
Beginnings of Bohemian Reformation in the Northwest: The Waldensians and the Reformers in the Deanery of Kadaň at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century

Petr Hlaváček

(Prague and Leipzig)

At the turn of the fourteenth century Northwest Bohemia played important political, ecclesiastical, cultural, and economic roles. The region then included the governmental circuits [*kraje*] of Žatec and Loket, and within the system of ecclesiastical administration five deaneries of the archdeaconry of Žatec (Žatec, Kadaň, Loket, Žlutice, and Teplá) and a part of the archdeaconry of Bílina (the deanery of Bílina). The area boasted a relatively large number of royal towns – Žatec, Louny, Kadaň, Most, and Loket. There were also several important monasteries, such as the Benedictines of Postoloprty, the Cistercians of Osek, the Premonstratensians of Teplá, the Teutonic Knights of Chomutov, the Franciscans of Žatec, the Dominicans of Louny, and the Franciscans and the Knights of Malta in Kadaň. Likewise, several aristocratic families, like the Kolovrats, the Rýzmburks, and the Šumberks, had their dominions in this corner of Bohemia.¹

¹ A list of parishes of the archdeaconry of Žatec (divided into deaneries) is available, for instance, in František Palacký: *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě*, 5 vv. (Prague, 1940) 1:253-254. Concerning the deaneries of Žlutice, Loket, and Teplá on the basis of the books of clerical appointments [*konfirmační knihy*] see Zdeňka Hledíková: “Ke studiu a možnostem využití patronátních práv v předhusitských Čechách,” in: FHB, 7 (1984) 43-99. On parishes in the archdeaconry of Bílina, see Friedrich Bernau, “Beiträge zur Grundlage der kirchlichen Topographie. Erzdiöcese Bilin,” *Studien und Materialien zur Specialgeschichte und Heimatskunde des deutschen Sprachgebiets in Böhmen und Mähren* (Prague, 1903) 49-141. For monasteries with bibliographic references, see Pavel Vlček, Petr Sommer, and Dušan Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů* (Prague, 1997). Several notable ecclesiastics left their mark on the region. Matěj of Janov (+ 1394), had a parish in Velik Ves near Podbořany in the deanery of Žatec in 1388-1394, although most of the time a vicar represented him there, see Vlastimil Kybal, *M. Matěj z Janova. Jeho život, spisy a učení* (Prague 1905; reprint Brno, 2000) 19, 21. The vicar general of the Prague archdiocese, Jan of Pomuk (+ 1393), notorious for his violent death, held the prestigious office of Archdeacon of Žatec in 1390-1393, see Jaroslav V. Polc, *Svatý Jan Nepomucký* (Prague, 1993) 121-126. An interesting personage was also priest Vícemil (+ 1411), pastor of the parish church of the Virgin Mary in Žatec, who was constantly engaged with Prague affairs, see Petr Hlaváček, “Curriculum vitae domini Wiczemilli (+ 1411), plebani ecclesiae sanctae Mariae in Zac. Příspěvek k církevním dějinám královského města Žatce v předhusitské době,” *Sborník Okresního archivu v Lounech* (forthcoming). The situation of the parish clergy did not differ from the Bohemian average. The archiepiscopal judge [*korektor*] tried mainly the routine breaches of clerical discipline, such as concubinage. See Antonín Podlaha, *Akta korektorů duchovenstva diecése pražské z let 1407-1410* (Prague, 1921), which covers the deanery of Kadaň on 13, 15, 17, 27-28, 31, 43, 51-52. Vlachník of Weitmile (+ 1399) claimed – in his poem, “De vino et ydolis” – that priests honoured, above all, Bacchus, the god of wine, citing as a prime example a parish vicar, and former director of a church choir in Chomutov, see Jaroslav V. Polc, *Česká církev v dějinách* (Prague, 1999) 153-167. See also Václav Novotný, ed., *Inquisitio domorum hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolimitani per Pragensem archidioecesim facta anno 1373* (Prague, 1900) 54-57, on the Knights of Malta in Kadaň; Josef Hemmerle, *Die Deutschordens-Ballei Böhmen in ihren Rechnungsbüchern 1382-1411* (Bonn, 1967) 25, 29-32, *passim*, on the Teutonic Knights in Chomutov; and Anežka Vidmanová, *Laborintus*.

The Early Messengers

Northwest Bohemia also enjoyed a considerable reputation for religious dissent and became a focus of the Inquisition's interest as early as the first half of the fourteenth century.² The royal town of Žatec harboured in 1329 a group of heretics, led by a former Prague Dominican, Jindřich Harrer, known as Apostate, who held the office of vicar, apparently in the principal parish church of the Virgin Mary. The town magistrate of Žatec accused them of heresy before the administrators of the Prague bishopric – Bishop Jan IV of Dražice was then still under suspension and dwelt in Avignon. The alleged heretics, however, responded to the accusation by slaying the Žatec magistrate, as well as his son. The Captain of the Bohemian Kingdom, Hynek of Dubá, ordered the arrest of eleven perpetrators, and had them executed in Prague. The exact nature of the Žatec heresy cannot be determined. It was even possible that the accusation of heresy falsely defamed political opponents in the internecine struggle for power within the city.³

A notable event occurred near Kadaň in 1337. Brother Mikuláš Chrzyen from the Franciscan monastery of St. Michael in Kadaň caused a major uproar in the parish church of Želina near Kadaň, when he publicly questioned the moral character of the local pastor during a solemn liturgy. During the elevation of the consecrated host he allegedly stated: "Only, if you are the real Body of Christ, I adore you; otherwise I do not." The enraged parishioners scolded him and advanced the charge that Mikuláš received faulty indoctrination in his Order. The monk responded by accusing their pastor of concubinage. Suspected of Donatist heresy, Mikuláš was then investigated by an inquisitor in the Dominican monastery of St. Clement in Prague. His subsequent fate remains unknown. In all probability, however, the incident reflected the contemporary tension between the mendicants and the secular clergy.⁴

Latinská literatura středověkých Čech (Prague, 1994) 165-166, on the parish library in Žatec in the late fourteenth century.

² On the origins of Bohemian Reformation in the area see, for instance, Ludwig Schlesinger, "Saaz in der Husitenzeit bis zum Tode Žižkas," *MVGDB* 27 (1889) 97-153; Hans Hallwich, "Jakaubek von Wřesowitz: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der husitischen Bewegung," *MVGDB* 4 (1865) 33-51; Wilhelm Wostry, *Saaz zur Zeit des Ackermannedichters* (Munich, 1951); Bořivoj Lůžek, *Po stopách husitství na Ústecku* (Ústí nad Labem, 1959). See also Frederick G. Heymann, "Česká města před husitskou revolucí, v době jejího trvání a jejich etnický vývoj," *JSbH* 40 (1971) (special issue: "Tábor a husitská revoluce". Soubor příspěvků ze IV. Symposia Pragense v Táboře, 1970), 45-56; Petr Hlaváček, "Několik poznámek k počátkům české reformace na Kadaňsku," in: *Seminář 1999*, Sborník referátů ze semináře k 150. výročí narození Bedřicha Bernaua (Chomutov, 1999) 8-9, reprint in: *PPŽ* 2/32 (2000) 41-43.

