

# “Warriors of God” and Their Perceptions during the Hussite Wars

**Chloe Hooker**  
**Salem College/Independent Scholar**

## Abstract

About a century before Martin Luther challenged Catholic church doctrine and catalyzed the Protestant Reformation, Jan Hus was burned at the stake for heresy due to his beliefs that countered traditional church ideas. Hus, a Czech preacher, gained many supporters during and after his death, and his execution sparked a fifteen-year-long military conflict between his followers, the Hussites, and the Catholic Church and Holy Roman Emperor. This paper proposes a distinctive perspective by emphasizing how perceptions can motivate actions and shape impacts. Both sentiments, either as heretical from the Catholic Church and Emperor’s perspective, or as “Warriors of God” from the Hussites’ perspective, affected the actions of the Hussites, and ultimately the outcome of the wars.

The Protestant Reformation posed one of the most significant challenges in the history of Christianity. It significantly created a European-wide split that still has implications today. However, reformers began to challenge the Catholic Church centuries before Martin Luther nailed his *Ninety-Five Theses* on a church door in 1517 in Wittenberg. Advocating for a transformation of the Catholic Church, leaders such as John Wycliffe, Peter Payne, and Jan Hus challenged the Catholic religious and social order. In Bohemia, Jan Hus argued against many church doctrines and practices. After Jan Hus was executed for his revolutionary ideas, he gained a large following known as the Hussites. Because of threats looming from the king of Hungary, King Sigismund, the devout Catholic king who had ordered Hus's execution, Hussites felt compelled to take up arms and defend themselves and their beliefs. Sigismund, now Holy Roman Emperor, and Pope Martin V called five crusades against the Hussites from July 1419 to May 1434, known as the Hussite Wars. The Hussites were victorious in five military conflicts, and their actions in the wars directly impacted how others perceived them. When the Council of Basel met in 1431 to solve what was perceived as a problem with the Hussites, the Hussites had already begun to split into two groups: the Taborites and the Utraquists. The central works used for primary sources are Thomas Fudge's translated compilation of texts, *The Crusade against the Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, as well as letters, speeches, and sermons given by prominent Hussite figures, such as Jan Hus, Jan Želivský, and Jan Žižka. Thomas Fudge, Martin Pjecha, Howard Kaminsky, Matthew Spinka, Craig Atwood, and other scholars have significantly analyzed and written secondary works about the Hussite Wars,<sup>1</sup> but this paper proposes a distinctive perspective by emphasizing how perceptions can motivate actions and shape impacts. Although the Hussites were deemed heretical by their opponents, the Hussites thought themselves to be "Warriors of God,"<sup>2</sup> a name they had given themselves during a battle around 1420, and the impacts of the Hussite Wars transformed Central European society, both militarily and religiously. Social order was challenged, new military tactics were introduced, and the Catholic Church was forced to compromise with the Hussites on certain doctrines.

The environment of late medieval Central Europe should be discussed to understand the Hussite movement. Figures from the Luxembourg dynasty of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ruled Bohemia and lands beyond and shaped Central European history, culture, and religion long before the Reformation movement ultimately divided Europe over Catholic-Protestant issues. Furthermore, events like the Papal Schism and dynastic rivalries

---

<sup>1</sup> Thomas A. Fudge, *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437 : Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Martin Pjecha, *Theo-Politics of the Hussite Movement: From Reform to Revolution*. (Leiden: Brill, 2024); Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Jan Hus, *The Letters of John Hus*. Translated by Matthew Spinka. (Manchester: Manchester University Press; Rowman and Littlefield, 1972); Craig D. Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius*. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Attributed to Jan Čapek (c. 1420) doc. no. 31 "Battle song of the Hussites." found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents*, ed. Fudge, 66-67.

contributed to the creation of a Central Europe that was already plagued by turmoil decades before Jan Hus came onto the scene of conflict.

The Luxembourg dynasty lasted from 1310 to 1437 and wore the “crown of Saint Wenceslaus” for those one-hundred and twenty-seven years, ruling the Kingdom of Bohemia.<sup>3</sup> Established by John of Luxembourg (r. 1310-1346), the son of Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII, the Luxembourg dynasty shaped Bohemian history in several ways. After John of Luxembourg ruled, his son, Charles, ascended to the throne. Charles I (1316-1378) of Bohemia established Bohemian lands within Europe, which included Bohemia, Moravia, the Duchy of Silesia, and other small principalities.<sup>4</sup> In 1346, Charles was crowned King Charles I of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV. He controlled the crownlands of Bohemia and the broader Holy Roman Empire, typically described as modern-day Germany and Austria, as well as some areas beyond, such as Bohemia. He was incredibly influential in Bohemian history, not only for instituting borders but also for scholarship and politics. In 1348, Charles IV established the University of Prague, making it the oldest university in Eastern Europe. This made Prague a famous imperial city and the capital of the Holy Roman Empire from 1355 to Charles’s death in 1378. Because of this, the “Golden Age of Bohemia” peaked under him.<sup>5</sup> Also under Charles IV was the creation of the Golden Bull of 1356. The Golden Bull served similar to a constitution for the Holy Roman Empire and set boundaries for clerical authority. It solidified a firm election process for the Holy Roman Emperor, wherein seven electors met to choose a Holy Roman Emperor. These seven electors consisted of three ecclesiastical figures: the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and four secular figures: the Count Palatine, King of Bohemia, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Duke of Saxony.<sup>6</sup>

The Papal Schism (1378-1415) was a period when the two Popes in Rome and Avignon excommunicated each other. It created distrust and disrespect from Catholics, and many regarded the papacy as flippant, confused, and corrupt. Because of this, the church was already facing difficulties before Hus. At the same time as the Papal Schism, the half-brother of King Sigismund of Hungary, Wenceslaus IV (Václav IV), rose to power in Bohemia upon their father’s death. However, Sigismund had Wenceslaus arrested and imprisoned him and his supporters in Bratislava in March 1402. From there, Wenceslaus could do nothing to keep his half-brother out of Bohemia. Sigismund became king of Bohemia upon Wenceslaus’s death in 1419, and his seizure of the Bohemian throne created multiple concerns for Bohemians, especially on the eve of the Hussite Revolution.<sup>7</sup>

Jan Hus was born in Husinec, a small village in southern Bohemia, in 1372/73. His parents were poor, but his mother vowed a life of priesthood for her son. He moved to Prague in 1386 to attend the University of Prague, where he studied theology, graduated in three years with a B.A., and spent three more years getting an M.A. In 1398, he became a faculty

---

<sup>3</sup> Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998): 5.

