CHURCH HISTORY SERIES • LESSON 31 • SUPPLEMENTARY

The Morning-Star Reformers

Peter Waldo, John Wycliffe, and Jan Hus — the reformers before the Reformation • 1170–1415

By Shane Gunn • Primary-source study

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Where this fits: Lesson 31 of the Pleasant Springs *Church History* series — the three movements of the 12th through 15th centuries that anticipated the Reformation by decades or even centuries. Between the Scholastic flowering covered in **Lesson 30** and **Luther's 95 Theses (1517)**, whole communities of Christians were already preaching the Bible in the vernacular, questioning clerical wealth, and dying for it. See the full **Series Timeline**.

WHY THIS LESSON MATTERS

Martin Luther nailed the 95 Theses to the Wittenberg door on 31 October 1517, but he was not the first reformer. For three hundred and fifty years before Luther, successive movements in Europe had already identified and attacked the very problems Luther would attack: the Bible locked away in Latin, the wealth of bishops and monasteries, the corruption of the papal court, the abuses of the indulgence system, the spiritual emptiness of ritual divorced from Scripture. Each movement was suppressed — by crusade, by the Inquisition, by the stake — but the themes never died.

The Bohemian reformer **Jan Hus** went to the stake in 1415 singing the Psalter and praying for his executioners. A hundred and two years later, Luther would say at the Leipzig Disputation (1519), "I am a Hussite" — a phrase calculated to shock his opponents, who were trying to link him with the condemned Bohemian. Luther knew exactly what he was saying: the Reformation

did not appear out of nowhere. It stood on the shoulders of men who had already paid with their lives.

This lesson tells the stories of three of them — the French merchant **Peter Waldo**, the Oxford don **John Wycliffe**, and the Prague preacher **Jan Hus** — and of the movements they founded. They are often called the "morning-star" reformers, a phrase John Foxe applied to Wycliffe: the light that appears before dawn.

> *Greek NT (Matt 5:10–11): μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.*
>
> Matthew 5:10 (ESV): "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

PART 1 — PETER WALDO AND THE WALDENSIANS (C. 1170)

Peter Waldo (c. 1140 – c. 1205)

WEALTHY MERCHANT OF LYON, FRANCE • CONVERTED C. 1173 • EXCOMMUNICATED BY POPE LUCIUS III 1184 • DIED IN EXILE, POSSIBLY IN BOHEMIA

Lay preacher | Bible in vernacular | Apostolic poverty

In about 1173, a prosperous Lyon cloth merchant named Peter Waldo (Pierre Valdès in French; "Valdes" or "Valdius" in the Latin sources) heard a wandering minstrel sing the story of St. Alexis, the rich young Roman who gave away all his wealth to become a beggar-pilgrim. The story pierced Waldo. He consulted a priest; the priest directed him to Matthew 19:21: "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess, and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven."

Waldo took the verse at face value. He provided for his wife and two daughters (placing the daughters in a convent), distributed the remainder of his enormous fortune to the poor of Lyon during the famine of 1176, and began preaching apostolic poverty in the streets.

Around him gathered men and women who became known as the **Poor of Lyon**, soon simply the **Waldensians**.

Their signature act was astonishing for its time: Waldo commissioned two priests to translate the Gospels, much of the rest of the New Testament, and some Old Testament books into the local Franco-Provençal dialect. This may be the first sustained vernacular Bible translation in Western Europe outside of Anglo-Saxon. The Waldensians memorized enormous portions — some were said to have the whole New Testament by heart — and preached from it in the marketplaces.

In 1179 Waldo traveled to Rome and, during the Third Lateran Council, sought papal approval for his movement. Pope Alexander III praised his poverty but forbade him to preach without the consent of the local clergy. Waldo refused to stop; his reply to Alexander survives: "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). In 1184 Pope Lucius III excommunicated the whole movement at the Council of Verona (the bull *Ad Abolendam*), lumping them with the Cathars, and in 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council reinforced the condemnation.

The distinctive Waldensian convictions, hammered into their catechism over the next century, included:

> **1. The Bible alone** is the rule of faith (an early form of what later Protestants would call *sola Scriptura*).