³ Ivan Hlaváček, "Inkvisice v Čechách ve 30. letech 14. století," *ČsČH* 5 (1957) 533-534, text of the protocol of Inquisition, 536-537. Newly edited with corrections by Alexander Patschovsky, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Band 11 (Weimar 1979) 243-248.

⁴ Hlaváček, "Inkvisice v Čechách," 534, text on p. 537. See also Patschovsky, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition*, 249: "Frater Nicolaus ... venit ad solemnitatem predictae ecclesie in Zelenicz, et dum esset in divino officio infra elevationem corporis Christi, publice dixit: Si es verum corpus Christi, adoro te, si non es, non adoro!" It is also worth noting that the family of Jindřich of Kadaň (+ 1354), a burgher and a councilor of the Old Town of Prague, had established the so-called House of the Beguines of Kadaň, and it was exactly the Beguines [*Begutae*], who became notorious for religious non-conformity; see Václav V. Tomek, *Dějepis* 2:151, 472.

Little is known about Waldensian presence in the Kadaň area in this early period. The first indirect reference is from 1338. The Inquisition's operations in the Dominican Monastery of České Budějovice revealed then a certain Seydlinus, a lame tailor, who was notorious for his heresy, and hailed from Ostrov near Loket. The investigation was part of an sweeping Inquisition campaign against the Waldensians in southern Bohemia, and it might have pointed to contacts with kindred Waldensian communities in the northwest of the country.⁵

According to the Inquisition's fragmentary protocols, the Waldensians of the Bohemian northwest centered in the deanery of Kadaň, which spread from the Ore Mountains to the Mountains of Doupov [*Doupovské hory*] along the axis of the river Ohře. With more than forty parishes, it belonged among the larger deaneries. The royal town of Kadaň boasted a commandery of the Knights of Malta, who administered the parish church of the Virgin Mary, and a Dominican monastery of St. Michael. Neighboring Chomutov was subject to the Teutonic Knights. Both towns were predominantly Teutonic, but their rural hinterlands remained Bohemophone.⁶

The Inquisition's protocols reveal the existence of Waldensian communities in the deanery of Kadaň as early as the 1390s.⁷ Margaretha Offengrabová of Chomutov was tried on suspicion of Waldensian heresy by a court of the Inquisition in Prague on 8 June 1393/94. She was a single maiden, born in Chomutov, whose parents did not stem *de secta Waldensi*. Andreas Dressler of Chomutov introduced her to the sect, and she made her confession in a chamber of his house c. 1387/88. She confessed for the second time much later in Lent of 1392/93, this time in the house of Petr Ungar in Kadaň [*in domo Petri Ungari in Cadano, eciam in quadam camera*]. Dressler and Ungar, the leaders of the Waldesians in Kadaň and Chomutov, were for her the Lord's disciples, sent directly by God. Her penance was to fast on bread and water on Wednesdays and Fridays. She was to pray the Lord's Prayer thirty times daily, and fifty times on holidays. The Hail Mary was proscribed. In the meantime, she also confessed and received communion in a regular manner. Its illicit character forced her to remain silent about her Waldensianism. In Dressler's house she also heard a sermon against the invocation of the Virgin Mary and other

⁵ Patschovsky: *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition* 181: "... Nicolaus dictus Hofman testis in causa fidei ... deponit, quod Seydlinus sartor claudus, qui dicitur venisse de Slaknwerd (= Ostrov nad Ohří), est communiter suspectus et infamis de heresi."

⁶ Concerning the Kadaň area at the turn of the fourteenth century, see Franz Josef Stocklów and Wenzel Hammer, *Das Buch der Heimat. Der Bezirk Kaaden in seiner Gegenwart und Vergangenheit*, 2 vv. (Kadaň, 1890-1892) 1:287-294; 2:129-139; Viktor Karell, *Kaaden - Duppau. Ein Heimatbuch der Erinnerung und Geschichte des Landkreises* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965) 32-34, 59-61. Concerning Chomutov, see *Heimatkunde des politischen Bezirkes Komotau. Die Gerichtsbezirke Komotau, Görkau und Sebestiansberg umfassend*, ed. Deutsche Bezirkslehrervereine Komotau (Chomutov, 1898) 174-183. Ignatz Krahl, *Geschichte der königlichen Stadt Komotau* (Chomutov, 1914), 3-11. Wilhelm Weizsäcker, *Quellen zur Geschichte der böhmisch-mährischen Ballei des Deutschen Ordens*, MVGDB 69 (1931) 357-371. On the nationality situation see Ernst Schwarz, "Die Volkstumsverhältnisse in den Städten Böhmens und Mährens vor den Hussitenkriegen," *Bohemia* 2 (1961) 65-67.

⁷ See edition of the protocols in Ivan Hlaváček, "Zur böhmischen Inquisition und Häresiebekämpfung um das Jahr 1400," in: František Šmahel, ed., *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 39, (Munich, 1998) 109-131, the text is on 124-131. Concerning the fragments of these protocols, see also *idem*, "Colligere fragmenta. K dosud neznámým diplomatickým pramenům doby lucemburské," *Sborník Kruhu přátel Muzea hlavního města Prahy*, 1 (1988) 130-131.

saints, as well as against prayers for the dead, purgatory, holy water, and oath taking. The Waldensian community thought it possessed the true faith, while admitting the possibility of salvation outside its precincts [*Item sectam crediderit esse veram fidem, licet non occupavit se an extra eam possit salvari aliquis*].

This was Margaretha's second appearance before the Inquisition. She had earlier foresworn heresy, but Anna Ungarová, Petr's daughter-in-law won her once more for Waldensianism. In a confession in Ungar's house she repudiated the oath, she had taken before the Inquisitor. Now Margaretha once more renounced Waldensianism and signaled her readiness to return to Rome [*ad unitatem fidei catholice et sancte matris Romane ecclesie*]. At the same time, she agreed to submit to punishment for recidivism, and do the appropriate penance.

The same day, the Inquisition dealt with Margaretha Sleyfferová of Chomutov, a widow of Petr Sleyffer. She was born in nearby Údlice, and her family did not belong among the sectarians. Margharetta was exposed to Waldesianism by the late Chunne Krewsynnová of Chomutov. The latter promised a salutary teaching [*bona doctrina*], and introduced her into the house of Andreas Dressler, where Margaretha made her first confession. Altogether, she confessed five times in the Waldensian manner – to Nicholas of Vienna, to Nicholas of Styria, and also to another Nicholas, this time in the house of miller Hick in a Chomutov suburb during Lent of 1392/93. These confessors were, for her, disciples of the Lord and saints, dispatched by God [*pro discipulis Domini, missis a Deo, sanctis, potentes optime dimittere peccata*].⁸ Without revealing her lapse, she confessed to priests of the Roman Church, and received communion from them. She heard a couple of Waldensian sermons opposing invocation of the Virgin Mary and other saints. According to her sectarian teachers [*secundum informacionem heresiacorum*], she believed only in the inferno and in paradise, rejecting purgatory. She was to avoid indulgences, pilgrimages, the jubilee year of 1393, the veneration of images and relics, and oath taking. Of the prayers of the Roman Church, she accepted only the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and she was convinced that one could pray anywhere, whether at home or in a church. According to her, the Waldensians had the true faith, while others were doomed.

Václav from Sušany near Chomutov was interrogated on 26 August 1393/94. Admitting apostasy from the Catholic faith, he swore never again to have contacts *cum hominibus secte Waldensium*. Not being a novice before the Inquisition's court, he pledged to accept as punishment a penance specified for recidivism. Ulrich Kosar, the pastor of Sušany, was to announce during the liturgy on the following Sunday the assigned penance for all the unmasked Waldensians of the village, such as the mentioned Václav, and certain Lender and Osanna.

The Inquisition's protocols lead us to assume that two Waldensian groups existed in close association in the deanery of Kadaň at the latest since the 1380s. Each community had its rector or master, who also played the role of preacher and confessor: Andreas Dressler in Chomutov, and Petr Ungar in Kadaň, both of them apparently burghers. Waldensianism thrived, above all, in the urban Germanophone milieu, but not without forays into the countryside, such as the village of Sušany.

⁸ On the role of sectarian leaders, see Stanislav Bylina, "Problém elity v kacířském hnutí. Protagonisté kacířských skupin," JSbH 40 (1971) (special issue: "Tábor a husitská revoluce". Soubor příspěvků ze IV. Symposia Pragense v Táboře, 1970) 61-67.

The core of each community consisted of the traditionally Waldensian families, like the Ungars of Kadaň, with a conspicuous female participation. The focus was on communal sermons and on confession, which were provided discreetly in private dwellings, usually in special chambers. Participation in the liturgy of the Roman Church masked the sectarian defections. Recruitment required cautious personal contacts. As also reflected in the Inquisition protocols, the theology of the two communities was in harmony with the general Waldensian tenets, which to a certain extent had remained a work in progress. Such was a preoccupation with correct worship, anticlericalism, and an ecclesiological ambiguity.

The two communities had contacts with coreligionists in the Austrian lands, as indicated by visits of the itinerant “Lord’s disciples” from Vienna and Styria. The dwellings of Dressler and Ungar, together with Hick’s mill, served as safe houses for this purpose. It was probably this transnational communication, however, that proved to be lethal. In the 1390s, Peter Zwicker, a Celestine Provincial, launched a sweeping campaign against the Waldensians of central Europe. The Inquisitor followed the network to unravel the clandestine contacts, working his way from Pomerania to Austria. In 1393/94, his right-hand man, Martin of Prague, was delegated to pursue the leads in Bohemia, which resulted in the investigation of the Kadaň and Chomutov Waldensians, narrated earlier.⁹ Since the Inquisitorial examinations clearly revealed the leaders’ names, it was likely that Dressler and Ungar met with a dire demise. Subsequently, the Waldensians of Kadaň and Chomutov must have withdrawn into the deepest secrecy, and there were no direct reports of their presence. Nevertheless, the communities apparently survived until the outbreak of the Bohemian religious wars in 1419, when traditional Waldensianism would encounter the Bohemian reform movement, and a new denominational fine tuning would occur in Kadaň as well.

The Middle Phase

Religious dissent has been noted in the Kadaň area also in the early fifteenth century. In the deanery of Žatec, a numerous group of lay people persisted in disparaging the “keys of the Church.” They lived in Holubany near Podbořany, and were led by squire Petr of Rabštejn, owner of the Holubany fort, Kršo, the tavern keeper, Jakub Jaklík, and Jan Rab. The nature of their transgression remains unknown, and it might have been a matter of discipline rather than dogma. Ultimately, however, they were excommunicated for obstinacy by the Benedictine Abbot of Postoloprty, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction the village of Holubany belonged.

Acting in the name of his master, Václav, the apostolic subdelegate and bishop of Wrocław, on 13 September 1402, Linhart of Falkenštejn, the diocesan official of Wrocław, wrote to the abbot and the monastery of Postoloprty and to several pastors of the deaneries of Žatec and Kadaň, and ordered them to induce the above-mentioned excommunicated lay persons to return into “the bosom of the Holy Mother the Church.” Priest Vícemil, pastor of the church of the Virgin Mary in Žatec, notified official Linhart that the order was carried out and the excommunicants were requested after mass to perform public penance in the church. Squire Petr of

⁹ Concerning the proceedings of Peter Zwicker and Petr of Prague, see Jean Gonnet and Amedeo Molnár, *Les Vaudois au Moyen Age* (Turin, 1974) 152-154; Waldensian theology is discussed in *ibid.* 163-210.

Rabštejn held the fort of Holubany until 1404.¹⁰ The unspecified derelict of this minor nobleman in a way foreshadowed the radical rupture with the Roman Church of another squire from the Podbořany area, Zikmund of Řepany.¹¹

We know pitifully little about the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Kadaň during the approach and prior to the outbreak of the chiliastic euphoria. There were some indications that a reform party existed and was closely intertwined with the local Waldensians. Jan Hus stayed in nearby Žatec at the turn of 1412 and 1413, when a strict interdict forced him to leave Prague. He may have spent some time in the castle of Egerbek near Kadaň, which belonged to Mikuláš Augustinův, called Wealthy [*Bohatý*], a confidant of Wenceslas IV, and a patron of the reform. The letter of complaint, which the Bohemian and Moravian nobles issued on September 2, 1415 against the execution of Hus, contained the names of only two knights from the Kadaň area.¹²

¹⁰ Oscar Schmidt-Reder, "Das böhmische Benedictinerkloster Porta apostolorum," *MVGDB* 23 (1885) 100-104 (text). On Petr of Rabštejn, see August Sedláček: *Hrady, zámky a tvrže království Českého v. 14: Litoměřicko a Žatecko* (Prague, 1923) 352.

¹¹ Concerning Zikmund, see Josef Macek, *Tábor v husitském revolučním hnutí*, 2 vv. (Prague 1952-1955) 2:324-325; *Husitská revoluce*, 2:34, 131; 3:73; Robert Kalivoda, *Husitské myšlení* (Prague, 1997) 235; Eduard Maur, "Příspěvek k prosopografii duchovních tábořské orientace v počátcích husitské revoluce," *Táborský archiv*, 9 (1999) 63-68, on "Kněz Sigmund a panoše Zikmund Řepanský."