<sup>4</sup> Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia*. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia*. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Selected Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, translated and edited by Ernest F. Henderson, (London/New York 1892, 220-261): *The Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV, 1356 A.D.*

<sup>7</sup> Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia*. 9-11.

member and the Dean of the College for the winter semester from 1401 to 1402. In June 1400, he was ordained into the clergy and appointed a priest at Bethlehem Chapel in Prague on March 14, 1402. Hus was a popular preacher who preached in Czech and advocated for more Czech positions at the German-dominated University of Prague. Because of his radical religious views that will be discussed, Hus was called to the Council of Constance by Emperor Sigismund, found guilty of heresy, and burned at the stake on July 6, 1415.<sup>8</sup>

Before Jan Hus challenged the clergy and promoted a Czech translation of the Bible, John Wycliffe (c.1330-1384) spoke out against the immorality of the Church in England. He criticized the papacy, argued the Bible had more authority than the clergy, rejected sales of indulgences on commission, and worked to translate the Bible into the vernacular; for him, it was English. These were pillars of the Catholic faith, and Wycliffe ran a significant risk of arguing against them. Wycliffe's ideas circulated into Bohemia, mainly thanks to Peter Payne, an English scholar and follower of Wycliffe, and influenced Jan Hus's argument.<sup>9</sup>

Like Wycliffe, Hus vehemently disagreed with the practice of indulgences because they took advantage of impoverished Christians. He argued that Christ was the head of the church, not any clergyman or pope in Rome.<sup>10</sup> Hus also believed the Bible and God had more authority than the Church, as he wrote, "...the faithful ought not to believe *in* the church, for she is not God, but the house of God."<sup>11</sup> Therefore, he worked toward translating the Bible into his vernacular, Czech, so that all Czech speakers could read and interpret the Bible for themselves. Like Wycliffe, Hus also criticized the clergy, as he protested, "I cannot, however, engage in controversy as to [who between the two popes deserves] the greater praise, for the Savior prohibited it to His disciples in Luke 12."<sup>12</sup> Hus observed clerical abuses in his work about the church, *De Ecclesia*, writing that "many priests abandon the imitation of Christ" and "but whatever calls for the imitation of Christ, as poverty, gentleness, humility, endurance, chastity, toil or patience — these passages they suppress or gloss over at their pleasure or expressly set aside as not about salvation."<sup>13</sup>

Emperor Sigismund called the Council of Constance (1414-1418) to settle the issue of the Papal Schism. Both popes in Rome and in Avignon were deposed and replaced with Martin V, an Italian who permanently resided in Rome. Also present at the Council of Constance were Sigismund's concerns about Hus, and Sigismund invited him to the council, offering a safe passage for Hus. However, Sigismund's terms of a safe passage only applied if Hus did not preach on his way to Constance. Hus preached to the public anyway; therefore, he was arrested and sent to prison.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Spinka, *John Hus: Concept of the Church*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966): 7-8.

<sup>9</sup> William R. Cook, "John Wyclif and Hussite Theology 1415-1436." *Church History* 42, no. 3 (1973): 335. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3164390>.

<sup>10</sup> Jan Hus. "All Christians are not Members of the Church," "The Pope Not the Head of the Church but Christ's Vicar," *De Ecclesia, The Church*. Translated by David S. Schaff. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1915): 18-19, 125.

<sup>11</sup> Hus, "The Unity of the Church," *De Ecclesia, The Church*. 6-7.

<sup>12</sup> Jan Hus, "To a Nobleman concerning the Death Duties." *The Letters of John Hus*. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Hus, "The Abuse of Scripture in the Interest of Clerical Power." *De Ecclesia, The Church*. 111-112.

<sup>14</sup> Hus, "Public notice displayed by Hus during the Journey to Constance," "To his Friends in Bohemia." *The Letters of John Hus*. 124-125.

While Hus was in prison, he described in letters that God continued to visit him and assured Hus he would be saved.<sup>15</sup> At the council though, Hus and the Hussites, and Wycliffe and his followers, the Lollards, were deemed heretical by Emperor Sigismund and Pope Martin V. They were to be “apprehended...and burned to death”.<sup>16</sup> Jan Hus was sentenced to death and burned at the stake on July 6, 1415, for heresy. However, Hus’s beliefs did not die out, as the Hussite movement was incipient. The Hussites’ worries grew once Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia died and Sigismund of Hungary took his title of King of Bohemia in 1419. The man who had just sentenced their leader to death was now contesting for rule over them. Reports that Sigismund intended to suppress heretics spread rapidly throughout Czech lands.<sup>17</sup>

Because Jan Hus was a theologian, not a militant man, he never referred to his followers as warriors. Rather, they began to call themselves that during the Hussite Wars. Because of Sigismund’s aggression, the Hussites had no choice but to militarize and defend themselves. They saw themselves as not only protecting themselves, but also God’s word. In 1404, Jan Hus wrote to a Silesian German, “You declared recently that Wyclif is a heretic, for the reason he had written heresy in his books. That does not seem to be a sufficient reason...”<sup>18</sup> In another letter, “To His Friends in Bohemia,” Hus called on his supporters to “remember that they burned the prophecies of Saint Jeremiah, which God had commanded to be written...”<sup>19</sup> These affirmations gave his followers hope and confidence that their beliefs were to be stood by and they were right. Because of these beliefs and attitudes from Hus, it is doubtful that the Hussites ever viewed themselves as heretics. Instead, they called themselves “Warriors of God,” which eventually was popularized in a Hussite battle song during the second crusade: “You who are warriors of God/And the Law of God/Pray that God will help you/Believe in God/and with God you shall ever triumph.”<sup>20</sup> The Hussites created several songs and poems that emphasized the glorification of fighting for God. The Hussites engaged in five crusades from 1419 to 1434 to defend “the truth of the gospel.”<sup>21</sup>

Even though the Hussites saw themselves as God’s warriors, they indeed were not perceived this way by others. As aforementioned, Sigismund declared the Hussites as heretics and ordered that they be “exterminate[d].”<sup>22</sup> Czech author Karel Brušák writes that because Hus had challenged so much of Sigismund and his supporters’ authority, “...the rejection of Sigismund was triggered rather by hatred of a particular person than by

---

<sup>15</sup> Hus, “To the Faithful Friends in Bohemia,” “To His Friends in Constance.” *The Letters of John Hus*. 143, 152.

