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that is, an appendix containing such notes as had been squeezed out of the pages of the MS. by want of room.

Lastly, this Massoretic text, being, as I have shown, the received text of the Jewish Synagogue, has come down to us in two Recensions, known as the Palestinian and the Babylonian. As early as the eleventh century these two texts were collated by Aharon ben Asher of Tiberias, and Jacob ben Naphtali, the president of a Babylonian school. They enumerate no less than eight hundred discrepancies—a terrible number. But what are they? Anyone can find them in that well-known book, Walton's "Polyglot Bible," and an account of the collation is given in the Prolegomena. From Walton it appears that about six hundred consist in attaching to the consonants different vowels, and in only two hundred places are the consonants different; and in almost every case these are mere differences of spelling, and involve no important difference of meaning.

There is confessedly a considerable difference between the Massoretic text and the quotations from the Old Testament Scripture given in the New Testament. The accusation has therefore often been brought against the Massoretic text, that it was framed by men with a strong anti-Christian bias. In the same way the Jewish Versions into Greek, made by Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, are often accused of having been made for controversial purposes. We may, therefore, be thankful to God's good providence, for having given us independent testimony to the general trustworthiness of the Massoretic text; and the Revisers came to a sound conclusion when they determined to adhere to this text, its consonants, its vowels, and even its accents, except where there was good authority the other way. I shall hope next month to show more fully what those authorities are.

R. Payne-Smith.

Art. III.—JAN ZISKA, "THE MODERN HANNIBAL."

JAN ZISKA of Trotznow, afterwards of Kalich, was one of the most extraordinary men ever produced by any nationality. Whatever views the supporters of different parties might take of the character and conduct of the man himself, in one respect all were unanimous. He was designated by his enemies a butcher, a villain, a double-dyed traitor; while by his friends he was termed a zealot for God's law, "our true brother Ziska,"

a faithful servant of God, with whom God always was, who loved God and always trusted in God's help. But as regards his military genius, all looked upon him with equal admiration. Many stories were set on foot in later times as to how and where he learnt the art of war, of which he showed himself so great a master; but the real fact is, that he was never beyond the limits of his native country, Bohemia, until he crossed its frontiers at the head of a Hussite army, in order to assume the offensive against its enemies. And the most marvellous thing of all is, that his greatest military exploits were performed when he was totally blind.

Taking advantage of a system of defence by means of a movable fortress composed of waggons, which had to a certain extent been practised in Bohemia, his organizing power and genius enabled what might be termed a half-armed rabble first to repel, and then, issuing forth, to put to flight with shame and disgrace, the finest feudal armies, composed of so-called "iron lords," horsemen sheathed in complete armour. It was not on material strength, or on the personal valour of his men, that he placed his main reliance, but on scientific use of the advantages of position, on the discipline and careful drawing up of his forces, on the skilful movements of bodies of men and waggon-fortresses, and on the management and use of artillery, in which he was unrivalled.

The exact date of his birth is unknown, but there is a story that he was unexpectedly born under an oak in a wood belonging to the little estate of Trotznow, in the south of Bohemia, which belonged to his father. In the time of King Wenceslas IV. domestic wars or feuds on a considerable scale raged in several parts of Bohemia, mainly owing to the variances between the Crown and a large number of the Barons. Among these Henry of Rosenberg was a principal leader, and Ziska appears to have early incurred his enmity, and to have been ousted from his paternal estate of Trotznow. Under these circumstances he entered the service of the King, but it is not known exactly in what capacity. If he were the Chamberlain of Queen Sophia, he would doubtless have accompanied her to the sermons of Hus in the Chapel Bethlehem in 1411 and 1412. But he was not merely employed in the duties of a civilian, but also in war, and is recorded to have lost an eye "while fighting valiantly" before the death of Wenceslas IV. In 1414 mention is made of a certain "one-eyed Johnny," who held the position of royal doorkeeper (*portulanus regius*). It is not unlikely, though by no means certain, that this person may have been Ziska.

Ziska must have been married, and perhaps a widower, before he entered the King's service, for he had a daughter

who was married before the year 1424 to Lord Andrew of Duba.

The strife between the superior clergy—who maintained the existing simoniacal system—and the reforming party led by Hus, was at its height while Ziska was in the King's service. It is said that, some time after the burning of Hus, King Wenceslas noticed Ziska unusually pensive and gloomy, and inquired the reason thereof. Ziska replied, "How can I be merry, when our faithful leaders and faithful teachers of God's law are guiltlessly and unrighteously burned by a faithless priesthood?" The King answered, "Dear John! what have we to say thereto? Can we now amend it? If thou knowest any way thereto, set it right; we gladly grant thee this." Ziska took the King at his word, and said that with his permission he would do so.

Through the threats of his brother Sigismund, King of Hungary and of the Romans, Wenceslas finally adopted a new line of policy inimical to the Hussite party. Seventeen days before his death, the populace, irritated by stones being thrown from the corridors of the town-hall of the New Town of Prague at a Hussite priest, John of Zelau, who was bearing the host at the head of a procession, forced the door, threw the town-councillors out of window, and massacred them in the street. Some say that Ziska participated in this affray, while other authorities make no mention of him in the matter, though they describe the event at considerable length.

After the death of Wenceslas (1419), the Bohemian Estates sent an embassy to Sigismund, announcing his accession to the crown, but withal petitioning him to grant full freedom of participation in the Eucharist under both kinds, and to carry out reforms in the condition of the clergy according to the principles laid down by Hus. Meanwhile, the widowed Queen Sophia, assisted by several high officials, the principal of whom was the Utraquist, Lord Czenek of Wartenberg, acted as regent. But many so utterly distrusted Sigismund, that they began at once to contemplate protecting themselves against him by arms. Among these was Ziska, who never wavered for an instant in this respect. Nicholas of Hus induced the people of Prague to follow him in an attack upon the Royalists posted in the Kleinseite or Lesser Town of Prague on the opposite side of the Moldava. At a decisive moment Ziska assumed the command, and the victory was mainly due to his genius. After this the Queen-regent fled from the capital. A truce, however, shortly afterwards was made between the people of Prague and the Royalist nobles, and Ziska quitted Prague for Pilsen.

The town of Austi on the Luznitz was seized, February,

1420, by a somewhat fanatical brotherhood which had formed itself in the neighbourhood. But about eight English miles distant were the ruins of a town also on the Luznitz, which had been destroyed two centuries and a half before. The site of this offered a position so strong and so easily fortified, that Austi was given up, and the brotherhood established itself permanently in the ruined town, giving it the name of Tabor.

Divisions in Pilsen weakened the position of Ziska so much, that he came to terms with the Royalists, and quitted Pilsen under covenant of a free passage for himself, his men, and their wives and children, to Tabor. His warriors were 400 in number, and he had twelve waggons equipped for war, and nine horses which could be used for cavalry. Ziska had forded the river Otava not far from the village of Sudomer, when he was assailed by two armies advancing in opposite directions. He halted by a fishpond called Skaredy, where he took up a position such that the lofty dam of the pond protected him on one side, while his little force protected itself on the other with waggons. He is said also to have ordered the women to spread their long veils in front of his army among the long reeds at the edge of the fishpond, which had lately been drawn, and was without water. From east and west came on the enemy, who reckoned over 2,000 horsemen in full armour, expecting to trample the little band of infantry under their horses' hoofs. But the position selected by Ziska compelled them to dismount and advance on foot. It is said that many of the assailants caught their spurs in the veils spread amongst the reeds, and fell to the ground. Nevertheless, there was a terrible contest of few against many. At the vesper hour the assault began, the "iron lords" attacking with swords and spears, under cover of a shower of bolts from crossbows. They succeeded in damaging some of the waggons, and forcing their way so far into Ziska's entrenchment as to capture about thirty of his men; but they could not overcome the resistance of the remainder. Darkness came on, and the Royalists were able to effect nothing further, but in the confusion came into collision and fought with each other. Thus they were obliged to give up the contest, and retired, each party by the way it had come, with loss and shame. Ziska remained on the field of battle in token of victory, and then marched quietly on in the direction of Tabor.

The next thing was to organize the Taborite brotherhood. Four "captains" (*capitanei*) were elected—Nicholas of Hus, Jan Ziska, Zbynek of Buchow, and Chwal of Machowitz; but the military organization was left almost entirely in the hands of Ziska. In this he looked principally to his infantry, which

must be armed with weapons easily procurable, and the use of which could be easily learnt. Spears of different kinds, partisans, maces, and crossbows were adopted, but the more especial weapon was the iron-shod flail. The bigger boys were armed with slings. War-waggons were employed as a perpetual and movable defence against steel-clad cavalry. The greatest attention was paid to the drill and discipline of the drivers of these waggons. By a night-attack upon the army from Kuttenberg, which had taken part in the battle of Sudomer, and had halted at Ozice on its return home, Ziska obtained not only considerable booty and many prisoners, but also horses and suits of armour, of which he stood in great need. An exchange of prisoners was arranged, and Ziska proceeded to organize a Taborite cavalry. Whenever he saw a likely peasant lad, he put him in a suit of armour, and taught him to ride and fight on horseback. The usual position of the Taborite cavalry was on the wings of the army. Peasants crowded into Tabor, which Ziska fortified with equal skill and diligence. He was never on friendly terms with the Taborite clergy, whose innovations he disliked, and who had more influence with the soldiers than himself, though they always had the good sense to leave matters in his hand till the victory was won or the assault successful. It is to them, rather than to him, that we must ascribe the cruelties practised by the Taborites in warfare, which, however, were not so great as those of their Catholic adversaries. Children were usually spared by the Taborites; by their adversaries, especially the Crusaders, never.

It was time, indeed, to organize armed forces for the defence of the country; for on March 1, 1420, Pope Martin proclaimed a crusade against the Hussites, which King Sigismund formally announced at Breslau on the 17th, and immediately proceeded to form alliances with the German Princes for a joint campaign in Bohemia. Even Lord Czenek of Wartenberg, the Grand Burgrave, united with the communities of the Old and New Towns of Prague in making a solemn league and covenant to defend the right of partaking in both kinds; but ere long he wavered, and purchased Sigismund's favour by treacherously putting the great Castle of Prague into the hands of nobles devoted to him, who occupied it with a strong garrison. At Sigismund's approach the men of Prague themselves wavered; but Sigismund's arrogant and unconciliatory demands revived their courage, and they sent messengers to ask for speedy aid from the brethren at Tabor.

Through Ziska's exertions all was there in readiness, and he took the field with the three other captains, the principal Taborite clergy, and an army of 9,000 men, well provided with

waggons and artillery. On the way he took Beneschow in the teeth of a force sent against him from the Castle of Prague, and in the course of the night repulsed an attack made upon him by 10,000 cavalry from Kuttenberg, 1,600 from Prague, and another body from Konopiste. On May 20 he and his army entered the New Town of Prague, where they were received with welcome and hospitality. A short time before a reinforcement of some hundreds of men had arrived at Prague from Mount Oreb, a hill in the circle of Königingratz, where a smaller society like that of Tabor had been formed.