¹² See Jiří Pražák, "Zlomek korespondence žateckého sakristána Martina se zmínkou o Janu Husovi," *Studie o rukopisech* 1 (1965) 201-204. The author called attention to a letter of Jan, Provost of the Magdalenitské Monastery in the suburbs of Louny, from the turn of 1412 and 1413, which was addressed to Martin of Jistebnice, chaplain of the principal parish church of the Virgin Mary in Žatec. Provost Jan inquired of the chaplain, whether his pastor would declare an anathema against Hus, even if the latter left for the synod in Český Brod: "...intimari mihi cupio, si vester plebanus Johannem excomunicet Hussonem, eciamsi Brodam equitabit". This remark led Pražák to confirm convincingly Hus's stay in Žatec. Such a view was further supported by Anežka Vidmanová, "Kdy, kde a jak psal Hus českou Postillu," *LF* 112 (1989) 145-148. On castle Egerberk, see *Husitská revoluce*, 2:258, 260. The castle belonged until 1410 to Jindřich Škopek of Dubá, a patron of the reform, who also owned Mašřov in the area of Kadaň until 1408, see Sedláček: *Hrady, zámky a tvrže*, 14:72-73, 380; Bernau, "Studien und Materialien," 348-350. In the spring of 1415, Hus sent a letter from Constance to the people of Plzeň, Žatec, and Louny. See Bohumil Ryba ed., *Sto listů M. Jana Husí* (Prague, 1949) 184 (n. 65). He had written to Louny also earlier c.1410, see Novotný, 54-56 (n. 16). Hus's contacts with northwest Bohemia were apparently quite intensive. Jaroslav Purš, ed. *Atlas československých dějin* (Praha 1965), mapa 6b, located protests against Hus's execution at Egerberg and Mašřov in the Kadaň area. August Sedláček, "Úvahy o osobách v stížných listech I. 1415 psaných," *ČČH* 23 (1917) 85-109, 310-352, found no signers from the circuit of Žatec, and he stressed the Roman loyalty of the nobles in the Kadaň area, *ibid.*, 346-347. See also Bohdan Zilynskyj, "Stížný list české a moravské šlechty proti Husovu upálení (Otázka vzniku a dochování)," *FHB* 5 (1983) 195-237. Records of university attendance from Kadaň and its deanery are too fragmentary to shed significant light on the Reformation sympathies in the area. Available information down to 1409 indicates that there were barely more than ten students at the University of Prague (mainly from Kadaň, Chomutov and Mašřov), Josef Tříška, *Životopisný slovník předhusitské pražské univerzity 1348-1409* (Prague, 1981) 67 (Chřen Petrův of Mašřov); 259 (Jan of Chomutov); 384 (Mikuláš of Kadaň); 399 (Mikuláš Janův of Kadaň); 406 (Mikuláš of Mašřov); 455 (Petr of Mašřov); 547 (Jan Matějův of Chomutov); and others. Jan of Kadaň matriculated in the University of Leipzig in 1413, see Anton Rosenbaum, "Komotauer und Kaadner an der Universität in Leipzig in den Jahren 1409 bis 1559," *Unsere Heimat*. Beilage zum "Gemeinde-Amtsblatt für die Stadt Komotau," 1-3, 1928, 7-8; Ferdinand Tadra, *Kulturní styky Čech s cizinou až do válek husitských* (Prague, 1897) 309. On the University of Leipzig, see also Richard Walter Franke, "Sudetendeutsche an der Universität Leipzig 1409-1809," in Rudolf Kötzschke, ed., *Forschungen zur Geschichte Sachsens und Böhmens* (Dresden, 1937) 158, *passim*. The first student from Kadaň (Jan Spardörffer of Kadaň) was known to

An important source explicitly documented Kadaň's role in the Reform movement. It was the Romanist parody of the Lord's Prayer, the so-called Hussite Pater Noster, composed in the period between 1416 and 1419. Kadaň was named, together with Prague, Plzeň, Písek, Klatovy, and Žatec, as a center of Wyclifites, who – under the protection of King Wenceslas – served masses and preached sermons in private houses.¹³

The Kadaňers sided with Wenceslas IV in 1418 when a conflict broke out between the King and Jindřich of Plavno, the owner of a major castle, Hasištejn near Kadaň, and an opponent of the reformers. The latter's relative, Jindřich the Elder of Plavno, a member of the order of the Teutonic Knights, defended the castle against the royal troops, who besieged it in February of the same year. The Kadaňers sent a letter to the castle with declarations of loyalty to the king, and coarse insults of Jindřich. According to the missive, the latter rather than a knight was more of a bandit, who had violated the monastic vows of poverty by owning property. There was nothing chivalrous about him. After a lengthy siege, the castle was conquered by the host, commanded by Mikuláš Chudý of Lobkovice, the supreme scribe of the land, and a royal councilor, who supported religious reform. King Wenceslas pawned to him Hasištejn on 14 May 1418, and the Kadaň reformers, for a brief time, gained a friend in Mikuláš.¹⁴

be at the University of Vienna in 1431, see Ivan Hlaváček and Ludmila Hlaváčková, "Studenti z českých zemí a Slovenska na vídeňské univerzitě I," *ActaUC-HUCP* II/1 (1961) 121. It is, however, possible that Matyáš of Chomutov, later apparently a Knight of Malta in Kadaň, attended the University of Vienna as early as 1411-1412, see Jiří Malínský, "Neznámý rukopis okresního archivu Chomutov se sídlem v Kadani," *PPŽ* 1/18 (1986) 30-32.

¹³Alois Bernt, "Ein deutsches Hussitenpaternoster aus dem Stifte Hohenfurt," *MVGDB* 39 (1901) 320-322: "Vater vnser herre kunig wenczla der du pist zu brag (=Prag) gelobt sey dein nam durich di bittlesen (=Wiklefisten) zu chom vns dein reich ... dein wil der geschech zu prag als zu blasen (=Pilsen) pieczigt (=Písek) zu caden (=Kaaden) glatau (=Klatau) vnd czwu sacz (=Saaz) ..." He dates the text to 1416-1418. Josef Pekař, *Žižka a jeho doba*, 4 vv. (Prague, 1927-1933) 1:217, questions the reliability of the geographic data. He places the document's origin in 1417-1419. Macek, *Tábor v husitském revolučním hnutí*, 1:250, following Pekař, likewise questions the reference to Kadaň. *Husitská revoluce*, 1:410, adopts a judicious view: "the case of Kadaň remains controversial, although the so-called Hussite Pater Noster, includes it among the centers of Utraquism..." My own opinion, based on this study, is that, at one time, Kadaň might have figured among the centres of reform. Other towns experienced similar flipflops, see, for instance, Zdeňka Hledíková, "Kacířské Prachatice?" *JSbH* 59 (1990) 195-199

¹⁴Friedrich Bernau, *Hassenstein. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Erzgebirgs* (Česká Lípa, 1893) 63-67, which cites *Thüringische Geschichtsquellen*, 5. Band, II. Theil, 642-645. As a Teutonic Knight, Jindřich the Elder had spent many years in Prussia. He did not participate in the famous battle at Tannenberg/Grunwald in 1410, but he defended the castle Malbork against the Poles, and as the Grandmaster's Vicar assumed the administration of his Order's vestigial properties in Prussia. Elected Grand Master on 9 November 1410, he signed the Treaty of Toruń with the Poles on 2 January of the following year. Wenceslas IV confiscated the Order's Bohemian properties in 1411, including the commandery of Chomutov. Removed from office in 1413, Jindřich was accused of treasonable dealings with the Poles a year later, and imprisoned (although evidently not until 1425, as has been sometimes maintained); see Jaroslav Goll, *Čechy a Prusy ve středověku* (Prague, 1897) 116-117, 129-131. Local enmities might explain the (mis)use of religious warfare for the settling of personal accounts, as for instance Jindřich of Plavno did during his campaign at Kadaň and Žatec in 1421, see Dietrich Kerler, ed., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigmund II* (Gotha 1883) 2:101: "... der von Blowen (= Plauen) ein mechtiger herre uf dem Bechhemschen walde, der ouch unser helfer ist..," cited from the letter of so-called anonymous Bavarian, perhaps the Knight of Rapolstein, written near Žatec on 22 September 1421; see the relevant study of Eduard Maur, "Lokální záští a předpoklady husitství v západních Čechách," *MZČK* 29 (1994) 15-47. Mikuláš Chudý