<sup>16</sup> (April 22, 1418) doc. no. 5 “Report that Sigismund intends to suppress heretics.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, ed. Thomas Fudge, 20.

<sup>17</sup> (April 22, 1418) doc. no. 5 “Report that Sigismund intends to suppress heretics.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, ed. Thomas Fudge, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Hus, *The Letters of John Hus*. Translated by Matthew Spinka. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Hus, *The Letters of John Hus*. Translated by Matthew Spinka. 188.

<sup>20</sup> Attributed to Jan Čapek (c. 1420) doc. no. 31 “Battle song of the Hussites.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents*, ed. Fudge, 66-67.

<sup>21</sup> Prokop Holý (February 2, 1430) doc. no. 147 “Prokop replies to German town requesting peace.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 281-282.

<sup>22</sup> (May 18, 1421) doc. no. 61 “Crusade commander orders death to all heretics.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 114-115.

Wyclif's ideas on rulers."<sup>23</sup> This makes one wonder if the Hussite Wars were declared over doctrinal differences or merely a personal disdain for Hus. Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II, thought of the Hussites as the "legions of hell unleashed upon the earth."<sup>24</sup> He also described them to have "eyes...like those of an eagle, their hair wild and stood on end, their beards long and their stature prodigiously tall. Their bodies were hairy and their skin so hard that it appeared able to resist iron as though it were a piece of armour."<sup>25</sup> Aeneas Sylvius's illustration provided an understanding of why the Hussites' opponents often fled, allowing them to continue successful attacks.

However, the Hussites did gain multiple opponents, including the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne. These three figures, arguably some of the most powerful in Europe at the time, served as three out of seven electors for the Holy Roman Empire. In April 1421, the three archbishops, along with the Count Palatine, a fourth elector, organized a union and issued a statement declaring their disdain for the Hussites. Their statement read: "...all four of us electors of the Holy Roman Empire, declare and publicly announce with this letter to all those who learn of its content...that, with regard to the matter of heresy and infidelity, which unfortunately have arisen in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and with regard to which it has to be feared that if we do not counteract them in good time, that they will also occur in other lands..."<sup>26</sup> Due to Sigismund's frequent absence in the Reichstag, or the Imperial diet, the bishops often took over crusading powers. Thus, they further called for an end to Hussite activity in a strategy outline for anti-heresy:

First, we shall and will resist such infidelity and destroy it wherever it may develop or arise, and we shall also firmly help and support each other against all those who deliberately support or help the same infidels, with our knights, cities, castles, lands and people and with our subjects and with all our might without any reservations. Furthermore, we shall and will in each and every one of our cities, castles, markets, villages, lands, and areas earnestly and strongly decree to our officials, servants, and our people...where one becomes aware of such heretics and infidels or if such persons who are suspected of this, be it men or women, clerics or secular persons, that one shall stop and apprehend them and hand them over to us or a senior official...<sup>27</sup>

Jan Hus gained a large following after his death. Figures such as Peter Payne, Jerome of Prague, Jan Želivský, and Jan Žižka spread the Hussite cause and movement. Peter Payne, an English Lollard from Oxford, traveled to Bohemia in 1415 and became a leading figure in

---

<sup>23</sup> Karel Brušák, "Reflections of Heresy in Czech Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Rhymed Compositions." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 76, no. 2 (1998): 246. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4212622>.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas A. Fudge, "Žižka's Drum: The Political Uses of Popular Religion." *Central European History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 555. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4547353>.

<sup>25</sup> Doc. no. 111 "Description of Hussite warriors." found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, ed. Fudge, 195.

<sup>26</sup> (April 23, 1421) doc. no. 54 "Union of German bishops" found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, ed. Fudge, 105-106.

<sup>27</sup> (April 23, 1421) doc. no. 55 "Bishops outline anti-heresy strategy" found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, ed. Fudge, 106-107.

the Hussite movement as he spread Wycliffe's and Hus's teachings in Bohemia.<sup>28</sup> Another ardent supporter of Jan Hus was Jerome of Prague. However, Jerome of Prague was not just a supporter of Hus; the two shared an "intellectual relationship,"<sup>29</sup> and he is considered a leader of the Hussite movement due to his contributions to spreading Wycliffe's ideas and arguing for church reform. Like Hus, Jerome of Prague was present at the Council of Constance to defend his friend. Once he arrived in Constance, however, he was arrested, imprisoned, questioned, found guilty of heresy, and forced to recant his beliefs. He affirmed his views and rejected the clergymen who abused their power. On May 30, 1416, Jerome of Prague met the same fate as Hus, being burnt at the stake. His narrative, as Thomas Fudge writes, is not studied as intensively as Hus's due to the lack of translated material from Czech.<sup>30</sup> Still, his influence remains vital to the Hussite story.

Perhaps the two most significant Hussites for ushering in the Hussite Revolution were Jan Želivský and Jan Žižka, the two military leaders of the Hussite factions. On July 30, 1419, Czech priest Jan Želivský led an insurrection in the town hall of Prague. Author Martin Pjecha suggests that Želivský's "charisma must have been impressive," noting that "in the face of continual persecution, he was able to not only mobilize popular defiance and open protests against authorities, but even inspire civil upheaval."<sup>31</sup> Želivský and other Hussite radicals were protesting King Wenceslaus IV and his officials for taking "anti-Hussite action" by ordering "all of Prague's parish churches restored to their legitimate Catholic priests."<sup>32</sup>

Jan Žižka (the "One-Eyed") was a Czech general during the Hussite Wars. His radical views led him to spread the Four Articles of Prague, which laid out what reforms Žižka and other Hussites desired.<sup>33</sup> These Four Articles helped establish Hussite doctrine and theology. Žižka essentially called for God's word to be preached, the Communion in both kinds, to weaken the power of the clergy, and for all sin to be driven out. Žižka declared in 1420,

First, that God's word be preached everywhere throughout Christendom  
...Second, that the true body and holy blood of our Lord be given to all  
authentic Christians, both young and old. Third, that the power of priests  
from the highest level, even the papacy, to the lowest not be tolerated.  
Neither may they own estates or collect tithes...Fourth, that all clear sin be

---

<sup>28</sup> Luigi Campi, "Determinism between Oxford and Prague: The Late Wyclif's Retractions and their Defense Ascribed to Peter Payne." In *Europe After Wyclif*, edited by J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael van Dussen, 121-122. (Fordham University Press, 2017). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1f114xz.8>.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Fudge, *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 8-9.

<sup>30</sup> Fudge, *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement*. 172-213, 234-253.

<sup>31</sup> Pjecha, *Theo-Politics of the Hussite Movement: From Reform to Revolution*. 196.

<sup>32</sup> Howard Kaminsky, "The Prague Insurrection of 30 July, 1419" *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 17. (1966): 108-111.

<sup>33</sup> Brušák, "Reflections of Heresy in Czech Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Rhymed Compositions." 246. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4212622>.

driven out whether by kings or lords, squires or priests, or ecclesiastical or secular people.<sup>34</sup>

The offering of Communion in both kinds to the laity, or nonclergy members, became the main goal for the Hussites, as they felt it necessary to decentralize clerical power and make Christ available to all Christians.

These Four Articles were the crux of Hussite doctrine. The main issue Hussites focused on was Communion in both kinds, meaning the laity had access to bread and wine. On October 28, 1414, Czech priest Jakoubek of Stříbro allowed the laity to drink from the chalice for the first time.<sup>35</sup> As author Craig Atwood argues, this event could be considered the beginning of the Hussite Revolution. From there, the chalice became the symbol of the Hussites, as it appeared on their flags during the wars. The Hussites were split into two main factions: the Taborites and the Utraquists. The Taborites, with a settlement in Tabor founded by Žižka, were more radical in their beliefs and, therefore, more feared. They embraced the Four Articles of Prague and rejected many churches, taxes, and private land ownership. At the end of the Hussite Wars, the Taborites faded out due to a lack of support from the Utraquists. The Utraquists, led by Želivský, held more in common with the Catholic Church. They upheld communion in both kinds to be given to infants, but they still believed in purgatory and agreed that images could be kept in churches.<sup>36</sup> Because of this, they were welcomed back into the church after the Council of Basel (1431-1449) ended the Hussite wars.

The Hussite Wars had many long-term causes, including the Papal Schism, aggressions from Sigismund, and the expansion of Wycliffe's and Hus's teachings. The immediate cause, however, other than the executions of Jerome of Prague and Jan Hus, was the storming of the town hall in Prague and the defenestration of the kings' officials, in an event known as the First Defenestration of Prague. In July 1419, Jan Želivský gave a speech in the Church of Our Lady of the Snows in Prague that encouraged a violent insurrection. This example of "radical Hussite preaching during the crusade period," as Fudge describes it, later led to opponents calling a crusade against the Hussites.<sup>37</sup> Soon after, Jan Želivský proclaimed, "Oh, if only the city of Prague would now, in this time, become an example for all the faithful, not only in Moravia, but also in Hungary, Poland, Austria, and elsewhere. And that the word of God would be spread to the entire world!"<sup>38</sup> In response to the defenestration, a surprise attack in Živohošť in Central Bohemia led by Lord Petr of Šternberk against Žižka and the Hussites ensued, making it the first military engagement of the Hussite Wars.<sup>39</sup> The Utraquists appealed to Catholic forces and proposed a truce; however, Sigismund persuaded Pope Martin V to call a crusade against the Hussites. On

---

<sup>34</sup> (November 25, 1420) doc. no. 47 "Žižka and Taborite leaders address Czech people." found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 99-100.

<sup>35</sup> Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius*. 76-84.

<sup>36</sup> Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius*. 84-87.

<sup>37</sup> Jan Želivský (July 30, 1419) doc. no. 6 "Sermon of Priest Želivský." found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 21-25.

<sup>38</sup> Pjecha, *Theo-Politics of the Hussite Movement: From Reform to Revolution*. 197.

<sup>39</sup> Doc. no. 9 "First military action: Surprise attack at Živohošť." found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 29-32.

February 22, 1418, Martin V issued an anti-Hussite bull, calling for all supporters of the Catholic faith to “rise up firmly and with courage against such heretics and their goods...”<sup>40</sup> As author Howard Kaminsky contends, “Sigismund himself well understood the danger of such a crusade for the independence and integrity of the realm, and it is hard to imagine how he could have possibly persuaded himself that his new policy was the right one.”<sup>41</sup> Issuing a crusade meant a definite reunification of the Hussites, one that Sigismund and Pope Martin V severely underestimated. On the eve of war in 1419, the city council of Kutná Hora “offered rewards to anyone who turned Hussites in...” and “these people of Kutná Hora, who were German, cruelly persecuted the Czechs, especially those who loved the teaching of Christ.”<sup>42</sup> It is clear that the Hussites continued to be viewed as heretics even after Jan Hus’s death.

