

Foreign Intruders

Brill Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies

Editor

Robert A. Maryks (*Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań*)

Editorial Board

Ariane Boltanski (*Université Rennes 2*)

Carlos Eire (*Yale University*)

Alison Fleming (*Winston-Salem State University*)

Paul Grendler (*University of Toronto, emeritus*)

Stephen Schloesser, S.J. (*Loyola University Chicago*)

The *Brill Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies* series invites leading scholars in Jesuit studies to reflect on their fields of expertise. It complements the related Brill publications: the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, the *Jesuit Studies* book series, and the *Jesuit Historiography Online*.

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/rpjss

Foreign Intruders

*Anti-Jesuit Narratives in Poland–Lithuania during the
Reigns of Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III, 1576–1632*

By

Robert Aleksander Maryks
Michał E. Nowakowski



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.

Funding: Polish National Agency for Academic Exchange (NAWA) under the “Polish Returns 2021” grant (BPN/PPO/2021/1/00012) and Polish National Science Centre (NCN) for research component (2022/01/1/HS2/00017). Start Year of funding: 2022.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2025918035>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2589-7446

ISBN 978-90-04-72700-7 (paperback)

ISBN 978-90-04-72801-1 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004728011

Copyright 2026 by Robert Aleksander Maryks and Michał E. Nowakowski.

Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Plantijnstraat 2, 2321 JC Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schönningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

For more information: info@brill.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

- Introduction 1
Robert Aleksander Maryks and Michał E. Nowakowski
- 1 Following the Pope's Kitchen: Jakub Niemojewski and the Rise of Anti-Jesuit Sentiment in Poland–Lithuania 19
Robert Aleksander Maryks
- 2 A Man Who Defied the Society of Jesus: Andrzej Wolan and the First Clash between the Vilnius Jesuits and Calvinists 30
Michał E. Nowakowski
- 3 Protestant Vilnius beyond Wolan: The “Apologeticus” as the First Anti-Jesuit Poetry 49
Michał E. Nowakowski
- 4 Beyond the Corruption of the Youth
The Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima (1590) and the Emergence of Political Opposition to the Jesuits in Poland–Lithuania 55
Michał E. Nowakowski
- 5 “Prawda i szczyrość katolicka” [The truth and Catholic integrity]
Anti-Jesuit Literature of the Polish Brethren 66
Robert Aleksander Maryks
- 6 Anti-Jesuit Literature during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz (1606–1607) 75
Robert Aleksander Maryks
- 7 “Gdzie tylko jezuita wejdą, tam wnet rozruchy i niepokoje wszczynają”
[Wherever Jesuits enter, disturbances and unrest soon arise]
Anti-Jesuit Pamphlets and Polemics in Toruń (1614–1616) 104
Robert Aleksander Maryks
- 8 The *Monita privata*: A Conspiratorial Parody Unveiling Jesuit Intrigues for Domination 124
Robert Aleksander Maryks

9	Money, Monopoly, and Youth Corruption <i>Jan Brożek's Gratis (1625) and the Conflict between the Society of Jesus and the Kraków Academy</i>	139
	<i>Michał E. Nowakowski</i>	
	Conclusion	155
	<i>Robert Aleksander Maryks and Michał E. Nowakowski</i>	
	Bibliography	159
	Index	175

Introduction

Robert Aleksander Maryks and Michał E. Nowakowski

A diligent and impartial examination of the role that the order of the Society of Jesus played in the cultural and political history of Poland is still awaiting its historian. Overly one-sided are both the theses about the disastrous influence of the order in Polish history, such as “Did the Jesuits ruin Poland,” and the apologetic, uncritical, and unacademic arguments of its defenders.¹



This assessment by Polish historian Henryk Barycz (1901–1994) illustrates well the challenges in studying the Jesuits’ multifaceted contributions to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, which have become a topic of intense ideological debate over the last two centuries.

Although Barycz’s assessment, expressed in 1934, referred to the historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,² it is equally applicable

-
- 1 “Sumienne i bezstronne rozpatrzenie roli, jaką zakon Towarzystwa Jezusowego odegrał w dziejach kulturalnych i politycznych Polski, czeka wciąż jeszcze na swego dziejopisa. Zbyt jednostronne są zarówno tezy o zgubnym wpływie zakonu w dziejach Polski w rodzaju: ‘Czy jezuita zgubili Polskę,’ jak również apologetyczne, niekrytyczne i nienaukowe wywody jego obrońców.” See Henryk Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio: Studiów nad polemiką antyjezuicką w Polsce część I* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, 1934), 1.
 - 2 See, among others, Joachim Lelewel, “Uwagi nad dziejami Polski i ludu jej,” in Lelewel, *Polska: Dzieje i rzeczy jej rozpatrywane* (Poznań: J. K. Żupański, 1855), 3:28–469, here 299–301, 308; Jędrzej Moraczewski, *Jezuici w Polsce: Rys historyczny* (Paris: L. Martinet, 1861); Stanisław Załęski, *Czy jezuita zgubili Polskę?* (Lviv: Redakcja “Przeglądu lwowskiego,” 1872); Władysław Smoleński, *Wiara w życiu społeczeństwa polskiego epoki jezuickiej: Studium historyczne* (Warsaw: K. Kowalewski, 1883); Stanisław Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, 5 vols. (Lviv: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1900–1906); Waclaw Sobieski, *Nienawiść wyznaniowa tłumów za rządów Zygmunta III* (Warsaw: S. Demby, 1902); Sobieski, “Rola jezuitów w dziejach Rzplitej Polskiej: Kilka zastrzeżeń,” in Sobieski, *Szkice historyczne* (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1904), 105–85. Cf. Andrzej Siwek, “Spory o jezuitów w polskiej historiografii, 1795–1918,” *Studia historyczne* 34, no. 4 (1991): 551–68; Sławomir Zieliński, “Jezuici a reformacja w syntezach szkoły Lelewelowskiej: Lelewel, Moraczewski i Schmitt,” *Nasza przeszłość* 134 (2020):

to post-Second World War scholarship, including his own.³ During this period, geopolitical circumstances and the continuation of earlier research trends led to potentially skewed portrayals of the Society of Jesus in Poland–Lithuania as a papal institution, primarily established to counter the Protestant Reformation.⁴ As a result, these studies overemphasized the Jesuits' political activities while neglecting their contributions to local culture, science, spirituality, and education.⁵ This, in turn, has prompted reactions from some Catholic historians, including Jesuit scholars, who argued for a more favorable view of the Society's history.⁶

209–32; Marcelli Kosman and Andrea Mariani, “Jesuits in the Early Modern Polish–Lithuanian State: Recent Trends and Research Directions,” *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 86 (2017): 145–208, here 153–58.

- 3 For example, Henryk Barycz, “Wstęp,” in Jan Brożek, *Wybór pism*, ed. Henryk Barycz (Warsaw: PWN, 1956), 5–119, here 79–80.
- 4 Interestingly, this myth originated back in the sixteenth century among the Jesuits themselves. See Robert Aleksander Maryks, “Protestantism and Early Jesuits,” in *Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Africa*, ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks and Festo Mkenka (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 3–10.
- 5 For example, Kazimierz Piwarski, “Znaczenie i rola kontrreformacji w Polsce,” in *Pierwsza konferencja metodologiczna historyków polskich: Przemówienia, referaty, dyskusja*, ed. Stanisław Herbst, Witold Kula, and Tadeusz Manteuffel, 2 vols. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1953), 1:509–14; Piwarski, “Sobór trydencki i jezuita” and Janusz Tazbir, “Społeczno-polityczna rola jezuitów w Polsce (1565–1660),” in *Szkice z dziejów papieżstwa*, ed. Kazimierz Piwarski (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1958), 45–146; Tazbir, “Wstęp,” in *Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce (1578–1625): Antologia*, ed. Janusz Tazbir, trans. Andrzej Kempfi (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963), 5–33; Łukasz Kurdybacha, “Rola reformacji i kontrreformacji w dziejach oświaty,” in *Historia wychowania*, ed. Łukasz Kurdybacha, 2 vols. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967), 1:356–67. Cf. an analysis of this scholarship by Krzysztof Maliszewski, “Mity o edukacji Towarzystwa Jezusowego,” *Biuletyn historii wychowania* 13/14 (2001): 7–12.
- 6 For example, Mieczysław Bednarz, “Jezuita a religijność polska (1564–1964),” *Nasza przeszłość* 20 (1964): 149–224; Kazimierz Drzymala, *Ks. Stanisław Grodzicki s.j.* (Kraków: WAM, 1973); Bronisław Natoński, “Humanizm jezuicki i teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna w XVII i XVIII wieku: Nauczanie i piśmiennictwo,” in *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Od odrodzenia do oświecenia*, part 1, *Teologia humanistyczna*, ed. Marian Rechowicz (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1975), 87–219, here 125–35; Ludwik Piechnik, “Nowe elementy wniesione przez jezuitów do szkolnictwa polskiego w XVI wieku,” *Collectanea theologica* 46, no. 1 (1976): 67–77; Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, vol. 1, *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej (1570–1599)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1984), 169–71, 176, 180–83. Cf. an analysis of the Jesuit historiography by Marcelli Kosman, “Jezuitów polskich obraz własny: Badania ostatniego stulecia,” *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 43 (1999): 213–27, and Krzysztof Fordoński and Piotr Urbański, “Jesuit Culture in Poland and Lithuania, 1564–1773,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5, no. 3 (2018): 341–51, https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/5/3/article-p341_341.xml (accessed April 16, 2025).

Despite commendable and well-balanced contributions in the last two decades from both Jesuit and, increasingly, non-Jesuit historians,⁷ some of the earlier apologetic perspective remains influential in Polish historiography.⁸ Therefore, a reevaluation of the Jesuits' role is imperative, given the Society's multifaceted impact on the Commonwealth's entire history. Since the Commonwealth's establishment in 1569, the Jesuits influenced virtually all areas of its public life, a legacy that continued even after the state's partitions by Russia, Prussia, and Austria (1772, 1793, 1795) and the Society's global papal suppression in 1773.⁹ Our book, published in the Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies series, aims to revisit and introduce to international readers key aspects of Jesuit history in the early modern Commonwealth, focusing particularly on the complexities surrounding anti-Jesuit sentiment that we

-
- 7 See, among others, Magdalena Komorowska, *Prolegomena do edycji dzieł Piotra Skargi* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ, 2012); *Jėzuitai Lietuvoje (1608–2008): Gyvenimas, veikla, paveldas*, ed. Neringa Markauskaitė (Vilnius: Lietuvos Nacionalinis Muziejus, 2012); Andrzej Paweł Bieś, "Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach polskich: Struktury organizacyjne oraz edukacyjno-oświatowe i pastoralne formy aktywności," *Studia paedagogica ignatiana* 17 (2014): 57–87; Marek Ingot, "The Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire (1772–1820) and the Restoration of the Order," in *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jonathan Wright (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 67–82; Piotr Urbański, "Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621) i wpływ jego myśli na rozwój kulturowych oraz religijnych idei w Rzeczypospolitej," in *Formowanie kultury katolickiej w dobie potrydenckiej: Powszechność i narodowość katolicyzmu polskiego*, ed. Justyna Dąbkowska-Kujko (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016), 181–221; and Jakub Niedźwiedz, "Inkultuacja szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce i na Litwie w XVI–XVIII wieku," in *Formowanie kultury katolickiej w dobie potrydenckiej*, ed. Justyna Dąbkowska-Kujko, special issue of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5, no. 3 (2018): 222–48, <https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/5/3/jjs.5.issue-3.xml> (accessed April 16, 2025); Liudas Jovaiša, "Lietuvos jėzuitų misiją trajektorijos," in *Vieno pasaulio negana*, ed. Brigita Zorkienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 2019), 18–26; Andrea Mariani, "Wspólnota jezuitów w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów: Między tradycją a zmianą," *Zapiski historyczne* 84, no. 4 (2019): 123–77; Mariani, "The Contribution of the Society of Jesus to the Political Culture of Lithuanian Elites," *Open Political Science* 2 (2019): 153–73.
- 8 For example, Roman Darowski, "Aktualność ks. Piotra Skargi (1536–1612)," in *Ks. Piotr Skarga, s.J. (1536–1612): Życie i dziedzictwo*, ed. Roman Darowski and Stanisław Ziemiański (Kraków: WAM–Ignatianum, 2012), 7–22; Andrzej Bruzdziński, "Czy ksiądz Piotr Skarga wdawał się w politykę?: Wokół sporu o polityczne zaangażowanie ks. Piotra Skargi s.J.," *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis: Folia litteraria polonica* 21 (2013): 43–66.
- 9 On the Jesuits' influence in Poland–Lithuania, see Stanisław Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w latach 1564–1668: Działalność religijna, społeczno-kulturalna i polityczna* (Kraków: WAM, 1996). On the Society's survival within the Russian empire, see Marek Ingot, *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo (1772–1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997); Ingot, "Society of Jesus."

see as a non-negligible lens through which the history of the Society of Jesus should be examined.



The Jesuits arrived in Poland–Lithuania relatively late, in 1564, and were introduced to Braniewo (Braunsberg) in Royal Prussia (part of the Kingdom of Poland) by the influential cardinal Stanisław Hosius (1504–1579), establishing their presence prior to Stephen Báthory's reign (1533–1586, r.1576–1586). The Society's earlier attempts to establish a school in Kraków, the Polish capital, had been unsuccessful.¹⁰ However, within two decades of their arrival, the Jesuits had established a presence in twelve of the Commonwealth's cities, including Kraków. By the 1640s, they had around sixty houses and over 1,400 members.¹¹ The Jesuits' rapid expansion corresponded with a noticeable increase in their influence on society.

Much of this influence arose from the widespread popularity of Jesuit schools, which provided a modern, high-quality education at no cost.¹² By 1573, the Jesuits had established schools in five cities across the Commonwealth. Particularly important were the colleges in Poznań in Greater Poland (founded in 1571) and in Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (founded in 1569).¹³ In 1579, King Báthory and Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585, r.1572–1585) elevated the Vilnius college to the status of a university, making it the second university in the Commonwealth and the sole institution of its kind in Lithuania. Similar attempts to establish a university in Poznań in the 1580s, 1610s, and 1670s/80s ultimately failed.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the number of Jesuit schools steadily grew, and numerous nobles (*szlachta*), including many non-Catholics, eagerly sent their sons to be educated by the Society. As a result, the

10 Jan Korewa, "Sprowadzenie jezuitów do Polski," *Nasza przeszłość* 20 (1964): 13–49; Bronisław Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku* (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum–WAM, 2002), 23–32.

11 Bieś, "Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego," 58–60; Mariani, "Wspólnota jezuitów w Rzeczypospolitej," 134, 144–45.

12 On the origins of the Jesuit educational apostolate, see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 200–42.

13 Ludwik Piechnik, "Działalność jezuitów na polu szkolnictwa w Poznaniu w XVI w.," *Nasza przeszłość* 30 (1969): 171–210; Andrius Bendžius, Jonas Grigonis, and Jonas Kubilius, eds., *Vilniaus Universiteto istorija*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla Mokslas, 1976); Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*; Paulius Rabikauskas, *Vilniaus akademija ir Lietuvos jėzuitai*, ed. Liudas Jovaiša (Vilnius: Aidai, 2002).

14 Ludwik Grzebień, ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy (1564–1995)* (Kraków: Ignatianum–WAM, 2004), 535.

Jesuits became the foremost educators of the country's political elite for the next two centuries. In 1608, the Polish and Lithuanian provinces had a total of fifteen schools, and by the mid-eighteenth century, the four Jesuit provinces of the Commonwealth—Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, Lithuania, and Masovia—boasted a Jesuit educational network of forty-nine institutions.¹⁵

In addition to their impact on education, the Jesuits played a substantial role in shaping the religious makeup of Poland–Lithuania. Their arrival coincided with the advance of the Protestant Reformation, which—despite facing major obstacles—was gaining traction among both the urban population and the political elite.¹⁶ In 1573, the nobles of the Commonwealth adopted the Warsaw Confederation, an unprecedented act aimed at guaranteeing religious peace among the nobility, primarily in response to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572. It was intended to provide essential legal protections for those “differing in faith,” including Protestants. However, it is important to recognize that the Confederation was an agreement among nobles, albeit later incorporated into the royal coronation oath, as discussed below, rather than a binding law enforced by robust institutions, and that from the outset it was heavily contested by the Catholic hierarchy. Therefore, while in twentieth-century scholarship, Poland–Lithuania developed a reputation for unique religious toleration, the legal framework of the Confederation proved insufficient in preventing subsequent discrimination.¹⁷

In the following years, the Jesuits intensified their efforts to counter Protestantism through citywide sermons across the Commonwealth, advocacy at the royal court, persuading Protestant and Eastern Orthodox magnates to

15 Bieś, “Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego,” 60–62.

16 Maciej Ptaszyński, “The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth,” in *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*, ed. Howard Louthan and Graeme Murrison (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 40–67; Kazimierz Bem, *Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth 1548–1648: The Churches and the Faithful* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), esp. 23–35.

17 On the Warsaw Confederation and the opposing reaction to it, see, among others, Mirosław Korolko, “Klejnot swobodnego sumienia”: *Polemika wokół konfederacji warszawskiej w latach 1573–1658* (Warsaw: Pax, 1974); Krzysztof Obremski, “Konfederacja warszawska, ksiądz Piotr Skarga i mowa podszyta nienawiścią,” *Terminus* 26, no. 1 (2013): 51–80; Karol Łopatecki, “Konfederacja generalna warszawska: Proces uchwalenia i jej legitymizacja,” Tomasz Kempa, “Konfederacja warszawska w trzech bezkrólewicach poprzedzających rządy kolejnych monarchów z dynastii Wazów w Rzeczypospolitej,” and Dorota Gregorowicz, “*Impietas gravissima*: The Warsaw Confederation in the Papal Diplomacy's Discourse in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century,” *Roczniki humanistyczne* 71, no. 2 (2023): 23–108; Maciej Ptaszyński, “Nietolerancyjna konfederacja warszawska: O znaczeniu swobód wyznaniowych w 1573 roku,” *Kwartalnik historyczny* 131, no. 2 (2024): 215–43. Cf. esp. Janusz Tazbir, *A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: The Kościuszko Foundation, 1973).

convert to Catholicism, adjustments to their school curricula, and the prolific production of polemical texts.¹⁸ Unsurprisingly, these efforts, along with the Society's growing influence, prestige, and wealth, provoked a strong reaction from its opponents, both Protestants and moderate Catholics, which was often expressed in anti-Jesuit literature.¹⁹ We understand this literature as a corpus of texts across various genres, primarily aimed at discrediting the Society of Jesus as an institution. In doing so, it often employed allegations against specific members to exemplify what was portrayed as systemic flaws within the Society—the ultimate target, however, remained the order itself.

The development of anti-Jesuitism in Poland–Lithuania closely parallels similar polemics in Western Europe. Wherever the Society gained social and political influence, anti-Jesuit literature emerged, typically authored by both Protestants and Catholics. In the early modern period, and later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, literary attacks on the Society were especially prolific in France. These attacks were connected, among other issues, to the order's litigation with the University of Paris (as seen in works by Étienne Pasquier [1529–1615] and Antoine Arnauld the Elder [1560–1619]); accusations of Jesuit involvement in the assassination of Henry IV (r.1589–1610) (such as the pamphlet *Anti-Coton* [1610], targeting Henry's Jesuit confessor, Pierre Coton [1564–1626]); and the controversy surrounding *De rege et regis institutione* (On the king and the education of the king; [1599]) by Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1536–1624). Additionally, their conflict with the Jansenists, notably Antoine Arnauld the Younger (1612–1694) and Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), further fueled these polemics.²⁰

18 See, for example, Natoński, *Humanizm jezuicki*; Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, esp. 45–62.

19 On anti-Jesuit literature in Poland–Lithuania, see Tazbir, “Wstęp,” 5–33; Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii UW w Białymstoku, 1988); Tazbir, “Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce,” in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, ed. Ludwik Grzebień and Stanisław Obirek (Kraków: WAM, 1993), 311–33; Robert Aleksander Maryks, “‘Idźcież już precz!’ [Come on, get out already!]: The Origins and Development of the Earliest Anti-Jesuit Literature in the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania, 1577–1614,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 26–44, https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/10/1/article-p26_004.xml (accessed September 30, 2024).

20 Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), esp. 159–72; Luce Giard, “*Le Catéchisme des jésuites d'Étienne Pasquier, une attaque en règle*”; Frédéric Gabriel, “An tyrannum opprimere fas sit?: Construction d'un lieu commun; La réception française du *De Rege et regis institutione* de Juan de Mariana (Tolède, 1599)”; and Jean-Pascal Gay, “Le jésuite improbable: Remarques sur la mise en place du mythe du jésuite corrompateur de la morale en France à l'époque moderne,” in *Les antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, ed. Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire (Rennes: Presses universitaires

In various contexts, similarly harsh criticisms of the Jesuits emerged across different regions of Europe. Within the Holy Roman Empire, Dutch Jesuit Peter Canisius (1521–1597), who led the Society's efforts to restore Catholic influence in German territories, along with his confrères, became frequent targets of the Protestant writers.²¹ In the Netherlands, the Jesuits were often accused of spying for the Spanish Habsburgs, involvement in the assassination of stadtholder William of Orange (1533–1584), and attempting to kill his son, Maurice (1567–1625).²² In England, they were associated with the plots against the lives of Elizabeth I (1533–1603, r.1558–1603) and James I (1566–1625, r.1603–1625), including the Gunpowder Plot (1605), which sparked the Oath of Allegiance controversy.²³

In Catholic Spain, the Society's primary adversaries were the Dominicans, as demonstrated in the so-called *De auxiliis* controversy.²⁴ In 1606, the

de Rennes, 2010), 73–90, 241–63, 305–27; Jotham Parsons, "Historical Introduction," in Étienne Pasquier, *The Jesuits' Catechism or Their Doctrine Examined* (1602), ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jotham Parsons, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Leiden: Brill, 2021), xii–xxxiv; Andrew McKenzie-McHarg, "Early Modern Variations on the Theme of Complicity: How Jesuits Came to Be Linked with Regicide," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 63–82, here 69–76, 78–81, https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/10/1/article-p63_006.xml (accessed April 16, 2025). For the later polemic, see Michel Leroy, *Le mythe jésuite: De Béranger à Michelet* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1992); Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

- 21 Bernard Vogler, "Les jésuites vus par les protestants rhénans (1560–1620)," in Fabre and Maire, *Les antijésuites*, 455–68. See also Robert Aleksander Maryks, "Canisius, Peter," in *Encyclopedia of Jesuit Translation Culture in Poland–Lithuania, 1564–1820* [henceforth *EJTC*], ed. Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee and Robert Aleksander Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2025), https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_EJTC_microfq021 (accessed April 19, 2025).
- 22 Gerrit vanden Bosch, "L'image des jésuites dans la République des Provinces-Unies au Siècle d'or: Cinquième colonne ou mythe entretenu?," in Fabre and Maire, *Les antijésuites*, 429–53; Bosch, "Jesuits in the Low Countries (1542–1773): A Historiographical Essay," in *Jesuit Historiography Online*, ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_192551 (accessed April 16, 2025).
- 23 Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. 322–32; Alexandra Walsham, "This New Army of Satan: The Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England," in *Moral Panics, the Media, and the Law in Early Modern England*, ed. David Lemmings and Claire Walker (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 41–62; McKenzie-McHarg, "Early Modern Variations," 66–69, 76–79; James E. Kelly, "The Jesuit English Mission," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, ed. Ines G. Županov (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 293–317.
- 24 R. J. Matava, "A Sketch of the Controversy 'de auxiliis,'" *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 7, no. 3 (2020): 417–46, https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/7/3/article-p417_417.xml (accessed April 16, 2025).

Republic of Venice, in collaboration with Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) and his co-conspirators, including the English ambassador Henry Wotton (1568–1639), expelled the Society for over five decades while producing a considerable body of anti-Jesuit literature.²⁵ In Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory (1573–1613, r.1586–1598), nephew of the Polish king, was compelled by the Calvinist parliament to banish the Jesuits in order to ascend to the throne, though he reinstated them within two years.²⁶ Against this broader backdrop, the disputes with the Jesuits in Poland–Lithuania, despite their unique characteristics, appear thus more comprehensible.

The Jesuits arrived in Poland–Lithuania during a period of profound political and religious transformations. These were the final years of King Sigismund II Augustus's reign (1548–72), the last monarch of the Lithuanian Jagiellonian dynasty. Before his death, Sigismund secured a closer union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—despite opposition from the latter—through the establishment of a parliamentary union known as the Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) in 1569.²⁷ After the death of the heirless king, the Commonwealth transitioned to an elective monarchy (although Jagiellonian rule had been partially elective as well), where the Polish–Lithuanian parliament (Sejm)—comprising the lower house, the senate, and the monarch—played a central role. The monarch was elected for life by a popular vote among the entire nobility (the *viritim* election). This shift

-
- 25 Pietro Pirri, *L'Interdetto di Venezia del 1606 e i Gesuiti: Silloge di documenti con introduzione* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1959; Mario Zanardi, ed., *I gesuiti e Venezia: Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù; Atti del convegno di studi, Venezia, 2–5 ottobre 1990* (Padua: Giunta Regionale del Veneto–Gregoriana Libreria, 1994); Sylvio Hermann de Franceschi, “Antijésuitisme, modernité politique et juridictionnalisme vénétien,” in Fabre and Maire, *Les antijésuites*, 265–90; Filippo de Vivo, *Patrizi, Informatori, Barbieri: Politica e Comunicazione a Venezia nella Prima Età Moderna* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2012); Sofia Canzona and Luigi Alessandro Cappelletti, eds., “Nuovi documenti sul conflitto dell’Interdetto (1606–7): Un inedito dialogo satirico in veneziano,” *Quaderni veneti* 7 (2018): 83–111; Sabina Pavone, “The Deceivers Deceived: How a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Anti-Jesuit Circle Duped a Jesuit Rector,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 45–62, https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/10/1/article-p45_005.xml (accessed April 16, 2025).
- 26 Béla Vilmos Mihalik, *The Ever-Reviving Phoenix: Jesuits in Hungary* (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 20–21, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004697683_002 (accessed April 16, 2025).
- 27 Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland–Lithuania*, vol. 1, *The Making of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 456–94. On Sigismund August, see Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August: Król polski i wielki książę litewski 1520–1562* (Warsaw: Krupski i S-ka, 1996).

expanded the already substantial prerogatives of the nobility, which allowed them to condition the election of the king on the granting of new privileges.²⁸

Indeed, the first elected king, Henry (1551–1589, r.1573–1575) of the French Valois-Angoulême dynasty, who later became Henry III of France (r.1574–1589), faced urgent demands from the nobility. Although he belonged to the staunchly Catholic faction and was widely believed to have been involved in planning the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), the Commonwealth's nobles compelled him to accept—albeit reluctantly and ambiguously—a set of laws that guaranteed their privileges. These laws, known as the Henrician Articles (*Articuli Henriciani*), included the Warsaw Confederation, which aimed at securing the rights of the nobility “differing in faith” (*dissidentes de religione*).²⁹

However, despite swearing to uphold the draft articles at Notre Dame in Paris before leaving for Poland, Henry failed to reaffirm this commitment during the Coronation Sejm. It was during Henry's reign that the first noteworthy tensions arose between the Jesuit and Protestant communities, particularly in Poznań, where Calvinist theologian Jakub Niemojewski (c.1532–1584) and Jesuit Jakub Wujek (1541–1597), later renowned for his Polish Bible translation,³⁰ engaged in polemical debates. After Henry's sudden departure to claim the French throne, Stephen Báthory, the former voivode of Transylvania, became the next elected monarch and the first to swear to uphold the Henrician Articles officially.³¹

28 Robert Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland–Lithuania and the Second Northern War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6–11; Almut Bues, “The Formation of the Polish–Lithuanian Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Polish–Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context (c.1500–1795)*, ed. Richard Butterwick (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), 58–81, here 68–74; Karin Friedrich, “Poland–Lithuania,” in *European Political Thought, 1450–1700: Religion, Law, and Philosophy*, ed. Howell Lloyd, Glenn Burgess, and Simon Hodson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 208–42, here 214. Cf. Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, “Przeobrażenia ustrojowe od Kazimierza Wielkiego do Henryka Walezego,” in *Tradycje polityczne dawnej Polski*, ed. Anna Sucheni-Grabowska and Alicja Dybkowska (Warsaw: Editions Spotkania, 1994), 16–74; Paweł Rzewuski, “*Monarchia mixta*,” czyli poszukiwanie suwerena: Studium koncepcji władzy w I Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1505–1609 (Warsaw: Fundacja Augusta hr Cieszkowskiego, 2022).

29 Katarzyna Kosior, “Henry Valois's Court and Elective Kingship in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1573–1574,” *Historical Journal* 64, no. 4 (2021): 865–90; Kornelia Wasiak, “Walka o zaprzysiężenie Konfederacji Warszawskiej od 17 maja 1573 r. do 22 kwietnia 1574 r. w świetle ‘Diariusza polskiego do Francji po Henryka Walezego w 1573 roku,’” in *Vade nobiscum: Studia z wieków dawnych*, ed. Cyprian Wiśniewski et al. (Łódź: Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2021), 22:73–89. Cf. Jan Dziegielewski, “Jak i dlaczego powstał wizerunek Zygmunta III jako władcy nietolerancyjnego?,” *Miscellanea historico-archivistica* 23 (2016): 153–61, here 155–56.

30 Tadeusz Rubik, “Wujek, Jakub,” in *EJTC*, https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_EJTC_micro264 (accessed April 16, 2025).

31 Kosior, “Henry Valois's Court.” Cf. Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, 163–66.

During Báthory's reign, the religious conflicts intensified. Niemojewski escalated his polemics against the Jesuits in Poznań, while simultaneously, a new conflict emerged in Vilnius between the Society of Jesus and the Calvinist writer and politician Andrzej Wolan (c.1530–1610). Both of these disputes, discussed in the first two chapters of this book, reached their peak under Báthory's rule. His support for the Jesuits was consistent with his earlier policies in Transylvania, where he had promoted Catholicism, despite strong opposition from local Protestant factions. There, the Society, led by Wujek and invited by Báthory in the 1570s, played a key role in his efforts to strengthen Catholic education and influence, despite their temporary expulsion by the Calvinist parliament.³²

Although Báthory was a devout Catholic, his pragmatic political priorities precluded the implementation of overtly anti-Protestant policies. Together with his influential vice-chancellor (since 1576) and later grand chancellor of the crown (since 1578), Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), Báthory aimed to strengthen the Commonwealth internationally, maintain domestic peace, and counteract the decentralization of monarchical power—an endeavor hindered by the constitutional position of the Sejm and the influence of the upper nobility (*ma-gnateria*). These objectives meant that, while he eagerly supported the establishment of Jesuit institutions—including the first Jesuit university in Vilnius—and maintained amicable relations with the Mantuan Jesuit and papal legate Antonio Possevino (1533–1611), he firmly opposed any infringement on the religious rights of Protestants.³³ The representative expression of such infringements was the violent anti-Protestant tumults that erupted in the Commonwealth's major cities, sometimes resulting in the destruction of Protestant possessions or the assault of their defenders. Protestants frequently accused the Jesuits of inciting this sort of violence, as was the case with the 1581 events in Vilnius (see chapters 2 and 3). On that occasion, Báthory categorically

32 Mihalik, *Ever-Reviving*, 6.

33 Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, "Król i szlachta na sejmach batoriańskich: Konflikty i kompromisy," in Sucheni-Grabowska and Dybkowska, *Tradycje polityczne dawnej Polski*, 143–69; Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, 173–99; Leszek Kieniewicz, *Senat za Stefana Batorego* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2000); Stanisław Cieślak, "Stosunki wyznaniowe w Rzeczypospolitej oraz życie religijne króla Stefana Batorego" and Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, "Senatorowie duchowni wobec koncepcji politycznych Stefana Batorego," in *Antonio Possevino s.j. (1533–1611): Życie i dzieło na tle epoki*, ed. Danuta Quirini-Popławska (Kraków: Ignatianum–WAM, 2012), 73–137; Dariusz Kupisz, "The Polish–Lithuanian Army in the Reign of King Stefan Bathory (1576–1586)," in *Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Brian Davies (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 63–92; Felicia Roşu, *Elective Monarchy in Transylvania and Poland–Lithuania, 1569–1587* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 151–55. On Zamoyski, see Stanisław Grzybowski, *Jan Zamoyski* (Warsaw: PIW, 1994).

condemned the unrest and forbade “solidifying faith by violence, sword, and fire,” invoking thus the Henrician Articles he had sworn to uphold.³⁴

Báthory’s image as a religiously moderate monarch—somewhat contradicted by his pro-Catholic nomination policy—was nevertheless upheld in anti-Jesuit literature, where authors praised his tolerant stance.³⁵ This perception, combined with the Society’s growing influence in Poland–Lithuania, likely contributed to the development of polemics against the Jesuits during Báthory’s relatively short reign (1576–1586). In addition to works by Niemojewski in Poznań and Wolan in Vilnius, the period also saw the appearance of the intriguing anonymous poem “Apologeticus” (1582), which addressed the anti-Protestant violence in Vilnius (see chapter 4).

Anti-Jesuit literature was also created in other cities across the Commonwealth. Among its contributors were members of the Polish Brethren, a radical branch of the Reformed tradition that rejected the dogma of the Trinity and often advocated social equality and pacifism.³⁶ Many of them resided in Lublin and the nearby town of Lewartów (now Lubartów), in southeastern Poland. Jan Niemojewski (c.1526–1598), Jakub’s brother and theological adversary, was among the first of the Polish Brethren to speak out against the Jesuits (see chapter 5).

Concurrently, the Jesuits were embroiled in a bitter conflict with the Kraków Academy over establishing their school in Kraków.³⁷ At this stage, the conflict had not yet given rise to anti-Jesuit literature. Meanwhile, the year of Báthory’s death saw the publication of a fierce German-language pamphlet against the Society, *Mörderische Geschichte der Jesuiten* (The murderous history of the

34 Tomasz Kempa, *Konflikty wyznaniowe w Wilnie od początku reformacji do końca XVII wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2016), 144.

35 For example, Andrzej Wolan, *Defensio verae orthodoxae veterisque in Ecclesia sententiae [...] contra novum et commentitium transubstantionis dogma, aliosque errores ex illo natos: Ad Petrum Scargam Jesuitam Vilnensem, vanissimi huius commenti propugnatores* (Vilnius: Johannes Kartzanus, 1579), ii^r–iii^v; *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima* (n.p.: n.p., 1590), B3^v–B4^r. Cf. Kazimierz Bem, “Czynnik wyznaniowy w polityce nominacyjnej Stefana Batorego na starostwa grodowe w Koronie: Początek kontrreformacji?,” *Kwartalnik historyczny* 122, no. 3 (2015): 457–73.

36 On the Polish Brethren, see Zbigniew Ogonowski, *Socynianizm: Dzieje, poglądy, oddziaływanie* (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR, 2015); Piotr Wilczek, *Polonia reformata: Essays on the Polish Reformation(s)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 36–71; Michał Choptiany and Piotr Wilczek, eds., *Antytrynitaryzm w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej w kontekście europejskim: Źródła—rozwój—oddziaływanie* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa UW, 2017).

37 Bronisław Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku* (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum–WAM, 2002).

Jesuits), likely printed in Gdańsk (Danzig),³⁸ a port city and a member of the Hanseatic League in Royal Prussia. Its predominantly Lutheran and German-speaking merchant population harbored strong resentment toward the Jesuits, leading to frequent litigations and polemics, as discussed in the chapter on the Toruń pamphlets.³⁹

After Báthory's death, the Commonwealth faced a major crisis involving a power struggle between two candidates, Prince Sigismund of Sweden (1566–1632) and Archduke Maximilian Habsburg (1558–1618). A propaganda campaign followed, culminating in a decisive clash between Maximilian's forces and the Polish army, led by Zamoyski—now one of the most powerful figures in the Commonwealth—at the Silesian town of Byczyna (German: Pitschen), which secured Sigismund's victory. Although Sigismund, the son of King John III of Sweden (1537–1592, r.1569–1592), was raised in Lutheran Sweden, he was brought up as a Catholic by his mother, Queen Catherine (1526–1583), the sister of Polish king Sigismund II, with Polish Jesuits among his educators.⁴⁰ The long reign of Sigismund III (1587–1632), during which he kept surrounding himself with the Jesuits, brought profound changes to the religious makeup of the Commonwealth.

Even if scholars disagree on Sigismund's role and intentions in what some term “re-Catholicization” of Poland–Lithuania, it is clear that during his reign, Protestants steadily declined in political importance in favor of Catholics.⁴¹ This is evident from the fact that, at the time of Sigismund's death, only three

38 Zbigniew Nowak, “Gdańskie paszkwil antyjezuicki z 1586 roku: Początki literatury antyjezuickiej w Polsce,” *Rocznik gdański* 25 (1966): 51–71.

39 Sławomir Kościelak, *Jezuici w Gdańsku: Od drugiej połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku* (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe–WAM, 2003). Cf. Kościelak, “Szermierze teologii z Gimnazjum Gdańskiego,” in *Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie*, vol. 1, *Szkice z dziejów*, ed. Edmund Kotarski (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2008), 329–60.

40 Maciej A. Pieńkowski, *Trudna droga do władzy w Rzeczypospolitej: Sejm koronacyjny Zygmunta III 1587/1588 i sejm pacyfikacyjny 1589 roku* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2021). See also Stanisław Obirek, *Jezuici na dworach Batorego i Wazów (1580–1668): Wpływ kapelanów dworskich i wychowawców książąt na postawy panujących i politykę państwa* (Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1996), 19–27.

41 Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, 227–312; Walter Leitsch, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften–Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2009), esp. 740–50; Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Stosunki wyznaniowe w relacjach państwo–kościół między reformacją a oświeceniem: Rzesza Niemiecka—Niderlandy Północne—Rzeczpospolita polsko–litewska* (Warsaw: Semper, 2010), 533–662; Przemysław Szpaczyński, “Zygmunt III wobec zabiegów innowierców o egzekucję Konfederacji Warszawskiej,” *Studia oecumenica* 11 (2011): 111–24; Dziegielewski, “Jak i dlaczego”; Kempa, *Konflikty wyznaniowe, passim*; Bem, *Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth*, 189–90, 238, 245.

Protestant senators remained in office, compared to sixty-three in 1572—although this trend had already begun during Báthory's reign.⁴² The difference in public perception of the two monarchs appears partly attributable to the negative portrayal of Sigismund, which was deliberately created by Chancellor Zamoycki and his followers, including numerous Protestants who joined the political opposition soon after Sigismund's coronation.⁴³

During Sigismund's reign, resentment toward the Jesuits grew exponentially, as evidenced by the surge of anti-Jesuit literature, which was now being produced even by Catholic authors. In the very first years of the new king's rule, accusations against the Jesuits were voiced by multiple centers. Texts hostile to the Jesuits continued to be written by Polish Brethren in Lublin and Lewartów, where Jan Niemojewski was joined by Marcin Czechowic (c.1532–1613) and Wojciech of Kalisz (d. c.1601), as discussed in chapter 5. In 1590, the anonymous *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima* (Polish knight's first plea against the Jesuits) appeared in Kraków, marking the first strictly political critique of the Jesuits in Poland–Lithuania. We examine this text, especially with regard to its reinterpretation and new attribution hypothesis, in chapter 4.

The political dimension of anti-Jesuitism became even more pronounced in the early seventeenth century, particularly during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz (1606–1607). The Rokosz, which claimed to be a lawful rebellion against the monarch, posed one of the most serious challenges to Sigismund's rule. One of the rebels' formal articles called for expelling Jesuits from the royal court and banning foreign Jesuits from the Commonwealth.⁴⁴ During the Zebrzydowski Rokosz, anti-Jesuit sentiment surged, culminating in a wave of polemical literature. Although the Jesuits were not the official focus of the rebellion, their influence over King Sigismund III and their alleged alliance with foreign powers,

42 Dariusz Chemperek, "Poezja ewangelików reformowanych w Rzeczypospolitej XVII wieku," in *Ewangelicyzm reformowany w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej: Dialog z Europą i wybory aksjologiczne w świetle literatury i piśmiennictwa XVI–XVII wieku*, ed. Dariusz Chemperek (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa UW, 2015), 402–18, here 402; Bem, "Czynnik wyznaniowy w polityce nominacyjnej." Cf. Henryk Lulewicz, "Skład wyznaniowy senatorów świeckich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za panowania Wazów," *Przegląd historyczny* 68, no. 3 (1977): 425–45.

43 Dziegielelewski, "Jak i dlaczego," 157–59.

44 Cf. Agnieszka Pałowska-Kubik, *Rokosz sandomierski 1606–1609: Rzeczpospolita na politycznym rozdrożu* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2019), 149–55. See also Kolja Lichy, *Stand und Aufstand: Adel und polnisch-litauisches Gemeinwesen im Rokosz von 1606–1609* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021) and "Artykuły na rokoshu pod Sandomierzem uchwalone, w Wiśliczy czytane," in "Akta rokoshowe Zebrzydowskiego z czasów Zygmunta III prowadzone do roku 1609," MS Bk1069, Biblioteka Kórnicka pan, 87r–91v, here 89r.

particularly Spain and the papacy, became central issues. The *rokoszenie*, comprising both Catholic and Protestant nobles, formed their opposition to the Jesuits within a broader narrative defending the Commonwealth's republican liberties. This growing resentment was reflected in an outpouring of anti-Jesuit writings, including *Jezuitom i inszem duchownem respons* (To the Jesuits and another clergy, a response) and *Przestroga i sposób na czasy przyszłe naprawy Rzpltej* (Warning and method for the future repair of the republic). The anonymous poem "Ad patres jesuitas" (To the Jesuit fathers) and the pamphlet *Rzeczy naprawy potrzebujące* (Things needing reform) further caricatured the Jesuits as foreign agents eroding Polish sovereignty. Among these texts, *Consilium de recuperanda et in posterum stabilienda pace regni Poloniae* (Advice for recovering and hereafter maintaining the peace of the Kingdom of Poland), which we attribute to Jan Szczęsny Herburt (1567–1616) rather than Jerzy Zbaraski (1574–1631), stands as the most comprehensive and influential anti-Jesuit document of the period. This treatise called for the *complete* expulsion of the Jesuits from the Commonwealth, as it accused them of manipulating the monarchy and threatening the republic's liberties.

Although the situation apparently calmed down after the Rokosz, the Jesuits did not remain infrequent targets of polemical literature. One of their most vocal opponents was the Protestant theologian Jan Turnowski (1567–1629). Turnowski, a pastor and professor at the Toruń Academic Gymnasium, played a leading role in the anti-Jesuit movement, particularly in Royal Prussia. This region, with a predominantly urban Protestant population, saw increasing tensions between Protestants and Jesuits, who had established a college in Toruń in 1594 as part of broader Counter-Reformation efforts. Turnowski's writings, such as *Nowiny z Poznania o gwałtownym zburzeniu zborów ewangelickich* (News from Poznań about the violent destruction of Evangelical churches) and *Obrona prawdy listów z miasta Torunia* (Defense of the truth of *Letters from the city of Toruń*), condemned the Jesuits for their alleged role in inciting violence against Protestants. He documented incidents such as the destruction of Protestant churches in Poznań and Toruń and accused the Jesuits of manipulating local authorities to further their influence. His polemics foreshadowed the rise of more sensational works like the *Monita privata*—a parody of secret Jesuit instructions that became a worldwide bestseller, published in all major European languages (and beyond) well into the twentieth century—making Turnowski a key figure in the early seventeenth-century Protestant resistance to Jesuit influence.

We have identified at least 242 editions and translations of the *Monita privata (secreta)*.⁴⁵ Although this text has long been attributed to Polish ex-Jesuit Hieronim Zahorowski (c.1582–1634), the latest findings that we present in chapter 8 challenge this long historiographical tradition. Recent research suggests that the *Monita* may have been printed in Nysa, Lower Silesia, in 1612, rather than in Kraków, as was previously thought. This revision not only questions Zahorowski's involvement but also situates the text within a broader geopolitical context, which reflected early seventeenth-century tensions between the Jesuit–Habsburg alliance and its opponents, such as the group gathered around Sarpi in Venice. The text, more than a mere satire, offered a scathing critique of the Jesuits' methods that allegedly revealed secret strategies for accumulating political and financial power, and became a potent tool in anti-Jesuit polemics throughout Europe and the world.

The last years of Sigismund's reign witnessed a revival of the conflict between the Society and the Kraków Academy, exacerbated after the king consented to opening a Jesuit school in the city in 1623. This led to both sides producing abundant polemical literature, with the most outstanding result being an anti-Jesuit dialogue entitled *Gratis* (Free of charge [1625]), authored by Academy professor Jan Brożek (1585–1652). This text is discussed in the last chapter of our book. The conflict between the Jesuits and the Kraków Academy was only resolved during the reign of Sigismund's son, Władysław IV (1595–1648, r.1632–1648). Unlike his father, Władysław opposed the Jesuits' plans for public schooling in Kraków and successfully persuaded Pope Urban VIII (1568–1644, r.1623–1644) to revoke his earlier approval of Jesuit-run schools in the city.⁴⁶ However, Władysław had a complex relationship with the Jesuits. While he often demonstrated favor toward the Society, surrounding himself with Jesuit confessors and preachers and entrusting the education of his prematurely deceased son, Sigismund (1640–1647), to the Jesuit Grzegorz Schönhoff (1596–1667), his attitude remained ambiguous. A major crisis in Władysław's relationship with the Jesuits occurred when his brother, the future king, Jan Kazimierz (1609–1672, r.1648–1668), entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1643 in Loreto, the Papal States. This raised tensions, as the prospect of a member of the Polish royal family becoming a Jesuit was politically sensitive. Relations between Władysław and the Jesuits improved after Jan Kazimierz

45 Here is the visualization of the *Monita*'s dissemination, produced by Dr. Cezary Rosiński from the Instytut Badań Literacki PAN in Poznań based on our bibliographical query: <https://computations.eu/Maryks/monita.html> (accessed April 16, 2025).

46 Barycz, "Wstęp," 99; *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, 543–44.

withdrew from the novitiate in 1645, citing his appointment to the cardinalate as a face-saving reason for leaving the Society.⁴⁷

Jan Kazimierz succeeded his brother on the Polish throne on the eve of the Cossack uprising (1648), a particularly perilous time for the Commonwealth, soon aggravated by devastating invasions from Muscovy and Sweden in the 1650s.⁴⁸ The disastrous consequences of these wars accelerated shifts in the confessional balance of Poland–Lithuania, where Catholicism—in contrast to the Protestantism of the Swedes—became increasingly associated with patriotism. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Sejm took decisive measures to enforce Catholic dominance. In 1658, it ordered the Polish Brethren to convert to Catholicism or leave the Commonwealth, and in 1668, it prohibited the abandonment of the Catholic faith and the erection of new Protestant churches in royal cities. The Sejm also attempted to extend these restrictions by banning the construction of Protestant churches on private lands and depriving Protestants in mixed marriages of control over their children's religious upbringing. Thus, once fertile ground for Reformation ideas, the Commonwealth emerged as a staunchly Catholic state. Despite this, the Eastern Orthodox Church retained influence, and the Reformed and Lutheran communities established in the 1550s often persisted.⁴⁹ It is important to note, however, that social and political pressure was not the sole factor behind Catholicism's growing appeal. The period also witnessed an impressive theological flourishing within Catholicism, resulting in new and compelling currents of spirituality.⁵⁰

Tellingly, after the death of Sigismund III, there was a noticeable decline in the production of anti-Jesuit literature in Poland–Lithuania. This can be attributed partly to the Jesuits' influential position, the diminishing number and importance of Protestants—unable to present a united front against the Society, coupled with the more accommodating attitude of Władysław IV. A resurgence of anti-Jesuit sentiment emerged only toward the end of Jan Kazimierz's reign. During this period, the former courtier of Władysław IV, the Capuchin

47 Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Ostatni Waza na polskim tronie* (Katowice: Śląsk, 1984), 39–51; Obirek, *Jezuici na dworach*, 59–69; Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, 313–45.

48 Frost, *After the Deluge*. Cf. Obirek, *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej*, 347–75.

49 Wilczek, *Polonia reformata*, 126; Kempa, *Konflikty wyznaniowe*, 390, 404–5, 491–94; Katarzyna Meller, "Potrydenckie konwersje protestantów na katolicyzm: Świadcstwa piśmienne," in Dąbkowska-Kujko, *Formowanie kultury katolickiej*, 305–6.

50 Cf. Agnieszka Czechowicz, "Katolicyzm sarmacki," in *Humanitas i Christianitas w kulturze polskiej*, ed. Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee (Warsaw: Neriton, 2009), 191–222; Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, ed., *Drogi duchowe katolicyzmu polskiego XVII wieku* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa UW, 2015).

friar Valeriano Magni (1587–1661), published in 1659 a collection, *Contra imposturas Jesuitarum* (Against the impostures of the Jesuits), which cost him imprisonment in Rome.⁵¹ Johann Maukisch (1617–1669), a Lutheran rector of the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk, published treatises critical of the Jesuits, alongside other authors who opposed the establishment of a Jesuit school in Warsaw.⁵²

These and later waves of anti-Jesuit sentiment in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when many Polish intellectuals blamed the Jesuits for the Commonwealth's ultimate collapse, lie beyond the scope of this study. Our book focuses on the formative period of anti-Jesuit polemics during the reigns of Báthory and Sigismund III, when the narratives and tropes of Polish–Lithuanian anti-Jesuit literature first took shape.⁵³ The following chapters examine these early polemics and their contexts, beginning with the Calvinists Jakub Niemojewski and Andrzej Wolan—the first writers to articulate a sustained anti-Jesuit critique in the Commonwealth. Understanding these foundational texts is essential for grasping the evolution of anti-Jesuit discourse in Poland–Lithuania and its impact on public perception of the Jesuits and their lasting legacy.⁵⁴

While our analyses present historical polemical arguments in their proper contexts, we as authors aimed at maintaining scholarly neutrality throughout and clearly distinguish between the rhetorical claims of early modern writers and verifiable facts. When reporting these arguments, we recognize that repeatedly qualifying each statement as “alleged” and the like would create tedious and cumbersome prose. Readers should understand that our presentation of these perspectives does not constitute endorsement.

51 See *Dizionario storico degli italiani*, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/valeriano-magni_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/valeriano-magni_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/) (accessed April 18, 2025).

52 Johann Maukisch, *Schriftmässige Gegenstellung der Lutherischen und Jesuitischen Religion* (Gdańsk: D. F. Rhete, 1664); Maukisch, *Warnung, dass man die Kinder in der Jesuiten-Schul nicht schicken soll* (Gdańsk: [D. F. Rhete], c.1664); *Differentiae de scholis jesuitarum nuper Varsaviae erectis, inter conventum Generalem Korczynensem erectioni contrarium et anonymum nobilem easdem promoventem, trutinæ orbis Polonici porrectæ* (Irenopoli: n.p., 1670).

53 See the forthcoming book by Wojciech Ryczek which we were unable to use for our research but which is a complementary sequel to our work: *Anti-Jesuit Discourse in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1576–1632): Arguments, Tropes, Figures* (Leiden: Brill, 2025).

54 Siwek, “Spory o jezuitów”; Zieliński, “Jezuici a reformacja.”

Acknowledgments

This book would never have been produced without the generous support of the Polish National Agency for Academic Exchange (Narodowa Agencja Wymiany Akademickiej, [NAWA]) under the grant “The Polish Returns 2021” (BPN/PPO/2021/1/00012) and the National Science Centre of Poland (Narodowe Centrum Nauki [NCN]), which financially supported its research component (2022/01/1/HS2/00017). The project “Anti-Jesuit Literature in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth” provided essential resources for our studies on various dimensions of early modern anti-Jesuit sentiment.

Following the Pope's Kitchen: Jakub Niemojewski and the Rise of Anti-Jesuit Sentiment in Poland–Lithuania

Robert Aleksander Maryks

1 Introduction to the Work

In sixteenth-century Poland–Lithuania, Jakub Niemojewski (c.1532–1584), a scholar and religious activist, became a leading critic of Jesuit influence. His important work, *Diatrybe albo kollacya przyjacielska z ks. jezuitami poznańskimi o przedniejsze różnice wiary krześcijańskiej czasu thego* (Diatrybe, or a friendly supper with Poznań Jesuit priests about the main differences of the Christian faith of that time [Poznań: Nering, 1577]),¹ criticized the Jesuits, whom he called “religious of the Roman court.” This description, coming just thirteen years after the Jesuits arrived in Royal Prussia, characterized them as foreign outsiders representing papal rather than local national interests, a view central to his argument. By examining the contextual background, rhetorical strategies, and the subsequent reception of the text, this chapter not only highlights its direct influence on local and broader European discourses but also uses the *Diatrybe* as a case study to assess the evolving nature of polemical literature in early modern Central and Eastern Europe. The *Diatrybe* is particularly significant because it encapsulates the tension between the nascent influence of the Jesuits and established local religious traditions. Throughout this chapter, I will examine the historical context surrounding its publication, analyze its rhetorical and stylistic components, and ultimately assess its role within the broader framework of anti-Jesuit sentiment. With an analysis supported by a range of primary and secondary sources, I will demonstrate how this work was instrumental in fostering a unique narrative that resonated with contemporary political and religious debates.

1 On the meaning of the term “kollacya,” see Wojciech Ryczek, “Kolacya przyjacielska’ Jakuba Niemojewskiego z jezuitami poznańskimi: Glosa terminologiczna,” *Terminus* 26, no. 1 (2024): 43–60, <https://doi.org/10.4467/20843844TE.24.003.19706> (accessed April 16, 2025).

2 The Author

Niemojewski, a notable figure in the Polish Reformation, studied theology and law at the universities of Königsberg and Wittenberg, where he was a student of the German reformer Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560). He came from a noble family; his father, Mikołaj, was a judge in Inowrocław, and his brother, Jan (1531–1598), was a Polish Brethren (Socinian) theologian who engaged in disputes, sometimes violent, with Jesuits in Lublin and Lewartów (Lubartów), often alongside Marcin Czechowic (1532–1613) and Wojciech of Kalisz (Kaliszczyk; d. c.1601),² who are discussed in another chapter.

After first following Lutheranism, Niemojewski later became a Calvinist and contributed to the Protestant movement in Poland. In the Kujawy region, he helped organize Protestant churches and worked to unite local Calvinists with the Czech Brethren. This cooperation resulted in an alliance formed in 1565 in Kujavian Liskowo, where Niemojewski also established a school. Beyond religious activities, he served as standard-bearer in Inowrocław and as a delegate to the Polish Sejm. His religious writings were later included in the first Polish Index of Prohibited Books in 1603, showing how controversial his ideas were considered.³

3 Historical Background

The *Diatribes* emerged during a period of important religious and political transformation in Poland, specifically as the Warsaw Confederation of 1573 faced considerable implementation challenges across the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. While this landmark agreement aimed to establish religious tolerance by guaranteeing peace among various Christian denominations, including Calvinists, its principles—like many laws in Poland–Lithua-

2 He is the author of the now-lost *Disputatio cum jesuita habita 1615* (A disputation held with a Jesuit).

3 For the limited text edition, see Janusz Tazbir, ed., *Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce 1578–1625: Antologia*, trans. Andrzej Kempfi (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963), 35–41 (note the year 1578 in the title, not 1577). On Jakub Niemojewski, see Tazbir, “Niemojewski h. Szeliga Jakub,” in *Polski słownik biograficzny* [hereafter *PSB*], vol. xxiii; <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jakub-niemojewski-h-szeliga> (accessed April 16, 2025). See also Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku, 1988), 84f, and *Dawni pisarze polscy: Od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski; Przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny; T. 3, Mia–R*, ed. Roman Loth and Wiesława Albrecht-Szymanowska, 136–37.

nia—proved difficult to enforce consistently in practice. Although certain nobles and intellectuals championed religious tolerance, Catholic authorities mounted an opposition, resulting in tensions that were particularly pronounced in urban centers across the region. The combination of crucial geographical factors—strategic location as a crossroads for the movement of people and ideas across Europe, urban development, German cultural influence, proximity to Protestant territories, and the unique religious landscape of Wielkopolska—created favorable conditions for Poznań to become a center for the spread and establishment of Calvinism in Poland, despite this city facing considerable resistance from Catholic authorities. This influence was further solidified after it hosted a synod of Calvinists and Czech Brethren in 1573, an event to which Niemojewski himself reportedly attended. Against this backdrop of religious ferment and the ongoing struggle to realize the Confederation's ideals, Niemojewski's *Diatrybe* appeared as a non-negligible contribution to the theological debates that characterized this turbulent period.

Niemojewski's selection of Poznań as the venue for his confrontation with the Jesuits likely extended beyond coincidence, particularly following the 1575 death of Jan Tomicki, the Gniezno castellan and senator. As one of the authors of the Henrician Articles and a signatory to the Warsaw Confederation, Tomicki's passing altered the city's political and religious landscape, creating an environment that Niemojewski may have found strategically advantageous.

By this time, the Jesuits had established a formidable presence in Poznań since their arrival in 1572. Under the leadership of Jakub Wujek (1541–1597),⁴ who served as rector from 1573 to 1578, the Jesuit college—the Commonwealth's fourth such institution—flourished with financial backing from local bishop Adam Konarski (1526–1574).⁵ Niemojewski, undoubtedly familiar with Wujek's previous polemics against Protestants regarding the Consensus of Sandomierz, likely viewed a public debate in Poznań as an opportunity to challenge one of the Society's most prominent writers. During Wujek's tenure, Poznań evolved into a center for theological and Scriptural scholarship, attracting distinguished foreign Jesuit theologians, including Alonso de Pisa (Pisanus [1527–1598]) from Spain and Jan Viger (b. c.1531) from the Netherlands.⁶ The presence of Szymon Wysocki (1546–1622)—former tutor to Swedish

4 *PSB* xxxvii/4, issue 155, 35–43.

5 See Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, "Konarski, Jan," in *EJTC*, https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_EJTC_micro093 (accessed April 19, 2025).

6 See Jan Terlaga, *Działalność ks. Jakóba Wujka T.J. jako rektora Kolegium Poznańskiego* (Kraków: Nakł. Autora, 1936), 55–58, 100–1; Dariusz Kuźmina, *Jakub Wujek (1541–1597): Pisarz, tłumacz i misjonarz* (Warsaw: Wydaw. SBP, 2004), 84–85, 90–91, 107–8; "Alonso de Pisa,"

prince Sigismund Vasa (1566–1632, r.1587–1632) and translator of devotional texts—further enhanced the city’s reputation as a hub for Catholic intellectual activity where theological debates with Calvinists frequently occurred.⁷

The intensity of these religious disputes manifested dramatically during the inaugural academic year at the new Jesuit college in 1573, when contentious arguments erupted over the veneration of saints, followed by equally passionate debates concerning the universal church in 1574. By engaging with the Jesuits of Poznań through both his personal meetings and his *Diatrybe*, Niemojewski positioned himself at the center of this vibrant context of theological confrontation. Through his writings, he meticulously documented these negotiations and discussions, exposing the competing perspectives and religious biases that shaped interfaith dialogue. His willingness to unveil what many considered the Society of Jesus’s internal practices or “secrets”—often obscured behind Latin terminology and complex theological arguments—almost certainly intensified opposition to both his work and its publisher.

Before directly challenging Jesuit doctrines, Niemojewski had developed his polemical skills through several works opposing Benedykt Herbest (c.1531–1598), who had served as canon and rector at the Lubrański Academy in Poznań prior to joining the Society of Jesus. These writings included *O jędnosci boskiej nierozdzielney* (On the inseparable divine unity [Kraków: Wirzbięta, 1566]), *Odpowiedz na książki* (A response to the books [Kraków: Wirzbięta, 1569]), and *Epidromus abo Pogonya za gońcem księdza Herbestowym* (Epidromus, or the pursuit of Reverend Herbest’s messenger). While the 1586 Czech and German translations omitted mention of Herbest’s subsequent Jesuit affiliation (which began after his journey to Rome in 1571), these early works are generally considered distinct from Niemojewski’s later anti-Jesuit writings. His 1572 publication, the nearly eight-hundred-page *Apologia, to jest*

in Real Academia de Historia, *Diccionario biográfico*, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/20892/alonso-de-pisa> (accessed April 16, 2025); Francisco J. Aranda Pérez and David Martín López, “El toledano Alonso de Pisa y Palma, s.l.: ‘Apóstol de Posnania’ (1527–1598),” in *From Ireland to Poland: Northern Europe, Spain and the Early Modern World*, ed. Enrique García Hernán and Ryszard Skowron (Madrid: Albatros, 2015), 351–85; and David Martín López, “Jesuits and Conversos in Sixteenth-Century Toledo,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8, no. 2 (2021): 173–94, here 185–86, https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/8/2/article-p173_173.xml (accessed April 16, 2025). Pisa’s notes from the early 1560s on Chemnitz’s *Theologiae jesuitarum praecipua capita* mentioned above were made available to a theologian from Coimbra, Diogo Paiva de Andrade (1528–75), in his confutation of the Melanctonian disciple. Pisa was therefore well aware of anti-Jesuit arguments while replying to Niemojewski. For Viger, see *EKJP*.

7 See Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, “Wysocki, Szymon,” in *EJTC*, https://doi.org/10.1163/13050-7642_EJTC_micro267 (accessed April 19, 2025).

dowody i obrona Confesysje kościołów polskich w wierze prawdziwej powszechnej, od ludzi krześciańskich w Polszcze (Apologia, that is, proofs and defense of the confession of Polish churches in the true universal faith, by Christian people in Poland), responded directly to Wujek's *Judicium albo rozsadek niektórych katolików o Confesysje Sędomierskiej, roku 1570 wydanej* (Judgment or opinion of some Catholics about the Sandomierz Confession, published in the year 1570 [Kraków: Szarffenberger]). Crafted as a dialogue, this expansive work critiqued broader Catholic doctrines and traditions rather than specifically targeting Wujek or the Jesuits. Thus, although the *Diatrybe* of 1577 represents Niemojewski's most focused anti-Jesuit polemic, his engagement with and opposition to Jesuit theological and political positions had already been developing for at least five years, beginning with his substantial *Apologia* of 1572—revealing a sustained intellectual trajectory rather than a sudden polemical turn.

4 Overview of Content

Written in the context of religious tensions in sixteenth-century Poland, the *Diatrybe* stands as a meaningful contribution to Polish anti-Jesuit literature, offering a critical examination of Jesuit teachings and practices. Structured as a dialogue that recreates conversations between Niemojewski and Jesuit representatives, the work systematically challenges Jesuit doctrines by contrasting them with what Niemojewski considers authentic Christian teachings. Throughout the text, he strategically portrays the Jesuits as foreign interlopers disconnected from Polish religious traditions, while simultaneously criticizing their reliance on Latin—advocating instead for the use of Polish to make religious concepts more accessible to ordinary people and spread theological understanding beyond scholarly circles. Reflecting themes prevalent in the anti-Jesuit literature of his time—similar to those found in works like Martin Chemnitz's (1522–1586) *Theologiae jesuitarum praecipua capita* (The main tenets of Jesuit theology; Leipzig, 1562)—Niemojewski questions the very legitimacy of the Jesuit name itself. Like other critics discussed in our book, such as Andrzej Wolan (c.1530–1610), who considered the Society's adopted name “ridiculous” and “impious,” Niemojewski characterizes it as “nowy i niesłuszny tytuł” (a new and unjust title) that shows disrespect toward Christians broadly. This criticism of Jesuits as “misappropriators of Jesus's name” was a common theme in anti-Jesuit polemics of the period, appearing in multiple works across the Commonwealth, where writers like Wojciech of Kalisz similarly accused the Jesuits of “usurping” (*przywłaszcząć*) the name of Jesus.

5 Analysis of Rhetoric and Style

In the *Diatribes*, Niemojewski employs a deliberately confrontational rhetorical style interspersed with Latin terminology that both demonstrates his scholarly credentials and effectively situates his arguments within the theological discourse of his era. This approach, characterized by religious and moral indignation, appeals directly to the spiritual sensibilities of his readership while utilizing sophisticated rhetorical techniques to convey potent anti-Jesuit sentiment throughout the text. By constructing unfavorable characterizations of the Jesuits, he amplifies the force of his criticism, while his strategic citations of venerated authorities such as St. Paul (d. c.64) and St. Augustine (354–430)—mirroring the approach found in the *Consilium* examined in another chapter—strengthen his arguments against what he dismisses as Jesuit “empty philosophy.” This juxtaposition underscores Niemojewski’s perception of a fundamental incompatibility between Jesuit teachings and the doctrines of early Christianity.

Maintaining this confrontational posture throughout his work, Niemojewski crafts a text that is both challenging and persuasive to his audience. His unrestrained use of accusatory and severe language reflects the intense religious and ideological conflicts that characterized the period, with his criticisms extending beyond theological matters to encompass a broader condemnation of Jesuit influence in Polish religious and cultural spheres. The *Diatribes* secures its weight in early modern polemical literature through Niemojewski’s adept integration of biblical references with incisive critiques of Jesuit methodologies and intentions. Through this skillful fusion of theological argumentation and pointed criticism, he constructs a compelling case against the Jesuit presence in Poland, establishing his work as a notable exemplar of religious controversy literature from this turbulent era.

6 Reception and Impact

The publication of the *Diatribes* provoked an immediate and severe reaction from the Jesuits, who, with the backing of sympathetic local Poznań bishop Łukasz Kościelecki (1539–1597), swiftly moved to suppress this controversial text. In a dramatic public demonstration of their opposition, they ceremonially burned all available copies in the city’s market square—an early manifestation of the religious tensions that would later erupt into the notorious Poznań tumults. This campaign of suppression extended beyond the initial printing to target the second edition published in 1579 in Grodzisk near Warsaw, which

ultimately met the same fiery fate.⁸ Such forceful measures by the Jesuits and Catholic authorities not only demonstrate the provocative nature of Niemojewski's work but also reflect the increasingly volatile religious and political climate of the period. Their determined efforts to eradicate all traces of the *Diatribę* reveal the extent to which it was perceived as a genuine threat to both the Jesuit order and the broader Catholic establishment, thereby confirming its relevant position within the anti-Jesuit literary and intellectual tradition. This episode sheds light on the precarious position of Reformation-era critical writings and offers valuable insights into the complex religious and political landscape of Poland–Lithuania during this tumultuous era.

In response to Niemojewski's provocations, Wujek, speaking on behalf of the Jesuit community, crafted a comprehensive rebuttal titled *Dialysis to iest rozwiązanie albo rozebranie Assercy pana Jakuba Niemoiewskiego* (Dialysis, that is, the solution or dissection of the assertions of Mr. Jakub Niemojewski with his proofs against the Jesuits of Poznań [Poznań: Wolrab, 1580]). This meticulously structured work systematically addresses each criticism raised in the *Diatribę* while vigorously defending Jesuit teachings and practices from both Catholic and Jesuit perspectives. Grounding his arguments firmly in traditional Catholic doctrine and Jesuit interpretations, Wujek pays particular attention to countering Niemojewski's characterization of Jesuits as foreign interlopers in Polish religious life. Throughout his defense, Wujek emphatically affirms the Jesuits' integral role in Poland's religious development while simultaneously refuting accusations of greed, corruption, and political machination within the Society. His portrayal of the Jesuit order is decidedly upbeat, emphasizing the superiority of Catholic teachings over Calvinist interpretations while highlighting the Jesuits' substantial contributions to Polish education and social advancement. The *Dialysis* thus represents a considerable Jesuit contribution to Polish religious discourse, offering a substantive response to the challenging theological and political questions raised in Niemojewski's controversial *Diatribę*.

Taking a somewhat different approach, the Jesuit theologian Alonso de Pisa's *Catholica et orthodoxa responsio ad praecipua capita epistolae latinae D. Jacobi Niemoieuski* (A Catholic and orthodox response to the principal points of the Latin letter of Mr. Jacob Niemoieuski; Poznań: Wolrab, 1585) addresses Niemojewski's arguments more indirectly. Rather than engaging directly with the *Diatribę* itself, Pisa frames his work as a "Catholic and orthodox response" to the central arguments presented in Niemojewski's Latin letter that appeared

8 See Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny wydawnicze Rodeckiego i Sternackiego: Dzieje i bibliografia* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974), 3:part 1, 176, 270.

in his subsequent publication, the *Replica na książki* (A reply to the books). Pisa's response focuses particularly on challenging Niemojewski's contentious views regarding papal authority and his characterization of Jesuits as mere papal agents—a criticism pointedly expressed in Niemojewski's dismissive comment “za kuchnią papieską idziecie” (you follow the pope's kitchen).

7 Comparative Analysis

The *Diatrybe* emerges as a Polish contribution that skillfully bridges local concerns with broader European religious discourse. Writing amid the religious tensions that followed the Warsaw Confederation of 1573, Niemojewski produced a work that would become a cornerstone of Polish anti-Jesuit literature while simultaneously reflecting anti-Jesuit sentiments prevalent throughout Europe. His systematic critique of Jesuit doctrines and practices resonates with familiar anti-Jesuit narratives circulating across the continent, particularly in his portrayal of Jesuits as foreign interlopers and his emphasis on their cultural and linguistic divergence from traditional Polish religious customs.

This anti-Jesuit discourse extended well beyond Poland's borders, with prominent figures such as Chemnitz in Germany, Étienne Pasquier (1529–1615) in France, and Rudolf Hospinian (1547–1626) in Switzerland having already established frameworks of opposition that characterized Jesuits as papal agents, threats to national traditions, and deceptive conspirators. These multifaceted critiques, ranging from theological objections to accusations of political interference, collectively formed what might be termed a “trans-Jesuit historiography” that transcended national boundaries.

Former Jesuits who converted to Protestantism, including Christian Francken (1549–1603) and Elias Hasenmüller (d.1587), added layers of complexity to this narrative through their insider perspectives on Jesuit practices and organizational structures. Their public denunciations, disseminated through widely circulated polemical texts, purported to expose alleged Jesuit hypocrisy, clandestine indoctrination techniques, and concealed aspirations for political and religious dominance. Francken articulated detailed accusations regarding Jesuit pedagogical methods, alleging the manipulation of youth and misappropriation of classical learning for institutional objectives. Similarly, Hasenmüller published accounts depicting Jesuits as duplicitous figures motivated primarily by ambition and political calculation rather than genuine religious conviction. These firsthand testimonies, regardless of their accuracy, substantially reinforced opposition to the Society of Jesus by offering seemingly authoritative evidence from former members. Consequently, these

writings helped solidify public perceptions of Jesuits as calculating and power-hungry agents, intensifying anti-Jesuit sentiment and widening the schism between Protestant and Catholic factions during this volatile period.

Scholars Janusz Tazbir, renowned for his studies of early modern Polish religious writing, and Katarzyna Meller, who continued his scholarly tradition, identify a distinctive aspect of Niemojewski's *Diatrybe*—its direct confrontation with Jesuit teachings on justification and free will, establishing Niemojewski as one of the first Polish writers to address these theological questions in anti-Jesuit polemics explicitly. While debates concerning grace, justification, and free will have their roots in at least Augustine and resurfaced prominently with Martin Luther (1483–1546) at the dawn of the Protestant Reformation, Niemojewski's significance lies specifically within Polish intellectual history. He introduced critiques of Jesuit casuistry and their doctrines on free will and justification into Polish theological discourse—issues that would later become central to broader European theological controversies, particularly in the seventeenth-century Jansenist movement.⁹

To avoid misinterpretation, it should be emphasized that this does not suggest Niemojewski directly influenced Jansenism. Instead, he anticipated similar theological objections—questioning Jesuit interpretations of grace, moral responsibility, and free will—before these issues became widely contested by subsequent Catholic critics. Indeed, the first Catholic opposition to Jesuit teachings on these matters emerged as early as the 1580s among Dominican scholars, initiating what would become known as the Molinist controversy. Accordingly, Niemojewski should be understood as an early Polish harbinger of these theological debates rather than a direct progenitor of later European Jansenist criticism.

Within the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, anti-Jesuit sentiment was not merely imported from elsewhere in Europe but developed largely from indigenous social, political, and religious tensions specific to the region. Critics perceived Jesuits as representatives of foreign religious authority, aligned with Rome's interests—later often characterized as ultramontane—and viewed them as threats to emerging national identities, which were increasingly defined by religious distinctions in the wake of the Protestant Reformation.

9 For further details, see Janusz Tazbir, "Polemika Jakuba Niemojewskiego z jezuitami poznańskimi," in *Księga Pamiątkowa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu dla uczczenia 600-lecia założenia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, ed. Gerard Labuda (Poznań: WUAM, 1965), 246–60, and Katarzyna Meller, "Fatalne skutki pewnej 'kolacyi' Jakuba Niemojewskiego z jezuitami poznańskimi czyli poznańska polifonia wyznaniowa w XVI wieku," in *Poznań pisarek i pisarzy*, ed. Zbigniew Józef Kopeć, Jerzy Borowczyk, and Lucyna Marzec (Poznań: WUAM, 2016), 85–100.

Niemojewski's *Diatribes* gained particular resonance because it addressed these local concerns directly, criticizing Jesuit control of education, their preference for Latin over vernacular languages, and their apparent disregard for local cultural and political traditions. While these criticisms paralleled broader European objections to the Jesuit order, including allegations of foreign allegiance and manipulation, Niemojewski distinctively adapted them to Polish circumstances. Consequently, the *Diatribes* captures both widespread European anxieties regarding the Society of Jesus and specific regional disputes concerning language, cultural identity, and political autonomy.

8 Conclusion

Niemojewski's *Diatribes* occupies a distinctive position within anti-Jesuit literature of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, emerging from the contentious religious debates that followed the Warsaw Confederation of 1573. Rather than merely echoing broader European criticisms, Niemojewski's work articulates specifically Polish concerns regarding the perceived foreignness and unwelcome influence of the Society of Jesus. What distinguishes the *Diatribes* from contemporary European polemics is its pronounced emphasis on linguistic and cultural issues—particularly Niemojewski's advocacy for the use of Polish rather than Latin in religious discourse—at a time when most European theological debates still accepted Latin as the conventional medium for scholarly theological exchange.

While Niemojewski's criticisms indeed parallel broader European themes—including allegations of Jesuit ambition, manipulation, and loyalty to foreign powers—his distinctive contribution lies in contextualizing these arguments specifically within the Polish–Lithuanian milieu. Unlike other critics who attacked Jesuit casuistry and doctrinal positions within a generalized European framework, Niemojewski directly engages with local cultural anxieties, emphasizing how the Jesuits disregarded Polish traditions and fostered cultural division by promoting Latin over vernacular languages. Although historical evidence does not suggest that Niemojewski substantially influenced the broader European anti-Jesuit discourse, his work nonetheless represents a local adaptation, demonstrating how European polemical themes were reconfigured to address Polish–Lithuanian concerns.

Within this broader historical context, it is essential to recognize the inherent limitations of the Warsaw Confederation. Rather than establishing religious diversity as a new principle, the Confederation primarily acknowledged and responded to the existing religious plurality and tensions already present within

the Commonwealth. Jesuits, particularly figures like Skarga, actively opposed the Confederation's principles, exacerbating tensions between supporters of royal authority aligned with Jesuit interests and the nobility's insistence on religious and political liberty. These escalating conflicts eventually culminated in the Zbrzydowski Rokosz, a controversial insurrection framed as resistance against perceived threats to traditional freedoms posed by the monarchy's increasingly Jesuit-influenced policies. We shall analyze the anti-Jesuit literature that emerged during this political turmoil in chapter 6.

A Man Who Defied the Society of Jesus: Andrzej Wolan and the First Clash between the Vilnius Jesuits and Calvinists

Michał E. Nowakowski

1 Wolan's *Sententia* and the Genesis of a Historic Polemic¹

The earliest known polemical work challenging the Jesuits in Lithuania, *Vera et orthodoxa veteris ecclesiae sententia de coena Domini ad Petrum Skarga* (True and Orthodox View of the Old Church on the Lord's Supper to Piotr Skarga), dates to 1574.² Not necessarily anti-Jesuit in nature, this text was penned by Andrzej Wolan (c.1530–1610), a Calvinist who later became a royal secretary. Wolan's text responded to the teachings and activities of the Vilnius Jesuits, most notably Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), who arrived in the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1573 to help organize the local Jesuit college. Although this text did not survive, we have substantial information about it from the responses of Francisco Torres (Turrianus [c.1509–1584]), a Spanish Jesuit, and Skarga himself.³

1 This scholarly work has been funded by the National Science Centre in Poland (Narodowe Centrum Nauki) under the project "Great Vilnius Controversy: Jesuit–Calvinist Polemical Literature of Early Modern Vilnius (1574–1647) within Its Domestic and European Contexts," no. 2023/49/N/HS2/00174.

2 Andrzej Wolan, *Vera et orthodoxa veteris ecclesiae sententia de coena Domini ad Petrum Skarga* (Łosk: Typis Castris Loscensis, 1574).

3 On Torres, see *DHCJ*, 4:3820–21. On Wolan and his polemic against the Jesuits, see esp. Janusz Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga: Szermierz kontrreformacji* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1978), 48–67; Ludwik Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, vol. 1, *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej: 1570–1599* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1984), 178–81; Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii UW w Białymstoku, 1988), 70–84; Bronisław Natoński, *Humanizm jezuicki i teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna od XVI do XVIII wieku: Nauka i piśmiennictwo* (Kraków: Ignatianum–WAM, 2003), 60–61, 114–19; Kęstutis Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus und die Reformation im Grossfürstentum Litauen* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2008), esp. 98–135; Maciej Ptaszyński, "Papież litewskiej reformacji? czy późny humanista?: Uwagi na marginesie najnowszej biografii Andrzeja Wolana," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 117, no. 3 (2010): 107–20, here 114–18; Kęstutis Daugirdas, "Petro Skargos debatų su Andriumi Volanu istorinė reikšmė," *Senoji lietuvių literatūra* 35–36 (2013): 325–44; Jakub

The publication of the *Sententia* coincided with a transitional phase in Poland–Lithuania’s political and confessional history. The five years leading up to its release witnessed several pivotal events: the formation of the Commonwealth in 1569, the Sandomierz Consensus of 1570—which united most Protestant denominations against the Counter-Reformation and ostracized anti-Trinitarians from the Calvinist community—the end of the Jagiellonian dynasty in 1572, and the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in Paris the same year, which heightened the Polish–Lithuanian nobility’s fears. These events culminated in the Warsaw Confederation of 1573, which sought to guarantee religious peace among the nobles but was heavily contested by the Catholic hierarchy and lacked effective enforcement mechanisms. Despite this initiative, the nobility chose Henri de Valois (1551–1589, r.1573–1574), the French prince implicated in the Paris massacre, as Poland’s first king chosen through a formal electoral process in 1573.

Five years had also passed since the Jesuits arrived in Vilnius (1569), marking the period when Wolan began openly challenging them in 1574. By then, he was not only a renowned political writer in the Commonwealth but was also serving as a close aide and confidant to the influential Calvinist magnate Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Red” (1512–1584), a brother-in-law of the late king Sigismund Augustus (1520–1572, r.1548–1572). Known for his incisive polemics, Wolan had already represented the Reformed in a theological dispute against the Jesuits in 1570, coinciding with the inauguration of their college in Vilnius.⁴ His prominence made him a notable figure for the Vilnius Jesuits. Skarga himself admits that they had engaged in theological discussions with Wolan in the hope of swaying him toward Catholicism—attempts that ultimately failed.⁵

This approach by the Jesuits in Lithuania, mirroring their earlier strategy in other places, aimed at converting the most affluent and influential local non-Catholics. In Vilnius, during the late 1560s and early 1570s, this strategy resulted in notable conversions among several Calvinist magnates. These included Jan Hieronimowicz Chodkiewicz (c.1537–1579) and the Radziwiłł brothers: Mikołaj Krzysztof “the Orphan” (1549–1616), Jerzy (1556–1600), Albrecht (1558–1592), and Stanisław (1559–1599). The Radziwiłłs’ turn to Catholicism was especially

Niedźwiedź, *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Vilnius: Forms of Writing and Rhetorical Spaces in the City* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), 406–8, 410–14.

4 See Roman Mazurkiewicz, “Wstęp,” in Andrzej Wolan, *De libertate politica sive civili: O wolności Rzeczypospolitej albo ślacheckiej*, ed. Maciej Eder and Roman Mazurkiewicz, trans. Stanisław Dubingowicz (Warsaw: Neriton, 2010), 9–53, here 12–18; Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus*, 22–25, 101.

5 Piotr Skarga, *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia contra haeresim Zvinglianam: Ad Andream Volanum* (Vilnius: Typographia Nicolai Radivili, 1576), A9f.

meaningful for the Society's propagandistic efforts, given that their late father, Mikołaj "the Black" (1515–1565), had been a prominent figure in Lithuania and a leading proponent of Calvinism.⁶

With this in mind, the Jesuits' failure to convert Wolan—who was under the patronage of "Black's" first cousin, Radziwiłł "the Red," and had considerable influence over his patron's confessional views—represented a major setback. Skarga himself acknowledges that Wolan's *Sententia* was a response to his own letter, supposedly intended as a private and benevolent appeal to sway Wolan toward Catholicism.⁷ Defiantly, Wolan not only rejected this attempt but took the debate public, thus becoming the first to challenge the Vilnius Jesuits openly. Adding to the gravity of his defiance, Wolan dedicated the *Sententia* to Bishop Walerian Protasewicz (c.1505–1579), the very person who had brought the Society to Vilnius in 1569.

This provocative move triggered a swift and severe reaction. By August 1, 1574, only a few months after the book's publication, Bishop Protasewicz had already condemned the *Sententia*, banning its reading, sale, and possession under penalty of excommunication.⁸ This rapid censure likely led to the loss of the text over time. Wolan's impact, however, extended to Western Europe, where it must have caused some embarrassment for the Society of Jesus, as evidenced by the fact that the esteemed Jesuit theologian Torres published a treatise on the Eucharist in opposition to Wolan as early as 1575 in Florence. Over the following two years, it was reprinted in Rome and Paris, accompanied by its second part.⁹

Skarga, however, viewed Torres's intervention with disdain. In a communication to Superior General Everard Mercurian (1514–1580, in office 1573–1580), he implied that it reflected poorly on the Vilnius Jesuits, suggesting that it made them appear too weak to handle a single local Calvinist.¹⁰ This perception, coupled with Skarga's personal involvement in the matter, likely spurred him to pen his own response: *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia contra haeresim Zvinglianam: Ad Andream Volanum* (In defense of the most sacred Eucharist

6 See Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga*, 71; Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii*, 174–75; Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus*, 327–28.

7 Skarga, *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia*, A9, B1^v–B2^r; cf. Daugirdas, "Petro Skargos," 329.

8 Skarga, *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia*, B5^r.

9 Francisco Torres, *De sanctissima Eucharistia, tractatus primus contra Volanum Polonum* (Florence: Bartholomaeus Sermartellius, 1575); Torres, *Contra Andream Volanum [...] de sanctissima Eucharistia tractatus* (Rome: Aedes Populi Romani, 1576); Torres, *Contra Andream Volanum [...] de sanctissima Eucharistia tractatus* (Paris: Sébastien Nivelle, 1577).

10 See Daugirdas, "Petro Skargos," 330–31.

against the Zwinglian heresy to Andrzej Wolan), published in Vilnius in 1576 by Radziwiłł “the Orphan’s” press.

Analysis of the treatises by Torres and Skarga allows us to infer that Wolan’s *Sententia* was a theological critique of Catholic doctrines presented in Skarga’s earlier letter rather than an outright anti-Jesuit work. This conclusion stems from the fact that neither Torres nor Skarga directly defends the Society of Jesus in their counterarguments, nor do they mention it specifically. They both seemed most aggrieved by Wolan’s decision to dedicate his work to Bishop Protasewicz, which suggests that it was Skarga and Torres who first channeled the debate toward personal attacks, labeling Wolan as self-righteous, ungrateful, and blasphemous.¹¹ At any rate, Wolan’s subsequent writings took a personal, anti-Jesuit tone.

2 The *Defensio sententiae* as the First Vilnius Anti-Jesuit Text

In 1579, Wolan published his first unequivocally anti-Jesuit text, *A Defense of the True Orthodox and Ancient View within the Church against the New and Made-Up Dogma of Transubstantiation and Other Errors Born from It, to Piotr Skarga, a Vilnius Jesuit, the Defender of This Most Deceptive Fabrication*.¹² Printed in Vilnius by Jan Karcan (d. c.1611), this work represents Wolan’s direct and forceful response to Jesuit writings, marking the author’s turn toward a more confrontational stance.

While the title of Wolan’s 1579 *Defensio* reflects its continuity with his previous work, it might also allude to the dogmatic treatises by influential Reformed theologians. These include authors such as the English martyr Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556); Jan Łaski (John a Lasco [1499–1560]), crucial in establishing the Calvinist church in Poland and spreading the Reformation in England and Frisia; and Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), known for his Reformed Eucharist doctrine.¹³ Initially, the *Defensio* was almost ready

11 Torres, *De sanctissima Eucharistia*, a2; Skarga, *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia*, B1^v–B5^v.

12 Andrzej Wolan, *Defensio verae orthodoxae veterisque in ecclesia sententiae [...] contra novum et commentitium transubstantionis dogma, aliosque errores ex illo natos: Ad Petrum Scargam jesuitam Vilnensem, vanissimi huius commenti propugnatores* (Vilnius: Johannes Kartzanus, 1579).

13 Cf. Jan Łaski, *Defensio verae semperque in ecclesia receptae doctrinae de Christi Domini incarnatione, adversus Menmonem Simonis Anabaptistarum doctorem* (Bonn: Laurenz von der Mülen, 1545); Thomas Cranmer, *Defensio verae et catholicae doctrinae de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi* ([London]: n.p., 1553); Pietro Martire Vermigli, *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae de sacrosancto Eucharistiae sacramento* ([Zurich]: [Christoph Froschauer], [1559]).

for printing in 1577, intended solely as a response to Skarga. However, upon acquiring Torres's treatise, Wolan expanded his scope to address both Jesuits, delaying the book's publication. By August 1578, the finalized text, which included a dedication to the king, was sent for printing, a process that took about nine months.¹⁴

The Commonwealth again underwent important political and confessional changes in the five-year interval between the *Sententia* and the *Defensio*. Notably, King Henri left in 1574, paving the way for Stephen Báthory's (1533–1586, r.1576–1586) election in 1576. Báthory, a devoted Catholic and supporter of the Jesuits, significantly bolstered their presence: under his reign, they established their houses and colleges in eleven cities across the Polish province, including three each in his native Transylvania and Livonia.¹⁵ In 1579, the same year the *Defensio* was published, Báthory and Pope Gregory XIII (r.1572–1585) together transformed the Jesuit college in Vilnius into the first Jesuit university in Poland–Lithuania. Its first rector was Jakub Wujek (1541–1597), who became the target of substantial anti-Jesuit literature, as discussed in chapters 1 and 5. However, Wujek's tenure was very brief due to other responsibilities. On August 1, 1579, he was replaced by Wolan's opponent, Skarga, which testified to Skarga's ever-increasing influence within the Jesuit order.¹⁶

On the other hand, King Báthory, together with his chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), led a faction of moderate Catholics focused on the state's political stability. They valued domestic tranquility and adhered to the Warsaw Confederation's provisions. The king's pragmatic stance likely influenced Wolan's decision to dedicate his anti-Jesuit piece to him. We can only speculate that his intentions in this case differed from when he dedicated his previous work to Protasewicz. Indeed, Wolan could hardly expect to sway Protasewicz with arguments against Catholic doctrine. However, with the *Defensio*, as suggested by its preface and Wolan's subsequent writings, he might have desired a different outcome. He probably hoped to win the king's sympathy, possibly even aiming for a shift in Báthory's stance toward the Jesuits, if not an outright conversion.

The *Defensio* consists of a dedicatory letter to Báthory and three books, which focus on challenging the arguments of Skarga and Torres. In his dedication, Wolan praises the king's piety, learning, and prudence, which, he argues, are indispensable in containing the unrest in the Commonwealth and curing

14 See Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus*, 105–7.

15 Andrzej Paweł Bieś, "Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach polskich: Struktury organizacyjne oraz edukacyjno-oświatowe i pastoralne formy aktywności," *Studia paedagogica ignatiana* 17 (2014): 57–87, here 59–60.

16 Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii*, 66.

its deadly diseases.¹⁷ Here, Wolan opts not to attack the Jesuits directly but makes some unambiguous allusions. For instance, he refers to a *vir quidam magni nominis* (a certain renowned man) preaching *diabolica libertas* (diabolical liberty), clearly hinting at Skarga, whom he portrays as a disruptor of state peace.¹⁸

In the main body of the work, Wolan is more direct. The *Defensio* is divided into three uneven books, with the first spanning over 250 pages—about five times as long as the other two. This makes the *Defensio* one of Wolan's most extensive works, albeit an unstructured and digressive one. The author frequently switches between theological arguments and personal attacks against Skarga, Torres, and the Jesuits in general. He notably accuses the Jesuits of using seductive tricks to deceive various groups, including commoners, women, magnates (like the sons of Radziwiłł “the Black”), and even the king.¹⁹ Wolan also seizes the opportunity to mock Skarga for needing Torres's defense, precisely as the Vilnius Jesuit predicted.²⁰

Furthermore, the work seeks to stir up anti-Catholic sentiment by referring to current public events, like an attack on a Reformed church in Kraków,²¹ and criticizes Catholic doctrine itself. Interestingly, Wolan primarily cites church fathers—such as Jerome (c.345–420), Cyprian (c.210–258), John Chrysostom (c.347–407), and especially Augustine (354–430)—rather than contemporary Reformed theologians to counter the Jesuits' arguments. This choice not only served as a deliberate move to prevent easy dismissal by his opponents but, similarly to other Calvinist anti-Jesuit authors, including Jakub Niemojewski, also aimed to establish a direct lineage between Reformed doctrine and early Christian tradition. By citing church fathers, Wolan attempted to demonstrate that Calvinism was more faithful to the early church, in contrast to what he saw as the Jesuits' complex Scholastic interpretations, which he argued were a departure from original Christian beliefs.

Maciej Ptaszyński has observed that in his polemics against the Jesuits, Wolan adopted the rhetorical stance of a simpleton who did not engage his opponents with sophisticated erudition but instead relied on the simple word of God.²² This technique, typical of contemporary Reformed writers, is especially evident in the *Defensio*, though not as much in Wolan's later writings.²³ In this

17 Wolan, *Defensio*, ii^{r-v}, iii^v.

18 Wolan, *Defensio*, iii^v.

19 Wolan, *Defensio*, 4, 23, 77, 169, 434–35.

20 Wolan, *Defensio*, 107.

21 Wolan, *Defensio*, 436–37.

22 See Ptaszyński, “Papież litewskiej reformacji,” 116–18.

23 Cf. Olivier Millet, *Calvin et la dynamique de la parole: Étude de rhétorique réformée* (Paris:

work, Wolan counters Torres's criticisms by declaring himself a mere courtier without theological pretensions. He even concedes to the Jesuits' ridicule of his "barbaric" Latin. Yet, Wolan cleverly retorts that his Latin must not be too bad since Torres understood him, whereas he himself struggles with Torres's complex sentences, which are supposed to display the Spaniard's expertise in classical languages.²⁴ In general, Wolan's remarks on his Jesuit adversaries are laden with irony, often drawing on classical and biblical motifs.²⁵

From this same guise of a self-proclaimed simpleton, Wolan launches a broader attack on the Society of Jesus. He sarcastically lauds the Jesuits for achieving a level of perfection elusive to others.²⁶ Tellingly, he points out that they have abandoned the name of their founder—referring to them, probably for the first time in Poland–Lithuania, as "Loiolitae"²⁷—and have exchanged the traditional religious garb for an ornate *pallium philosophicum* (philosopher's cloak). However, Wolan argues that such attributes will not aid in salvation, which requires a *sincera et recta fides* (sincere and righteous faith).²⁸ He accuses the *boni Jesuitae* (good Jesuits) of masquerading as philosophers to deceive the uneducated masses while avoiding confrontations with learned Calvinist theologians and choosing instead to target a simple courtier like himself.²⁹

The decisive nature of Wolan's attack on the Vilnius Jesuits in the *Defensio* understandably caused quite a stir and bolstered the work's popularity. The Jesuits conveyed their concerns to Superior General Mercurian, noting with dismay that even those close to King Báthory, to whom the book was dedicated, were reading it. In response, the papal legate and Mantuan Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1533–1611), who was with Báthory at the time, promptly wrote a lengthy letter to the king in 1579 (printed in 1583). In it, Possevino denounced Wolan's book as blasphemous and harmful to the kingdom, urging action against the author for his audacity in dedicating such content to the monarch.³⁰

Champion, 1992). In Poland, this technique was notably employed by the famous religious writer Mikołaj Rej (1505–69). See, for example, Wojciech Ryzek, "Zafarbowane słówka krasomędrków: Mikołaj Rej o sztuce barwienia słów," *Napis* 21 (2015): 13–32.

24 Wolan, *Defensio*, 107–10; cf. 135.

25 Wolan, *Defensio*, 158, 322–24.

26 Wolan, *Defensio*, 75.

27 Wolan, *Defensio*, 197.

28 Wolan, *Defensio*, 75.

29 Wolan, *Defensio*, 4, 198.

30 Antonio Possevino, *Epistola ad Stephanum Primum, Poloniae regem serenissimum: Adversus quendam Volanum haereticum Litanum* (Ingolstadt: Wolfgang Eder, 1583), 1–5; see Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus*, 108–9.

Skarga, too, responded to the *Defensio*, initially with a sermon (to which, in turn, the Calvinist minister Stanisław Sudrowski [c.1550–1600] replied) and later with two treatises in both Polish and Latin, describing Wolan as *huius haereticae pestis in Lituania archminister* (archminister of this heretical plague in Lithuania).³¹ Although it seems King Báthory was reluctant to accept Wolan's dedication, he refrained from imposing any consequences on the author. A key factor in this decision was likely the influence of Radziwiłł “the Red,” Wolan's patron, whose support was significant to Báthory's immediate political plans. Radziwiłł may have felt a sense of pride, as Wolan's book not only gained acclaim in Western Europe but was also reprinted in 1586 as part of the anti-Jesuit collection printed in Geneva.³²

3 Anti-Calvinist Developments of 1581 and Their Aftermath: *Oppugnatio and Libri quinque*

The escalating tensions between Vilnius Catholics and Calvinists led to a series of events in 1580–1581 that significantly shifted the city's power dynamics. In these circumstances, Wolan authored two more anti-Jesuit works. These were *Idololatriae Loiolitarum Vilnensium oppugnatio itemque ad nova illorum obiecta responsio* (Assault on the idolatry of the Vilnius Loyolites and also a response to their new objections [Vilnius: Jan Karcan, 1583]) and *Libri quinque contra Scargae jesuitae Vilnensis Septem [...] columnas, et librum Duodecim artium Zvingliocaluinistarum* (Five books against the Vilnius Jesuit Piotr Skarga's Seven pillars [...] and book of Twelve tricks of Zvinglo-Calvinists [Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1584]). Accompanying the latter work was a supportive letter and an entire theological treatise with anti-Jesuit content by the Polish Protestant Jan Łasicki (c.1533–after 1599).³³

The events of 1580–1581 involved several important figures: Skarga, Báthory, Jerzy Radziwiłł, Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Orphan” (both converts to Catholicism),

31 Piotr Skarga, *Artes duodecim sacramentariorum seu Zvingliocalvinistarum [...] contra Andream Volanum huius haereticae pestis in Lituania archiministrum* (Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1582); Piotr Skarga, *Siedm filarów, na których stoi katolicka nauka o przenaświętszym sakramencie ołtarza, postawione przeciw nauce zwinglyjańskiej, kalwińskiej Andrzeja Wolana* (Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1582). See Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus*, 107–10; Dariusz Chemperek, “Siedm filarów’ Piotra Skargi: Geneza i aspekt retoryczny,” *Ruch literacki* 54, nos. 4–5 (2013): 425–37.

32 *Doctrinae Jesuiticae praecipua capita* (La Rochelle [Geneva]: Theophilus Regius [Eustache Vignon], 1586), 4:737–1115.

33 On Łasicki, see Henryk Barycz, *Jan Łasicki: Studium z dziejów polskiej kultury naukowej XVI wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973).

and their older first cousin once removed, the Calvinist Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Red.” In 1576, “the Orphan,” the first son of Radziwiłł “the Black” to adopt Catholic faith, had brought the Reformed printer Daniel of Łęczycza (d.1600) to manage what was once “the Black’s” Reformed printing house, which now served the Vilnius Jesuits under “the Orphan’s” patronage. Interestingly, it was Daniel who printed Skarga’s 1576 writing against Wolan. However, in 1580, reportedly influenced by Wolan and other Calvinists, Daniel moved to a new Calvinist printing house in Vilnius, taking some printing equipment with him that a recent scholarship suggests was his property. The Jesuits—who were temporarily left without printing capabilities and awaiting Skarga’s pending reply to Wolan—viewed this as theft. However, they could not officially act due to Radziwiłł “the Red’s” protection of Daniel. They resorted to persuading one of Daniel’s employees to “recover” the printing instruments, with the new Catholic bishop Jerzy Radziwiłł now offering them protection.³⁴

The conflict over the printing houses escalated in August 1581. Shortly after his official arrival in Vilnius, Bishop Radziwiłł ordered the confiscation and, reportedly, burning of books from one of the city’s two Calvinist printers—likely Daniel of Łęczycza himself—in front of the Jesuit church. This incident, perhaps unprecedented in Lithuania, was perceived as a blatant violation of the Warsaw Confederation. Around the same time, Calvinists in Vilnius faced increasing hostility: their funeral processions were disrupted by Catholics, especially near the Jesuit church, and Jesuit students allegedly threw stones at Calvinist ministers.³⁵

These incidents prompted a response from Protestants (not just Calvinists), who appealed to Báthory. Even though the king was then engaged in a military siege against Muscovy, he still found time to address the Protestants’ request. Importantly, they identified the Jesuits as the primary perpetrators of the Catholic aggression. Despite his Catholic faith and favor toward the Jesuits, Báthory swiftly issued an edict condemning the spread of Catholicism through violence and forbade further unrest. He argued that “in those states and kingdoms where they want to solidify faith by violence, sword, and fire, and not by teaching and good conduct, there is a great bloodshed and destruction from domestic war.”³⁶ In this context, the king also invoked his previous oath to the

34 See Tomasz Kempa, *Konflikty wyznaniowe w Wilnie od początku reformacji do końca XVII wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2016), 137–38.

35 See Kempa, *Konflikty*, 138–44.

36 “W tych państwach a królestwach, gdzie gwałtem, mieczem a ogniem, a nie nauką i dobrymi obyczajami wiarę gruntować chcą, wielkie rozlania krwi i zniszczenie z wewnętrznej wojny dzieją się.” See Kempa, *Konflikty*, 144.

Warsaw Confederation, reaffirming his commitment to it.³⁷ This royal intervention provided a measure of protection for Vilnius Reformed polemicists, who soon offered their perspective on the 1581 events. The first account came from the anonymous author of the “Apologeticus” (1582), which will be discussed in the next chapter. Wolan’s writings followed in 1583 and 1584.

Both the *Oppugnatio* and the *Libri quinque* are, in theory, theological treatises that engage in polemics with Skarga’s views, particularly on the doctrine of transubstantiation and the veneration of images and saints. However, it becomes apparent that theological issues are more of a pretext for Wolan to launch an unprecedentedly direct frontal attack on the Vilnius Jesuits. In the *Oppugnatio*, Wolan not only revisits but also intensifies the anti-Jesuit themes initially presented in the *Defensio*. He criticizes the name of the order and its founder, Loyola, along with his disciples, whom he labels as “masters of all errors and corruptions.”³⁸ The *Libri quinque* probes even more deeply into this accusation. Wolan argues that the propensity for deception and slander, though common to many, is particularly ingrained and intentionally fostered within the Jesuit “sect.” He even suggests that the Jesuits might have been established solely to propagate lies and calumnies.³⁹

A major focus of both writings is the recent anti-Calvinist events in Vilnius, with Wolan casting the Jesuits as their primary instigators. He portrays Skarga and his confrères not just as *homines seditiosi et pacis publicae perturbatores* (seditious men and disruptors of public peace)⁴⁰ but also as *sanguinari* (blood-thirsty) and cruel murderers, bent on inciting a *miserabilis aliqua strages* (certain deplorable slaughter) against the Reformed.⁴¹ In this light, the 1581 developments in Vilnius, which, as far as we know, did not result in any deaths, are depicted as a manifestation of these intentions:

It is already known to all Lithuania how much commotion these distinguished theologians of Vilnius had recently made, and how cruel a slaughter they opened the doors for, while the mad crowd, incited by their voices,

37 See Kempa, *Konflikty*, 139–46.

38 Andrzej Wolan, *Idololatriae Loiolitarum Vilnensium oppugnatio itemque ad nova illorum obiecta responsio* (Vilnius: Joannes Kartzanus, 1583), G1.

39 Andrzej Wolan, *Libri quinque contra Scargae jesuitae Vilnensis Septem [...] columnas, et librum Duodecim artium Zuinglio-caluinistarum* (Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1584), a1 (preface); cf. a3^r, 197; Wolan, *Idololatriae*, F4^v–G1^r.

40 Wolan, *Libri quinque*, 201, 210–11.

41 Wolan, *Idololatriae*, G3^r; Wolan, *Libri quinque*, 197, 201, 211, 123 [213].

was already armed, and was only waiting for the signal to carry out the murder.⁴²

Wolan's anti-Jesuit rhetoric in the *Oppugnatio* and the *Libri quinque* has shifted noticeably compared to the *Defensio*. Moving away from humanistic ridicule and irony, he opts for direct and repeated assaults, often taken to the extreme. In doing so, Wolan uses a highly graphic vocabulary, unmistakably connoting brutal violence: *mutuae caedes et crudelis hominum laniena* (mutual slaughters and ruthless butchery of men); *homicida* (a murderer); *crudelis carnificina* (cruel torture); *sanguinaria consilia* (blood-thirsty advice); *caedibus ac flammis exterminandi* (to be extirpated through slaughters and flames); *immanitas vestra* (your monstrousness); *furibunde sanguinem sitire* (to thirst for blood frantically); *ad perdendos ac contrucidandos [...] stimulare* (to urge to destroy and slay); *crudelis animus* (cruel mind); *horrenda hominum caedes* (dreadful slaughter of men); *furor ac truculentia* (madness and savageness); *crudelissimi [...] carnifices* (the most cruel butchers); *seditiones ac tumultus* (seditions and tumults); or *gladio excindendi* (to be exterminated by sword).⁴³

At times, Wolan seems to aim to shock his readers, as for example when he asserts that the Society has turned itself into *Sathanae prostibulum* (Satan's whorehouse), or describes Loyola as "the pernicious sower of this venomous fetus, who, having been brought up under that servile and tyrannical Spanish Inquisition, could never taste with his lips the doctrine of the Evangelical truth, but was un nourished in all the superstitions of the papal church."⁴⁴ Furthermore, Wolan shrewdly uses the anti-Spanish (anti-Habsburg) and anti-absolutist sentiments prevalent among the Polish–Lithuanian nobility—particularly exploited over two decades later during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz—by linking them with anti-Jesuitism.

By employing exaggerated and drastic images, Wolan seeks not only to shock the reader but also to instill in them a fear of the Jesuits. In fact, he adopts the same strategy toward King Báthory, aware of his policy and efforts to maintain domestic tranquility. Wolan deliberately portrays the Jesuits as both threaten-

42 "Notum iam est universae Lithuaniae, quantos motus nuper egregii isti theologi Vilnae fecerint, et quam crudeli carnificinae ianuam aperuerint, dum multitudo insana vocibus eorum instigata iam in armis esset, et saltem signum caedibus faciendis expectaret." Wolan, *Idololatriae*, M2^r.

43 Wolan, *Idololatriae*, G3^r, M2^r; Wolan, *Libri quinque*, 197, 201–2, 211, 123 [213].

44 "Viperei huiusce foetus perniciosus fator, qui cum sub servili et tyrannica illa inquisitione Hispanica educatus fuisset, nullam unquam veritatis Evangelicae doctrinam vel primis labris degustare potuit, sed in omnibus Ecclesiae papalis superstitionibus innutritus." See Wolan, *Idololatriae*, G1^v. See also G3^r.

ing the stability of the state and disregarding the law and royal authority: “These indeed prove to be the most despicable of all men, whom neither the fear of the laws nor of the king could so far keep in their duties as not to incite numerous commotions everywhere and not open the doors to mutual slaughters and deadly clashes.”⁴⁵

In this regard, Wolan cites Báthory’s edict against religious violence in Vilnius, reminding his readers that it was issued not against Calvinists but against the Jesuits.⁴⁶ Moreover, he argues that the Jesuits despise the religious peace guaranteed by the king’s oath to the Warsaw Confederation and intentionally incite the Catholics to violate it.⁴⁷ Wolan’s strategy apparently was to provoke the king’s personal animosity toward the Society. This is further demonstrated by the description of Catholic oppression, including the alleged destruction by Jesuit students of the graves of Hungarian soldiers (i.e., Báthory’s compatriots) who were to die defending the Commonwealth. Wolan uses this information, which is not confirmed elsewhere, to tarnish further the king’s opinion of the Jesuits, who, according to him, would not only fail to punish their students but actually praise their commitment.⁴⁸

The release of the *Oppugnatio* and the *Libri quinque* marked the peak of Wolan’s conflict with Skarga. At this time, Skarga, preoccupied with his duties as the rector of the academy and involved in establishing colleges in Połock and Livonia on the king’s command, as well as managing the Jesuit community in Kraków, did not respond further to his adversary.⁴⁹ However, others at the academy stepped in to continue the polemical exchange, notably the Portuguese Jesuit professor of polemical theology, Manuel de Vega (1553–1640). Among Vega’s several writings from the mid-1580s, *Assertiones theologicae de augustissimo Eucharistiae sacramento* (Theological statements about the most sacred sacrament of the Eucharist [Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1585]) stands out. In it, Vega seeks to demonstrate, among other things, that Protestants, contrary to their claims, derived their teachings not from the Holy Spirit but from a demon.⁵⁰

45 “Isti vero omnium hominum se esse sceleratissimos testantur, quos nec legum, nec regis metus hactenus in officio continere potuit, ut non multas ubique turbas excitarent, mutisque coedibus ac praeliis funestis ianuam aperirent.” Wolan, *Libri quinque*, 207.

46 Wolan, *Libri quinque*, 211.

47 Wolan, *Libri quinque*, 210–11; cf. 200–1.

48 Wolan, *Libri quinque*, 207–8.

49 Cf. Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga*, 77–97.

50 Emanuel Vega, *Assertiones theologicae, de augustissimo Eucharistiae sacramento, quibus refelluntur [...] sectarii, contra veram, et realem praesentiam Christi in Eucharistia* (Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1585), A3 verso; cf. Estreicher 32:283–84.

Vega's work elicited a theological rejoinder from Wolan, entitled *Assertionum de Eucharistia falsarum, cum doctrina apostolica et sententia veteris Ecclesiae pugnantium [...] confutatio* (Refutation of the false statements about the Eucharist that conflict with the apostolic doctrine and the opinion of the old church [Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1586]). Around the same time as Wolan's response, a collection of theses challenging his views emerged, authored by Vega's disciple, Andrzej Jurgiewicz (1560–1604).⁵¹ This work positioned Jurgiewicz as Wolan's principal opponent thereafter.

4 After Skarga's Departure from Vilnius: the *Apologia*

Surprisingly, the conflict between Wolan and the local Jesuits intensified after Skarga permanently left Vilnius in 1584, ending his direct involvement in the polemics. In response to the writings of Vega and Jurgiewicz, Wolan released another anti-Jesuit work, *Apologia [...] ad calumnias et convitia pestiferae hominum sectam, qui se falso jesuitas vocant* (Defense against the calumnies and insults of the pernicious sect of men who falsely call themselves Jesuits [Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1587]).

The *Apologia* was composed after Báthory's death in 1586, an event that influenced Wolan's text and signaled a major shift in confessional relations within the Commonwealth. As we have seen, while Báthory had aimed to boost the Catholic faith and showed sympathy toward the Jesuits, his primary concern was maintaining domestic order. However, during the reign of his successor and former Jesuit pupil, Sigismund III (1566–1632, r.1587–1632), the political priorities changed—although the extent of the king's personal involvement in these changes remains a matter of scholarly debate.⁵² The *Apologia* was completed in May 1587, a few months before Sigismund's election to the Polish throne. Wolan chose to publish the text despite a ban on polemical publications during the interregnum. This ban was decreed by the voivode of Vilnius and son of the late Radziwiłł “the Red,” Krzysztof Radziwiłł “the Thunderbolt” (1547–1603), who sought to maintain internal peace until a new monarch was elected. In disregard of this edict, Wolan published his work and even dedicated it to his late patron's son.⁵³

51 Andrzej Jurgiewicz, *De pio, et in sancta ecclesia iam inde ab apostolis receptissimo sacrarum imaginum usu [...] itemque de sanctorum veneratione et invocatione theses, in Academia Vilnensi disputandae, adversus impium et famosum libellum, a Volano quodam [...] editum* (Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1586).

52 Cf. *Introduction*, n. 41.

53 See Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus*, 118–19.

There is substantial evidence suggesting that Wolan intended the *Apologia* as a concluding piece in his debate with the Jesuits. This is primarily indicated by the thematic range of the work, which compiles various arguments and extends the polemic beyond its previously established bounds. Wolan starts with a stringent critique of the papacy before launching general attacks against the Society. He references more contemporary Catholic and Protestant polemicists than in his earlier works, including the dispute between the English Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion (1540–1581) and the Reformed theologians Laurence Humphrey (1527–1590) and William Whitaker (1548–1595). Additionally, Wolan cites French Reformation leaders John Calvin (1509–1564) and his disciple Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), as well as noted Jesuit adversary Antoine de la Roche Chandieu (1534–1591), while also addressing accusations from his own previous Jesuit opponents, such as Skarga, Torres, Possevino, Vega, and the English Jesuit from Poznań, Laurence Arthur Faunt (1554–1591).

In the *Apologia*, Wolan intertwines his theological arguments with personal narratives more than ever before, frequently refuting accusations against him and his family. A relevant portion of the text details his relationship with the late king Báthory. While continuing to commend Báthory's leadership and military achievements, Wolan now openly criticizes the king's support for Catholicism. He even suggests, controversially, that Báthory's death was influenced by his attendance at a Catholic Mass, blaming this on *sirenae palliatae* (cloaked sirens), a metaphor for the Jesuits, whom he accuses of turning Báthory's initial sympathy toward Protestantism into resentment.⁵⁴ Wolan also describes a similar, albeit unsuccessful, Jesuit attempt to convert Radziwiłł "the Thunderbolt" by exploiting his wife's severe illness, as described in his preface to Radziwiłł.⁵⁵

Wolan's depiction of the Jesuits in the *Apologia* directly extends the approach found in his earlier works. Thus, he reiterates his criticism of the Society's name, arguing that its members, unlike other orders, abandoned their teacher's name and *non minus ridicule quam impie* (no less ridiculously than impiously) styled themselves as companions of Jesus.⁵⁶ Wolan contends that this presumptuous appropriation of Jesus's name is particularly outrageous given that the Jesuits, despite constantly invoking Christ and featuring his name in their writings, have strayed from and even aggressively opposed his teachings *omni studio ac viribus* (with all eagerness and strength). He then

54 Andrzej Wolan, *Apologia [...] ad calumnias et convitia pestiferae hominum sectam, qui se falso jesuitas vocant* (Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1587), D3.

55 Wolan, *Apologia*, A3.

56 "Hi, repudiato magistri sui nomine, quo tamen omnes aliae monachorum sectae gaudent, non minus ridicule quam impie se Jesuitas, sive socios Jesu vocant." See Wolan, *Apologia*, B4^v–C1^r.

continues by saying that the Jesuits “concentrate all their talent, devote all their care and thought, direct every point of their pens at it in order to pierce the divine truth, and cover the ugly spots of falsehood with every ink and pigment.”⁵⁷ Wolan even goes as far as likening the Jesuits to Judas, betraying Jesus to his enemies.⁵⁸

The author further explores the portrayal of Jesuits as instigators of conflict by introducing a new dimension: their alleged urban strategy of establishing *nidi* (nests) in major cities to fuel political and religious unrest.⁵⁹ This concept was already known from the works of Martin Chemnitz (1522–1588), a prominent Lutheran theologian and a key adversary of the Jesuits in German-speaking lands.⁶⁰ Comparing the biographies of Chemnitz and Wolan reveals enough similarities to suggest that their shared themes were more than mere coincidence.

In 1543–1544, Chemnitz stayed in Frankfurt an der Oder with his older cousin Georg Sabinus (1508–1560), Philip Melancthon’s (1497–1560) son-in-law. During this time, a young Wolan arrived in the same city to pursue his studies and possibly studied rhetoric under Sabinus. Even though Sabinus and Chemnitz soon left town, Wolan probably had the opportunity to meet them at the University of Königsberg in 1550. Sabinus was the university’s first rector, while Chemnitz served as castle librarian to Duke Albert of Prussia (1490–1568, r.1525–1568), the university’s founder, from 1550 until the end of 1552. Wolan completed his studies shortly thereafter, in 1553.⁶¹ It is plausible that Wolan and Chemnitz met and that Wolan was influenced by Chemnitz’s ideas, even if he did not directly cite his *Theologiae jesuitarum praecipua capita* (Main tenets of Jesuits’ theology), which was first published in 1553 and then reprinted several times between the 1560s and 1580s.

Furthermore, Wolan criticizes the Jesuits’ day-to-day behavior, accusing them of exploiting the naivety of common people to amass vast estates across Europe. He claims the “Loyolites,” despite their wealth, shamelessly wandered

57 “Ingenium omne eo intendunt, omnique cura et cogitatione in id incumbunt, ac styli omne acumen eo dirigunt, ut veritatem divinam confodiant, et deformes mendacii maculas quovis fuco ac pigmento oblinant.” See Wolan, *Apologia*, Cr^r.

58 Wolan, *Apologia*, Cr^r.

59 Wolan, *Apologia*, E4^v.

60 Martin Chemnitz, *Theologiae jesuitarum praecipua capita* (Strasbourg: Antonius Bertramus, 1602), A5^v, B4^r. First published in 1553 in Latin and in 1562 in German.

61 Cf. Daugirdas, *Andreas Volanus*, 21–25; “Chemnitz, Martin,” in *Christian Cyclopaedia*, <http://cyclopedia.lcms.org/definitions?mode=index&page=0&index=CHEMNITZ.MARTIN&definition=3E88DF84-B266-EE11-9148-0050563F0205> (accessed April 16, 2025 2024).

from village to village begging for alms and burdening the already overtaxed peasants.⁶² Other notable anti-Jesuit themes in the *Apologia* include associating the Jesuits with practicing diabolical arts, comparing their inquisitiveness to the keen sense of hunting dogs, and emphasizing their alleged inclination toward cruelty, hypocrisy, and slander.⁶³

Unsurprisingly, the *Apologia*, together with Wolan's other, unknown writing, triggered a sharp response from Jesuit circles. In 1589, the rector of the Jesuit college in Braniewo and soon the rector of the Vilnius Academy, Fryderyk Bartsch (1552–1609), published a treatise countering Wolan.⁶⁴ However, the most notable reaction came from a former Jesuit student, Jurgiewicz. He authored two particularly pointed responses that were published by the Jesuits in Vilnius: in 1587, *Responsio [...] ad famosum Andreae Volani contra summum pontificem libellum* (Response to Andrzej Wolan's infamous pamphlet against the supreme pontiff), and in 1588, *Mendacia et convitia evangelica Andreae Volani* (Andrzej Wolan's evangelical lies and insults). Additionally, both volumes included poetry directed against Wolan.

5 The Polemic's Epilogue: a Response to Jurgiewicz

Spurred by Jurgiewicz's deeply personal attacks, Wolan crafted a rebuttal titled *Ad scurilem et famosum libellum, jesuiticae scholae Vilnensis, et potissimum maledici conviciatoris Andreae Iurgeviti [...] responsio* (Response to the scurrilous and infamous pamphlet by the Jesuit school of Vilnius and chiefly by the slanderous abuser Andrzej Jurgiewicz [n.p.: n.p., 1589]), which also features polemical poetry. The *Responsio* is noteworthy as Wolan's most autobiographical work. In it, he counters Jurgiewicz's personal accusations with narratives about his own family (including its noble status), his education, and his public service. Wolan suggests that Jurgiewicz's allegations in these matters were prompted by his Jesuit masters.⁶⁵

Multiple anti-Jesuit themes feature prominently in the *Responsio*. Wolan discusses the pervasive lies and deceptions of the *Loiolitarum secta* (Loyolites' sect) and their inherent animosity.⁶⁶ He also revisits the events of 1581, arguing

62 Wolan, *Apologia*, E4^v–E5^r.

63 Wolan, *Apologia*, A4^r, B4^v–C2^v, C4^v–D1^r.

64 Fryderyk Bartsch, *Andreae Volani [...] orationi [...] responsio* (Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1589). See also Daugirdas, *Andres Volanus*, 121–22.

65 Andrzej Wolan, *Ad scurilem et famosum libellum, Jesuiticae scholae Vilnensis, et potissimum maledici conviciatoris Andreae Iurgeviti [...] responsio* (n.p.: n.p., 1589), 3.

66 Wolan, *Ad scurilem*, 1, 5.

that without strict punishment, the Jesuits would have likely orchestrated a massacre in Vilnius.⁶⁷ Indeed, Wolan emphasizes the Jesuits' *turbulentae et sediciosae contiones* (turbulent and seditious sermons), accusing them of taking pleasure in the bloodshed of citizens. He also posits that the academy, staffed predominantly by Italians and Spaniards accustomed to the tyranny of the Spanish Inquisition, would inevitably produce such violent outcomes.⁶⁸ The stereotype of Jesuits as foreigners in the early years after their arrival in Poland–Lithuania holds a kernel of truth, as most of the Society's members were not native to the region. However, this demographic rapidly shifted. By the 1580s, the proportion of foreign Jesuits had dwindled to only fifteen to twenty percent, and by the early seventeenth century, this figure had more than halved.⁶⁹

Despite these typical features of anti-Jesuit rhetoric, the *Responsio* primarily addresses Jurgiewicz's personal allegations against Wolan, using the anti-Jesuit narrative more as a backdrop. The publication of the *Responsio* subsequently generated further responses from Jurgiewicz, who published two works against Wolan between 1590 and 1591, both in Latin, with one immediately translated into Polish.⁷⁰ Wolan, however, opted not to engage with these new publications directly, although he continued to write on polemical subjects.⁷¹

6 Conclusion

Alongside the *Monita privata (secreta)*, with its unique cosmopolitan feature, Wolan's writings stand as the most pan-European manifestation of anti-Jesuitism in Poland–Lithuania. Although *Defensio*, *Oppugnatio*, *Libri quinque*, *Apolo-gia*, and *Responsio* originated from a local conflict with the Vilnius Jesuits, their reception and impact were of a much broader European scope. Wolan's engage-

67 Wolan, *Ad scurilem*, 5.

68 Wolan, *Ad scurilem*, 50.

69 Andrea Mariani, "Cudzoziemcy w prowincji polskiej i litewskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego: Przyczynek do badań nad wielokulturowością dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," in *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Wojciech Walczak and Katarzyna Wiszowata-Walczak (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2023), 15:71–113, here 77–79.

70 Andrzej Jurgiewicz, *Quaestiones de haeresibus nostri temporis Andreae Volano et Lithuaniae ministris* (Vilnius: n.p., 1590); Jurgiewicz, *Kwestyj kilkadziesiąt albo pytania katolickie [...] Andrzejowi Wolanowi i ministrom litewskim* (Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1590); Jurgiewicz, *Anatomia libelli famosi et scurrilis Andreae Volani Lwowcoviensis apostatae et praefecti synagogae Calvinisticae Vlnensis* (Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1591).

71 Estreicher 33:239–55.

ment in a polemic against Skarga, Torres, Possevino, Vega, and Jurgiewicz was a deliberate contribution to the universal anti-Jesuit (and anti-Catholic) discourse, which is suggested by both the authorities he cites (including church fathers, Vermigli, Calvin, Beza, Humphrey, Whitaker, de la Roche Chandieu, and even the Catholic Erasmus of Rotterdam [c.1466–1536]) and the nature and range of his arguments.

Particularly striking among these arguments is the use of specific anti-Jesuit images, which, given their historical context, had not previously been employed in Poland–Lithuania. For example, Wolan depicts the Jesuits as blood-thirsty murderers of non-Catholics and vicious destroyers of peace, images that originated in countries like France or England, where religious conflicts and persecutions led to Protestant martyrdom. Meanwhile, in the Commonwealth, religious violence was never as drastic and widespread, with the first instances of anti-Protestant tumults only appearing in the 1580s. It was to Wolan's credit, as well as to the anonymous author of the "Apologeticus," that these early displays of violence were leveraged to apply anti-Jesuit rhetoric as known from Western Europe.

The importance of Wolan's writings to European anti-Jesuitism is evident in their reception. His earliest work, the *Sententia*, sparked a crisis that required the attention of prominent Jesuits, including the superior general. In the following years, writings against Wolan were produced by Jesuits from various provinces and published not only in the capital cities of Poland–Lithuania (Kraków and Vilnius) but also in Florence, Ingolstadt, Paris, and Rome. Wolan is the only known author from the Commonwealth to have made a lasting mark on the canon of European anti-Jesuit writers, as demonstrated by his inclusion in the previously mentioned collection, *Doctrinae jesuiticae prae-cipua capita*. This is not surprising, given the universal readership profile projected in Wolan's texts (written exclusively in Latin), which skillfully situated local polemic, events, and figures within a broader European context, providing Western co-religionists with additional arguments in the great Catholic–Protestant controversy of the sixteenth century.

On the other hand, Wolan's influence on the emergence and development of anti-Jesuit literature in Poland–Lithuania cannot be overstated. Let us recall that when he first debated the Vilnius Jesuits in 1570 and later published his *Sententia* against them in 1574, the Society had been operating in the Commonwealth for less than a decade. When contrasted with their prior successes, such early, determined opposition damaged the Jesuits' image, particularly if we consider that this opposition came from a single Calvinist who, despite lacking a theological degree, was able to stand up to Jesuit theologians in their area of expertise. Ultimately, many of the anti-Jesuit arguments found

in Wolan's writings persisted in Polish–Lithuanian discourse for decades or even centuries (as seen in the nineteenth-century debate on the causes of the Commonwealth's collapse).⁷² This was particularly evident during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz, when the Jesuits' opponents again associated them with the pro-Habsburg party and the Spanish Inquisition, portraying them as disturbers of peace. But that is another story, or rather, another chapter of our book.

72 See, for example, Sławomir Zieliński, "Jezuici a reformacja w syntezach szkoły Lelewelewskiej: Lelewel, Moraczewski i Schmitt," *Nasza przeszłość* 134 (2020): 209–32; Michał E. Nowakowski and Przemysław M. Raczyk, "On the Hunt for Anti-Jesuitica: A Report from a 2023 Research Trip to European Libraries and Archives," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 11, no. 2 (2024): 301–24, here 304–5, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-11020006> (accessed April 16, 2025).

Protestant Vilnius beyond Wolan: The “Apologeticus” as the First Anti-Jesuit Poetry

Michał E. Nowakowski

1 Introduction to the Work

As the dispute between Andrzej Wolan (c.1530–1610) and Piotr Skarga (1536–1612) escalated into its most contentious phase in the early 1580s, Protestants in Vilnius published an anonymous poem titled “Apologeticus to jest obrona konfederacyjnej, przytym seditio albo bunt kapłański na ewangeliki w Wilnie z wolej a łaski miłego Boga przed harapem wynurzony” (Apologeticus, that is, a defense of the confederation, with sedition or priestly rebellion against the Evangelicals in Vilnius revealed out of the will and grace of the dear God before the onslaught). Printed in 1582, this work represents the earliest known textual response to the anti-Calvinist developments that occurred in Vilnius the year before—even predating Wolan’s *Idolatriae Loiolitarum Vilnensium oppugnatio* (1583), discussed in the previous chapter. The authorship of the “Apologeticus” is a matter of scholarly debate, with suggestions pointing toward either the Lutheran official Waclaw Agryppa (d.1597) or the Calvinist polemist Stanisław Niniński (d. after 1604).¹ However, neither of these hypotheses is conclusively supported by existing documentation.

1 This scholarly work has been funded by the National Science Centre in Poland (Narodowe Centrum Nauki) under the project “Great Vilnius Controversy: Jesuit–Calvinist Polemical Literature of Early Modern Vilnius (1574–1647) within Its Domestic and European Contexts,” no. 2023/49/N/HS2/00174.

See Edmund Bursche, “Wstęp,” in *Apologeticus to jest obrona konfederacyjnej przytym seditio albo bunt kapłański na ewangeliki w Wilnie z wolej a łaski miłego Boga przed harapem wynurzony*, ed. Edmund Bursche (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1932), iii–xliv, here xi–xliv; Henryk Barycz, “Kto był autorem poematu Apologeticus z 1582 r.,” *Reformacja w Polsce* 6, nos. 21–24 (1934): 129–40; Edmund Bursche, “W sprawie autorstwa Apologeticusa” and Henryk Barycz, “Agryppa czy Niniński?,” *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8, no. 25–32 (1935–36): 428–38.

2 The Poem's Origins

Echoing the Wolan works discussed in the previous chapter, the “Apologeticus” emerged as a result of the conflict between Calvinists and Catholics—particularly the Jesuits and the bishop of Vilnius, Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556–1600)—in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania’s capital. It is the earliest recorded instance of anti-Jesuit poetry in Vilnius and throughout the entire Commonwealth. The immediate catalyst for the poem seems to have been the confiscation and burning of Calvinist books and the disruption of Reformed funeral processions by Catholics in the summer of 1581—which, as we have seen, the Jesuit students were accused of—and the subsequent edict of King Stephen Báthory (r.1576–1586) of September 30, 1581, condemning religious violence.² Tellingly, this document is reprinted at the end of the “Apologeticus.” The author’s scope, however, extends beyond these local events, situating the occurrences in Vilnius within a broader political and religious framework. This is evident in the explicit references to the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre (1572) and, particularly, the Warsaw Confederation (1573), as hinted at in the poem’s title. Intriguingly, despite being published nine years after the confederation, the “Apologeticus” is recognized as its earliest known textual defense.³

3 Content Overview

Composed mainly in Polish with sporadic Latin insertions, the poem has 1,770 lines and is structured into two distinct parts. The first one, corresponding to the initial segment of the title (Apologeticus, that is, a defense of the confederation), adopts an overtly anti-Catholic stance. In this section, the author leverages conventional polemical tactics, targeting the institution of the papacy and individual popes, as well as the moral integrity of the Catholic clergy and their alleged superstitions, abuses, and wicked schemes. Interestingly, despite being emphasized in the title, the direct defense of the confederation, while undeniably present, is somewhat overshadowed by these broader critiques. On the other hand, the forceful denunciation of the Jesuits, who are portrayed in an exceedingly unfavorable light, is placed at

2 Tomasz Kempa, *Konflikty wyznaniowe w Wilnie od początku reformacji do końca XVII wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2016), 137–46.

3 Mirosław Korolko, “Klejnot swobodnego sumienia”: *Polemika wokół konfederacji warszawskiej w latach 1573–1658* (Warsaw: Pax, 1974), 147–49.

the beginning of the poem, hinting at its later implication in the unfolding narrative.

The second part, entitled “Sedycyja albo bunt kapłański w Wilnie” (Sedition or priestly rebellion in Vilnius), offers a detailed account and response to the 1581 anti-Calvinist events in Vilnius. The author commences with the arrival in the city of the new bishop, Jerzy Radziwiłł, outlining the anti-Protestant measures he implemented with the assistance of *księża szkolni* (school priests), namely the Jesuits from the Vilnius Academy.⁴ Indeed, the poet contends that the Catholic mob, incited by the Jesuits’ *krwawe kazania* (blood-thirsty sermons), launched several assaults on the local Protestant community.⁵ A focal point of this section is the depiction of an orchestrated attack on the funeral procession of the Calvinist dignitary Maciej Sawicki (d.1581). According to the narrative, Skarga incited the gathered Catholics at the Vilnius castle to slay the defenseless, grieving Calvinists, claiming he would obtain a blessing and an indult (permission or a dispensation from a specific church law or regulation) from Rome.⁶

4 Portraying the Bellicose Jesuits

As noted by Polish historian Krzysztof Obremski, the “Apologeticus” has a distinctive characteristic is its offensive, or rather counter-offensive, stance toward Catholics.⁷ Indeed, the anonymous author goes beyond merely refuting their accusations—such as those against the Warsaw Confederation—and actively levels severe charges and vivid insults against them. This tactic is particularly apparent in the portrayal of the Jesuits, who are initially labeled as *rycerze babilońscy* (knights of Babylon), summoned by the devil, bringing ruin with their seditious sermons wherever they go.⁸ Additionally, the author depicts the Jesuits as blind servants of the papacy and derides the alleged gratuitousness of their schools, stating that “they will not take sixpence, but they catch the conscience.”⁹ Among the accusations in the “Apologeticus,” the most impactful is the portrayal of the Jesuits as sowers of disorder—a motif that takes center stage in the poem’s second part.

4 Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 52.

5 Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 58–61.

6 Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 80–81.

7 Krzysztof Obremski, “Kalwińska mowa podszyta nienawiścią: Wilno lat 1581–1582 i Apologeticus,” *Pamiętnik literacki* 108, no. 3 (2017): 23–40, here 27.

8 Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 7–8.

9 “Nie wezmą sześci groszy, lecz łowią sumnienie.” See Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 8.

In detailing the anti-Calvinist unrest in Vilnius, the author targets explicitly the Jesuits and their patrons, such as Cardinal Stanisław Hosius (1504–1579), who invited them to Poland–Lithuania, as the primary provocateurs. According to the “*Apologeticus*,” it was they who, through school lectures, sermons, and direct threats, cultivated anti-Protestant sentiment and incited the burning of Calvinist books and violent attacks on Reformed funeral processions. The most notable example of this rhetorical portrayal is the cited fictitious monologue by Skarga (termed “the hetman of the Vilnius war”), who was to incite Catholics to commit violence against Calvinists at Sawicki’s funeral.¹⁰ In the narrative, Skarga initially admonishes Catholics at large before directly addressing Bishop Radziwiłł, urging him to be more than just a pretend bishop and instead act as a “sharpened stake on heretics.”¹¹ The Jesuit argues that neither the Warsaw Confederation nor the nobility will protect the Calvinists, as Catholics will receive a blessing from Rome for their actions. In a climactic point of his monologue, Skarga declares that non-Catholics “are unworthy traitors, so they should be dealt with accordingly: let’s exterminate them to the smallest one.”¹²

To heighten the drama of the narrative, the author employs a vivid comparison with the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, portraying the Parisian slaughter as an aspirational model for Vilnius Catholics.¹³ As Polish literary historian Jakub Niedźwiedź rightly points out, such imagery most likely addressed not Catholics but rather Protestants, providing them with arguments for inter-confessional debates and strengthening their sense of unity by constructing their own anti-Catholic (and anti-Jesuit) martyrology.¹⁴

An examination of the poem’s rhetorical aspect suggests that its author might not have been an exceptionally gifted poet. The rhymes and figures of speech are somewhat clichéd, and the polemical arguments tend to be repetitive, contributing to a chaotic narrative. Despite these shortcomings, which potentially diminished the poem’s resonance and effectiveness, its literary form does not prevent the text from achieving its aims.¹⁵ What is remarkable is the author’s impressive erudition and skillful weaving of a wide range of documents into the text, including polemical writings, works of the church doctors, decrees of councils and synods, state legislation, poetry, and sermons.

10 “Hetman wojny wileńskiej.” See Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 80.

11 “Na heretyki zaostrzonym słupem.” See Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 81.

12 “Niegodni są zdrajcowie, więc tak z nimi czynić: / do namniejszego wybrać.” See Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 81.

13 Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 64.

14 Jakub Niedźwiedź, *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Vilnius: Forms of Writing and Rhetorical Spaces in the City* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), 406.

15 Cf. Barycz, “Kto był autorem,” 129.

These not only support the poetic discourse but, at times, provide a pretext for it.¹⁶ Another intriguing linguistic feature is the author's penchant for euphemisms, innuendos, and equivocations. This tendency is especially evident in reference to the Jesuits, who are explicitly named (e.g., "Jesuitae") only sporadically in the main text. More commonly, the poet employs general terms such as "priests" or "fathers," occasionally providing additional clarification in the marginalia. Moreover, there are examples of ironic expressions, such as *jezuski* (little Jesuses).¹⁷

5 Reception and Context

The lack of information on the reception of the "Apologeticus" is puzzling, especially considering its distinctive character. Perhaps it was overshadowed by Wolan's more high-profile polemic against the Jesuits during the same period. Alternatively, the poem's bold and controversial nature might have limited its circulation to within the Protestant community, out of concern for a potential Catholic backlash (similar to the initial handling of Wolan's *Defensio*). Such a theory seems plausible given that the only known copy of the "Apologeticus" surfaced in the twentieth century in the possession of an unidentified Protestant pastor.¹⁸ It would be somewhat perplexing if the Vilnius Jesuits did not respond to the "Apologeticus" despite being aware of it. In the absence of sources, however, this remains mere speculation.

While the "Apologeticus" is notably the earliest Protestant poetic reaction against the Jesuits in the Commonwealth, its anti-Catholic rhetoric is remarkably severe compared to later polemical texts. Unlike his contemporaries, notably Niemojewski, the author completely ignores Jesuit theological arguments and their "deceitful" rhetoric, focusing almost solely on the social implications of Jesuit activities. This aspect also prominently features in the anonymous *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima* (The Polish knight's first plea against the Jesuits [1590]), probably written by Jan Drohojewski (Drohojowski, c.1554–1601), and to some extent in treatises by Wolan, although he invested considerable effort in challenging Jesuit theology. Despite their individual differences, these four authors, who were likely all Calvinists, shared a common vision of the Commonwealth as a state where the Protestant minority would be protected by law and royal authority from the hostile Catholic majority. Furthermore, they

16 Niedźwiedź, *Literacy*, 404–6.

17 Bursche, *Apologeticus*, 7, 52, 82.

18 Bursche, "Wstęp," iv–v.

all appeared to regard King Báthory as an embodiment of this protective policy, even though, as mentioned in the introduction, this perception was not entirely accurate.

6 Conclusion

The “Apologeticus” is a unique work in several respects. The author’s firm stance against the Jesuits and his defense of the Warsaw Confederation, a subject that had not been directly addressed in any written apologia before, is unprecedented. Although the author was not a refined poet, his chosen form of expression and the interweaving of complete documents within the main body of the “Apologeticus” are sure to capture the attention of any historian interested in the Commonwealth and its polemical literature. Also noteworthy are the motifs employed by the author, his familiarity with European controversial literature, and his direct references to church history. Among the latter, the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre is noteworthy as a singularly momentous event, a symbol of universal Protestant martyrdom, which aligns closely with numerous points of convergence with anti-Jesuit discourses in contemporary France or the German-speaking lands. As we explore in the following chapters, certain anti-Jesuit themes evoked here, portraying the Jesuits as blood-thirsty troublemakers and deceitfully controlling the youth and the Catholic population, found echoes in seventeenth-century works by Catholics in Poland–Lithuania.

Beyond the Corruption of the Youth

The Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima (1590) and the Emergence of Political Opposition to the Jesuits in Poland–Lithuania

Michał E. Nowakowski

1 Introduction to the Work

The expansion of Jesuit institutions, coupled with the first anti-Protestant tumults in the Commonwealth during the 1580s, heightened tensions between the Society of Jesus and certain members of the Polish–Lithuanian political elite. This escalating conflict notably led to the publication of the *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima* (The Polish knight's first plea against the Jesuits), an anonymous work printed twice in 1590 and reissued in 1591, composed no earlier than March 23, 1589.¹ Despite various hypotheses about its authorship—indicating such figures as the Unitarians Wojciech of Kalisz (d. c.1601), Marcin Czechowic (c.1532–1613), and Jan Niemojewski (c.1526–1598) (discussed in chapter 5); the humanistic poet Sebastian Klonowic (c.1545–1602); or the rector of the Kraków Academy Mikołaj Dobrocieski (1559–1608)—a recently uncovered manuscript of the Polish translation of *Actio*, alongside several key textual evidences, suggests the author was likely the Calvinist senator Jan Drohojewski (c.1554–1601).²

1 We establish the *terminus post quem* based on the reference to Marcin Kromer (1512–1589), prince-bishop of Warmia, who is mentioned in *Actio* as having passed away. See Henryk Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima: Studiów nad polemiką anty-jezuicką w Polsce część I* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, 1934), 51. Barycz points out a reference to Kromer's death but nevertheless posits that the text was authored no earlier than in the fall of 1589. However, we contend that this conclusion likely stems from misattribution of the text, as there is insufficient evidence to support this dating.

2 On the *Actio* and its various authorship hypotheses, see Michał E. Nowakowski, "Investigating a Polish Reformation Enigma: The Reattributed 'Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima' (1590) and Its Impact on the Anti-Jesuit Sentiment in Poland–Lithuania and Europe," *The Polish Review* [in review]. See also Aleksander Brückner, "Z Teki Bibliograficznej: VIII. Klonowic współautorem 'Akcji' przeciw jezuitom; IX. Kto jest autorem 'Napomnienia polskiego ku zgodzie' z r. 1545," *Pamiętnik literacki* 3, no. 1 (1904): 403–14, here 403–9; Tadeusz Grabowski, *Literatura arikańska w Polsce 1560–1660* (Kraków: Księgarnia Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1908), 111; Józefat Płokarz, *Jan Niemojewski: Studium z dziejów arian*

2 Form and Origins

The form of the title may carry an eloquent meaning, as it likely echoes Cicero's (106–43 BCE) series of orations, *In Verrem* (Against Verres), which were directed against the malpractices of the corrupt governor of Sicily. Notably, these orations, crafted by a senator with an equestrian background (*equus*), were categorized into *actio prima* and *actio secunda*.³ This parallel did not completely escape the *Actio*'s contemporaries.⁴ As historian Henryk Barycz has demonstrated, the *Actio* incorporates extensive content from another, shorter anti-Jesuit text, preserved in manuscript, titled *Egzorbitancyja i przestroga niejakej wielkiej niebezpieczności* (Denunciation of abuses and warning of some great danger), which was composed around June 1587.⁵ The *Egzorbitancyja* is essentially a condensed compilation of arguments that the author of the *Actio* later substantially expanded, modified, and refined rhetorically. Barycz, along with other scholars, has closely linked the *Actio* to the conflict between the Jesuits and the Kraków Academy. This conflict, explored further in the final chapter, started in the 1570s and intensified in the late 1580s. Factors contributing to this escalation included the establishment of the Jesuit professed house in Kraków in 1583 and the novitiate in 1586, as well as the 1589 Catholic synod in Piotrków, which recommended the admission of Jesuit professors to the academy. These events raised concerns about potentially losing students to the Jesuits and the

polskich (Kraków: Krakowska spółka wydawnicza, 1922), 26–28; Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo*; Brückner, review of *Geneza i autorstwo Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima: Studiów nad polemiką antyjezuicką w Polsce część I*, by Henryk Barycz, *Pamiętnik literacki* 31, no. 1 (1934): 572–74; Janusz Tazbir, ed., *Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce 1578–1625: Antologia*, trans. Andrzej Kempfi (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963), 43–76; Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku, 1988), 237–81. On Drohojewski, see Jan Drohojewski, *Kronika Drohojewskich*, part 1 (Kraków: W. L. Anczyc, 1904), 105–8; Henryk Merczyng, “Pięć pokoleń ewangelickich rodu z Drohojowa Drohojewskich: Notatka z dziejów polskiego kościoła ewangelickiego w ziemi Sanockiej,” *Przegląd historyczny* 2, no. 2 (1906): 271–76, here 273–74; Kazimierz Lepczy, “Drohojowski Jan,” in *PSB* 5:382.

- 3 See, for example, Thomas D. Frazel, “The Composition and Circulation of Cicero's *In Verrem*,” *Classical Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2004): 128–42.
- 4 Marcin Szyszkowski, *Pro religiosissimis Societatis Jesu patribus, contra ficti Equitis Poloni actionem primam oratio* (Kraków: Officina Lazari, 1590), 19, 63.
- 5 Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo*, 55–60, 65–69. In the sixteenth century, the Polish noun *egzorbitancyja* had a dual meaning; it referred both to the act of violating the law and the act of calling out and seeking ratification for specific abuses perpetrated by the authorities. In this context, the term is employed with the latter meaning. See Marian Borecki, ed., *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972), 6:530.

looming threat of a Jesuit takeover, a scenario already witnessed in Western Europe.⁶ Barycz argues that the *Actio* was likely authored by Dobrocieski, the academy's rector at the time, who was directly involved in the conflict with the Jesuits.⁷

However, our analysis suggests that the dispute between the Jesuits and the academy represents just one of several factors that may have motivated the creation of the text. Indeed, similar to the *Egzorbitancyja*, the *Actio* focuses more on other issues. These include the Jesuits' alleged immorality and violence, particularly evident during the anti-Protestant tumults. Yet, it appears that the author's primary concern is the political implications of the Society's activities. I posit that the *Actio* should be examined primarily within this specific context.⁸

Drohojewski, who is the prime candidate for the authorship of the *Actio*, was deeply involved in the political faction led by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), his protector and relative. Notably, Zamoyski held a sympathetic view of the Jesuits until the early 1580s. However, his attitude shifted due to his growing distaste for the Mantuan Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) and especially after Zamoyski's protégé Marcin Śmiglecki (1563–1618) joined the Society, despite his protests.⁹ As previously noted, both Zamoyski's and King Báthory's policies were oriented toward ensuring internal peace and promoting religious co-existence, as embodied in their adherence to the Warsaw Confederation. These political and religious dynamics are reflected in the perspectives presented in *Actio*.

The text is structured as a senator's speech to the Senate, a format recognized as a literary construct both by its contemporaries and twentieth-century scholars. While there is no evidence to suggest this speech was actually delivered in the Senate (as discussed below), this does not imply that *Actio*'s oratorical format was merely for stylistic purposes. Notably, Drohojewski gained entry into the Senate in 1588 through Zamoyski's patronage.¹⁰ Therefore, in crafting a speech for the Senate, rich in biographical and contextual details, it is plausible that the presumed author did not perceive it as purely fictional.

6 See Bronisław Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku* (Kraków: WAM, 2002), 15–22.

7 Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo*, 61–64.

8 For a more detailed discussion of these arguments, see Nowakowski, "Investigating a Polish Reformation Enigma."

9 Stanisław Lempicki, "Zamoyski, jezuici i Skarga: Kilka uzupełnień i przyczynków," *Pamiętnik literacki* 11, no. 1 (1912): 566–89.

10 Lepczyński, "Drohojewski Jan," 382.

The timing of the *Actio*'s composition is particularly important, as it must have been after March 23, 1589.¹¹ This period coincided with the “pacification Sejm,” which took place from March 6 to April 23, 1589, and aimed to quell tensions within the country. At the Sejm, Zamoyski's faction notably opposed the Habsburg influence. The context becomes even more relevant in light of the events of the previous two years. At the Battle of Byczyna in 1588, Zamoyski defeated Archduke Maximilian III Habsburg (1558–1618), who had been elected to the Polish throne (r.1587–1589) by part of the Polish–Lithuanian nobility in August 1587, alongside a more popular candidate, Sigismund of Sweden. Following his military defeat, Maximilian was held in Zamość, a city Zamoyski built. It was only on March 9, 1589, that Zamoyski successfully concluded negotiations with the House of Habsburg for Maximilian's release.¹² A week and a half after this diplomatic achievement, Zamoyski made a triumphant entrance at the Sejm, where he proposed a reform to exclude major European dynasties, including the Habsburgs, from future claims to the Polish throne. Furthermore, he firmly supported the proposal of the tumults bill crafted by non-Catholics. This proposal envisioned *ex officio* prosecution for those disrupting religious peace, effectively enshrining the principles of the Warsaw Confederation in law. Ultimately, both projects met with substantial Catholic opposition and were not adopted.¹³

3 Content Overview

In the midst of the Zamoyski faction's efforts to curtail Habsburg influence and address religious unrest, the composition of the *Actio*, likely penned—as suggested earlier—by Drohojewski, a supporter of the chancellor, assumes a distinctly political dimension. The author begins with an extensive *captatio benevolentiae*, emphasizing his young age and inexperience in the Senate. Furthermore, he explains his decision to address the Jesuits' role in Poland–Lithuania by pointing out that, despite the presence of more experienced and articulate

11 Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo*, 51.

12 See Pieńkowski, *Trudna droga do władzy*, 233–433.

13 See Lepszy, *Walka stronnictw w pierwszych latach panowania Zygmunta III* (Kraków: Gebethner and Wolff, 1929), 191–212; Maciej A. Pieńkowski, *Trudna droga do władzy w Rzeczypospolitej: Sejm koronacyjny Zygmunta III 1587/1588 i sejm pacyfikacyjny 1589 roku* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2021), 393–409. I further explore the context of Zamoyski's stance during the 1589 Sejm and in subsequent years in Nowakowski, “Investigating a Polish Reformation Enigma.”

senators, no one else stepped forward to discuss this issue, which he deemed essential for the welfare of the state.

The author of the *Actio* then launches into a series of critical arguments against the Jesuits, labeling them as a “plague and pestilence” set to infect the entire Commonwealth.¹⁴ He contends that the Society, misleadingly dubbed “of Jesus,” was actually established to undermine states, incite domestic unrest, and distort the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁵ The author’s perspective on Catholicism is particularly intriguing. Despite declaring himself Catholic, praising certain Catholic (albeit reform-minded and controversial) cardinals, and writing favorably on Marian devotion or veneration of saints and images, his positive remarks on figures contested by Catholics (such as the Polish writer Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski [1503–1572], widely known for his anti-papal views, or Queen Elizabeth Tudor [1533–1603, r.1558–1603]), as well as his views on the papacy, the Warsaw Confederation, re-Catholicization efforts, and Catholic states (particularly Spain), indicate a complicated confessional profile. This background becomes more understandable considering Drohojewski’s heritage in a noble family with pronounced Calvinist leanings. His paternal uncle, Jan (c.1505–1557), a controversial Catholic bishop, expressed regret before he died for not formally renouncing the Catholic Church.¹⁶ Records suggest that his nephew remained a Calvinist throughout his life.¹⁷ Another possible explanation for the seemingly contradictory statements is that Drohojewski, writing anonymously, may have sought to pose as a Catholic in order to strengthen his anti-Jesuit criticisms and rhetorically align himself with his text’s projected audience—primarily Catholic senators. This possibility becomes even more plausible if we notice that most of the author’s remarks on his confessional affiliation are vague, and that the only explicit statement on the matter appears in precisely the same position in the *Actio*—immediately after the description of the anti-Protestant tumult in Kraków—as in the *Egzorbitancyja*; its presence in the *Actio* might therefore be derivative.¹⁸

14 “Mowa miana w senacie polskim przez Drohojewskiego kasztelana w: [sic] na początku panowania Zygmunta trzeciego przeciwko zakonowi jezuickiemu,” MS IV 966, the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków (Poland), 377–429, here 387. Cf. *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima* (n.p.: n.p., 1590), A3^v. I cite the Latin text after a copy of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków: <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/662717/edition/765105> (accessed April 16, 2025). A copy of another edition from the same year is available here: https://books.google.com/books?id=AlegVUy9TbIC&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed April 16, 2025).

15 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 385, 388; *Equitis Poloni actio*, A3^v–A4^r.

16 Stanisław Kot, “Drohojowski Jan,” in *PSB*, 5:380–82.

17 Merczyng, “Pięć pokoleń,” 273–74; Lepszy, “Drohojowski Jan,” 382.

18 For more details, see Nowakowski, “Investigating a Polish Reformation Enigma.”

The *Actio* also levels a series of other anti-Jesuit accusations. Among these are charges of corrupting youth and subverting the traditional educational system, exemplified by the Kraków Academy. The author criticizes the Jesuits for introducing new and elaborate religious practices that contrast with the simple piety revered by “our ancestors.”¹⁹ Additionally, the text scrutinizes the methods the Jesuits allegedly used to enrich themselves, such as deceiving wealthy widows, and even comments on their appearance, including the look of their eyes and facial expression, suggesting these traits hint at their nefarious intentions.²⁰ However, most of the author’s critique is reserved for the Jesuits’ political activities. Throughout the text, they are depicted as agents of disruption, undermining peace and acting as foreign operatives.

4 Anti-Jesuit Rhetoric

To illustrate the disruptive impact of the Jesuits on the Commonwealth’s stability, the author skillfully exploits various anti-Protestant incidents from the previous decade. One good example is the 1581 anti-Calvinist tumult in Vilnius. According to the *Actio*’s narrative, this event saw a mob and numerous nobles, “incited by the Jesuit spirit,” amassing “to engage in battle.”²¹ This depiction aligns with the overall portrayal of the Jesuits as cunning manipulators, deceiving “a rough nation of uncouth and coarse commoners” (*naród nieprzetarty, nieokrzescane i grubych obyczajów pospólstwo*) with their appearances and adornments.²² The author extends this critique to the Jesuits’ role in fomenting unrest in Riga, Livonia.²³ He argues that these turbulent events were only contained by the decisive and wise intervention of Báthory, who acted effectively to curb further Jesuit-instigated violence.²⁴

Yet, according to the *Actio*, such decisive intervention was conspicuously absent in later turmoil. The author highlights an incident in Lublin, where the Jesuits engaged in a theological debate with Polish Brethren. Failing to dominate with their arguments, they allegedly resorted to threats, shouting, and even physical violence, including assaulting the leader of the Polish Brethren.

19 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 390–91, 397–98. Cf. *Equitis Poloni actio*, A4^v–B1^r, B2^v.

20 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 387, 389, 397, 423; *Equitis Poloni actio*, A3^v–A4^r, B2^r, C3^v.

21 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 402–3; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B3^v.

22 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 397–98. Cf. “barbaram gentem, incultos atque horridos homines.” See *Equitis Poloni actio*, B2^v.

23 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 402; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B3^v.

24 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 402–3; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B3^v–B4^r.

This—the author laments—led many Catholics to question their faith.²⁵ An even more striking example brought up in the *Actio* is the anti-Protestant riot in Kraków in 1587. Although initially instigated by Kraków Academy students, the author of the *Actio* insists that the Jesuits were the true “authors and commanders” of this event. For him, the attack on the Protestant church, which was operating legally under “the king and the entire senate’s” permission, was not only unlawful but also endangered the entire city due to arson. The text accuses the Jesuits of exacerbating the situation by disguising themselves and plundering Protestant properties. In conclusion, the author asserts that the Society deliberately orchestrated these events to fuel animosity between Protestants and the academy.²⁶

The *Actio* uses such accounts of violence for two main purposes. The first is to highlight “the cruelty and savagery” (*okrucieństwo i dzikość*) of the Jesuits, exemplified by Possevino, whom we already know as an opponent of Wolan²⁷ and a Jesuit disliked by Zamoyski. Second, these descriptions aim to expose the Jesuits’ supposedly inadequate theological foundation. Echoing the sentiment of Báthory’s 1581 edict against the disturbances in Vilnius, the author of the *Actio* declares that “whoever resorts to the sword, fire, water, fighting, and violence voluntarily admits that it is easier for them to kill a person than to teach.”²⁸

Moreover, the *Actio* argues that the Jesuits’ instigation of internal conflicts was merely a means for their true end: establishing Spanish, that is, Habsburg, domination over the Commonwealth.²⁹ In this vein, the author references the Spanish massacre of Protestants in Antwerp in 1576.³⁰ He also consistently likens the Jesuits to the biblical Gibeonites, labeling them as Spanish spies.³¹ Moreover, the text criticizes the Society’s lavish architectural complexes, described as *wszystkich zbrodni i występków schronienie* (refuge of all crimes and transgressions), claiming these are, in fact, fortresses intended for use by the Spanish king (with papal assistance) in an anticipated invasion to seize control of the Commonwealth.³² Additionally, the author of the *Actio* alleges that the

25 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 393–94; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B1.

26 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 403–5; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B4^v.

27 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 394; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B1^v.

28 “Kto zaś do miecza, ognia, wody, bojów i gwałtów ucieka się, wyznaje dobrowolnie, że łatwiej człowieka zamordować niżeli nauczyć potrafi.” See “Mowa miana w senacie,” 394–95. “Qui ad gladium, ad ignem, ad aquam, ad caedes, atque vim decurrit, fateatur se facilius hominem iugulare quam erudire posse.” See *Equitis Poloni actio*, B1^v.

29 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 398–99; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B2^v.

30 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 400; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B3^f.

31 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 399–405, 414–15, 417, 420; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B2^v–B4^f, C2^r–C3^f.

32 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 410–11. Cf. “Scelerum omnium atque flagitiorum receptacula.” See *Equitis Poloni actio*, C1^v.

Jesuits show blind devotion to the Spanish monarch, who is not only their protector but also almost the god of their order (*prawie bóg zakonu waszego*).³³

The anti-Habsburg sentiment in the *Actio* is closely tied to the author's resistance to foreign influences, which is set against traditional Polish–Lithuanian values. Yet, the direction of his criticism is somewhat unexpected. Despite self-identifying as a Catholic, the author does not limit his approach to Spain and the Spaniards (referenced twenty-one times); he also targets Italians and the French, predominantly Catholic nations.³⁴ Conversely, he expresses sorrow over the plight of Protestant England and Scotland, which he alleges have been intentionally undermined by the Jesuit involvement in conspiracies against the English and Scottish queens.³⁵ Finally, the *Actio* draws a parallel between the Jesuits and the Teutonic Knights, noting their similarities—both are Catholic orders backed by the papacy with ambitions to subjugate Poland–Lithuania—thus resonating with the patriotic sentiments of the Polish–Lithuanian nobility, who historically viewed the Teutonic Knights as archenemies.³⁶ To amplify concerns about external threats, the *Actio* employs evocative language, frequently alluding to the Commonwealth's ruin, danger, and desired salvation.

5 The *Actio*'s Impact

The potency and relevance of the allegations in the *Actio* meant that few polemical writings originating in the early modern Commonwealth were published as often and elicited such a decisive reaction as the *Actio*. Indeed, in addition to the two editions from 1590 and the one from 1591, it was partially reprinted in Rudolf Hospinian's (1547–1626) *Historia jesuitica* (Jesuit history [1619, 1632, 1670]) and in full in Ludwig Lucius's (1577–1642) work with the same title (in 1626 in German and 1627 in Latin). The *Actio* was also published in German in 1592 and Polish in 1593.³⁷ The latter translation has survived only in the passages quoted in the polemical response by Jesuit Marcin Łaszcz

33 "Mowa miana w senacie," 410. Cf. "Propemodum deus ordinis vestri." See *Equitis Poloni actio*, C1^r.

34 "Mowa miana w senacie," 395; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B2^r.

35 "Mowa miana w senacie," 400–1; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B3.

36 "Mowa miana w senacie," 406–7, 414; *Equitis Poloni actio*, B4^v–C2^r.

37 *Schwarm des heiligen Römischen Bienenkorbs, Das ist, Aufßflug etlicher grossen, schädlichen, vorwenig jaren erwachsener [...] Wespen Hurnüssen Flädermäußen [...] Darvor, Eine stattliche [...] warnung, eines Polnischen Catholischen Ritters* (n.p.: n.p., 1592); Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 276.

(1551–1615).³⁸ Comparing these passages with the newly-discovered Kraków manuscript proves that it contained yet another Polish version of the *Actio*.³⁹ Moreover, in the year of the *Actio*'s original publication, 1590, no fewer than three Catholic writers published their rebuttals. One was by Stanisław Reszka (1544–1600), the former secretary of Cardinal Hozjusz. His work, titled *Spongia, qua absterguntur convitia et maledicta equitis Poloni contra jesuitas* (A sponge by which invectives and insults of the Polish knight against the Jesuits are wiped away [Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk]), was republished in Ingolstadt in 1591 and Naples in 1592. The other two responses came from Marcin Szyszkowski (1554–1630), the future bishop of Kraków, and Jan Laus (1557–1591), a Flemish Jesuit from the Polish province.⁴⁰ Notably, Szyszkowski's text was translated into German, counteracting the influence of the German translation of *Actio*.⁴¹

Tellingly, none of these authors knew the identity of the *Actio*'s author, leading them to trace biographical information based on hints within the text itself. Throughout the 1590s, other Jesuits also engaged in this debate, offering their attribution hypotheses, none of which were substantiated.⁴² This ongoing speculation serves as strong evidence that the speech, as depicted in the *Actio*, was never actually delivered in the Senate. Had it been presented publicly in such a high-profile setting, Catholics, particularly those in the Senate, including all Catholic bishops, would have easily recognized the speaker.

6 Intertextual Contexts

Despite the author of the *Actio* (and similarly of the *Egzorbitancyja*) claiming to be a Catholic, many themes in the text strikingly resemble Protestant approaches. A particularly salient example is the consistent portrayal of Jesuits as violent and cruel, exemplified by accusations of their involvement in anti-

38 Tadeusz Rubik, "Łaszcz, Marcin," in *EJTC*, https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_C_micro114 (accessed April 22, 2025).

39 [Marcin Łaszcz], *Judicium albo rozsądek [...] o Konterfecie jezuitów z Equesa łacińskiego pod maszką prawdziwą w polski język przczynionym* (Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1594).

40 Szyszkowski, *Pro religiosissimis Societatis Jesu patribus*; Jan Laus, *Nobilis Poloni pro Societatis Jesu clericis, oratio prima in ficti Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actionem primam* (Poznań: Jan Wolrab, 1590).

41 Marcin Szyszkowski, *Schutzred für die ehrwürdigen Herren unnd Vätter, der Societet Jesu: Wider eines ungenannten erdichten Polnischen Edelmans erste Action oder Schandschrift* (Dillingen: Johann Mayer, 1593).

42 Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo*, 10–11.

Protestant riots, such as the 1587 tumult in Kraków, regardless of their imagined or actual participation. The author uses these instances to argue the theological shortcomings of the Jesuits, asserting that they resort to intimidation and violence instead of engaging in theological debate. These arguments and motifs are reminiscent of those found in the writings of Wolan and the anonymous “Apologeticus.” Common elements include specific imagery (such as portraying Jesuits as snakes)⁴³ and references to European incidents of Catholic cruelty (here represented by the Spanish massacre of Antwerp Protestants in 1576) and the perceived intrigues of the Jesuits (plots in England and Scotland).

Simultaneously, the *Actio* sets the stage for anti-Jesuit themes that became crucial in subsequent literature. The association of the Society with anti-Habsburg sentiment anticipates the rhetoric used during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz, like in the *Consilium* discussed in the next chapter, where opponents consistently portrayed the Jesuits as agents of the Spanish king. It is also no coincidence that Wojciech of Kalisz references the *Actio* in his *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie dysputacyjnej* (see chapter 5), where he accuses the Society of hypocrisy and ostentatious grandeur, contrary to Christ’s teaching. While the topic of education in the *Actio* is not as central as some scholars have previously suggested, its criticism of the Jesuits’ supposedly free education—deemed harmful to Polish youth—contributed substantially to the ongoing conflict between the Society and the Kraków Academy. Its professor, Jan Brożek (1585–1652), would later expand upon this particular critique, as discussed in this book’s final chapter. Additionally, the *Actio* touches upon the Jesuits’ alleged exploitation of wealthy widows, which is a motif mentioned in the *Consilium* and extensively explored in the *Monita secreta (privata)*.

7 Conclusion

The publication of the *Actio* in 1590 marked a turning point in the history of Polish–Lithuanian anti-Jesuitism. Prior to this, criticism of the Society was predominantly the realm of Protestant theological writers: Jakub Niemojewski (c.1530–1586), Wolan, Czechowic, or Wojciech of Kalisz. The *Actio*, however, signaled a shift in both the nature of the debate and its participants. Subsequently, the Jesuits found themselves increasingly challenged not only by theologians but also by nobles engaged in public life, comprising both Protestant and Catholic members of Polish–Lithuanian society. In many respects, these critics emerged simultaneously with the French “politiques,” who also

43 “Mowa miana w senacie,” 426; *Equitis Poloni actio*, C4^r.

opposed the Jesuits on political rather than theological grounds. Some of them, like Antoine Arnauld (1560–1619), who dedicated a Latin version of his anti-Jesuit *Plaidoyer* to “the senate and people of Vilnius,” were apparently familiar with—and possibly inspired by—the opposition to the Jesuits in Poland–Lithuania.⁴⁴ Indeed, contemporary Polish–Lithuanian “politiques” denounced the Jesuits as a foreign force, at odds with ancestral customs and disruptive to the state’s stability. This escalating conflict reached its zenith during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz, an event that was not only important for the Jesuits in the Commonwealth but also its overall historical trajectory.

44 Cf. Antoine Arnauld, *Oratio [...] pro Universitate Parisiensi actrice contra Jesuitas reos* (Leiden: Jan Paets and Ludwig Elzevier, 1594); Étienne Pasquier, *The Jesuits' Catechism or Their Doctrine Examined* (1602), ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jotham Parsons, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

“Prawda i szczyrość katolicka” [The truth and Catholic integrity]

Anti-Jesuit Literature of the Polish Brethren

Robert Aleksander Maryks

1 Introduction

The Polish Brethren, a prominent nontrinitarian movement within the Polish Protestant Reformation, were not only vigorous participants in theological debates but also prolific creators of anti-Jesuit literature. Often referred to as “Arians,” “Anti-Trinitarians,” or “Socinians,” the Polish Brethren were distinguished by their rejection of the Trinity and traditional Christian doctrines such as hell. Influenced by the works of Miguel Serveto (Michael Servetus [d.1553]) and later Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604), their theology was shaped by internal debates, particularly between pacifist and non-pacifist factions. Sozzini’s arrival in Poland in 1579 further influenced the group, which became one of the most targeted by the Society of Jesus.¹

This chapter examines the response of the Polish Brethren to Jesuit attacks against them, focusing mainly on two works by the most representative authors of the movement: Marcin Czechowic’s (1532–1613) *Wujek, to jest krótki odpis na pisanie X. Jakuba Wujka z Węgrowca/Theologa Societatis Iesus: O Bóstwie Syna Bożego y Ducha św.* (Wujek, that is, a brief reply to the writing on the divinity of the Son of God and Holy Spirit by Rev. Jakub Wujek from Wągrowiec, a theologian of the Society of Jesus [Kraków, 1590])² and the *Krótkie a prawdziwe*

1 On the Jesuits’ relationship with this group, see Michał Choptiany, Stanisław Obirek, and Piotr Wilczek, “Czy Jezuici nienawidzili braci polskich?,” in *Figura heretyka w nowożytnych sporach konfesyjnych*, ed. Alicja Bielak and Wojciech Kordyżon, Reformacja w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 5 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2017), 371–97. See also George Huntston Williams, ed., *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601–1685*, 2 vols. (Missoula, MO: Scholars Press, 1980) and Lech Szczucki and Janusz Tazbir, *Literatura ariańska w Polsce XVI w.: Antologia* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1959), v–lxxxvi.

2 See Tazbir, *Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce 1578–1625* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971), 77–82. A digital copy is available at <https://fbc.pionier.net.pl/details/nnhzh5V> (accessed April 22, 2025).

opisanie dysputacyjnej, ktora była w Lubartowie anno 1592, dnia 13 y 14 stycznia (A short yet true description of the disputation held in Lubartów the year 1592, January 13 and 14 [Kraków: Sebastian Sternacki, 1592]) by Wojciech of Kalisz (d. c.1601).³

2 Historical Context

The well-attended disputation in Lewartów, now Lubartów, in 1592,⁴ in which, according to Wojciech of Kalisz, “even the most foolish could see [...] the crashes, laughter, noises, and snide remarks with which the Jesuits and their side tried to suppress the opposing side,”⁵ stands as a testament to the resolve of the Polish Brethren in confronting their Jesuit adversaries despite the latter’s attempts to drown out rather than convince their opponents. This event not only demonstrated the religious tensions in the Commonwealth but also provided the Brethren with a platform to challenge Jesuit doctrine and expose perceived flaws in their opponents’ arguments and attitudes.

Located near Lublin in southeastern Poland, Lewartów was a key center of economic and religious activity in the late sixteenth century. Founded by Mikołaj Firlej (d.1526), a supporter of the Protestant Reformation, the town became a haven for various Protestant settlers, including Calvinists, Lutherans, and Anabaptists. Firlej’s policies of granting religious freedom and economic privileges to immigrants from Flanders and the Netherlands fostered a diverse and thriving community, which enhanced Lewartów’s economic and cultural life.⁶ This vibrant diversity made the town a prime target for Jesuit missions, which aimed to reassert Catholic dominance, leading to tensions and conflicts. By the early 1590s, the Jesuits, who had settled in Lublin in 1582 and established a vital college there, intensified their efforts to challenge the Protestant presence, culminating in the 1592 disputation. As documented by Polish Socinian

3 Some scholars ascribe this text to Jan Niemojewski (1531–1598), a brother of Jakub Niemojewski, discussed in another chapter. See Stanisław Tworek, *Zbór lubelski i jego rola w ruchu ariańskim w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1966), 27. For a partial transcription of the text (preface), see Szucki and Tazbir, *Literatura ariańska w Polsce XVI w.*, 518–28.

4 Cf. Stanisław Kot, “Dysputacje arian polskich,” *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8 (1935–36): 341–70, here 350–51.

5 *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie dysputacyjnej*, 2: “Nagłupszy to obaczyć mógł, że trzaski, śmiechy, huki, przymówki uszczypliwe, którymi jezuitowie i ich strona zatłumić usiłowała stronę przeciwną.”

6 See Zofia Rościszewska, *Lewartów (Lubartów) w latach 1543–1643* (Lublin: [KUL], 1932).

Andrzej Lubieniecki the Younger (1623–1675), the Lewartów disputation was particularly noteworthy among the nine inter-confessional disputations held in the Lublin region between 1579 and 1616. It was an impressive verbal clash that resonated widely among Arians, Calvinists, Jesuits, and various secular lords, indicative of broader Protestant–Catholic conflicts. These conflicts were not just theological but also political and social, as different factions vied for influence and control in the region.

Three primary sources provide insight into the Lewartów disputation: a Jesuit manuscript sent to Rome and two printed accounts. The Jesuit manuscript, by Adrian Radzimiński (1557–1615),⁷ offers a detailed but biased view of the disputation, claiming an unequivocal Jesuit victory. The printed sources include a poetic Jesuit account by Marcin Łaszcz (1551–1615) titled *Pogrom lewartowski*, which follows Radzimiński's approach⁸ and Wojciech of Kalisz's previously mentioned *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie dysputacyjej*. While Łaszcz's version deserves attention for portraying key arguments, its biased interpretation diminishes its credibility. On the other hand, Wojciech of Kalisz's account is valued for its greater objectivity and less offensive tone. By examining it, this chapter aims to shed light on the influence of the broader anti-Jesuit discourse of the Polish Brethren on Poland–Lithuania's religious and intellectual milieu in the late sixteenth century. Let us begin with the Arian anti-Jesuit text.

3 Wojciech of Kalisz's *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie dysputacyjej*

Wojciech of Kalisz was a prominent educator and influential figure in the Polish Brethren community during the late sixteenth century. Born in Kalisz to a burgher family, he pursued studies at the University of Kraków. He furthered his education in German universities, where he came under the influence of the pedagogical methods of Calvinist reformer Johann Sturm (1507–1589). Around 1586, he began leaning toward Arianism, and in 1588, he became the rector of the Arian school in Lewartów, which subsequently flourished under his leadership. Wojciech of Kalisz was also involved in theological debates, notably participating in the 1592 Lewartów dispute, where he defended Arian views against the opposition of the Jesuits. His activities, particularly his alleged connection to the anti-Jesuit pamphlet *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima*, discussed in another chapter, directly conflicted with the Jesuits, who accused him of be-

7 See *EWJP* (accessed April 16, 2025).

8 See Tadeusz Rubik, "Łaszcz, Marcin," in *EJTC*, https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_EJTC_micron14 (accessed April 22, 2025).

ing the author.⁹ Despite his contributions to education and theology, Wojciech of Kalisz's career was cut short when the Jesuits, possibly through their influence over Mikołaj Biberstein Kazimierski (d.1598), orchestrated the closure of his school. He was last mentioned in 1600 as rector of a school in Luślawice, with his death probably occurring shortly thereafter.¹⁰

Wojciech of Kalisz delivered a scathing critique of the Jesuits, condemning their practices and questioning their moral integrity. Central to his criticism is the charge of hypocrisy and moral corruption. He argues that while the Jesuits claim to uphold the values of the Catholic faith (“prawda i szczyrość katolicka”), their actions starkly contradict these principles. He accuses them of projecting a façade of piety while engaging in morally questionable behaviors and manipulating religious doctrines for their own gain. According to Wojciech of Kalisz, the Jesuit doctrines are not only misleading but also tools for perpetuating their deceit. He contends that they strategically employ deception (“łapaczki”) and sophistry, bending religious principles to suit their interests, thereby undermining genuine theological discourse and betraying the very faith they claim to defend.

Wojciech of Kalisz further criticizes the Jesuits for their abuse of power and influence, condemning their pursuit of worldly glory and material wealth at the expense of spiritual integrity. He contrasts their behavior with the ideal of reasoned and respectful theological debate, accusing them of engaging in chaotic and disruptive conduct that sharply contrasts with their role as representatives of the Catholic Church. Rather than fostering a dignified exchange of ideas, Wojciech of Kalisz depicts the Jesuits as attempting to “drown out” and silence their opponents. He views their failure to adequately address critical theological questions as evidence of their moral and intellectual bankruptcy, revealing their fear of genuine debate and intellectual engagement. According to Wojciech of Kalisz, their reliance on physical and verbal intimidation reveals their unwillingness to engage in fair and open discourse, reflecting a dependence on coercion to maintain their authority. He also criticizes the Jesuits for their worldliness and ostentation, highlighting the contrast between their lofty and sumptuous (*wyniosłe i buczne*) buildings, costly stone (*kosztowne kamienne*) churches, and grand cloisters with the humble life and teachings of Jesus, whose name they have appropriated. He argues that their pursuit

9 Czechowic refers in *Wyjek*, analyzed below, to an episode in which armed students of the Jesuit college in Lublin assaulted Wojciech of Kalisz, as they considered him the author of the *Actio*. See Szczucki and Tazbir, *Literatura ariańska*, 492.

10 See Szczucki and Tazbir, *Literatura ariańska*, 653–54.

of wealth and power represents a betrayal of Christian values, as they mock poverty and modesty (*z ubóstwa i skromności szydzą*).¹¹

Wojciech of Kalisz's polemic against the Jesuits is rich with rhetorical figures that he uses to expose their inconsistencies and moral failings. He crafts a compelling and persuasive critique through irony, hyperbole, metaphor, sarcasm, anaphora, paralipsis, alliteration, and antithesis. Irony is a prominent feature in Wojciech of Kalisz's writing. He notes that even the least perceptive could recognize the Jesuits and their supporters' attempts to silence their opponents through disruptions, mocking laughter, loud noises, and sarcastic comments.¹² This statement highlights the overt nature of the Jesuits' disruptive tactics during the disputation, suggesting their preference for silencing opposing viewpoints rather than engaging with them. Wojciech of Kalisz's use of hyperbole is also a powerful tool in his critique. He skillfully exaggerates the contrast between the Jesuits' professed humility and their ostentatious lifestyle, wishing they would return to simple, humble clothing. His statement, "if Their Graces would indeed quickly come to the old, gray, homespun coats and kerchiefs, as they mock us,"¹³ effectively shows the stark contrast he is critiquing.

Metaphor is another effective tool in Wojciech of Kalisz's assessment. He challenges the Jesuits' failure to live up to their professed association with Jesus, writing:

If indeed Their Graces, called the Society of Jesus, were truly to help and show companionship to Lord Jesus, and if in Their Graces there is the very essence of the title they appropriate for themselves, that is, if they were to live as Lord Jesus lived, that they would also live in this way—that is, the life of Jesus—and as he taught and governed, that they would also govern and teach in this way—that is, the way of Jesus.¹⁴

11 *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie*, 519: "Jezuitoro idzie, że oni chwały swej a łaski ludzkiej i wielkiego o sobie mniemania, a nie prawdy szukają, i prawdziu nigdy nie ustąpią, choćby z anielskimi uszy była mówiona, gdyż umiłowali chwałę świata tego i wczaszy a dostatki swe."

12 *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie*, 518–19: "Nagłupszy to obaczyć mógł, że trzaski, śmiechy, huki, przymówki uszczypliwe, którymi jezuitowie i ich strona zatłumić usiłowała stronę przeciwną."

13 *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie*, 523: "Gdyby Ich Miłość rychło przyszło do starych, szarych, barchanowych szubek i karwatek, jako oni nam urągają."

14 *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie*, 522–23: "Zaprawdę Panu Jezusowi towarzystwa pomoc i ukazać, iż u Ich Miłości jest sama rzecz z tym tytułem, który sobie przywłaszczają, to jest, iż jako Pan Jezus żył, aby też i oni tak żyli, hoc to jest Iesu vita, a jako on uczył i jako się rządził, tak żeby się też oni rządzili i uczyli, hoc to jest Jesus ita."

Wojciech of Kalisz's use of sarcasm is a sharp device in his analysis as well. He mockingly compares Father Radziwiński to David, the humble shepherd, remarking, "But such is his settlement and such is his description that it shows that Father Radziwiński has nothing to do with David the shepherd."¹⁵ This biting comment sharply highlights the absurdity of Radziwiński's inflated self-importance. Anaphora is, then, used to emphasize the consistency that should exist between the Jesuits' professed values and their actions. By repeating the phrases "to jest" (this is) and "boć to jest" (indeed, this is), Wojciech of Kalisz demonstrates that their lives and teachings should reflect those of Jesus: "This means that just as Jesus lived, so should they live, for that is the life of Jesus, and just as he taught and governed, so should they govern and teach, for that is the way of Jesus."¹⁶

Wojciech of Kalisz also employs paralipsis when he alludes to the biased Jesuit account of the disputation by claiming to pass over it while actually drawing attention to its existence and flaws. Alliteration adds a rhythmic quality to Wojciech of Kalisz's critique. The repetition of the "s" and "sz" sounds in "przyszło do starych, szarych, barchanowych szubek i karwatek" creates a memorable and impactful statement that reinforces his criticism of the Jesuits' luxurious lifestyle. Finally, antithesis highlights the inconsistency between the Jesuits' names and actions. Wojciech of Kalisz juxtaposes "Iesus ita" (Jesus thus) and "Iesu vita" (Jesus's life) to emphasize their failure to live according to the principles they claim to uphold. This contrast effectively underscores the disparity between their professed values and actual conduct.

4 Czechowic's *Wujek* and Its Critique of Jesuit Practices

Czechowic, born in November 1532 in Zbąszyń (Greater Poland), emerged as a prominent figure in the Polish Reformation, particularly within the antitrinitarian movement. His theological journey led him from Catholicism to Lutheranism and ultimately to a radical form of Protestantism, where he emerged as a remarkable voice in opposition to the Jesuits. Together with his writings, such as his critical work *Wujek*, Czechowic's involvement in religious disputes targeted Jesuit methods and doctrines, which he viewed as morally

15 *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie*, 521: "Ks. Radziwiński nie ma co czynić z Dawidem pastuchą, który gdy się miał potykać z Golijatem, wżgardził wszystkę pompę Saula króla."

16 *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie*, 522: "To jest, iż jako Pan Jezus żył, aby też i oni tak żyli, boć to jest *Iesu vita*, a jako on uczył i jako się rządził, tak żeby się też oni rządzili i uczyli, boć to jest *Iesus ita*."

corrupt and manipulative. His critique of the Jesuits' actions and their influence, as manifested in his influential writings, was essential to his broader effort to reform and challenge the dominant religious authority in Poland.¹⁷

Czechowic's *Wujek* is a direct response to the writings of Jakub Wujek (1541–1597), a prominent Jesuit theologian. Born in 1540, the year of the papal approval of the Society of Jesus, Wujek was a crucial figure in the Polish Catholic Reformation, known for his scholarly works, including a Polish translation of the Bible approved by Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605, r.1592–1605).¹⁸ In 1590, Wujek published a treatise titled *O bóstwie Syna Bożego i Ducha Świętego przeciw starym i nowym żydom, i mahometanom, i arianom, samosatenom* (On the divinity of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit against the old and new Jews, and the Muhammadans, and the Arians, and the Samosatenians), which aimed to refute the “heretic” doctrines but actually focused on Czechowic's Christology. Czechowic, “the Lublin pope,” is an influential figure in the theological debates, and his response to Wujek's writings is of great importance. *Wujek* was a rebuttal to Wujek's arguments as heretical, employing both theological reasoning and satirical elements to expose what Czechowic perceived as the flaws and inconsistencies in Jesuit teachings: “Being a grosser and more vile heretic himself [*heretykiem grubszym i sprośniejszym*], and not possessing the saving truth within himself, not knowing the one true God, nor his Son, Jesus Christ, nor the Holy Spirit given by him.”¹⁹

Czechowic's critique of the Jesuits in *Wujek* addresses their doctrinal positions, argumentative approach (which he termed “*jadowitość*” or venom/acrimony), and broader social practices. He utilizes both theological refutation and literary techniques in his response to the Jesuit position. Czechowic questions the Jesuits' interpretation of the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit, suggesting they misinterpret Scripture and employ complex reasoning that he considers sophistical. In his work, Czechowic systematically examines Wujek's arguments, identifying what he views as problematic reasoning and interpretations. For example, he critiques what he perceives as the Jesuits' adherence to church doctrine, arguing that this approach may limit theological exploration.

Czechowic incorporates satirical elements to convey his perspective on what he characterizes as inconsistencies in Jesuit practices. He portrays them as potentially prioritizing institutional interests over spiritual guidance. This satirical approach extends to his description of Jesuit educational methods, which

17 See Tazbir, *Literatura ariańska w Polsce XVI w.*, 631–33.

18 See Tadeusz Rubik, “Wujek, Jakub,” in *EJTC*, https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_EJTC_micro264 (accessed April 16, 2025).

19 Szczucki and Tazbir, *Literatura ariańska*, 489.

he suggests may emphasize doctrinal instruction rather than independent intellectual inquiry. Through rhetorical techniques including humor, Czechowic appears to aim for broader accessibility in his writing, potentially encouraging wider engagement with the theological discourse. Beyond doctrinal disagreements, Czechowic also considers the social and ethical dimensions of Jesuit influence. He suggests that their religious authority intersected with political and economic spheres in ways that he believed could affect social structures.

Czechowic highlights this critique through a pointed observation:

Wishing you true knowledge of God, as well as understanding of yourselves and also of the errors in which you are so unaware of yourselves, that you almost take pleasure in them, and from such a delusion of mind you scarcely hold anything good about others, elevating yourselves above all and considering yourselves the most righteous.²⁰

This passage illustrates how Czechowic characterizes the Jesuits as lacking self-awareness regarding their own pride, suggesting they position themselves above others while failing to recognize their own shortcomings. Czechowic extends his critique to the Jesuits' role in Polish politics, where he contends they exercised influence over political leaders to advance their interests, potentially at the expense of broader social welfare. By incorporating these observations into his satirical writing, Czechowic presents both a critique of Jesuit conduct and raises concerns about the implications of their influence.

The writings of the Polish Brethren against the Jesuits differed from those of Calvinists and Catholics primarily in their theological foundations and areas of emphasis. The Polish Brethren, who held antitrinitarian views, criticized the Jesuits—just like their Calvinist enemies—primarily for their perceived doctrinal errors and their active role in suppressing religious dissent, which they viewed as incompatible with genuine religious freedom. They frequently addressed the Jesuits' approach to doctrinal conformity, arguing that such enforcement contradicted the principles of tolerance and individual conscience central to their own theological framework. While the Polish Brethren advocated for religious pluralism, their writings suggest that their commitment to toleration focused specifically on freedom from external doctrinal enforcement, rather than an absence of theological rigor or conviction.

In contrast, Calvinist critiques of the Jesuits centered on opposition to Catholic sacramental theology, practices they considered idolatrous, and the political influence of the Jesuit order. Calvinists viewed Jesuits as notable

20 Szczucki and Tazbir, *Literatura ariańska*, 493–94.

figures in the Counter-Reformation, emphasizing concerns about moral conduct, political involvement, and perceived challenges to Protestant religious and institutional independence. Catholic critiques, particularly from representatives of the Kraków Academy and certain Catholic nobles, focused on the Jesuits' expanding role in education and ecclesiastical affairs. These critics primarily objected to Jesuit encroachment on their traditional educational and ecclesiastical privileges, rather than doctrinal divergence. Thus, while the Polish Brethren shared concerns with Calvinists and Catholic critics regarding Jesuit influence, their distinctive emphasis on religious tolerance, through opposition to doctrinal coercion, characterized their critiques. Nevertheless, the Polish Brethren's advocacy of toleration emerged from specific theological positions, rather than a general rejection of doctrinal theology.

5 Conclusion

The Polish Brethren's anti-Jesuit literature, as seen in works by Wojciech of Kalisz and Czechowic, presents a robust critique of Jesuit practices, doctrines, and influence in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during the late sixteenth century. Through their writings, the Brethren engaged with the Jesuits' theological positions while addressing the social, political, and ethical dimensions of Jesuit activities. Wojciech of Kalisz's *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie dysputacyjej* documents the 1592 disputation in Lewartów, describing what he perceived as Jesuit methods to counter dissenting views. Czechowic's *Wujek* extends this critique through satirical elements and theological arguments that question Jesuit positions and practices.

The Polish Brethren's approach differed from contemporary Calvinist and Catholic opposition primarily in its focus on religious tolerance and freedom from doctrinal enforcement. While Calvinists mainly challenged Catholic sacramental theology and the Jesuits' political influence, and Catholic critics concentrated on institutional privileges, the Brethren's antitrinitarian theological foundation led them to emphasize the incompatibility between enforced religious conformity and their conception of religious freedom. Their advocacy for toleration stemmed not from theological indifference but from their opposition to external doctrinal enforcement, giving their anti-Jesuit writings a distinctive position within early modern religious discourse.

Anti-Jesuit Literature during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz (1606–1607)

Robert Aleksander Maryks

I regard the Jesuit sect among us as no different than a sharp and keen sword, whose blade is indeed sheathed in the Polish scabbard, but so that the handle is held by the Roman court and Spain.¹

Consilium



The period of the Zebrzydowski (or Sandomierz) Rokosz, from 1606 to 1607, saw an increase in critical writing about the Jesuits among the Polish Catholic nobility. The Jesuits working in the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania became a notable topic during the Rokosz debates, though this aspect has received varying attention in scholarship.² These writings on the Jesuits represent a particular strand in Polish intellectual discourse of the time, stemming from perceptions that the Jesuits, in their alignment with King Sigismund III (r.1587–1632) and with papal and Habsburg interests, might compromise the Commonwealth’s sovereignty and republican traditions. In the *Consilium*, the author draws a comparison between the Jesuits and the Teutonic Knights (*Crucigeri*), noting similarities in their origins, organization, and role in promoting Christianity. The text suggests that just as the Teutonic order eventually became problematic for those it was supposed to serve, the Jesuits might similarly impact the Commonwealth’s established freedoms.³

-
- 1 “Ego interim factionem Iesuiticam inter nos non aliter aestimo, quam agilem quandam et acutum gladium, cuius lamina quidem in vaginam Polonicam recondita sit, sed ita, ut capulum Romana aula et Hispania manibus teneant et sic eum ad nutum suum vibrent.” Jan Czubek, ed., *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoshu Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1608*, 3 vols. (Kraków: Nakładem Akademji Umiejętności, 1918), 3:22.
 - 2 See, recently, Agnieszka Pawłowska-Kubik, *Rokosz sandomierski 1606–1609: Rzeczpospolita na politycznym rozdrożu* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2019).
 - 3 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:48.

This perspective appeared in various forms of writing, including satirical works, pamphlets, and polemical texts, such as *Jezuitom i inszem duchownem respons* (To the Jesuits and to other clergy, a response),⁴ *Rzeczy naprawy potrzebujaące abo sejmem abo rokoszem w Rzpltej* (Things needing reform either by *sejm* or *rokosz* in the republic),⁵ *Przestroga i sposób na czasy przyszłe naprawy Rzpltej* (A warning and method for the future repair of the Republic),⁶ and *Rozmowy o rokoszu* (Conversations about the *rokosz*),⁷ or poetry, like *Ad patres jesuitas* (To the Jesuit fathers).⁸ Through these works, members of the nobility expressed concerns about Jesuit involvement in political matters and its potential implications for national governance.

According to literary historian Wiesław Stec's research, these writings from the *Rokosz* period often portrayed the Jesuits through exaggerated negative characteristics. These portrayals emphasized what the authors perceived as Jesuit cunning, moral compromises, and insufficient loyalty to Polish interests. The writings employed vivid language with intensifying elements that presented these traits unfavorably, alongside comparisons that reinforced the authors' critical perspective. This literature commonly included direct criticism of specific individuals, particularly the Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), and adopted a pamphlet format featuring particular accusations against the Society of Jesus. The satirical and caricature-like elements in these texts developed and reinforced existing negative impressions, which, through their repetition across multiple works, sought to persuade readers of what the authors saw as social and political risks posed by Jesuit influence.⁹

In his work *Na artykuł o Jezuitach zjazdu sandomierskiego odpowiedź* (A response to the article on the Jesuits at the Sandomierz assembly), Skarga, who was prominently mentioned in these writings, identified the main criticisms directed at the Jesuits during the *Rokosz*:

The first fault is that we involve ourselves in ecclesiastical and public affairs at court [...]; the second fault they give us is that in our sermons, we advocate absolute dominion [...]; third, they accuse us that in these

4 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:81–93.

5 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 2:295–300.

6 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 2:461–70.

7 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 2:102–35.

8 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 1:93–99.

9 Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii UW w Białymstoku, 1988), 152–53.

sermons, we denounce the freedoms and order of the Commonwealth; fourth [...] that the Jesuits cause tumults and incite people to sedition.¹⁰

Among the anti-Jesuit literature from the Rokosz period, the *Votum katolika jednego* (A vote of a Catholic),¹¹ in its much expanded Latin version titled *Consilium de recuperanda et in posterum stabilienda pace regni Poloniae, in quo demonstratur pacem nec constitui nec stabiliri posse, quamdiu Iesuitae in Polonia manent, ad illustres regni Poloniae proceres* (Advice for recovering and hereafter maintaining the peace of the kingdom of Poland, in which it is demonstrated that peace can neither be established nor maintained as long as the Jesuits remain in Poland, addressed to the illustrious nobles of the kingdom of Poland), merits particular attention in this chapter for several reasons.¹²

First, the *Consilium* represents not just a critique but an extensive work of approximately 2,500 words examining the contemporary socio-political context and presenting the nobility's concerns. While many of the previously mentioned pamphlets addressed immediate issues, the *Consilium* organizes various perceptions about Jesuit influence into a methodical argument, offering a perspective on both theoretical and practical objections to Jesuit presence and activities in the Commonwealth and other European regions. Notable is the *Consilium's* assertion that "Poland was moved by [the Jesuits] to the last place among the nations of Europe,"¹³ though it simultaneously acknowledges specific cultural contributions of the Society of Jesus, stating they had "imported another Athens into our Poland."¹⁴

Furthermore, the *Consilium* serves as a document that captures the heightened anti-Jesuit sentiment during a critical period in early seventeenth-century Polish history. Examining it reveals specific aspects of opposition to both the monarch and the Jesuits associated with him, reflecting the Rokosz's broader impact on the development of the Commonwealth. By focusing on the *Consilium*, this chapter aims to examine its historical significance, enabling readers to understand why this extensive document is particularly representative of the anti-Jesuit writings from the early 1600s.

10 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:94.

11 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 1:452–59.

12 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 2:452–59, 3:3–61.

13 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:20.

14 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:43.

1 Introduction to the Work

1.1 *Time of Composition and Copies*

The *Consilium* was likely completed and published before August 30, 1606, when article 26 of the Rokosz was adopted. While this article only sought to restrict Jesuit activities, the *Consilium* called for their complete removal (*purgatio universalis*):

Since this inveterate disease has thus far grievously afflicted our homeland, no other remedy can be undertaken, nor even contemplated, unless the cause of this malady is entirely removed from the body of the Republic, that is, unless the Jesuits and their scheming arts are completely eradicated from the Kingdom of Poland. For if they are merely expelled from the royal court or some cities, or if they are even reduced to some order and confined to monasteries, the Republic's body will never be safely restored to full health. While the Jesuits are left unpunished, they will immediately renew the Republic's wounds, for this Society, seizing any opportunity, will cunningly return to its former arts and destructive practices, which are their sole and genuine aim.¹⁵

Additional context encompasses the Jesuits' response to the Moscow events of May 17—the assassination of Tsar Dmitry (r.1605–1606)—prior to July 29, 1606, which became a point of contention in contemporary discourse. Published in 1607, the *Consilium* emerged during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz (1606–1607), a substantial noble rebellion against King Sigismund. This uprising stemmed primarily from concerns regarding the monarch's perceived efforts to expand royal authority and centralize governance structures. The Jesuit involvement in political and educational spheres, though noteworthy, constituted one element within a broader matrix of factors contributing to noble apprehensions. Their influence must therefore be situated within the complex political con-

15 “Et quia morbus ille inveteratus acute satis patriam nostram hactenus affligit, curatio eius nulla alia suscipi, immo ne cogitari quidem poterit, nisi causae illius mali sine cunctatione de corpore Reipublicae aegro radicitus removeantur, hoc est, ut Iesuitae eorumque dispositoriae artes e regno Poloniae prorsus eliminentur. Nam si ex aula regia tantum aut ex aliquibus civitatibus pellantur, sive etiam quocumque modo in ordinem redigantur, in monasteria concludantur etc., Reipublicae corpus integrae sanitati nunquam tuto poterit restitui. Dum enim ignominiam inultam iesuitae nunquam sinent, recrudescunt protinus Reipublicae vulnera, quando isti Socii, quacumque oblata occasione, ad pristinas Reipublicae turbandae artes et clades, tanquam ad professionis suae unicum et genuinum scopum, astute recurrent.” Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:6.

text rather than isolated as the primary catalyst for noble resistance during this multifaceted historical episode. As the extended title indicates, the treatise argues emphatically that removing the Jesuits is essential for restoring stability and peace within Poland, which reflected the Society's controversial presence across Europe since its 1540 foundation. The document's survival through multiple Latin, French,¹⁶ German,¹⁷ and Italian editions into the eighteenth century demonstrates its enduring relevance and the resonance of its anti-Jesuit sentiment among both contemporary and later audiences. This persistence reveals a sustained concern regarding Jesuit influence and the ongoing search for political equilibrium in both Poland–Lithuania and the broader European context.

The most comprehensive version of the *Consilium* is held in the Ossoliński Library (No. 2723 from 1607), corresponding with other versions in the Jagiellonian Library from 1609 and 1632. A shorter, potentially original version is also housed in the Jagiellonian Library's 1607 collection, which exhibits both stylistic and content variations from the Ossoliński manuscript. Additionally, a 1609 edition was published under the title *Gravis & maximi momenti deliberatio: De compescendo perpetuo crudeli conatu Jesuitarum* (Serious and of the utmost importance deliberation: On the perpetual curbing of the Jesuits' cruel efforts). Several copies from 1725 are preserved at the National Library, the Jagiellonian University Library, and the Mikołaj Kopernik University Library. For our analysis, which does not aim to compare various editions, we have utilized Czubek's edition of 1918, which, despite its imperfections, remains the only scholarly edition produced to date.

1.2 *The Authorship*

The *Consilium* has been attributed to several potential authors. Jan Szczyński Herburt (1567–1616) is frequently cited alongside Jerzy Zbaraski (1574–1631).¹⁸ Determining authorship requires a thorough examination of thematic, stylistic, and ideological markers, as well as the historical context. Prominent Polish

16 See Jan Szczyński Herburt, *Discours aux grands de Pologne sur la nécessité de faire sortir les jésuites de ce royaume pour y rétablir l'union et la tranquillité* (Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert, 1726), reprinted also in 1759, on the eve of the Jesuits' suppression in France.

17 *Eines Pohnischen Edelmanns Anrede an die Grossen von Pohlen, die Ruhe und Einigkeit des Koenigreichs durch Wegschaffung derer Jesuiten zu befoerdern, betreffend* (n.p.: n.p., 1727).

18 See, for example, Zbigniew Anusik, "Jerzy ks. Zbaraski (1574–1631) wobec Kościoła i duchowieństwa katolickiego," *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis: Folia historica* 112 (2023): 35–55, here 43, <https://doi.org/10.18778/0208-6050.112.03> (accessed May 13, 2025); Urszula Augustyniak, "Wolę mieć religionem frigidam niż nullam: Jerzy i Krzysztof Zbarascy wobec rekatolicyzacji i zmiany systemu rządów w Rzeczypospolitej za Zygmunta III Wazy," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 58 (2014): 73–104, here 78.

literary historian Aleksander Brückner (1856–1939) and bibliographer Karol Estreicher (1906–1984) have attributed the work to Herbert,¹⁹ primarily based on his extensive anti-Jesuit writings and education at the University of Padua. Under Venetian influence, this institution fostered anti-Jesuit and anti-Habsburg sentiment. Herbert likely encountered the teachings of figures like Cesare Cremonini (1550–1631)²⁰ and absorbed anti-Jesuit rhetoric from Paolo Sarpi's (1552–1623) circle, which shaped the ideological frameworks of many Polish nobles, including Jan Brożek (1585–1652), whose *Gratis* we examine in the final chapter. This shared educational background suggests a broader intellectual dialogue among Padua-educated Poles that warrants deeper investigation.

Despite the compelling evidence favoring Herbert's authorship, Czubek posits Zbaraski as the author of the *Consilium* based on a letter by Skarga to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615, in office 1581–1615), where Zbaraski is identified as a fervent opponent of the Jesuits. Czubek suggests that Skarga's reference to Zbaraski's agitation against the Jesuits implies his authorship of anti-Jesuit writings, including the *Consilium*. However, this argument is circumstantial and needs more direct evidence. Notably, the final sentence of Czubek's argument undermines his case, as it acknowledges that the personal grievance described by the *Consilium*'s author does not align with Skarga's account of Zbaraski's motivations. While Zbaraski was indeed an adversary of the Jesuits, Herbert's documented activities and thematic alignment with the *Consilium* offer a more compelling case for his authorship, which urges caution in accepting Czubek's argument.

Polish historian Urszula Augustyniak—following Czubek, Jesuit Stanisław Załęski (1843–1908), Tadeusz Grabowski (1871–1960), Adam Szelągowski (1873–1961), Josef Macůrek (1901–1992), and Wanda Dobrowolska—proposes that Jerzy Zbaraski, potentially along with his brother Krzysztof Zbaraski (1579–1627), was the author of the *Consilium*. Influenced by the intellectually vibrant anti-Jesuit environment of Padua, Jerzy Zbaraski may have been well positioned to author such a work. However, Augustyniak's argument, which emphasizes similarities in argumentation and publishing approach between the *Consilium* and a later work ascribed to Krzysztof Zbaraski, *Septuaginta graves et arduae rationes* (Seventy serious and difficult reasons), is based on weak circumstantial evidence rather than direct textual or thematic links to the anti-Jesuit content in the *Consilium*.

19 Estr., 14:374.

20 See "Cremonini, Cesare," in *Dizionario di filosofia*, 2019, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-cremonini_\(Dizionario-di-filosofia\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-cremonini_(Dizionario-di-filosofia)/) (accessed April 16, 2025).

A close reading of the Latin text of the *Consilium* reveals that Augustyniak misinterpreted some of its content. She suggests a similarity to the *Septuaginta*, positing partial measures, such as confining Jesuits to restricted areas, while the *Consilium* explicitly dismisses such measures as ineffective and advocates for the Jesuits' complete expulsion from Poland. What Augustyniak interprets as the author's argument is actually a summary of others' positions that the author refutes.²¹ This misinterpretation undermines her attribution to Zbaraski, as it rests on a misunderstanding of a similarity between the texts, which differ in their central arguments. Paradoxically, Augustyniak's certainty about Krzysztof Zbaraski's authorship of *Septuaginta* further weakens her case for the Zbaraski brothers' involvement in the *Consilium*. While the Zbaraski attribution merits scholarly consideration, Herbut's documented anti-Jesuit position, leadership during the Rokosz, his other writings,²² his tenure as royal secretary,²³ and his experiences in Venice during the Jesuit expulsion,²⁴ his service as royal secretary, his experiences in Venice during the Jesuit expulsion, and specific references within the *Consilium*—including explicit mentions of figures like Skarga,²⁵ whom Herbut criticized in other works—collectively support his authorship.

Additionally, the distinct metaphors used in the *Consilium* to describe the Jesuits, such as “little foxes” (*vulpeculae*), “vultures” (*vultures*), “hawks” (*accipitres*), “troublemakers” (*interturbatores*), “plague” (*pestis*), “boiling bile” (*fervens bilis*), “wild beast” (*fera bestia*), “political moths” (*politicae tineae*), and “wedge” (*clavus*), sharply contrast with the representation in *Septuaginta graves*, which uniformly labels Jesuits as “harpiae” (harpies) to emphasize their destructive nature. This variation in symbolic representation suggests the texts likely originated from different authors, each with distinct stylistic approaches and ideological perspectives. This contrast challenges the argument for joint

21 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:56: “Restant ii, qui Iesuitas non solum ex aula removendos et ex urbibus expellendos, sed etiam latis legibus intra monachorum claustra redigendos et ordinariorum iurisdictioni (hoc enim a nonnullis additur) subiciendos consulunt.”

22 See the following texts attributed to Herbut: *Jezuita* (1606–7), a lost satire against Skarga (see Michał Wiszniewski, *Historia literatury polskiej*, 8 vols. [Kraków: Gieszkowski, 1851], 8:245); *Jezuitom i inszym duchownym respons* (Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:81–93); *Trąba na pospolite ruszenie przeciw jezuitom* (1607) (see Czubek, 3:258–60); and *Listy o kontrybucyjnej nowotniej o jezuitach* (1607) (see Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:195–209).

23 There is a generic allusion to the author's duties at the royal court: “Saltem ex mea experientia testari possum me, cum inter aulica ministeria adhuc versarer” (I can at least testify to this from my own experience, that, when I was still engaged in the duties of the court). See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:26–27.

24 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:24.

25 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:34–35.

authorship by the Zbaraski brothers and reinforces Herbert's likely authorship of this historically relevant document.

Curiously, Augustyniak overlooks a fragment of the *Consilium* (that she cites in the same paragraph quoted earlier), which could inform the authorship debate.²⁶ The phrase "Cuius sanctissimi et utilissimi instituti exempla in urbibus Belgicis me videre memini" (I remember seeing examples of this most holy and useful institution in the cities of Belgium) indicates that the author visited Flemish cities. We know that Herbert studied in Leiden (information Dobrowolska did not have),²⁷ which would have given him opportunities to see such "asylums" there and in other neighboring cities, no less than Jerzy Zbaraski, who studied in Leuven.²⁸ Interestingly, the translator of the work into Latin did not reveal the author's name (or perhaps did not know it)—describing him only as "undoubtedly a person of no ordinary intellect."²⁹

Italian scholar Luigi Lazzerini's analysis of the *Consilium* provides further insights, yet it does not fully capture the documented evidence of the text's origins.³⁰ Lazzerini's claim that there was no Polish original text of the *Consilium* directly contradicts the statement on the frontispiece that the work was "translated from the Polish language" and the bibliographical records that confirm the existence of a Polish original, known as *Votum katolika jednego*. Czubek's inclusion of this work in his 1918 critical edition of the Rokosz writings further supports the existence of a Polish version. The preface to the Latin translation explicitly states that it was rendered from Polish, reinforcing the original's existence and challenging Lazzerini's claim. This discrepancy in Lazzerini's account warrants a more thorough investigation into the *Consilium's* role within the broader European intellectual context.

The presence of the Italian translation of the *Consilium* within collections related to the Venetian Interdict in the Vatican Apostolic Library, and similarly in Venice's Marciana Library among documents from the "war of pamphlets" during the conflict between Venice and the papacy, points to its role in anti-pa-

26 Augustyniak, "Wolę mieć religionem frigidam niż nullam," 86.

27 Wanda Dobrowolska, *Młodość Jerzego i Krzysztofa Zbaraskich* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1926), 197. Dobrowolska also examines the double-author (Herbert/Zbaraski) hypothesis.

28 Wojciech Tygielski, *W podróży po Europie: Studia z dziejów kultury nowożytnej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2019), 73. Dobrowolska, *Młodość Jerzego i Krzysztofa Zbaraskich*, 193.

29 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:3.

30 Luigi Lazzerini, "Officina Sarpiana: Scritture del Sarpi in materia di gesuiti," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 58, no. 1 (2004): 29–80, esp. 30–33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43050143> (accessed April 22, 2025).

pal and anti-Jesuit circles.³¹ These connections highlight the work's integration into relevant European religious and political debates. They also suggest that the Polish author had links with Venetian intellectual circles, particularly those “practical Venetians” influenced by Sarpi, the author of the history of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and of the Spanish Inquisition, two topics whose role and relation to the Society of Jesus is discussed in the *Consilium*.³² Given Herbert's ideological alignment with Sarpi, it is plausible that his *Votum*, emerging from a Polish context, resonated with and found a receptive audience among Venetian and broader European intellectuals who shared critical perspectives on ecclesiastical authority and the Jesuit order. This suggests an intellectual exchange and a shared ideological community that spanned national and regional boundaries, which warrants further investigation.

1.3 *The Authorship of the Translation*

Estreicher attributes the Latin translation of the *Consilium* to Jan Turnowski (1567–1629), a prominent Czech Brother and anti-Jesuit writer.³³ This attribution is well supported by the historical context and the motivations outlined in the translator's preface. Turnowski's extensive travels and studies across Europe, particularly in key Protestant centers during the late sixteenth century, would have given him a nuanced understanding of the broader European religious and political contexts. His academic background, including a doctorate in theology from Marburg (1608), would have required mastery of Latin—the lingua franca of theological discourse and academic writing in this period. This Latin proficiency, combined with his tenure as a preacher at the time of translation in Łobżenica (Lobsens) in Greater Poland—a region with both Polish and German influences—provided Turnowski with the linguistic expertise necessary for producing a scholarly Latin translation of the *Consilium*.

Turnowski's scholarly training in Latin and familiarity with both Polish and German contexts provide a strong basis for his decision to translate the *Consilium* into Latin rather than German. He states in the preface: “Latine autem scriptum hoc ideo potius, quam germanice, interpretari volui, quod Polonicum idioma cum latinismo multo maiorem cognationem in plerisque, quam cum nostrate idiotismo, habeat” (I preferred to translate this into Latin rather than German because the Polish language has a much greater affinity with Latin in many respects than with our own vernacular).³⁴ This choice

31 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:11–12.

32 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:16, 37.

33 See also chapter 7 in this book.

34 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:4.

reflects Turnowski's understanding of Latin's superior capacity to capture the nuanced meanings of Polish expressions, as demonstrated by his scholarly background and cultural experiences.

Turnowski, born in Barcin, inherited deep connections to the Czech Brethren tradition through his father, who ministered to the exiled community. His intellectual formation traversed European centers of Protestant learning—Geneva, Basel, Strasbourg, and Zurich—before he established himself professionally in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. In Poznań, Turnowski assumed ministerial duties, later securing an appointment as professor of theology at the Academic Gymnasium in Toruń, where he produced several notable polemical works against the Society of Jesus that we analyze in chapter 7. This remarkable trajectory through diverse confessional and intellectual milieus equipped Turnowski with uncommon perspicacity regarding the theological controversies and political machinations that characterized early seventeenth-century European religious discourse. His facility with multiple scholarly traditions suggests why his translation work demonstrated such nuanced understanding of complex theological positions across confessional boundaries.

Upon receiving the document from Poland, Turnowski immediately grasped its relevance as a remarkable testament to the changing political climate in the Commonwealth. The text represented, in his estimation, undeniable evidence that Jesuit methods and ambitions had entered the sphere of serious public discourse in Poland—a development that struck him as particularly noteworthy. His astonishment stemmed from his earlier experiences in the region during the tumultuous period of the Zbrzydowski Rokosz (1606–1607), when, despite their vaunted attachment to republican liberties, the Polish nobility had shown little inclination toward systematic critique of Jesuit influence in matters of state.

Turnowski's intimate familiarity with Polish affairs undoubtedly informed his subsequent decision to render the *Consilium* into Latin rather than his native tongue. This calculated choice aimed to situate the Polish critique within the broader intellectual currents of contemporary Europe, particularly in relation to the ongoing disputes between the Society of Jesus and the Republic of Venice. By presenting the work in the scholarly *lingua franca*, Turnowski effectively transformed what might have remained a localized Polish polemic into a contribution to the pan-European discourse concerning the proper boundaries between ecclesiastical and temporal authority. His translation thus served a dual purpose: it documented specific Polish grievances whilst simultaneously contextualizing them within the broader continental struggle against what many perceived as Jesuit encroachment upon civic prerogatives:

Therefore, regarding these external causes, whose removal I would like to make the first part of our concern, they are the very ones that have hitherto stirred up the same tempest in the other kingdoms of Europe, the rumble of which we have been noticing within us for some years not without horror, whose force, advancing from the south and west through the contiguous parts of Europe, seems like a whirlwind to invade our northern garden. However, by the clemency of God, the Best and Greatest, Poland has been most benignly spared compared to other nations of Europe, so that this plague has only recently begun to afflict us, although internal causes in Poland have been no less conspicuous for many years than elsewhere. This great benefit of God among other things (provided we are willing to use it) can afford us the opportunity to observe the symptoms, cases, and dangers of the same disease among other Europeans along with the outcomes of the medicines applied to both sides and to convert this to our own use, thus becoming more cautious by another's peril.³⁵

Turnowski's intellectual formation and active engagement in contemporary confessional controversies rendered him singularly well-positioned for this translation endeavor. His approach to rendering the Polish text into Latin demonstrates meticulous attention to philological precision whilst simultaneously addressing the needs of a pan-European readership. According to his own account, Turnowski undertook this labor following persistent encouragement from colleagues familiar with Polish affairs, who recognized the document's potential implication beyond Commonwealth borders. Despite initial reluctance—stemming from his awareness of the inherent difficulties in conveying Polish rhetorical idioms in Latin—he ultimately consented to the project, stipulating only that he might occasionally depart from literal rendition when fidelity to meaning demanded such liberty.

35 “Ad has ergo externas causas quod attinet, quarum remotiōni primam curae nostrae partem impendi velim, sunt hae illae ipsae, quae hactenus in reliquis Europae regnis eandem tempestatem excitarunt, cuius fremitum iam ab aliquot annis intra nos non citra horrorem animadvertimus, quarum impetus a meridie et occidente per contigua Europae progrediens, nostrum hunc septentrionalem hortum ceu turbo quidam videtur invadere, ubi tamen Dei Opt. Max. clementia Poloniae hoc prae aliis Europae nationibus benignissime indulsit, ut pestis haec nos sero tentare coeperit, licet causae intestinae in Polonia a multis annis non minus, quam alibi, conspicuae fuerint. Quod ingens Dei beneficium inter alia hoc nobis (dummodo eo uti voluerimus) praestare poterit, ut reliquorum Europaeorum sub eodem morbo symptomata, casus et pericula cum medicamentorum adhibitorum in utramque partem eventu observare et in rem nostram convertere et sic alieno periculo cautiōres fieri possimus.” Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 321.

The resulting translation transcends mere linguistic transposition; rather, it constitutes a deliberate intervention in broader European discussions concerning political liberty and the manipulation of state apparatus by religious interests. Turnowski's careful editorial choices throughout the text reveal his commitment not simply to informing a scholarly audience but to actively shaping continental discourse on these pressing matters. His prefatory remarks, contextualized against the backdrop of his experiences in both Polish and German contexts, further illuminate the considered nature of his contribution to what he perceived as an urgent pan-European dilemma that required a coordinated intellectual response.

When he presented the translated work to those whose judgment he highly valued, they approved it and urged him to publish it, believing it would benefit many in Europe. Since he could claim no more in this work than the labor of translation, Turnowski did not wish to intercept the fruits of another's labor nor resist the judgment of his friends. He left the entire matter to their discretion, reserving only the right to preface the work with an explanation of the points he had clarified. Having obtained this, he did not wish to impede the reader's benefit further and hoped they would find this helpful work and benefit from it.

2 Geopolitical Background

The *Consilium* emerges from the complex geopolitical terrain of early seventeenth-century Poland–Lithuania, a period characterized by acute confessional and constitutional tensions. The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 stood as a remarkable legal instrument that had established an unprecedented framework for religious coexistence in contemporary Europe. While this settlement guaranteed freedom of worship to the nobility across the Commonwealth, its practical implementation proved more nuanced than its idealistic intentions. The Jesuits played a leading role in these delicate religious circumstances, intensifying their efforts to counter Protestantism through multifaceted strategies: citywide sermons, royal court advocacy, persuading Protestant and Eastern Orthodox magnates to convert to Catholicism, and producing prolific polemical texts. Their growing influence and wealth provoked strong reactions from both Protestant and moderate Catholic opponents, who expressed their criticism through dedicated anti-Jesuit literature.

The Warsaw Confederation, though groundbreaking in its guarantee of religious protections for those “differing in faith,” was fundamentally an agreement among nobles rather than a robustly enforced legal framework. Despite its rep-

utation for religious toleration, the Confederation ultimately struggled to prevent ongoing religious discrimination. The Jesuits' systematic efforts to reshape the religious landscape continued to challenge the delicate balance of religious coexistence, making the *Consilium* a critical lens through which to understand these complex dynamics.

Against this established order, certain Counter-Reformational elements—particularly within the Society of Jesus—mounted a sustained campaign to augment both royal prerogative and Catholic hegemony. Skarga, the influential royal preacher, epitomized this tendency; his sermons and political writings systematically challenged the foundational principles of religious pluralism enshrined in the Warsaw settlement. The *Consilium* maintains that Jesuit advisors deliberately mischaracterized the Confederation in their counsel to the monarch, presenting its provisions for religious tolerance as tantamount to “Tartaric and Mohammedan perfidy”—a rhetorical strategy designed to undermine the constitutional framework that had preserved the Commonwealth's distinctive confessional equilibrium for nearly half a century.³⁶

The Zembrzydowski Rokosz emerged from a constitutional crisis that engulfed the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth following the death of Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), the grand chancellor whose considerable political acumen had previously maintained a delicate equilibrium between crown prerogatives and noble liberties. With his moderating influence removed, latent tensions within the Commonwealth's political structure rapidly surfaced. The insurrection found its principal catalyst in the growing apprehension among certain magnates regarding what they perceived as Sigismund III Vasa's increasingly centralizing tendencies and his apparent receptivity to Jesuit counsel in matters of state.

The dissidents articulated several grievances against the monarch: his alleged preference for foreign courtiers at the expense of native noblemen; his purported manipulation of senatorial appointments to advance personal adherents; and, most controversially, his supposed inclination toward fortifying royal authority beyond constitutional constraints. Contemporary scholarship has substantially revised earlier assumptions regarding Sigismund's ambitions, with many historians now questioning whether the king genuinely harbored absolutist aspirations or was instead pursuing more modest reforms within established constitutional parameters. This historiographical reassessment notwithstanding, the perception among contemporary *szlachta* that Sigismund aimed to alter the Commonwealth's political equilibrium fundamentally proved sufficient to precipitate armed resistance.

36 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:34.

The insurrection reflected deep-seated anxieties amongst segments of the nobility—particularly those who perceived themselves as increasingly marginalized from corridors of power—that Sigismund's confessional predilections and reliance upon foreign counsellors constituted a direct threat to the sacrosanct liberties of the *szlachta*. The insurgency found its leadership in figures such as Mikołaj Zebrzydowski (1553–1620), the palatine of Kraków, and Janusz Radziwiłł (1579–1620), who skillfully mobilized support among the lesser nobility by amplifying these constitutional and religious grievances. Historical evidence demonstrates, however, that the Rokosz never commanded unanimous aristocratic support; indeed, the preponderance of magnates, together with most senatorial officials, either actively endorsed the royal position or maintained studied neutrality throughout the conflict. This fragmentation within the elite ranks reveals the complex factional dynamics that characterized Commonwealth politics during this turbulent period, rather than suggesting any monolithic noble opposition to the crown.

The conflict reached its military denouement at the Battle of Guzów in July 1607, where royal forces decisively defeated the *rokoszanie*. Paradoxically, despite this unequivocal martial triumph, Sigismund III failed to translate his battlefield victory into substantial political capital. Rather than exploiting his advantage to impose a more centralized governance framework, the monarch acquiesced to various conciliatory measures designed to placate disaffected elements of the nobility. Subsequent constitutional reforms actually delineated more precisely the circumscribed parameters of royal prerogative, institutionalizing additional mechanisms for parliamentary oversight and monarchical accountability. This seemingly contradictory outcome—military victory yielding political compromise—illuminates the fundamental nature of the rebellion: not as a coherent, noble resistance against incipient absolutism, but rather as a manifestation of the endemic structural tensions between the crown and nobility that characterized the Commonwealth's constitutional architecture. The Rokosz thus represented less a unified ideological movement than a temporary coalition of disparate noble factions united primarily by circumstantial grievances and opportunistic power calculations within the Commonwealth's intricate political ecosystem.

In the *Consilium*, the author articulates both immediate political grievances and broader constitutional concerns, proposing the expulsion of the Jesuits and elimination of Jesuitism (“ut Iesuitae et Iesuitismus extra Regnum eliminentur”)³⁷ as the essential prerequisite—the *conditio sine qua non*—for political stability and preservation of Poland's republican institutions. The

37 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:20.

document presents the Society of Jesus as an agent of foreign influence, specifically Spanish and papal, while emphasizing the ostensibly monarchical internal structure of the Jesuit order itself.³⁸ This treatise occupies a meaningful position within the anti-Jesuit polemical literature that emerged during the Rokosz period, advancing arguments that align with those found in contemporaneous works such as the “Apologeticus” and the *Actio* examined previously. The *Consilium* defends principles established in the Warsaw Confederation while illustrating resistance to perceived Jesuit influence over royal policy. Beyond its immediate political context, the document illuminates the complex tensions between ecclesiastical and secular authority that characterized early modern European political discourse. The following analysis examines the substantive arguments presented in the *Consilium*.

3 Overview of Content

The preface to the *Consilium* opens with a rhetorically sophisticated appeal to the estates of the Polish kingdom, situated deliberately within a context of perceived national crisis. The author positions himself as a concerned citizen (*civis*) motivated by patriotic duty to contribute to ongoing deliberations regarding public welfare. Through a carefully constructed argument, he attributes the republic’s manifold afflictions—domestic instability and institutional corruption—to what he characterizes as the methodical operations and calculated strategies of the Society of Jesus. Employing evocative language, the text describes these as “Iesuitarum exquisitissim[ae] artes et astutissim[ae] sibi subiectorum ad conatus suos promovendos dispositionem” (the Jesuits’ most exquisite arts and most astute management of those subject to them for the advancement of their own designs).³⁹ The rhetorical structure culminates in a dire prognostication: failure to counteract these perceived Jesuit machinations would, in the author’s assessment, imperil the constitutional integrity of the Commonwealth itself, ultimately resulting not in restoration but dissolution of the polity. This framing device establishes the polemical orientation that permeates the remainder of the document while situating the specific critique within conventional early modern discourse concerning threats to republican governance.

The *Consilium* presents a multifaceted critique of the Society of Jesus, characterizing its members as agents of political destabilization and subverters of

38 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:20–22, 29.

39 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:5.

the established order. The text constructs a narrative wherein Jesuits actively foment internal dissension that undermines effective governance. Drawing comparative evidence from Sweden and other European territories, the author posits that Poland faces similar threats of substantial domestic disruption should Jesuit influence remain unchecked. The argument employs France as an exemplary case, suggesting that the Jesuits' activities there serve as a cautionary paradigm regarding potential hazards to Polish constitutional stability.

The treatise extends its criticism beyond political concerns to encompass pedagogical practices, alleging that Jesuit educational methods corrupt youth through esoteric and covert approaches. According to this analysis, authentic intellectual formation and moral development are systematically displaced by what the text characterizes as the disorienting and bewildering paradigm of the "Jesuit empire" (*imperium Iesuiticum*).⁴⁰ This comprehensive indictment thus encompasses both political and cultural dimensions, presenting the Society as a multivalent threat to Commonwealth institutions and values.

The *Consilium* further develops its critique through allegations of Jesuit duplicity, contending that their ostensible commitment to education and missionary work functions primarily as a strategic veneer concealing more expansive ambitions. The text constructs a rhetorical dichotomy between stated and actual objectives, asserting that the Society's fundamental concern lies not with the advancement of Catholicism but instead with the augmentation of its institutional influence:

As for internal matters, beyond those personal sins by which the wrath of God is, as it were, ordinarily provoked—and which, consequently, have brought destruction upon all commonwealths since the beginning of the world, and by which our own Poland today, alas, is at least not yet overwhelmed—I refer in particular to that dissension in religion and the factions, which turbulent and ambitious minds seize upon without cause; to the greedy pursuit of private wealth, and the utter neglect of the public good; to the hatred of truth and the danger that surrounds it, and to the cultivation and favor shown to hypocrisy and sycophantic flattery; to the corruption of justice and the concealment of injustice; to the fact that courage, both in civic life and in military affairs, has come to be viewed with suspicion and hatred, while degenerate cowardice is celebrated and advanced; to ambition rewarded without merit, envy that is unaccompanied by any emulation of virtue; to the innocent being oppressed and the

⁴⁰ Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:22.

wicked defended; to defenseless innocence put at risk, and brazen depravity—bolstered by wealth—ruling openly; and finally, to virtue being neglected and hypocrisy adorned with rewards.⁴¹

The document situates this critique within a framework of perceived threats to Polish sovereignty, presenting Jesuit activities as fundamentally incompatible with national autonomy and constitutional stability. This argumentative structure culminates in the author's central policy recommendation: complete expulsion as the sole viable response to preserve Commonwealth independence and prevent political fragmentation. The text explicitly rejects incremental or localized measures as insufficient, employing a causal analysis suggesting that "the Jesuits are not only to be expelled, but that every precaution must be taken to prevent their return. For once expelled, they will not remain quiet; rather, they will leave no stone unturned to secure their reentry, so that they may thereby cleanse the stain now cast upon the Jesuit garb." This insistence on comprehensive rather than partial action reflects contemporary polemical strategies in anti-Jesuit discourse across European contexts:

On this point, France ought to serve as a warning to us: in her royal court, the intrigues of the absent Jesuits held such power that, although they had been cast out, the gap left—like a missing tooth in the king's mouth—could never be filled. And so the Jesuits, despite the protests of the parlements and the opposition of every prudent man, were not only reinstated, but even that pyramid—the eternal monument to their crime—was torn down.⁴²

41 "Ad internas, praeter illa privatorum peccata, quibus Dei ira quasi ordinario provocatur, quae propterea omnibus a condito mundo rebuspublicis exitium attulerunt et quibus Polonia nostra hodie, proh dolor, saltem non obruitur, in specie refero religionis illud dissidium et factiones, quarum occasionem turbulenta et ambitiosa ingenia ex eodem sine causa arripiunt, rei insuper familiaris avarum studium, publicae vero supinum neglectum, veritatis odium et periculum, hypocriseos vero assentatoriaeque adulationis studium et favorem, iustitiae depravationem, iniustitiae vero palliationem, fortitudinem domi militiaeque in odium et suspicionem vocatam, degenerem vero ignaviam, cultam et promotam ambitionem sine meritis, invidiam sine virtutis aemulatione, innocentes oppressos, sceleratos defensos, imbellem innocentiam periclitantem, praeferocem opibusque suffultam improbitatem palam dominantem, virtutem denique neglectam, hypocrisin praemiis ornatam." Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:10.

42 "Dixi autem Iesuitas non solum expellendos, sed etiam contra reditum omnia diligenter praecavenda esse. Neque enim expulsi quiescent, ut non omnem lapidem moveant, quo ipsis redire liceat, ut sic hanc vesti Iesuisticae iniectam maculam vicissim eluant. De quo nos Gallia admonere debet, in cuius aula Iesuitarum absentium practicae tantum poterunt, ut cum excussi dentis in ore regio lacuna resarciri nunquam posset, Iesuitae tum

The *Consilium* advances beyond mere criticism to articulate a comprehensive strategy for implementing the expulsion of Jesuits and repurposing their institutional assets. The text proposes a systematic appropriation of Jesuit properties for public benefit, with particular emphasis on restitution to the nobility, characterized as previous victims of Jesuit acquisition practices. This redistributive framework includes a carefully conceived educational initiative, through which confiscated Jesuit properties would be used to support the cultivation of good letters (*bonae litterae*), either by strengthening existing institutions such as the Kraków Academy or by founding new ones within the Commonwealth.⁴³

The author's educational vision includes provisions for provincial schools staffed by adequately remunerated scholars and mechanisms to support economically disadvantaged students demonstrating intellectual promise. This proposed educational restructuring serves dual purposes within the document's argumentative structure: it addresses immediate practical concerns regarding property disposition while simultaneously advancing a pedagogical alternative designed to cultivate civic attachment and constitutional reverence. The text explicitly connects educational reform to political stability, suggesting that properly constituted academic institutions would function as bulwarks against potential Jesuit resurgence while promoting scholarly advancement aligned with Commonwealth interests. This integration of pragmatic policy recommendations with broader ideological objectives exemplifies the text's position within contemporary political discourse on religious orders and state authority.

The *Consilium* continues its programmatic recommendations with proposals for allocating residual Jesuit assets to public hospices serving wounded or retired military personnel who have rendered service to the Commonwealth. The author invokes historical precedent by referencing King Stephen Báthory's (r.1575–1586) establishment of a Warsaw veterans' hospice, presenting this initiative as an exemplary model for institutional care of former soldiers. This reference to Báthory operates strategically within the text's political framework, echoing the comparative technique employed in the *Actio* whereby Báthory's governance is juxtaposed favorably against Sigismund III's reign—implicitly

reclamantibus parlamentis et obnitente prudentissimo quoque non solum restituti sint, sed etiam pyramis illa, perpetrati sceleris aeterna index, fuerit demolita." Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:58.

43 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:58.

casting the former as demonstrating superior leadership and commitment to public welfare.⁴⁴

The document further advances a legislative agenda designed to prevent potential Jesuit reinstatement, advocating for statutory provisions with substantial punitive measures against parties attempting to facilitate their return. This legal framework extends to intellectual production, with the author recommending mechanisms to regulate printing presses to restrict the dissemination of what he characterizes as anti-republican sentiments. Such proposed controls include pre-emptive censorship of oppositional texts, reflecting contemporary understandings of the relationship between printed discourse and political stability.

In conclusion, the *Consilium* implores Poland's noble estates to implement decisive measures against the Jesuits, asserting that the Commonwealth could remedy its internal disorders by following precedents established by other European polities facing similar challenges. The author contends that strategic repurposing of Jesuit assets—particularly for educational institutions and veterans' hospices—would not only address immediate concerns but establish foundations for sustained constitutional harmony. The document closes with invoking divine providence, expressing confidence that such judicious reforms would secure favorable outcomes for the Republic. This integration of practical political recommendations with appeals to higher authority exemplifies the text's position within contemporary discourse on religious orders and state sovereignty in early modern Europe.

4 Analysis of Rhetoric and Style

The preface of the *Consilium* demonstrates sophisticated rhetorical craftsmanship, employing complementary persuasive strategies to establish the legitimacy of the translated work. The translator strikes a balance between emotive appeal and scholarly authority, incorporating rational argumentation that reflects contemporary concerns regarding Jesuit influence within the Commonwealth. This rhetorical approach targets an audience well-versed in humanist discourse and familiar with the political and religious controversies of the period.

Examining the document's rhetorical structure reveals careful composition intended for a learned audience. The text employs classical allusions and historical *exempla* that would resonate with educated readers, while maintaining

44 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:59.

the formal linguistic registers characteristic of legal and political discourse during this period. These stylistic choices themselves function argumentatively, positioning the author within established intellectual traditions. The document's persuasive framework integrates logical reasoning (demonstration of Jesuit threats to Commonwealth institutions), ethical appeals (invocation of patriotic duty and constitutional preservation), and pathetic elements (expressions of concern for the republic's welfare). This tripartite structure reflects contemporary rhetorical training and expectations. Notable is the systematic progression of arguments concerning property redistribution and institutional reform, where practical recommendations are embedded within broader philosophical claims about governmental responsibility and the common good. This carefully calibrated rhetorical approach reflects both the author's educational background and the complex political context in which the document circulated.

The *Consilium* demonstrates sophisticated rhetorical architecture through its integrated appeals to logic, ethics, and emotion—creating a persuasive framework targeted at the Commonwealth's political elite.

4.1 *Logical Appeal*

The document constructs a methodical case through syllogistic reasoning and careful enumeration of evidence. Its argumentative structure progresses systematically from general principles to specific Polish applications, demonstrating how Jesuit influence manifests in educational institutions and policy disruptions. The author employs deductive reasoning to establish causal relationships between Jesuit presence and constitutional instability, creating a logical framework that presents expulsion as the necessary conclusion of rational analysis. This approach appeals to the audience's intellectual faculties while establishing the appearance of objectivity through structured argumentation. A key example of this strategy appears in critiquing the Jesuits' role in education. Although they claim to serve the propagation of religion and the instruction of youth, the author asserts that "rationibus firmissimis evidentior ostendentes Iesuitas primum et Iesuitarum institutum bonis litteris [...] plus offecisse, quam ut easdem promoverint, ostendentes insuper, disciplinam Iesuiticam meram corruptelam esse ingeniorum" (showing with the strongest arguments that the Jesuits and their institute have harmed good letters more than they have advanced them, and that Jesuit pedagogy is a pure corruption of intellects).⁴⁵ Here, the text not only discredits the educational utility of the Society

45 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:42.

but reframes it as a calculated instrument of intellectual decay—a conclusion reached through rational, evidence-based argument rather than invective.

4.2 *Ethical Appeal*

Ethos is strongly projected through the narrative's authoritative tone and the strategic use of historical parallels. The text frequently references major political upheavals elsewhere in Europe—most notably in France—to establish credibility by situating the Jesuit threat within a broader historical and moral context. As the author observes, “in illa desperata totius regni perturbatione ex solo Iesuitarum ordine neminem ac ne unum quidem individuum fuisse, qui reipublicae partes secutus esset [...]. Praedicta sane factio prius opprimi non potuit aut eradicari, quam Iesuitae regno exigerentur” (in the desperate disorder of that kingdom, not one Jesuit supported the republic, and the faction could not be suppressed until the Jesuits were expelled).⁴⁶ This *exemplum* reinforces the author's credibility by appealing to the shared historical memory of elite readers and warning against repeating others' mistakes.

Furthermore, the author appeals to the ethical responsibility of Polish leaders, evoking an image of national defense: “Ego interim factionem Iesuiticam inter nos non aliter aestimo, quam agilem quendam et acutum gladium, cuius lamina quidem in vaginam Polonicam recondita sit, sed ita, ut capulum Romana aula et Hispania manibus teneant” (I consider the Jesuit faction among us to be a sharp and agile sword, sheathed in the Polish scabbard, but with the handle held by the Roman court and Spain).⁴⁷ This metaphor, rich in patriotic overtones, underscores the foreign control behind the Jesuit presence and frames their expulsion not as religious intolerance but as a morally necessary act of sovereign preservation. Thus, the text uses ethos not only to establish the writer's credibility but also to present the Jesuits' removal as part of a proud Polish tradition of resisting external domination.

4.3 *Emotional Appeal*

Emotional resonance is achieved through vivid imagery and targeted appeals to fear and protective instincts. The author employs hyperbolic descriptions of potential cultural and political degradation, characterizing Jesuit influence as “tearing at the very fabric of our nation.” The direct address to noblemen:

Therefore, you, noblemen, should understand here that nothing is more dangerous than a superior and versatile mind if it applies its strength to

46 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:42.

47 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:22.

evil purposes. And so I myself count this very activity of the Jesuits among the most just causes of our fear, which should shake us from our lethargy and arouse us to a serious concern for our own affairs.⁴⁸

4.4 *Rhetorical Questions*

The *Consilium* employs interrogative rhetoric as a powerful persuasive device, using strategically placed rhetorical questions to create dialogic engagement with its elite audience. These questions serve multiple functions within the document's argumentative framework. The interrogatives—"Shall we allow our freedoms to be so easily usurped?" and "What do you think will happen to us and our liberty that has hitherto been unfettered?"⁴⁹ simulate deliberative debate while presuming consensus on fundamental values. By framing questions around cherished principles of liberty and autonomy, the author establishes a false dichotomy between action and complicity, narrowing the audience's perceived options. The accusatory question "And you still want to sleep?"⁵⁰ functions as both reproach and exhortation, implying negligence while simultaneously offering redemption through action. This creates rhetorical tension between the nobility's self-conception as vigilant guardians and the author's characterization of their inaction. The extended interrogative—"Now then, nobles, listen again and tell me, is it not by this decree of the Jesuits that the death and life of all European kings and political officials are suspended by the horoscope of the Jesuits' discretion, so that if this one ascends to their right, they themselves may live and be strong, or else perish?"⁵¹—demonstrates sophisticated rhetorical layering. The question incorporates embedded assertions presented as shared premises, compelling readers to engage with controversial claims as established facts. This technique allows for the introduction of inflammatory accusations while maintaining the appearance of reasoned discourse. These questions work in concert with anaphoric repetition of action-oriented phrases, such as "necessity of action" and "urgent expulsion," creating rhythmic reinforcement of the document's central thesis. This combination of interrogative engagement and emphatic repetition establishes both intellectual and emotional pressure toward the author's proposed solution, which illustrates how grammatical choices themselves function argumentatively in political rhetoric.

48 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:43–44.

49 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:34.

50 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:34.

51 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:31.

4.5 *Metaphor and Analogy*

The *Consilium* deploys sophisticated metaphorical frameworks that transform abstract political-religious controversies into visceral imagery, enhancing both comprehension and persuasive impact. The document's characterization of Jesuit influence as a "disease" or "infection" within the Commonwealth's body politic establishes a robust conceptual framework that serves multiple rhetorical functions. This pathological metaphor reconceptualizes political opposition as medical intervention, positioning anti-Jesuit measures as necessary therapeutic responses rather than partisan actions. It implies both urgency, as infections inevitably spread if untreated, and moral justification, since healing is inherently virtuous. The medical framing establishes a binary health/illness dichotomy that precludes moderate positions while suggesting that "surgical removal" represents responsible governance rather than religious persecution. This conceptual mapping effectively naturalizes the author's political recommendations by connecting them to universally understood processes of diagnosis, treatment, and recovery.

The navigational metaphors—potentially constructed as deliberate counterpoints to Skarga's rhetorical frameworks—create a competing conceptual system wherein political stability requires careful steering through treacherous waters. This maritime imagery emphasizes the nobility's responsibility as helmsmen of the Commonwealth vessel, while characterizing Jesuit influence as dangerous currents or hidden reefs that threaten shipwreck. The navigational framework presents political decision-making as requiring both vigilance and technical skill, implying that failure to navigate correctly leads to collective catastrophe. The extended metaphor transforms political choices into practical seamanship, making complex institutional conflicts more immediately comprehensible.

These complementary metaphorical systems work together to transform abstract institutional conflicts into concrete scenarios with clear roles, responsibilities, and consequences. By anchoring political arguments in universally understood domains, such as medicine and navigation, the author creates cognitive frameworks that make radical proposals appear as natural and necessary responses to imminent dangers.⁵²

The *Consilium* represents a sophisticated exercise in persuasive discourse, integrating classical rhetorical techniques into a cohesive argumentative framework. This integration creates a multidimensional appeal designed to resonate with its elite audience on intellectual, ethical, and emotional levels simultaneously. The document's rhetorical architecture systematically

52 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:8–9.

builds toward its central political recommendation—the expulsion of the Jesuits from Poland—through complementary persuasive strategies. Logical syllogisms establish causal relationships between Jesuit presence and constitutional instability, while ethical appeals frame expulsion as a continuation of Poland’s historical commitment to sovereignty. These rational frameworks are then amplified through emotional language and vivid metaphorical systems, which transform abstract political concerns into visceral threats that require immediate intervention.

Particularly notable is the document’s strategic reference to the French experience, which functions as both historical *exemplum* and cautionary tale. By invoking this precedent (similarly to Sarpi), the author simultaneously demonstrates erudition while warning against half-measures that might permit Jesuit return—a sophisticated rhetorical move that acknowledges counterarguments while reinforcing the necessity of permanent exclusion. The interrogative rhetoric creates a false dialogue that guides readers toward predetermined conclusions, while medical and navigational metaphors establish conceptual frameworks that naturalize radical proposals as necessary responses to imminent dangers. These complementary techniques ensure the argument operates on multiple cognitive levels, creating intellectual conviction while simultaneously generating emotional urgency.

This layered rhetorical approach reflects remarkable awareness of audience psychology, demonstrating how early modern political discourse integrated classical persuasive traditions with emerging nationalistic concerns. The document’s ultimate effectiveness lies in its ability to present contentious religious-political measures as essential acts of patriotic preservation, transforming partisan interests into apparent matters of national survival requiring immediate intervention.

5 Reception and Impact

The *Consilium*’s circulation prompted a calculated Jesuit counter-rhetorical campaign, revealing the document’s political impact within Commonwealth discourse networks. The Jesuits’ strategic response pattern—beginning with indirect engagement before progressing to formal refutation—demonstrates their sophisticated understanding of political communication and reputation management.

Skarga’s *Próba zakonu* (1607) represents an initial oblique countermeasure, defending the Society without directly acknowledging the *Consilium*—a rhetorical strategy that avoided amplifying the original text while still address-

ing its core allegations. This deliberate omission suggests the Jesuits' concern that direct engagement might legitimize or further disseminate the anti-Jesuit arguments. The calculated delay before issuing formal responses (1610–1611) analyzed below reflects institutional deliberation rather than neglect, allowing time for message coordination and strategic positioning.

Jerzy Tyszkiewicz's (1571–1625) *Responsio* (1610) employs counterbalancing rhetorical techniques, framing the *Consilium's* argumentative structure as “impudent” while positioning the Jesuits as defenders of established church authority. This response inverts the original document's ethical framework, recasting the anonymous author as the subversive element threatening institutional stability. By emphasizing the Society's historical service and sacrifices, Tyszkiewicz constructs a competing narrative of Jesuit identity directly challenging the *Consilium's* characterization.

Adam Cichocki's (1552–1620) *Anatomia consilii* (1611) adopts a more comprehensive rhetorical approach, targeting both the content and form of the original document. His characterization of the *Consilium* as a “farrago of lies and impostures” attacks its logical foundation while his emphasis on the author's anonymity undermines its ethical standing. The promise of “methodical and reasoned arguments” represents a deliberate contrast with what Cichocki portrays as the *Consilium's* emotional manipulation. These responses reveal how the *Consilium's* rhetorical impact extended beyond its immediate audience, provoking institutional mobilization and competing narrative construction that would shape subsequent religious-political discourse throughout the Commonwealth.

Cichocki authored the second formal response to the *Consilium*. His *Anatomia consilii editi de stabilienda pace Regni Poloniae iesuitis pulsis, mendacia conficta a quodam anonymo impostore contra religiosum Societatis Jesv ordinem detegens* (An anatomy of the *Consilium* published for establishing peace in the Kingdom of Poland by expelling the Jesuits, exposing the lies fabricated by a certain anonymous impostor against the religious order of the Society of Jesus [Kraków, 1611]) directly confronts what he characterizes as the document's “deceit and anonymity.” Cichocki's preface frames the *Consilium* as a “farrago of lies and impostures” while positioning his own work as a defense grounded in “equity and innocence.” He emphasizes his methodological commitment to refuting the allegations through “methodical and reasoned arguments,” establishing a rhetorical counterpoint to the original text.

Publication records indicate the *Consilium* achieved remarkable transnational circulation, influencing European discourse on the Jesuits. According to Czubek, the document was published in numerous editions between 1606 and 1725, with translations into various European languages. Bibliographer

Estreicher documents at least twelve Latin editions, confirming its sustained presence in scholarly and political discourse.⁵³ A notable historiographical puzzle arises from the apparent absence of Polish print editions, given the document's international prominence. Czubek attributes this absence to ecclesiastical censorship during what he terms "the times of the omnipotent reign of reaction"—language that reflects particular historiographical assumptions about church-state relations in early modern Poland. This publication pattern presents historians with intriguing questions about the relationship between domestic censorship and international circulation of politically sensitive texts in the seventeenth century.⁵⁴

The publication history of the *Consilium* must be understood within the complex religious-political landscape of early modern Poland, where censorship operated unevenly across regions and jurisdictions. While Czubek's attribution of missing Polish editions to "ecclesiastical censorship" contains some validity, this explanation requires qualification and contextualization. The period indeed witnessed tensions surrounding anti-Jesuit literature, with documented cases of suppression targeting works by figures like Jakub Niemojewski (c.1532–1586) and Jan Brożek (1585–1652). However, this censorship framework operated inconsistently across the Commonwealth's diverse territories. Protestant-controlled cities like Danzig maintained publishing environments where anti-Jesuit and anti-Catholic materials circulated with relative freedom, creating geographical zones where ecclesiastical censorship held limited influence. Further complicating this landscape were divisions within Catholic institutions themselves. Opposition to the Jesuits existed even among Catholic circles, creating a fractured rather than monolithic censorship environment. This internal diversity meant that suppression efforts faced resistance not only from Protestant interests but sometimes from competing Catholic factions, which fragmented any unified censorship strategy.

The absence of discovered Polish editions of the *Consilium* therefore requires a more nuanced explanation than a straightforward account of censorship success. The document may have circulated through alternative channels—manuscript copies, publication under different titles, or printing in peripheral regions with weaker censorship enforcement—while maintaining influence within Polish discourse networks despite formal suppression attempts. This complex circulation pattern reflects the Commonwealth's distinctive religious-political environment, where institutional power operated through negotiation rather than absolute control.

53 Estr., 14:317.

54 Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:1.

The *Consilium's* extensive circulation beyond Commonwealth borders reveals its resonance within broader European religious-political discourse. The document's publication history—with at least twelve Latin editions and translations into multiple European languages between 1606 and 1725—demonstrates how its arguments intersected with established networks of anti-Jesuit sentiment while contributing distinctive Polish perspectives to these transnational debates.

This sustained publication pattern suggests the *Consilium* occupied a multifaceted position within early modern intellectual exchange. Its specific critiques of Jesuit activities in Poland provided concrete case studies that complemented theoretical objections circulating in other European contexts, particularly in regions experiencing similar tensions between established institutions and Jesuit influence, like in France or Venice. The document's polemical effectiveness likely derived from its integration of localized observations with broader arguments about religious orders and state authority that transcended immediate Polish circumstances.

The *Consilium's* remarkable longevity in publication—spanning more than a century—indicates its arguments maintained relevance across shifting political landscapes, adapting to evolving concerns about institutional power and religious influence. Rather than representing merely a historical artifact, the document functioned as an active rhetorical intervention whose arguments were repeatedly redeployed and recontextualized to address contemporary controversies throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This publication's persistence shows the *Consilium's* importance as both product and producer of early modern religious-political discourse, whose influence extended far beyond its immediate circumstances of composition.

6 Comparative Analysis

The *Consilium* represents a noteworthy contribution to early modern anti-Jesuit literature, distinguished by its explicit advocacy for Jesuit expulsion from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. When examined alongside contemporaneous texts—the *Monita privata*, Brożek's *Gratis*, Niemojewski's polemics, and the "Apologeticus"—the *Consilium* reveals distinctive rhetorical and contextual features that illuminate its particular historical significance.

Unlike the *Monita privata*, which employed parodic and satirical techniques to expose purported secret Jesuit strategies, the *Consilium* adopts a deliberately straightforward rhetorical approach. This direct argumentative style contrasts Brożek's more literary and dialogical critique of Jesuit educational monopolies

in the *Gratis*. While thematically aligned with Niemojewski's portrayal of Jesuits as "foreign intruders" serving external interests, the *Consilium* distinguishes itself through its sophisticated integration of theological critique with immediate political concerns.

What sets the *Consilium* apart from its textual counterparts is its explicit embedding within the specific historical circumstances of the Zebrzydowski Rokosz. Rather than focusing primarily on doctrinal disputes or abstract institutional critiques, the document directly engages with concrete political conditions in the Commonwealth, establishing explicit connections between Jesuit influence, monarchical overreach, and perceived threats to noble privileges. This contextual specificity provides a distinctive framework for its arguments about Jesuits as agents of foreign—particularly papal and Habsburg—interests.

The document's extensive transnational reception demonstrates its resonance within broader European intellectual currents. Similar religious-political tensions in France and Venice created receptive audiences for the *Consilium's* arguments, while its references to England, Scotland, Moravia, Sweden, Livonia, Moscow, various Habsburg territories, Hungary, and Transylvania position it within a pan-European discourse on Jesuit influence. This multidirectional circulation pattern illustrates how the *Consilium* contributed to a developing transnational critique of Jesuit activities while remaining anchored in the specific socio-political conditions of the Commonwealth.⁵⁵

The *Consilium* thus represents both product and agent of a broader European phenomenon, synthesizing localized political concerns with widely circulating arguments about Jesuit loyalty and influence. Its distinctive contribution lies in demonstrating how abstract theological critiques manifested in concrete political conflicts within the specific constitutional framework of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the *Consilium de recuperanda et in posterum stabilienda pace regni Poloniae*, a relevant anti-Jesuit treatise emerging from the turbulent political landscape of early seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. The evidence strongly supports Jan Szcześniey Herburt's authorship—his documented anti-Jesuit stance, Paduan education, and firsthand experience of Venetian anti-Jesuit measures align precisely with the document's thematic

55 See Czubek, *Pisma polityczne*, 3:22–23, 37–39.

concerns and intellectual framework. Though alternative attributions to figures like Jerzy Zbaraski have been considered, the biographical and textual evidence most convincingly points to Herbut.

The *Consilium* occupies a distinctive position within contemporaneous anti-Jesuit literature. Unlike the parodic *Monita privata* or the satirical dialogues of Brożek's *Gratis*, the treatise employs direct argumentation centered on concrete political consequences of Jesuit influence. This rhetorical approach reflects the document's integration within the specific political context of the Zbrzydowski Rokosz, where questions of noble liberties and monarchical authority became intertwined with debates about Jesuit influence and foreign interests.

Publication patterns reveal the treatise's transnational prominence. Its inclusion in collections related to the Venetian Interdict and multiple translations indicates how its arguments resonated within broader European discourse on ecclesiastical authority and state sovereignty. While the *Consilium* failed to achieve its explicit policy objective of Jesuit expulsion from Poland–Lithuania—indeed, Jesuit influence in the Commonwealth continued expanding throughout the seventeenth century—its circulation pattern demonstrates how Polish political debates contributed to developing transnational discourses on religious orders and political authority.

The *Consilium's* enduring historical value lies in its illumination of the complex intersection between religious polemic and political resistance in early modern Central–Eastern Europe. Rather than viewing the document primarily through its policy impact, its relevance emerges from what it reveals about concerns regarding institutional power, foreign influence, and religious authority during a pivotal period of constitutional development in the Commonwealth. As a historical artifact, the *Consilium* offers valuable insights into how specific political factions conceptualized the relationship between religious orders and state sovereignty, thereby contributing to our understanding of early modern political thought at the intersection of confessional and constitutional concerns.

“Gdzie tylko jezuita wejdą, tam wnet rozruchy i niepokoje wszczynają” [Wherever Jesuits enter, disturbances and unrest soon arise]

Anti-Jesuit Pamphlets and Polemics in Toruń (1614–1616)

Robert Aleksander Maryks

1 Geopolitical Context

The years 1614–1616 in Toruń (Royal Prussia) were characterized by religious and political tensions that manifested in local conflicts. These tensions were connected to the increasing presence of Jesuits, who had established a close relationship with King Sigismund III during his reign (1587–1632). Their position strengthened after the unsuccessful Zebrzydowski Rokosz rebellion (1606–1607), which challenged royal policies but ultimately reinforced the king’s authority. The Jesuits, as key figures in the Counter-Reformation movement in Poland–Lithuania, established educational institutions in regions with substantial Protestant populations, including Royal Prussia.¹

In Toruń, a predominantly Protestant city situated on the Vistula River, the establishment of a Jesuit college in 1594 sparked friction with local residents. Similar institutions appeared in nearby Gdańsk/Danzig (1593) and Elbląg/Elbing (1567–1573), indicating a pattern of Catholic educational expansion in the region. The German Lutheran merchant class in these cities viewed the Jesuit presence with particular concern, perceiving potential threats to both their religious practices and economic interests. This led municipal authorities in Prussian towns to implement restrictions on Jesuit activities, sometimes resulting in confrontations. In 1607, the town councils of Toruń and Gdańsk temporarily expelled the Jesuits, labeling them “mącciele porządku publicznego” (disturbers of public order). However, this action was quickly reversed by royal decree,

1 Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Stosunki wyznaniowe w relacjach państwo–kościół między reformacją a oświeceniem: Rzesza Niemiecka—Niderlandy Północne—Rzeczpospolita polsko–litewska* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2010), 13. Cf. Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów: Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII w.* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967).

which instead reinforced the Jesuits' legal standing in these communities.² During this period of religious tension, Protestant writers produced numerous anti-Jesuit texts that reflected the conflicts of the era. These publications served both as expressions of Protestant viewpoints and as practical means to counter Catholic influence.

2 Turnowski's Contributions to Anti-Jesuit Literature and the Protestant Reformation

Among the notable Protestant voices of this contentious period, Jan Turnowski (1567–1629) emerged as a particularly influential figure. His contributions to anti-Jesuit literature and the Protestant Reformation were substantial, as he skillfully employed his writings to defend Protestant positions and challenge Catholic, particularly Jesuit, arguments of his time. Born in Wieruszów, Łódź Voivodship, he descended from Czech Protestant refugees who had fled from the Bohemian town of Turnov, hence his last name. His father, Jan Turnowski Sr. (1530–1588), served as a minister of the Bohemian Brethren, while his uncle, Szymon Teofil Turnowski (1544–1604), worked as a theologian and senior member of the Bohemian Brethren in Poland.³ His family background must have strongly influenced his religious views and scholarly interests, as we have seen in the earlier chapter dedicated to the *Concilium*.⁴

Turnowski initially studied in Wieruszów before continuing his education with the Czech Brethren in Silesia, specifically in Głogów (Glogau) and later in Wrocław (Breslau). In Wrocław, he studied under Andrzej Calagius (1549–1609), a respected poet and scholar who shaped Turnowski's approach to theology and literature. Turnowski later traveled to major Protestant centers across Europe, including Strasbourg, Geneva, and Zurich, accompanying

2 Cf. Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii UW w Białymstoku, 1988), 193–97. See also Jarosław Kłaczek, ed., *Ewangelicy w Toruniu (xvi–xx w.)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2011); Sławomir Kościelak, "Jezuici w trzech wielkich miastach pruskich w xvi–xviii w.," *Hereditas monasteriorum* 3 (2013): 155–87, <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=246402> (accessed April 16, 2025); Adam Kucharski, "Tumult i konfederacja: Konfesyjne znaczenie wydarzeń toruńskich z lat 1724 i 1767 w ujęciu gazet pisanych," *Studia historyczne* 62, no. 1 (2019): 5–24.

3 See Joseph Theodor Müller: *Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder*, vol. 3: *Die polnische Unät 1548–1793; Die böhmisch-mährische tät 1575–1781* (Herrnhut, 1931), 348.

4 Vladimír Rott, *Bracia czescy w dawnej Polsce* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2002), 89–92; Wojciech Sławiński, "Spory doktrynalne na toruńskim synodzie generalnym 1595 r.," *Czaszy nowożytne* 2 (1997): 27–45.

Polish nobleman Andrzej Ossoliński (1575–1616). These visits exposed him to prominent Calvinist and Reformed thinkers, which developed his perspectives on church governance and contributed to his critical stance toward the Jesuits. After returning to Poland, Turnowski worked as a minister in Poznań, the capital of the Greater Poland region. During his time there, tensions between Protestants and Jesuits escalated, resulting in damage to Protestant churches and restrictions on Protestant religious services. These events influenced Turnowski's critical writings about Jesuit activities. Many of his early poems were lost during the religious disturbances in Poznań in 1593. In 1607, his theological scholarship received recognition when he was awarded a doctorate in theology from the University of Marburg.

In 1610, Turnowski relocated to Toruń, a center of Protestant culture in Royal Prussia, which had recently experienced conflicts over the presence of the Jesuits. He became pastor at the Church of St. Gregory and Mary while also teaching theology at the Toruń Academic Gymnasium. These positions placed him at the center of Protestant efforts to counter Jesuit influence in the city. Through his religious leadership and teaching, he helped shape Protestant identity in a community increasingly at odds with pro-Jesuit royal policies. The situation in Toruń had been complicated by the Sejm resolution of 1607, which forced the city to readmit Jesuits after the local council had expelled them. This resolution penalized the townspeople for their resistance and prohibited them from interfering with Jesuit activities in the future. Though this occurred before Turnowski arrived, it created tensions that defined his work in the city.

Drawing on his experiences in Poznań and his connections with other Protestant thinkers, Turnowski likely authored *Krótkie uważenie konstytucyey nowotniej o jezuitach* (A brief consideration of the new constitution on the Jesuits). Scholars attribute this pamphlet to Turnowski based on several factors. Literary historians Ignacy Chrzanowski (1866–1940) and Jan Czubek (1849–1932) first proposed this connection by noting similarities in writing style and themes. The text's theological approach, argumentative structure, and focus on civic freedoms and religious independence match Turnowski's established works. The writer also demonstrates knowledge of legal terminology and parliamentary procedures, along with a detailed understanding of Protestant concerns in Royal Prussia—characteristics consistent with Turnowski's background and position. The pamphlet criticized the Sejm's decision, claiming that Jesuits undermined local governance and intensified divisions within the city. It portrayed the Jesuits' return as unfair to Protestant residents of Prussia and connected this local issue to broader religious tensions in the region.

Turnowski also contributed to Protestant intellectual development through his translation and editorial projects. He likely translated *Votum katolika*, a text discussed previously, which circulated during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz. This work was critical because it adapted Catholic criticisms of Jesuits to strengthen Protestant arguments. Turnowski also assisted in editing the Gdańsk Polish Bible, which was completed in 1632. While scholars debate the exact nature of his editorial work, sources from that period indicate he revised sections of the Old Testament translation. This Protestant Bible differed from Jakub Wujek's (1541–1597) Catholic version in its translation of controversial theological terms and its omission of the deuterocanonical books.⁵

Turnowski edited several Protestant religious texts, including Piotr Artomiusz's (1552–1609) collection of church hymns and songs, *Cantional* (1611), and a collection of Psalms translated by Mikołaj Rybiński (1566–1612).⁶ These publications gave Protestant communities materials for worship and personal devotion at a time when Catholic texts were becoming increasingly dominant in the region. While Turnowski was just one of many Protestant scholars working in Royal Prussia during this period, his position at the Toruń Gymnasium and his focus on documenting conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, particularly those involving Jesuits, make his writings valuable sources for understanding the religious tensions in Toruń and Poznań from 1614 to 1616, which will be analyzed in the next section.⁷

2.1 Nowiny z Poznania

The violent breach of confessional peace in Royal Prussia in 1614–1615 provides essential context for Turnowski's tracts. In June 1614, Jesuit students in Poznań burned the local Lutheran church and a Czech Brethren

5 See Tadeusz Rubik, "Wujek, Jakub," in *EJTC*, https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_EJTC_micro264 (accessed April 16, 2025).

6 Janusz Małek, "O Piotrze Artomiuszu, pastarze kościoła NMP w Toruniu i jego twórczości" [On Piotr Artomiusz, pastor in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Toruń and his works], *Linguistica Copernicana* 8, no. 2 (2012): 37–50, here 42–43; Michael G. Müller, *Zweite Reformation und städtische Autonomie im Königlichen Preußen: Danzig, Elbing und Thorn während der Konfessionalisierung (1557–1660)* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 99; Stanisław Salmonowicz, "Pietyzm w dawnym Toruniu," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 43 (1999): 55–63; Stanisław Salmonowicz, "Jan Turnowski Młodszy (ok. 1567–1629), pastor, pisarz i profesor Gimnazjum Akademickiego w Toruniu," in *Wybitni ludzie dawnego Torunia*, ed. Marian Biskup (Warsaw, 1982), 63–68; Katarzyna Smolarek, "Piotr Artomiusz i jego kancjonał toruński z końca XVI wieku," *Rocznik toruński* 41 (2014): 169–86.

7 See Teresa Kruszevska, "Antyjezuicka twórczość Jana Turnowskiego w latach 1614–1616," in *Ze studiów nad literaturą staropolską* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1957), 295–346.

chapel, and shortly afterward, Toruń's Jesuits razed a Lutheran prayer-house. These episodes—barely suppressed by the Poznań bishop Andrzej Opaliński (1575–1623)—generated a flurry of polemical news sheets on both sides, following the German model of the *Neue Zeitung*. The burghers of Toruń and Poznań appealed to the regional sejmiks, while the Society of Jesus quickly issued two broadsheets to defend its actions. Turnowski then entered this debate with at least three Polish-language pamphlets, explicitly portraying the Jesuits as aggressors in conflicts concerning worship and civic rights.⁸

Turnowski's 1614 pamphlet *Nowiny z Poznania o gwałtownym zburzeniu zborów ewangelickich, przy tym i zniesienie potwarzy o Toruniu do druku wydanych anno MDCXIV* (News from Poznań about the violent destruction of Evangelical churches, including a refutation of the slander about Toruń; Toruń: Augustin Ferber, 1614; 4f; 4) was explicitly framed as a corrective to a Jesuit report on the Toruń riots. The pamphlet begins with a methodical undermining of Jesuit accounts regarding events in Toruń. The author immediately challenges the credibility of these reports, characterizing them as deliberately falsified: "Podano wówczas takie nowiny z Torunia, w których jest relacja zdarzenia przez hiperbole retoryczne przesadzona co do tego miasta szacownego, lecz nie całkiem prawdziwie opisującego" (Such news was given from Toruń, in which there is an account of events exaggerated through rhetorical hyperboles regarding this respectable city, but not entirely truly described).⁹ This opening establishes the text's fundamental purpose: to present a counter-narrative to Catholic accounts. The author questions not only the content but the very process of witnessing, suggesting calculated manipulation: "Coby to za świadek oczywisty był, łatwo zgadnąć: pewnie nie tylko oczywisty, ale i opisty jest" (What kind of eyewitness this might be, it's easy to guess: surely not only an observing witness, but also a descriptive one). The ironic phrase "świadek oczywisty [...] ale i opisty" introduces a theme of Jesuit fabrication that runs throughout the document.

The text presents a detailed account of violence allegedly perpetrated by Jesuits against vulnerable populations. This section employs accumulation—a piling of violent actions—to create moral outrage: "Ubogie, stare ludzie zbili, wygnali ich z dobrocią po ciele, inny sprzęt garłem wydarli, a tak się nad ubogimi pastwili, gospodarza łąli, mieszkanie jego spustoszyli, wyplądrowali, rzeczy jego częściami między siebie rozszarpali, częściami popsowali i miejsce nabożeństwa oddane (kaplicę porabawszy, ławki jedne pozietawszy, drugie pobaławszy) powojowali" (They beat poor, elderly people, drove them out

8 See Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich*, 206–16.

9 The few folios of this pamphlet are not clearly numbered.

roughly, seized other equipment by force, and thus tormented the poor, insulted the host, devastated his dwelling, plundered it, torn his possessions apart between themselves, partly damaged them, and ravaged the place of worship [having plundered the chapel, leaving some benches, breaking others]). This graphic enumeration serves multiple rhetorical purposes: it positions Protestants as victims, reverses Jesuit accusations, and establishes moral superiority. The specific mention of violence against the elderly amplifies the moral condemnation by highlighting attacks on society's most vulnerable members.

The document's theological arguments focus primarily on two interconnected issues: religious processions and image veneration. The author presents a comprehensive Reformed critique of Catholic ritual practices, drawing on both biblical authority and logical argumentation: "Te procesje są bałwochwalckie, a bałwochwalcy źli byli. Nie mają podstawy, którą Piotr Apostoł, i święty Paweł o Panie Jezusie Chrystusie wykładają, i sam Pan Jezus sobie samemu zostawił" (These processions are idolatrous, and idolaters were evil. They have no foundation which Apostle Peter and Saint Paul expound concerning Lord Jesus Christ, and which Lord Jesus reserved for himself alone). This critique extends to a fundamental rejection of religious imagery, expressed in distinctly Reformed theological language: "Dalej oskarżają się, iż ich krzyże święte, i obrazy wiszą i stoją bez mówienia, nogi bez chodzenia; a przecież ludzie przed nimi czapki zdejmują, kłaniają się, kłękają, na twarz upadają i gorszymi się czynią, niż takowe ludzkie roboty" (Furthermore, they accuse that their holy crosses and images hang and stand without speaking, feet without walking; and yet people remove their caps before them, bow, kneel, fall on their faces, and make themselves worse than such human creations). The author reinforces this position with biblical authority: "Święty Jan w Objawieniu swoim w 9. rozdziale. Diabelstwem te obrazy nazywa złote, srebrne, miedziane, kamienne i drewniane" (Saint John in his Revelation in chapter 9. He calls these golden, silver, copper, stone, and wooden images devilry). This appeal to scriptural authority culminates in a pithy formulation of Protestant literalism: "A rzecz sama świadczy, że krzyż krzyżem, obraz obrazem; a prawda zaś prawdą; Bóg wszechmogący bogiem, a kamień kamieniem jest" (And the thing itself testifies that a cross is a cross, an image is an image; but truth is truth; Almighty God is God, and stone is stone). This passage exemplifies the Reformed insistence on distinguishing between symbol and divine reality, rejecting Catholic sacramental theology.

The text's theological critique extends to Catholic Eucharistic doctrine, which the author portrays as self-contradictory blasphemy: "A czy przeciwko ostatniej woli Syna Bożego kiedy jezuci, i duchowieństwo rzymskiej stolicy czynią, obłatek w złoto obleczony, Bogiem i Człowiekiem, Zbawicielem swoim

być twierdzą, i przed nim nakazują wszechpospolitemu człowiekowi upadać?” (And do not the Jesuits and the clergy of the Roman see act against the last will of the Son of God when they claim a wafer dressed in gold to be God and Man, their Savior, and order common people to fall down before it?). The author specifically ridicules transubstantiation by quoting what he presents as Catholic doctrine: “Który mnie stworzył, beze mnie stworzony bywa przez mnie sprawującego” (He who created me is created without me through my agency). This paradoxical formulation is immediately condemned: “Co wszystko jeśli nie jest bluźnierstwem i łżenierstwem majestatu Syna Bożego, niech każdy baczny rozsądzi” (Whether all this is not blasphemy and falsification of the majesty of the Son of God, let every prudent person judge).

A substantial section addresses the specific controversy over religious processions in Toruń, defending Protestant authorities against Jesuit accusations. The author employs multiple lines of argumentation, beginning with theological objections and moving to practical considerations: “Procesja świętych, jako ją nazywają, mieli im zabronić panowie torunianie. Nie chcę tu szeroko mówić o okolicznościach tego zabraniania, które poprzednie procesje tych wielbnych, tam, gdzie przedtem bywały odprawowaniu wstrętu nie czyniło, tylko nowością niebezpieczeństwem grożąc, gdzie by weszła, a i w rynku miejsce miały, zabiegało” (The procession of saints, as they call it, the gentlemen of Toruń were supposed to have forbidden them. I do not want to speak broadly about the circumstances of this prohibition, which did not object to the previous performances of these reverend processions where they used to take place before, but only prevented a novelty threatening with danger, where it would enter, and they would take place in the market square). The author argues that limiting processions to church grounds was both theologically sound and practically beneficial: “Do tego uskarżają się jakoby panowie torunianie radzić im mieli, aby się w procesjach koło kościołów i cmentarzy kontentowali. Chociaż panowie torunianie radę im dali, dobrze by i słusznie to czynili i mieliby im za tę poradę słusznie podziękować” (In addition, they complain as if the gentlemen of Toruń were to advise them to be content with processions around churches and cemeteries. Although the gentlemen of Toruń gave them advice, they would do well and justly, and they should rightly thank them for this advice). This defense includes a satirical jab at the physical condition of the clergy: “Do tego też to samym by duchownym ojcom pożyteczniej w kościele i około kościoła się bawić, a nie przez tak długie ulice z trudnością chodzić, a zwłaszcza owym, co się dobrze utłuszcili iże chodząc ledwo dychają” (Moreover, it would be more beneficial for the clerical fathers themselves to busy themselves in the church and around the church, and not to walk with difficulty through such

long streets, especially those who have fattened themselves so much that they can barely breathe while walking).

The document devotes significant attention to analyzing and condemning Jesuit rhetorical strategies. The author introduces the concept of “equivocatio Jesuitica” as a central feature of Jesuit discourse: “Co też w owych nowiny się pisze, że jezuitci tej procesji przyczyną nie są: wierzyć by im przyszło, kiedy by się tu nie taiła equivocatio Jesuitica, to jest, chytra a śliska mowa jezuitcka” (What is also written in those news, that the Jesuits are not the cause of this procession: one would have to believe them if there were not hiding here equivocatio Jesuitica, that is, cunning and slippery Jesuit speech). This critique of Jesuit language extends to their alleged manipulation of public opinion through calculated performances: “Z tego każdy miarkować może, jako umyślnie oni na to się kasali, i tego szukali, żeby sobie z niekrzywdy krzywdę urościć, a pany toruniany (przeciw którym pierwszej wzgardne, wszęteczeńskie, a ludzi buntujące kazania miewali i jeszcze miewają) o nieuszanowanie w rzeczy siebie, i nabożeństwa swego pomawiać i tradukować byli mogli” (From this, everyone can gauge how deliberately they prepared for this and sought to create grievance out of non-grievance for themselves, and to be able to accuse and traduce the gentlemen of Toruń (against whom they previously had and still have contemptuous, lascivious, and people-inciting sermons) of disrespect for themselves and their worship). The author alleges that Jesuits prepared protests in advance, suggesting calculation rather than spontaneous response: “Bo z gotową a przedtym, niż wyszli, koncypowaną popisali się przy tej swojej zawołanej procesji protestacją, którą razem, gdy łańcuch zamknięty obaczyli, publice głosem czytać kazali, gwałtem to niewstydliwie mianując” (Because they came prepared with a pre-conceived protestation during their so-called procession, which they ordered to be read aloud publicly as soon as they saw the chain closed, shamelessly calling it violence).

The document situates the Toruń events within a broader pattern of interconfessional conflict across Polish cities, creating a narrative of systematic persecution: “Poznali tego w Krakowie ewangelicy, w Sieradzu, w Radziłowie, w Wilnie, nie wspomniawszy terazniejszego między wierzącami policzki, który dlatego, iż owe, co się króla tam tego państwa sprzysiężone, prochem puskarskim na parlamencie będące do niebios puścić, sakramentem stwierdzania uczynić” (Evangelicals experienced this in Kraków, in Sieradz, in Radziłów, in Vilnius, not to mention the current blow among believers, which is because those who conspired against the king of that state intended to send to heaven those at parliament by gunpowder, confirmed this by sacrament). This passage connects local incidents to wider patterns, suggesting coordinated Catholic aggression against Protestant communities throughout the Commonwealth.

The document defends Toruń authorities' security measures, which Jesuits had characterized as hostile: "Postępują dalej jezuici, oskarżając, iż z łańcuchami ulice niemal wszystkie były zamknięte. Lecz trzeba wiedzieć, iż to zamknięcie działo się *cum discretione*, a nie oślepie, i owszem jako ulice wolne tak i brama otwarta była" (The Jesuits proceed further, accusing that with chains almost all streets were closed. But it should be known that this closing was done with discretion, not blindly, and indeed as the streets were free so was the gate open). The author portrays these measures as necessary and restrained responses to potential disorder: "do tego powiadają jezuici, że straż jeździła dla zachowania pokoju pospolitego. Iżaż panowie torunianie dziećmi są? Iżaż swojej powinności i przystojności nie wiedzą?" (In addition, the Jesuits say that the guard was riding to maintain public peace. Are the gentlemen of Toruń children? Do they not know their duty and propriety?).

Throughout the text, the author establishes a moral contrast between Protestant charity and Jesuit cruelty: "Ale nie znać w Toruniu żadnego gwałtu na kościołach, nie znać na osobach, nie znać na szpitalach, w których pp. torunianie żywią ubogie ludzie jako członki Pana Chrystusowe. A jezuici ubogiem nie, starych, niemocnych ludziach, których się nabiło, namordowało, srogość swą zapamiętali się" (But no violence is known in Toruń against churches, not known against persons, not known against hospitals, in which the gentlemen of Toruń nourish poor people as members of Christ's body. But the Jesuits forgot their cruelty against the poor, elderly, weak people, whom they beat and murdered). This binary opposition—charitable Protestants versus cruel Jesuits—structures the document's moral universe and provides its emotional appeal.

The document concludes with a direct appeal to the reader's judgment: "Stąd, czytelniku miły, rozeznaj, jakim duchem panowie torunianie bałwochwalstwa się wystrzegają; a jakim jezuiccy juwancji żacy w Poznaniu, i indziej ewangeliki niesłusznie niemiłosiernie prześladują" (From this, dear reader, discern with what spirit the gentlemen of Toruń avoid idolatry; and with what spirit the Jesuit students in Poznań and elsewhere unjustly and mercilessly persecute Evangelicals). This final appeal transforms the reader from passive recipient to active moral judge, inviting participation in the author's interpretive framework.

The document employs a sophisticated array of rhetorical strategies: irony, sarcasm, accumulation, biblical citation, logical argumentation, and emotional appeal. Its effectiveness derives from interweaving theological, historical, and moral claims into a coherent narrative of Protestant virtue confronting Jesuit duplicity. As a historical source, *Letters from Poznań* provides valuable insight into both confessional rhetoric and the lived experience of religious conflict

in early seventeenth-century Polish urban centers. Beyond its explicit content, the text implicitly reveals the increasing polarization of Protestant-Catholic relations, the politicization of urban space through religious processions, and the centrality of Jesuits in confessional conflicts during this crucial period of Counter-Reformation activity in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While staunchly partisan, the document nonetheless preserves details of urban religious life and conflict resolution mechanisms that enrich our understanding of confessional coexistence (and its limits) in early modern Central-European cities. Its combination of theological argumentation and vivid description of alleged physical violence illuminates how abstract doctrinal differences manifested in concrete spatial contests over religious practice in shared urban environments.

The subsequent literary exchange followed a classical polemical sequence. Initially, the tendentious Catholic pamphlet *Nowiny z Torunia* appeared, prompting Turnowski's anonymous response, *Nowiny z Poznania*. This pamphlet elicited a formal Jesuit response titled *Replika na nowiny z Poznania ...* (Rebuttal to News from Poznań), authored by Kacper Sawicki (1552–1620) under the pseudonym Jan z Prus Golubski, described by Turnowski as “niewybieonego w kulturze polemicznej pióra jezuickiego” (an unscrupulous writer in Jesuit polemical culture). Sawicki contested Turnowski's account of processions and subsequent disturbances, defending Catholic liturgical practices by stating: “Procesje nic w sobie nie mają przeciwnego pismu ani Kościołowi Bożemu, ale i owszem, cześć i chwałę Bożą pomnażają w sercach ludzkich” (Processions contain nothing contrary to scripture or the church of God; on the contrary, they increase God's honor and glory in the hearts of the people). This theological defense directly countered Turnowski's characterization of processions as provocative against Protestant communities. Subsequently, Turnowski published *Duplika na Replikę nowin*, which prompted Sawicki's final reply, *Tryplika na Duplikę*.

This exchange between Turnowski and Sawicki exemplifies the polemical literature circulating in Royal Prussia and Greater Poland during this period of heightened confessional tensions. Each author constructed competing narratives of the same events, employing rhetorical strategies tailored to their respective confessional contexts. Their divergent accounts illuminate the contested nature of public religious expression in multiconfessional urban centers, highlighting the intersection of Catholic renewal efforts and established Protestant practices. The pamphlet controversy surrounding the 1614 incidents in Poznań and Toruń thus offers valuable insight into the textual articulation of religious conflict in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during

the early seventeenth century, considerably contributing to the substantial corpus of confessional literature from this period.

2.2 Obrona prawdy listów z Torunia

Obrona prawdy listów z miasta Torunia (Defense of the truth of letters from the city of Toruń; Toruń: Augustin Ferber, 38f; 4°) constituted Turnowski's direct response to Wojciech Rościszewski's (1560–1619) *Ad senatum equitesque Polonos oratio ...* (A speech to the Polish Senate and nobility; 1614, a Jesuit oration that had denounced the Protestant citizens of Toruń for slandering the Society of Jesus and resisting Catholic authority. The document opens with a direct assertion of Protestant sincerity against accusations of slander: “My nie z nienawiści to czyniemy, iż co się w Toruniu dzieje, oznajmujemy, ale iż się nam gwałt w sumieniu i na poczciwości naszej przez jezuitę stał, sumnienie nasze nas pobudza, abyśmy prawdę wyznali” (We do not do this out of hatred when we announce what is happening in Toruń, but because violence has been done to our conscience and our honesty by the Jesuits, our conscience compels us to confess the truth) [A2^r]. This introduction establishes Turnowski's fundamental premise—that Protestant complaints emerge not from sectarian animosity but from sincere religious conscience violated by Jesuit aggression.

Turnowski methodically develops this characterization of Jesuit behavior as intrusive and provocative: “Przyszli na cudze miejsce, wdarli się nie wezwani, nie mający prawa stanowić porządek, owszem rozruch i zamieszki sprawili” (They came to a foreign place, they imposed themselves uninvited, having no right to establish order, but rather caused disturbance and unrest) [A3^v]. The language of intrusion—particularly the phrase “wdarli się nie wezwani”—portrays Jesuits as uninvited interlopers disrupting an established civic order. Turnowski reinforces this portrayal throughout the text, consistently depicting Jesuits as agents of disorder: “Gdzie tylko jezuitę wejdą, tam wnet rozruchy i niepokoje wszczynają” (Wherever Jesuits enter, disturbances and unrest soon arise) [B4^r].

The document presents Jesuit motivations as fundamentally political rather than spiritual: “Nie dla chwały bożej, nie dla zbawienia dusz, ale dla panowania i wyniesienia się te wzruszenia czynią” (Not for God's glory, not for the salvation of souls, but for domination and self-exaltation they create these disturbances) [B1^v]. This accusation of worldly ambition appears repeatedly, with variations emphasizing different aspects of alleged Jesuit duplicity: “Pod płaszczykiem nabożeństwa swego wielkie sprawy świeckie odprawują” (Under the cloak of their devotion, they conduct great secular affairs) [C2^r]. Turnowski frames Jesuit activities as a calculated strategy for political dominance disguised as religious zeal.

The text directly addresses Rościszewski's portrayal of Jesuits as victims of Protestant aggression through a series of rhetorical questions that invert this narrative: "Kto zaczął? Kto wprzód ludziom spokojnym w ich miejscu gwałt uczynił? Kto procesje do zburzenia pokoju począł sprawować? Kto młodź do tumultów i gwałtów pobudził?" (Who started it? Who first did violence to peaceful people in their place? Who began to conduct processions to destroy peace? Who incited youth to riots and violence?) [A4^r]. This accumulation of questions serves both rhetorical and logical purposes—shifting the burden of aggression from Protestants to Jesuits while challenging the reader to consider the chronology of events that led to conflict.

Turnowski presents a detailed critique of what he characterizes as Jesuit hypocrisy regarding theological debate: "Sami nauki swoje jako prawdziwe na plac wynoszą, a przecież kiedy im się pokaże, że nauki ich z Pismem Świętym się nie zgadzają, gniewają się i krzyczą" (They themselves present their teachings as true in public, and yet when it is shown to them that their teachings do not agree with Holy Scripture, they become angry and shout) [C1^v]. He elaborates this point with examples of Jesuit refusal to engage in fair theological disputation: "Na dysputacje zrazu idą, ale gdy im prawda dogryzać pocznie, wnet mówią: nie godzi się o artykułach wiary dysputować" (They initially go to disputations, but when truth begins to bite them, they immediately say: it is not proper to dispute about articles of faith) [C2^v]. This portrayal of Jesuit inconsistency seeks to undermine their credibility as religious authorities.

A significant portion of the text addresses specific theological differences, particularly regarding ritual practices. Turnowski argues: "Nasze nabożeństwo wedle słowa Bożego odprawujemy, nie wedle wynalazków ludzkich, które oni wymyśleli, aby lud prosty zwiedli" (We conduct our worship according to God's word, not according to human inventions, which they devised to deceive simple people) [D1^r]. This characterization of Catholic practices as "human inventions" reflects core Protestant theological positions regarding scriptural authority and ritual simplicity.

The document includes an extended critique of Jesuit moral philosophy, with particular emphasis on regicide doctrine associated with Juan de Mariana (1536–1624). "Onego Marianusa, który jawnie pisze i uczy, że wolno poddanym króla swego zabić i zgładzić, jeśli się im zdało, że tyrańsko panuje" (That Marianus, who openly writes and teaches that subjects may kill and eliminate their king if it seems to them that he rules tyrannically) [E3^r].¹⁰ Turnowski elaborates on the political dangers of such teaching: "Ta nauka co innego jest, jedno pobudzanie poddanych na pana? Co innego, jedno rozwiązanie przysięgi wierności?"

10 A reference to *De rege et regis institutione* (On the king and king's education; 1599).

Co innego, jedno wrota otwierać do buntów, rozruchów i krwi rozlania?” (What is this teaching but incitement of subjects against their lord? What else but dissolution of the oath of loyalty? What else but opening gates to rebellions, riots, and bloodshed?) [E3^v]. This connection between Jesuit theology and political subversion represents one of Turnowski's most potent arguments, designed to alarm noble readers concerned with political stability.

Turnowski's text contains numerous historical references to Jesuit expulsions from other European states, using these examples as cautionary tales: “We Francji ich wygnano, gdyż króla Henryka III zabili. W Węgrzech ich nie cierpiano, bo tam rozruchy i bunty czynili. W Anglii ich nie cierpią, gdyż królowej Elżbiecie o gardło stali” (In France they were expelled, as they killed King Henry III. In Hungary, they were not tolerated, because they caused disturbances and rebellions there. In England, they are not tolerated, since they sought Queen Elizabeth's life) [F1^r]. These international references serve to normalize anti-Jesuit measures by placing them within a broader European context of legitimate state actions against the Society.

The pamphlet includes what appears to be a satirical warning to Poland about harboring Jesuits: “Jeśli chcesz, Polsko, doznać rozruchów i kłótni, jako wiele krain przez jezuitę poznało, przyjmij te duchy burzliwe, a wnet odnajdziesz, com powiedział” (If you want, Poland, to experience riots and quarrels, as many lands have known through the Jesuits, accept these turbulent spirits, and you will soon discover what I have said) [F2^r]. While not presented in the exact poetic form mentioned in the earlier summary, this admonition clearly functions as a patriotic appeal warning against Jesuit influence.

Throughout the document, Turnowski consistently depicts the Protestant citizens of Toruń as loyal subjects whose only desire is peaceful religious practice: “My w pokoju żyć chcemy, nikogo nie zaczepamy, jedno niech nam też pokój dadzą, niech nam sumienia naszego nie trapią” (We want to live in peace, we do not provoke anyone, just let them also give us peace, let them not torment our conscience) [D3^r]. This portrayal of Protestant moderation contrasts sharply with the characterization of Jesuits as aggressive provocateurs: “Chodzą po domach, powiadając, że to domy heretyckie, burzą młodź na rozruchy, i wszelkim sposobem starają się, aby zgodę poruszyli” (They go through houses, saying that these are heretical homes, they incite youth to riots, and in every way try to disturb concord) [B2^v].

Turnowski defends Protestant appeals to political authorities, presenting them as necessary measures for self-protection rather than seditious actions: “Dlatego słusznie ewangelicy do królów, książąt, stanów i zwierzchności uciekają się, aby ich przeciwko gwałtom jezuitskim bronili” (Therefore, evangelicals justly flee to kings, princes, estates and authorities to defend them

against Jesuit violence) [D4^v]. This justification addresses a central Jesuit accusation—that Protestant appeals to *sejmiki* (regional assemblies) constituted political subversion.

The document contains detailed refutations of specific charges made by Rościszewski: “Powiada, że żeśmy króla Jego Miłości i cały stan duchowny przed stanami pospolicie w złe rozumienie przywieść usiłowali. Na co odpowiadamy: niechaj nam ukaza, gdzie i kiedy. Jeśli nam tego nie dowiodą, jako iż dowieść nie mogą, pokazuje się jawnie, że nas potwarzają” (He says that we tried to bring His Majesty the King and the entire clergy into ill repute before the estates. To this we respond: let them show us where and when. If they cannot prove this to us, as indeed they cannot prove it, it clearly shows that they slander us) [B3^r]. This point-by-point rebuttal structure characterizes much of the text, as Turnowski systematically addresses each accusation from Rościszewski’s original oration.

Turnowski places particular emphasis on the legal rights of Protestants within the Commonwealth: “Mamy my swobody i wolności od przodków naszych nadane, mamy pokój od Rzeczypospolitej postanowiony i poprzysiężony, tego się trzymamy, tego bronimy” (We have liberties and freedoms granted by our ancestors, we have peace established and sworn by the Commonwealth, we adhere to this, we defend this) [G1^v]. This appeal to constitutional tradition and the established legal order represents a central element of Protestant rhetorical strategy in Commonwealth politics.

The document concludes with a solemn warning about the consequences of allowing Jesuit influence to continue unchecked: “Nie mamy innego ratunku, jedno aby nasza zwierzchność sama obaczyła, co się dzieje i jako jezuiti pokój pospolicie wzruszają” (We have no other rescue, except that our authorities themselves see what is happening and how the Jesuits are disturbing public peace) [G3^r]. This final appeal frames the Protestant cause not merely as a sectarian concern but as essential to preserving the Commonwealth’s political stability and social harmony.

Stylistically, Turnowski employs a range of rhetorical techniques throughout the text. His frequent use of rhetorical questions creates a sense of dialogue with the reader while simultaneously directing their reasoning: “Czy to słuszna, aby oni procesje swe nowe tam prowadzili, gdzie ich przedtem nie bywało? Czy to słuszna, aby nas do bałwochwalstwa swego przymuszali?” (Is it just that they should lead their new processions where they never were before? Is it just that they should force us to their idolatry?) [C4^r]. These questions serve both to engage the reader and to frame the parameters of an acceptable answer.

The document’s organization follows a logical progression, beginning with general principles regarding Protestant sincerity and Jesuit aggression, proceeding through specific incidents and theological points of contention,

incorporating historical examples from other European states, and concluding with patriotic appeals to Commonwealth traditions of religious liberty. This structure builds toward the central argument that Jesuit activities represent not merely a theological challenge but a fundamental threat to Poland's constitutional order and civic peace.

As a historical source, *Obrona prawdy listów z miasta Torunia* provides invaluable insight into the intensifying religious tensions of early seventeenth-century Poland–Lithuania. It documents how Protestant communities articulated their grievances, defended their religious practices, and positioned themselves as loyal citizens within an increasingly hostile Counter-Reformation environment. The document reveals the sophisticated political and theological arguments employed by Protestant leaders like Turnowski to counter Jesuit influence and appeal to noble protectors, illuminating the complex intersection of religion, politics, and civic identity in this pivotal period of Polish–Lithuanian history.

The *Obrona prawdy* was more than just a rebuttal; it was a polemical tour de force, blending legal argumentation, theological critique, and satirical verse to rally Protestant opinion and alert the broader Commonwealth to the risks of Jesuit interventionism. Its publication in multiple languages—Latin and German alongside Polish—suggests it was intended not only for domestic consumption but as part of an international Protestant protest literature.¹¹ As a document, it offers deep insight into the confessional politics of early seventeenth-century Poland and the precarious position of Protestant communities under the pressures of the Counter-Reformation.

Turnowski's *Obrona prawdy listów z Torunia* generated a response from Jesuit circles. In 1615, Jerzy Tyszkiewicz (1571–1625), a Jesuit with connections to Toruń, published *Responsio ad libellum famosum ...* (An answer to a famous booklet), defending the Jesuit order and contesting Turnowski's assertions. Tyszkiewicz, following Rościszewski's approach, depicted the Jesuits as guardians of social stability against what he characterized as Protestant "heresy" during a period of political uncertainty within the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

11 Jan Turnowski, *Patrocinium Veritatis Literarum Torunensium, ad Conventum Szrodensem & Profzoviensem scriptarum: ad Senatores Equitesque Regni Poloniae directum. Contra injuriosam & calumniosam Jesuitæ cujusdam Anonymi παρησίαν* (Toruń, 1614); Turnowski, *SchutzRede der Warheit, So in Derer von Thorn an die zu Szroda vnd Proszewitz gehaltene Zusammenkünffte abgeschickten Schreiben enthalten: Gestellet an die Herren Senatorn vnd Löbliche Ritterschafft in Polen, wider eines Jesuiten one Namen Pasquillische vnd Ehrenrührige Oration* (Toruń, after 1614).

2.3 Respons na trzydzieści przyczyn

In his *Respons na trzydzieści przyczyn, którymi jezuiti budowania zborów w Poznaniu bronić, albo raczej ewangeliki wyniszczą i stan szlachecki pod prawo, opanowanie i jurysdykcję Ich Mości panów duchownych podbić usiłują* (Response to the thirty reasons the Jesuits use to defend the construction of churches in Poznań, or rather, attempt to destroy Evangelicals and subjugate the nobility to the authority and jurisdiction of the clergy; Poznań: Jan Wolrab, 1616; 48p; 4^o), published in 1619 under the pseudonym Jan Tyniecki, Turnowski mounts a longer methodical and scathing reply to Bishop Kasper Happ's (in office 1618–1619) justifications for opposing Protestant church construction in Poznań.

The document opens with an explicit constitutional framing, positioning Protestant religious liberties within the Commonwealth's legal tradition: "Pokój między różnymi w religii zachować się ma, wedle konfederacji i konstytucji koronnych, o których niżej będzie" (Peace between those differing in religion should be preserved, according to the confederation and crown constitutions, which will be discussed below) [A2^r]. This immediate appeal to established law demonstrates Turnowski's strategy of presenting Jesuit opposition as fundamentally unconstitutional, contradicting the Commonwealth's foundational guarantees of religious coexistence.

Turnowski repeatedly invokes the Warsaw Confederation of 1573 as the cornerstone of religious liberty: "Przywilej konfederacji koronnej tak mówi: Pacem inter dissidentes de religione tuebimur" (The privilege of the crown confederation speaks thus: We shall maintain peace among those who differ in religion) [B1^v]. By foregrounding this constitutional guarantee, Turnowski establishes that his argument transcends mere theological disputation to address fundamental questions of Polish legal and political order.

Throughout the text, Turnowski characterizes Jesuit methods as duplicitous and politically motivated rather than spiritually inspired: "Pod płaszczem religii wielu rzeczy dokazują, które do panowania raczej, niż do nabożeństwa należą" (Under the cloak of religion they accomplish many things that pertain to domination rather than to devotion) [C3^r]. This accusation of a hidden political agenda appears repeatedly, with Turnowski suggesting that spiritual rhetoric masks worldly ambition: "To nie jest objaśnienie kościoła, ale oblężenie, nie budowanie, ale burzenie pokoju pospolitego" (This is not the edification of the church, but a siege, not building but disturbing the common peace) [D1^v]. The military metaphor "oblężenie" (siege) portrays Jesuits not as spiritual shepherds but as aggressive besiegers of civic order.

Turnowski methodically dismantles each of Happ's thirty justifications, often exposing what he presents as logical inconsistencies or hypocrisies. For

the twelfth reason, he writes: “Dziwna rzecz, że się jezuitci na tumulty skarżą, które sami wzbudzają, i ogień, który sami rozżarzają, gasić udają” (It is strange that the Jesuits complain about riots which they themselves incite and pretend to extinguish the fire which they themselves ignite) [E2^r]. This accusation of manufacturing crises to justify suppression constitutes a central theme in Turnowski’s argument, portraying Jesuits as instigators rather than victims of religious conflict.

The document explicitly addresses the Jesuits’ alleged manipulation of legal reasoning to undermine szlachta (noble) privileges: “Chcą nam przez prawo prywatne podbić stan rycerski pod duchowną jurysdykcję, czego przodkowie nasi nigdy nie znali” (They wish to subjugate the knightly estate under clerical jurisdiction through private law, which our ancestors never knew) [F3^v]. This appeal to noble traditions and ancestral freedoms represents a crucial rhetorical strategy, framing the Jesuit threat as not merely religious but as an assault on the Commonwealth’s social and political foundations.

Turnowski’s critique extends to what he portrays as Jesuit casuistry and ethical flexibility: “Gdzie swoje nauki rozsiewają, tam proste pismo święte przekręcają, i wykrętną jakąś teologię wprowadzają, gdzie białe czarnym a czarne białym czynią” (Where they spread their teachings, there they twist the plain holy scripture and introduce some contorted theology, where they make white black and black white) [G1^r]. This accusation of moral relativism is reinforced by specific references to controversial Jesuit doctrines: “Co inszego jest on Marianus, który jawnie pisze i uczy, że wolno poddanym króla swego zabić, jeśliby się im zdało, że tyrańsko panuje” (What else is that Marianus, who openly writes and teaches that subjects may kill their king if it seems to them that he rules tyrannically) [G2^v]. By invoking Juan de Mariana’s controversial views on tyrannicide, Turnowski presents Jesuit moral theology as fundamentally dangerous to political stability.

The document contains pointed criticisms of Catholic ritual practices, particularly image veneration: “Bóg wszechmogący Bogiem, a bałwan bałwanem jest. Nie godzi się stworzenia z Stworzycielem porównywać” (Almighty God is God, and an idol is an idol. It is not proper to compare the creature with the Creator) [H3^r]. This theological critique reflects core Protestant objections to Catholic devotional practices, presenting them as violations of biblical commandments against idolatry.

Turnowski directly confronts the accusation that Protestants seek to undermine royal authority: “Powiadają, że królewskiego majestatu nie szanujemy, co jest jawnym fałszem i potwarzy. Szanujemy króla Jego Mość, bo tak nam Pismo św. rozkazuje, i modlitwy za niego czynimy” (They say that we do not respect the royal majesty, which is an obvious falsehood and slander. We respect His

Majesty the King because Holy Scripture commands us to do so, and we pray for him) [I1^v]. This defense of Protestant loyalty to the crown represents a crucial response to Catholic accusations of political subversion.

The legal sophistication of Turnowski's argument is evident in his detailed citations of Commonwealth statutory guarantees: "Statut Władysława Jagiełły wyraźnie mówi: *Nullus captivetur nisi jure victus*" (The statute of Władysław Jagiełło explicitly states: Let no one be imprisoned unless convicted by law) [K2^r]. Similarly, he invokes the authority of Sigismund Augustus: "Konstytucje Zygmunta Augusta z roku 1565 jaśnie pokazują, że w rzeczach duchownych, forum Ich Mości panów duchownych uznawać nie jesteśmy powinni" (The constitutions of Sigismund Augustus from the year 1565 clearly show that in spiritual matters, we are not obliged to recognize the forum of the Most Reverend Lords Spiritual) [K3^v]. These legal references demonstrate Turnowski's strategy of embedding Protestant religious liberty within the broader constitutional framework of the Commonwealth.

Throughout the document, Turnowski portrays the nobility as natural defenders of religious liberty against ecclesiastical encroachment: "Stan szlachecki ma swoje prerogatywy i wolności, których bronić powinien przeciw takowym zamysłom" (The noble estate has its prerogatives and freedoms, which it should defend against such designs) [L1^r]. This appeal to noble self-interest represents a sophisticated political calculation, framing Protestant religious liberty as inseparable from the szlachta's traditional political privileges.

Turnowski's critique of Jesuit political ambitions becomes particularly pointed when addressing their alleged manipulation of civil authority: "Pragną nas ująć pod jurysdykcję ichmości panów duchownych, i tam nas sądzić, gdzie by sami sędziami byli" (They desire to place us under the jurisdiction of the Most Reverend Lords Spiritual, and to judge us there where they themselves would be judges) [M2^v]. This accusation of self-serving judicial manipulation portrays Jesuits as fundamentally opposed to the principles of fair justice.

The document includes scathing criticism of what Turnowski presents as Jesuit hypocrisy regarding civic order: "Jeśli wasze zmartwienie ogniem i tumultami takie szczere, czemuż sami ich nie powściągacie? Czemuż żaków swoich nie hamujecie?" (If your concern about fire and tumults is so sincere, why do you not restrain yourselves? Why do you not check your students?) [N3^r]. This rhetorical questioning serves to invert the narrative of Protestant responsibility for civil disturbances, placing blame squarely on Jesuit instigation.

Turnowski's text emphasizes the international context of Jesuit activities, noting their expulsions from other European states: "Z Francji ich wygnano, bo królobójstwo uczyli i praktykowali. Z Wenecji ich wyrugowano, bo przeciw Rzeczypospolitej bunt podnosili" (They were expelled from France because

they taught and practiced regicide. They were ejected from Venice because they raised rebellions against the Republic) [O1^v]. These international references serve to legitimize opposition to the Jesuits by placing it within a broader European context of legitimate state actions against the Society.

The document's critique extends to the economic implications of Jesuit presence: "Mając już niemal połowę majątności Korony tej w ręku swoim, jeszcze więcej pragną, i jako morze wszystko pochłonać usiłują" (Having already almost half of the properties of this Crown in their hands, they desire even more, and like the sea try to swallow everything) [P2^r]. This accusation of economic predation appeals to noble concerns about diminishing land holdings and ecclesiastical wealth accumulation.

Turnowski concludes with a solemn appeal to preserve the constitutional balance of the Commonwealth: "Spólna ojczyzna nasza, spółna wolność, spółne prawa, których bronić wszyscy powinniśmy" (Our fatherland is common, our freedom is common, our laws are common, which we all should defend) [R4^v]. This patriotic peroration frames the Protestant cause as aligned with the foundational values of the Commonwealth, portraying religious liberty as inseparable from the political freedoms that defined the Polish state. The *Respons na trzydzieści przyczyn* exemplifies the sophisticated polemical literature that emerged from confessional conflicts in the early modern Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Its methodical structure, legal erudition, and rhetorically powerful language reflect the high intellectual caliber of Protestant apologetics in this period. Turnowski's text moves seamlessly between theological critique, constitutional argument, and political warning, demonstrating how deeply intertwined religious and political discourses had become in this diverse multi-confessional state. As a historical source, Turnowski's text provides invaluable insight into the intensifying religious tensions of early seventeenth-century Poland. Beyond its explicit content, the document implicitly reveals the precarious position of Protestant communities under increasing Counter-Reformation pressure, the complex relationship between religious identity and noble privilege, and the centrality of constitutional arguments in Commonwealth religious disputes. Its point-by-point rebuttal structure also preserves elements of the original Catholic argumentation, offering a window into the reciprocal nature of confessional polemic in this pivotal period of European religious history.

The *Respons na trzydzieści przyczyn* was more than just a theological rebuttal; it represented a sophisticated political manifesto defending both Protestant religious rights and noble constitutional privileges against what Turnowski portrayed as Jesuit encroachment. Its detailed legal citations, historical references, and appeals to patriotic sentiment demonstrate how confessional polemics in

this period transcended purely theological concerns to address fundamental questions of political order, constitutional interpretation, and civic identity in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. As a document, it offers extraordinary insight into the complex intersection of religion, politics, and law that characterized this unique European polity during the turbulent early decades of the seventeenth century.

3 Conclusion

Turnowski's anti-Jesuit writings—*Nowiny z Poznania*, *Obrona prawdy listów z Torunia*, *Respons na trzydzieści przyczyn*, and possibly *Krótkie uważenie konstytucyjnej nowotniej o jezuitach*—collectively constitute a sophisticated Protestant polemic against Jesuit influence in Royal Prussia and Greater Poland during the early seventeenth century. Employing legalistic argumentation, historical examples, and emotionally charged rhetoric, these pamphlets circulated primarily among Protestant communities where they reinforced existing concerns about Jesuit expansion and Counter-Reformation pressures. The production of Latin and German translations suggests a deliberate effort to reach audiences beyond Polish-speaking Protestants, potentially including Protestant communities in German territories and scholars throughout confessional Europe.

Turnowski's works emerged within a broader flowering of anti-Jesuit literature throughout the Commonwealth, paralleling developments in Vilnius, where Protestant polemicists like Andrzej Wolan (discussed in an earlier chapter) had established traditions of anti-Catholic writing. While these regional traditions evolved somewhat independently, they shared common themes: accusations of Jesuit political manipulation, critique of their educational methods, and concerns about their influence over civil authorities. The formal Catholic responses to Turnowski's pamphlets, evidenced by rebuttals from figures like Sawicki and Tyszkiewicz, demonstrate that these texts warranted serious engagement from Jesuit intellectuals. Through these polemical exchanges, Turnowski's anti-Jesuit writings offer invaluable insight into how Protestant communities articulated their concerns and defended their positions during a period of increasing confessional pressure, substantially contributing to the intellectual and religious debates that shaped confessional identity in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during this turbulent era.

The *Monita privata*: A Conspiratorial Parody Unveiling Jesuit Intrigues for Domination

Robert Aleksander Maryks

1 Introduction

The early seventeenth-century European landscape, marked by intense religious polemics and political debates, sets the stage for the publication of *Monita privata (secreta) Societatis Jesu*, or the private (secret) instructions of the Society of Jesus.¹ This short pamphlet is a particularly enigmatic and provocative piece within the body of European anti-Jesuit literature. Its title, deriving from the Latin verb “monere”—to warn or advise/ instruct—subtly reveals the document’s true nature: ostensibly a covert manual for the members of the Society of Jesus, it is also a scathing exposé. This strategic choice captures the pervasive mistrust and opposition the Jesuit order faced almost from its inception whenever it “received a foundation in a new location.”² The verb “monere” reflects not only the instructive content of the text but also certain aspects of Jesuit internal regulations intended to be private or secret—hence the publication’s interchangeable title. Within the Jesuit order,

1 Here is a selected bibliography on the *Monita* and its context, which itself includes an ample bibliography on the subject. Bernhard Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*, 4th ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1904), 84–112; Janusz Tazbir, *Hieronim Zahorowski zapomniany autor głośniego pamfletu* (n.p.: n.p., 1963); Tazbir, ed., *Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce 1578–1625: Antologia*, trans. Andrzej Kempfi (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963), 127–62; Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku, 1988), 216–18, 347; Sabina Pavone, *Le astuzie dei gesuiti: Le false istruzioni segrete della Compagnia di Gesù e la polemica antigesuita nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Rome: Salerno, 2000); Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita secreta: The Forged Secret Instructions of the Jesuits; Myth and Reality* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005); Robert Aleksander Maryks, “Idźcież już precz! [Come on get out already!]: The Origins and Development of the Earliest Anti-Jesuit Literature in the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania, 1577–1614,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 26–44, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-10010004> (accessed April 25, 2025) Robert Aleksander Maryks, Bartosz Awianowicz, Radosław Grzeškowiak, eds. *Monita privata (secreta) Societatis Jesu*, (Leiden: Brill, 2025), doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/b10634>.

2 *Monita*, I.

“monita” signified instructions or admonitions from superiors to the religious, like those issued, for example, by the Society’s superior general, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615, in office 1581–1615), including his *De confessariis principum* (Instruction for confessors of princes) of 1602.³ Thus, the *Monita*’s very title immediately betrays the intention of its author to portray the Jesuits in this anti-Jesuit parody as both manipulative and well-organized in pursuing their political goals.

The *Monita*, with its fictitious publication locale “Notobirgae/Notibergae,” has piqued scholarly interest due to its enigmatic beginnings and importance, hinting at a story woven with political and religious intrigue.⁴ Previously believed to have originated in Kraków in 1614, recent typographical analysis of the first edition’s surviving three copies suggests a more likely genesis in 1612, published by Krispin Scharffenberg the Younger (c.1519–1576) in Nysa (Neiße, Nisa), Lower Silesia.⁵ If confirmed, this revelation not only challenges traditional Jesuit and Polish historiographical accounts but also firmly places the *Monita* at the heart of early seventeenth-century Europe’s intense religious and political debates over the Jesuit–Habsburg alliance of religio-political domination. That it was published in Nysa, a bastion of Catholicism perched on the edge of the Habsburg monarchy’s territories in East-Central Europe, points to this region’s role in the dynamic power relations between the Austrian House of Habsburgs and the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania. The town’s identity suggests an effort to obscure the *Monita*’s origins amid dominant Jesuit influences. This is further corroborated by its links to notable personalities such as Carl I Habsburg, bishop of Wrocław (1590–1624, in office 1608–1624), who resided in Nysa as its ruler, and his brother-in-law, King Sigismund III of Poland (1566–1632, r.1587–1632). Like his older brother, Emperor Ferdinand II (r.1556–1564), Carl studied at the Jesuit University of Ingolstadt. He later moved to Nysa, accompanied by several Jesuits who served as his confessors and advisors. Sigismund was raised alongside his tutors like Szymon Wysocki (c.1546–1622) and Stanisław Warszawicki (c.1530–1591) and had Piotr Skarga (1536–1612) as his royal court preacher and advisor. Skarga, a prominent

3 Robert Bireley, S.J., “Acquaviva’s ‘Instruction for Confessors of Princes’ (1602/1608): A Document and Its Interpretation,” in *Los jesuitas: Religión, política y educación, siglos XVI–XVIII*, ed. José Martínez Millán, Henar Pizarro Llorente, and Esther Jiménez Pablo, 3 vols. (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2012), 1:45–68.

4 See Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, 198. The term “Notobergae” or “Notibergae” cited by many library catalogs and bibliographies does not correspond to the other two versions of this fictitious geographical term that appear on the front page of the 1612 and 1615 editions.

5 Many thanks to Mr. Jakub Łukaszewski from the Adam Mickiewicz University’s Department of Old Prints for the typographical insights that led me to this conclusion.

figure in the anti-Jesuit narratives throughout this volume, especially during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz (1606–1607), opposed the emulation of Venetian policies to which this rebellion, led by the Catholic nobility, aspired.⁶

In contrast to previous studies, this chapter analyzes the *Monita* within a broader historical and religious context, indicating its unique blend of satirical acumen, contextual depth, and wide-ranging impact as a standout element in the long-durée history of anti-Jesuit sentiment. Historically believed to have been penned by the Polish ex-Jesuit Hieronim Zahorowski (c.1582–1634), the following examination challenges this attribution. Through a thorough analysis of the text, its geopolitical context, and historiographical evidence, the research presented in this chapter discredits the traditional claim of Zahorowski's authorship, advocating for a reinterpretation of the document's genesis and purpose. The "Testimonies" section, appended to the first edition of the proper text of the *Monita*, notably shifts focus from the often-cited connection to Zahorowski. This shift moves beyond the singular dissenting perspective of a newly ordained priest with no documented literary skills or rhetorical sophistication, amplified through the rhetorical narrative of his contemporary, Jesuit Jan Wielewicki (1566–1639),⁷ and perpetuated by the nineteenth-century Jesuit historian Stanisław Załęski (1843–1908).⁸ Załęski's interpretations have substantially influenced the discourse in contemporary Polish historiography, impacting renowned historians like Janusz Tazbir (1927–2016).⁹ However, my analysis expands the critique beyond Zahorowski's personal grievances—the *Monita*'s testimonials provide detailed accounts of Jesuit dismissals in the Italian provinces, not the Polish one—and sharp criticism of Superior General Acquaviva. The latter is blamed for dismissing Italian *professi* (Jesuits who had taken four vows), a group to which Zahorowski did not belong due to his failure to pass the theology exam, a prerequisite for taking such vows. This suggests that, in contrast to traditional Jesuit accounts, like Wielewicki's, his resentment toward the Society must have stemmed from a different source.

6 Piotr Skarga, *Kazania sejmowe* (Wrocław: Ossolineum-DeAgostini, 2003), 136. See Sławomir Baczewski, "Piotr Skarga w publicystyce rokосу Zebrzydowskiego," *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis: Folia litteraria Polonica* 21 (2013): 97–111, here 97–98.

7 *Ks. Jana Wielewickiego T.J. Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1609 do r. 1619 (włącznie)* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1889), passim.

8 Stanisław Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce* (Lviv: Nakładem Księgarni Ludowej, 1901), 1:part 2, 185–92.

9 Janusz Tazbir, *Hieronim Zahorowski, zapomniany autor głośnego pamfletu* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963).

The appended section also includes a small collection of letters from Polish ecclesiastics expressing criticism of the Society's influence and practices. Among these is a letter criticizing the Society from Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski (1548–1608) to a Venetian doge. The inclusion of critiques from such diverse geographical origins—regardless of whether they were authentic or fake—suggests that further discussion of Zahorowski's role in creating the *Monita* is unlikely to markedly improve our understanding in a manner that meets the rigorous scholarly standards necessary for advancing the discourse on the *Monita*'s historical and political origins and significance. Indeed, the critique within it pivots on the Jesuits' expulsion from Venice, the only specific historical incident directly mentioned in the text.¹⁰ The narrative then expands to the "Testimonies," which acknowledge the peace accord between the republic and the pope that concluded the conflict in 1607, yet did not permit the Jesuits to return to Venice for another fifty years. These references provide incontrovertible evidence of a shift in our understanding of *Monita*'s origins, moving from isolated personal complaints to a comprehensive institutional critique of the Jesuit order, placing it within a broader European context and enlightening us about the *Monita*'s historical and political origins.

Moreover, the following examination of the *Monita*'s dissemination emphasizes the document's evolution into an influential element of political discourse, leaving its mark across European and even American contexts over the ensuing centuries.¹¹ Distinguishing itself from other polemical literature of the time, the *Monita* moves beyond simple polemic to act as a sophisticated political satire. It reflected and influenced the heated discussions surrounding the Jesuit order, leaving a lasting impact on the era's religious and political landscapes. This influence extended to key historical debates, including the Jansenist–Jesuit controversy in the 1650s and the opposition from Franco-phone Enlightenment figures, which contributed to the Society's eventual suppressions in the third quarter of the 1700s, as seen, for example, in the use of the *Monita* in charging the Jesuits with the attempted assassination of João I, king of Portugal (1357–1433, r.1385–1433).¹² With the reinstatement of

10 *Monita*, XIV: "Nec tales teneantur in Societate, qui vexati insurgunt in superiorem, de eoque coram fratribus conqueruntur, aut displicere sibi dicunt, quae fiunt in Societate quoad viduas et directionem rerumpubl(icarum), laudantque Venetos, a quibus pulsa Societas."

11 Here is the visualization of *Monita*'s printing diffusion: <https://computations.eu/Maryks/monita.html>. This visualization has been created by Dr. Cezary Rosiński of the Digital Humanities Centre using the dataset provided by this book's authors.

12 *I lupi smascherati nell'Appendice alle Riflessioni del Portoghese, nella traduzione e confutazione del libro intitolato Monita secreta Soc. Jesu, ed in altre aggiunte, e documenti rari ed*

the Society coinciding with the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), the *Monita* resurged as a crucial instrument of resistance against the Jesuits' return, showcasing its lasting importance in challenging Jesuit influence well beyond its original Habsburg Central-East European milieu.

2 Geopolitical Chessboard

Making its clandestine debut in 1612, the *Monita* offers a unique and extensive critique that transcends a straightforward narrative of dissatisfaction by a dismissed Jesuit. This unique perspective challenges the dominant Jesuit narrative that has been upheld since Wielewicki's seventeenth-century account. The text's publication coincided with the death of Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612, r.1583–1612) in January, succeeded by Matthias (1557–1619, r.1612–1619).¹³ The *Monita* intricately discusses the dynamics of Habsburg authority and Jesuit influence in East-Central Europe, contextualized by events such as the Zebrzydowski Rebellion and the strategic ecclesiastical positioning of the eighteen-year-old bishop Carl in Nysa in 1608.¹⁴ The Jesuit order's political maneuvers, particularly during its Sixth General Congregation in Rome in 1608, as highlighted by English ambassador Henry Wotton (1568–1639), are pointed out. It is important to note that the document places a particular emphasis on the Jesuit order's political influence.¹⁵

The period under discussion saw Prague become a vibrant cultural and religious center, bolstered by the Jesuits' robust presence, which was established in the city in 1556 by Emperor Ferdinand I of the Habsburg Empire. The *Monita*'s publication, a few years before the Defenestration of Prague in 1618, which triggered the Bohemian Revolt (1618–1620) and subsequently

inediti (Aletopoli [i.e., Lugano or Rome], 1761). The included version of the *Monita* was translated into German, which became the main source of the first Polish translation preserved in the manuscript form at the Library of Kórnik (Poznań).

13 See, for example, Sarpi's letter from January 31, 1612 to de l'Isle Groslot: [https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Lettere_\(Sarpi\)/Vol._II/195#cite_ref-3](https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Lettere_(Sarpi)/Vol._II/195#cite_ref-3) (accessed April 16, 2025).

14 See Bernhard W. Scholz, *Erzherzog Karl von Österreich (1590–1624): Bischof von Breslau am Vorabend und zu Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, with a digital appendix "Quellentexte und Register zu Erzherzog Karl von Österreich" (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2024).

15 On Wotton, see Melanie Ord, "Venice and Rome in the Addresses and Dispatches of Sir Henry Wotton: First English Embassy to Venice, 1604–1610," *The Seventeenth Century* 22, no. 1 (2017): 1–23, and Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

the Thirty Years' War (1618–1635),¹⁶ is a crucial commentary on the shifts toward re-Catholicization and the religio-political realignments of Europe. The *Monita's* publication date, in the context of the losses of influential Jesuits like Antonio Possevino (1533–1611), a central figure in Polish and Venetian diplomacy, and Richard Haller (1551–1612), a German Jesuit confessor to Queen Margherita of Spain (1584–1611),¹⁷ alongside Skarga, coincides with a notable void in spiritual counsel provided to high-ranking European leaders. It marks a period of vulnerability that the *Monita's* author(s) may have aimed to exploit.

The booklet's extensive distribution—over 240 editions across Western Europe, primarily through printing presses in Paris, London, and Cologne—emphasizes its role in sparking intense discussions on Jesuit–Habsburg overreach. It influenced the complex religious and political landscape of early seventeenth-century Europe. It deftly navigates the Jesuits' ambitions, the Habsburgs' strategic objectives, and the Venetian provocations, capturing the broad scale of Jesuit activities and the diverse resistance they encountered.

Moreover, the *Monita* sheds light on the role of the House of Austria in Europe, particularly in Poland and France. Their strategic marital alliances and Jesuit mediation, as seen in Possevino's 1577 suggestion for a Habsburg marriage for the children of King John III of Sweden (1537–1592, r.1568–1592), have left an indelible mark on European history. The marriages of Sigismund III of Poland to Anna of Austria (1549–1580) in 1592 and then to Constance of Austria (1588–1631) in 1605, and of Louis XIII of France (1601–1643, r.1610–1643) to Anne of Austria (1601–1666, r.1615–1643) in 1615—arranged as early as 1612 under the influence of the Jesuit confessor Pierre Coton (1564–1626)—are pivotal moments in the history of the Habsburgs.¹⁸ Carl I of Habsburg's tenure as bishop of Breslau (Wrocław) and his push for Catholic dominance in his principate vividly illustrate the expansive influence of the Jesuit–Habsburg axis, an authoritarian force that shaped European history.

16 See Webster G. Tarpley, "Paolo Sarpi: His Networks, Venice, and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2009).

17 Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II Counter-Reformation Emperor (1578–1637)* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 16.

18 "If rulers are unmarried, suitable virgins affiliated with ours and their families should be suggested as potential wives. These women should be described in flattering terms, as the rulers would themselves prefer. This approach can transform strangers into allies through these marital connections, a strategy proven effective through the House of Austria in the realms of Poland, France, and other dutchies and territories" (*Monita*, [11]).

3 Overview of Content

The Latin text of the *Monita*, dissected below through its chapter themes and word allocation, indicates the document's focal points and the Jesuit order's alleged strategies for building and expanding their political and social domination. The booklet, spanning only 6,304 words, breaks down into themes with corresponding word counts as follows:

1. On the manner of receiving foundations in new places—ninety-three words.
2. How to conduct ourselves toward those who hold high positions in a city or province and toward the leading men—452.
3. What our lords will do for us when they are short of money but still hold much authority in the Republic and can assist us in other ways—352.
4. What should be recommended to preachers and confessors of princes and magnates—267.
5. How to act with religious individuals who, by associating with us in many activities, detract much from us—186.
6. On winning over wealthy widows to the Society—240.
7. The method of keeping widows in widowhood and managing the revenues they possess—500.
8. Regarding remedies so that the sons and daughters of our devout followers embrace the religious state—161.
9. On increasing revenues of colleges—333.
10. On displaying the rigor of discipline within the Society—288.
11. How we will unanimously behave against those dismissed—393.
12. On the selection of young men for the Society and the way to retain them—310.
13. On nuns—47.
14. On reserved cases and reasons for dismissal from the Society—442.
15. Those who must be preserved and cherished among the Society's people—146.
16. On the disdain of riches—65.

The final paragraph, at 116 words, addresses a different topic: guidelines for discreet communication of these private instructions within the Society.

The allocation of words among these themes reflects the *Monita's* focus on strategic relationships (with the affluent, the powerful, and religious orders), internal discipline and governance, financial acquisition, and manipulating societal norms to the Society's advantage. Notably, *Monita's* detailed instructions on engaging with the powerful (instructions 2, 3, 4) and financial strategies (6, 7, 8, 9) underscore the Society's focus on influence and wealth. This focus was

instrumental in the Society's efforts to expand and solidify its presence. The meticulous attention to internal governance (10, 11, 14) and the selection and retention of members (12) highlights the calculated approach to maintaining order, loyalty, and a positive image within and outside the Society. The brief sections on nuns (13) and on the Jesuits' profound disdain for riches (16) not only hint at the Society's stance toward relationships with women in religious orders and the public's perception of the Society's wealth but also underline the Society's unwavering commitment to its values.

4 Analysis of Rhetoric and Style

The *Monita*, with its formal language and structured composition reminiscent of traditional Jesuit exhortation, offers a masterful navigation through the intricacies of Jesuit life. It critically examines their traditions and methods, showcasing the creator(s)' profound understanding of the Jesuit system. However, a closer examination reveals potentially insincere or self-serving intents lurking beneath the surface. This duplicity, particularly evident in phrases like "they may be more generous toward us" (*Monita*, 1), subtly hints at ulterior motives behind acts of humility and charity, suggesting that the Jesuits' proclaimed devotion to their neighbors' salvation may be a façade for more worldly ambitions. Despite its primary focus on providing practical guidance for Jesuits, including strategies for expanding influence and managing resources, the document transcends mere direct exhortation. It introduces a form of conceptual parallelism, particularly noticeable in sections detailing engagements with benefactors, management of financial contributions, and influence within societal and ecclesiastical structures. For instance, the structured recommendations for engaging widows and managing their contributions to the Society, as presented in chapter IX, employ a mirrored structure to present a series of steps or conditions that clarify and persuade effectively.

The strategic use of Latin terms like "nostrī" (ours) in the text not only adds an air of authenticity but also hints at a secretive aspect within the Society, crafting an ominous tone that boosts the critique's impact. The document's nuanced references to Machiavellian tactics further highlight the perceived moral and ethical disparities, portraying Jesuit actions as predominantly politically motivated. Moreover, the *Monita's* adept use of metaphorical language and specific verbs like "inculcate" and "insinuate" presents the Jesuits as subtle yet insidious influencers.¹⁹ This portrayal starkly contrasts with the Jesuits'

19 For example: "It must be seriously inculcated to the confessors of rulers, magnates, and

genuine practices of adaptation and accommodation as advised by the Jesuit Constitutions and Rules,²⁰ weaving a narrative steeped in deception and hypocrisy. Such a depiction raises questions about the genuineness of Jesuit motives and highlights the stark divergence between their public image and underlying actions.

The *Monita*'s exploration of satire, parody, irony, hyperbole, and various modes of amplification, such as comparisons, analogies, enumerations, and examples, is a powerful critique of the Jesuit order's methods and ambitions. It exaggerates Jesuit methods for gaining influence and securing wealth, suggesting that their spiritual guidance was merely a calculated form of political manipulation. Through parody, it mocks the solemn tone typical of religious instructions, subtly indicating that the high-minded ideals often proclaimed by the Jesuits might serve as a veneer for more worldly objectives. This ironic twist prompts readers to reevaluate their understanding of Jesuit rhetoric, revealing potential contradictions between espoused values and operational tactics. Hyperbole further amplifies the perceived ambition of the Jesuits to almost absurd lengths, serving as a critique of their methods and prompting reflection on the broader implications of their actions within the church and society.

5 Reception and Impact

The 1612 release of the *Monita*, amid a backdrop of political and religious upheaval, brought to light the Jesuits' enigmatic clandestine strategies, sparking scrutiny and a captivating debate. The document's concluding remarks reveal a meticulously crafted blueprint for managing information and navigating crises, advising Jesuit superiors to safeguard the "private instructions" with the utmost discretion and share them only with a select cadre of members tasked with further disseminating these strategies under the guise of personal wisdom. This guidance, seemingly aimed at fostering the Society's welfare, outlines a sophisticated approach for outright denying any affiliation with the document in the event of its potential unmasking, thereby aiming to defuse any ensuing scandal preemptively.

matrons, that while they confer spiritual benefits on them, they should receive temporal benefits for the common good of the Society" (*Monita*, IX); "The reasons for dismissal should be insinuated to outsiders, those for which the common people hold us in hatred" (XI).

20 François Courel, "La fin unique de la Compagnie de Jésus," *AHSI* 35 (1966): 186–211, <https://archive.org/details/ahsi-1966/page/1/mode/1up> (accessed August 18, 2024).

This prescriptive advice betrays a keen awareness of the document's potential to wreak reputational havoc, revealing a concerted effort to distance the Society from the controversial practices unearthed within the *Monita's* pages. Advocating for a public renunciation, corroborated by those purportedly unaware of such directives, the document cleverly anticipates and seeks to undermine the credibility of any resultant accusations. Furthermore, it prescribes that these "private instructions" be counteracted with "general instructions and the printed or written ordinances that directly oppose these private ones," unveiling an instance of early strategic public relations craft. This multifaceted approach to perception management, weaving together denial, professed ignorance, and contradictory evidence, epitomizes the advanced methodologies purportedly employed by the Society to shield its standing from assaults. The insistence on conducting an internal probe to identify potential leaks within its ranks further shows the document's perceived importance to the Society and the lengths its leadership would go to maintain secrecy and discipline. This segment proposes a regime of accountability and sanctions for breaches of trust, highlighting the Jesuits' paramount values of loyalty and discretion. This value system mirrors broader themes of control and governance within the order, which is characterized by a strict hierarchy and a culture of secrecy.

The astuteness encapsulated in *Monita's* final paragraph becomes particularly striking compared to the actual responses the document elicited over the next three centuries. Despite the challenge posed by its widespread dissemination, which was not seldom featured within the broader compendia of anti-Jesuit literature, the examination in this chapter's limited space identifies three meaningful and immediate counteractions to the *Monita*. First, I analyze the defensive narrative woven by Polish Jesuit Mateusz Bembus (1567–1645) in his *Monita salutaria*, offering a rebuttal directly from the Jesuit order's heart. Subsequently, I explore German Jesuit Jacob Gretser's (1562–1625) *Contra famosum libellum*, which refutes the *Monita's* claims with doctrinal precision. Lastly, I turn my attention to the lay critique penned by Polish noble Jan Ostroróg (1565–1622), which illuminates the deep societal rifts and suspicions the *Monita* engendered, extending beyond ecclesiastical confines to reshape the Polish Catholic nobility's perceptions and attitudes profoundly.

In crafting his 1615 response in *Monita salutaria data anonymo auctori scripti nuper editi, cui titulus falso inditus, Monita privata Societatis Iesu* (Salutary instructions given by an anonymous author of a recently published work, falsely titled *Private Admonitions of the Society of Jesus* [Piotrkowczyk, Kraków]), Bembus employs a multifaceted strategy that serves both as a defense of the Jesuit order and a critique of the *Monita's* underlying motivations and content. Interestingly, he avoids directly naming the speculated author, Zahorowski, despite

Bembus's prior role as Zahorowski's theology professor in Poznań. While initially puzzling, this choice indicates a strategic decision to focus the discussion on challenging the work and sidestepping personal conflicts. This choice is particularly insightful given the broader historical and political context into which the *Monita* fits—a context rich with anti-Jesuit sentiment. By not naming Zahorowski, Bembus avoids potentially reducing the debate to a mere personal vendetta, thus elevating his critique to address the larger anti-Jesuit currents the *Monita* sought to harness and amplify. Bembus begins by emphatically stating that the *Monita* does not reflect the Jesuit Society's principles or teachings. He cleverly likens the text to a jest, using vivid imagery to describe its author as a “monkey” and a “scorpion,” symbols of deceit and venomous intent, respectively. This characterization not only discredits the author but also casts the *Monita* as a treacherous and misleading document, far removed from any legitimate critique or satire. Bembus's approach suggests that the *Monita* should be viewed not as a doctrinal text but as a piece of anti-Jesuit propaganda intended to defame and mislead.

Furthermore, Bembus shrewdly positions his *Monita salutaria* as an independent voice transcending mere Jesuit apologetics. By invoking biblical passages on the title page, he highlights the document's spiritual and moral authority, distancing it from the contentious politics of the time and reinforcing its legitimacy as a counterargument to the *Monita*. In dissecting the accusations laid out in the *Monita*, Bembus opts for a strategy of admonition (*monitum*) rather than outright refutation. He implies that the allegations are so baseless that they could easily be dismissed, drawing parallels to Nehemiah's response to false accusations.²¹ This method cleverly highlights the fabricated nature of the claims against the Jesuits, suggesting they are part of a broader attempt to malign the order without substantive evidence.

Gretser's *Contra famosum libellum cuius inscriptio est Monita privata Societatis Jesu* (Against the infamous booklet titled *Private Instructions of the Society of Jesus* [Ingolstadt, 1618]) is a comprehensive refutation of the *Monita*. His defense unfolds across three apologetic sections, scrutinizing the text, addressing testimonies from notable figures against the Society, and relaying the perspectives of eminent prelates and princes on the *Monita* and its supposed

21 Nehemiah, a central figure in the book of Nehemiah in the Hebrew Bible, serves as a governor of Persian Judea and is tasked with rebuilding Jerusalem's walls following the Babylonian exile. In Nehemiah 6:8, he confronts baseless accusations made by his adversaries, who claim he intends to rebel against Persian authority by rebuilding the walls. Nehemiah's response to these unfounded allegations is to dismiss them outright, stating, “No such things as you say have been done, for you are inventing them out of your own mind.”

author. The work, dedicated to Marcin Szyszkowski (1554–1630), the bishop of Kraków, accentuates the Society of Jesus’s imperative to uphold a reputable image and counter the slander presented in the *Monita*.²² Gretser initially identifies Zahorowski, a parish priest from Goździec, near Lublin, as the rumored author of the booklet, though he bases this on conjecture rather than solid evidence. Gretser’s argument extends into a broader polemic, mainly focusing on the tensions between the Jesuits and the Polish Socinians of Raków.²³ By invoking specific criticisms and strategically employing rhetorical strategies, Gretser defends the Jesuits from accusations of deceit and suggests these accusations more accurately apply to their detractors, including the Socinians. Gretser’s approach situates the *Monita* within a larger context of anti-Jesuit sentiment, indicative of the era’s multifaceted religious and political disputes. His work thus exemplifies the Jesuit order’s dedication to clearing its name from defamatory accusations and to emphasizing its commitment to its spiritual and educational missions. Through historical context, personal testimonies, and theological reasoning, Gretser not only tries to dismantle the accusations brought against the Society of Jesus but also affirms the order’s alignment with the church’s highest principles and authorities, and bringing several pro-Jesuit testimonies, including Ostroróg’s letter, to which we finally turn our attention.

In his 1616 letter, *Illustrissimi ac excellentissimi domini Ioannis comitis ab Ostrorog [...] Ad filios admonitoria epistola: Contra fraudulentiam scripti editi sub titulo Monita privata Societatis Jesu* (Admonitory letter to his sons by the most illustrious and excellent lord Jan, count of Ostroróg: Against the deceit of a work published under the title *Private Instructions of the Society of Jesus*), published in Nysa—believed, tellingly, to be the same town where the *Monita* was published—Ostroróg points out the document’s contentious nature. This coincidence draws a direct geographical connection and implicitly indicates the intense local scrutiny and debate surrounding the *Monita*. Ostroróg argues that its portrayal of the Jesuits is false and maliciously intended to harm the Society’s reputation. He contends that the advice and directives claimed to be

22 See the discussion of Szyszkowski’s response to the *Actio prima* analyzed in the chapter dedicated to this earlier anti-Jesuit speech.

23 On the Jesuits’ relations with this group, see Michał Choptiany, Stanisław Obirek, and Piotr Wilczek, “Czy Jezuita nienawidzili braci polskich?,” in *Figura hereetyka w nowożytnych sporach konfesyjnych*, ed. Alicja Bielak and Wojciech Kordyżon, *Reformacja w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 5* (Warsaw: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2017), 371–97. See also George Huntston Williams, ed., *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601–1685*, 2 vols. (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980).

part of Jesuit practice are neither seen nor heard of within the Society, emphasizing the document's baseless accusations. Ostroróg addresses the issue of authorship with a nuanced approach. Despite Wielewicki's *a posteriori* claims implicating Zahorowski, a disgruntled ex-Jesuit, as the author (which he did not express in his dedicatory letter to Ostroróg's work), Ostroróg suggests an alternative narrative. He proposes that the *Monita* could be the work of an anonymous figure, possibly external to the Society, driven by a desire to undermine the Jesuits. This suggestion of external authorship is a strategic defense to deflect direct blame from the Society and maintain its integrity. Central to Ostroróg's response is his unwavering defense of the Jesuits. He argues that the allegations of deceit and hypocrisy within the *Monita* are unfounded, emphasizing the Jesuits' commitment to spiritual guidance, education, and charitable works. Ostroróg's critique is not merely a rebuttal of the document's claims but a broader affirmation of the Jesuits' positive role and impact within the church and society, revealing their important contributions. His letter reveals the depth of Ostroróg's commitment to the Jesuit cause—it offers insights into the challenges faced by the Society and the lengths to which its defenders would go to safeguard its reputation. After all, the Jesuits were instrumental in Ostroróg's return to Catholicism.

6 Comparative Analysis

The *Monita* anchors the broad spectrum of early modern critiques against the Jesuit order, aligning thematically and rhetorically with the texts analyzed in this volume. These texts, including Jakub Niemojewski's *Diatrybe* (1577), Andrzej Wolan's comprehensive corpus, Toruń pamphlets, and the "Apologeticus," collectively form a cohesive discourse that spans the socio-political and religious realms of Poland–Lithuania and Western Europe, deepening the period's inherent skepticism toward the Society of Jesus. At the heart of this discourse is the depiction of Jesuits as masterminds of political and religious intrigue, a portrayal vividly echoed in the *Monita*'s satirical lens, Niemojewski's outright accusations of Jesuit entanglements with foreign powers, and Wolan's framing of them as doctrinal colonizers. This confluence of perspectives portrays the Jesuits as both spiritual guides and tacticians in a grand scheme to amass power and influence within the corridors of European power.

The *Monita* presents itself as a clandestine manual that offers a unique opportunity to peek into the Jesuit order's alleged secret maneuvers. This portrayal is not negligible as it provides a rare insight into the inner workings of the Jesuit order, which has been the subject of much speculation and controversy.

In contrast, the others engage more directly, wading into theological and political waters to strip bare Jesuit intentions. The “Apologeticus,” with its poetic agility, leverages irony to critique the Jesuits’ jarring effect on community traditions and morals. This array of rhetorical devices is skillfully used to critique the contradictions in morality, doctrine, and ethics of the Jesuit order, depicting it as an organization that pursues worldly dominion while cloaked in spirituality. Jan Brożek’s later *Gratis* (1625), discussed in the last chapter, likely alludes to the *Monita*, sharing thematic consistencies with it.

Finally, it is essential to highlight that the *Monita* shares similarities with some works produced in the Venetian milieu of Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623). Notably, the deceptive letters forged by Giovanni Francesco Sagredo (1571–1620), a remarkable figure in the Venetian anti-Jesuit circle and a confidant of Sarpi, to a Jesuit rector under the guise of a wealthy widow resonate thematically with the *Monita*. Both efforts aimed to expose the alleged manipulation and covert ambitions of the Jesuit order, employing satire and deception to critique the Society’s influence within religious and political spheres. Another of Sarpi’s collaborators and his biographer, Fulgenzio Micanzio (1570–1654), authored an anonymously published parody of the Jesuit instructions to rulers on their way of governing, *Instruzione a prencipi della maniera con la quale si gouernano li padri giesuiti* (Instructions to princes on the manner in which the Jesuit fathers govern [Per Peter Landolfo, & Bonatto Minghino: In Poschiauo, 1617]), which was soon translated into English and German.²⁴

7 Conclusion

This chapter’s exploration of the *Monita privata Societatis Jesu* within early modern European religious and political debates has shed light on the document’s unique perspective. It is not just a critique of the Society of Jesus but a reflection of the era’s broader anxieties and contestations. The *Monita*, with its satirical sharpness and purported insider perspective, provides a unique window into the pervasive mistrust and opposition that shadowed the Jesuit order from its inception. The chapter has sought to unpack the new layers of meaning and implication embedded within this enigmatic work by examining the text’s thematic focus, rhetorical sophistication, and the context of its creation and reception.

24 See *An Exact and Sound Discovery of the Chiefe Mysteries of Jesuitical Iniquity* (London: W. Jaggard for F. Paxton, 1619); *Gründlicher Bericht an alle und jede Fürstliches Stands Personen vom Leben, Wandel und Practicken der Jesuiten* (1619).

My analysis has underscored the strategic deployment of satire and parody in the *Monita*, positioning it as a complex critique of Jesuit practices and objectives. The chapter has argued that the *Monita* is not just a purported guide for Jesuit conduct but a scathing exposé aimed at revealing the order's alleged ambitions of influence and control. This critical lens, informed by a reconsideration of traditional attributions of authorship and a deeper understanding of the geopolitical milieu in which the *Monita* circulated, challenges us to reassess the text's place in the history of anti-Jesuit sentiment and its impact on contemporaneous religious and political discourses. Furthermore, the chapter has traced the document's strategic significance in historical events by situating the *Monita* within the contentious landscape of early seventeenth-century Europe—a period marked by dynastic shifts and religious upheavals. This contextualization enriches our comprehension of the *Monita's* potential roles in shaping perceptions of Jesuit political involvement and influencing the complex interplay between the Society of Jesus, the Habsburg monarchy, and other key European powers, including the Republic of Venice.

In sum, the *Monita* emerges from this analysis as a piece of anti-Jesuit literature and a multifaceted text that encapsulates the tensions, challenges, and transformations characterizing the early 1600s. Its enduring legacy, manifested in its widespread dissemination and the varied responses it elicited, attests to its capacity to provoke outrage, debate, and reevaluate the Jesuit order's role worldwide. Therefore, the *Monita* appears as an incisive reflection of the capacity of parodic/subterfuge literature to provoke and sustain debate, providing a unique glimpse into the complexities of ecclesiastical and political coexistence during the early modern era in Europe.

Money, Monopoly, and Youth Corruption

Jan Brożek's Gratis (1625) and the Conflict between the Society of Jesus and the Kraków Academy

Michał E. Nowakowski

1 Introduction to the Work

The conflict between the Society of Jesus and the Kraków Academy over the Jesuits' schooling in Kraków lasted more than half a century. It intensified in 1622, when, after repeated attempts, the Jesuits obtained royal consent to establish their school in the city, despite the academy's protests. One of the results of this conflict was an abundant production of polemical literature. Between 1616 and 1634, more than thirty texts emerged, primarily letters or pamphlets of rather poor literary quality. They predominantly addressed current developments and were circulated before gatherings of the Polish–Lithuanian parliament (Sejm) or local dietines (*sejmiki*). However, one text in defense of the academy stands out due to its scope, literary merit, and influence. That text is *Gratis* (Free of charge [1625]) by academy professor Jan Brożek (1585–1652).¹

Brożek's work comprises four dialogues: "Gratis," "Przywilej" (Privilege), "Konsens" (Consent), and "Varietas" (Variety). As it lacks an overarching title, it is commonly referred to by the title of its first dialogue. In October 1625, Brożek anonymously published only the first three dialogues. Subsequently, the Jesuits successfully prevented the printing of the fourth dialogue and had the printer, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk from Wielkanoc near Kraków (dates unknown; not to be confused with Andrzej Piotrkowczyk [d.1620], also a Kraków printer), arrested

1 Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii UW w Białymstoku, 1988), 254–61; Magdalena Komorowska, "In the Eye of the Storm: Books in the Conflict between the Jesuits and the University of Kraków (1622–1634)," in *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth*, ed. Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma, and Jolanta Rzegocka (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 56–71, here 56–57. On Brożek's life, see Henryk Barycz, "Wstęp," in Jan Brożek, *Wybór pism*, ed. Henryk Barycz (Warsaw: PWN, 1956), 5–119; Andrzej Pelczar, "Jan Brożek (1585–1652): Matematyk, historyk nauki, profesor i dobrodziej Uniwersytetu," in *Wydział Matematyki i Fizyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: Złota księga; 600-lecie odnowienia Akademii Krakowskiej*, ed. Bolesław Szafirski (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000), 239–69.

and punished by flogging. They also confiscated his copies of the text, which were then publicly burned in the Kraków market square by the executioner. Despite these efforts, the *Gratis* had an appreciable impact, fueling anti-Jesuit sentiment in Kraków and across Poland–Lithuania.²

2 The Conflict's Origins

The feud between the Jesuits and the Kraków Academy was part of a broader European struggle between the Society of Jesus, which offered modern, humanistic, and high-quality education, and traditional universities, whose curricula often lagged behind public demand. Similar dynamics unfolded at universities across Europe, including those in Ingolstadt, Leuven, Paris, Prague, and Vienna.³ The Jesuits' attempts to establish a school in Kraków began in the mid-1550s. These attempts, however, faced substantial opposition from local Protestants, the Kraków Academy, and part of the Catholic clergy who opposed the Jesuits. Consequently, the Jesuits founded colleges in other Polish–Lithuanian cities like Braniewo (1565), Pułtusk (1566), Vilnius (1569), Poznań (1573), and Jarosław (1575).⁴

In the late 1570s and 1580s, the influential bishop of Kraków, Piotr Myszkowski (c.1510–1591, in office 1577–1591), strongly opposed the establishment of a Jesuit school in Kraków. Distinguished Jesuit historian Bronisław Natoński (1914–1989)—whose scholarship, however, betrays a generally sympathetic view of the Society—suggests that Myszkowski's resistance to the Jesuits stemmed from his disapproval of Catholic Church reforms, notably the prohibition of combining ecclesiastical benefices. Primarily, it was Myszkowski, supported by the Kraków Academy, who prevented the opening of a Jesuit school in Kraków, despite King Stephen Báthory's (r.1576–1586) approval of these plans and the strenuous efforts of the Mantuan Jesuit and papal legate Antonio Possevino (1533–1611). Nevertheless, Myszkowski was unable to stop

2 Barycz, "Wstęp," 90–91; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 285.

3 Bronisław Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku* (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum–WAM, 2002), 15–22. On the Jesuits' rivalry with old European universities, see Paul F. Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe 1548–1773* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), esp. 75–79, 82–85, 100–6, doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004391123_002 (accessed September 28, 2024).

4 Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski*, 23–40; Andrzej Paweł Bieś, "Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach polskich: Struktury organizacyjne oraz edukacyjno-oświatowe i pastoralne formy aktywności," *Studia paedagogica ignatiana* 17 (2014): 57–87, here 59.

the Jesuits from establishing a house of the professed (1583) and a novitiate (1586) in the city, which became possible largely due to the skillful policy of the Jesuit Polish superior provincial, Giovanni Paolo Campana (1540–1592).⁵

Shortly after the Jesuits gained a foothold in Kraków, the political configuration in Poland–Lithuania shifted in their favor. In 1587, the nobility elected the Jesuit-educated prince of Sweden, Sigismund, to the Polish throne. Two years later, in 1589, the archbishop of Gniezno and primate of Poland, Stanisław Karnkowski (1520–1603, in office 1581–1603), convened a synod that recommended Jesuit professors for the Kraków Academy's faculties of philosophy and theology. By 1591, following the death of Bishop Myszkowski, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556–1600), a former bishop of Vilnius who had converted to Catholicism under the Jesuits' influence and later became their great benefactor, succeeded him (in office 1591–1600). Encouraged by these developments, several Jesuits—despite the opposition of most of their confrères in the Polish province—resumed their efforts to establish the Jesuit school in Kraków and even gain control of the academy's faculties of theology, philosophy, and arts.⁶

The Spanish Jesuit García Alabiano (1549–1624), Radziwiłł's confessor and former rector of the Vilnius Academy (1585–1592), was a leading advocate for establishing a Jesuit school in Kraków. Despite the vigorous advocacy of Alabiano and other Jesuits, support for their initiative from Sigismund III, Bishop Radziwiłł, and even Superior General Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615, in office 1581–1615) turned out to be more limited than anticipated. The Jesuit superiors of the Polish province seemed to show greater interest in establishing a Jesuit university in Poznań, a project that Alabiano himself had thwarted in the 1580s, fearing it would draw students away from Vilnius. Renewed efforts to establish a university in Poznań in the early 1610s and subsequent attempts to found a Jesuit school in Kraków in 1616 met with vehement opposition from the Kraków Academy. The context of the renewed conflict between the Kraków Academy and the Jesuits provided an intellectual setting in which Brożek, initially a student at the academy from 1604 and later a lecturer there from 1610, was formed.⁷

In July 1622, King Sigismund authorized the establishment of a Jesuit college in Kraków. It began offering theology courses in 1623, followed by highly

5 Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski*, 33–94; Tomasz Graff, “Biskupi krakowscy wobec Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w dobie pierwszych królów elekcyjnych: Zarys problematyki,” in *Kościół w społeczeństwie w Czechach i w Polsce w średniowieczu i w epoce nowożytnej*, ed. Wojciech Iwańczak, Agnieszka Januszek-Sieradzka, and Janusz Smołucha (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum, 2020), 69–97, here 83–85.

6 Barycz, “Wstęp,” 79–82; Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski*, 95–112.

7 Barycz, “Wstęp,” 16–49, 81–82; Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski*, 87–88, 103–14; Graff, “Biskupi krakowscy,” 85–87.

popular humanities courses in 1625. These developments sparked tensions with the academy's professors, who turned for support to certain segments of the Polish–Lithuanian nobility, among whom anticlerical sentiments were not uncommon, resulting in a series of anti-Jesuit incidents.⁸ During one such tumult on June 13, 1625, the royal infantry assigned to protect the Jesuits fatally shot one of the academy's students. Henryk Barycz contends that in quelling these tumults, the Jesuits, with the aid of royal troops, terrorized the protesting academy community.⁹ It is worth noting, however, that Barycz's accounts may be exaggerated, as his work sometimes displays a marked antipathy toward the Society of Jesus.¹⁰

3 Pamphlet War

The early 1620s saw a surge in anti-Jesuit pamphlets in Kraków, both printed and in manuscript. Typically, these were authored by academy professors, including Jakub Janidło (c.1570–1619), Jan Przeclawczyk (c.1573–1635), and the rector Jakub Najmanowicz (c.1584–1641). Many of their texts have been preserved to this day thanks to the efforts of academy professor Marcin Radyمیński (1602–1664), who, in the 1650s, compiled an extensive collection of documents related to the Society—academy conflict, totaling over two thousand pages.¹¹ In her recent and valuable study, Polish book historian Magdalena Komorowska analyzed this collection primarily from the perspective of printing and censorship history.¹² Decades before, anti-Jesuit literature scholar Wiesław Stec had examined these documents from a rhetorical viewpoint.¹³ Building on Stec's insights, I will now briefly explore this pamphlet polemic against the Jesuits as a context for the analysis of Brożek's *Gratis*.

Most anti-Jesuit texts written in defense of the Kraków Academy reiterate a standard set of polemical arguments. These include attacks on the Jesuits' al-

8 Cf. Urszula Augustyniak, "Antyklerykalizm szlachecki w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów jako problem badawczy," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 57 (2013): 96–122.

9 Barycz, "Wstęp," 83–84; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 254–56; Graff, "Biskupi krakowscy," 87–89.

10 Cf., for example, Barycz's characterization of the Society's educational and social aspirations in Poland (Barycz, "Wstęp," 79–80).

11 Marcin Radyمیński, "Academia controversa seu controversiarum Academiae Cracoviensis cum aemula Societate Iesu, in Regno Poloniae, de iure universitatis, analecta collecta opera," MS 227, Jagiellonian Library, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/205000/edition/193784> (accessed September 29, 2024).

12 Komorowska, "In the Eye of the Storm," 56–71.

13 Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 254–75.

leged ambition to monopolize education, their greed, and the discord between the Society's interests and those of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Initially, defenses of the academy were primarily reactive, countering Jesuit accusations that targeted the academy's supposed Protestant sympathies, educational deficiencies, and its faculty's non-noble origins.¹⁴ These defenses robustly upheld the educational privileges historically granted to the academy. However, tensions escalated—particularly after the Jesuits received papal support in 1625—and the rhetoric from the academy's defenders took on a more aggressive tone. The Society's critics began to emphasize its perceived foreign affiliations and argued that the Jesuits had fraudulently secured papal backing. Furthermore, anti-Jesuit writings highlighted previous anti-Protestant incidents to suggest that they were instigated by the Jesuits.¹⁵

4 Najmanowicz and His *Zniesienie obrony*

A representative example of the polemic's final and most fierce phase can be found in a work by the academy's rector Najmanowicz, titled *Zniesienie obrony collegium p[atrum] Societatis Jesu w Krakowie* (The rebuttal of the defense of the college of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in Kraków [Kraków: Maciej Andrzejowczyk, 1627]). Najmanowicz republished it as early as 1628, incorporating arguments against the Jesuit response to Brożek's *Gratis*.¹⁶ In his work, Najmanowicz responds to the Jesuit pamphlets with the aim of undermining their teaching privileges and diminishing the significance of the recent ruling of the Apostolic Tribunal of the Roman Rota, which stated that the academy's privileges are not exclusive and that the Jesuits are allowed to teach in Kraków not only arts but also other disciplines, including theology. In this context, Najmanowicz argues that it was inappropriate for the Jesuits to have sued the academy in a papal tribunal and cited various Jesuit authorities, like Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) and Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), who had previously recognized the academy's privileges.¹⁷ Even Superior General Acquaviva was

14 Interestingly, during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz, it was the Jesuits who were accused of non-noble origins. See Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 157.

15 Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 261–71.

16 Cf. Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 267–69, 286.

17 Jakub Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony collegium p[atrum] Societatis Jesu w Krakowie* (Kraków: Maciej Andrzejowczyk, 1628), A2^v–A3^v. Please note that different copies with the same bibliographic data vary in pagination and include significant textual alterations. This analysis is based on the copy held by the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (shelfmark 11886).

purported to hold a similar position, unlike his successor Muzio Vitelleschi (1563–1645, in office 1615–1645).¹⁸ Najmanowicz portrays the Society as an oppressive organization, using its vast resources against the financially strapped academy. In this vein, he concludes with rhetorical exaggeration that more than fifteen thousand Jesuits were pitted against thirty Kraków professors.¹⁹

Najmanowicz's accusations of the Jesuits center on their perceived uncritical reliance on papal privileges, which he argues they use out of context and against the intentions of the original grantors, drawing a general parallel to the misuse of privileges by the Teutonic Knights in Poland, as well as by other religious orders elsewhere.²⁰ He challenges the Jesuits' assertion that all teaching rights must originate from Rome, pointing out that Jesuit colleges often receive funding from lay benefactors, not solely from the church, and that individual states also hold the authority to grant educational privileges.²¹ Emphasizing the link between the academy's prosperity and the Commonwealth's welfare, Najmanowicz argues that granting a teaching monopoly to the religious orders would be detrimental to the Polish–Lithuanian state.²² Reinforcing his point about the dangers of Jesuits' educational dominance, he references their conflicts with universities in France and Padua, where the Society ultimately faced expulsion.²³

In his *Zniesienie*, Najmanowicz argues strenuously against the need for a Jesuit school in Kraków, claiming that “instead of benefit, they will do harm, disorganize, oppress, tear apart an ancient school that produces good results.”²⁴ According to the author, introducing another independent academic authority into the city would lead to disorganization and unrest, especially given the fundamental differences in the legal structure (governance, jurisdiction) of the academy and the Jesuit institutions.²⁵ Finally, Najmanowicz criticizes specific aspects of Jesuit education, contrasting their deceitful methods of luring students—through “treats, pictures, comedies, promises”—with the academy's scholarly reputation, which draws students in through the quality of its teaching.²⁶ The author also contrasts the broad expertise of academy professors across various academic disciplines with the Jesuit focus on the

18 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, C4^v.

19 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, A4^r.

20 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, C1^v.

21 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, E2^r–E4^r.

22 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, E2^{r-v}, F4^v.

23 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, D4^v–E1^r.

24 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, C2^v.

25 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, C2^v–C3^r.

26 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, F3^v.

humanities.²⁷ Although Najmanowicz's text covers a wider scope than most writings in defense of the academy, it primarily addresses local and current events, thereby limiting its attack on the Jesuits. Within this framework, the uniqueness of Brożek's *Gratis* becomes particularly evident, as it offers a more comprehensive critique of the Society.

5 The *Gratis's* Origins and Content

Brożek actively joined the dispute with the Jesuits following the death of an academy student on June 13, 1625, and the publication of a letter from Mikołaj Łęczycki (Lancicius [1574–1653]), the rector of the Jesuit college in Kraków, which attacked the academy's professors. Intriguingly, however, Brożek had been collecting anti-Jesuit literature and related materials for at least a decade, including works by important Jesuits and pamphlets against the academy, all annotated with his handwritten notes. In 1624, he returned to Kraków after four years of medical studies at the University of Padua, then part of the Republic of Venice.²⁸ As previously mentioned, Venice had expelled the Jesuits in 1606 and became a major center of anti-Jesuit sentiment. Along with Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623), an important figure behind the expulsion was philosophy professor Cesare Cremonini (1550–1631), who emerged as the University of Padua's principal advocate in its feud with the local Jesuit college. While in Padua, Brożek developed a close relationship with his teacher, Cremonini, and immersed himself in anti-Jesuit arguments.²⁹ By 1625, Brożek was well acquainted with the criticisms of the Jesuits and ready to employ them.

Brożek structured his text into four dialogues, set in a village near Kraków, featuring conversations between Parson and Nobleman. In the second

27 Najmanowicz, *Zniesienie obrony*, D2^v.

28 Barycz, "Wstęp," 69–89; Barycz, "Uwagi wstępne," in Brożek, *Wybór pism*, 217–38, here 222–28; Janusz Gruchała, "Piśmiennictwo zachodnioeuropejskie i polskie w lekturach Jana Brożka (na podstawie rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej)," *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 29 (1979): 85–122; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 283–84.

29 Barycz, "Wstęp," 69–70; Edward Muir, *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: Skeptics, Libertines, and Opera* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 48. On Sarpi, Cremonini, and the conflict with the Jesuits in Padua and Venice, see Mario Zanardi, ed., *I gesuiti e Venezia: Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù; Atti del convegno di studi, Venezia, 2–5 ottobre 1990* (Padua: Giunta Regionale del Veneto–Gregoriana Libreria, 1994); Muir, *Culture Wars*, 15–59; Sabina Pavone, "The Deceivers Deceived: How a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Anti-Jesuit Circle Duped a Jesuit Rector," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 45–62, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-10010005> (accessed September 29, 2024).

dialogue, they are joined by two Jesuits. Each of the first three dialogues addresses a distinct aspect of the polemic against the Jesuits. The first dialogue, "Gratis," scrutinizes Jesuit education, questioning its cost-free nature and criticizing its overly humanistic profile (as discussed below). The second dialogue, "Privilege," focuses on the Kraków Academy and its historical privileges, which, according to the author, granted it an exclusive right to higher education in Poland. The third dialogue, "Consent," covers a single episode from 1583, when some academy professors consented to the establishment of a Jesuit school in Kraków. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits used this episode to bolster their argument against the academy. Brożek seeks to demonstrate that the permission granted by the professors in 1583 did not follow the established procedures and therefore lacked legitimacy, which is precisely why he revisits this episode.³⁰

In his final dialogue, "Variety," published only in the twentieth century, Brożek transcends local polemics. Drawing from other anti-Jesuit writings in Poland–Lithuania, and other parts of Europe, he portrays the Society of Jesus as a ruthless and politically driven organization aspiring for world domination. Not surprisingly, the Jesuits prevented the publication of this dialogue.³¹ In addition to addressing the central theme of each dialogue, Brożek weaves in various anti-Jesuit themes throughout his work. He criticizes the Jesuits' perceived disdain for other religious orders; their deceitful recruitment methods targeting talented and influential youth; their political involvement, including blind obedience to the Spanish king; their opportunism and accumulation of wealth; and their disregard for papal and church authority. As Barycz notes, Brożek strengthens his arguments by extensively referencing authoritative texts by both Polish and foreign Jesuits, such as Skarga's claims that the Jesuits do not interfere in political affairs or Pedro de Ribadeneyra's (1527–1611) quotes of Ignatius of Loyola (c.1491–1556), who was to assert that greater prudence combined with lesser holiness yields better results than greater holiness coupled with lesser prudence.³² By employing their writings, Brożek aims to legitimize his critique and preempt potential Jesuit counterarguments, demonstrating a thorough understanding of Jesuit views.

30 Barycz, "Uwagi wstępne," 229–30; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 287.

31 Barycz, "Uwagi wstępne," 230; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 287–88.

32 Barycz, "Uwagi wstępne," 231; Jan Brożek, "Gratis," in Brożek, *Wybór pism*, 239–392, 580–601, here 359, 361.

6 The Rhetoric of the *Gratis*

The *Gratis* is widely recognized today as one of the finest anti-Jesuit texts produced in Poland–Lithuania.³³ Despite its numerous quotations and notably detailed arguments, which can sometimes detract from its core message, the primary literary merit of the *Gratis* lies in Brożek’s skillful use of the dialogue form.³⁴ Through the characters of Parson and Nobleman, Brożek effectively conveys his critical observations, with Parson educating the less-informed Nobleman on his reservations regarding the Society of Jesus. Throughout the dialogues, Brożek adeptly employs irony and satire to make his points. This is the case, for instance, when Parson criticizes the Jesuits’ moral laxity: “Parson: I also heard one Jesuit saying that ‘a wise man changes [his] customs when the time comes.’ Nobleman: That [is] a wise man but not a religious one. Parson: It should be that way but now the world [is] subtle.”³⁵ In another part of the work, when the Jesuits join the conversation, Parson asks them for their blessing. The Jesuits agree but say they give their blessings in silence.³⁶ This kind of subtle teasing creates a sense of duplicity surrounding the Jesuits.

What is particularly noteworthy is Brożek’s linguistic acumen. At the end of the fourth dialogue, he quotes an alleged Jesuit epigram that is revealed to be a *versus cancrini* poem. This poetic genre, popularized in Polish literature by the celebrated humanist poet Jan Kochanowski (c.1530–1584), allows for dual interpretation: one conventional and one when read in reverse, revealing an opposing sense. Such is the case with the epigram cited by Brożek, which initially appears to extol Jesuit virtues but, when read backward, exposes Jesuit deceit.³⁷

Brożek also demonstrates his philological aptitude through a detailed comparison of two consecutive editions of *Politico-Christianus* (1624) by the Flemish Jesuit Charles Scribani (1561–1629), whom he compares to Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527).³⁸ By scrutinizing alterations in the approbation and prefaces between the two editions of Scribani’s work, Brożek seeks to expose both the Jesuits’ perceived servility to the Spanish king and their religious and moral

33 Cf. Barycz, “Wstęp,” 90; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 283, 314–17; Komorowska, “In the Eye of the Storm,” 69.

34 Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 302–6, 315. On Polish Renaissance dialogue, see Jerzy Starnawski, “Zarys dziejów dialogu w piśmiennictwie polskim średniowiecznym, renesansowym i reformacyjnym,” *Roczniki humanistyczne* 34, no. 1 (1986): 137–78, here 145–77.

35 Brożek, “*Gratis*,” 298.

36 Brożek, “*Gratis*,” 322.

37 Brożek, “*Gratis*,” 388.

38 Brożek, “*Gratis*,” 299.

laxity.³⁹ He highlights these anti-Jesuit themes in other sections of the *Gratis*. He claims, for instance, that the Jesuits, in their obedience to the Spanish king, match the Turks' reverence for their sultan.⁴⁰ This comparison likely struck a chord in Poland–Lithuania, where the nobility had a deep-seated fear of absolute rule, particularly in light of ongoing conflicts with the Turks.⁴¹

Brożek further capitalizes on the association between the Society of Jesus and the Habsburgs to undermine the Jesuits' assertions of spreading Catholicism worldwide. He suggests that the Jesuits' achievements, if as extensive as they claim—though often exaggerated—are enabled solely by the support of the Spanish army.⁴² For Brożek, the Society's missionary activities provide a pretext to attack its tactic of accommodation, which he considers indicative of a lack of consistent religious and moral principles. Central to his argument is the infamous Chinese Rites controversy, where he accuses the Jesuits of compromising Christian doctrine to cater to the Chinese populace.⁴³ Specifically, Brożek suggests that Jesuits in China avoid openly worshipping Christ or using the cross symbol, instead pretending to venerate the local Lord of Heaven. Moreover, paralleling his critique of the Jesuits' association with the Habsburgs, Brożek mocks their subservient behavior toward the Chinese emperor.⁴⁴

Somewhat paradoxically, alongside these accusations of the Society's monarchical leanings, Brożek also insinuates that the Jesuits, bound by blind obedience to their general, fear no non-Jesuit authority.⁴⁵ He indicates that the Jesuits' professed loyalty to monarchs is merely a façade that may change once rulers no longer serve the Jesuit agenda. Brożek refers here to shifting dedications in Jesuit publications—specifically those to the Polish king Báthory that were altered soon after his death.⁴⁶ Brożek uses the Jesuits' supposed defiance of royal authority to accuse them of arrogance and hypocrisy, thereby bolstering his defense of the Kraków Academy. In the dialogue, Nobleman recounts: "I once heard a Jesuit saying that the academics have rights for their

39 Brożek, "Gratis," 324–28. Cf. Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 293–94.

40 Brożek, "Gratis," 345–46.

41 Cf. Edward Opaliński, *Kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej w latach 1587–1652* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1995), 56.

42 Brożek, "Gratis," 348–51, 357–58.

43 On the Chinese Rites controversy, see, for example, Paul Rule, "The Chinese Rites Controversy: Confucian and Christian Views on the Afterlife," *Studies in Church History* 45 (2009): 280–300.

44 Brożek, "Gratis," 328–43.

45 Brożek, "Gratis," 365, 381, 384.

46 Brożek, "Gratis," 264.

schools from the kings, from the Commonwealth, whereas the Jesuits [have such rights] from God [himself].⁴⁷

However, Brożek's primary contention against the Society's school in Kraków revolves around challenging the notion that Jesuit education is free of charge.⁴⁸ He argues that the Jesuits use the claim that they do not charge even the slightest fee for their education as an excuse to establish their colleges and attract students. Yet, Brożek asserts that "anyone wise must admit that they do not teach for free but very expensively."⁴⁹ According to the author of the *Gratis*, the absence of tuition fees in Jesuit schools is offset by their acquisition of substantial endowments and donations from the nobility. As a result, they were able to amass more funds than would have been the case through standard tuition fees.⁵⁰ Brożek goes on to demonstrate that the Jesuits also employ cunning and sophisticated methods to extract money from students. These tactics include bestowing empty honors upon students—such as the title of "emperor of the Romans or Greeks"—arranging students' theatrical performances for their families, and excessively praising students' abilities to their parents. In Brożek's view, all these measures are intended to make parents grateful for fostering their sons' talents and spur them to be more generous toward the Society.⁵¹

Like Najmanowicz, Brożek also criticizes the humanistic profile of Jesuit schools. He argues that the Jesuits have split one grammar class into too many, neglecting other subjects in order to promote their students more easily.⁵² Brożek asserts that this is a detrimental situation since students could instead spend their time studying other subjects tailored to their individual interests. Furthermore, the Jesuits were to deliberately prolong the study of grammar by using the unnecessarily complicated textbook of Jesuit Manuel Álvares (1526–1582).⁵³ This criticism likely stemmed from Brożek's intellectual

47 Brożek, "Gratis," 297.

48 On the Kraków Academy's stance on the gratuity of Jesuit education, see Jerzy Kochanowicz, "Bezpłatne szkolnictwo jezuickie jako wyzwanie dla Akademii Krakowskiej," in *Z dziejów polskiej teorii i praktyki edukacyjnej*, ed. Władysława Szulakiewicza (Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 2009), 115–26.

49 Brożek, "Gratis," 240.

50 Brożek, "Gratis," 240–41.

51 Brożek, "Gratis," 241–43.

52 Brożek, "Gratis," 248–49.

53 On the Jesuits' use of Álvares's textbook in Poland–Lithuania, see Stanisław Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce: Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego* (Kraków: n.p., 1933), 159–64; Maria Cytowska, *Od Aleksandra do Alwara: Gramatyki łacińskie w Polsce w XVI wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968); Andrius Bendžius, Jonas Grigonis, and Jonas Kubilius, eds., *Vilniaus Universiteto istorija*, vol. 1,

background. As an astronomer, mathematician, cartographer, and physician, he was deeply fascinated by the cutting-edge inventions of his time, like the telescope, and the discoveries in sciences, particularly those by Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), with which he became acquainted during his stay in Padua. His private library contained three editions of Nicolaus Copernicus's (1473–1543) *De revolutionibus* (On the revolutions), each annotated with Brożek's notes and commentaries. Moreover, he avidly gathered materials for writing a biography of Copernicus, a plan he never carried out.⁵⁴ In the context of these pursuits, Brożek considered humanistic-oriented Jesuit colleges to be rather narrowly focused.

Brożek suggests that by retaining students for prolonged periods in the humanities course, the Jesuits can exert greater influence on them, extract more donations from their parents, and assess their family wealth more effectively.⁵⁵ Knowing their students' wealth was crucial for the Jesuits, who would persuade the wealthiest and most talented among them to join the Jesuit order, Brożek claims that the Jesuits resorted to various tricks, gifts, and promises, enticing young and impressionable minds.⁵⁶ To back his claim, he cites a similar opinion from Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), who was outraged at the Jesuits—following his favorite protégé Marcin Śmiglecki's (1563–1618) entry into the Society—for depriving the Commonwealth of the talented individuals it needed.⁵⁷

For Brożek, the Society's welfare is the Jesuits' only concern, as evident in their opportunistic dealings with monarchs and their disregard for competition. He is particularly appalled by the Jesuits' insinuations that the professors of the Kraków Academy lack noble lineage.⁵⁸ He also suggests that the Jesuits, if given the chance, would eliminate all other clergy and state officials, thereby monopolizing all spheres of public life.⁵⁹ Finally, Brożek is perhaps the only author of anti-Jesuit literature to attack the Jesuits' probabilistic moral theology to any meaningful degree.⁶⁰ He argues that the Jesuits would eagerly justify

1579–1803 (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1976), 96; Justyna Łukaszewska-Haberkowa, "'Grammatica' of Emmanuel Alvarez S.J. and Its Editions in Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century," *Classica Cracoviensia* 18 (2015): 229–40.

54 Barycz, "Wstęp," 32–78.

55 Brożek, "Gratis," 251–52.

56 Brożek, "Gratis," 246, 347.

57 Brożek, "Gratis," 260. Cf. Stanisław Łempicki, "Zamoyski, jezuita i Skarga: Kilka uzupełnień i przyczynków," *Pamiętnik literacki* 11, no. 1 (1912): 566–89.

58 Brożek, "Gratis," 318.

59 Brożek, "Gratis," 253.

60 Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 163.

even doctrines condemned by the Catholic Church if it was profitable for them: “Wrong did Arius, wrong also did Hus, that they prophesied nothing about your order. For I see that you would defend them from the infamy of heresy, as long as they wrote something beautiful about the Jesuits. The Jesuits would tolerate what is against God, against the church.”⁶¹ Given the seriousness of these accusations, it is hardly surprising that the *Gratis* triggered a fierce reaction from the Society.

7 The *Gratis*'s Effect

The publication of the *Gratis* immediately sparked outrage and concern within the Society of Jesus, prompting retaliatory actions. As mentioned, shortly after its release, the Jesuits orchestrated the arrest and punishment of the printer Piotrkowczyk—who was responsible for producing the book—and the confiscation of his copies. They also successfully intervened to halt the printing of Brożek's fourth dialogue, which contained the most severe criticism of the Society, and encouraged the Kraków authorities to intimidate the local printers and academy professors who were seeking to defend Piotrkowczyk and Brożek. Finally, in 1627, Polish Jesuit Fryderyk Szembek (1575–1644) issued a response to Brożek under a pseudonym.⁶² However, both contemporaries and present-day scholars regard Szembek's rebuttal as having a clumsy style and a weak argument.⁶³

Despite these efforts, it seems that the *Gratis* not only strengthened the Kraków Academy's position against the Society but also contributed to anti-Jesuit sentiment among the nobility in Kraków. These sentiments resonated even in Rome, as demonstrated by an anti-Jesuit letter from Kraków nobles to the pope in defense of the academy. In the years following the *Gratis*'s publication, Brożek and other professors continued to defend the academy's cause in Rome, at the Polish–Lithuanian royal court, and among the Polish–Lithuanian nobility. Despite numerous setbacks, these endeavors eventually proved successful. After the death in 1632 of King Sigismund III, who favored the Jesuits,

61 Brożek, “*Gratis*,” 377. Cf. Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 298–301. On Jesuit probabilism, see Robert Aleksander Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

62 [Fryderyk Szembek], *Gratis plebański, gratis wyćwiczony w jezuickich szkołach krakowskich, mędrszym niż przyszedł do domu się wracający, to jest respons na dyskurs plebański o kolegium jezuickim krakowskim, “Gratis” nazwany, i na dwu inne tegoż autora w tejże materylej* (Poznań: [Jan Wolrab], 1627).

63 Cf. Barycz, “Wstęp,” 90–92, 96–97; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 286.

his son and successor, Władysław IV (r.1632–1648), was more sympathetic to the academy's position. He used his influence to persuade Pope Urban VIII (1568–1644, r.1623–1644) to reconsider his position on the Jesuit school in Kraków. In effect, the school was closed to non-Jesuit students and remained so for nearly three centuries.⁶⁴

8 Brożek as a Reader of Anti-Jesuit Literature

To Polish–Lithuanian readers, Brożek's dialogues echo those of Kochanowski. Indeed, the scholars agree that the characters of Parson and Nobleman in the *Gratis* were likely named after Kochanowski's *Wróżki* (Divinations) from 1587.⁶⁵ Further parallels can be drawn between the *Gratis* and earlier anti-Jesuit literature, both within Poland–Lithuania and across Europe. Brożek drew inspiration from various anti-Jesuit texts, which he eagerly gathered as demonstrated by his book collection, which was later donated to the Kraków Academy and is still housed today in the Jagiellonian Library.⁶⁶ Among these volumes are *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima* and Antoine Arnauld the Elder's (1560–1619) speech delivered in the Parlement of Paris against the Jesuits during their dispute with the University of Paris.⁶⁷

Like the *Gratis*, both *Equitis Poloni actio* and Arnauld's speech accused the Jesuits of deceitfully luring youth and blind obedience to the Spanish Habsburgs.⁶⁸ As we have seen, this Spanish motif became particularly prominent in the anti-Jesuit texts written during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz. As a student at the Kraków Academy during this period, Brożek likely read some of the rebellion's popular literature. Interestingly, although some of his remarks overlap with the contents of *Monita privata*, he does not cite this text directly, despite referencing some "secret" Jesuit instructions.⁶⁹ This omission might be intentional, as Brożek likely wished to avoid giving the Jesuits a chance to question his credibility, knowing they would deny *Monita's* authenticity.

64 Barycz, "Wstęp," 92–95, 97–99; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 257–58; Ludwik Grzebień, ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy (1564–1995)* (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum–WAM, 2004), 543–44.

65 Barycz, "Wstęp," 90; Barycz, "Uwagi wstępne," 224; Stec, *Literacki kształt*, 285, 303.

66 Komorowska, "In the Eye of the Storm," 57–58.

67 Jagiellonian Library, ref. no. Cim. 5622, Cim. 5624.

68 Cf. chapter 5 and Antoine Arnauld, *Oratio [...] pro Universitate Parisiensi actrice contra jesuitas reos* (Leiden: Jan Paets and Ludwik Elzevier, 1594), 5–7, 9–12, 24–25, 28, 32–33, 37–39, 47, 54, 58–72.

69 Brożek, "Gratis," 384.

As for Brożek's critical perspective on Jesuit education, he drew from a variety of sources. Indeed, this theme is present in the aforementioned *Equitis Poloni actio* and Arnauld's speech. However, contrary to some influential scholarly opinions, both texts address the educational theme only tangentially, focusing more on the political dimension of the Society's activities.⁷⁰ An immediate context for Brożek included the pamphlets produced in defense of the academy, particularly prevalent in the early 1620s. While these pamphlets undoubtedly influenced the *Gratis*, it is also worth emphasizing that Brożek likely drew inspiration from his mentor and friend at the University of Padua, Cremonini, who was a prominent opponent of the local Jesuits.

Cremonini's speech against the Jesuits, delivered before the Signoria of Venice (the supreme body of Venetian government) in December 1591, foreshadowed several anti-Jesuit themes in Brożek's the *Gratis*. For instance, Cremonini refers to the historical legacy of the University of Padua and its usefulness to the Venetian state. He also points out that the Jesuit school in Padua was established not by Venetian privileges but by papal bulls and even suggests that it defied Venetian law and harmed Venetian interests. Anticipating Brożek's later remarks, Cremonini criticized the perceived hypocrisy of the Jesuits, who initially claimed to educate only their own students but, once they received authorization to teach, opened courses for non-Jesuits. This is all the more despicable, Cremonini and Brożek both assert, because the Jesuits dishonestly tend to lure university students. Such conduct undermines the prestige of older universities and leads to disorder and unrest in the city.⁷¹

9 Conclusion

The feud between the Kraków Academy and the Society of Jesus was one of the most significant challenges to the Jesuits in the Commonwealth, second perhaps only to the Zebrzydowski Rokosz. Unlike the rebellion, however, the conflict between the Society and the academy was essentially an intra-Catholic one. It damaged the Society's reputation and influence to some extent among the Polish–Lithuanian nobility. The academy's professors achieved this

70 Cf. Henryk Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima: Studiów nad polemiką antyjezuicką w Polsce część 1* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, 1934).

71 Cesare Cremonini, "Oratione dell'Eccellentissimo S. D. Cesare Cremonini filosofo nel studio di Padova in favore di esso studio contro li padri Gesuiti," in *Lo studio di Padova e la Compagnia di Gesù, sul finire del secolo decimosesto*, ed. Antonio Favaro (Venice: Tipografia di G. Antonelli, 1878), 93–100.

through direct contact with influential dignitaries, their campaign at the Sejm and local assemblies (*sejmiki*), and the production of anti-Jesuit literature. While texts in defense of the academy were plentiful, they rarely presented sophisticated argumentation or rhetoric. An exception among them was Brożek's *Gratis*, which should be considered one of the most intriguing and well-crafted anti-Jesuit works produced in Poland–Lithuania.

Brożek's text did not end the conflict between the Jesuits and the Kraków Academy. Even Władysław IV's final decision to close the Jesuit school in Kraków to non-Jesuits in 1634 did not fully resolve the tensions. Well into the 1650s, the Society and the academy continued to argue over the establishment of a Jesuit university in yet another important location of the Commonwealth: Lviv, in present-day western Ukraine. This ongoing conflict, however, along with the 1660s polemic over setting up the Jesuit school in Warsaw, lies outside the chronological scope of our book.

Conclusion

Robert Aleksander Maryks and Michał E. Nowakowski

Since its establishment in Poland–Lithuania in 1564, the Society of Jesus has molded a good part of the Commonwealth’s religious, educational, and political life. This book has examined the formative phase of that influence, spanning the reigns of Stephen Báthory (r.1576–1586) and Sigismund III (r.1587–1632), when opposition to the Jesuits became increasingly vocal and multifaceted. During Báthory’s reign, the Jesuits promoted the Catholic Reformation, most notably by expanding their school network and elevating the Jesuit college in Vilnius into a university—one of only two in the Commonwealth. Although Báthory generally upheld the legal guarantees of the Henrician Articles (which included the Warsaw Confederation), his close collaboration with the Society—mirroring his earlier policies in Transylvania—raised concern among Protestant communities. Their anxieties were heightened by the late sixteenth century’s climate of increasing confessionalization across Europe, where religious identities were becoming more sharply defined and political policies increasingly aligned with confessional interests.

These tensions found early expression in the polemical writings of the Reformed authors, Jakub Niemojewski (c.1532–1584) and Andrzej Wolan (1530–1610), whose disputes with the Jesuits in Poznań and Vilnius, respectively, set the tone for future polemics. Their texts, although largely theological in nature and grounded in local contexts, introduced key accusations that would become central to the anti-Jesuit literature in Poland–Lithuania: persecuting non-Catholics and disregarding the Warsaw Confederation, disrupting the public order, manipulating civic authorities (including the king), excessive ambition and wealth, and usurping the control over education. The conflict only intensified in the 1580s with publications like the anonymous poem “Apologeticus” (1582), which blamed the Vilnius Jesuits for instigating the massacre of innocent Calvinists. These early confessional concerns were echoed by other Protestant authors in the 1590s, particularly the Polish Brethren. In 1590, Marcin Czechowic (1532–1613) proposed an elaborate theological critique of Jesuit doctrinal positions in his *Wujek* (1590), while Wojciech of Kalisz (d. c.1601) furthered these debates in his *Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie dysputyje* (1592). Even if grounded in theology, such texts often hinted at deeper political implications, particularly when they linked doctrinal polemics to broader questions of civic authority and religious coexistence.

Political opposition to the Society became increasingly explicit under Sigismund III, as the Jesuits' influence expanded within the Commonwealth, coinciding with the gradual decline of Protestant political importance, a process that had already begun under Báthory. This period witnessed an increase in producing anti-Jesuit literature, which reflected the growing anxieties of a portion of the nobility over the Society's alleged influence on royal policy and efforts to undermine the Commonwealth's religious peace. The shift in the nature of anti-Jesuit opposition is marked by Jan Drohojewski's (c.1554–1601) *Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima* (1590), which argued that the Society's presence and involvement in state affairs posed a threat to the Commonwealth's sovereignty. Such concerns only intensified during the Zebrzydowski Rokosz (1606–1607), as texts like Jan Szczęsny Herburt's (1567–1616) *Votum katolika jednego o jezuitach* and an anonymous *Trąba na pospolite ruszenie przeciw jezuitom* articulated concerns of the substantial part of the nobility, who saw the Jesuits as a direct threat to their traditional liberties.

In Royal Prussia, where the Jesuits had established a college in Toruń in 1594, Protestant resistance was expressed most clearly in the writings of Jan Turnowski (1567–1629), whose *Nowiny z Poznania* (1614) and *Obrona prawdy listów z miasta Torunia* (c.1614) framed Jesuits as political agents undermining Protestant religious and civic autonomy. While Turnowski's pamphlets were rooted in specific urban conflicts, the *Monita secreta*—a widely circulated forgery purporting to reveal secret Jesuit strategies—translated such local anxieties into a universal image of Jesuit cunning. Published likely in Silesian Nysa in 1612, the *Monita* condensed anti-Jesuit accusations into a portable narrative that would resonate across Europe well beyond the seventeenth-century Commonwealth, with over 240 editions published in all major European languages in the following three centuries. Finally, anti-Jesuit voices also emerged from within the Catholic community. Jan Brożek (1585–1652), professor at the Kraków Academy, became the most prominent critic of Jesuit influence in education. His dialogue *Gratis* (1625) condemned what he saw as the Society's systematic efforts to diminish the autonomy of the Academy and assert control over the schooling system in the Commonwealth.

As our analysis has sought to demonstrate, anti-Jesuit literature of the period employed a wide array of rhetorical forms, argumentative strategies, and polemical motifs, responding to the shifting political, social, and religious dynamics of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The genres adopted by these polemicists included theological treatises, narrative poems, satirical epigrams, dialogues, and parodies. While the majority of the texts discussed—such as “Apologeticus,” *Actio*, *Consilium*, *Monita privata*, *Nowiny z Poznania*, or *Gratis*—made greater or lesser efforts to conceal their authorship,

some writers, notably Andrzej Wolan, not only openly acknowledged their works but also embedded in them explicit references to their own biographies and personal conflicts with the Jesuits.

The modes of persuasion and strategies of representation likewise varied considerably. Some authors foregrounded their theological erudition—among them Niemojewski, Wolan, Czechowic, and the anonymous author of the “Apologeticus”—drawing avidly on Scripture, the church fathers, the decrees of councils, and contemporary theological authorities. Others focused more pointedly on historical and political knowledge, as seen in the *Actio* and the *Consilium*, which engage with the political and legal structure of the Commonwealth, contemporary political controversies, and the authority of specific rulers and prominent statesmen. Still others, such as the author of the *Monita privata* and Brożek, favored parody and irony as rhetorical tools, allowing them to critique the Jesuits in more oblique yet arguably even more persuasive terms.

Despite this diversity, nearly all the analyzed texts reiterated, to varying degrees, the standard set of anti-Jesuit tropes already noted: greed, foreign influence, the manipulation of society (particularly of youth and wealthy widows), and the Jesuits’ destabilizing effect on the state. To convey these accusations, our authors often resorted to striking and evocative imagery, portraying the Jesuits as “Satan’s whorehouse,” Spanish spies, bloodthirsty and cruel murderers, deceptive sirens, thieves, or Teutonic Knights. Importantly, many of these tropes and accusations deployed in the Commonwealth mirrored patterns observable across early modern Europe. Although these writings responded to specific local developments—such as the founding of Jesuit colleges in Poznań, Vilnius, Toruń, or Kraków, or political crises like the Zebrzydowski Rokosz—they did so by using a repertoire of arguments and images not tied to any particular region.

While there is no doubt that anti-Jesuit literature in Poland–Lithuania was influenced by earlier polemics against the Society—such as those authored by Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), Laurence Humphrey (1527–1590), Antoine de la Roche Chandieu (1534–1591), or William Whitaker (1548–1595)—this flow of ideas was by no means unidirectional. Indeed, texts such as Wolan’s *Defensio*, Drohojewski’s *Actio*, the *Consilium*, and especially the widely circulated *Monita privata*, through their broad reception outside of Poland–Lithuania, particularly in places like the Holy Roman Empire or France, helped shape the contours of anti-Jesuit literature in Europe, even if the full extent of their reach remains to be studied. We hope that this book, and the preliminary findings it offers, will encourage other scholars to reflect further on this material and to situate the polemical literature of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth

more precisely within its European context—a task made all the more necessary by the frequent marginalization of Central and Eastern European history in international scholarship. With this in mind, we believe that anti-Jesuit texts produced in Poland–Lithuania, along with the broader European debates in which they participated, provide a useful and, thus far, underexplored perspective for reconstructing the formation of religious identities in post-Reformation Europe—one that extends beyond traditional Western frameworks.

Bibliography

- “Alonso de Pisa.” In Real Academia de Historia, *Diccionario biográfico*. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/20892/alonso-de-pisa> (accessed September 15, 2024).
- Anusik, Zbigniew. “Jerzy ks. Zbaraski (1574–1631) wobec Kościoła i duchowieństwa katolickiego.” *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis: Folia historica* 112 (2023): 35–55. <https://doi.org/10.18778/0208-6050.112.03> (accessed September 5, 2024).
- Aranda Pérez, Francisco J., and David Martín López, “El toledano Alonso de Pisa y Palma, s. I.: ‘Apóstol de Posnania’ (1527–1598).” In *From Ireland to Poland: Northern Europe, Spain and the Early Modern World*, edited by Enrique García Hernán and Ryszard Skowron, 351–85. Madrid: Albatros, 2015.
- Arnauld, Antoine. *Oratio [...] pro Universitate Parisiensi actrice contra Jesuitas reos*. Leiden: Jan Paets and Ludwig Elzevier, 1594.
- “Artykuły na rokoshu pod Sandomierzem uchwalone, w Wiśliczy czytane.” In “Akta rokoshowe Zebrzydowskiego z czasów Zygmunta III prowadzone do roku 1609,” MS Bk1069, Biblioteka Kórnicka pan.
- Augustyniak, Urszula. “Antyklerykalizm szlachecki w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów jako problem badawczy.” *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 57 (2013): 96–122.
- Augustyniak, Urszula. “Wolę mieć religionem frigidam niż nullam: Jerzy i Krzysztof Zbarascy wobec rekatolicyzacji i zmiany systemu rządów w Rzeczypospolitej za Zygmunta III Wazy.” *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 58 (2014): 73–104.
- Baczewski, Sławomir. “Piotr Skarga w publicystyce rokoshu Zebrzydowskiego.” *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis: Folia litteraria Polonica* 21 (2013): 97–111.
- Bartsch, Fryderyk. *Andreae Volani [...] orationi [...] responsio*. Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1589.
- Barycz, Henryk. “Agryppa czy Niniński?” *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8, no. 25–32 (1935–1936): 428–38.
- Barycz, Henryk. *Geneza i autorstwo Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio: Studiów nad polemiką antyjezuicką w Polsce część I*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, 1934.
- Barycz, Henryk. *Jan Łasicki: Studium z dziejów polskiej kultury naukowej XVI wieku*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973.
- Barycz, Henryk. “Kto był autorem poematu Apologeticus z 1582 r.” *Reformacja w Polsce* 6, nos. 21–24 (1934): 129–40.
- Barycz, Henryk. “Wstęp.” In Jan Brożek, *Wybór pism*. Edited by Henryk Barycz, 5–119. Warsaw: PWN, 1956.
- Bednarski, Stanisław. *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce: Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego*. Kraków: n.p., 1933.

- Bednarz, Mieczysław. "Jezuici a religijność polska (1564–1964)." *Nasza przeszłość* 20 (1964): 149–224.
- Bem, Kazimierz. *Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth 1548–1648: The Churches and the Faithful*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Bem, Kazimierz. "Czynnik wyznaniowy w polityce nominacyjnej Stefana Batorego na starostwa grodowe w Koronie: Początek kontrreformacji?" *Kwartalnik historyczny* 122, no. 3 (2015): 457–73.
- Bendžius, Andrius, Jonas Grigonis, and Jonas Kubilius, eds. *Vilniaus Universiteto istorija*, vol. 1, 1579–1803. Vilnius: Moksas, 1976.
- Bieś, Andrzej Paweł. "Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach polskich: Struktury organizacyjne oraz edukacyjno-oświatowe i pastoralne formy aktywności." *Studia paedagogica ignatiana* 17 (2014): 57–87.
- Bireley, Robert, S.J. "Acquaviva's 'Instruction for Confessors of Princes' (1602/1608): A Document and Its Interpretation." In *Los jesuitas: Religión, política y educación, siglos XVI–XVIII*, edited by José Martínez Millán, Henar Pizarro Llorente, and Esther Jiménez Pablo, 1:45–68. 3 Vols. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2012.
- Bireley, Robert, S.J. *Ferdinand II Counter-Reformation Emperor (1578–1637)*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Borecki, Marian, ed. *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*. Vol. 6. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972.
- Bosch, Gerrit vanden. "L'image des jésuites dans la République des Provinces-Unies au Siècle d'or: Cinquième colonne ou mythe entretenu?" In *Les antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, edited by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire, 429–53. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.
- Bosch, Gerrit vanden. "Jesuits in the Low Countries (1542–1773): A Historiographical Essay." In *Jesuit Historiography Online*, edited by Robert Aleksander Maryks. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_192551 (accessed September 30, 2024).
- Brückner, Aleksander. "Z Teki Bibliograficznej: VIII. Klonowic współautorem 'Akcji' przeciwników jezuitom; IX. Kto jest autorem 'Napomnienia polskiego ku zgodzie' z r. 1545." *Państwowy literacki* 3, no. 1 (1904): 403–14.
- Bruździński, Andrzej. "Czy książka Piotra Skarga wdawał się w politykę?: Wokół sporu o polityczne zaangażowanie ks. Piotra Skargi S.J." *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis: Folia litteraria polonica* 21 (2013): 43–66.
- Bues, Almut. "The Formation of the Polish–Lithuanian Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century." In *The Polish–Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context (c.1500–1795)*, edited by Richard Butterwick, 58–81. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001.
- Bursche, Edmund. "W sprawie autorstwa Apologeticusa." *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8, no. 25–32 (1935–1936).
- Bursche, Edmund. "Wstęp." In *Apologeticus to jest obrona konfederacji przytym seditio albo bunt kapłański na ewangeliki w Wilnie z wolej a taski mitego Boga przed harapem*

- wynurzony, edited by Edmund Bursche, iii–xliv. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1932.
- Chemnitz, Martin. *Theologiae jesuitarum praecipua capita*. Strasbourg: Antonius Bertramus, 1602.
- Chemperek, Dariusz. "Poezja ewangelików reformowanych w Rzeczypospolitej XVII wieku." In *Ewangelicyzm reformowany w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej: Dialog z Europą i wybory aksjologiczne w świetle literatury i piśmiennictwa XVI–XVII wieku*, edited by Dariusz Chemperek, 402–18. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa UW, 2015.
- Chemperek, Dariusz. "'Siedm filarów' Piotra Skargi: Geneza i aspekt retoryczny." *Ruch literacki* 54, nos. 4–5 (2013): 425–37.
- Choptiany, Michał, and Piotr Wilczek, eds. *Antytrynitaryzm w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej w kontekście europejskim: Źródła—rozwoj—oddziaływanie*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa UW, 2017.
- Choptiany, Michał, Stanisław Obirek, and Piotr Wilczek. "Czy Jezuici nienawidzili braci polskich?" In *Figura heretyka w nowożytnych sporach konfesyjnych*, edited by Alicja Bielak and Wojciech Kordyzon, 371–97. Reformacja w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 5. Warsaw: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2017.
- Cieślak, Stanisław. "Stosunki wyznaniowe w Rzeczypospolitej oraz życie religijne króla Stefana Batorego." In *Antonio Possevino s.J. (1533–1611): Życie i dzieło na tle epoki*, edited by Danuta Quirini-Popławska, 83–189. Kraków: Ignatianum–WAM, 2012.
- Courel, François. "La fin unique de la Compagnie de Jésus." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 35 (1966): 186–211. <https://archive.org/details/ahsi-1966/page/1/mode/1up> (accessed August 18, 2024).
- Cranmer, Thomas. *Defensio verae et catholicae doctrinae de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi* [London]: n.p., 1553.
- Cremonini, Cesare, "Oratione dell'Eccellentissimo S. D. Cesare Cremonini filosofo nel studio di Padova in favore di esso studio contro li padri Gesuiti." In *Lo studio di Padova e la Compagnia di Gesù, sul finire del secolo decimosesto*, edited by Antonio Favaro, 93–100. Venice: Tipografia di G. Antonelli, 1878.
- Cubitt, Geoffrey. *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Cytowska, Maria. *Od Aleksandra do Awara: Gramatyki łacińskie w Polsce w XVI wieku*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968.
- Czechowicz, