

REMARKS CONCERNING THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT

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The concept of Western Europe was born in the years 500-800, and through the pacification of the barbarians towards the East and the North due to the first expansion of the West (1000-1300), the so-called *Europa Occidens* appears, covering the North and the Central East region of Europe. The concept of *Occidens* is extended by the Latin Christianity, becoming thus the name of a civilization. But with regard to its civilization and structure, this historical region belongs to completely different co-ordinates. Meanwhile, through the irradiation of the Eastern Rome's traditions, a new historical region is born, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe.¹ The development of this region is deviated and delayed due to the repeated failures of Byzantium (1204, 1223, 1243) and to the Tartar-Mongolian invasion. This will lead to a feudalism with distinct features, as compared to that of the Western Europe.

In Szűcs Jenő's opinion, *Europa Occidens* contains the territory from Elba-Lajta up to, approximately, the Carpathians. Around 1500, the Elba-Lajta line becomes increasingly marked, while the Eastern limits are less and less outlined² (a shifting towards East). Here, the structures are suddenly different from those belonging to Eastern Europe, where the Church is subordinated to the power of the prince. The subordinate character of the archaic nobility in relation with the princes and landowners excluded any corporate unity, the town people do not become independent citizens. The peasantry finds itself in different positions of dependence, starting with the free peasants, who from a legal point of view are free, and ending with the personal dependence.

The history of *Europa Occidens* may be characterized between 1000 and 1300 by a rapid development. The structural elements of the Western society that appeared in Western Europe in several phases, deeply rooted and in a period less than thousand years, in the case of *Europa Occidens* these were born in a century and a half, without a very solid basis though. This explains the fact that formulas taken over from the Occident remain crude, hybrids mingling with archaic characteristics.

The West constitutes, no doubt, an example for Central and Eastern Europe, but it cannot be said to be only an imitation of its forms; the Western models only contributed to the acceleration of certain processes that were going to take place in this part of Europe. A characteristic element in the development of this historical area is the fact that the reorganization of the social structures began from the top towards the basis, and not the other way round, as it happened in Western Europe. It is this very element that constitutes a fundamental charac-

teristic of the Western feudal structures, namely that they appeared spontaneously, from the basis.

Europa Occidens followed Western standards and models in the specific conditions of the Western Europe, the result being a modification of the structures taken over from the Latin Christian civilization. Among the states existing in this region, there are certain slight differences: the Czechs are somewhat more on the Western side; Croatia is characterized by more archaic forms than Hungary, and Poland resembles Hungary.

From a geographical point of view, Transylvania is situated at the meeting place of the so-called Europa Occidens and South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. During the medieval epoch, the influence of the Western pole (the Latin Christianity) is strongly felt, but not in so much as to eliminate the ideas and influences from the South-East and East. The Western structures that were taken over were adapted to the existing conditions, intermingling with the acceptable native structures.

In the case of Moldavia, the Eastern and South-Eastern element is dominant and the West is less present than in Transylvania, mainly through the most Eastern representatives of the Catholic Church.

After a period of development and flourish, to which the Church had an important contribution, feudalism in Western Europe finds itself in its first crisis at the beginning of the 14th C. The essence of this first crisis of the feudalism lies in the fact that its spreading in almost all directions collided with the limits of the structure without the presence of those forces capable of solving it. The solution of the crisis in the West was to place the town economy in the centre of the whole structure.³

At the end of 14th C, Christian Europe, divided due to schism, finds itself faced with a danger that was to jeopardise its very existence for centuries, namely the Ottoman danger. In 1399-1403, the Emperor Emanuel II (1391-1425) pays visits to Rome, Paris and London in order to obtain the help of his fellow Christians against the Turks.⁴ This really means that Europe is in danger, Thessalonica having already been under Turkish occupation since 1387.

In the Catholic church, the need of change is felt, something which is obvious because of the appearance of heresies that lead, by its very existence, to the diminishing of the Latin christianity's prestige. The war (the crusade against the Albigens) against the heretics forced the Roman-Catholic Church to take urgent measures;⁵ these are to be found in the preoccupations of the Saint Francesco d'Assisi, who both through his life and through his works, pleaded for the return to the austerity of the Apostles. Trough Toma d'Aquino, William Ockham, Duns Scotus, Eckhart, the dogma of Catholicism meets with certain changes, but the essence remains the same. Besides the great crisis that shook the Western Church, such as the moving of the popes' residence to Avignon (1301-1377), the Great Schisma (1378-1417) when two or three popes were ruling at the same

time, the 14th c is characterized by a series of cosmic calamities: the comet, sun eclipse, floods and in 1347 the terrible Black Death.⁶

As a result of these factors, the moral crisis that characterized the Catholic Church in that period, produced a current that was assimilated especially by the lower classes of the medieval society and was directed against the rich clerics. The selling of leniencies was a flourishing business in the 13th and 14th centuries. The Reform movement covered most part of the European Catholic countries.⁷

The Valdens movement and the activity of John Wycliffe are part of the actions of reformation of the Western Church. From the start, Wycliffe repudiates the struggle of Church for supremacy, fights against the interference of the Church in civil affairs, against the infallibility of the Pope, against the excommunications and canonizations.

Waldo and Wycliffe make a clear distinction between the Bible and the Church, considering the first as the source of the real Christianity. He translates the Bible into English (1382), initiating thus a tradition that descended eventually in the humanistic literature and thinking. He only acts for a religious reform which he announces and starts, but which will be completed later: as compared to Wycliffe, Pierre Waldo also elaborates a social programme, exceeding the problems of mere religious reforms.⁸

The Hussite Movement appears as an interesting phenomenon. It starts as a movement of religious reforms and changes gradually into a social and national movement (Czechia) in Europa Occidens, integrating itself in the anti-Catholic current from the end of the 14th C. The Hussite problem is a complex one. If some authors (Frantisek Palacky) underline that it had a pure religious and moral character, others⁹ emphasize the social aspect of this movement, considering it an antifeudal rebellion clad in religious garments. Almost all the historians agree that the Hussite movement had a strong national character for the countries it was born in.

Still, the problem must be considered from all angles. The Hussite movement contains several different phases, and its character changes accordingly. In some opinions, after the martyric death of their leader, the Hussite movement split in three parts: the utraquists (the most moderate of all); the professors of the University in Prague; the taborits. Professor Mihail Dan¹⁰ includes the Boemi Brothers in the Hussite Movement, considering them to be the continuers of the Taborite traditions.

Until the death of Jan Hus, the movement had a character of religious reforms, containing some national aspects for the Czechs (the separation of the University of Prague).

From 1415, when Jan Huss is burnt at the stake, and until the outbreak of the fights, the movement moved more and more towards the social field; in other word, a radicalization took place.

1419-1413 - the Hussite Movement lives its period of glory. Due to internal differences this period is shortlived; the defeat took place. This period of the

Hussite Movement may be characterized, of the religious garments it still wore, as a social and national movement of the Czechs.

After 1434, a period of decay of the Hussite movement follows, but also spreading of its ideas all over Europe.

All through these phases of the Hussite Movement some circles limit their activity to the range of religious reforms (the *utraquits*). The professors of the University of Prague are satisfied to keep their fights in a theoretical field.

As it may be motived, the Hussite Movement is not a singular attempt for changes, neither in the religious field, nor the social one. The 14th and 15th Centuries in Western Europe and *Europa Occidens* is the period of peasant uprisings as well as that of the appearance of several movements, first in the more advanced areas: 1304-1304, the peasant uprising lead by Dolcino: 1358, the French peasants fight for the abolition of serfdom; 1381 the English peasantry under the leadership of Watt Tyler begins to rebel; also the uprising in 1378 in Florence.¹¹

In the second half of the 14th c and the beginning of the 15th, Czechia was among the developed countries from both an economical and political point of view. In this period, mainly during the reign of Charles IV (1346-1378), Czechia was the kernel, the nucleus of the German Empire. There were around a hundred developed towns in Czechia, among which approximately so reached the level of a medium European town. Prague, with a population of 30.000 inhabitants was considered to be the most developed town in Central Europe.¹²

In 1344, the people of Prague obtain the founding of the Archiepiscopate in Prague, through the separation of the Czech Church from the domination of the German Church. Charles the 4th was closely concerned with the consolidation of the Czech Church, granting legacies and privileges. This lead to a situation in which the Catholic Church becomes the richest feudal lord in Czechia. The years of Charles the 4th's reign were considered to be the golden epoch of the Czech Catholicism. Due to the gifts two donations, the number of priests rises rapidly. For instance, at the Cathedral in Prague 300 priests were functioning, and all in all in Prague there were 44 priests; in the Bishopric of Prague there were 1914 who each had one or two deputies. To these one may add the convents, which only in Prague were 18 in number.¹³ Even if these numbers are rightly exaggerated, their significance remains.

After the leadership in Czechia is taken over by Vaclav IV., the falls into decay, as it doesn't meet anymore with the care it was given to it by the previous king. Nevertheless the church remains the number one favorite of Czech feudalism; it still has very few obligations, being spared from the payment of taxes and the Church properties being free from lay jurisdiction.

All these determined that the nobility itself should envy the privileged situation of Church and watch suspiciously the increasing of the clergy's influence in the social life. Also the privileged situation of the Church communities often hindered the growth of the town liberties.¹⁴ Czech historians are of the opinion

that there were three social categories in towns: the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the towns poors; 40-50 of the inhabitants constituted the lower orders. The leadership of the town was in the hands of the nobility.¹⁵

Under the complex conditions from the interests of the town development differ more and more from those of the nobility. The ruined small nobility represents a social category that increasingly shows its dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, the fundamental contradiction of the Czech society was that between the feudal lords and the peasants. The peasants were those who (together with the lower orders), through their work supported the whole pyramid of social life with its multiple tasks and taxes payed both to the feudal lord and to the Church.

In the time of the Přemysl dynasty, the Czechs find themselves in danger of losing their national being, their language and culture, and this leads to an increase of an ethnical solidarity. In order to moderate the Czech discontents, at the beginning of the 15th c, Vaclav IV. changes the regulations of the University of Prague, giving more rights to the Czechs as compared to the other nationalities (1409). This famous document is followed by the rebellion of the German teachers and students, who, after the confirmation by the king of Czech rector and a Czech dean, ostentitiously leave Prague. Some authors are of the opinion that the only typical national fight in the Middle Ages was that between the Germans and the Czechs during the Hussite War. In truth, in some phases of the Hussite Movement, its followers came to identify their religious cause with national interests. The interference of the Czech ethnic element in this conflict is doubtless.¹⁶

This is the rough picture of the complex situation from the end of the 14th c and the beginning of the 15th.

It is under these circumstances that Jan Hus begins his reforming activity. The Catholic Church experiences a period of moral decay that contributes to the intensification of the attacks against it. Professor Hus begins his reforming activity through his lectures at the University and through his sermon preached at the Bethlehem chapel. With their help he denounces as idolatrous the worship of carved or painted faces, simonism and simonists, writes a biography of Jesus inspired from the Gospels and comments, not accidentally, upon the Pauline letters for the Corinthians. After 1407 Hus is accused of having attacked in his sermons the privileges of the clergy and of having declared his solidarity with Wycliffe's teachings. In the name of the Gospels and of apostolic life, he accuses the clergy of treason against the goal of the Church. Having faith in the authenticity of the evangelic primitive Christianity, Hus accepts Jesus as the supreme authority of the head of the Church. The Pope's power as a vicar of Christ is nul, if he doesn't follow Christ and Saint Peter in his behaviour. According to Hus, Jesus founded a universal church but its universality had been compromised by internal disagreements and fights for power among the bishops and the leaders of the Church. The popes were definitely discredited. Nothing and noone could help this. It was not its salvation that was necessary but reforms that were to proclaim

the true Church, the Church of Jesus, where anyone knew that the Bible could preach, where there was no worship of faces, no false miracles were accepted this was similarly to Wycliffe, Hus didn't agree with the idea transubstantiation. He admitted the existence of the flesh and blood of Jesus in bread and wine, but he didn't admit transubstantiation.

Especially after his death, the doctrine of Hus gradually acquire a social character. Hus considered himself to be a reformer. He did not fight for the destruction of the unjust society but for its restoration so that it could help the serious economical and social situation of the opressed population.¹⁷ He wanted to found a new church, constituted on complete equality of its members, in which everybody had to work and where there were no bishops or landowners. For the new church people did not have to pay taxes or accomplish tasks. The idea of this church is to be found in the Bible and for a better understanding, its translation into the national languages becomes necessary.¹⁸

I shall not insist upon the Hussite war in this paper because the evolution of the Hussite Movement from this perspective is described in detail by authors such as Josef Macek in "The Revolutionary Hussite Movement"; Toth Szabó Pál in "The History of Czech Hussite Movements Domination in Hungary"; Dan Mihail in "Under the Banner of Tabor"; and also I. Maženak in his articles.

The Hussite ideas rapidly crossed the whole Europe, from Spain to the Ukraine, from England to Moldavia (Germany, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, France, Italy). But the strongest influence was that upon the countries from the South and East of Czechia.

About one manner of penetration of the Hussite ideas in Transylvania and Moldavia, several authors give accounts, such as: Demeny L. and Pataki¹⁹, Dan P. Mihail²⁰, Gombos Ferenc Albini²¹, C. C. Giurescu²², and Serban Papacoste²³.

We do not intend to stress this problem, we will only try to present the main Hussite ideas embraced in Transylvania and Moldavia.

At the beginning, the Transylvanian Hussites used to meet in secret, at night time, in caves, cellars, and forests. But soon they leave the dark and begin to preach their faith in churches on whose walls they paint a red holly cup.²⁴

The ideas of the Transylvanian Hussite Movement had been written down by Jacob of Marchia, proclaimed as the most famous inquisitor of Hungary.²⁵ On the day of 24 August 1436, Jacob of Marchia is appointed by the pope as inquisitor with the mission of erradicating heresy. In Hungary, Transylvania, and Moldavia the ideas of the Transylvanian Hussite Movement are organized by Marchia²⁶ in 64 items, added to the four fundamental thesis of the Hussite Movement. All those who share these ideas are compelled to receive the eucharist under "utraque specie". Anyone may preach anywhere, anytime. The Hussitas in the country of Hungarians, of the Szecklers, and of the Transylvanians do not celebrate any feast except Sundays, eliminating the names of the **saints** from the missal. They do not worship carved faces because in them the

devil dwells; one must depict neither the crucified one, nor the cross; it is not necessary to make the sign of the cross. One must not worship the saints and the relics. The Pope has the authority of a simple priest, that's why one must not pay attention to the Pope's privileges and to the excommunication. Neither the Pope, nor the emperor can make the law. The Hussites did not admit to submit but to God. They deny the existence of the Purgatory. According to Hussite laws, the bishop is allowed to marry. The roman Church is called Satan's Synagogue. One must not kill, not even a malfactor, because it was said in ancient times that one shouldn't kill.

It was the same Jacob of Marchia that tells us about a synod kept in Prague at 17th June 1420 where it was decided that the four laws adopted should be respected till death:

1. Any priest may preach without the authorization of the prelates.
2. Anybody has the duty to preach and to give the eucharist under "utraque specie".
3. It's a duty to give up worldly power, church goods and to return to the initial position.
4. The obvious deathly sins must not be hidden; simony must be stopped, money should not be payed for baptism confirmation, confession, receiving, the eucharist, for marriages or for funerals. Jan Hus was canonised.

The spreading of these four items among the Transylvanian Hussites prove the direct connection with their Czech brothers. All these had been written down by Jacob of Marchia in the year 1436. It is obvious that the differences between the ideas of the Czech Hussit and the Transylvanian ones are not essential. The activity of extermination of this heresy was not completed; according to his own confession, with the help of the Holy Ghost only 25000 had been converted to Catholicism.

It is important to mention that the Hussite Movement spread in the areas where the Latin Christianity was present. In Moldavia it wins followers mainly from the German and Hungarian Catholics who were living there or were refugees because of their convictions.²⁷

The ideas of the Moldavian and Transylvanian Hussite Movement are very much alike.²⁸ Their systematic recording is made by John of Turrecremate in a paper ordered by Pope Pius II, in which he places himself against these ideas. The enumeration of the Hussite ideas is accomplished in 1461; some points of view of this paper are different from the Transylvanian ones, but most are identical. In the 438 articles, the main Hussite ideas from Moldavia are enumerated. What is different from what Jacob of Marchia tells us about the Transylvanian ideas is that here enters also the unbinding of marriages and the prohibition of oaths. At the same time, charity for the benefit of the poor are not acknowledged. They say that only those belonging to their faith may be redeemed, they do not baptise with holy water, but in the river. The last item mentioned by Turrecremata is: "They share their women with all the others."²⁹ By reading the two

texts in comparison with the original Hussitism, we may notice that new ideas appear, that are not always positive. The Hussite ideas do not die together with the defeat of the Hussites they continue their fight with certain changes, until later. In Moldavia, Hussites are mentioned until 1571 when a monk from Trotus is in the position to report to the Kamenek-Podolsk Bishop that the last heretics from Husi and Roman had been converted.³⁰