The first battle fought was the Battle of Sudoměř on March 25, 1420, with about four hundred Hussites fighting against over two thousand Catholic Crusaders. Hussite leaders published the Hussite Manifesto in Prague and encouraged their followers with these words: “dearest and faithful friends in the Kingdom of Bohemia, we appeal to your wisdom and consistent defense of our language, with love and justice that you might be prepared to stand up to resist all of our enemies and we admonish you and encourage you with our whole heart...”<sup>43</sup>

The Hussites also gained support from the Bohemian nobility, including Čeněk of Vartenberk, the Lord High Burgrave, who separated himself from Sigismund’s crusading policies, and Oldřich Rožmberk, a Czech baron from southern Bohemia.<sup>44</sup> By the end of April 1420, perhaps hundreds of barons and knights in Bohemia had announced their support for the Hussites. Čeněk of Vartenberk, in particular, along with other nobles gathered and issued a proclamation in defense of the Hussites: “Therefore, dear friends, you must understand from this, therefore, that His Majesty has no other intention but to shamefully and brutally wreak destruction upon, and cruelly exterminate, the Czech kingdom and crown as well as and particularly the Bohemian language.”<sup>45</sup> These nobles also publicly supported the Four Articles of Prague, as they stated,

... Furthermore, we wish for you to know that we stand for nothing other than these articles which follow. First, that the common people might receive the body properly and freely proclaimed. Second, that the word of God might be properly and freely proclaimed. Third, the priests might live lives of

---

<sup>40</sup> Martin V (February 22, 1418) doc. no. 18 “The anti-Hussite bull ‘Inter Cunctus’ of Martin V;” (March 1, 1420) doc. no. 19 “Proclamation of the crusading bull,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 45-52.

<sup>41</sup> Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*. Berkeley: (University of California Press, 1967): 365.

<sup>42</sup> Doc. no. 15 “Pre-crusade suppression of Hussite heretics.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 40-41.

<sup>43</sup> (April 3, 1420) doc. no. 26 “Hussite manifesto from Prague.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 58-60.

<sup>44</sup> John Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978): 128-129.

<sup>45</sup> Fudge, “Bohemian nobility side with the heretics.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 60-61.

exemplary conduct in the manner which our Lord Christ commanded along with the apostles and in the institutions of the holy father thereafter. Fourth, that the Czech language and kingdom be cleansed from all harmful rumors and slander for the common benefits of our kingdom and language of Bohemia...<sup>46</sup>

Additionally, women fought alongside men during the first crusade at the battle of Týn Horšův in 1422. A letter from the Duke of Bavaria to the Margrave of Meißen reveals that some Hussite warriors who were captured as prisoners by Hungarian soldiers were “women who had fixed their hair like men and had girded themselves with swords, with stones in their hands, wearing boots. Among these were some high-born.”<sup>47</sup> Other noblewomen, such as Agnes Štítné, who stayed in Prague and defended Hussite teachings, and Queen Sophie of Bavaria, the wife of Wenceslaus IV, who was an “enthusiastic reader of Czech literature,” aided in protecting the Hussite movement.<sup>48</sup> On July 14, 1420, the Battle of Víkov Hill was won by Jan Žižka and the Taborites, and the hill was renamed “Žižka’s Hill,” where they celebrated with songs of triumph and victory.<sup>49</sup>

The second crusade was fought in Žatec in 1421. In February of 1421, the Taborites established a “new Tábor” in the region around the lower Morava River, spreading Hussite influence further, while the Utraquists remained in Prague.<sup>50</sup> Armies on both sides continued to grow, with bishops and other clerical members supporting one another. Also, the Hussites developed new warfare tactics in the second crusading phase. Žižka’s innovation of the *Wagenburg*, or wagon fort, involved a “quadrangle or circle” tied “wheel to wheel” to form a defense. Between the wagons was space for artillery to fire out from the inside of the encircled wagons.<sup>51</sup> The *Wagenburg* allowed the Hussites to gain another success at the end of the second crusade.<sup>52</sup> Also during the second crusade was the “strongest point of anti-Hussite sentiment in the country.”<sup>53</sup> In attempts to combat this sentiment, Žižka and other Hussites gave a manifesto in defense of their values and their belief that they were gaining assistance from God. Žižka declared, “We...true Czech people bringing hope in God, warn all of you by the death of our Lord, specially you knights and squires, both people in the cities and peasants belong to the Plzeň Landfríd to cease opposing the Lord God and God’s holy law as well as the worthy Four Articles. It is for these

---

<sup>46</sup> Fudge, “Bohemian nobility side with the heretics.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 60-63.

<sup>47</sup> Doc. no. 34 “Women among Hussite armies.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 73.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Alfred, *Anne’s Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998): 45-46.

<sup>49</sup> Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*. 375.

<sup>50</sup> Doc. no. 51 “A Moravian Tábor” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 102-103.

<sup>51</sup> Szymon Górski and Ewelina Wilczynska. “Jan Žižka’s Wagons of War: How the Hussite Wars Changed the Medieval Battlefield.” *Medieval Warfare* 2, no. 3 (2012): 27–34. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48578020>.

<sup>52</sup> Doc. no. 74 “Crusade armies thwarted again at Žatec.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 129-132.

<sup>53</sup> (February 1421) doc. no. 49 “Manifesto to the Plzeň Alliance,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 100-101.

matters that we fight with the help of God.”<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Žižka counter-criticized anyone who did not support the Hussite cause, as he accused Hussite enemies of being heretical: “You wish that we would not destroy your land and burn your houses down. Why have you not given liberty to God’s word and to the worthy Four Articles noted above when you were among the first to hear them? Is it not true that you told us you were willing to grant freedom to these articles and agreed that this was right and proper? But you were speaking lies to us and in the face of God.”<sup>55</sup>

The third crusade from Kutná Hora to Sázava lasted from 1421 to 1422. Žižka and his warriors arrived in Kutná Hora on December 9, 1421, with Sigismund and his Catholic forces arriving a few weeks later. The battle of Kutná Hora was fought for just two days, from December 21 to 22, 1421. An account from the battle discusses the Hussites with admiration: “...God always provides support and never lets his warriors down but granted to all who fought for the truth and bravery. Being fearless of the strength of the armies they [Hussites] entered the battlefield and enclosed themselves within the wagons on all sides.”<sup>56</sup> Although the Hussites, using the Wagenburg, were able to secure victory once more, they were beginning to run low on supplies, and the winter temperatures continued to worsen.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, Sigismund and his army were severely defeated and ready to give up. Thus, he fled and did not set foot in Bohemia for another fourteen years. However, Pope Martin V wrote to Sigismund, the King of Poland, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, the Duke of Austria, and many more, pressing for more military action to suppress the Hussites. Pope Martin V claimed, “We wish to encourage you by letting you know through this letter that this matter is most urgent in our hearts. To be sure, we are convinced that if you, together with the faithful princes and German people who this heresy threatens with grievous injury as well as God and the church, take this matter into consideration and provide a remedy this summer by coordinating an army to enter Bohemia it would be easy to put down and exterminate the heretics, these rebels against yourself and God.”<sup>58</sup>

More soldiers and supporters joined both sides, and more battles ensued. On September 14, 1424, Žižka gave a speech in Prague to his “Warriors of God” before they entered into war. Shortly after this speech was given, Žižka died on October 11 of that year after contracting a sickness on his way to battle in Moravia. His followers took up the name “Orphans” as they felt they had lost their own father, and Žižka was buried in the Church of the Holy Ghost in Hradec Králové. A story circulated that Žižka requested his “body flayed

---

<sup>54</sup> (February 1421) doc. no. 49 “Manifesto to the Plzeň Alliance,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 100-101.

<sup>55</sup> (February 1421) doc. no. 49 “Manifesto to the Plzeň Alliance,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 100-101.

<sup>56</sup> (December 1421) doc. no. 78 “Battle for Kuntá Hora,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 140.

<sup>57</sup> (December 1421) doc. no. 78 “Battle for Kuntá Hora,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 137-141.

<sup>58</sup> Doc. no. 82 “Crusade failures in the winter of 1421-2,” Martin V (before July 1422) doc. no. 87 “Pope Martin V presses for military solution.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 145, 151-153.

and his skin stretched onto a drum.”<sup>59</sup> The “Žižka’s Drum” fictitious tale was fabricated and told mainly by Catholic “temporal and ecclesiastical authorities [as] a standard response to the perceived threat of the ‘Other’ in late medieval Europe”<sup>60</sup> in order to spread propaganda about the Hussites and demonize Žižka. It is no surprise that Catholic enemies spread this story; Žižka was half-blind (and fully blind toward the end of his life), ruthless, led terrorizing armies, burned his enemies, attacked innocent cities, never lost a single battle as a commander, and was one of the greatest military strategists and leaders in history. His image easily allowed others to associate him and the Hussites with evil.<sup>61</sup>

In 1427, a priest and an “intimate friend”<sup>62</sup> of Žižka, Prokop Holý, emerged to fill the power vacuum Žižka left behind. Although he was documented to fight in only the Battle of Lipany in May 1432, Prokop strengthened Bohemian borders by commanding the invasion of neighboring countries hostile to the Hussite Czechs. Prokop successfully adopted Žižka’s battle tactics and led the Taborites until his death in 1434 as the Fourth Crusade of the Hussite Wars amplified.<sup>63</sup> A fourth crusade was called against the heretics in July 1427. Catholic crusaders, supplied with spies, had attempted to utilize the Wagenburg at battles at Stříbro and Tachov, but fled when the Hussites approached.<sup>64</sup> Pope Martin V issued his disdain at the crusading armies as the Hussites began to threaten lands beyond Central Europe. He wrote to Henry Beaufort, the papal legate for Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, in 1427: “The pope has with grief” lamented “the disgraceful flight of the army of the faithful in Bohemia from the siege of Stříbro and Tachov.”<sup>65</sup> He also condemned the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, criticizing, “For if they had joined those in Bohemia as they ought, and as had been arranged, the army would not have retreated with such disgrace.”<sup>66</sup>

At a meeting in Bratislava in 1429, a provocative speech from Prokop and Peter Payne compelled Sigismund to call a fifth and final crusade against the Hussites, as the Hussites continued to “perpetuate more trouble and calamity on a daily basis...”<sup>67</sup> On April 18, 1429, Sigismund called for the crusade, urging Bavarian, Silesian, and Hungarian lords

---

<sup>59</sup> (1424) docs. no. 105-106 “Death of Žižka,” “Žižka’s drum.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 182-183.

<sup>60</sup> Fudge, “Žižka’s Drum: The Political Uses of Popular Religion.” 554. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4547353>.

<sup>61</sup> Fudge, “Žižka’s Drum: The Political Uses of Popular Religion.” 546-555. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4547353>.

<sup>62</sup> Doc. no. 112 “Emergence of Prokop Holý,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 196.

<sup>63</sup> Doc. no. 112 “Emergence of Prokop Holý,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 195-196.

<sup>64</sup> (July, 1427) doc. no. 124 “Crusaders and heretics clash at Stříbro and Tachov,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 230.

<sup>65</sup> Martin V (October 2, 1427) doc. no. 128 “Pope Martin V expresses disgust at crusade failures,” (October 9, 1428) doc. no. 134 “Hussite heresy threatens distant lands.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 243, 250-251.

<sup>66</sup> Martin V (October 2, 1427) doc. no. 128 “Pope Martin V expresses disgust at crusade failures,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 243.

