entirely abandon the management of earthly affairs, it must study, enact and teach the true God's word, so that the two previous sorts are vivified through the holy grace of God, freely serve God and so that others get closer to the following of Christ.

The final paragraphs of the first letter are devoted to further criticism of the clerical sort. The clergy are directly accused of being the 'worst' out of the three sorts of people, thus performing a role exactly opposite than what should be their work:

> But this apostolic part acts quite the opposite from what befits this office. It thus seems that no other part of the society resists God exactly so much as the clerical sort. As the apostle says: But if any man have not care of his own, and especially of those of his house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.

The last sentence of this extract is a direct quotation from the Bible, St Paul: 1st Timothy 5,8.[282] The subsequent continuation in Quintin's criticism of the priestly class is also supported by another citation. Quintin acknowledges his source as St Gregory, without specifying this any further. With regard to the motives of the quote, this is assumably Gregory the Great's Pastoral Care, Book 1 chapter 2:

> And because the apostle has said this here about every homesteader and the homesteaders in his family, which they should take care of, yet this should apply even more to the priests, who should spiritually take care of God's house, and hence they accept tithing, [and] many sacrifices as their work, but their acts do not prove that, as St Gregory says, they are shamefully alive in their delights and they slyly deceive poor people, especially in these parts: First that they do not teach the people God's law, nor do they teach the people about the articles of the Christian faith, nor do they tell people how they should understand the decalogue and God's commandments and Christ's reading in their natural language, nor do they, out of all the alms which priests collect, give anything out neither to the poor and the needy nor to the widows and orphans. So as St Gregory says: People have fallen far from God, from his journey and truth - the reason for it are bad priests.

This part refers to both main themes of Quintin's criticism: the corruption of the priests with earthly property and the unfulfilled duty of the priests to preach in ways understandable to the common folk. Furthermore, these themes are linked together as one being derived from the other one. As for the first theme, Quintin mentions that the priests should 'take care of […] God's house', but they instead 'accept tithing'. This directly results in the second point of

[281] Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics*, p. 109. Reference to *Chronicon Angliae*, pp. 181–182.
[282] The Bible extracts from the English translation of the Vulgate (Douay-Rheims) are used in this English translation of the Latin version of the letter, as well as in the subsequent Bible citations in this dissertation.

Quintin's criticism, when he writes that the priests 'slyly deceive poor people' when they do not 'teach [them] God's law' and the 'articles of the Christian faith'. The insufficiency of preaching is mainly seen in the absence of teaching 'God's commandments and Christ's reading in [a] natural language'. The argument then returns back to the first theme of Quintin's criticism, when Quintin claims that the priests collect property instead of giving out 'to the poor and the needy' and 'to the widows and orphans'.

The subsequent sections elaborate on the possible solutions to the perceived present corruption of the priests. Analogically to Quintin's disapproval of the abuse of power and property by the priests, the dissatisfaction is further extended to the second sort of people, *i.e.* the nobility:

> And therefore, the clerical sort suffers from malice from the secular power - from the king, from dukes, knights, [and] squires who bear the sword so that they can punish the third sort. However even so the clergy have improved a little or not at all.

Following Quintin's expression of discontent with both the priests and the nobility, he uses himself as an example of how the nobility should use their secular power to lead the clerical sort of people to improvement:

> But indeed, the secular lords do not know God's truth and thus they hesitate to resist the priests. Therefore I, Quintinus Folkhyerde, want to somehow replace the secular hands, I fear God and being forever damned by him. Therefore, I stand against the evil of the church, which I do in order to be granted forgiveness from all sins by God.

This paragraph, together with the following, present evidence of Quintin Folkhyrde's societal status, as belonging to the nobility, because he undertakes to perform the tasks of correcting the priests which he has just ascribed to the nobility. This is an idea directly following up from Wycliffe's thoughts in *De dominio divino libri tres* and *Tractatus de civili dominio*.[283]

In the following paragraph, Quintin refutes any arguments against the involvement of the nobility in the correction of the priests based on fear:

> Because I have already apparently declared war to the evil and hypocrisy of the priests. This godly war [is] against God's enemies and all their aiders. And I will do this as far as God our Lord has vested in me his grace, without which nothing good can be enacted.

[283] Stephen E. Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif*, Cambridge University Press, New York; Cambridge, UK, 2003.

The first *schedula* ends with further two quotes from the Bible, illustrating Quintin's determination to live to what he preaches and to recruit other nobles in the tasks of correcting the clergy:

> Therefore, in the name of the father, the son, and the holy spirit may there be God's will now and forever, amen. So as Moses said: Who is on the Lord's side, put every man his sword by his side, and go with me. He who is a faithful servant of God may gird himself with a sword and fight with me by God.

The first letter contains several references to 'God's law'. This is a typical example of a common term in theology, which is herein used with a 'semantic force characteristic of Lollards'[284] and in a 'loaded sense'.[285] The nobility are thus characterized through their role of defending God's law: 'the job of this part of the society is to recognize God's law and to defend it'. The accusation of the clergy of 'slyly deceiving poor people' is also based in their failure to 'teach the people God's law'. On other occasions in the first letter, 'God's law' is rephrased in slightly variant words, such as 'God's commandments', 'Christ's reading', and 'God's gospel', when, once again, the clergy are criticised, as they do not 'tell people how they should understand the decalogue and God's commandments and Christ's reading in a natural language' and poor people are being told to 'serve God's commandments and devote themselves truly to their work' and 'listen to God's gospel'. Other wordings for 'God's law' also include 'God's word', when clergy are instructed to 'enact and teach the true God's word'. Another formulation of the same concept is 'God's truth': 'the secular lords do not know God's truth and thus they hesitate to resist the priests'.

Another feature which makes the language of the letter clearly Lollard concerns stylistics. According to von Noelcken, recurrent citations of the Bible which support the claim that the clergy neglect their duty to preach are typical of the Lollard writing.[286]

The second *schedula* is addressed to the clergy. Quintin makes it evident in the opening of the second *schedula* that the four letters were not written at the same moment, as this one refers to the impact and outreach of the first one:

> Second letter.
>
> When these things were brought to the ears of the clergy, they caused their great anger and they started to preach to the secular lords to finally annihilate Quintinus. And even the others godlessly heckled him. When Quintinus heard this, he wrote a letter with these lines:
>
> Quintinus to the bishop of Glasgow and his successors and all priests of the Kingdom of Scotland.

[284] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 170-171.
[285] *Ibid*., p. 171.
[286] von Noelcken, 'An Unremarked Group', pp. 241-242.

The way that 'bishops', 'prelates', and 'the clergy' more generally are titled is of significance in Lollard writing. According to Hudson, these terms are equivalent in orthodox texts or in neutral language, meaning simply figures of high authority in the church,[287] but they 'bear strong emotional loading'[288] in Lollard writing. The reference to the opponents as 'bishops' also denotes the presupposed hypocrisy of the person holding the office and 'carries a strongly derogative force'.[289]

The introduction to the second *schedula* is followed by further direct criticism of the clergy, while Quintin is combining the disapproval of the priests' abuse of power with the lack of proper preaching and instead 'hiding the Christian truth':

> May God's will be now and forever Amen. Through trustworthy news, we understood, that you do your work strangely and badly. Our aim is cleansing the church through the authority of the holy spirit, which breathes where he himself wants it to and gives his gifts to everybody individually, as he pleases. Indeed, that is seen through your cruel government, which is only temporary over us people. Moreover, through your continuous impiety, you foolishly teach us, the masses, because you hide the Christian truth.

The statement that the clergy 'hide the Christian truth' refers to a typical Lollard juxtaposition between true and false.[290] In the next paragraph, Quintin distances himself from heresy, even though his own views would have been apprehended as heretical by the then Christian doctrine. This is done through another reference, which is made to the opposition between 'true' and 'false':

> Therefore, I announce to you everything that we have written in this truthful letter about your office against your shortcomings in your office but also against delusions and heresy.

Another occurrence of the true-false polarity common in Lollard discourse is found in the following paragraph, where Quintin directly requests the priests to work on immediate improvement and to disclose the 'godly truth'.

> Because we admonish you from God so that you [know] about the evident godly truth, which was to the good of the general godly order and of human salvation, so that you write back to us and give us the same answer. And prove to us the law of Christ and his apostles, if you can and know how to do so, through exemplary life. And [prove to us] through mind and script of your saint first doctors and the holy lord, if I have written something wrong here about you and your office.

[287] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 172.
[288] *Ibid*., p. 171.
[289] *Ibid*., p. 173.
[290] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

In the same paragraph, Quintin also accepts responsibility in case his accusations were erroneous, and in turn expresses his expectation that the priests would equally accept responsibility for their actions:

> And if you find something errant which I have written about you, then I will be glad if you punish me according to the law, which Christ set for this purpose, to punish in this way a heretic and errant person. On the other hand, if it is found true, everything we said about you, and confirmed by the holy scripture, then approach this wisely and humbly as it should be and correct your errors previously said. So that we all may also know that you have corrected yourselves through your deeds. And we also promise you that we will leave everything that we have lead against you, and we want to help you to everything good, if you correct yourselves and start acting as it is proper for your office. But if you reject this letter and our promises, and you will appear to us as foolish, proud and hardened in anger, like those who do not want to correct themselves, let the sword of God's revenge fall upon you.

Through this section, Quintin calls for the persecution of his opponents and admits the possibility that he himself would be a subject of such persecution in case he would have made a wrong judgement. Such descriptions of the persecution Lollards themselves were facing was common to Lollard writing.[291]

In the subsequent paragraph, Quintin requests answer from the addressees of his letter. As this letter is a *schedula*, it is evident that such a request is rather rhetorical and that a real response to the open letter is not expected:

> Therefore, then you shall act as it is required and give us a response, what you are doing, so that you may redress these matters about which we are writing to you. Before you do so, be aware that with God's wisdom and will, we do not intend to leave this intent of ours, but on the contrary, we will do so for as long as we are alive. So we impose [this up]on ourselves and if necessary until death we will require this from you and we do not wish to agree with you on any false truce, because that would have a wrong influence on the general masses. As all those are acting, who stand with you and are helpful to you [and] who do not shout against you as is proper against thieves and robbers and against God's enemies. You are clergy in name only, not through deeds.

The next section contains a reference to Quintin Folkhyrde's status as a nobleman, when he includes himself among the 'earthly lords' to which he refers by the pronoun 'we'. The priests are addressed in a quite defamatory way as 'wolves in sheep skin', and thus accused of hypocrisy and pretention:

> Therefore, we and also all Christians and particularly the earthly lords have already risen against you, not as against good clergy but as against predatory wolves covered in sheep skin. And do not be surprised that we speak so harshly to you in this letter. We are forced to it by our heart because our heart is severely hurt by how many times your evil way of life comes to our mind, in which you do not obey godly law and the salvation of the general people. You have been acting so for so long already, that I rather choose death for myself before being alive and not doing anything against your nuisances.

[291] *Ibid*., p. 171.

The reference to wolves in sheep skin is an allusion to John's Gospel,[292] a quote which was used in the arguments of both the proponents of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.[293] According to Hudson, the use of the language of the 'other camp' was typical for heterodox argumentation, in order to address the so-far neutral audience and convert them for the Lollard beliefs.[294]

The one before last paragraph of the second *schedula* pre-announces the additional two *schedulae*, addressed to the nobility and the common people. It can therefore be deduced that Quintin had either already written the two remaining letters or at least had a clear intention to do so:

> And as a proof of this letter I am sending three letters. We are sending one to you, the clergy, another one to the entire Christian community, which we want to serve through this, and the third letter to the earthly power of our office.

The final paragraph contains another piece of evidence of Quintin's noble status, which is the description of his seal emblem:

> The form of the signet of our office is a circle, and in the middle of this circle is a shield with the sign of a cross and with three keys nailed upon it; in the empty field of this circle above the shield is a depiction of a thorn crown. And around this signet is an inscription: Help me, lord God almighty.

The third letter is addressed to the nobility, whom Quintin entitles 'mundane masters' in the opening. As opposed to the previous letters, the introductory phrase is minimal and does not make any reference to the other letters. It can thus be assumed that this letter was written at the same time as the second letter:

> Third letter.
>
> Master Quintinus is sending a letter to all earthly masters.

The nobility, *i.e.* the 'earthly masters', is subsequently addressed by alternative titles, such as 'knights', 'squires', and 'lords'. As in the first letter, a reference is made to the use of a 'sword' in defending the faith and the truth and in punishing or correcting the priesthood. Once again, 'God's law' is mentioned in a strongly loaded sense, herein evident through the cluster of words in which it is found, including mentions of fighting to defend it with swords and armour:

> May God's will be now and forever. Amen. To all Christian lords and knights, squires who bring the sword and armour to the defence of God's law, because they own their land based on the

[292] John's Gospel, 10:1-21.
[293] A similar allusion is made in in the record of the burning of Pavel Kravař in *Scotichronicon*, where the heretics are compared to 'sheep with scab' (*cf. Scotichronicon*, vol. viii, book XVI, p. 281/lines 94-96).
[294] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, p. 170.

> faith and truth from the highest lord of heaven. We give our requests to them and we call upon them to help us establish the correction of priesthood. For that we also call upon the entire Christian commune, with the power of the holy spirit, to undergo all this work with us and to avoid the subsequent horrible judgement of God.

The sympathisers with Quintin's views are said to own their land based on 'faith and truth'. The self-reference of the Lollards to themselves as 'true' or 'true men' is derived from the abovementioned juxtaposition of true and false and is, according to Hudson's analysis, one typical feature of the Lollard writing.[295]

This section contains an appeal to the nobility not only to cooperate on the correction of the priests, but also to compensate for the priests' negligence of their duty to preach. Such appeal is consonant with the 'Lollard preoccupation with the value of preaching'[296] and with the Lollard's requirement that preaching duty should not be reserved to the clergy and should be practiced by the general population.[297]

Even though the third letter is addressed to the nobility, and not the priests, its contents mostly deal with the latter, and thus are not very different from the previous letter. The next paragraph of letter three enumerates various possible ways in which the priests breach the oath of poverty. Once again, swords are mentioned as important objects symbolizing both wealth and power. This is another occurrence of the term 'God's law' in the surrounding of terms evoking war and violence. These include 'beret, sword, shield, crossbow, long light spear' and also 'a bow and arrows'. Such collocation suggests the highly loaded use of the phrase 'God's law':

> It is first appropriate to show on the priests, with whom it will be discovered that they do not keep to God's law. They who take pride in worldly things, they who long for goods and greed and in addition wear an expensive robe. They wear worldly clothes and wear a sword belt decorated with gold and silver. Also, as a temporary protection, they wear a beret, sword, shield, crossbow, [and] long light spear. They also use a bow and arrows. They are more of sellers than buyers.

The following paragraph is a detailed elaboration of the already started criticism of the behaviour of the priests. A hint is made regarding their unfulfillment of the duty to preach, as they 'do not teach God's commandments' and 'do not preach the word of God'. However, most of the paragraph is devoted to the perceived vanity of the priests who are sinful, drink, play dice, and spend time with women. Quintin gives further the enumeration of the priests' sins

[295] *Ibid*., pp. 167-168.
[296] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, p. 324.
[297] *Ibid*., pp. 324-327.

and closes his statement by mentioning that, ironically, priests are the ones who often practice penitence and discipline over their subordinates, when they 'insult' and 'imprison' them:

> Furthermore know, all lords of the world, that all these priests sin against the law of God, go to drinking-houses where they get drunk, dance and play dice. They seek the company of women both at home and in drinking-houses. And they give bad examples to others. They are blind and cannot lead the people to salvation. They spend the alms of the poor, by which they do not preach the word of God. They do not even teach God's commandments. The alms that they take outside their need they do not give to the poor, but they spend in dice and for the building of castles, in delight and in luxury, in greed, in vanity, in pride, and they are alive in hypocrisy. And they are even against the lovers of God's truth, whom they insult and imprison.

The penultimate paragraph in the third letter contains a strong appeal to the noblemen to take action against the priests who are sinful, claiming that even friendly communication with the priests is equal to participation in their sins:

> We oppose all of them and we want to oppose them each and every day, until we see in them that they have improved. And God's will is there for you, all lords, to follow it. Because it is written down that whoever joins such people, or who just wishes them good and welcomes them in his house, or who is with them and supports them and greets them on a street, he does not contribute to their improvement and participates in their sins. Whoever does not oppose their sins, he approves of their sinful life, and as part of God's final punishment for such sins of theirs, he will suffer with them.

The final paragraph of the third *schedula* only recapitulates and re-emphasises the appeal in the previous paragraph:

> Therefore, everyone in this life who wants to live without sin and wants to please God should be helpful to this good intent. May God's will be fulfilled now and forever. Amen.

The fourth letter is addressed to the lower clergy, as is made clear by their duty to give the sacraments and to preach without payment.

This letter consists of a single paragraph, except for the introductory and the concluding phrases, and is the shortest one out of the four letters. It is thus evident that Quintin laid the least obligation in his demand on the improvement of the church on individual parishioners. The letter starts with a short title, similar to the previous three letters:

> Fourth letter.
>
> Master Quintinus is writing to his parson and to all parsons.

The main body of the letter is introduced with a reference to the three letters presented previously. This makes the impression that this letter was distributed later in time and that the addressees was hoped to have had the chance to get acquainted with the previous letters:

> May God's will be now and forever, amen. It is not a secret to you that we have sent messages to all three parts of the holy church. And also that we have shown based on the power of the holy spirit what is appropriate for the practice of every sort.

The following clauses lay obligations on the parsons to participate in the improvement of the church:

> And therefore, we particularly call on you to leave all your previous delusions and to leave all worldly things. We call upon you to govern your church. To always teach God's law, to teach the Lord's prayer and the Creed, God's commandments, [and] to read the epistles on feasts to your parishioners.

Parsons are further asked to preach without payment and to give out sacraments:

> To preach to all, [and] freely and without payment to give out sacraments/grace wherever they are needed. Give the sacrifice and tithes which are accepted out faithfully wherever they need to be given out.

However, differently from the previous addressees, the lower clergy are allowed to care for themselves and their earthly needs prior to caring about the church and its adherence to Christian values:

> Firstly, however, take part of these resources for your own good. Take yourself a simple meal and clothes to meet the need, not for pleasure, and the rest, outside your priestly need, give out to your parish or elsewhere. Remember that everyone should live according to the sort to which he belongs. You focus on the smallest things and move furthest from worldly things.

Consequently, Quintin aspires to recruit additional followers for his movement, supporting his aspiration by both positive motivation and deterrence:

> With your life, follow mostly Lord Jesus Christ. If you do all this as best you can, then know that you will have a good friend in us and a great defender against all those who would interfere in such good work begun. If you, however, do not do what we command you by the power of God, but God forbid, then know that we would stand up against you and even more zealously than against the Jews and the Saracens. We would stand up in the same way against every evil priest, an enemy of the truth of God.

The closing phrase of the fourth letter once again mentions Quintin's seal, though the thorough description is no longer repeated:

> To all our testimonies in these letters, our seal is attached.
>
> End of the letter of Quintin, a Scottish squire.

The purposes of using the specific forms of language in Lollard writings, on the level of vocabulary, as analysed above, are several. One obvious reason for using specific vocabulary was the aspiration to escape inquisitory attention. On the content level, Lollards expressed

thoughts which they knew would be apprehended as heretical, such as open criticism of the clergy. Such thoughts were, on the formal level, presented in an indirect way so that the heterodoxy would not be obvious at a first glance and could even be interpreted as orthodoxy in a literal interpretation.[298] On the other hand, the language could not be used in a way unintelligible to outsiders, because the main aim of the writings such as Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* was to 'convert the unreformed'.[299] Therefore, the use of terminology typically used in orthodox Catholic writing, but with modified connotations, was a useful tool involving speaking in the enemy's language, because 'the enemy must be attacked on his own ground'.[300]

3.3 The inquisitory process with Pavel Kravař, a Czech Hussite martyred in St Andrews

The persona of Pavel Kravař is important not only for the history of the Hussite movement in Bohemia. Broadie notes that Pavel Kravař was, together with the English Wycliffist James Resby, one of the first two people martyred in Scotland for heresy.[301] The inquisitor solely responsible for the death sentences of these first two heretics executed in Scotland was Lawrence of Lindores, a teacher of theology and the rector of the University of St Andrews.[302] Lindores' inquisitory actions were important politically, as it was through them that the University of St Andrews fulfilled its intended role to act as the 'bulwark against heresy'[303] and allowed Lindores to view himself as the 'inquisitor-general' who was 'faithful to the university's values'.[304]

Presently, there are only two pieces of historiographical evidence of Pavel Kravař's visit to St Andrews. These include Walter Bowers' record in the *Scotichronicon*[305] and a letter sent by Pavel Kravař to the Polish King Ladislas a few months before Pavel Kravař's death.[306]

According to the record in *Scotichronicon*, 'On being found an obstinate heretic, he [Kravař] was convicted, condemned, put to the fire and burned to ashes'.[307] According to Moonan, all additional evidence illustrating the historical events surrounding Kravař's journey

[298] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, p. 170.
[299] *Ibid*.
[300] *Ibid*., p. 163.
[301] Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, p. 35.
[302] *Ibid*.
[303] *Ibid*.
[304] *Ibid*.
[305] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. viii, book XVI, nos. 20-22, pp. 276–287.
[306] Lawrence Moonan, 'Pavel Kravar, and some Writings Once Attributed to Him', *Innes Review,* vol. 27, no. 1, (1976), pp. 3-4.
[307] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, no. 20/ p. 277/ lines 7-8.

are either chronicles which copy *Scotichronicon* and 'garble'[308] or writings wrongfully ascribed to Pavel Kravař by older historians.[309] Due to the lack of records, the present-day study of ecclesiastical history is short of information on the views which Pavel Kravař held which brought him to the martyr death of burning at stakes. *Scotichronicon* gives a very general account of Kravař's heresy:

> This man is said to have been sent from Bohemia by the heretics of Prague, who were then very influential in their wicked ways. His purpose was to corrupt the Kingdom of the Scots, and he came with letters of recommendation from them as an outstanding practitioner in the art of medicine. He was found to be fluent and skilled in divinity and in biblical argument, but he displayed his stupidity by stubbornly maintaining nearly all the erroneous articles associated with Prague and Wyclif.[310]

Dotterweich notes that such 'fragmentary evidence' of the death of Kravař and heresy in Scotland in general suggests that Lollardy was existent in Scotland but was not particularly strong.[311] However, the aforementioned argument remains here that ecclesiastical structures would probably not have invested such considerable effort in eradicating heresy in Scotland, if it was not perceived as a real threat. Lawrence of Lindores' preeminent position in the inquisitory process is presented with praise directed at Lindores' contribution to the suppression of heresy in Scotland: 'he [Kravař] was silenced by that venerable man Master Laurence de Lindores, the inquisitor of heretical deviation, who gave heretics or Lollards no peace anywhere in the kingdom.'[312]

While the position of Lollard heresy in Scotland might remain disputable, the evidence in *Scotichronicon* indisputably suggests that Bohemia was considered important and influential by the inquisitors in St Andrews. The record about burning Kravař in *Scotichronicon* is followed by an overview of the Hussite movement in Bohemia, with descriptions of the main factions of the Hussite movement and the views they held.[313] Peter Payne, who is herein called Peter Crek, is mentioned as 'formerly an Englishman, but now a sacrilegious Bohemian'.[314] It is implied that sacrilege is a Bohemian problem, which is thereby dissociated from someone being an Englishman. Thus, *Scotichronicon* does not deal with Kravař's views in particular, but Hussitism in Bohemia in general is therein dealt with as an important matter.

[308] Moonan, 'Pavel Kravar', pp. 3-4.
[309] *Ibid*.
[310] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, no. 20/ p. 276/ lines 8-16.
[311] Dotterweich, *The emergence*, p. 19.
[312] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, no. 20/ p. 277/ lines 16-18.
[313] *Ibid*., no. 20/ p. 277/ lines 19-35, p. 279/ lines 36-80, p. 281/ lines 81-94.
[314] *Ibid*., no. 20/ p. 277/ lines 19-20.

The three main factions of the Hussite movement in Bohemia are called 'diabolical sects',[315] and include the Taborites led by Prokop, the Orphans led by Peter Payne, and the people of Prague.[316] The most outstanding practices of the Hussites are seen in 'scorning and neglecting the epistle, gospel and all the other usual parts of a mass, and also the canonical hours'[317] and in beginning 'the mass with the Lord's Prayer'[318]. The catholic ecclesiastical structures are praised for getting rid of this heretical movement: 'The sect of these people of Prague was successfully destroyed by the wisdom of council of Basel',[319] even though the council originally 'concentrated its work on seeking reconciliation'.[320]

Reconciliation had allegedly been sought over the Hussite claims which reflect Wycliffite thought and which have been identified in the analysis of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* above: the claims that the church should give up the 'endowment and material property'[321] and that it should allow 'the free preaching of the Word (that is whether everyone should be allowed to preach indiscriminately)'.[322]

Scotichronicon figuratively describes heretics as sheep,[323] a simile recurrent in medieval Christian religious texts, which is also employed in Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* analysed above: 'This shows how craftily heretics and Lollards enter dressed up as sheep, but are then found to be fiercer than wolves underneath'.[324] This brings us back to Hudson's observation that similar language is often employed in strongly heterodox texts as in texts which are 'clearly orthodox'.[325]

Additionally, this Gospellike simile is herein expressed through a quotation of St Jerome, while heretics and Lollards are compared to sheep scab:

> As Jerome says: 'Kill while the enemy is small, so that villainy is crushed in the seed. Stinking flesh', he says, 'should be cut back and a sheep with scab should be excluded from the sheepfold, lest the whole household be consumed and the flocks infected. In Alexandria there was one spark; but since it was not put out right away, its flame has devastated the whole world.'[326]

The Christian theme of viewing the community of believers as sheep is recurrent in the following text depicting Lollardy as a dangerous school of thought, when Lollards are accused

[315] *Ibid*., lines 27-28.
[316] *Ibid*., lines 21-27.
[317] *Ibid*., p. 279/ lines 42-43.
[318] *Ibid*., lines 43-44.
[319] *Ibid*., lines 61-62.
[320] *Ibid*., lines 53-54.
[321] *Ibid*., lines 56-57.
[322] *Ibid*., lines 27-59.
[323] Reference to the Biblical Text of John's Gospel, 10:1-21.
[324] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, no. 20/ p. 281/ lines 94-96.
[325] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, p. 170.
[326] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, no. 20/ p. 281/ lines 99-104.

that ‘with magicians’ wands have detached the Lord’s flock from unity [with him] by a variety of specious truths’.[327]

Another trait similar between the account of Scottish Lollardy in *Scotichronicon* and the heterodox criticism of the church in Quintin Folkhyrde’s *schedulae* is the drawing of an analogy between the behaviour of the opponent and prostitution:

> Hence like pimps they prostituted their wives, mistresses and daughters [both virgins and married women] indiscriminately, even in the presence of their [fathers and] husbands; and if anyone on this account raised an objection, they brought him like a heretic to a heretic’s death.[328]

In a similar mode to Quintin Folkhyrde’s *schedulae*, a reference is made to Paul,[329] when heterodox thought is depicted as more dangerous than unbelieving: ‘denying the truth of the Resurrection became worse than unbelievers, since they have an appearance of piety but deny its reality. Paul tells us to keep clear of men like these.’[330]