Sigismund declined battle in the open field, but by a clever manœuvre succeeded in provisioning the Castle of Prague. He waited for the arrival of the German princes with their armies, and Crusaders continued to pour into his camp at Zbraslaw. When he arrived before Prague, his camp on the north side of the city appeared like three towns, composed of tents standing in long rows.

Meanwhile Tabor was besieged by Lord Ulric of Rosenberg, and Nicholas of Hus was detached from Prague with 300 cavalry to assist in its defence. On hearing of his approach, the Taborites, at dawn on Sunday, June 30, sallied from their town and attacked Ulric's camp, with loud shouts and outcries, an unexpected movement which scared the besiegers into flight. As they fled they were charged by Nicholas of Hus and his 300 men, and utterly dispersed, leaving rich booty and a large cannon to the Taborites.

The management of the defence of Prague was placed in the hands of Ziska. Sigismund's army before Prague numbered from 100,000 to 150,000 men, among whom were 40 princes, temporal and spiritual. Sigismund contemplated the occupation of a ridge called *Witkow*, now *Ziskow*, on the eastern side of Prague, which with the Vyssegrad and the castle would have formed a triangle of fortresses, sufficient to prevent the importation of provisions into the city. But Ziska was beforehand with him, and occupied the highest and most defensible portion of the ridge with two square wooden stockades, each of which was surrounded by a hastily run-up wall and a ditch. The space between them was protected by the steepness of the ascent, which, especially on the northern side, is nearly precipitous.

For a fortnight little was done, but, on the occupation and fortification of the Witkow, Sigismund determined to try the mettle of the besieged. He sent, therefore, a body of men-at-arms across the Moldava to assault the town, the gates of which stood always open. Out rushed a number of the citizens of the Old Town, without any order. These, of course, were easily defeated and put to flight by the heavy cavalry.

This was a lesson by which the besieged had the good sense to profit.

The next day, July 14, was appointed for a more serious attack. The stockades on the Witkow were to be taken, and Ziska and his Taborites to be driven from Prague, which was then to be assaulted on three sides at once. The assault on the Witkow was entrusted to the Princes of Meissen, whose division numbered about 18,000 men, to which were added 7,000 or 8,000 Hungarians and Austrians. All the divisions of Sigismund's army were ready in their several positions by 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Meissners crossed the Moldava, and their cavalry ascended the Witkow on the eastern side, where the ascent is less steep, and the ridge itself lower. They then attacked the stockade on that side, with loud blasts of trumpets, and endeavoured to storm it.

The defenders of the stockades appear to have been panic-stricken at the first shock, and the Meissners got possession of the ditch, and of a vineyard hard by, which was no doubt included in the fortification of the stockade. Only twenty-six men, two women, and one girl remained in the stockade, resisting the enemy, who were endeavouring to climb the stone and mud wall beyond the ditch. Having no other missile weapons the few defenders threw stones at the assailants. "A faithful Christian," cried one of the women, "must not flee before Antichrist," and fought valiantly, unarmed as she was, until she was killed. Ziska now hastened up in person, and was soon in the forefront of the struggle. He was ere long in imminent danger, and the Meissners were dragging him by the feet from the wall that surrounded the stockade, when up came his faithful flailmen and rescued him. Encouraged by the valour of their leader, the defenders returned to their posts, and the enemy were unable to take the stockade, especially as they had forgotten to bring with them ladders and other appliances requisite for the assault of fortifications. Meanwhile Ziska, not being required any longer to engage personally in the combat, attacked the enemy on the left flank with a body of infantry detached from their position between the stockades. The heavily armed dismounted horsemen were unable to retreat, owing to the numbers pressing forward from their rear. Some of them sat down on the ground and protected themselves as well as they could with their shields against the storm of stones and arrows from the stockade, and from the infantry on their flank, while others were pressed on to the precipice on the northern side of the ridge, fell down head-foremost and broke their necks.

At the first sight of the danger in which Ziska and his army were, the citizens of Prague were panic-stricken, but

soon recovered their courage, and issued forth in better order than on the preceding day to aid their friends. In front went a priest with the Holy Sacrament, a bell ringing before him as usual; and after him about fifty artillerymen with field-pieces, and then a large body of peasants armed with flails. Terror seized the Meissners, Austrians, and Hungarians lest their retreat should be cut off, and they broke into flight in the wildest confusion. The Taborites chased them in the rear, the men of Prague charged them in flank; and in about an hour from 300 to 500 were slain, and many others carried away mortally wounded, while many were drowned in attempting to cross the river. One hundred and forty-four, with Henry of Isenburg, their general, lay dead on and about the ridge. The King viewed this unexpected disaster with rage and grief from the other side of the Moldava; and the divisions of the army intended for the attack of the city returned disheartened to their tents. The men of Prague fell on their knees on the "Spitalfield" (*i.e.* "Hospital Field") and gave loud thanks to God, ascribing the happy conclusion of the battle to a miracle rather than to their own strength.

Ziska, to whom, under Providence, the merit of the victory was ascribed, immediately proceeded to strengthen the fortifications on the Witkow, the name of which was soon changed to Ziskow in his honour. But the exasperated Germans began to exercise frightful cruelties on the unarmed population in the neighbourhood, especially the women and children. Dissensions broke out between the Bohemians and Moravians on the one side, and the Germans on the other, and ere long the mighty host melted away; and Sigismund, after causing himself to be crowned King of Bohemia in the cathedral, retired altogether from Prague. On the other hand, the Taborites annoyed the people of Prague by their iconoclastic proclivities, from the proceedings connected with which Ziska appears to have kept aloof. Confidential communications took place between the magistrates of Prague and the Taborite leaders as to the permanent rejection of Sigismund and the election of a Polish prince in his stead. Finally the Taborites quitted Prague under Ziska, on September 22, to carry on war—which they did with considerable success—against Ulric of Rosenberg, in the south of Bohemia. It was probably by Ziska's advice that Nicholas of Pelgrim was elected "elder," or "bishop," of the Taborites, in order to check the innovating spirit of the Taborite clergy. He was afterwards known as the *Biskupetz*, or "Little Bishop."

Little is known of Ziska's movements till we find him, on November 12, before the walls of Prachatitz, when a cruel

persecution had been raging against the Utraquists. He personally summoned the citizens to open their gates, and admit his army peacefully into the town with the Holy Sacrament and their priests, promising that no one should be molested in person or property. The besieged replied contemptuously that they did not want their Sacrament or their priests, as their own were sufficient. On this Ziska cried with a loud voice: "I swear this day to God, that, if I capture you by force, I will not leave one man alive, but will cause all to be slain, however many there may be of you!" and gave the signal for the assault. The besieged defended themselves manfully with artillery, boiling pitch, and stones; but the hail of arrows and stones from the archers and slingers of the Taborites so confounded them that they did not know which way to turn. The walls were scaled, the gates opened, and a frightful massacre took place, only women and children being spared. Only seven prisoners were given their lives, and they were Utraquists. Two hundred and thirty corpses were counted in the streets, and eighty-five were burnt to death in the sacristy of the church. This struck terror on all sides; and surrender followed surrender till Ulric of Rosenberg engaged to grant freedom of worship to the Utraquists on his estates, and concluded a truce till February 4, 1421.

But Ulric fulfilled his agreement only on the Bohemian, and not on the German, portion of his vast estates, which caused a circular to be issued by Ziska and the other Taborite leaders, dated Prachatitz, November 22. In this they cautioned the neighbouring towns against believing Ulric's statements that the Taborites were their enemies; they were only the enemies of all wicked priests and laymen who were against the Holy Gospel. "And we have against us all wicked Christians, on account of the *Four Articles:* (1) That the Word of God should be preached everywhere, which is not done; (2) that the Divine Body and Blood should be delivered to all faithful Christians, young and old; (3) that the secular dominion of the clergy should be put an end to; and (4) that open sins should be checked in all people—in the King, in lords, in esquires, in beneficed clergy, in all men, lay and spiritual."

A public discussion took place at Prague, on December 10, between the Prague and Taborite clergy, upon the order of the Mass and the vestment question, of which Ziska procured an adjournment, in order to prevent anything from taking place which should hinder the two parties from acting together against the common enemy. It was also determined to send a solemn embassy to invite the King of Poland to accept the crown of Bohemia.

Early in 1421 Ziska forced Sigismund to retire from the siege of Kladruby and disband his army.[1]

The surrender of Leitmeritz is interesting from the circumstance that Ziska, while preparing to assault it, seized a wooden tower on a conical hill, about two miles distant, to which he gave the name of *Kalich* (chalice). From that time forth he signed himself Jan Ziska of Kalich; and the little estate attached to this tower appears to have been the only recompense received by Ziska for his vast and extraordinary services.

A parliament was opened at Prague on June 1, 1421, and Ziska now came forward as a statesman. The Four Articles were acknowledged, and Sigismund was declared to have forfeited the crown. Ziska was, of course, one of the twenty "regulators," or managers, of the realm, who were appointed for a limited time. On the day of the conclusion of the parliament the Castle of Prague surrendered with all belonging to it. Ziska's aim was to establish a Polish dynasty in place of Sigismund. Wladislaw of Poland referred the Bohemian ambassadors to his cousin Witold of Lithuania, who eventually sent an embassy to Prague.

Ziska marched from Tabor against the strong Castles of Rabi and Bor. An arrow from the walls of the former struck him in his remaining eye and all but deprived him of life. He was immediately conducted to Prague, where the arrow was successfully extracted; and his mere presence in his wounded condition exercised a great and beneficial effect upon matters in the city.

A German army of 125,000 men crossed the frontier and proceeded to besiege the town of Saatz. But after six desperate assaults had been made in vain (September 19), the Germans began to complain of the inactivity of Sigismund —who ought to have invaded Bohemia from the south-east simultaneously with their own irruption—and returned in disorder on hearing of the approach of a relieving army from Prague.

Early in October Sigismund sent a large Hungarian army into Moravia, which was to effect a junction with the Silesians and then to invade Bohemia. Sigismund appeared ere long in Moravia himself, and obtained the renunciation of the Four Articles from the Moravian nobility, while John of Zelau was endeavouring to upset everything in the shape of order at

[1] He also compelled the "Landfried" of Pilsen to make a truce till January 1, 1422, allowing in the meantime full freedom to the Four Articles of Prague and the Utraquist mode of administering the Eucharist. Afterwards, Lord Czenek of Wartenberg was forced to do public penance for his former treacherous conduct.