The Onset of Religious Wars

We can only guess at what was happening in Kadaň in that fateful year of 1419. The chiliastic campaign, mounting after Wenceslas IV's death, caused mighty reverberations in northwest Bohemia. Iconoclasm erupted in Žatec and Louny. The initial mountain pilgrimages [*poutě na hory*], the epicenter of which appeared to be Mount Kalvárie or Táborec near Smolnice in the Louny area, crescendoed in a conviction that Žatec, Louny, and Slaný belonged among the towns which had been designated by God as the loci of salvation.¹⁵

The inhabitants of Kadaň certainly did not remain indifferent to this wave of religious awakening. The future would determine who would be the victors, the reformers or the adherents of the Roman Curia, the latter of whom controlled the town council. In October 1419, the town sent its representatives to Prague to declare allegiance to the widowed queen and regent Žofie, who sympathized with the moderates in the reform party. The delegation at the same time signified its adherence to the defense league, which – under Žofie's leadership – aimed at “protecting the liberty of the Law of God.” Subsequently, on 25 December 1419, Žofie participated in the negotiations between Sigismund and the estates of Bohemia and Moravia, which took place Brno. She sent a letter to Kadaň, urging the town to send representatives to Brno and recognize Sigismund as King of Bohemia. The delegation actually arrived as December 1419 was turning into January 1420, and Sigismund subsequently sent his officials to Kadaň to exact an oath of allegiance.¹⁶

Sigismund was aware of the weakness of his position in the circuit of Žatec, inasmuch as its major part was in revolt against Rome. He attempted to strengthen his hand by a mandate, issued in Wrocław on 10 February 1420, announcing to the barons, knights, squires and towns of the circuit his assumption of the Bohemian Crown, as a legitimate heir of his deceased brother Wenceslas. The missive deplored the many transgressions against the authority of the Roman Curia, which had occurred within the realm. Signifying a determination to restore obedience to Rome and to eradicate the Wyclifite plague, the letter exhorted the estates of the Žatec circuit to accept the provisional government headed by the Supreme Count

of Lobkovic apparently turned against the religious reforms and joined King Sigismund's party as early as 1418. His name also appears on the list of barons, knights, and burghers who opposed the Praguers. The list is dated November 6, 1419; see AČ 4 (1846) 375-377. See also August Sedláček, “Mikuláš Chudý z Lobkovic,” VKČSN (1886) 66-68; John M. Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution* (New York 1978) 70. After his coronation in Prague on 28 July 1420, Sigismund knighted Mikuláš with the sword of St. Wenceslas, see Bernau, *Hassenstein*, 70-74. See also Bartoloměj Paprocký z Hlohol, *Diadochos: O Stawu Panském* (Prague, 1602) 122-123.

¹⁵About Smolnice see, for instance, Lůžek, *Po stopách husitství na Ústecku*, 136; concerning “mountain pilgrimages” and the five chosen loci of salvation, Amedeo Molnár, “Eschatologická naděje české reformace,” in: František M. Dobiáš, ed., *Od reformace k zítřku* (Prague, 1956) 28-32. On religious enthusiasm with reference to Plzeň, see František Šmahel, “Husitské město ‘Slunce’. Plzeň na přelomu let 1419-1420,” *MZČK* 19 (1983) especially, 147-148, with comments by Eduard Maur, “Zrození husitské Plzně,” *ibid.* 2 (1996) 5-28. On iconoclasm in Žatec and Louny, see *Husitská revoluce*, 3:9.

¹⁶František Palacký, ed., *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges*, 2 vv. (Prague, 1872-1873) 1:26-27 (n.20). The extant documents indicate the town government's enmity to the reformers, and its inclination to support Sigismund. The political mood of the public, however, was more ambivalent.

Palatine, Čeněk of Vartenberk. Sigismund's edict was to be publicized in all the market places of the circuit.¹⁷

Because of its opaque and ambiguous stance, Kadaň in particular was becoming a battleground of the opposing orientations, as also subsequent events would reveal. Defecting from Sigismund to assume the reformers' leadership, Čeněk together with Oldřich of Rožmberk sent from Prague a German-language appeal to Kadaň on 19 April 1420. This so-called Prague manifesto directly exhorted the Kadaňers to join the reformists. The document urged them to reject Sigismund's royal claims, and to protest the labeling of the reformers as heretics on account of their adherence to Utraquism. It was the only one of the several Prague manifestoes, issued in April, which targeted specific addressees, namely the mayor, the councilors, and the commune of Kadaň.¹⁸ The Praguers evidently wished to exploit the divided mind of Kadaň, which they sensed despite the latter's declared loyalty to Sigismund. From the opposite side, Sigismund was also concerned about this ambivalence. On the same day, 19 April 1420, the monarch wrote from Świdnica to warn the Kadaňers against Čeněk and others who would accuse him of causing Hus's death. Correctly assuming that the reformers would contact Kadaň, the pretender admonished the inhabitants to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors, and persist in the true Christian faith and the legitimate monarchical loyalty. In return, he promised help with fighting heresy. In its undertone, Sigismund's exhortation was an ominous warning against departure from the established ecclesiastical and political allegiances.¹⁹

The Kadaňers responded to the Prague Manifesto by their own letter of 24 April 1420. The mayor and the town council explained to Čeněk and the reformers the reasons for their continued loyalty to Sigismund. Requesting a status of neutrality, the city fathers offered to mediate between the royalists and the reformers, and asked for a response. Reacting to political issues, especially the legitimacy of Sigismund's claims to the throne of Bohemia, the Kadaň letter ignored theological matters, above, all the communion *sub utraque*.²⁰ The possibility of religious, or national persecution in Kadaň is indicated by a poem of 1420, "Porok koruny české ku pánóm českým o korunování krále uherského" [A complaint of the Bohemian Crown to the Bohemian barons concerning the coronation of the Hungarian king], in which the anonymous author, a theologically astute Prager, intoned: "...sooner a snake would seek warmth on an icy spot than a German would befriend a Bohemian...You will see it in Jaroměř, you can gaze at it in [Kutná] Hora, perhaps also in Most and in Kadaň."²¹ With his Anti-Teutonic orientation, the poet apparently included Kadaň among the towns hostile to the Bohemians, because of the town's refusal to join the reform party. Although in the dark, he assumed Anti-Bohemian,

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 15-17 (n. 11).

¹⁸ On the manifestoes of April 1420, see the recent work of Karel Hruza, "Die hussitischen Manifeste vom April 1420," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 53/1 (1997) 119-177; concerning Kadaň, 133, 135-136, 158-159; text, 166-175.

¹⁹ Palacký, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 1:25-26 (n. 18).

²⁰ See n. 12 above.

