

**Paweł F. Nowakowski**  
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Cracow

# Trends and attitudes in Polish studies on the Hussitism

## SUMMARY

The aim of the article is to present the main trends and attitudes in Polish studies on the Hussitism. To achieve that goal, the author divided the topic into three parts: the case of John Hus, the hussite movement and the topics around hussitism. We may see that among Polish historians and theologians, one can find supporters of different approaches to the case of John Hus and the problem is still discussed by the academics. The hussite movement causes less emotions but brings even more detailed interest which tries to be coherent with international researches on the topic. Last but not least, the hussite question is present also in the works of the researchers dealing with various problems of the Polish history in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

**KEYWORDS:** hussitism, Polish historiography, John Hus, medieval history

## STRESZCZENIE

### *Kierunki i postawy w polskich badaniach nad husytyzmem*

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie głównych kierunków i postaw w polskich badaniach nad husytyzmem. Aby osiągnąć ten cel, autor podzielił rozważania na trzy części: sprawę Jana Husa, ruch husycki oraz tematy okołohusyckie. W rezultacie można zauważyć, iż wśród polskich historyków i teologów znajdują się zwolennicy różnego podejścia do sprawy Jana Husa, a problem ten jest wciąż dyskutowany w środowisku naukowym. Badania nad ruchem husyckim obfitują w mniej emocji, ale przynoszą jeszcze bardziej dogłębne studia,

a badacze polscy starają się w swych pracach włączać w międzynarodowy nurt refleksji nad tym zagadnieniem. Wreszcie kwestia husycka obecna jest także w pracach badaczy, którzy zajmują się różnymi zagadnieniami polskiej historii XV w.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: husytyzm, historiografia polska, Jan Hus, historia średniowiecza

Contemporary studies on the Hussitism may be dated from about one and a half century and a great spur for them was the publishing activity of František Palacký and Konstantin von Höfler.<sup>1</sup> Since then, the trends in historiography have changed and researchers have appeared, whose views and personalities tremendously influenced the research directions or indicated new possibilities in interpreting sources and events. This phenomenon is significant mainly in Czech historiography. Jaroslav Goll and his student Josef Pekař aroused interest through their expressive opinions.<sup>2</sup> František M. Bartoš published a great number of texts, including these addressed to a wide range of readers.<sup>3</sup> All of them have become a reference point for their colleagues and later researches. Rudolf Urbánek, outlining the monumental panorama of the political and social scene of the fifteenth-century Czech, made this publication not to be omitted in dealing

- 
- 1 The work of the first one is huge, its contribution and importance is invaluable. As for the Hussite question, in this editorial thread especially worth mentioning is: *Documenta Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1408 motas*, ed. F. Palacký, Prague 1869. and *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens und seiner Nachbarländer im zeitalter Georg's von Podiebrad (1450-1471)*, ed. F. Palacký, Wien 1860; *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges in den Jahren 1419-1436*, t. I-II, ed. F. Palacký, Prague 1873. Konstantin von Höfler joined the historical discussion also by his editorial contribution, in case of the Hussitism it was an extensive work *Die Geschichtschreiber der hussitischen Bewegung*, ed. K. Höfler, vol. I-III, Wien 1865-1866.
  - 2 Jaroslav Goll revealed the history of the epigones of the reformatory strom in the XV century Czech Republic, so The Unity of the Brethren, mainly in texts, which were later included in the work *Chelčický a Jednota w XV. století*, ed. K. Krofta, Prague 1916. Josef Pekař is distinguished by his original, full of criticism attitude towards the Hussites, mainly in his work *Žižka a jeho doba*, vol. I-IV, Prague 1927-1933.
  - 3 Among these text we can undoubtedly include the attempt to show the international echoes of the Hussitism: F.M. Bartoš, *Husitství a cizina*, Prague 1931. One of the the most enduring accomplishments of the researcher, used by historians untill today (with certain additions) is a summary of the works of the most important reformers of the Hussite times: Idem, *Literární činnost M. Jačoubka ze Stříbra*, Prague 1925; Idem, *Literární M. Jana Rokycany, M. Jana Příbrama, M. Petra Payna*, Prague 1928; Idem, F.M. Bartoš, *Martin Lupáč a jeho spisovatelské dílo*, „Reformační sborník”, 1939, no. 8, p. 115-140.

with discussed period.<sup>4</sup> The history of the state have also had a meaningful impact on historiographical trends – the national revival in the nineteenth century, the increase of interest in religion at the turn of the century, the search for ideological foundations of the reborn state during the period of republic and later, in times of the Communism until the turn of the year 1989. The last two and a half decades were a revival of the studies, that have affected ideological disputes and undermined, dogmatic sometimes, Marxist approach. It has also been a period of a distinct pluralism in the Czech studies over the Hussitism. Despite the enormous contribution of German researchers, as well as the recent growth of interest and significant achievements of the English-language literature, the Czechs – for obvious reasons – remain the main point of reference for researchers.

However, the studies on the Hussitism evolve not only in its cradle. Also the Polish studies, although considerably modest and in its scale, take different directions, resulting in a wide spectrum of attitudes. It is tempting to try to present them and allow you to familiarize with the specifics of Polish contemporary studies on the Hussite movement. For a certain order it seems appropriate to concentrate on the essential contents, which includes the profile and the work of John Hus, issues related to the Hussite movement as such and information regarding publications and researches, for whom the Hussite question arises apart from their main area of interest or, on the contrary, is inextricably connected with their research.

## John Hus in the contemporary Polish historiography

The character of the Czech priest have gained a particular attention because of a discussion, which started over Stefan Swieżawski's article in *Tygodnik Powszechny* (TN: *The Catholic Weekly*), the Catholic magazine of Cracow's intellectuals<sup>5</sup>. The importance of this article is based on numerous reasons. First of all, the author considers the priest burned at the stake from the perspective of the Second Vatican Council and puts a bold question about whether Hus was not the precursor of the council changes in the mid-twentieth century. Swieżawski has a great reputation in the late medieval ecclesiology, he is also known as the author of many works on the

---

4 R. Urbánek, *České dějiny*, III: *Věk poděbradský*, vol. 1-4, Prague 1915-1962.

5 S. Swieżawski, *Jan Hus – heretyk czy prekursor Vaticanum II*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 1986, no 6. The text considered by the editors of „Tygodnik Powszechny” as „canonical” and included into special edition, see: *Kanon. Wydanie specjalne „Tygodnika Powszechnego”*, 2015, no 001, p. 72-74.

history of philosophy, such as *Historia filozofii XV w.*<sup>6</sup> The significant fact seems, that Stefan Swieżawski was a friend of the Pope John Paul II, his suggestions were thus a chance for Hus's retrial and indeed some steps in this direction were taken and John Paul II spoke about the Prague thinker in the milder tone than before.<sup>7</sup> Although the article does not have the nature of a strictly scientific one, it has revived the scientific debate on the Hussite question. It also contains some doubtful formulations, such as the suggestion of utraquism as the Hus's idea, which is the subject still discussed in the international scientific circles.

It is impossible to underestimate the initiatory role of Swieżawski's text, although it was not the first article on the subject. More than twenty years earlier, bishop Marian Rechowicz, as a first, addressed this issue in the pages of the same magazine.<sup>8</sup> Bishop's opinions coincided with the time of the Second Vatican Council, which on the one hand harmonized well with the subject, but on the other hand – had set it up a bit in the background of the changes, that came along with the conciliar decisions. Both texts have nevertheless become a background for the later academic debate around John Hus, which is still ongoing in Poland.

The greatly important elaboration on John Hus and, at the same time, the first in Poland so thoroughly analyzing his thoughts was the dissertation by Grzegorz Ryś, later auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of Cracow *Jan Hus wobec kryzysu Kościoła doby wielkiej schizmy.*<sup>9</sup> G. Ryś has also studied the interests of John Hus, motivations leaning him to raise particular issues as well as the way Hus presented them. He claims, that Hus was not really an ecclesiological systematic, but mainly a moralist responding to the alarming state of the Church, who indicated ecclesiastical weak points and not always saw the way to change things. In this work as well as in his later speeches and presentations at the conferences, we can notice the author's attempt to understand and explain Hus's attitude, with his visible reluctance to formulate judgments in the Hussite question.

The path of analysing Hus's ecclesiology was also chosen by Krzysztof Moskal in his monograph *Aby lud był jeden...*, in which he analyses

6 S. Swieżawski, *Eklezjologia późnośredniowieczna na rozdrożu*, Kraków 1990; Idem, *Dzieje filozofii europejskiej XV wieku*, vol. I-VI, Warsaw 1974-1983.

7 A connection between Świeżawski's article and his familiarity with John Paul II is beyond doubt, however it is embedded into the wider trend of European discussion on Hus, for which the most important impulse was the work of Paul de Vooght, see: V. Pospíšil, *K problematice recepcie díla Paul de Vooghta (1900-1983) o Janu Husovi v českém prostředí*, „Studia Oecumenica” 2015, no 15, p. 175.

8 M. Rechowicz, *Jan Hus*, „Tygodnik Powszechny”, 1965, no 65.

9 G. Ryś, *Jan Hus wobec kryzysu Kościoła doby wielkiej schizmy*, Cracow 2000.

the most important work of John Hus, *De Ecclesia*.<sup>10</sup> Apart from examining the contents of this treaty, Moskal traces subsequent references to the Hus's theological concepts and also attempts to compare the views of the Czech thinker to the teaching of the Second Vatican Council. This was the first scientific essay on this subject, because Swieżawski's article should be considered rather as a research postulate than actual analysis. We should not underestimate the role of Krzysztof Moskal as the editor of the source, which he based on writing his monograph. The Hus's treatise *De Ecclesia* was published by KUL (TN: the Catholic University of Lublin) in 2007, in Polish translation done by Moskal, with an introduction and critical remarks.<sup>11</sup> This was the first Polish edition, which has popularised the thoughts of John Hus in our country. Until then, researchers of his writings referred to the original editions as well as Czech and English sources.

With the approaching anniversary of the Hus's death at the stake, the discussion around his trial and his attitude started again. In conference speeches and scientific publications the subject was raised by – among others – Jerzy Grygiel and Paweł Kras. The first of mentioned, in an expressive way and not avoiding the negative assessment of Hus's attitude, refers to the circumstances of his trial, the situation and axiology (political as well) of this period and a threat to the medieval social order, which came along with these new currents of thought.<sup>12</sup> Paweł Kras, not denying the specificity of this period, is leaning towards a milder assessment of Hus and his speech.<sup>13</sup> Both authors fit in two main attitudes – the radical and the moderate one, which dominate the scientific debate around Hus in Poland.

On the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Hus's death in Constance, several initiatives were taken to commemorate his work as well as to stimulate the discussion about the trial and death of the priest. Among them, especially worth noticing, was a conference in Gdańsk on the exact anniversary of the last listening in Constance – 8<sup>th</sup> June 2015. Invited

---

10 K. Moskal, „*Aby lud był jeden...*” *Eklezjologia Jana Husa w traktacie De Ecclesia*, Lublin 2003.

11 J. Hus, *O Kościele*, transl. K. Moskal, Lublin 2007.

12 J. Grygiel, *Jan Hus – męczennik czy heretyk?*, [in:] *Historia vero testis temporum. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. J. Smolucha, A. Waśko, T. Graff, P.F. Nowakowski, Kraków 2008, p. 581-592.

13 P. Kras, *Pessimus heresiarcha czy sanctus martyr?* Piętnastowieczny spór o proces Jana Husa w Konstancji, the presentation at the conference „Zwycięscy i przegrani w dziejach średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych Czech i Polski”, organised by the Commission for the History of Czech Lands and Polish-Czech Relations with the Polish national historical committee supported by the Polish Academy of Sciences and The Institute of History and International Relations on Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Palace in Lubostroń (27-29 September).

guests represented not only the Polish Hussite circles, but also non-Catholic communities, referring to the example of John Hus.

The organizers of this meeting, as well as the editors of the volume, which was the result of discussed matters, were prof. Anna Paner from the Gdańsk University and dr hab. Marcin Hintz, Evangelical-Lutheran bishop.<sup>14</sup> Gdansk conference once again showed and consolidated two main attitudes towards John Hus, as well as a symbolic role of the priest for the Polish Protestants. It was also a place to show the third approach to the issue, which is a factographic analysis, free of judgments and not taking a position in the dispute. This trend is represented by prof. Wojciech Iwańczak, who summarizes Hus's way to the stake in the light of his teachings, decisions and personality traits. To the same trend we can also include the meeting organizer – Anna Paner, who is also the author of a Hus's condensed biography, published in the accessible, popular form for a wide range of recipients in a series „Wielcy Ludzie Kościoła.”<sup>15</sup>

## The Hussitism

The monumental work *Ruch husycki w Czechach i w Polsce*<sup>16</sup> by Ewa Maleczyńska has overshadowed the scientific activity of Polish researchers for quite some time. The work, published in 1959, did not survive the test of time. Although it is still quoted sometimes, its ideological overtones make it difficult, if not impossible, for a scientific use. Marxist assumptions about the class character of the Hussite revolution and – impossible to defend – attempt to stretch this phenomenon to Poland, make this publication an example of the historiography in the service of the ideology in the times of the Communism.

Within the interests of researchers of the Hussitism it is possible to notice some major groups and trends. Among them, the researches in the field of political history have a significant role. In this regard, one of the most important publications is a biography of Sigismund Korybut by Jerzy Grygiel. The Cracow medievalist describes ambiguous attitudes and the way of life of the Lithuanian prince, whose meandrous policy pushed him in the direction of the Bohemian Kingdom and connections with the moderate wing of the Hussites. Grygiel's work has become the reference point

---

14 The mentioned volume *Życie i dzieło mistrza Jana Husa. W 600 rocznicę męczeńskiej śmierci 1414-2015* was during the editorial work at the time of printing the article.

15 A. Paner, *Jan Hus*, Cracow 2002.

16 E. Maleczyńska, *Ruch husycki w Czechach i w Polsce*, Warsaw 1959.

not only for the Poles, but also in the Czech literature on this subject. Although it hasn't been translated into foreign languages yet, the second edition was necessary after nearly 30 years since the first one.<sup>17</sup>

Political and military issues become the domain of Anna Paner. She is the author of the first Polish biography of Jan Žižka, as well as the Polish translator of *Kronika velmi pěkná o Janu Žižkovi*.<sup>18</sup> However, Paner's interests go beyond the Hussite period, hence her works on the history of Przemyslids' and Luxembourgs' Bohemia.<sup>19</sup>

Ideological questions are the focus of the doyens in Polish medieval studies, such as Stanisław Bylina or Jan Drabina. The first of mentioned during his multiannual work has gone a way that can be only compared to the history of Czech reformist idea. Already fifty years ago he carried out the analysis of Konrad Waldhausen's thoughts and activities, whose speeches at a similar time distance preceded the appearance of Hus and later on, the Hussitism.<sup>20</sup> The discussion was also on further events – ideological and bordering on mass religiosity.<sup>21</sup> In recent years, his books began to complement the systemic deficiencies in the Polish literature. *Na skraju lewicy husyckiej* is a monograph, that describes the radical wing of the Hussite movement – the Picards, which was significant at the beginning of the revolution.<sup>22</sup> The two volumes of *Rewolucja husycka* is a systemic work on the Hussites history and events after the Defenestration of

17 J. Grygiel, *Zygmunt Korybutowicz. Litewski książę w husyckich Czechach*, Cracow 2006. The first edition, hardly available today: Idem, *Życie i działalność Zygmunta Korybutowicza*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk-Lódź 1988.

18 A. Paner, *Jan Žižka z Trocnova*, Gdańsk 2002; *Kronika bardzo piękna o Janie Žižce, dworzaninie króla Wacława*, trans. A. Paner, Gdańsk 2000.

19 A. Paner, *Luksemburgowie w Czechach. Historia polityczna ziem czeskich w latach 1310-1437*, Gdańsk 2004.

20 S. Bylina, *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausena na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow 1966; Idem, *Czeska myśl reformatorska drugiej połowy XIV wieku i jej echa na Śląsku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe KUL”, 1987, 21, no 3-4, p. 63-83; Idem, *Maciej z Legnicy, Śląski propagator pism Konrada Waldhausena*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka”, 1962, no 3-4, p 334-344. The extend of these studies are shorther texts later included in *Hussitica*, including for example the Czech millenarism, disputes about the purgatory, the Hussite literature or Polish influences, see Idem, *Hussitica*, Warsaw 2007.

21 Idem, *Ruchy heretyckie w średniowieczu. Studia*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow 1991. Idem, *La dévotion nouvelle et la probléme de la communion fréquente en Europe centrale aux XIVe-XVe siècles*, [in:] *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, v. 4, ed. Z.V. David, D.R. Holeyton, Prague 2002, p. 31-42; Idem, *Les disputes hussites sur le purgatoire*, [in:] *In memoriam Josefa Mackę (1922-1991)*, ed. Miloslav Polívka, František Šmahel, Prague 1996, p. 175-186; Idem, *Husyckie poutě na hory i ich uczestnicy*, [in:] *Wspólnoty małe i duże w społeczeństwach Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. W. Iwańczak, J. Smolucha, Cracow 2010, p. 337-352.

22 Idem, *Na skraju lewicy husyckiej*, Warsaw 2005.

Prague in 1419.<sup>23</sup> For the first time, the overall picture of the Hussite revolution got a chance to reach the Polish reader. Professional historians basically use the foreign literature, including of course the Czech one, which is inaccessible to the general recipient mainly due to the language barrier.

The latter of historians, Jan Drabina, has opened the field for research in Wrocław by describing the anti-Hussite environment, centered around Dominican Order in the times of Poděbrad's ruling.<sup>24</sup> This is the direction that undoubtedly may lead to further interesting conclusions and deeper analysis.

Ecclesiastical and ideological matters are also the main part of Wojciech Iwańczak's work on the Hussitism. On the one hand, this researcher devotes synthetic sketches to the situation of the Church in the Kingdom of Bohemia, but he also performs a detailed analysis of social ideas in medieval Bohemia, with a significant appearance of a thread from the Hussite movement.<sup>25</sup> He is also one of the historians, who includes the Hussite issues within the framework of broader temporal and thematic studies. Wojciech Iwańczak describes the events from the fifteenth century also from the perspective of the previous century, as this is his area of expertise, he also focuses on the changes during the ruling of King John, and later Charles IV and the presence of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the cultural family of European states.

The most important contribution to the studies on the Hussites' presence in Poland turns out to be the work of the Lublin historian Paweł Kras – *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce*, that despite nearly twenty years from publishing is difficult to be supplemented or corrected in any way.<sup>26</sup> This work puts an end to the domination of Maleczyńska's *Ruch husycki w Czechach i Polsce* and presents the picture of Czech reformers that is completely different from the one in the marxist researcher's publication. What's striking, this difference comes not from the ideological

23 Idem, *Rewolucja husycka*, vol. I-II, Warsaw 2011-2015 (vol. I.: *Przedświt i pierwsze lata*; vol. II.: *Czas chwaly i czas zmięczenia*). As an additional study to the F. Šmahel's study on the subject of the Czech visit to Basel we can consider a brief *Podróż husytów do Bazylei*, Warsaw 2013.

24 J. Drabina, *Rola argumentacji religijnej w walce politycznej w późnośredniowiecznym Wrocławiu*, Kraków 1984; Idem, *Mikołaj Tempelfeld z Brzegu*, „Wrocławskie Studia Teologiczne Colloquium Salutis”, 1970, no 2, p. 83-102; Idem, *Stosunek wrocławskich zakonów do króla Jerzego z Podiebradów*, „Śląskie Studia Historyczno-teologiczne”, 1971, no 4, p. 249-266.

25 W. Iwańczak, *Ludzie miecza, modlitwy, pracy. Trójpodział społeczeństwa w średniowiecznej myśli czeskiej*, Kielce 1995; Idem, *Kościół w Czechach w XV w. – dezintegracja i łączność*, „Przegląd Humanistyczny”, 2006, v. 3, p. 21-30; *Chłopi w średniowiecznym wojsku czeskim*, [in:] *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, ed. S. Bylina and others, Warsaw 2000, p. 241-249.

26 P. Kras, *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce*, Lublin 1998.



confrontation of authors, as in his study Kras is free of any assumptions, but it is a result of Kras's exact research, including the extensive archival one. It seems that with this publication the Hussite question was described completely, it may potentially be continued or confirmed, but we should not expect significantly different conclusions than those presented by a Lublin researcher.<sup>27</sup> Paweł Kras also devotes some attention to the Polish influences in the Hussite Bohemia, discussing the issue of penetration of the Polish priests to the country under interdict, or indicating to the role of Jędrzej Gałka z Dobczyna within the Taborites.<sup>28</sup>

Such ideological questions, on the border of history and theology are also the main area of interest of articles' author, who especially focuses on the inner religious polemics as well as the Hussite-Catholic discussions.

## Around the Hussitism

Apart from researchers directly involved in the studies on the Hussitism, we should also devote attention to those, who refer to the Czech case in mentioned period apart from their main area of studies.

In terms of the political and diplomatic issues, this can be seen mainly in the works of already mentioned Jan Drabina. The contacts between Wrocław and Rome in the second half of the fifteenth century or his interest in the Silesian history of that time – this could not remain without the Hussite echo, though not the Hussitism itself is the most important.<sup>29</sup>

Similar proportions can be noticed in the works of Cracow historians – Janusz Smołucha and Tomasz Graff. The first one devotes a significant

---

27 Before publishing Paweł Kras's work, the analysis of the studies on the Hussite influences in Poland was made by W. Iwańczak, *Polskie badania nad wpływami husyckimi w Polsce*, [in:] *Polskie echa husytyzmu*, ed. S. Bylina, R. Gładkiewicz, Warsaw 1999, p. 20-31. This text, in retrospect, can be considered as a work summarizing the period before the overall monograph by Lublin historian.

28 P. Kras, P. Kras, *Kariera uniwersytecka Andrzeja Gałki z Dobczyna*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, 2000, vol. 48.2, p. 247-264; Idem, *Wycliff Tradition in Fifteenth Century Poland: The Heresy of Andrzej Gałka of Dobczyn*, [in:] *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, v. 5/1, ed. Z.V. David, R. Holeton, Prague 2004, p. 191-210; Idem, P. Kras, *Polish-Czech Relations in the Hussite Period – Religious Aspects*, [in:] *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, v. 4, ed. Z.V. David, R. Holeton, Prague 2002, p. 177-192; Idem, P. Kras, *Polscy duchowni w husyckich Czechach*, [in:] *Polacy w Czechach. Czesi w Polsce. X-XVIII w.*, ed. H. Gmiterek, W. Iwańczak, Lublin 2004, p. 173-191.

29 J. Drabina, *Kontakty Wrocławia z Piusem II i Kurią Rzymską w latach 1458–1464*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 1976, no 3, p. 513-530; J. Drabina, *Wrocławską kapituła katedralna i jej stosunek do politycznych wydarzeń lat 1453-1471*, „Śląskie Studia Historyczno-teologiczne”, 1969, vol. II, p. 183-204.

part of his scientific interest to Pius II in terms of the political and diplomatic actions of this interesting Pope.<sup>30</sup> The clash with the Hussitism was an extremely important factor in shaping the views and opinions of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who visited Bohemia in 1451 and had discussions with George of Poděbrady as well as the leaders of the Taborites. Later, as the Pope, he tried to make use of his Czech experience in a diplomatic game with the king George.

Tomasz Graff concentrates his scientific efforts on the Polish clerical environment, especially the Episcopate. However, the Hussitism appears in his works, especially when the researcher describes the attitude of bishops towards the “Czech case”, mainly at the time of the Council in Basel<sup>31</sup>. The attitude of the intellectual circles towards the Czech reformist ideas was described by Krzysztof Ożóg, whose main interests are intellectual circles in the country of the first Jagiellonians.<sup>32</sup>

From a slightly different angle, Czech traces can be also found in the works of Krzysztof Bracha. He focuses on the preaching activity, often reaching to the Czech pre-Hussite reformers or searching for a spiritual motives, which were popular in religious formations of that time.<sup>33</sup>

30 J. Smolucha, *Polityka kurii rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458-1464)*, Cracow 2008; Idem, *Misje dyplomatyczne legatów apostolskich do Czech w połowie XV w.*, [in:] *Rola komunikacji i przestrzeni w średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych dziejach Czech*, red. A. Paner, W. Iwańczak, Gdańsk 2008, p. 188-203; Idem, *Krąg znajomych i przyjaciół Eneasa Sylwiusza Piccolominiiego z Czech i Polski. Z dziejów humanizmu w Europie Środkowej w XV wieku*, [in:] *Wspólnoty małe i duże w społeczeństwach Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i czasach wczesnonowożytnych*, ed. W. Iwańczak, J. Smolucha, Cracow 2010, p. 83-94; Idem, *Polacy w Czechach na przełomie czasów podiebradzkich i jagiellońskich*, [in:] *Polacy w Czechach. Czesi w Polsce. X-XVIII w.*, ed. H. Gmiterek, W. Iwańczak, Lublin 2004, p. 163-172.

31 T. Graff, *Episkopat monarchii jagiellońskiej w dobie soborów powszechnych XV w.*, Cracow 2008.

32 K. Ożóg, *Uczeni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysława Jagielly (1383-1434)*, Kraków 2004. Author devotes the separate part of this monograph to the attitude of the intellectuals in the Jagiellonian Poland towards the Hussite issue, see Ibidem, p. 299-308.

33 K. Bracha, *Jana Milicza z Kromierzyża krytyka zabobonów i błędów w kuldzie w świetle kwestii „Errores divinatorum compilati contra divinatores et ariolos” (ok. 1370 r.)*, [in:] *Pater familias. Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu Prof. Dr. Ivana Hlaváčka*, ed. J. Hrdina, E. Dolezalové, J. Kahudy, Prague 2002, p. 313-328; Idem, *Verehrung und Verteidigung der Eucharistie. Unterweisung des Volkes in den Predigten von der “Sammlung von Petrus de Mitoslaw” (15. Jh.) und die Prager religiösen Diskussionen*, [in:] *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 5, 1, ed. Z.V. David, D.R. Holeton, Prague 2004, p. 211-236; Idem, *Korespondencja z Władysławem II Jagiello i Kazania Betlejemskie Jan Husa w sprawie Grunwaldu*, „Nowe Studia Grunwaldzkie”, 2015, vol. I, p. 37-50.



Beyond doubt we can say that the Hussitism is permanently present in the studies of Polish historians. Their interests are also complemented by their commitment to the exchange of ideas. Paweł Kras is a regular participant of the series of conferences „The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice”, which results in subsequent volumes collecting the achievements of experts in the subject. Krzysztof Ożóg and Krzysztof Bracha participate in workshops in the Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague, resulting with volumes of „Colloquia Medievalia”. The important and regular meetings of researchers are also held in Poland and this allows to deepen the knowledge also in terms of the Hussite movement. The most important are certainly the conferences initiated by Stanisław Bylina, continued until today by Wojciech Iwańczak and devoted to the various issues of a medieval and early modern Czech Republic and Poland. These conferences, institutionally supported by the Polish Academy of Sciences take place every two years in cooperation with one of the scientific centers in Poland. They bring together not only national, but also Czech researchers and have become the most important field for exchange experiences and results of the studies.

Diversity of the studies is also visible in terms of geography. Apart from the Warsaw center (S. Bylina, W. Iwańczak), researchers of the Hussitism work in different academic centers, such as Lublin (Paweł Kras), Gdańsk (Anna Paner), Cracow (bishop Grzegorz Ryś, Jerzy Grygiel, Paweł F. Nowakowski) or Kielce (W. Iwańczak). Some of researchers, who either deal with the Hussitism directly or apart from their domain, represent Catholic universities (The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Cracow, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Jesuit University Ignatianum in Cracow), but many of them are affiliated with universities and state institutions.

Among various attitudes, the most emotional one can be observed with regard to the trial and death of John Hus. Manifold positions are concentrated around three main attitudes: moderate assessment of the reformer, negative assessment of his public activity and the lack of judgement or discussion over the person itself. This division does not coincide with the religious affiliation, although this factor sometimes plays a significant role in supporting the opinions. Less emotional attitude may be observed towards the Hussite movement as such. It's not about the lack of interest on this subject. The history of the Hussites as well as the Hussite theology are studied by Polish historians. What's more, the Hussitism has gained popularity in the pop-culture thanks to the novels from the medieval fantasy genre by Andrzej Sapkowski. His trilogy: *Narrenturm*, *Boży*

*Bojownicy* (TN: *Warriors of God*), *Lux Perpetua* was called „the Hussite trilogy”. The relative popularity and recognition of this phenomenon, did not result, however, in so vivid discussion as the one related to Hus.

Polish studies are based on a regular contacts with Czech researchers and with a use of the leading, for obvious reasons, Czech scientific literature on the subject. Nevertheless, they do have their own dynamics, which is not always reflected in international literature – mainly due to the certain unavailability of the Polish language.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BARTOŠ František M.. 1925. *Literární činnost M. Jakoubka ze Stříbra*. Praha: Česká akademie věd a umění.
- BARTOŠ František M. 1928. *Literární M. Jana Rokycany, M. Jana Příbrama, M. Petra Payna*. Praha: Česká akademie věd a umění.
- BARTOŠ František M. 1931. *Husitství a cizina*. Praha: Čin.
- BARTOŠ František M. 1939. „Martin Lupáč a jeho spisovatelské dílo”. *Reformační sborník*. 8: 115-140.
- BRACHA Krzysztof. 2002. *Jana Milicza z Kromierzyża krytyka zabobonów i błędów w kuldzie w świetle kwestii “Errores divinatorum compilati contra divinatores et ariolos” (ok. 1370 r.)*, In *Pater familias. Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu Prof. Dr. Ivana Hlaváčka*, J. Hrdina, E. Dolezalové, J. Kahudy (ed.), 313-328. Praha: Scriptorium.
- BRACHA Krzysztof. 2004. *Verehrung und Verteidigung der Eucharistie. Unterweisung des Volkes in den Predigten von der “Sammlung von Petrus de Miłostaw” (15. Jh.) und die Prager religiösen Diskussionen*, In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, v. 5, t. 1, . V. David, D.R. Holeton (ed.), 211-236. Praha: Academy of the Sciences of the Czech Republic.
- BRACHA Krzysztof. 2015. „Korespondencja z Władysławem II Jagiełło i Kazania Betlejemskie Jan Husa w sprawie Grunwaldu”. *Nowe Studia Grunwaldzkie*. 1: 37-50.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 1962. „Maciej z Legnicy, śląski propagator pism Konrada Waldhausena”. *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*. 3-4: 334-344.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 1966. *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausena na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 1987. „Czeska myśl reformatorska drugiej połowy XIV wieku i jej echa na Śląsku”. *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL*. 21/3-4: 63-83.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 1991. *Ruchy heretyckie w średniowieczu. Studia*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum.

- BYLINA Stanisław. 1996. *Les disputes hussites sur le purgatoire*, In *In memoriam Josefa Mačá (1922-1991)*, M. Polívka, F. Šmahel (red.), 175-186. Praha: Akademia věd České Republiky.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 2002. *La dévotion nouvelle et la probléme de la communion fréquente en Europe centrale aux XIVe-XVe siècles*, In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, v. 4, Z.V. David, D.R. Holeton (red.), 31-42. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic .
- BYLINA Stanisław. 2005. *Na skraju lewicy husyckiej*. Warszawa: Neriton.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 2007. *Hussitica*. Warszawa: IH PAN.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 2010. *Husyckie poutě na hory i ich uczestnicy*, In *Wspólnoty male i duze w społeczeństwach Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*, W. Iwańczak, J. Smołucha (red.), 337-352. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 2011-2015. *Rewolucja husycka*, t. I-II. Warszawa: IH PAN. Neriton.
- BYLINA Stanisław. 2013. *Podróż husytów do Bazylei*. Warszawa: IH PAN.
- Die Geschichtsschreiber der hussitischen Bewegung*. 1865-1866. K. Höfler (ed.), v. I-III. Wien: Kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Documenta Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1408 motas*. 1869. F. Palacký (ed.). Pragae: Fridericus Tempisky.
- DRABINA Jan. 1969. „Wrocławska kapituła katedralna i jej stosunek do politycznych wydarzeń lat 1453–1471”. *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-teologiczne*. 2: 183-204.
- DRABINA Jan. 1970. „Mikołaj Tempelfeld z Brzegu”. *Wrocławskie Studia Teologiczne Colloquium Salutis*. 2: 83-102.
- DRABINA Jan. 1971. „Stosunek wrocławskich zakonów do króla Jerzego z Podiebradów”. *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-teologiczne*. 4: 249-266.
- DRABINA Jan. 1976. „Kontakty Wrocławia z Piusem II i Kurią Rzymską w latach 1458–1464”. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3.: 513-530.
- DRABINA Jan. 1984. *Rola argumentacji religijnej w walce politycznej w późnośredniowiecznym Wrocławiu*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński.
- GOLL Jaroslav. 1916. *Chelčický a Jednota w XV. století*, K. Krofta (red.). Praha: Historický klub.
- GRAFF Tomasz. 2008. *Episkopat monarchii jagiellońskiej w dobie soborów powszechnych XV w*. Kraków: Societas Vistulana.
- GRYGIEL Jerzy. 1988. *Życie i działalność Zygmunta Korybutowicza*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź: Ossolineum.
- GRYGIEL Jerzy. 2008. *Jan Hus – męczennik czy heretyk?*, In *Historia vero testis temporum. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, J. Smołucha, A. Waśko, T. Graff, P.F. Nowakowski (red.), 581-592. Kraków: Societas Vistulana.