<sup>67</sup> Sigismund I (April 10, 1429) doc. no. 139 “The empire strikes again,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 262-263.

to send more troops.<sup>68</sup> Sigismund gained English aid, and perhaps even support from Joan of Arc,<sup>69</sup> but it was still not enough as Hussites attacked Silesia, Austria, and Lusatia between 1427 and 1434.<sup>70</sup> In February 1430, Prokop wrote to German lords to “agree with the truths of the gospel” if they wished to save their lives.<sup>71</sup> On February 20, 1431, Pope Martin V died. Exactly one month later, the fifth crusade was announced and began on July 23 of that year in Domažlice.<sup>72</sup> A Hussite account from the crusade proclaims, “...the Lord God who does not burden his faithful ones...is a ready and faithful helper to those who call upon him in need,” and the Hussites defeated the Catholic crusaders in August 1431.<sup>73</sup>

Prokop stated during this crusade that the Hussites would cease fighting if their opponents agreed with their beliefs. He wrote,

The will of the aforementioned armies and lords [the Táborites and Orphans] is that you return to the truth of the gospel. For these truths they have been leading a daily struggle up until the present time. If you agree to this, then the plunders will cease immediately and they will under no circumstances extort money from you...However, if you do not decide to agree to the truths of the gospel for which our forces contend...you may be assured that the will of the aforementioned armies and all of the lords who are of the Kingdom of Bohemia is this: if you desire to save your lives and your goods you are to provide them with a certain amount of money...<sup>74</sup>

These perspectives demonstrate how the Hussites believed themselves to be chosen by God for a victory against the crusaders, and therefore motivated them to continue defending their beliefs and prove successful in battle.

Sigismund called for the Council of Basel in March 1431 to find a solution to the Hussite problem. However, only one prelate appeared on the day it was set for due to more minor wars that made crossing the Alps into Basel difficult. Therefore, it was moved to July

---

<sup>68</sup> (April 18, 1429) doc. no. 141 “A call for renewed crusade,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 266-267.

<sup>69</sup> Howard Kaminsky cautions that the authenticity of the letter from Joan of Arc threatening the Hussites has always been disputed. It may have been real, but also could have been forged by Catholics as an attempt to intimidate the Hussites. Either way, it demonstrated the lengths Catholics would endure to put an end to the Hussites. It is worth noting, Kaminsky writes, that Henry Beaufort, the papal legate for the fourth crusade, was also one of Joan’s jailers; attributed to Joan of Arc (March 23, 1430) doc. no. 149 “Joan of Arc threatens the Hussites” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 284.

<sup>70</sup> Henry Beaufort (1431) doc. no. 143 “England backs crusade against Czech heretics;” (1430) doc. no. 145 “Counter crusades;” (1430) doc. no. 146 “Hussite invasion of Lusatia;” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 277-285.

<sup>71</sup> Attributed to Prokop Holý (February 2, 1430) doc. no. 147 “Prokop replies to German town requesting peace.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 281-282.

<sup>72</sup> (June 26, 1431) doc. no. 154 “Ceremonies for the fifth crusade;” (1431) doc. no. 165 “Account of the fifth crusade fought at Domažlice” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 300, 314.

<sup>73</sup> (August 15, 1431) doc. no. 167 “Hussite perspective on the campaign;” (August 17, 1431) doc. no. 169 “Admission of crusader defeat and disaster,” “Hussite song of victory at Domažlice,” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 318-321.

<sup>74</sup> Prokop Holý (February 2, 1430) doc. no. 147 “Prokop replies to German town requesting peace.” found in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437*, ed. Fudge, 281-282.

23.<sup>75</sup> The Council of Basel followed expectations of conciliarism set by the previous generation of clergymen at the Council of Constance. The Conciliar Movement, as historian Matthew Spinka argues, was one of the “most significant eras in the history of Christianity” because it gave more power to church councils, rather than the pope holding too much influence.<sup>76</sup> The four Hussite leaders attending the Council of Basel and defending their movement were John of Rokycany, Ulric of Znojmo, Nicholas of Pelhřimov, and Peter Payne. These men urged the council to accept the Four Articles of Prague and especially to allow the laity to participate fully in Communion.<sup>77</sup>

The Council of Basel ended in 1449, with the two Hussite groups officially split. The Taborites phased out over time as the Utraquists were accepted back into the Catholic Church with the hope that the Utraquists’ beliefs would also fade. On the other hand, the Utraquists hoped to influence other Catholics further. Furthermore, they accepted King Sigismund as the King of Bohemia before he died in 1437. In return for papal recognition, the Utraquists were promised Communion in both kinds.<sup>78</sup>

The effects of the Hussite wars were present throughout Europe and later the Transatlantic world. The wars further decentralized the papacy and weakened the Catholic Church. Jan Hus also helped to facilitate the rise of Czech proto-nationalism in Bohemian lands, and he is still revered today. Wycliffe and Hus are known to be the forerunners of the Protestant Reformation. In October of 1527, reformer Martin Luther nailed his *Ninety-Five Theses* on the door of All Saints’ Church in Wittenberg, calling for many of the same changes Wycliffe and Hus did. The Protestant Reformation led to the creation of Lutheranism, Calvinism, Zwinglianism, Anabaptism, Anglicanism, and many more branches of the Protestant Church. In turn, however, the Catholic Church also sought reform as evident with the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1563 that instituted a reform of the clergy, indulgences, and the Catholic Church. This also led to the Counter-Reformation, a movement specifically targeted to suppress Protestants. Further wars, such as the Schmalkaldic Wars (1537-1555) and the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648), ensued.

As for the Hussites, the Utraquist faction was absorbed into the Catholic Church following the Council of Basel and would later be reformed to the *Unitas Fratrum*, also known as the Unity of the Brethren, or the Bohemian Brethren. The Unity of the Brethren follows many of Hus’s ideas and is primarily known as the Moravian Church in North America today. One prominent figure from Hussite and Moravian history is Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius, 1592-1670). Comenius was another follower of Hus, who would later be prominent for his role in promoting education. Comenius was a Czech philosopher born in Moravia and a bishop among the Bohemian Brethren. During the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648), Comenius was exiled due to his Protestant views that challenged Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II’s attempts to re-establish Catholicism back into Bohemia. While

---

<sup>75</sup> Michiel Decaluwe, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, eds. *A Companion to the Council of Basel*. (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 12-13.

<sup>76</sup> Petr z Mladenovic, “The Conciliar Movement and the Council of Constance,” *John Hus at the Council of Constance*. Translated by Matthew Spinka. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966): 3-22.

<sup>77</sup> Otakar Odlozilik, “From Revolution to Restoration,” *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs, 1440-1471*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965): 4-18.