Prague. In these difficulties the people of Prague applied for aid to Ziska, who, though totally blind, was deemed the only person capable of uniting the whole Utraquist party against their formidable foes. Ziska quitted Saatz and entered Prague on December 1. He was welcomed with as grand a reception as if he had been a monarch. He designated himself "Superintendent of the communities of the land of Bohemia that adhere to fulfil the law of God." The next day he marched, followed by the army of Prague, to Kuttenberg.

On Sunday, December 21, the Utraquist army marched out of Kuttenberg in a westerly direction, and soon espied the royal host advancing towards them in several divisions. The King was with the largest division. The Bohemians, nothing daunted, drew up in battle array under protection of their waggon fortress, and successfully repelled the assaults of the enemy by the fire of their artillery. But meanwhile a bloody conspiracy broke out in Kuttenberg; a number of Sigismund's soldiers were admitted within the walls, and all who were unacquainted with the password of the conspirators were ruthlessly slaughtered. The King's army approached Kuttenberg, whence it received abundance of provisions, while Ziska's forces, separated by treachery from their magazines, which were in the town, suffered greatly from cold and hunger. So Ziska set his waggon-fortress in motion and opened such a fire upon the royal army that it was forced to retreat, and the King himself was compelled to quit the town. But as Kuttenberg was lost, Ziska, on December 22, took up a stronger position and offered battle. The enemy, thrice as strong, surrounded him, intending to starve him out without fighting. But at nightfall Ziska rose up with his army, cut his way through the hostile forces, and by daybreak was ready for battle at the distance of about a mile from the enemy. The King, however, preferred to wait for reinforcements, and Ziska finally retired to Kolin.

The royal army now committed all manner of excesses in the neighbourhood. Ziska sent far and wide with success for reinforcements. On Tuesday, January 6, Ziska marched unexpectedly from Kolin, and placed himself opposite to the largest division of Sigismund's army, which was very strongly posted on high ground. Ziska's warriors were thirsting for battle, and infuriated by the cruelties practised upon the population by the Hungarians. Confusion and panic were spreading in the royal army, no doubt from recollection of Ziska's late successful night attack, and at dusk it began to take to flight. Sigismund gave notice to the inhabitants of Kuttenberg to quit the town, and left it himself at eight in the evening, after setting it on fire in several places.

The next day, January 7, the whole of Sigismund's haughty host was in full flight from Kuttenberg for Böhmisch Brod, the Bohemians making all speed in pursuit. They were overtaken at a place called Habry. One portion only of the fugitive army drew up in array on a hill and raised its banners on high. But the van was soon driven in, and the rear, especially the Hungarians, fled in confusion. Sigismund quitted Böhmisch Brod, and took the road for Iglau in Moravia, leaving a garrison behind him. The next day Ziska assaulted Böhmisch Brod, and silenced the fire from the walls by his superior artillery. The day after the town was entered through an accident, and a bloody massacre took place, but the women and children were spared and conducted out of the town, which was then, and not till then, given to the flames.

The day after the taking of Böhmisch Brod the blind leader of the Taborites, Brother Ziska, was solemnly invested with the order of knighthood.

A great change now took place in Polish and Lithuanian policy. Witold of Lithuania determined to accept the Bohemian crown, and sent his cousin, Sigismund Korybutowicz, King Wladislaw's nephew, with several thousand Polish horsemen, as his representative. Korybut wrote an angry letter to Ziska while on his way through Moravia, bidding him cease from injuring and plundering the country, to which Ziska, who had always been a firm supporter of the Polish alliance, replied in similar terms. But Ziska's embittered feelings did not lead him to oppose Korybut's assumption of power as Witold's representative, and he was solemnly accepted as Regent by the Utraquist Estates in Parliament assembled, at Czaslau, and made his formal entry into Prague on May 17. He soon altered his views with regard to Ziska, whose sentiments he found very much in accordance with his own. Ziska induced the Taborites also to accept Prince Korybut as Regent.[1]

Ere long Ziska himself visited Prague and came to a complete understanding with Prince Korybut, so that the Prince addressed Ziska as "Father," and Ziska the Prince as "My lord Son."

The Bavarian bands seem at this time to have inflicted

[1] He addressed a memorable letter to the people of Prague, dated June 11, 1422. In this he informed them that the Taborites and others had accepted Prince Sigismund "as an ally and as chief Regent of the land, and that they were willing to obey him, and in all fitting matters to aid and counsel him faithfully." Secondly, he admonished them very impressively to give up all the ill-will, anger and agitation, which they had had amongst themselves during the preceding year or still entertained, that they might be able rightly to recite the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we also forgive."

damage upon the inhabitants of Tauss. For we find Ziska exhorting them to endure, in the fear of God, and "valiantly to resist the injuries inflicted by the Germans."[1]

A strong party among the Taborites at this time exhibited great antagonism both towards the Regent and towards Ziska, who refused to attend their services, which were conducted without vestments and in ordinary apparel. The Taborites nicknamed Ziska's vested clergy "Linendrapers," and Ziska retorted by designating the unvested Taborites "Cobblers." Even in Prague a rising took place in favour of the Taborites, but it was soon put down by the Regent.

In order to obtain the assistance of King Sigismund against the Teutonic knights, Witold now recalled Prince Korybut from Bohemia, and the people of Prague actually formed a league with the Catholic lords against the Taborites. "War against the faithless hypocrites" became Ziska's watchword, and civil war broke out in the Utraquist party. Ziska attacked the Royalist nobles in the circle of Königingratz; and when confronted by superior forces, executed a masterly retreat to an advantageous position on the slope of a hill above the river Cedlina, on which stands the little town of Horitz. Here he placed his artillery in position on two lines of waggons, and when the lords dismounted to ascend the hill, waited till they approached, out of breath with the weight of their armour, greeted them with a heavy fire, charged them down hill, drove them away in headlong flight, and captured all their waggons and cannon.

Meanwhile the army of Prague was ineffectually besieging the little fortress of Krizenetz. Relief approached, and the path of negotiation was preferred to the shock of war. Prague renounced its alliance with the Catholics, and a disputation between the Prague and Taborite clergy was agreed upon, in the interests of peace. Accordingly, the parties met; and after a temporary fit of exasperation umpires were appointed, who determined that mass-vestments were not of divine but human appointment, and that the Taborite priests were for the nonce in acknowledgment thereof to celebrate with, and those of Prague without, vestments. The Taborite, Prokop the Shaveling, accordingly celebrated in full vestments; but the Prague clergy made use of plain white surplices, thus not completely fulfilling the prescribed arrangement.

Ere long, however, dissensions broke out more violently

[1] "I give you to know," he wrote, "that we are collecting people on all sides against such enemies of God and ravagers of the realm of Bohemia. Therefore bid your priests in sermon rouse the people to war against such an Antichrist, and yourselves proclaim in the market, that all whose age and youth allow them, be up and ready every hour."

than ever, although the immediate causes are unknown. Königingratz rejected the sway of Prague, and admitted Ziska and his forces within its walls, beneath which he was confronted by the army of Prague. This was the first battle of Ziska's in which "ark went against ark;" *i.e.*, in which both armies were preceded by clergy bearing the Holy Sacrament. The blind Ziska was completely victorious, and with his own hand slew the priest who had borne the Sacrament before the army of Prague, by striking him on the head with his mace.

In the spring of 1423 Ziska quitted Tabor, not intentionally, but, as a matter of fact, for ever, attended, in all probability, by but few of the genuine Taborite warriors, and intending to form an Utraquist army in Eastern Bohemia. Here his especial allies were the Orebites, or brethren of Lesser Tabor, a confederation which grew stronger and stronger under Ziska's command. He remodelled its loose and irregular formation, and gave it a permanent and systematic constitution. He purposed remaining with it permanently himself, though he did not intend actually to forsake the Taborites.

As the prime foundation in a religious point of view, the Four Articles of Prague were accepted with certain extensions: (1) That freedom should be granted everywhere by the brotherhood to the Word of God; that they should receive it affectionately into their hearts, should in deed fulfil and hold it, and lead and instruct others thereto. (2) That all should receive the Body and Blood of the Lord with fear, with devotion, and with reverence, old and young, without excepting infants or any other persons; that the Sacrament should be given to infants immediately after baptism, and that others should receive at least weekly on Sundays. (3) That the priesthood should be brought to a Christ-like and Apostolic life—even a life of poverty; and that the endowments and property of the priests, as well as all simony, should be done away with and put an end to. (4) That the brethren should put an end to all mortal sins, firstly in themselves, and secondly in others of every station: "in kings, in princes, and in lords, in citizens, in artisans, in labourers," and in both sexes.[1]

Ziska appears to have entered Moravia with little more than the forces of the newly established fraternity. After a time, at the request of the brethren, he undertook an expedition into Hungary for the purpose of harassing Sigismund, who was then residing at Buda, in his own especial territory.

[1] A strict rule was laid down for the army, that "no faithless or disobedient people, no liars, thieves, dicers, robbers, plunderers, drunkards, swearers, fornicators, adulterers, harlots, adulteresses, or any other sinners, male or female," should be permitted in it.

Ziska's army marched in four lines of waggons, and was provided with a large number of cannon, as many, indeed, as he had been able to obtain. During his advance he met with no resistance, the Hungarians hoping to deal with him the more easily, the deeper he penetrated into their country. At length, somewhere in the plain between Gran and Komorn, a powerful force of cavalry, well provided with artillery, assembled, before which he deemed it necessary to retreat. All his genius was now required to preserve his army from destruction or great loss during a retreat of about 100 English miles, from the Danube to the frontiers of Moravia. And that in a strange country, he himself being totally blind.

In the plain the protection of the waggons was required against a superior cavalry. Ziska therefore enclosed the whole of his army, horse and foot, within the waggon fortress, posting artillerymen, protected by shields, on the outer waggons, to repulse the enemy by their fire, should any attack be made. The pursuers opened fire upon the Bohemians whenever they halted, so that during the day-time they were obliged to keep in continual motion, while the numerous Hungarian cavalry rode round them at their pleasure. At night Ziska allowed no fires to be lighted in the camp, so that his exact position was unknown; and moreover the Hungarians retired at nightfall to distant valleys, both to refresh their horses and also to secure themselves against a night attack.

The next day he started before the Hungarians had assembled their forces, and posted himself between a lake and a hill. On the hill he constructed two bulwarks with provision waggons, one in front and one in rear of his army, planting cannon in position upon both. Thus the Bohemians enjoyed a day's rest, and at nightfall the Hungarians again retired. Early on the third day Ziska made his way to the river Neutra, taking up a position close to a ford. The Hungarians did not venture to assail him in his waggon fortress, and the next night he began to prepare for crossing. On the upstream side he fixed in the bed of the river a row of heavy "edge" or war-waggons, and on the downstream side a row of lighter provision-waggons. In the morning he began to cross in four files of waggons. The Hungarians seized the opportunity to attack him in front and rear, but so heavy a fire was opened upon them from the fixed waggons, that they were obliged to retire, and Ziska led his army triumphantly across, though not without considerable loss in both men and waggons. He then directed his march along the river Waag, where a succession of woods, morasses, and meadows secured him against both cavalry and artillery.