- GRYGIEL Jerzy. 2016. *Zygmunt Korybutowicz. Litewski książę w husyckich Czechach*. Kraków: Avalon.
- HUS Jan. 2007. *O Kościele*, K. Moskal (tran.). Lublin 2007.
- IWAŃCZAK Wojciech. 1995. *Ludzie miecza, modlitwy, pracy. Trójpodział społeczeństwa w średniowiecznej myśli czeskiej*. Kielce: WSP im. Jana Kochanowskiego.
- IWAŃCZAK Wojciech. 1999. *Polskie badania nad wpływami husyckimi w Polsce*, In *Polskie echa husytyzmu*, S. Bylina, R. Gładkiewicz (red.), 20-31. Warszawa: IH PAN.
- IWAŃCZAK Wojciech. 2006. „Kościół w Czechach w XV w. – dezintegracja i łączność”. *Przegląd Humanistyczny*. 3: 21-30.
- IWAŃCZAK Wojciech. 2000. *Chłopi w średniowiecznym wojsku czeskim*, In *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, S. Bylina et al. (red.), 241-249. Warszawa: Semper.
- KRAS Paweł. 1998. *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce*. Lublin: TN KUL.
- KRAS Paweł. 2000. „Kariera uniwersytecka Andrzeja Galki z Dobczyna”. *Roczniki Humanistyczne*. 48/2: 247-264.
- KRAS Paweł. 2002. *Polish-Czech Relations in the Hussite Period – Religious Aspects*, In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, v. 4, Z.V. David, R. Holeton (ed.), 177-192. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.
- KRAS Paweł. 2004. *Wycliff Tradition in Fifteenth Century Poland: The Heresy of Andrzej Galka of Dobczyn*, In *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, v. 5/1, Z.V. David, R. Holeton (red.), 191-210. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.
- KRAS Paweł. 2004. *Polscy duchowni w husyckich Czechach*, In *Polacy w Czechach. Czesi w Polsce. X-XVIII w.*, H. Gmiterek, W. Iwańczak (red.), 173-191. Lublin: UMCS.
- Kronika bardzo piękna o Janie Žižce, dworzaninie króla Wacława*. 2000. A. Paner (ed.), Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku, Fundacja Ochrony Zabytków.
- MALECZYŃSKA Ewa. 1959. *Ruch husycki w Czechach i w Polsce*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- MOSKAL Krzysztof. 2003. „Aby lud był jeden...” *Eklezjologia Jana Husa w traktacie De Ecclesia*. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL.
- OŻÓG Krzysztof. 2004. *Uczeni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegawęńskiej i Władysława Jagiełły (1383-1434)*. Kraków: PAU.
- PANER Anna. 2002. *Jan Hus*. Kraków: WAM.
- PANER Anna. 2002. *Jan Žižka z Trocnova*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- PANER Anna. 2004. *Luksenburgowie w Czechach. Historia polityczna ziem czeskich w latach 1310-1437*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.

- PEKAŘ Josef. 1927-1933. *Žižka a jeho doba*, t. I-IV. Praha: Vesmír.
- POSPÍŠIL Václav. 2015. „K problematice recepcje dzieła Paul de Vooghta (1900-1983) o Janu Husovi v českém prostředí”. *Studia Oecumenica* 15: 167-180.
- RECHOWICZ Marian. 1965. „Jan Hus”. *Tygodnik Powszechny* 65.
- RYŚ Grzegorz. 2000. *Jan Hus wobec kryzysu Kościoła doby wielkiej schizmy*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PAT.
- SMOŁUCHA Janusz. 2004. *Polacy w Czechach na przelomie czasów podiebradzkich i jagiellońskich*, In *Polacy w Czechach. Czesi w Polsce. X-XVIII w.*, H. Gmiterek, W. Iwańczak (ed.), 163-172. Lublin: UMCS.
- SMOŁUCHA Janusz. 2008. *Polityka kurii rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458-1464)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka.
- SMOŁUCHA Janusz. 2008. *Misje dyplomatyczne legatów apostołskich do Czech w połowie XV w.*, In *Rola komunikacji i przestrzeni w średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych dziejach Czech*, A. Paner, W. Iwańczak (ed.), 188-203. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- SMOŁUCHA Janusz. 2010. *Krąg znajomych i przyjaciół Eneasza Sylwiusza Piccolominiiego z Czech i Polski. Z dziejów humanizmu w Europie Środkowej w XV wieku*, In *Wspólnoty małe i duże w społeczeństwach Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i czasach wczesnonowożytnych*, W. Iwańczak, J. Smołucha (ed.), 83-94. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka.
- SWIEŻAWSKI Stefan. 1974-1983. *Dzieje filozofii europejskiej XV wieku*, t. I-VI. Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej.
- SWIEŻAWSKI Stefan. 1986. „Jan Hus – heretyk czy prekursor Vaticanum II”. *Tygodnik Powszechny* 6.
- SWIEŻAWSKI Stefan. 2015. „Jan Hus – heretyk czy prekursor Vaticanum II”. *Kanon*. Wydanie specjalne *Tygodnika Powszechnego*. 001: 72-74.
- SWIEŻAWSKI Stefan. 2015. *Eklezjologia późnośredniowieczna na rozdrożu*. Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne.
- URBÁNEK Rudolf. 1915-1962. *České dějiny*, d. III: *Věk poděbradský*, v. 1-4. Praha: Nakl. Jan Laichter.
- Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens und seiner Nachbarländer im zeitalter Georg's von Podiebrad (1450-1471)*. 1860. F. Palacký (ed.). Wien: Kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges in den Jahren 1419-1436*. 1873. F. Palacký (ed.), v. I-II. Prag: Friedrich Tempsky.