²¹ "... dřieve had se v ledě shřeje, nežli Němec Čechu zpřeje ... V Jaroměři to vidíte a u Hory opatříte, snad i v Mostě i v Kadani;" see Bohuslav Havránek, Josef Hrabák, and Jiří Daňhelka, eds., *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 2 vvs. (Prague, 1963-1964) 1:358. See also Arnošt Kraus, *Husitství v literatuře, zejména německé*, 3 vv. (Prague, 1917-1924) 1:38.

that is, Anti-Utraquist sentiments on the part of the Kadaňers, as well as their neighbours in Most.

The stance of Kadaň vis-à-vis the reform movement was also mirrored in the town's awkward situation following the disintegration of the early defense league [*landfrýd*] of the circuit of Žatec. A military and political alliance, including Žatec, Most, Kadaň, Louny, and Chomutov, owed its origin to Wenceslas IV's initiative as early as 2 December 1399. Again at the king's behest in a mandate of 4 November 1405, the group was transformed into a defense league of lords spiritual and temporal, as well the towns, of the Žatec circuit. Although as late as 4 November 1418, the king called for the league's perpetuation, the alliance definitely fell apart in 1419, when Žatec and Louny embraced the reform movement.²² With the start of the religious warfare, the adherents of Rome thus lacked a credible military force in the Žatec circuit. Sigismund attempted to improve the situation during his stay in Most in late December 1420. Assisted by Friedrich and Wilhem, the Margraves of Meissen, the pretender created a defense league of the *sub una* under the leadership of Mikuláš Chudý, the earlier mentioned owner of Hasištejn, the muscle power of which was supplied by Most and Chomutov. Already in January 1421, Mikuláš, together with the townspeople of the two towns, attacked the marauding troops from Žatec and inflicted significant casualties.²³ Kadaň, however, joined neither the Romanist (Most and Chomutov) nor the Utraquist (Žatec, Louny, and Slaný) league of northwest Bohemia; observing neutrality, the town avoided any military forays. This lack of commitment was another sign of the town's ambiguous political and ecclesiastical conditions. Even so, at the city fathers' request, Sigismund confirmed on January 8, 1421 all of Kadaň's existing privileges, praising the municipality for preserving "the purity of faith."²⁴

The Kadaňers' relative insouciance may be illustrated by the case of priest Johann Meinel. A native of the town, approximately thirty years old, and possibly an altar priest at the church of the Virgin Mary, the clergyman maintained commercial contacts with reformers in the area of Kadaň and Žatec in the period 1420-1421. The merchandise involved books, chalices, ecclesiastical vestments, and bell-metal, obtained from Utraquist sources, apparently from members of the Žatec league. Facing the disapproval of other priests, he refused to abandon his trading, and enlisted the help of Vilém of Šumburk, a leading noble of the Kadaň area, and an occasional Utraquist sympathizer. Wolff Sacz, possibly from Žatec, and a Utraquist, lodged a complaint in person before the Kadaň town council, accusing priest Meinel of failing to pay him 1,380 groschen in a transaction involving books. The nonchalance of the proceedings underlined the remarkable tolerance of the Kadaňers toward their Utraquist brethren even during the watershed year of 1421. Meinel's serious troubles, however, began when he was accused of abducting a burgher's spouse, and was summoned to appear before the Prague chapter, the highest organ of the *sub una*, then exiled to Zittau in Lusatia. Instead, Meinel fled to Cheb in early 1421, and incurred an anathema. The Kadaňers dispatched a letter to

²² Ludwig Schlesinger, "Das Kaadner Copialbuch," MVGDB 10 (1872) 197-198. For individual documents, see Ludwig Schlesinger, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Saaz bis zum Jahre 1526* (Prague, 1892) 109-110 (n. 254); 118 (n. 264); 129 (n. 288); 130 (n. 289); 131-132 (n. 291).

²³ *Husitská revoluce*, 3:70; see also Ludwig Schlesinger, ed., *Stadtbuch von Brůx bis zum Jahre 1526* (Prague, 1876) 77 ff.

²⁴ Jaromír Čelakovský and Gustav Friedrich, eds., *Codex juris municipalis regni Bohemiae*, v. 3: *Privilegia regalium civitatum provincialium regni Bohemiae (1420-1526)* (Prague, 1948) 15-17 (n. 12).

the town council of Cheb, warning against the “damnable, evil, and mendacious priest.” The fugitive’s activities were apparently motivated more by material gain than by religious nonconformism.²⁵

When the Praguers and their allies managed to defeat the first crusade in November 1420, armed detachments from the circuit of Žatec made a significant contribution to the defense of Prague. One of their captains was a knight from Kadaň, Petr Obrovec. Nevertheless, the situation subsequently deteriorated for the Utraquists in northwest Bohemia. Sigismund conquered Slaný and Louny, although his Hungarian troops were repelled from Žatec.²⁶ At that point Žatec was the only remaining stronghold of the reform party in the circuit, and found itself in isolation. A decisive turn for the better occurred in the spring of 1421 thanks to a combined military expedition of the Praguers and the Taborites into the northwest. Chomutov was sacked after a fierce struggle on March 16, 1421, and the conquest of Kadaň followed shortly. Both towns became parts of the Prague urban league.²⁷ A contemporary tract, *Anonymus de origine Taboritarum*, written from the viewpoint of the *sub una*, complained that Kadaň was captured by a ruse, and pilloried the subsequent iconoclasm in churches and monasteries, as well as the executions of both secular and regular clergy. Kadaň was named in the first place among the seven town, which according to the anonymous author experienced similar hardships.²⁸ In my opinion, the “ruse” in Kadaň involved the presence of the fifth columnists, the irrepressible Waldensians.

²⁵ Heinrich Gradl, “Aus dem Egerer Archive. Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens und des Reiches unter Karl, Wenzel und Siegmund,” MVGDB 31 (1893) 42-44; see also Josef Emler, ed., *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidioecesim*, LC VII (1410-1419) (Prague, 1886) 136 f.; LC VIII-X (1421-1436) (Prague, 1889) 141; Schlesinger, *Stadtbuch von Brůx*, 103 f. (n. 227). Meinel likewise appears on the list of ordinands of the Prague archdiocese: “Johannes Mendlini (Meyndlini) de Cadano” was ordained acolyte on 13 June 1405, subdeacon on 19 March 1412, deacon on 12 April 1412, and priest on 28 May 1412; see Antonín Podlaha, ed., *Liber ordinationum cleri 1395-1416* (Prague 1910-1922) 119, 178, 180, 186. Concerning this listing see also Eva Doležalová, “Eine vorläufige quantitative Auswertung der Ordinationsliste von Klerikern in der Prager Erzdiözese (1395-1416),” in: František Šmahel, ed., *Geist, Gesellschaft, Kirche im 13.-16. Jahrhundert*, [Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 1] (1999), 215-222. Hereby I wish to thank the author for her valuable advice. On Vilém of Šumburk, see Sedláček, *Hrady, zámky a tvrže*, 14:51, *passim*.

²⁶ *Husitská revoluce*, 3:42, 57; Laurentii de Brzezowa, *Historia hussitica*, in: FRB 5 (1893) 372: “... quorum capitanei erant clintes quidam strenui, puta Zavissius Barbatus et Petrus Obrowecz...” Captain Petr Obrovec perhaps belonged to the family of the knights of Obrovice in the Kadaň area. The village of Obrovice, liquidated in the 1950s, lay in the Mountains of Doupov in the present-day district of Karlovy Vary; see Josef Lorber, *Zeměpisná vlastní jména Chomutovska a Kadaňska*, v. 1: *Místopis* (Chomutov, 1994) 128. In the year 1434, Knight Petr of Obrovice was recorded together with the brothers, Mikuláš and Jan of Lobkovice, as a patron of the parish church of Radonice in the Kadaň deanery; see Josef Emler, ed., *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidioecesim VIII-X (1421-1436)* (Prague, 1889) 230.

²⁷ *Husitská revoluce*, 3:70-71; Tomek, *Dějepis* 4:132-133, 173, 203. On the conquest of Chomutov see, for instance, *Chronicon Treboniense*, *Chronicon veteris Collegiati Pragensis*, FRA, Scriptorum 6/1 (1856) 51, 83. Following Chomutov’s conquest, a new pastor, Johann, member of the order of Teutonic Knights, was appointed on 10 November 1421, replacing the deceased predecessor Václav, see Emler, ed., *Libri confirmationum VIII-X*, 6. Another military expedition of Praguers, led by Jan of Želiv, failed to conquer Most in July 1421, see Petr Jančárek, “Bitva u Mostu roku 1421,” in: *Sborník Pedagogické fakulty v Ústí nad Labem. Řada regionální* (Prague, 1966) 31-63. The author attempted to interpret the chronicle record of Jan Lvov, see Ludwig Schlesinger, *Die Historien des Magister Johannes Leonis. Ein Quellenbeitrag zur Geschichte der Hussitenkriege* (Prague, 1877).

²⁸ *Anonymus de origine Taboritarum et de morte Wenceslai IV. R.B.*, in: Höfler, ed., *Die Geschichtschreiber*, 1:529.

The grim situation of the *sub una* in northwest Bohemia was reflected in a letter, which the pastor of Žlutice addressed to the dean of Teplá on 25 July 1421. The pastor objected to the exaction of fees by Fernando, the papal legate, on the territory of Žatec archdeaconry on the grounds that the deaneries of Žatec, Kadaň, and Žlutice were entirely devastated. Not a single pastor had retained his church in the Žatec area; in the area of Kadaň, there were numerous deserted churches with their pastors in exile. The situation was similar in the letter writer's own area of Žlutice.²⁹

Other reports indicated that several parish churches were taken over by clergy oriented toward religious radicalism. For instance, a priest who served in Mašřov in the deanery of Kadaň, by the name of Lithoborius, disavowed Wyclifism only in 1427.³⁰

The fate of the reformers (as well as the likely Waldensians) in the Kadaň area was sealed by the second Anti-Bohemian crusade in the fall of 1421.³¹ A concentrated host of crusaders under Count Palatine Ludwig seized the townlet and the castle of Mašřov in the Kadaň area. The crusaders demonstrated their animus and their coarse taste by dissecting and burning the naked bodies of eighty-six captured castle defenders. A priest, found in the castle, was pushed into the mote and burned alive. Numerous villages, such as Mladějov, were sacked. Knight Diviš of Křeřov, abdicating his role as warrior for the Law of God, surrendered the nearby fort, which bore his family name, and became the crusaders' prisoners.³²

As the crusaders approached Kadaň, the garrison -- which was part of the Prague urban league -- failed to meet the test. Its captain ordered partial destruction of town walls, and the incineration of several houses, whereupon the Praguers withdrew from both Kadaň and Chomutov toward Žatec. The chronicler, Vavřinec of Březová, characterized this cowardly behavior as great infamy. Kadaň then became

²⁹ Jan Sedlák, "Listy z počátků husitství," *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým*, 3/1 (1916) 115-125; the text of the letter is on p. 121: "... decanis Zaczen. Cadanen., qui responderunt primo quod decanus Zaczen. Nullum habet plebanum circa ecclesiam residentem in toto suo decanatu, similiter decanus Cadanen. Quam plurimos ab ecclesiis sustinet repulsos."

³⁰ Ferdinand Tadra, ed., *Soudní akta konsistoře Pražské, VII, 1420-1424, Dodatky* (Prague, 1901) 123, 150. See also Emler, ed., *Libri confirmationum VIII-X*, 208.

³¹ On the second crusade see, for instance, Rudolf Dvořák, "Druhá výprava křiřáků německých do Čech (1421)," *SbH* 2 (1884) 360-366; František M. Bartoš, *Husitská revoluce*, 2 vv., *České dějiny*, v. 2, pts. 7-8 (Prague, 1965-1966) 1:148-151; or the more recent literature, František Kubů, "Druhá křiřová výprava proti husitům v roce 1421," *MZČK* 26 (1990) 113-121; and *Husitská revoluce*, 3:91-111. For more details, see Franz Machilek, "K zavedení a liturgii votivních mší contra Hussones," *ActaUC-HUCP* 31/1 (1991) 95-106; Miloslav Polívka, "Přípravy vojenských kontingentů města Řezna na tažení do Čech proti husitům," *MHB* 3 (1993) especially, 257-260.

³² Kerler, ed., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigmund*, 2:99-100, citing the above mentioned letter of the so-called anonymous Bavarian (see n.14 in this article), which also referred to the conquest of Křeřov, without giving its name. See also *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1864) 2:37-38; Palacký, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, 145-146 (n. 135): "Item das fussvolk (i.e., the crusaders at Mašřov), daz da awszlawft, was niht dewtsch kan oder einem Beheim gleich ist, das werde gefangen, zu tod geslagen vnd veprant..." See the comment in František Šmahel, *Idea národa v husitských Čechách*, (Prague, 2000²) 159. The estates of Diviš of Křeřov were devastated in 1424 "propter legis divine tuicionem," and he was abducted into Bavarian captivity. See Josef Teige, ed., *AČ* 26 (1909) 43-44. Several villages were decimated in the neighborhood of Mašřov in the fifteenth century, in particular, Bluvařov, Tulechov, Bratřeneč, Hlohová, Krbová, Mimov, and Mladějov. Their demise in 1421 was recorded by folkish oral history. See also the inventory of defunct localities, František Roubík, *Soupis a mapa zaniklých osad v Čechách* (Prague, 1959) 79 ff., *passim*.

an object of internecine struggle. The communicants *sub una* wished to surrender the town to the crusaders, while those whom the crusaders considered “enemies of our faith” or “infidels,” that is the Utraquists and the Waldensians, were determined to resist. The latter prevailed, and expelled their *sub una* opponents from the town, during which process the street fighting allegedly destroyed one fourth of the town.³³ Despite the alleged damage to the town’s fortifications, Kadaň appeared defensible, and the reform party now had no other choice, but to raise the sword in defense of the Law of God.