> **2. Preaching in the vernacular** and the right of any baptized Christian, including women, to preach.

> **3. Rejection of purgatory, prayers for the dead, and indulgences** as unsupported by Scripture.

> **4. Rejection of the swearing of oaths** on the basis of Matthew 5:33–37 (a practical problem in a society where every civil relationship involved oaths).

> **5. Apostolic poverty** as the pattern of Christian ministry.

Driven out of Lyon, the Waldensians fled into the Alpine valleys on the French-Italian border — the remote Cottian Alps of Piedmont and Dauphiné. For three hundred years they survived there, a persecuted rural minority, meeting in "barbes" (preacher-teachers) and sending missionaries east into Germany, Bohemia, and even Poland. The Inquisition pursued them relentlessly; mass burnings took place in 1393 (150 Waldensians burned at Grenoble), 1488 (the Piedmont crusade of Pope Innocent VIII), and the horrifying **Piedmont Easter** of 1655, when Catholic troops killed some 1,700 Waldensians in Piedmont — the massacre that prompted John Milton's great sonnet, "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints."

In 1532 the surviving Waldensian *barbes* met in the Synod of Chanforan and formally affiliated themselves with the Swiss Reformation. The modern Chiesa Evangelica Valdese is a Reformed Protestant denomination in Italy today — the only continuous Christian community that can trace its lineage from before the Reformation without interruption through the Reformation to the present day. Waldensians still live in the valleys of the Pellice, the Chisone, and the Germanasca, still worship in buildings called "temples" rather than churches, still insist that every member read the Bible.

> *The holy apostles, though they had wives, left them for the sake of preaching, as the Lord commanded them, and as we have learned from you... We are ready to die for the faith of Christ, but not to lose our souls by accepting as canonical what is not Scripture.*
>
> **— Waldensian *Confession of Faith* (late 12th century), redaction by René Bossuet**

PART 2 — JOHN WYCLIFFE AND THE LOLLARDS (C. 1370–1400)

John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384)

BORN NEAR RICHMOND, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND • OXFORD BA (MERTON COLLEGE) C. 1356 • MASTER OF BALLIOL 1360 • DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY 1372 • RECTOR OF LUTTERWORTH, LEICESTERSHIRE, 1374–1384

"Morning Star" | Wycliffe Bible | Condemned 1415

John Wycliffe was born in Yorkshire during the early years of the Hundred Years' War and the shadow of the Black Death (1348). He took his degrees at Oxford, where he spent most of his career as a philosopher and theologian at Merton, Queen's, and Balliol Colleges. By the late 1360s he had become the most formidable scholastic theologian in England, respected across the university for his rigor and command of Aristotle and Augustine.

His public career began when the Crown needed his learning to justify withholding payment of feudal tribute to the papacy at Avignon. Wycliffe produced *On Civil Dominion* (1375–1376), arguing that *all lordship depends on grace*. Lords who grievously sin forfeit their right to rule; and since the papal court at Avignon was (in Wycliffe's view) demonstrably sinful, the Crown owed it nothing. The book got him denounced in eighteen articles to Pope Gregory XI in 1377 and summoned to trial at St. Paul's, but powerful friends in the royal family (especially John of Gaunt, uncle of Richard II) protected him.

In the last decade of his life Wycliffe pushed his critique further. In *On the Truth of Holy Scripture* (1378) he argued that the Bible is the supreme authority for faith and life, and that any church pronouncement contrary to Scripture is void. In *On the Eucharist* (1379) he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, arguing that the bread remains bread even as Christ is really present in it — a position close to what Lutherans would later call "sacramental union." In *On the Church* (1378) he argued that the true Church is the invisible body of the elect, not the visible institution ruled from Rome. And he began attacking the papacy itself during the Great Western Schism, eventually calling the pope "Antichrist."

Oxford, under pressure from Archbishop Courtenay, condemned twenty-four of Wycliffe's propositions in 1382 and expelled his followers from the university. Wycliffe himself, already in declining health, retired to his rectory at Lutterworth. On 28 December 1384, saying Mass, he suffered a stroke in the middle of the consecration. He never spoke again and died two days later.