In Moldavia, especially during Alexaner the Good, the Hussites were gladly tolerated because by encouraging this heresy, the Romanian prince was hoping a weakening of Catholicism, including Poland and Hungary whose tendencies were well-known. At the end of the 15th c and the beginning of the 16th, the remaining Hussites become unsure of themselves, hesitate and doubt the real character of the original church.³¹

The most radical wing of the Hussite Movement is represented by the Taborits. Through their activity, they change the Hussite Movement from a religious action into a social and national movement. They do not reduce their claims, as the moderate Hussites to the reformation of the Church, to the secularization of the Church properties, to the right of participating in the Parliament, and to the expulsion of the German nobility, by radicalising the Hussite Movement, they fight against feudal domination, against conscriptions for the democratic society.

The Taborits appear as the main force that make the feudal world, not only in Czechia but also in Transylvania, and through their influence in the mental field prepared the Renaissance.

The Hussite Movement as a whole, being the announcer of the crisis of the universal Catholicism is the first religious movement that surpasses the limits of a heresy.

The champions of this movement want more than a simple transformation of the Catholic Church, they dream about a new church where equality should prevail. This announces the great religious reform that will put an end to the domination of the Catholic Church upon a great part of Europe. Although from a religious point of view the Hussite Movement does not have so deep a result as the Reformation, nevertheless it showed that the Catholic Church needs a deep and serious reform which was also requested by the medieval society, society which found itself in a situation of a first great crisis.

Many of the ideas initiated by the Hussites will be accomplished by the Reformation, by Luther's followers, but especially by those of Calvin.

The idea of transubstantiation is denied both by the Hussites and by the Calvinists. The Calvinists, as well as the Hussites want a cheap church, easy to support. They only celebrate Sundays, do not worship saints, don't submit but in front of God, don't make the sign of the cross, do not accept the Purgatory, do not listen to the authority of the pope, they unmake marriages, men and women can preach as well. All these had been formulated at the beginning by the Hussites and the accomplished only in the 16 c by Calvinism.

The Hussite Movement had, besides, an important social role³², a valuable contribution to the renovation of the Church and a considerable role in the development of the national languages. Under the influence of the Hussite Movement, the first Bibles were translated into national languages. The translation of the Bible becomes an ideological weapon in the hands of the Hussites. This is the moment when a part of the Bible is translated in Hungarian by the priests Tamas and Balint who finished their activity in Moldavia³³. Their experiment was considered to be the first attempt to elaborate the Hungarian literary language³⁴.

Although they have crossed the whole Europe, we may assert that they had the deepest influence in Europa Occidens. The Hussite Movement spread more towards South and South-East of Czechia, phenomenon which may be accounted for, according to Szücs Jenő, by a weakening of the elimination towards East and also a more decided outline of the Western limits of this historical region.³⁵

Despite all positive influence of the Hussite ideas upon the medieval society, the spreading of this movement brought about great prejudices to Europe. In a period when the Ottoman danger was stronger and stronger, when a unitary power was necessary to drive away the Turks from Europe, the Hussite wars came along having as a result the weakening of the defence power of Europa Occidens.

From a theoretical point of view, the Roman-Catholic Church was the force to gather the Christian countries under the anti-Ottoman flag, but this is in the middle of an acute crisis. Mathias Rex was also implicated in the Hussite wars; in order to have the possibility to fight properly against the Hussites and to fulfill his personal aspirations, he had signed a treaty of neutrality with the Turks. According to some opinions³⁶, the main purpose of the Hussite wars was the defeat of the Hussite Movement in order to defend the power of Catholicism, in the idea of an anti-Ottoman war.