The descriptions of the Hussite movement are intertwined with the overview of the Lollard thought in general and with the reinstatement of the perceived importance of the channel of communication between Bohemian Hussites and Scottish Lollards. The Lollards and Hussites are depicted through numerous figurative expressions, likening them to various pests, parasites, and other detrimental animals: ‘They are the fly, the dog flea, the locust with its long “spear”, and the innumerable caterpillar, which aim at the destruction of the fruit of the church.’[331] Herein as well as at other places, the orthodox thought of the unreformed catholic church is compared to fruits or harvest, who is threatened by such animals and insects: ‘They are Arians whose punishment is not yet fully paid in the lower regions, according to Augustine, and whose seeds have not yet grown into [a harvest of] fruits and sheaves’.[332]

The perceived danger of the Bohemians for the catholic church in Scotland is explicitly emphasized two times in these sections of *Scotichronicon* devoted to Lollardy. Firstly, the three strands of the Hussite movement are once again enumerated and deemed as dangerous: ‘They are Wycliffites, Hussites, Procopians, men of Prague, disciples of Archiphiton, clouds without rain which are carried around in circles by the winds, who have walked the road of Cain’.[333] Secondly, it is claimed that the example of Prague and the influence of the Hussites on the church in Bohemia should be avoided in Scotland: ‘A psalm says this about them: “He sent

[327] *Ibid*., no. 21/ p. 283/ lines 41-43.
[328] *Ibid*., no. 20/ p. 279/ lines 79-80, p. 281/ lines 81-83.
[329] St Paul: 1st Timothy 5,8
[330] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, no. 21/ p. 285/ lines 56-58.
[331] *Ibid*., no. 22/ p. 287/ lines 35-37.
[332] *Ibid*., p. 285/ lines 12-14.
[333] *Ibid*., no. 21/ p. 285/ lines 59-61.

swarms of flies which devoured them, and frogs which destroyed them" i.e. the division of the goods and estates of the church, as happened in Prague'.[334]

The perceived danger of the Bohemian influence on Scottish heterodox thought can also be deduced from the considerable space devoted to this topic in *Scotichronicon*, *i.e*. three sections (nos. 20-22) and five pages (in the Latin original), as opposed to for example the sporadic attention paid to the founding of the University of St Andrews, which is dealt with on less than two pages in one single section (no. 22) in Book XV. After the thorough treatment of the case of Pavel Kravař, the Hussite movement, Lollardy and heresy in general, *Scotichronicon* moves on by announcing 'Enough on Lollards!'[335] and continues with the description of the 'wonderful eclipse',[336] occurring on 17 June 1433 only a couple of weeks before Kravař's execution, performed on 23 July of the same year.

[334] *Ibid*., no. 22/ p. 287/ lines 38-41.
[335] *Ibid*., lines 53-54.
[336] *Ibid*., lines 55-58.

Conclusion

The purpose of the analysis in this dissertation has been to introduce a new view on philosophical discourse in Scotland and in Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and to compare and contrast the intellectual environments at the universities in both countries, in particular Prague University in Bohemia and the University of St Andrews in Scotland. It has also aimed to draw connections between the philosophies of these important intellectual centres of the time.

More particularly, this dissertation has looked at the specifics of the philosophical and theological thinking in both intellectual environments. It has enquired into the originality of such philosophies and into the specific ways in which they reflected, reconceptualized, and recontextualized the writings of the English thinker John Wycliffe. Evidence has been presented that the legacy of Wycliffe's works was present, at least to a small degree, in the writings of Scottish Lollards. At the same time, through the examination of the communication between the two countries and through studying the content and purpose of such communication, it has been demonstrated that the shared interest in the reception of Wycliffe's work was quintessential for the relationship between Bohemian Hussites and British Lollards, but also for the broader international outreach of their pre-Reformation thinking. The ultimate aim of the research hereby presented has been to elucidate the importance of the period in the development of original national schools of philosophy in Bohemia and Scotland, with a specific emphasis on the reception of the teachings in the tractates of John Wycliffe and on the nationalist, yet, at least to an extent, internationally universal traits in 'pre-Reformation' thought in Scotland and Bohemia.

Even though Jan Hus and John Wycliffe shared largely similar views, they also differed in some parts of their doctrines. Hus was an overt follower of Wycliffe, but his philosophy surpassed mere acceptance of Wycliffite thought, just as some of Wycliff's ideas were rejected by Hus in full, and other points of Wycliffe's teaching were transformed or developed into entirely new concepts in Hus's writing.[337] While the purpose of this dissertation has not been to compare Wycliffe's and Hus's theological and philosophical views, as much has already been written on the topic, the intention of the author was herein to point to the themes of communication between the proponents of Wycliffe and Hus on the British Isles and on continental Europe and to the shared features of the respective intellectual environments.

[337] Leff, *Wycliff and Hus*, pp. 107-108.

Wycliffe was a 'solitary figure',[338] who did not have direct influence on the English and Scottish Lollards, especially after the suppression of Sir John Oldcastle's rising.[339] Hus, on the other hand, was surrounded with his co-workers at Prague University and his work was continued by numerous followers. Hus's philosophy led to the formation of an organized movement and to the outbreak of the Hussite Revolution. Therefore, while the influence of Wycliffe on the Lollards on the British Isles could only be indirect, the communication between Wycliffites and Bohemia presented one of the important factors and contributions facilitating such influence. The events in Prague were so important that they formed some of the major points dealt with by the Councils of Constance and Basel. The prime importance of the Prague intellectual environment for the transmission of the core ideas of pre-Reformation theological thought is therefore clear.

The close analysis of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* reveals that at least one of the Scottish Lollards used their specific language even when writing in Latin. The text of the *schedulae,* preserved in the Latin version is unique, as one of the prime aims of the Lollard movement was the promotion of preaching in the vernacular. In the hereby presented analysis of the Latin text of the letters, several linguistic and especially lexical features have been identified as clearly Lollard – the terminology used for the movement's self-identification, the use of lexemes denoting juxtapositions of true and false, and loaded usages of terms otherwise common in orthodox theology. Such linguistic analysis shows that Lollard language was expected to be understood by the Bohemian Hussites. The importance of the communication between Bohemia and Britain in the early fifteenth century thus lies not only in the impact it could have on pre-Reformation thought, but also in the fact that such communication could have contributed to the developments in specifically Lollard, or generally heterodox, language.

When revisiting the research questions, the inquiry hereby presented confirms the presupposed importance of the universities in Prague and St Andrews and their shared features regarding the interconnectedness with the church, especially through episcopal control. The fact that the intellectual environments of Bohemia and England and Scotland engaged in mutual intercultural transmission leads us to the conclusion that Lollardy was perceived as important by Bohemian Hussites and *vice versa*. The reconceptualization of Wycliffe's thought in Bohemia was of international importance and a major factor attracting foreign students and academics to Prague. Because one of the few preserved pieces of evidence of Scottish Lollardy

[338] *Ibid*., p. 107.
[339] *Ibid*.

was sent to Prague, the communication between Lollards and Hussites facilitated the existence of materials useful for the present-day study of the Lollardy.

On the other hand, and due to the limited amount of known extant evidence, it is not possible to draw any extended or definitive conclusions about the intensity of formal intellectual interchange between Bohemia and Scotland. As the reason for sending Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae* to Prague remains unknown, it can be deduced that these letters were part of an established formal communication between the two nations. Moreover, it is equally possible that Lollardy did not have strong support in Scotland in the early fifteenth century and that Pavel Kravař actually made his journey to St Andrews because of being mistakenly convinced that he would find in Scotland some support for his heterodox views.

Yet despite the limited available evidence, the project hereby presented points to the fact that while the Reformation was often motivated by national interests, it was also driven by international communication and cooperation. Exploring the possible mutual inspiration between Bohemia and Scotland in the pre-Reformation era sheds light on a specific example of such international exchanges.

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Appendix A – Translation of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae*[340]

This is the Scottish news brought to Prague around the year 1410.[341]

There is one knight who is called Quintinus Folkhyrde[342] and who is the shepherd of the people,[343] who rose on the basis of God's strong arm. He rides through motherlands and countries where he announces through the native language things, which follow in letters and he gives them out to whoever asks for them.[344]

First letter.[345]

Quintinus to the entire Christian world.

May God's will be now and forever, Amen. May it clearly be let known to everybody that Christ's church, which in this miserable life fights the devil, the world and the body, is composed of three parts.[346] Out of these three parts, the first and the lowest is the general people, which makes a living through its work and its craft, and this part is well and thrives if they serve God's commandments and devote themselves truly to their work and if they listen to God's gospel.

The second part of the church are the earthly lords. And this part, when it acts in a way appropriate to its office, is better than the first one, but this position is more dangerous for it (because it has more reasons for sin). The duty of this part of society is to recognize God's law and to defend it, to defend Christ's servants and to kill antichrist's messengers. For this reason, they are given a sword and, according to St Augustine, the king is God's vicar. But for this sort, arrogance, earthly passion and pleasure is very dangerous.

The third part of the true church is the clergy, which is the best, indeed inasmuch as it properly exerts what pertains to its office. This sort must entirely abandon the management of earthly affairs, it must study,[347] enact and teach the true God's word, so that the two previous sorts are vivified through the holy grace of God, freely serve God and so that others get closer to the following of Christ.

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[340] The author of this dissertation hereby presents his English translation of the Latin text, including notes on the differences between the two existing Latin manuscript versions and including his corrections to the edition presented in *Copiale*. The *Copiale* edition allegedly collates the manuscripts deposited in Prague and Bautzen, however, the present author herein notes differences between the original Latin texts in the manuscript in X E 24 fol. 391v – 393v in Prague ('B' hereinafter, in accordance with the diagram on p. 51 of this dissertation) and in Codex Bautzen VIII°7 fol. 111v – 114v ('C' hereinafter), which are omitted in the *Copiale prioratus Sanctiandree* text ('*Cop*.' hereinafter). Biblical quotes are taken from the Douay-Rheims English translation of the Vulgate throughout.

[341] This headline is in *Cop.* and in B: 'Hec sunt Nova Scocie anno M cccc x Pragam portata'. The headline is missing in C.

[342] The author is called 'Folkherde' in C, and 'Folkhyrde' in *Cop*. and B.

[343] Text in C: 'i.e. pastor populi' written above the text, it is in the main body of the text in B and in *Cop*.

[344] Literally 'whoever reaches his hand out for them'. Literal text in C: 'que sequuntur in epistolis, ea per cartulas et cedulas dividendo et cuilibet manum extendenti porrigendo', while in B: 'que secuntur in data et divisa per cedulas cuicunque manus extendenti'.

[345] The headline of the first letter in C and *Cop*. is 'Epistola prima', it is missing in B.

[346] C has a marginal 'Ex dialogo Wik:'. This marginal is missing in B and is not mentioned in *Cop*.

[347] C and *Cop.*: 'studio intelligentia', B: 'studio intelligencie'.

But this apostolic part acts quite the opposite from what befits this office. It thus seems that no other part of the society resists God exactly so much as the clerical sort. As the apostle says: But if any man have not care of his own, and especially of those of his house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.[348] And because the apostle has said this here about every homesteader and the homesteaders in his family, which they should take care of, yet this should apply even more to the priests, who should spiritually take care of God's house, and hence they accept tithing, [and] many sacrifices as their work, but their acts do not prove that, as St Gregory says, they are shamefully alive in their delights and they slyly deceive poor people, especially in these parts: First that they do not teach the people God's law, nor do they teach the people about the articles of the Christian faith, nor do they tell people how they should understand the decalogue and God's commandments and Christ's reading in their natural language, nor do they, out of all the alms which priests collect, give anything out neither to the poor and the needy nor to the widows and orphans. So as St Gregory says: People have fallen far from God, from his journey and truth - the reason for it are bad priests.[349]

And therefore, the clerical sort suffers from malice from the secular power - from the king, from dukes, knights, [and] squires who bear the sword so that they can punish the third sort. However even so the clergy have improved a little or not at all.

But indeed, the secular lords do not know God's truth and thus they hesitate to resist the priests. Therefore I, Quintinus Folkhyerde, want to somehow replace the secular hands, I fear God and being forever damned by him. Therefore, I stand against the evil of the church, which I do in order to be granted forgiveness from all sins by God.

Because I have already apparently declared war to the evil and hypocrisy of the priests. This godly war [is] against God's enemies and all their aiders. And I will do this as far as God our Lord has vested in me his grace, without which nothing good can be enacted.

Therefore, in the name of the father, the son, and the holy spirit may there be God's will now and forever,[350] amen. So as Moses said: Who is on the Lord's side,[351] put every man his sword by his side, and go with me.[352] He who is a faithful servant of God may gird himself with a sword and fight with me by God.

[348] This is a citation from the Bible, the Douay-Rheims English translation of the Vulgate: St. Paul: 1st Timothy 5,8.
[349] Assumably Gregory the Great's Pastoral Care, Book 1 chapter 2.
[350] *Cop*. and B contain this sentence: '[…] fiat voluntas domini nunc et Semper'. C is missing this sentence.
[351] This is a citation from the Bible, I am using the translation from the Douay-Rheims English translation of the Vulgate: Exodus 32,26.
[352] This is a paraphrase of Exodus 32,27. The original text as translated by Douay-Rheims is: Put every man his sword upon his thigh: go, and return from gate to gate through the midst of the camp, and let every man kill his brother, and friend, and neighbour.

Second letter.[353]

When these things were brought to the ears of the clergy, they caused their great anger and they started to preach to the secular lords to finally annihilate Quintinus. And even the others godlessly heckled him. When Quintinus heard this, he wrote a letter with these lines:

Quintinus to the bishop of Glasgow[354] and his successors and all priests of the Kingdom of Scotland.