The Wycliffe Bible. Under Wycliffe's direction, his Oxford associates **Nicholas of Hereford** and **John Purvey** produced the first complete translation of the Bible into Middle English, working from the Latin Vulgate. The first version (c. 1382, extremely literal) and the revised version (c.

1395, much more idiomatic) circulated in hand-copied manuscripts across England. Nearly 250 manuscripts survive today — an astonishing number for a suppressed text — indicating that probably several thousand existed originally. It was the first Bible in English since the earliest Anglo-Saxon paraphrases and remained the only English Bible in use until William Tyndale's 1526 New Testament.

The Lollards. Wycliffe's lay followers — commonly called *Lollards* (a derisive term, possibly from a Middle Dutch word for "mumbler" or one who mutters prayers) — were a lay preaching movement of craftsmen, small gentry, and Oxford-educated "poor priests." They carried hand-copied New Testaments, preached without licenses, met in homes, and read the Scriptures together. Their **Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards**, nailed to the doors of Westminster Hall in 1395, rejected transubstantiation, priestly celibacy, pilgrimages, indulgences, prayers for the dead, and the misuse of Church wealth. The document is a remarkable foretaste of the Reformation.

Suppression. In 1401 Parliament passed *De Haeretico Comburendo* ("On the Burning of Heretics"), the first statute permitting the execution of heretics in England. The Lollard leader William Sawtry was burned alive in February 1401, the first recorded burning of a Lollard. Over the next century some forty were formally burned, hundreds more prosecuted and forced to recant, and the movement was driven underground — though not destroyed. When Tyndale, Cranmer, and Latimer began the English Reformation in the 1520s, they found pockets of surviving Lollard congregations in the Chilterns, Kent, Essex, and London ready to welcome the Reformed gospel.

The 1415 condemnation and 1428 disinterment. At the Council of Constance in 1415 — the same council that burned Jan Hus — Wycliffe was posthumously condemned as a heretic and some 267 of his propositions were anathematized. In 1428, by order of Pope Martin V and with the enthusiastic compliance of Bishop Richard Fleming of Lincoln, Wycliffe's remains were dug up from the churchyard at Lutterworth, burned, and the ashes cast into the little river Swift. The 17th-century historian Thomas Fuller wrote the epitaph: "The Swift conveyed his ashes into the Avon, the Avon into the Severn, the Severn into the narrow seas, and they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

> *The sacred Scripture is the faith of the Church, and the more that it is known in an orthodox sense, the better. Therefore, since it should be believed by the laity, it should be known. And the doctrine of the faith should be clearer and more certain the better it is known, and therefore it should be translated into the vulgar tongue.*
>
> **— John Wycliffe, *On the Truth of Holy Scripture* (1378)**

PART 3 — JAN HUS OF PRAGUE (1415)

Jan Hus (c. 1372–1415)

BORN HUSINEC, SOUTHERN BOHEMIA • UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE BA 1393, MA 1396, RECTOR 1409–1410 • ORDAINED PRIEST 1400 • PREACHER OF BETHLEHEM CHAPEL, PRAGUE, 1402–1412 • EXCOMMUNICATED 1411 • BURNED AT CONSTANCE 6 JULY 1415

Czech reformer | Bethlehem Chapel | Burned at Constance

Jan Hus was born to a peasant family in the village of Husinec in southern Bohemia around 1372. He walked to Prague as a teenager to seek his fortune, worked his way through the University of Prague (Charles University, founded 1348), earned his degrees, and was ordained a priest in 1400. In 1402 he was appointed preacher at the **Bethlehem Chapel** — a large preaching hall in the Old Town of Prague, built in 1391 specifically for Czech-language preaching to the laity. The chapel held about 3,000 people and was regularly packed.

Hus's preaching was biblically saturated, ethically rigorous, and pastoral. His sermons hammered at the corruption of the higher clergy, the empty rituals of popular religion, the sale of indulgences, and the confusion of temporal wealth with spiritual authority. Crucially, he preached in Czech, not Latin — and he and his friends standardized the Czech written language in the process. The *háček*, the little hook that distinguishes Czech letters like š and č, was Hus's invention.