<sup>78</sup> Decaluwe, Michiel, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, eds. *A Companion to the Council of Basel*. 280.

living in exile in Polish Leszno after 1648, Comenius was able to gain international support throughout Europe. He and other members of the Brethren successfully advocated for financial support from leaders in Poland-Lithuania, the Swiss Confederation, and the Dutch church in London, for students, elderly persons, and others living without a substantial income.<sup>79</sup> Comenius promoted universal education and is known as the “father of modern education.”<sup>80</sup> Comenius is known as the “father of modern education” as he argued that education should be accessible and enjoyable to many people, including women. As a result, the Bohemian Brethren, later known as the Moravians, established schools for girls in the colonies of Pennsylvania and North Carolina in the mid-eighteenth century. The Moravians have also held missions around the world, where they continue to spread Hus’s teachings. Moravians, as an ethnic group, still live in Prague and parts of south Czechia, formerly Bohemia. The Czechoslovak Hussite Church in Czechia was refounded in 1920, after World War I, and is still in practice today. It “professes to the old Christian tradition, Cyril and Methodius tradition, follows the teachings of Master John Huss, the reform efforts, the legacy of Jan Amos Comenius, the modernist movement and the spiritual.”<sup>81</sup>

The “Warriors of God” shaped Bohemian and Christian history in several ways that can still be demonstrated worldwide today. The Protestant Reformation and the contrasting forms of Protestantism that resulted from it were significantly influenced by the Hussite Wars and their aftermath. Hussites were feared, hated, respected, and revered by many Christians, Czech and beyond, from the lower to upper classes, and these perceptions about them influenced the actions of the Hussites and their opponents during the Hussite Wars. The Hussite Wars challenged society, introduced new military tactics, powerfully challenged Catholic authority, and facilitated new religious movements.

---

<sup>79</sup> Vladimír Urbánek, “Comenius, the Unity of Brethren, and Correspondence Networks.” *Journal of Moravian History* 14, no. 1 (2014): 30–50. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/jmorahist.14.1.0030>.

<sup>80</sup> Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius*. 366-376.

<sup>81</sup> “Czechoslovak Hussite Church Reminds 100th Anniversary of Its Birth | Communion of Protestant Churches in Europe CPCE.” (2020). <https://www.leuenberg.eu/czechoslovak-hussite-church-reminds-100th-anniversary-of-its-birth/>.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, *The Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV, 1356 A.D.*, found in *Selected Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, translated and edited by Ernest F. Henderson London/New York 1892.

Fudge, Thomas A. *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Henderson, Ernest F., ed. *The Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV, 1356 A.D. Selected Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*

Hus, Jan. *De Ecclesia, The Church*. Translated by David S. Schaff. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1915.

Hus, Jan. *The Letters of John Hus*. Translated by Matthew Spinka. Manchester University Press; Rowman and Littlefield, 1972.

Petr z Mladenovic. *John Hus at the Council of Constance*. Translated by Matthew Spinka. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

### Secondary Sources

Alfred, Thomas. *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Atwood, Craig D. 2009. *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius*. Penn State Press.

Brušák, Karal. "Reflections of Heresy in Czech Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Rhymed Compositions." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 76, no. 2 (1998): 241–65. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4212622>.

Campi, Luigi. "Determinism Between Oxford and Prague: The Late Wyclif's Retractions and their Defense Ascribed to Peter Payne." In *Europe After Wyclif*, edited by J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen. 121-122. Fordham University Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1f114xz.8>.

Communion of Protestant Churches in Europe. "Czechoslovak Hussite Church Reminds 100th Anniversary of Its Birth | Communion of Protestant Churches in Europe CPCE." (2020). <https://www.leuenberg.eu/czechoslovak-hussite-church-reminds-100th-anniversary-of-its-birth/>.

Cook, William R. "John Wyclif and Hussite Theology 1415-1436." *Church History* 42, no. 3 (1973): 335–49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3164390>.

- Decaluwe, Michiel, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, eds. *A Companion to the Council of Basel*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Fudge, Thomas. *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Fudge, Thomas A. *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 1998.
- Fudge, Thomas A. "The State of Hussite Historiography." *Mediaevistik* 7 (1994): 93–117. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42584176>.
- Fudge, Thomas A. *The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013
- Fudge, Thomas A. "Žižka's Drum: The Political Uses of Popular Religion." *Central European History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 546–69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4547353>.
- Górski, Szymon, and Ewelina Wilczynska. "Jan Žižka's Wagons of War: How the Hussite Wars Changed the Medieval Battlefield." *Medieval Warfare* 2, no. 3 (2012): 27–34. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48578020>.
- Housley, Norman. *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400-1536*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Kaminsky, Howard. *A History of the Hussite Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- Kaminsky, Howard. "The Prague Insurrection of 30 July, 1419" *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 17. 1966.
- Klassen, John. *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
- Klassen, John. "Women and Religious Reform in Late Medieval Bohemia." *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 5, no. 4 (1981): 203–21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43465024>.
- Lahey, Stephen E. *The Hussites*. Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019.
- Odložilik, Otakar. *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs, 1440-1471*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965.
- Pjecha, Martin. *Theo-Politics of the Hussite Movement: From Reform to Revolution*. Leiden: Brill, 2024.
- Perett, Marcela Klicova. *Preachers, Partisans, and Rebellious Religion: Vernacular Writings and the Hussite Movement*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

- Soukup, Pavel. "The Waning of the 'Wycliffites': Giving Names to the Hussite Heresy." In *Europe After Wyclif*, edited by J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen, 196–226. Fordham University Press, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1f114xz.11>.
- Spinka, Matthew. *John Hus and the Czech Reform*. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1941.
- Spinka, Matthew. *John Hus: Concept of the Church*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Urbánek, Vladimír. "Comenius, the Unity of Brethren, and Correspondence Networks." *Journal of Moravian History* 14, no. 1 (2014): 30–50. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/jmorahist.14.1.0030>.
- Van Dussen, Michael and Pavel Soukup, eds. *A Companion to the Hussites*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Zeman, J. K. "Restitution and Dissent in the Late Medieval Renewal Movements: The Waldensians, the Hussites and the Bohemian Brethren." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44, no. 1 (1976): 7–27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1462099>.