May God's will be now and forever Amen. Through trustworthy news, we understood, that you do your work strangely and badly. Our aim is cleansing the church through the authority of the holy spirit, which breathes[355] where he himself wants it to and gives his gifts to everybody individually, as he pleases. Indeed that is seen through your cruel government, which is only temporary over us people. Moreover, through your continuous impiety, you foolishly teach us, the masses, because you hide the Christian truth.[356]

Therefore, I announce to you everything that we have written in this truthful letter about your office against your shortcomings in your office but also against delusions and heresy.

Because we admonish you from God so that you [know] about the evident godly truth, which was to the good of the general godly order and of human salvation, so that you write back to us and give us the same answer. And prove to us the law of Christ and his apostles, if you can and know how to do so, through exemplary life. And [prove to us] through mind and script of your saint first doctors and the holy lord, if I have written something wrong here about you and your office. And if you find something errant which I have written about you, then I will be glad if you punish me according to the law, which Christ set for this purpose, to punish in this way a heretic and errant person. On the other hand, if it is found true, everything we said about you, and confirmed by the holy scripture, then approach this wisely and humbly as it should be and correct your errors previously said.[357] So that we all may also know that you have corrected yourselves through your deeds. And we also promise you that we will leave everything that we have lead against you, and we want to help you to everything good, if you correct yourselves and start acting as it is proper for your office. But if you reject this letter and our promises, and you will appear to us as foolish, proud and hardened in anger, like those who do not want to correct themselves, let the sword of God's revenge fall upon you.

Therefore, then you shall act as it is required and give us a response, what you are doing, so that you may redress these matters about which we are writing to you. Before you do so, be aware that with God's wisdom and will, we do not intend to leave this intent of ours, but on the contrary we will do so for as long as we are alive. So we impose [this up]on ourselves and if necessary until death we will require this from you and we do not wish to agree with you on any false truce, because that would have a wrong influence on the general masses. As all those are acting, who stand with you and are helpful to you [and] who do not shout against you as is

[353] C and *Cop*. use the term 'epistola', B uses 'cedula'. C contains a note above the main body of the text: 'tum per vestrum infidelem processum quem fatue ducitis super nos', *Cop*. and B incorporate it in the text itself.
[354] *Cop*.: 'Glacovensi', B: 'Glatonensi', C: 'Glasgoviensi'.
[355] 'Acts' might be meant here.
[356] 'General truth' might be meant.
[357] *Cop*. and C: '[…] tunc non feratis hoc graviter, sed prudenter et humiliter prout decet corrigite errores […]', Prague: 'tunc facite ad hoc prudenter et humiliter prout decet et corrigite errores […]'.

proper against thieves and robbers and against God's enemies. You are clergy in name only, not through deeds.

Therefore, we and also all Christians and particularly the earthly lords have already risen against you, not as against good clergy but as against predatory wolves covered in sheep skin. And do not be surprised that we speak so harshly to you in this letter. We are forced to it by our heart because our heart is severely hurt by how many times your evil way of life comes to our mind, in which you do not obey godly law and the salvation of the general people. You have been acting so for so long already, that I rather choose death for myself before being alive and not doing anything against your nuisances.

And as a proof of this letter I am sending three letters. We are sending one to you, the clergy, another one to the entire Christian community, which we want to serve through this, and the third letter to the earthly power of our office.

The form of the signet of our office is a circle, and in the middle of this circle is a shield with the sign of a cross and with three keys nailed upon it; in the empty field of this circle above the shield is a depiction of a thorn crown. And around this signet is an inscription: Help me, lord God almighty.

Third letter.

Master Quintinus is sending a letter to all earthly masters.

May God's will be now and forever. Amen. To all Christian lords and knights, squires who bring the sword and armour to the defence of God's law, because they own their land based on the faith and truth from the highest lord of heaven. We give our requests to them and we call upon them to help us establish the correction of priesthood. For that we also call upon the entire Christian commune, with the power of the holy spirit, to undergo all this work with us and to avoid the subsequent horrible judgement of God.

It is first appropriate to show on the priests, with whom it will be discovered that they do not keep to God's law. They who take pride in worldly things, they who long for goods and greed and in addition wear an expensive robe. They wear worldly clothes and wear a sword belt decorated with gold and silver. Also, as a temporary protection, they wear a beret, sword, shield, crossbow, [and] long light spear. They also use a bow and arrows. They are more of sellers than buyers.

Furthermore know, all lords of the world, that all these priests sin against the law of God, go to drinking-houses where they get drunk, dance and play dice. They seek the company of women both at home and in drinking-houses. And they give bad examples to others. They are blind and cannot lead the people to salvation. They spend the alms of the poor, by which they do not preach the word of God. They do not even teach God's commandments. The alms that they take outside their need they do not give to the poor, but they spend in dice and for the building of castles, in delight and in luxury, in greed, in vanity, in pride, and they are alive in hypocrisy. And they are even against the lovers of God's truth, whom they insult and imprison.

We oppose all of them and we want to oppose them each and every day, until we see in them that they have improved. And God's will is there for you, all lords, to follow it. Because it is written down that whoever joins such people, or who just wishes them good and welcomes

them in his house, or who is with them and supports them and greets them on a street, he does not contribute to their improvement and participates in their sins. Whoever does not oppose their sins, he approves of their sinful life, and as part of God's final punishment for such sins of theirs, he will suffer with them.

Therefore, everyone in this life who wants to live without sin and wants to please God should be helpful to this good intent. May God's will be fulfilled now and forever. Amen.

Fourth letter.

Master Quintinus is writing to his parson and to all parsons.

May God's will be now and forever, amen. It is not a secret to you that we have sent messages to all three parts of the holy church. And also that we have shown based on the power of the holy spirit what is appropriate for the practice of every sort. And therefore, we particularly call on you to leave all your previous delusions and to leave all worldly things. We call upon you to govern your church. To always teach God's law, to teach the Lord's prayer and the Creed, God's commandments, [and] to read the epistles on feasts to your parishioners. To preach to all, [and] freely and without payment to give out sacraments/grace wherever they are needed. Give the sacrifice and tithes which are accepted out faithfully wherever they need to be given out. Firstly, however, take part of these resources for your own good. Take yourself a simple meal and clothes to meet the need, not for pleasure, and the rest, outside your priestly need, give out to your parish or elsewhere. Remember that everyone should live according to the sort to which he belongs. You focus on the smallest things and move furthest from worldly things. With your life, follow mostly Lord Jesus Christ. If you do all this as best you can, then know that you will have a good friend in us and a great defender against all those who would interfere in such good work begun. If you, however, do not do what we command you by the power of God, but God forbid, then know that we would stand up against you and even more zealously than against The Jews and the Saracens. We would stand up in the same way against every evil priest, an enemy of the truth of God.

To all our testimonies in these letters, our seal is attached.

End of the letter of Quintin, a Scottish squire.[358]

[358] B contains a closing phrase: 'Fidelis Amen' (*i.e.* 'Faithful Amen'), this is missing in *Cop*. and in C.

Appendix B – Critical edition of Quintin Folkhyrde's *schedulae*

Codicum Synopsis

B = codex bibliothecae Nationalis (Universitatis) Pragensis, X E 24, fol.: 391v – 393v.
C = codex bibliothecae Nationalis in Bautzen (Germany), VIII°7, fol.: 111v – 114v.[359]
Cop. = Haldenstone, James, ed. James H. Baxter, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree: The Letter-Book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews (1418-1443). vol. no.31*

Hec sunt Nova Scocie anno M° cccc° x° Pragam portata[360].

Est quidam armiger nomine Quintinus Folkhyrde[361] i. e. pastor populi,[362] qui in surgitin causa dei manu forti equitando per patrias et palam publicando in materna lingua ista que secuntur in data et divisa per cedulas cuicunque manus extendenti.[363]

Quintinus universitatis christianorum[364]

Fiat voluntas dei nunc et sempre Amen. Cunctis pateat evidenter, quod ecclesia Christi[365] hic militans in hac miserabili vita adversus diabolum, mundum et carnem, integratur ex tribus partibus. Quarum prima et infima perfeccione est vulgus vivens de laboricio vel arte mechanica et ista pars est bona et secura, si servet mandata dei et labori sit fideliter intenta, suis superioribus evangelice obediendo. Secunda pars ecclesie sunt domini temporales et ista pars perficiens quod incumbit suo officio est melior sed periculosior. Officium autem suum est legem dei cognoscere et eam defendere, servos Christi protegere et antichristi ministros opprimere. Hec est enim causa, cur portant gladium et rex secundum Augustinum est vicarius deitatis. Est autem iste status periculosus et pronus, ut superatur superbia[366], cupiditate mundana et voluptate accidiosa. Tercia vero pars ecclesie et optima est clerus, dum perficit quod incumbit suo officio. Debet autem iste status mundum et eius solicitudinem perfecte relinquere et studio intelligencie[367] et vera verbi dei predicacione ambas priores partes vivificare sacramenta dei gratis et libere ministrare et undiquaque proxime sequi Christum.
Sed quia ista pars apostatat et faciendo contrarium suum officium culpabiliter omittit, videtur quod nulla harum parcium deo plus inimicatur, quia apostolus dicit: Qui suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet, fidem negavit et est infideli deterior.[368] Et cum apostolus dicit hoc de quolibet patre et matre familias, qui sue familie curam gerere debet a forciori verificatur de sacerdotibus, qui spiritualem habent curam domus dei et propter hoc[369] recipiunt decimas et

[359] *Viz*. diagram explaining the relationship between manuscript witnesses and the original text on p. 51.
[360] This title is missing in C.
[361] In C: Folkherde
[362] In C: i.e. pastor populi nad textem, In *Cop*.: id est.
[363] In C and *Cop*.: ista que sequuntur in epistolis, ea per cartulas et cedulas dividendo et cuilibet manum extendenti porrigendo.
[364] In C and *Cop*. above this heading: Epistola prima.
[365] In C in marginalia: ex dyalogo Wik.
[366] In C and *Cop*.: superatur a superbia.
[367] In C and *Cop*.: inteligencia.
[368] St. Paul: 1st Timothy 5,8.
[369] In C: hanc.

oblaciones quasi pro mercede laboris et opus non faciunt, ut ait Gregorius, sed dampnabiliter vivunt in suis voluptatibus et defraudant pauperes dei in hiis que secuntur, vid in non disponendo bona ecclesie, que remanent supra eorum parcam necessitatem, rolevacioni,[370] pauperum viduarum, pauperum orphanorum, sicut ait Gregorius, quod causa ruine populi sunt mali sacerdotes. Et quia hec tota iniquitas et multo maior vecorditer, negligenter et ceciter passa est et relicta minime emendata ab hiis, qui a deo ordinant[371] et ad hoc, vid ab ipsis summis sacerdotibus et specialiter a dominis temporalibus et armigeris, qui propter hanc causam portant gladium, ut ait apostolus: ideo ego Quintinus Folkhyrde, servus dei pauperrimus, in defectu horum temporalium dominorum et pro timore, quem habeo eterne dampnacionis, que michi poterit evenire, nisi faciam quod in me est ad emendacionem horum malorum et in remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum palam movere[372] guerram divinam super istos dei inimicos et eorum cunctos auxiliatores, in quantum deus suam graciam michi exhibere dignetur,[373] sine quo nullum opus bonum poterit bene[374] iniciari, veraciter prosequi neque perfecte consumari. In nomine ergo patris et filii et spiritus sancti fiat voluntas domini nunc et semper[375] Amen. Si quis est domini, ponat gladium super femur suum et iugatur michi hunc sermone dixit Moyses, quando adivit bellum in causa dei, ut habetur Ex XXXII.[376]

Secunda cedula[377]

Cum autem hec ad aures cleri pervenirent, graviter ea ferebant et cum maxima indignacione primo monebat dominos temporales sibi faventes in dicti Quintini finalem destruccionem et secundo contra ipsum infideliter processerunt censuris[378] suis indiscretis. Quibus per dictum Quintini[379] sic auditis, tali forma que sequitur specialiter eis perscribebat:

Quintinus episcopo Glatonensi[380] cum suis complicibus toto se[381] clero regni Scocie.
Fiat voluntas dei nunc et semper Amen. Per quorundam fidelium relacionem[382] plane intelleximus, quod mirabiliter grave capitis cum proposito nostro assumpto in purgacionem ecclesie per auctoritatem spiritus dei qui spirat ubi vult et dat libere sua dona singulis singulariter[383], prout sibi placet. Sic quod videtur tum per vestram crudelem regni temporalis procuracionem super nos, tum per vestrum infidelem processum, quem fatue ducitis super nos, quod occultare nitimini a christianorum noticia veritatem, informando eos quod totum illud, quod veraciter scripsimus in nostra communi cedula de officio vestro et de defectibus per vos factis in vestro[384] officio, sit erroneum et hereticum, cum sit plana veritas. Quapropter requirimus vos et monemus ex parte dei, ut in manifestacione veritatis pro communi comodo rescribatis nobis et inprobate, si scitis et potestis, per auctoritatem vite et doctrine Christi et suorum apostolorum et per sensum et scripturas vestrorum primitus approbatorum doctorum et sacre scripture expositorum illud, quod de vobis scripsimus et de vestro officio, quo facto

[370] In C and *Cop*. in addition: pauperum cecorum, pauperum claudorum, pauperum infirmorum.
[371] In C: emendantur ad hoc, In *Cop*.: ordinantur ad hoc.
[372] In C and *Cop*.: moveo.
[373] In C and *Cop*.: dignabitur
[374] In C missing: bene.
[375] In C missing: fiat voluntas domini nunc et semper.
[376] Exodus 32,27.
[377] In C and *Cop*.: epistola.
[378] In C written: esse furis
[379] In C: Quintinum.
[380] In C: Glasgoviensi, In *Cop*.: Glacovensi.
[381] In C and *Cop*.: totoque.
[382] In C in addition: fidelium.
[383] In C missing: singulariter.
[384] In C: vestri.