On the fifth day Ziska arrived at some fish-ponds south of

Tyrnau, the dams of which afforded a partial shelter for his encampment. No enemy appearing, the day was spent in repairing injured waggons, and fitting up the best of the inner waggons to replace such of the outer ones as had become unserviceable. On the sixth day the Hungarians outstripped him, and he was compelled to change his course towards the left, alongside of a ridge which runs west of Tyrnau by a brook, so that he had only one flank to defend.

On the 7th day he moved onwards, intending to cross the White Mountains. Here were narrow places in which he could only traverse the forest with his waggons in single file, and the Hungarians thought they had him in a trap. But Ziska, at the entrance of the forest, selected a position under a small hill, which protected him against the enemy's artillery, and also planted some cannon upon it to reply to their fire. He then caused the horses to be unharnessed from the waggons, and sent men forward upon them with axes, shovels, and spades, to see that the way was clear, to repair the road, and also, wherever on the other slope of the mountain-chain the level ground widened out, to construct two new roads, one on each side of the old road, each about 200 paces long. The war-waggons were prepared for the march in two files, the provision-waggons being placed in four lines close together from one side of the wood to the other, so as to serve for a barricade. When these preparations were complete on both sides of the White Mountains he ordered his men to proceed in a peculiar order, invented to meet all possible contingencies. In front he sent a certain number of field-pieces into the forest, after them a body of infantry, then fifty waggons, and then again infantry. Divisions of fifty waggons and infantry followed each other regularly, so that the waggons would always have defenders in front and rear in case of a flank attack. As long as there was only one road through narrow places the waggons went on in single file, but when they came to the wider spaces, where the two new roads had been made, the artillery kept the old road in the middle, and the waggons went with their escort, fifty by the road on the right and fifty by that on the left, so that the artillery was always protected.

The Hungarians waited till the last war-waggons had disappeared in the forest, and then made a rush, intending to capture the artillery in position on the little hill in front of the forest. But the field-pieces there were speedily removed behind the barricade constructed of the provision-waggons, which was valiantly defended by a division of infantry left behind for the purpose. When the last of the field-pieces were well advanced on their way through the forest these

brave men followed them, and left the waggons to the enemy. During their retreat, while the Hungarians were employed in removing the waggons, they also broke up the road to the utmost of their power, so that the cavalry found it no easy task to continue the pursuit. Out of temper at finding that Ziska had escaped from the trap, many of the Hungarians now returned to their homes, saying that it was not a man, but a devil, that had made him master of such tricks. Others rode over the mountains by other roads, intending to stop him at his egress from the forest.

But Ziska was ready for them. Where the Bohemian army was about to issue from the forest there ran a valley, between two declivities right and left. First came artillery, with an escort of infantry on the ancient road in the middle. The cannon were immediately levelled at the enemy, who were blocking the road, and who were soon forced to retire into the lower part of the valley. Then forth issued fifty waggons on the right and fifty on the left in single file, keeping along the declivities on each side. The infantry marched between the lines of waggons and the declivities, being thus protected against the hostile cavalry on one side by the waggons and on the other by the sides of the hills. Divisions of fifty waggons and infantry followed each other in succession until all the waggons as well as the artillery in the rear were clear of the forest. By the continuous fire of the artillery in the centre of the vanguard and by the steady advance of the army under protection of the waggons on both sides, the enemy was pushed further and further, and when in this way complete mastery of the ground in the valley had been obtained, the waggons closed up into a kind of garland, within which the Bohemians formed into marching order, after which there was no further attempt at pursuit. Ziska's admirers, and probably Ziska himself, considered this the greatest and most difficult exploit achieved by him during his career as a military commander. And all this tactical and strategical skill was displayed, and all these remarkable combinations were devised, by a man totally devoid of sight!

During Ziska's absence in Hungary, the citizens of Prague and many of the Utraquist nobles, who were only half-hearted in the national cause, had been coquetting with King Sigismund through the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania. A religious disputation between the Utraquists and Catholics had been agreed upon, and "regulators," or "captains," had been appointed, who were to act against the "destroyers of the country," meaning Ziska and the brotherhoods. An embassy was actually sent to Sigismund. The attitude of the Pope's

legate was not conciliatory, but an agreement was eventually come to.

Having quitted the north of Bohemia, Ziska directed his course against the main stronghold of the Catholic party in the circle of Pilsen. The "Landfried" of Pilsen, however, was reinforced by the armies of Prague and of the Utraquist lords in alliance with it; and Ziska found himself obliged to retreat to the town of Elbekosteletz, where he was blockaded by superior forces. He was at this time, indeed, so hard pressed that his enemies considered his destruction inevitable. Sigismund, however, in his court at Buda, maintained that he would extricate himself, and betted a palfrey on the result. Sigismund won his bet; Ziska was relieved.

Making his retreat in a southern direction, he occupied a height with which he was acquainted, by a forced march, and enclosed himself with his waggons closely packed together, wheel to wheel, on the right and left, and perhaps also in rear. On the tableland on the top he drew up his army, with the van facing east, the cavalry in front, and the infantry behind them. He, moreover, caused some provision-waggons to be filled with stones, and placed them in the foremost body of cavalry in such a manner as to be invisible to the enemy. Infantry soldiers were told off to conduct these waggons.

The men of Prague marched in battle array through the valley, in which they could not properly develop their strength. In their haste they did not even wait for all their corps to be in position. Ziska waited till about half their army had entered the valley, and were beginning to charge up the hill. Then he ordered his cavalry to advance against them. But when the shock of battle was just about to take place, Ziska's cavalry gave place to the waggons, which had been conducted unseen between their ranks, and the word was given for the heavy stone-filled waggons to be let loose downhill against the Prague army. The downward crash of the waggons produced a terrible effect; the ranks of Prague were shattered in a moment. Ziska then opened a fire of artillery upon his foes, and immediately afterward his whole army charged downhill upon them. Then took place a bloody conflict, in which the men of Prague suffered great loss, crowded as they were in the narrow valley. The foremost ranks turned to flight, and carried the rest away with them in the universal confusion. In consequence of this victory Ziska took Kuttenberg, and carried the war again into the circle of Pilsen.

Meanwhile, weary of the see-saw of negotiation in which Poland and Lithuania kept oscillating between King Sigismund and the Bohemians, Prince Sigismund Korybutowicz accepted

the crown of Bohemia, which was now offered to him personally, and entered Prague at the head of 400 horsemen on June 29, 1424. Thus all alliances and engagements were put an end to, and an opportunity was offered for a reunion of the Bohemians against the common enemy. King Sigismund endeavoured to negotiate with Ziska, offering to make him his viceroy. Unprincipled himself, the King little thought that he was dealing with a man of high principle, and was disappointed at finding how vain and futile his advances were. To friendly overtures from Prague Ziska yielded, though with hesitation, and saying that peace would last no longer—he was afraid—than the reconciliation at Konopiste had done. No doubt the personal friendship between Ziska and Prince Korybut was renewed, and perhaps contributed not a little to the reconciliation.

Ziska was now unanimously designated commander-in-chief of the united army of 20,000 men which was to enter Moravia, and there quell the power of Sigismund and his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, in whose favour Sigismund had just resigned that margravate. A division was sent forward into Moravia, while the main army under Ziska besieged the town and castle of Pribislaw. Here a premature death cut short the victorious career of the blind hero, just as he was entering upon a great and perhaps decisive enterprise. In the camp under Pribislaw he was attacked by the plague, which in a few days put an end to his eventful life. Exhorting his devoted friends, Lord Victorin of Kunstat, John Bzdinka, and Kuncs of Belovitz, who stood around his bed, to abide in the fear of God, and faithfully to defend God's truth for the sake of an eternal reward, he commended his soul to God, and expired on October 11, 1424.

He was buried in the Church of the Holy Ghost at Königingratz, by Ambrose, curé of that place, and the priest Prokupek, who afterwards became celebrated as military commander of Ziska's brotherhood, the members of which after their great founder's death took the title of "Orphans." Some time about the middle of the fifteenth century his remains were transferred to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Czaslaw, but the reason of this removal is unknown.

No really satisfactory likeness of Ziska is in existence, numerous as they appear to have been during the remainder of the Hussite epoch. He left behind him a general, Prokop the Shaveling, but not a statesman, equal to himself, and civil war eventually deprived the Utraquists of half their strength. Yet there was sufficient left to wrest the Compactata from the Council of Basel, which allowed the Bohemian laity the privilege of the use of the chalice in the Eucharist. The

faithless policy of Rome, and the election of the Hapsburg dynasty to the vacant throne of Bohemia, undermined the liberties of the country; and finally the battle of the White Hill in 1620 reduced it to a miserable state of servitude. The language and literature were proscribed, and only since 1848 can we point to the revival of self-consciousness and nationality in that once mighty Czeskish race, which singlehanded withstood and repelled the assaults of the whole of Western Europe, and that not for greed or rapacity, but verily and indeed *for conscience' sake.*

A. H. WRATISLAW.

NOTE.—The wildest and even silliest stories became in course of time connected with the name of Ziska. As the researches of Palacký and Tomek, and the publication of Hus's Bohemian works, by Erben, have only lately rendered it possible to write the biography of Hus, so also has it only lately become possible to write that of Ziska from reliable data. Tomek has supplemented his great history of the City of Prague by a detailed Life of Ziska, of which the above pages are virtually only a very condensed abridgment.

ART IV.—CHURCH REFORM.

THE dust and turmoil of the General Election have cleared off, and left Churchmen face to face with some problems which, if not strange, were, until the autumn, regarded as not so very pressing. At one time the cry for Disestablishment and Disendowment was thought likely to prove attractive, in the ears of the new voters at any rate. But it did not meet with the welcome that those who raised it expected, and they hastily did what they could to withdraw it for the time from notice. But only for the time. We were plainly warned by Mr. Chamberlain—whose candour renders us invaluable services—that the attack on the Church will be resumed at the next opportunity. Hence the obvious duty of doing what we can to prepare whilst the lull lasts. We should try to make good weak places—to get rid of anything that may give a handle to opponents—to strengthen our institutions for their proper work, assuring ourselves that in these days they will be secure only so long as they are efficient.

The various Addresses and Declarations on Church Reform which have appeared since the Elections began, show plainly enough that the whole subject is now fully before the public mind; and that it is undergoing those tentative processes of exposition, explanation, and discussion which precede the