The town’s defense was probably led by Knight Ojří of Očedělice, whose manor around Maštov and Radonice (in the Kadaň area) had recently falling victim to the marauding crusaders. Early morning on 8 September 1421, the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, witnessed the arrival before Kadaň’s walls of a mighty crusading host, for which the town represented the hitherto largest Bohemian target. The crusaders were reinforced from the northeast by the army of Meissen. A significant role in the subsequent denouement was played by the exiled *sub una*, whose inside knowledge proved priceless to the invaders. With powerful bombardment, the crusaders breached the walls of the Kadaň castle, and their numerical superiority enabled them to seize the town with relative ease. Ojří resisted to the bitter end and perished in the conflagration of the last castle tower. The victors, commanded by Count Palatine Ludwig, seized an enormous booty in the Kadaň castle. The archbishop of Cologne, Dietrich, directed a religious purge in Kadaň and its neighborhood, which reportedly led to the unmasking and immolation by fire of more than four thousand heretics.³⁴ Thus the population of Kadaň paid dearly for their support of religious reform. Knight Erkinger of Seinsheim, a Franconian, occupied the town with his troops, and the grateful Sigismund

³³ Kerler, ed., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 2:100: “... und als wir uns morndes fúr Cadon geslagen haben woltend, wurdent die lute in der stad stoessig, ein teil uf unseren glouben, die andern wider unseren glouben. und also brochent die unglöeibigen uf mit großem güte und stiessent die stad an, die bi dem vierden teil verbrant.” See also Laurentii de Brzezowa, *Historia hussitica*, 511.

³⁴ On Ojří’s death see *Chronicon veteris Collegiati Pragensis*, in: Höfler, ed., *Die Geschichtschreiber*, 85: “prius tamen ... exusta civitate Cadana, in qua quidam strenuus vir dictus Ogerz per eosdem cum turri combustus est, quam eis tradere noluit.” Tomek, *Dějepis* 4:200, suggested that Ojří had served as captain of the Prague garrison in Kadaň. On the Ojříes of Očedělice, who owned, for instance, the village of Vintřov in the Kadaň area, see, Friedrich Bernau, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Herrschaft Winteritz und der einstigen Schutzstadt Radonitz (in Böhmen)* (Chomutov, 1877) 7-9; *idem*, *Studien und Materialien*, 614, the family’s escutcheon is in table 3. – Actually, the identification of our Ojří as a Knight of Očedělice is derived from the indirect evidence that every member of the Očedělice family bore the name of Ojří. – An important, and hitherto neglected source for the second crusade by an eyewitness, a Benedictine of the Liège diocese, is Jean de Stavelot, *Chronique*, ed. Adolf Borgnet (Brussels, 1861) 191, referring to Kadaň as “Kado”: “Et adonc furent pair notable cleir, qui estoit à l’archevesque de Collongne, examineis cheaux qui furent troveis en ladit fortereche, et en fut llllx et llll [= 4004] troveis qui estoient de mal creanche, et furent tuos ochis.” This report was noted by Anton Vantuch, “La participation liègeoise à la Croisade contre les Hussites en 1421, d’après Jean de Stavelot,” in: *Liège et Bourgogne* (Liège 1972) especially, 50. Subsequently, the chronicle was utilized by Jarmila Vacková and František Šmahel, “Odezva husitských Čech v evropském malířství 15. století,” *Umění*, 30 (1982) 323-324. French and Swiss chronicles might also shed new light on the second crusade in the Kadaň area; see, for instance, Augustin Neumann, “Francouzská hussitica,” *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým*, 3/2-4 (1923) 13; Yvon Lacaze, “Philippe le Bon et le problème hussite. Un projet de croisade bourguignon en 1428-1429,” *Revue Historique*, 93 (1969) 72; František Matouš, “Johannes Hus in den Schweizer Chroniken des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,” in: Ferdinand Seibt, ed., *Jan Hus: Zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, 85 (Munich, 1997) 367-373.

confirmed his lordship in Kadaň on September 9, 1422.³⁵ The Waldensians of Kadaň were apparently eradicated forever.

* * *

The story of the Bohemian Reformation and religious dissent in northwestern Bohemia surely deserves a separate monographic treatment. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the area was a scene of contacts between Bohemian reformist and German Waldensian elements. This cross-fertilization influenced the course of Bohemia's religious history, first of all Taboritism, and later the Unity of Brethren. Next to Žatec and Louny, the extant sources reveal Kadaň as yet another center of reform in northwestern Bohemia.³⁶ Many questions, however, still remain unanswered, and there is little hope for substantial additions to the repertoire of available source material. Nevertheless, much new could be gleaned from a thorough examination of patronal rights in the deaneries of Žatec and Kadaň (above all, in Žatec proper), as well as from an exploration of the archive of the Chomutov commandery of the Teutonic Knights, on whose manor the recounted Waldensian story was played out. The study of religion in northwestern Bohemia at the turn of the fourteenth century could contribute to a more textured view of the Bohemian Reformation. In this enlarged picture, Bohemia's northwest would provide a pendant to the stalwarts of Prague and southern Bohemia.

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David

³⁵ Zdeňka Hledíková, "Erkinger ze Seinsheimu a husitské Čechy," in: *Soudce smluvený v Chebu*, Sborník příspěvků přednesených na sympoziu k 550. výročí (Cheb and Prague, 1983) especially, 79-81.

³⁶ Žatec was the birthplace of two important Taborites, Petr Němec of Žatec and the theologian Jan Němec of Žatec, see *Husitská revoluce*, 2:131, 3:216, *passim*. On the theology of Jan Němec of Žatec, see Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles), 1967. Unfortunately, we know very little about Waldensianism in this area, particularly in Žatec. Johann Drändorf and Peter Turnow, two German Waldensians, were active in the Czech-speaking milieu, probably also in Žatec. Prior to their execution in Heidelberg in 1425, the two were questioned about their stay in Žatec during the second crusade in 1421. Although they denied being there, the Inquisition evidently suspected a Waldensian input into the crusade's failure; see Hermann Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren aus dem Jahre 1425. Akten der Prozesse gegen die deutschen Hussiten Johannes Drändorf und Peter Turnau sowie gegen Drändorfs Diener Martin Borchard* (Göttingen, 1969) 71, 126; Gonnet and Molnár, *Les Vaudois*, 237-238. Žatec also served as refuge for German Waldensians pursued by the Inquisition, for instance, the Waldensian maid of Pforzheim. The Waldensian bishop ("master") Fridrich Reiser, had contacts in Žatec. A representative of the alleged Waldensian-Taborite alliance, he died at stake in Strasbourg in 1458. Reiser participated in Žatec in a gathering of the bishops of the German Waldensian diaspora, and he ordained there Matěj Hagen, who in turn would go to the stake in Berlin in 1458. Another Waldensian bishop, Stephen of Basel, obtained theological training in Žatec around 1450. His execution in Vienna followed in 1467. The Waldensians of Zwickau saw in Žatec the seat of their mother church in 1462, see *ibid.*, 251-252, 255, 293, with references to additional sources and literature. Peter Payne was in contact with Bishop Reiser and others in Žatec in the period around 1436-1438; see František Šmahel, "Curriculum vitae Magistri Petri Payne," in: Miloslav Polívka and František Šmahel, eds., *In memoriam Josefa Macka (1922-1991)* (Prague, 1996) 141-160; and Gonnet and Molnár, *Les Vaudois*, 251. Some more factual information about Žatec after 1419 can be found in Ludwig Schlesinger, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Saaz bis zum Jahre 1526* (Prague, 1892) 171 ff.