obligamus nos corrigi, secundum quod Christus et sua lex corrigi statuit quemcunque hereticum hominem et errantem. Et ex altera parte si illud, quod diximus de vobis vestroque officio reperiatur firmum, et verum per auctoritates scripture, tunc facite ad hoc prudenter, et humiliter, prout destet et corrigite,[385] errores vestros anteactos, ut et omnes nos[386] homines clare videamus vestram emendacionem per operum vestrorum atestacionem manifestam. Et hoc eciam per vos facto promittimus vobis supersedere a nostro interponere penes vos et vestra. Et si defecistis dedignando respondere huic nostre racionabili promissioni, testes manifestos vosmet ipsos[387] tractacione vultis emendari, quousque divine ulcionis gladius potenter cadit super vos.
Provideatis igitur et scire nos faciatis per praesencium portatorem[388], quid agere proponitis in premissis, scientes deo volente quod non proponimus nostrum dimittere propositum dunc vixerimus et quod firmiter cogitamu in isto proposito mori cum oportet et nunquam vobiscum tractare de falsa pace, suis treuga, in decepcionem communis populi, quemadmodum faciunt omnes vos sustentantes et succurrentes in vestra vita maledicta et non exclamant super vos crudelius quam super fures et latrones, quia exules estis a deo et eius inimici et non sacerdotes in opere, sed solum in nomine ideoque nos et omnes christiani, sed specialiter domini temporales tenemur tractare vos non sicut bonos sacerdotes, sed sicut lupos rapaces in oviniv pellibus coopertos. Et non miremini, quod tam austere vobis loquimur quia scitote firmiter, quod ex habundancia cordis adhuc artamur. Namque cor nostrum tam graviter et dire vulneratur, quociens occurit memorie vestra iniqua et maledicta oppressio legis dei, et communis populi, per vos et per vestros diucius perpetrata,[389] quod pocius eligimus mori pro ea destruenda, quam vivere et non facere quod in nobis est ad eius correpcionem.
Et in huiusmodi rei testimonium videntur tripartite litere;[390] una vobis, alia communitati pro cuius comodo laboramus et tercia nobismetipsis. Sigillum nostri officii fecimus hic apponi. Forma autem sigilli sui est circulus et in medio circuli scutum cum figura crucis et cum tribus clavis cruci affixis in vacuo autem circuli supra scutum forma corone spinee, scriptura vero circularis in circumferencia sigilli[391] est hec: Adiuva, domine deus omnipotens.

Epistola tercia Folkherde[392]

Quintinus Folkhyrde omnibus secularibus dominis et comunitati.

Fiat voluntas dei nunc et semper. Amen. Omnibus dominis christianis et militibus et armigeris gladium armave gerentibus in legis dei defensione[393] aut terram tenentibus per fidem et veritatem a domino summi celi, supplicamus ex parte dei, nec non et eosdem requirimus et omni communitati et subiectis fidei christiane, istud onus iniungimus auctoritate suprema[394] dei et periculo, quod quolibet heac necnon indicium[395]terribilis consequentur, quod sacerdos quilibet in sacerdotali ordine constitutus ubicunque fuerit repertus, qui noscatur a vobis

[385] In C and *Cop.*: tunc non feratis hoc graviter, sed prudenter et humiliter prout decet corrigite.
[386] In C: nos et omnes.
[387] In C and *Cop.*, this text is following: …exhibetis et nobis et cunctis hec praesentia scripta visuris vel audituris, quod superbi stulti estis et obstinati qui nulla…
[388] In C: per tenorem.
[389] In C: pertractata.
[390] In C and *Cop.*: in literis tripartitis.
[391] In C: sigili.
[392] In C: Folkharde.
[393] In C: defensionem.
[394] In C and *Cop.*: spiritus.
[395] In C and *Cop.*: … hic necnon in die iudicii…

contineri, extra limites legis dei, qui quod mundi pompalis.[396] Ut dives in corpore apparatur indumentis et penulis preciosis cultellis et cingulis perornatis auro aliquo vel argento: aut qui indutus est temporali defensione, cum[397] diploide, pileo, gladio, pelta, sicca, dagardo, lancea, arcu et sagittis aut armorum aliqua parte pugne pertinente, vel qui communis est mango, venditor, aut emptor, aliter quam veraciter censetur, suo victui necessario pertinere, exercensque thabernam communem,[398] vini aut alterius potus insuper sciatis omnes sacerdotes esse extra limites preassumptos, qui sunt in plateis tripudiatores, in foris contuberniones aut ex consuetudine luxurie dediti, inhabitatores domorum, cum mulieribus inhonestis sustinentes viros et feminas luxuriosas, aut equitantes superbe, cum sellis, frenis aut calcaribusdeauratis, aut cum pompa hominum armatorum exibitorum sumptibus eorundem, in destruccionem bonorum, que pauperes possiderunt, aut si aliquis reperiatur sacerdos, qui magni et boni beneficii est possessor aut redditus alicuius, non trahens moram ad eius ecclesiam nec disponens bona dei permanencia,[399] ultra eius victum necessarium pauperibus fide dignis, ut in nostra cedula declaratur, conversationem trium statuum explicanti, sed in locis residet defensivis civitate, aut castro, sive burgo,[400] ubi exercet emptiones venediciones[401] mercimoniorum, bona latenter cumulans a profectu aut comodo communitatis vitam ducendo in pigricia gula vel luxuria; talem quemlibet agnoscatis a lege domini deviantem et in extremo residentem cornu dei. Super quos cornua flamus et adhuc flabimus de die in diem donec viderimus eorum coreccionem in foribus apparentem. Et voluntas est domini, quod consimiliter vos agatis, cum in lege dei scriptum sit, quod qui talibus se miscet vel qui talem ut hospitem recipit talibusque favet aut cum tali comedit aut potat aut ei vultum exhibet aliqualem aut eos salutat in plateis, nisi ob eorum emendationem est eorundem particeps peccatorum et qui non quantum ad eum pertinet eorum mala corrigit eis consentit et partem penarum eorumdem est finaliter recepturus. Quilibet ergo vitam ducens in hac via, caveat[402] et quantum potest inuet, quod dei voluntas fiat nunc et semper Amen.

Epistola quarta

Quintinus Folkhyrde[403] suo curato omnibus et singulis aliis.

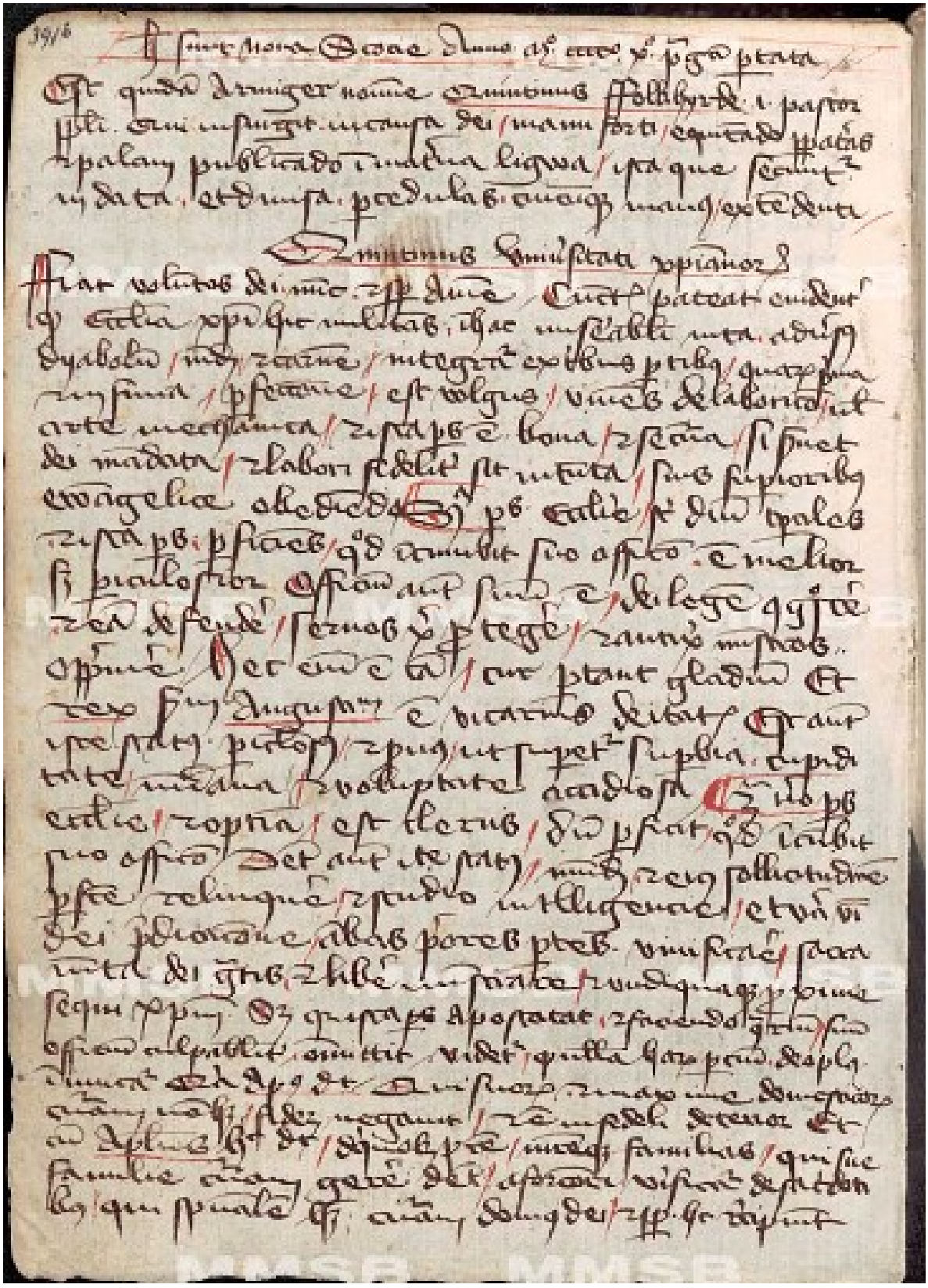
Fiat dei voluntas nunc et semper Amen. Non est tibi ignotum quomodo premunivimus[404] omnes tres status ecclesie in generali quid sit officium cuiuslibet status eiusdem et super quo proposito fundamur donec ab hoc seculo exeamus auctoritate spiritus dei. Et tibi in speciali talem damus premunivimus ex parte dei et periculo, quod in hac vita nec non in futura[405] consequitur, quod tu te ipsum disponas cum omni festinancia ad tuos errores praeteritos emendandos sic quod non videamus eos per te amplius sustineri, sed quod hec perficias manifeste que secuntur h.e. dicere quod dimittas omnem assiduitatem mundanam et domi, ubi tua est ecclesia moram trahas, quod studeas solum in lege divina nec non Pater noster et Credo omniaque,[406] quodque dei mandata in materna lingua tuos vere doceas parochianos. Insuper predica manifeste

[396] In C: pompam.
[397] In C: ut.
[398] In C: thabernas communes
[399] In C and *Cop.*: remanencia.
[400] In C: castro, burgo.
[401] In C and *Cop.*: vendiciones et emptiones.
[402] In C: teneat.
[403] In C: Folkherde.
[404] In C and *Cop.*: premonuimus.
[405] In C and *Cop.*: futuro.
[406] In C missing: quod studeas solum in lege divina nec non Pater noster et Credo omniaque.

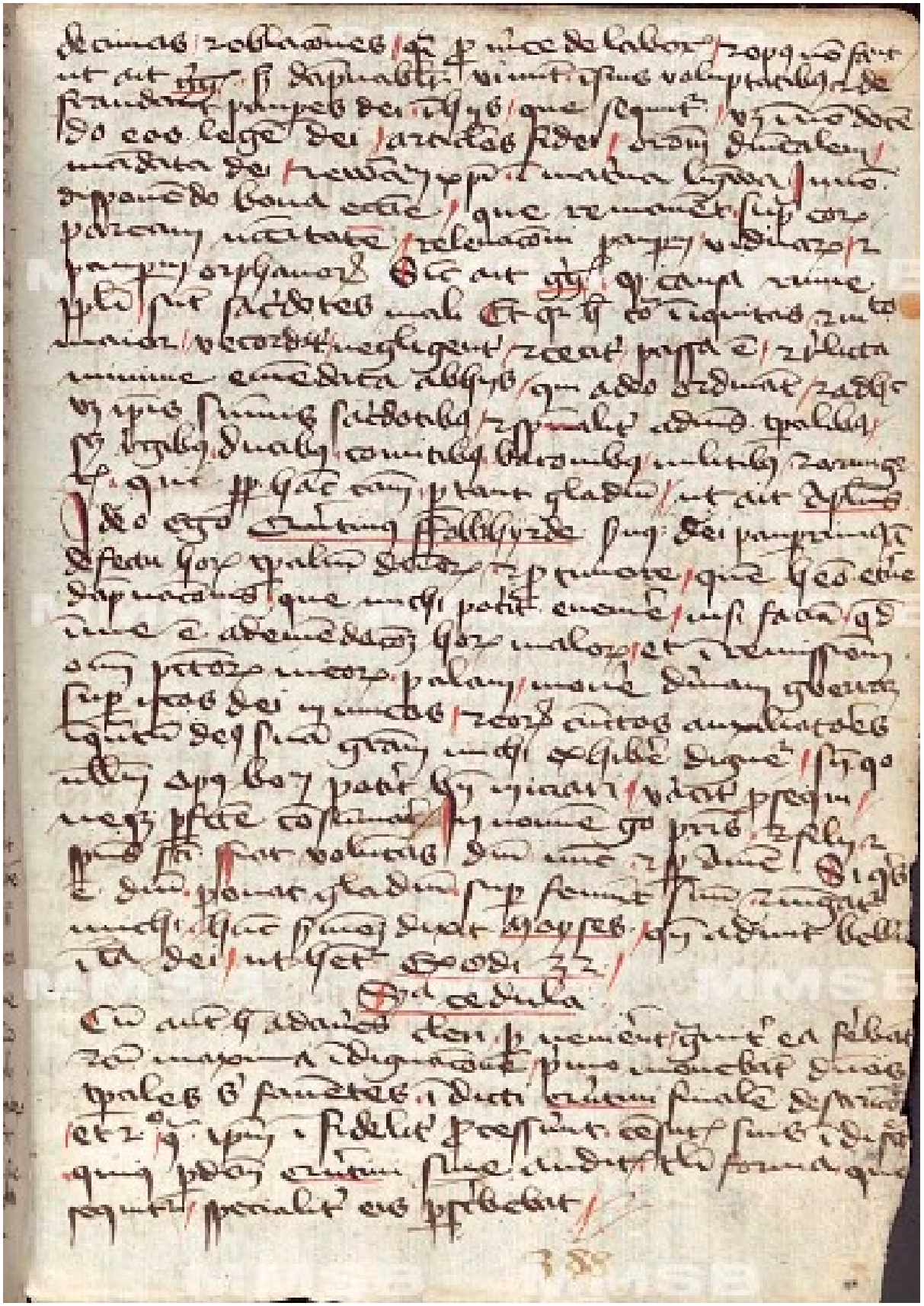
tempore competenti ad minus diebus dominicis evangelium aut[407] epistolam in facie ecclesie omnibus accedentibus ad eadem et quod a te sint sacramenta libere ministrata sisque decimarum et oblacionum que sunt pars dei, fideli dispensator, primo tibi accipiens alimenta et tegimenta necessaria non tamen omnia illicite delectabilia residuum vero bonorum dei disponas discrete cum aliqua eius parte tibi libros emendo legis dei aliquamque eius partem dando pauperibus parochianiset aliis habentibus necessitatem indigentibus. Sic quod considerato modo vivendi cuiuslibet christiani in suo genere in tuo sis gradu minimis sumptibus contentus a mundo maxime longinquus in tua vita Christo magis propinquus. Et istis in te ad effectum deductis iuxta scireatque posse nos recognoscas tibi amicum plenarium contra volentes in predictis nequiter[408] impedire. Contrario vero contingenti, quod nullatenus affectamus, vid. Quodinobediens sis isti precepto nostro edito auctoritate spiritus dei, tibi notum sit, quod super te et tibi pertinentes faciemus bellum erigi manifestum cum maiori vehementia quam affectamus super Judeos aut Sarracenos bellum introducere[409] qualecunque quia te peiorem tali quocunque tuis operibus es ostendens. In omnium istorum testimonium hiis literis sigillum nostri officii est appensum.
Finis epistolarum armigeri Scocie, fidelis Amen.[410]

[407] In C and *Cop*.: et.
[408] In C: voluntas te nequiter.
[409] In C and *Cop*.: inducere.
[410] In C and *Cop*. missing: fidelis amen.

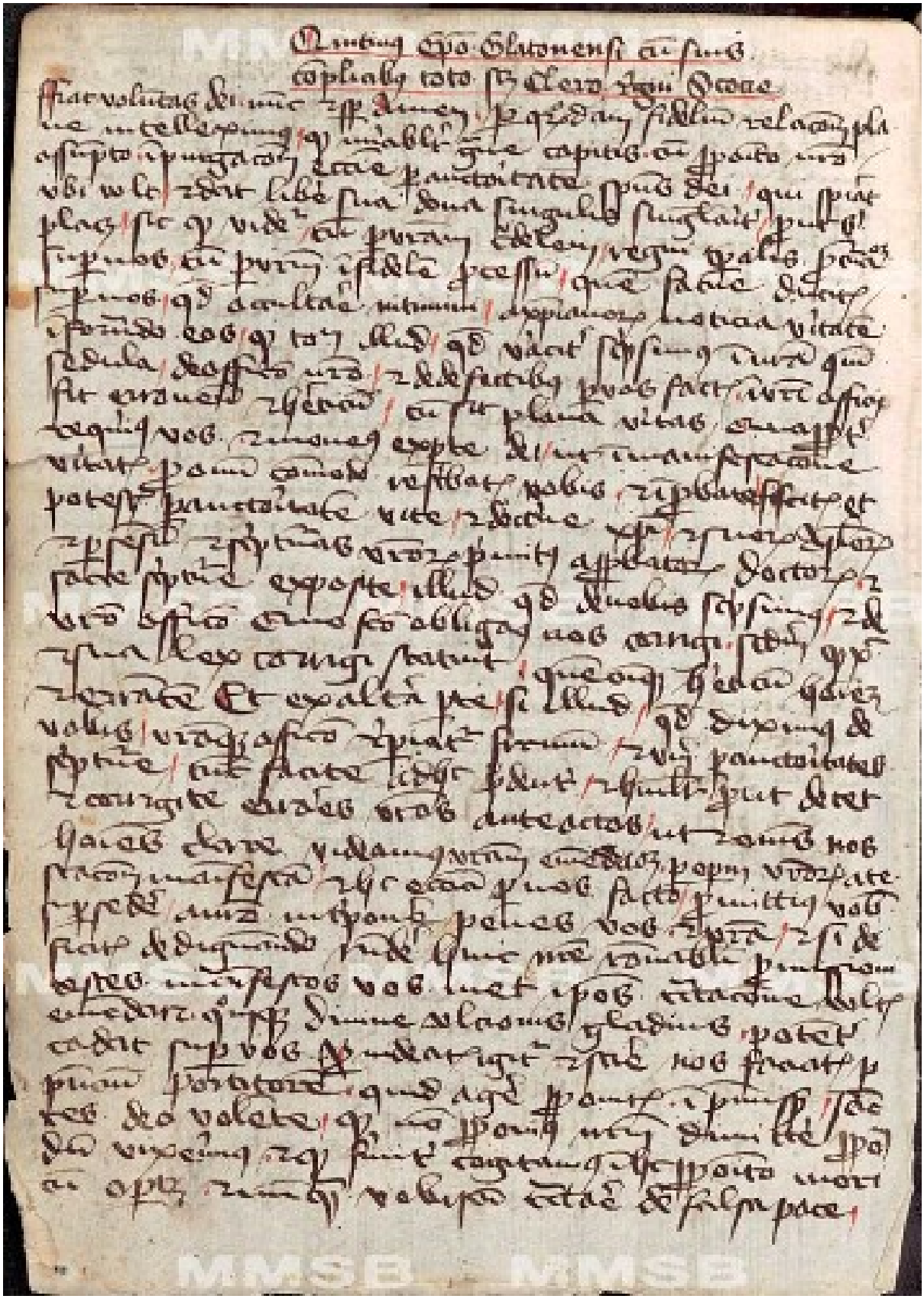
Appendix C – Manuscript in Prague in X E 24

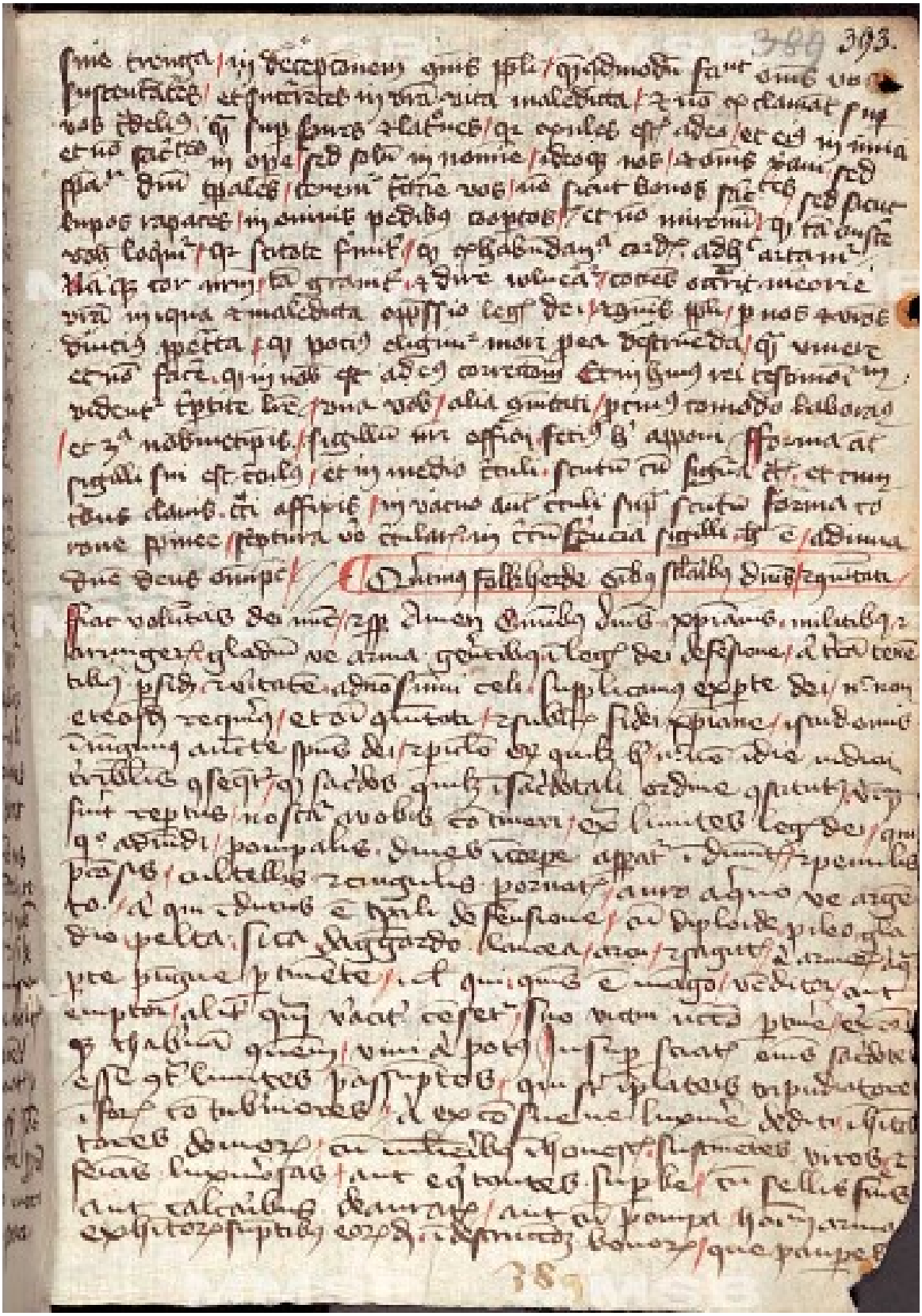


Fol.:391v

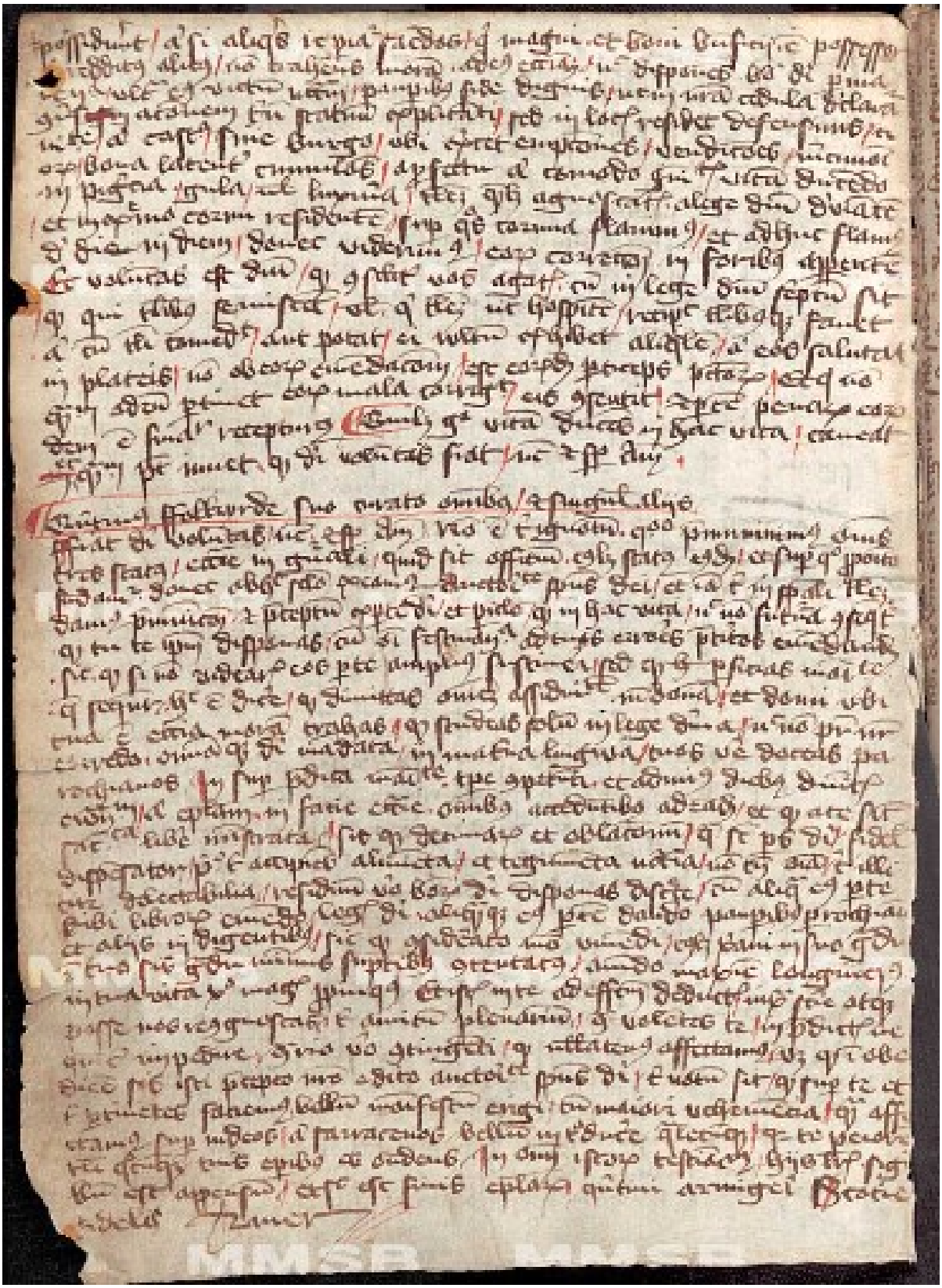


Fol.: 392r



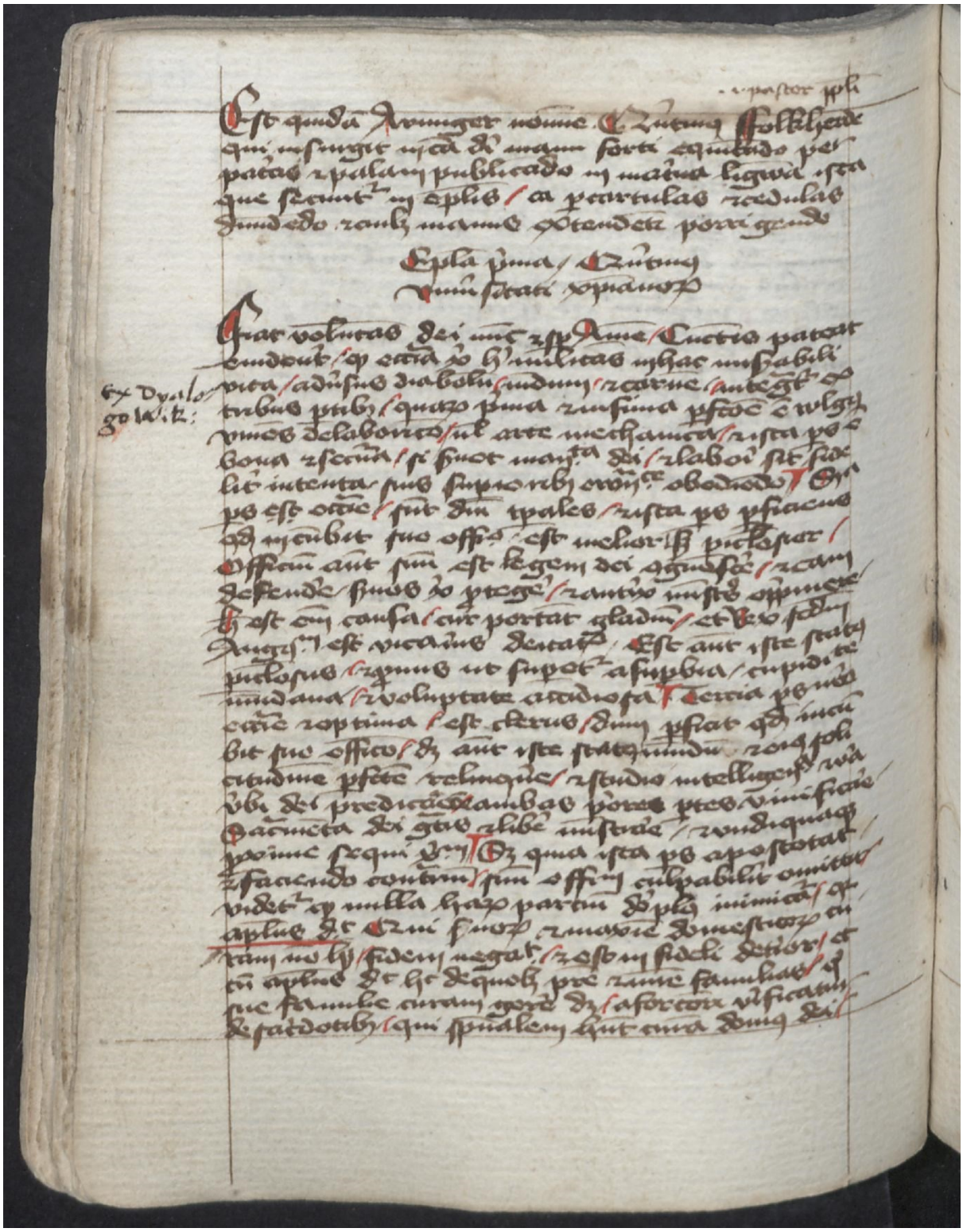


Fol.:393r

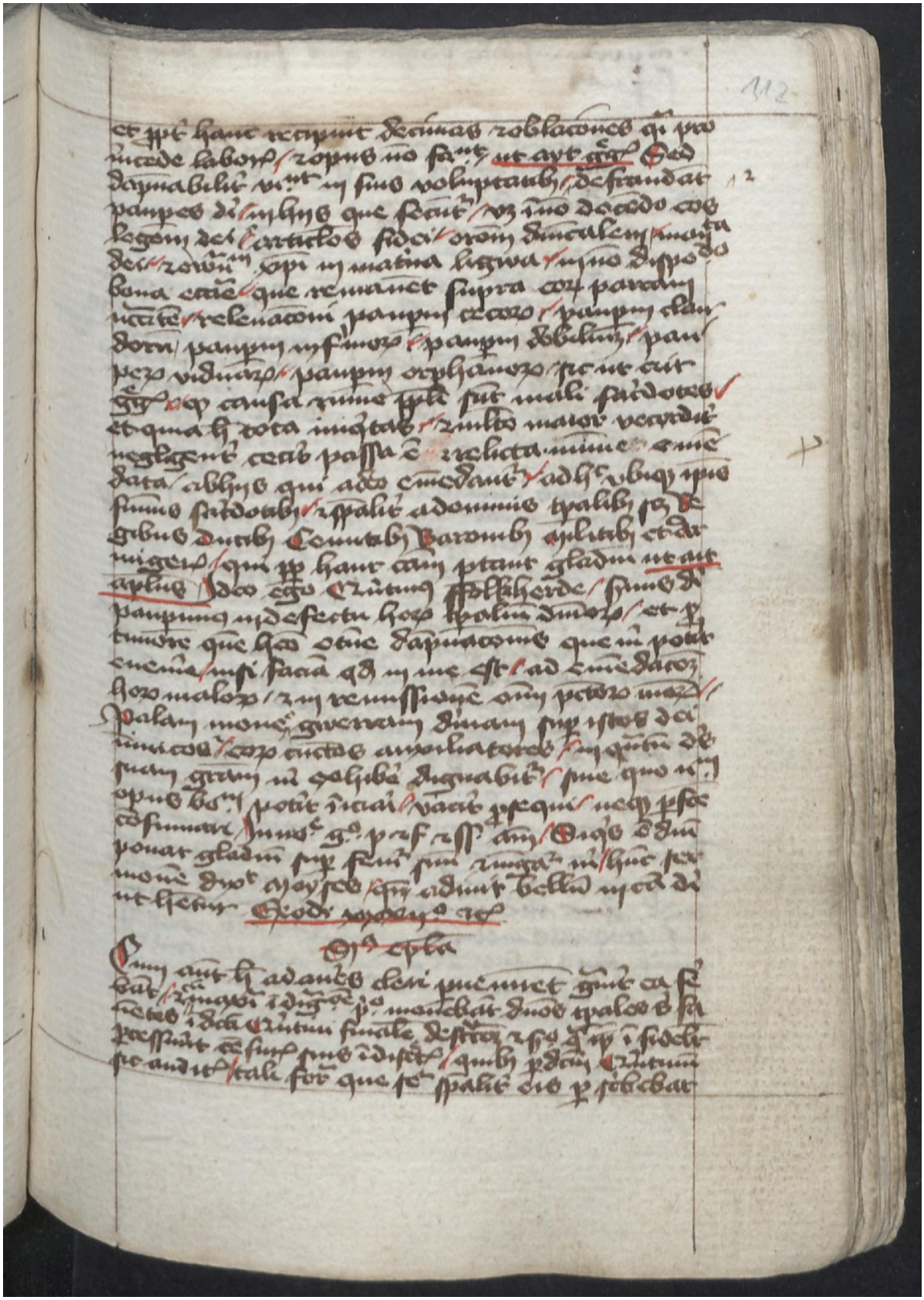


Fol.:393v

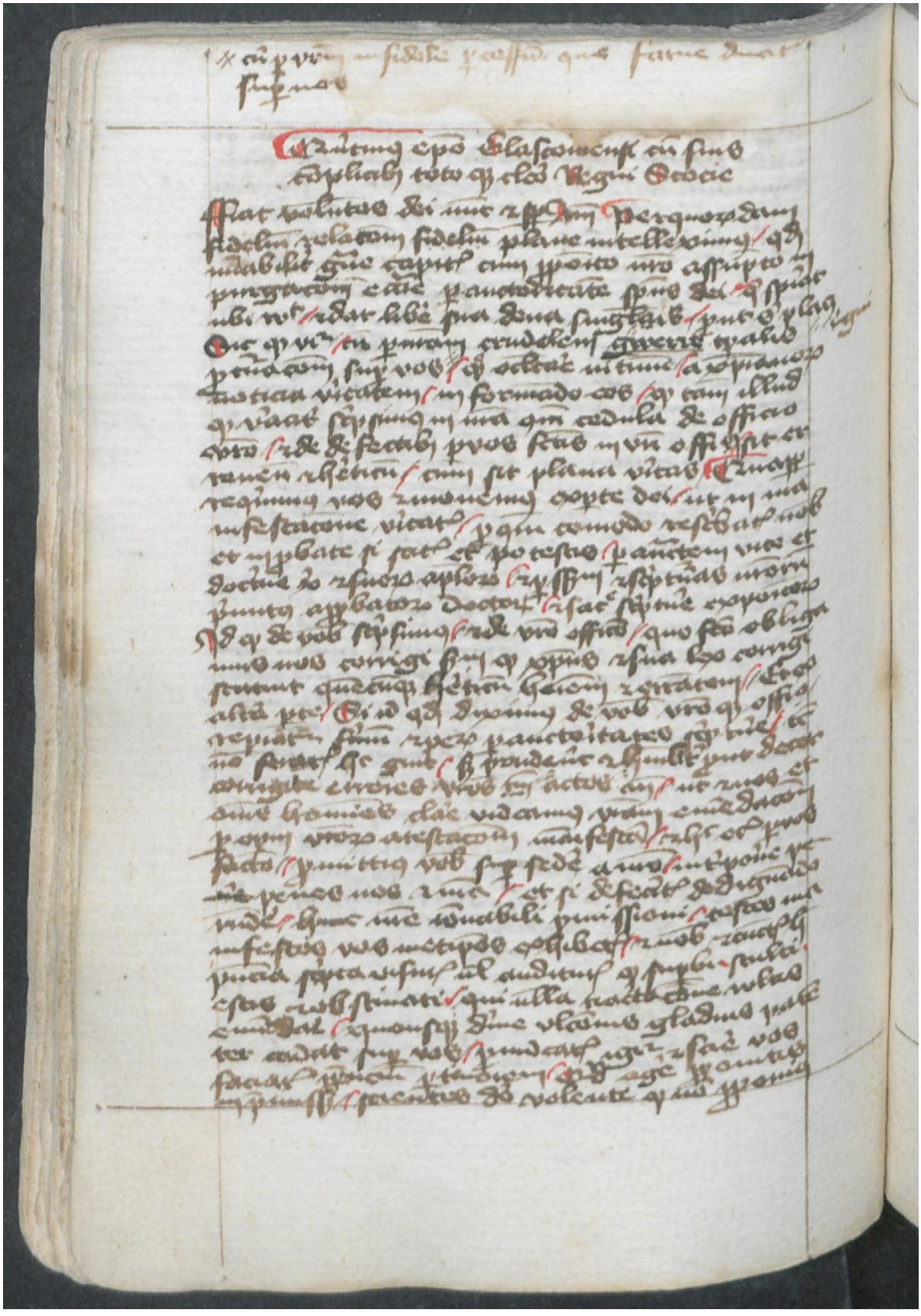
Appendix D – Manuscript in Codex Bautzen VIII°7



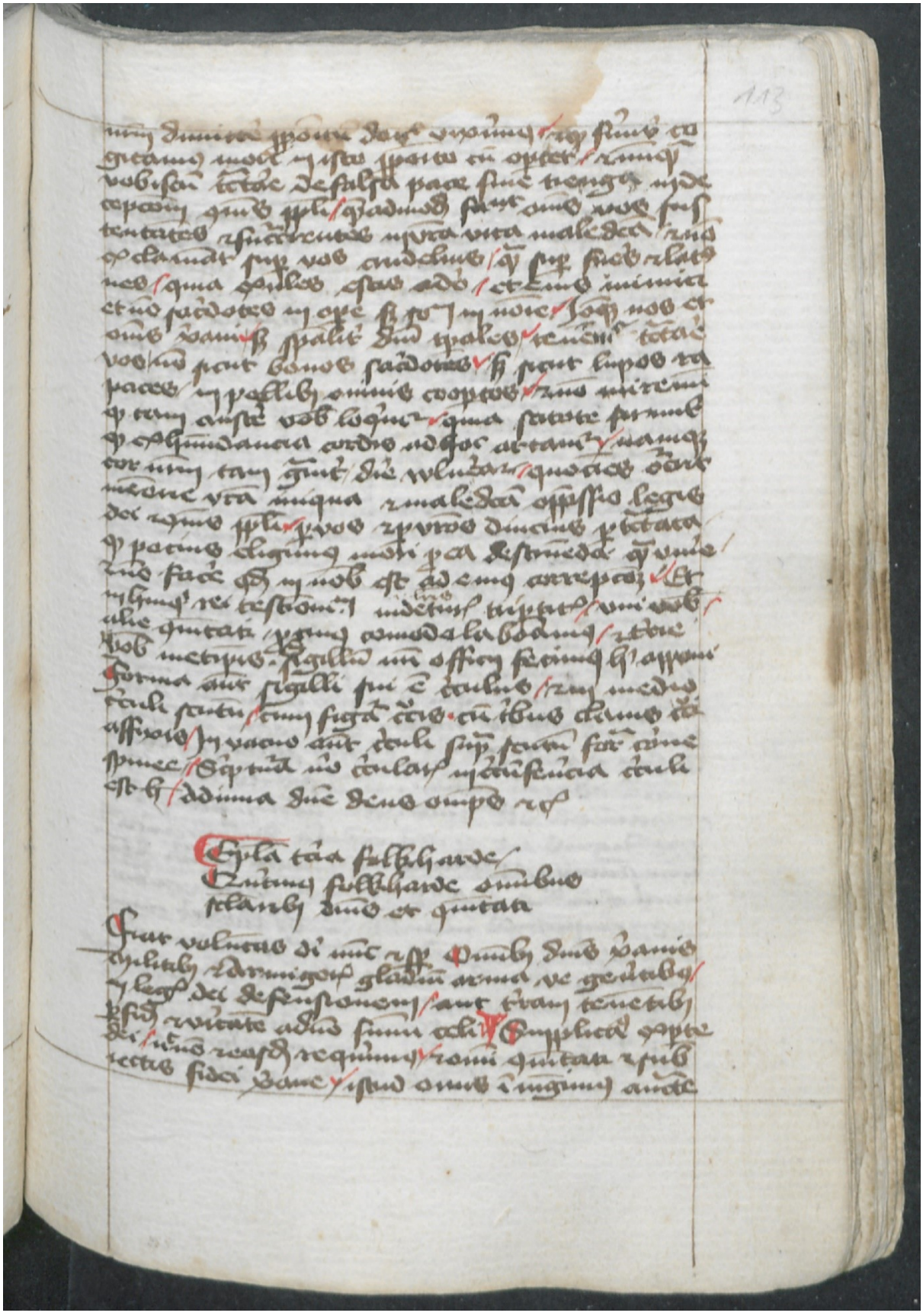
Fol.: 111v



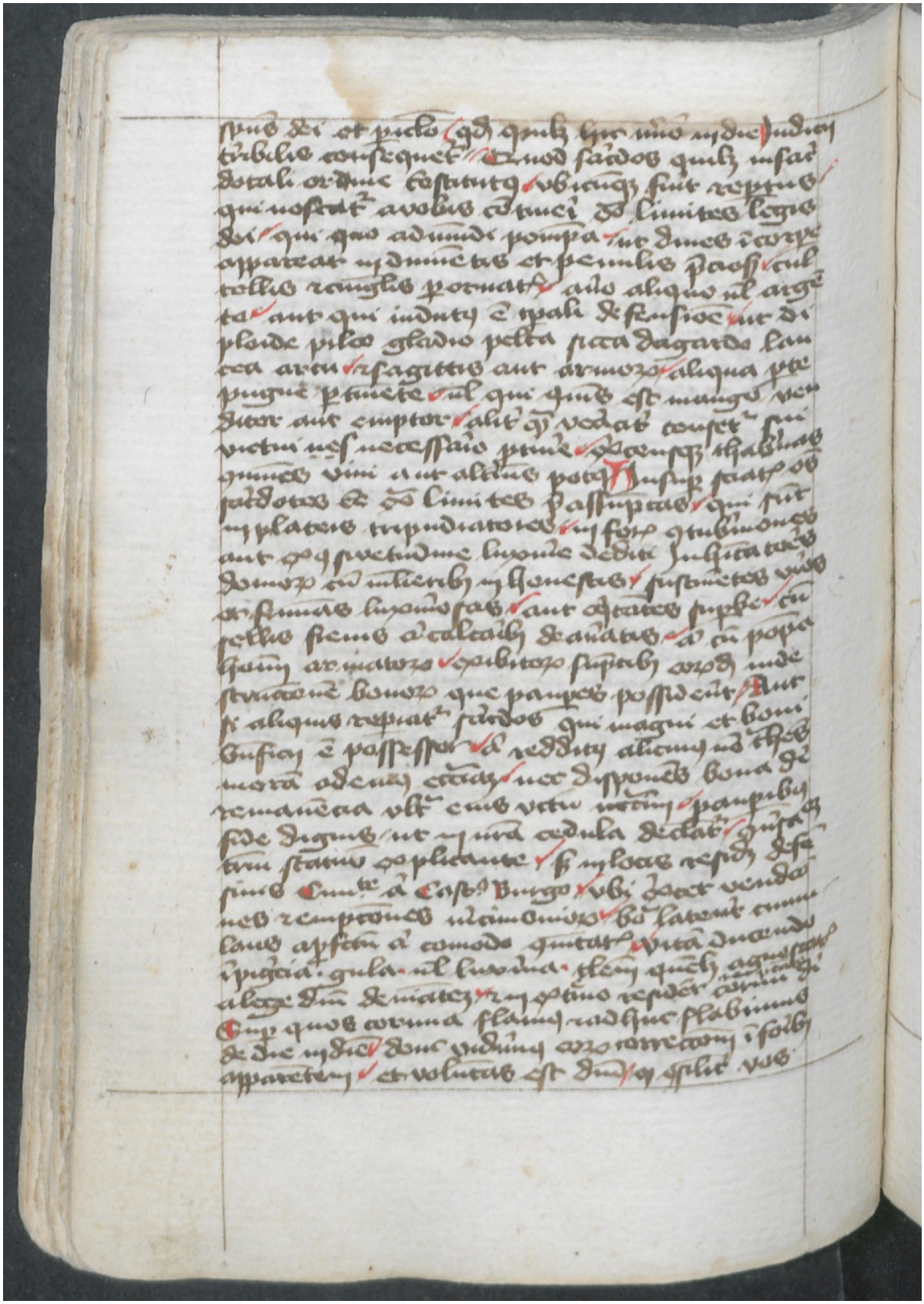
Fol.: 112r



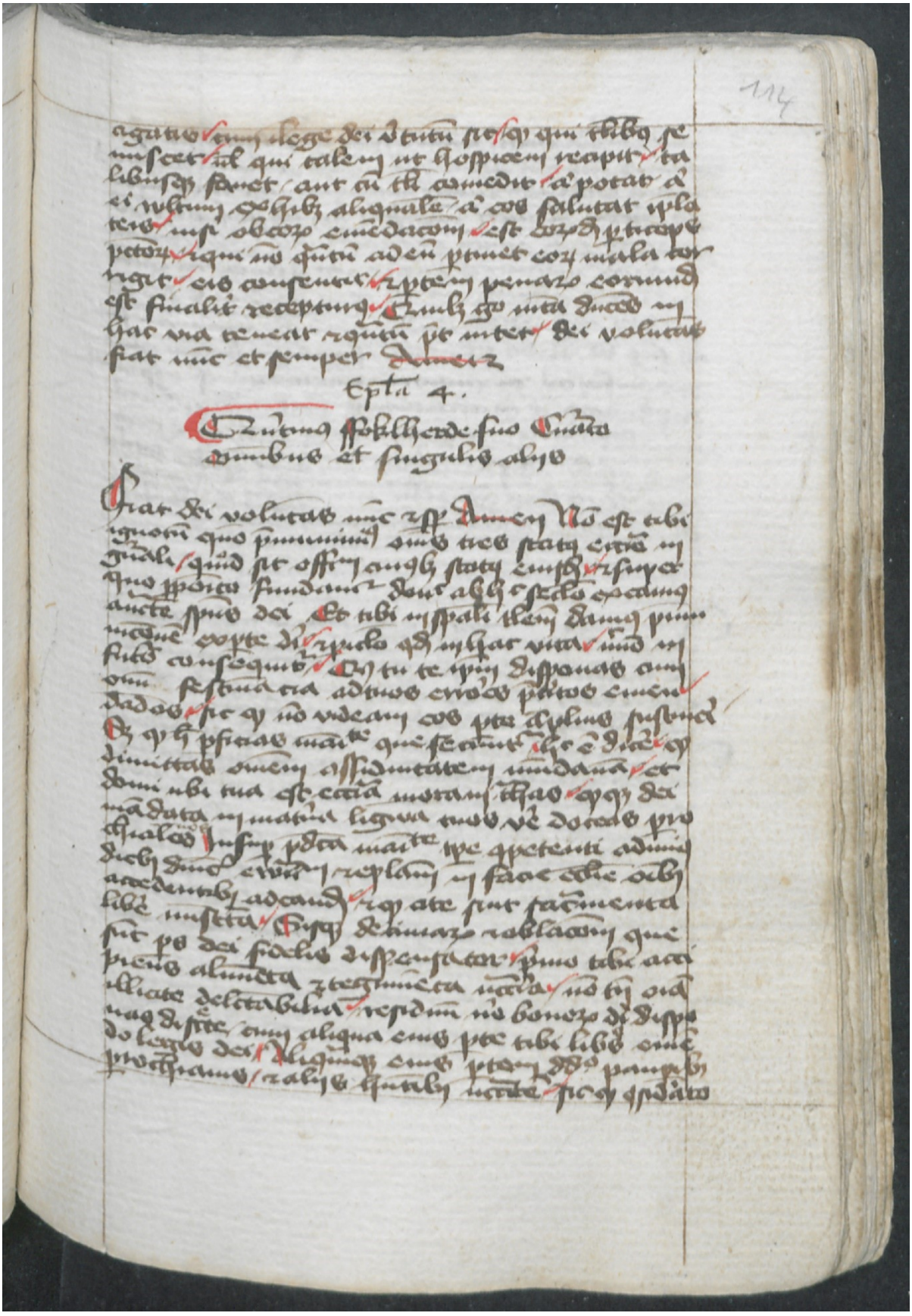
Fol.: 112v



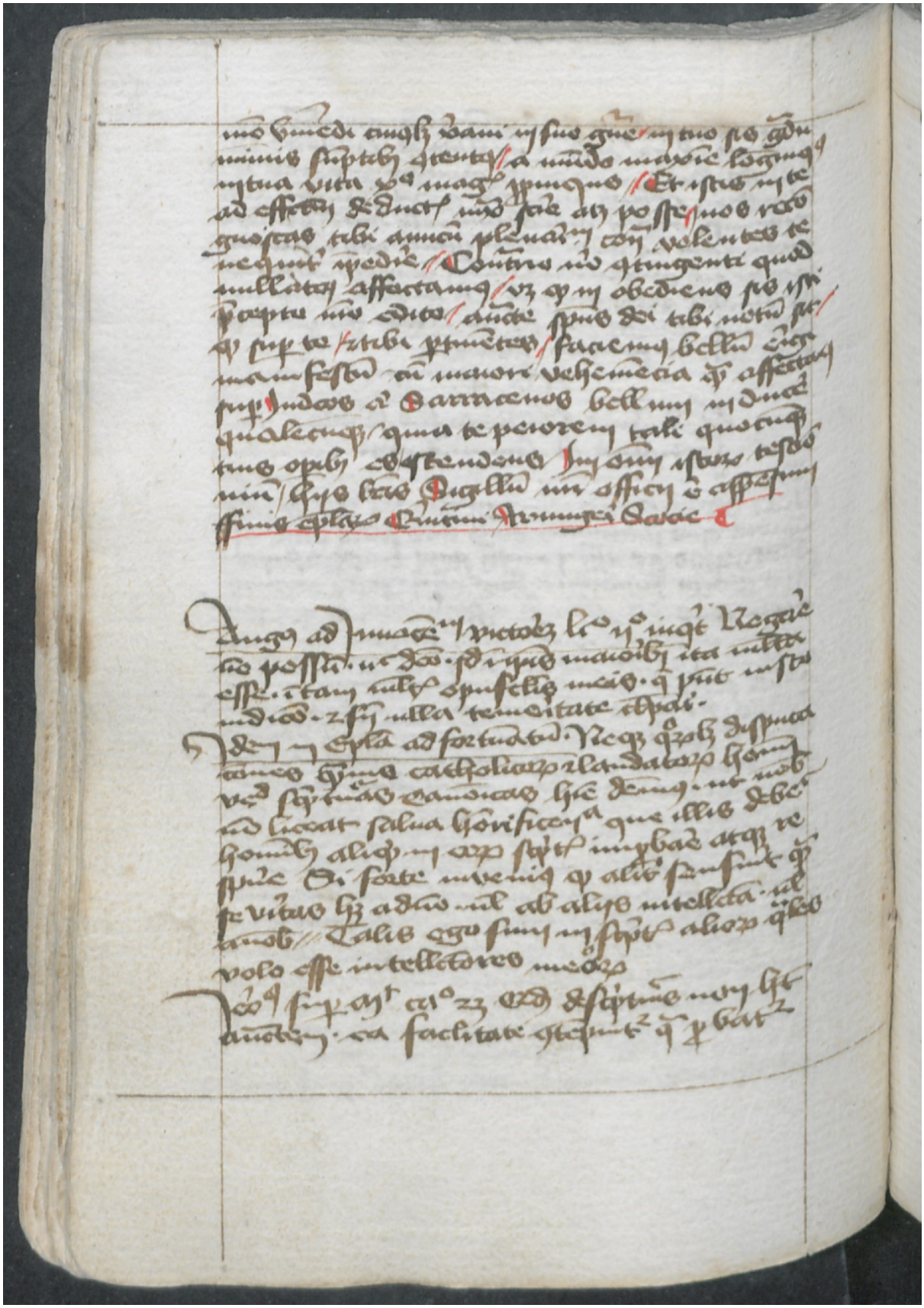
Fol.: 113r



Fol.: 113v



Fol.: 114r



Fol.: 114v