Hus had read Wycliffe. Czech students who had studied at Oxford brought Wycliffe manuscripts back to Prague in the 1380s and 1390s; Queen Anne of Bohemia, wife of

Richard II of England, may have promoted the exchange. Hus translated parts of Wycliffe's *Trialogus* into Czech and Latin. He did not accept all of Wycliffe's positions — he kept transubstantiation — but he adopted most of Wycliffe's ecclesiology and his conviction of Scripture's supremacy.

Two crises drove Hus into confrontation. First, in 1409 the Czech party at the University of Prague successfully pressured King Wenceslas IV to reverse the university constitution, giving the Czechs three votes to the Germans' one. The German masters walked out, taking their students, and founded a new university at Leipzig. This left Prague overwhelmingly Czech, overwhelmingly Wycliffite in theology, and with Hus as rector. Second, Pope John XXIII (one of three contemporaneous claimants during the Great Western Schism) began selling indulgences in Bohemia in 1412 to fund a war against the King of Naples. Hus preached fiercely against the indulgences, his followers publicly burned the indulgence bulls, and three young laymen who heckled the preachers were executed. Hus preached their funeral as that of martyrs.

Hus was excommunicated in 1411, the city of Prague placed under interdict (no sacraments, no burials) because it harbored him, and in late 1412 he left the city to protect it, preaching for the next two years in the Bohemian countryside and producing his major treatise, *De Ecclesia* (*On the Church*, 1413).

The Council of Constance (1414–1418). In 1414 Emperor-elect Sigismund summoned a general council at Constance, in what is now southern Germany on the Swiss border, to resolve three crises: the threefold papal schism, the Hus case, and the reform of the Church "in head and members." Sigismund gave Hus an imperial *safe conduct* to travel to the council and present his case. Hus accepted, knowing the risk; he wrote to his friends in Prague that he went "expecting to be burned."

He arrived in Constance in November 1414. Three weeks later he was arrested, despite the safe-conduct, and imprisoned in a Dominican friary, then in a castle on the Rhine. On 5 June 1415, after seven months of imprisonment, he was brought before the assembled council for his first open hearing. The council had already decided that his works were Wycliffite and therefore heretical; what they demanded was a simple recantation of a list of propositions, whether he actually held them or not. Hus, holding to his conscience before God, refused any recantation that would be a lie.

On the morning of 6 July 1415, he was led to the Hall of the Bishop of Constance, formally degraded from the priesthood, and handed over to the secular arm. He was led out to a field outside the city walls, chained to a stake, wood piled around him up to his chin. The Imperial Marshal gave him one final chance to recant. Hus replied: "God is my witness that the things charged against me I never preached. In the same truth of the Gospel which I have written, taught, and preached, drawing upon the sayings and positions of the holy doctors, I am ready to die today." The torches were applied. He sang the Kyrie and the Psalm "Into thy hand, O Lord" (Psalm 31:5 in the Latin numbering) until the smoke choked off his voice. A witness reported that as he died he cried, "Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy on me." His ashes were thrown into the Rhine, so no relic could survive.

> *O sancta simplicitas! ("O holy simplicity!")*
>
> **— Hus, reportedly, when a peasant woman piously added a stick to his pyre**

Hus's name meant "goose" in Czech. He is said to have told the council, "You may roast this goose, but a hundred years from now a swan will come whom you will not be able to roast." Whether or not he actually said it, Luther loved the story and identified with it. (One hundred and two years after Hus's death, Luther posted the 95 Theses.) Lutheran iconography in the sixteenth century often paired Hus the goose with Luther the swan.

PART 4 — THE HUSSITE AFTERMATH (1415–1620)

The council's execution of Hus — and the execution of his friend Jerome of Prague eleven months later — turned Bohemia into a Christian laboratory. The Czech nobility and the university protested. When King Wenceslas died in 1419, the crown passed to the hated Emperor Sigismund, who had betrayed Hus's safe-conduct, and Bohemia exploded in revolt. The **Hussite Wars** (1419–1436) were among the most astonishing military episodes of the later Middle Ages: a Czech national army under the blind general **Jan Žižka**, fighting with war wagons and handheld firearms, defeated five papal crusades sent to destroy them.