Annotation

1. Szücs Jenő, *Vázlat Európa három történelmi régiójáról*, in: "Történelmi Szemle", Bp., 1981/3, p. 331.
2. *Ibidem*, p. 339.
3. *Ibidem*, p. 337.
4. *Történelmi kronológia*, Buc., 1976, vol. I. p. 201.
5. Miresa Eliade, *Isteria eredímteler si ideilor religioase*, Buc., 1988, vol. III. p. 197.
6. *Ibidem*, p. 216.
7. M. Diacius-Dascalescu, *Rascoala iobagiler de la Bobilna*, Buc., 1970, p. 98.
8. G. Vladutescu, *Ereziile evului mediu eresia*, Buc., 1974.
9. Mihail Dan, *Sub flamura Taborului*, Buc., 1964; Josef Macek, *A huszita forradalmi mozgalom*, Bp. 1954; Stefan Pascu, *Bobilna*, Buc., 1963; Demény Lajos, *Parasztárbort Bábónán*, Buc., 1977; M. Diaciu-Dascalescu, *op. cit.*
10. Mihail Dan, *Dehí, slovaci si románi în veacurile XIII-XVI*. Sibiu, 1944. p. 193.
11. Demény Lajos, *Parasztfelkelés Erdélyben, 1437-1438*. Bp., 1987, p. 89.

12. *Ibidem*, p. 90.
13. Tóth Szabó Pál, *A cseh huszita mozgalom és uralom története Magyarországon*, Bp. 1917. p. 6.
14. *Ibidem*, p. 12.
15. Macek Josef *A huszita forradalmi mozgalom*, Pf., 1954, p. 27-29.
16. G. Vladutescu, *op. cit.*
17. Mihail Dan, *A huszitizmus forradalmi tartalma*, in "Korunk", Cluj, 1957/VI, p. 662-674.
18. Demény L-Pataki J. *A huszita forradalmi mozgalom elterjedése hazánkban és hatása a parasztok 1437-38 évi felkelésére*, in *A Kolozsvári Bohai Tudományegyetem. 1945-1955*, Buc., 1956, p. 223-234.
19. *Ibidem*.
20. Mihail Dan, *Cehi, slovaci...*; Idem, *Sub flamura Taborului*.
21. Gombos Ferenc Albin, *Az 1437. évi parasztláadás története tekintettel a jobbágyi viszonyokra s a huszitizmusnak hazánkban való elterjedésére*, Cluj, 1898.
22. C. C. Giurescu, *Causele refugierii husitiilor în Moldova si centrele lor în aceasta tara*, in "Studii si articole de istorie", 1966. VIII. p. 27-44.
23. Serban Papacesteza, *Stiri noi cu privire la isteria husitismului în Moldova în timpul lui Alexandru cel Bun*, in "Studii si cercetari stiintifice, Istorie", Iasi, XIII, 1962/2, p. 254-258.
24. Gombos Ferenc Albin, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
25. *Ibidem*, p. 49.
26. Lukcsics, *15 századi pápák oklevelei*, II. Bp., 1938, p. 21-25.
27. Maria Holban, *Calatori straini în tarile române*, I, Buc., 1968. p. 73.
28. Pataki J., *Az erdélyi parasztok 1437-38/ás felkelése*, in "Korunk", Cluj, 1957, VI, p. 675-686.
29. M. Holban, *op. cit.* p. 77.
30. C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*
31. Traian Ionescu-Niscov, *Un calator ceh în Moldova în timpul lui Stefan cel Mare*, in "Studii si materiale de istorie medie", VIII, 1975, p. 205-209.
32. See nota nr. 9.
33. Demény L-Pataki J., *op. cit.*
34. Kardos T., *A huszita Biblia keletkezése*, Bp., 1953, p. 53-57.
35. Szücs Jenő, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
36. Tudjam Franjo, *Nationalism in contemporari Europe*, New York, 1981, p. 257.

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4. Idem: *Parasztfelkelés Erdélyben 1437-1438*, Bp., 1987.
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12. Idem: *A huszitizmus forradalmi tartalma*, in "Korunk", Cluj, 1957, VI, p. 662-674.
13. Idem: *Sub flamura Taborului*, Bucuresti, 1969; ed. II, 1964.
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15. Idem: *A huszita forradalmi mozgalom*, Bp., 1955.
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21. Székely György: *A huszitizmus visszhangja Magyarország népeiben*, Bp., 1954.
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23. Szücs Jenő: *Vázlat Európa három történelmi régiójáról*, in "Történelmi Szemle", 1981, 3.
24. Pataki József: *Az erdélyi parasztok 1437-1438-as felkelése*, in "Korunk", 1957, VI, p. 675-686.
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