The Hussites divided into several streams:

> **The Utraquists (Calixtines)** were moderate Hussites — they accepted the papacy in principle but insisted on the lay chalice (the cup as well as the bread in communion, under both kinds, *sub utraque specie*, hence the name). The *Compactata of Prague* (1436) gave them this concession and allowed a kind of peace for nearly two centuries.

> **The Taborites** were radical millennialists, centered on the fortified town of Tabor in southern Bohemia. They expected the imminent return of Christ, rejected transubstantiation, tried a brief experiment with common ownership of property, and were militarily defeated in 1434 at the Battle of Lipany.

> **The Unitas Fratrum (Bohemian Brethren)** emerged around 1457 under the leadership of Gregory the Patriarch as a pacifist, devoutly simple lay-led community rejecting both Roman and Utraquist establishments. Their great theologian **John Amos Comenius** (Jan Komenský, 1592–1670) was the last bishop of the old Unity before their near-destruction in the Thirty Years' War. The surviving Brethren, hidden under Comenius's tutelage, reemerged a century later on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony to form the **Moravian Brethren** — the direct spiritual ancestors of John Wesley's conversion and the 18th-century Protestant missionary movement. (See Lesson 26.)

The Bohemian Protestant experiment ended in catastrophe at the **Battle of White Mountain** (8 November 1620), when the Catholic army of Emperor Ferdinand II crushed the Czech Protestants outside Prague. Twenty-seven Protestant leaders were publicly executed in the Old Town Square in 1621 (the spot is marked today by twenty-seven white crosses in the paving). Over the next three decades, some 150,000 Protestant Czechs were forcibly exiled; Catholic ritual was reimposed; the Czech language itself was driven underground in favor of German and Latin. Bohemia would not again be a Protestant-majority land. But Hus's witness could not be erased — he is today a national hero in the Czech Republic, with 6 July observed as a national holiday, and the Hussite tradition continues in the Czechoslovak Hussite Church founded in 1920.

Three movements, three centuries, three different countries. What did they share?

THE MORNING-STAR CONSENSUS

1. Scripture above all other authority. The Bible in the hands of the lay faithful, read in their own language, above the decrees of popes and councils when the two conflicted.

2. Preaching over ritual. All three movements returned to the pulpit as the central feature of Christian worship, and all three trained laypeople to read and preach.

3. Apostolic poverty. Waldensian, Lollard, and Hussite preachers alike denounced clerical wealth, pluralism (one man holding multiple benefices), absentee bishops, and the sale of spiritual offices.

4. Rejection of unscriptural accretions. Purgatory, indulgences, prayers to the saints, pilgrimage, and (in Waldensian and Lollard form) transubstantiation were all attacked as unsupported by the plain text of Scripture.

5. The Church as the body of the elect, not the clerical hierarchy. Each movement, to varying degrees, distinguished the true Church of Christ from the visible, corrupt Roman institution.

6. Willingness to die. All three movements produced large numbers of martyrs over multiple centuries. Their theology was sealed in blood.

None of the three movements was doctrinally identical to 16th-century magisterial Protestantism. The Waldensians practiced foot-washing as a sacrament and believed in the ordination of women. Wycliffe's doctrine of justification was not quite Luther's, and his followers held a range of views. Hus kept transubstantiation. But all three are recognizable, unmistakably, as forerunners of the Reformation — identified as such by Luther himself, by Calvin, and by the entire Protestant tradition since.

Greek NT (Heb 11:38): ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος· ἐπὶ ἐρημίαις πλανώμενοι καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς.

Hebrews 11:38 (ESV): "of whom the world was not worthy — wandering about in deserts and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth." — a verse the Waldensians inscribed in their Alpine valleys and Hus read before his death.

PART 6 — HOW THESE REFORMERS INFORM OUR OWN DISCIPLESHIP

1. Give your people the Bible. Every one of these movements began with vernacular Scripture in the hands of laypeople. The church that Jesus trusts builds its life on the Word of God, heard, understood, memorized, and obeyed by ordinary believers.

2. Reform takes generations. Waldo in 1176 and Hus in 1415 did not overthrow Rome. Their witness ran for two to four generations before producing visible institutional change. Faithfulness now is not always measured by immediate results.

3. The truth was not lost between the apostles and Luther. The Reformation was not a new invention. Wycliffe in Oxford and Hus in Prague taught the core reformational doctrines long before Wittenberg. Christ's Church is never without witnesses.

4. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. Tertullian's second-century line (see Lesson 5) was proved again at Lyon, in the Piedmont valleys, at Constance. Our comfortable Western Christianity tends to forget that for most of the history of the Church, faithful preaching is costly preaching.

5. Christ Jesus is King of the conscience. Hus went to the stake because he would not say with his mouth what he did not believe in his heart. The modern doctrine of liberty of conscience — later the First Amendment, Westminster XX, Vatican II's *Dignitatis*

Humanae — has its deepest roots in this medieval martyrdom. A Christian is not free to lie even when forced to.

PRAYER

Lord Jesus Christ, King of the martyrs, we thank you for the witness of your servants Peter Waldo of Lyon, John Wycliffe of Lutterworth, and Jan Hus of Prague — men who heard your Word, believed it, preached it, and would not deny it at the price of their lives. We thank you for the Waldensian shepherds in the Alpine valleys, for the Lollard craftsmen who hid English New Testaments in hollow tree-trunks, for the Bohemian peasants who followed Žižka's war wagons singing Psalms. Their blood cries out still. Give us their love of your Word, their hatred of every ecclesiastical pretension that displaces Christ, and their steadfast resolve to obey God rather than men. When our own faith is tested — whether by the stake, by social loss, or by the quiet pressure to conform — grant us to stand where they stood, and to rest, as they did, in the single confidence that you are faithful who have called us. For the sake of your own name, Amen.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Peter Waldo began with Matthew 19:21 taken literally: sell what you have and give to the poor. Jesus tells that verse specifically to the rich young ruler. Are there texts of Scripture that Christians wrongly treat as metaphor because obedience would cost us too much?

2. Wycliffe believed that any church pronouncement contrary to Scripture is void. Where do we draw the line between Christian obedience to properly constituted church authority and the reformer's duty to resist unbiblical teaching? Read Hebrews 13:17 and Acts 5:29 together.

3. Hus was offered a chance to recant a list of propositions he said he never actually held. Would you have recanted to save your life, knowing the recantation was a lie? Is there a Christian difference between lying to save life and lying to save influence?

4. The Waldensians still exist today as a Reformed evangelical church in Italy. What might it mean for our understanding of the Church that a continuous Christian community has survived 850 years of persecution in the Piedmont Alps?

5. Luther at Leipzig (1519) said, "I am a Hussite." What does it mean for us to claim our spiritual ancestry — to say with Paul, "I am not ashamed of the gospel" (Rom 1:16), not only of the gospel abstracted from history but of the gospel *as these men confessed it*?

FURTHER READING

- Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity*, 3rd ed., Baker Academic, 2012 — Ch. 5 on the late medieval church
- Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*, Blackwell, 2000 — the standard scholarly study
- G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed., Truman State University Press, 2000 — includes fine coverage of Waldensian-Anabaptist continuity
- Andrew E. Larsen, *The School of Heretics: Academic Condemnation at the University of Oxford, 1277–1409*, Brill, 2011
- G. R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and Reality*, Lion Hudson, 2005 — corrects Foxe's hagiography with modern research
- Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Clarendon, 1988 — the standard Lollard study
- Thomas A. Fudge, *The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure*, Oxford, 2013

- Matthew Spinka, *John Hus: A Biography*, Princeton, 1968 — warmly sympathetic and scholarly
- Jan Hus, *The Letters of John Hus*, trans. Matthew Spinka, Manchester University Press, 1972 — especially the letters from prison
- The *Wycliffe New Testament* (1388 Purvey revision) in modern-spelling edition, Baker Books, 2002

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← Scholasticism & the High Middle Ages

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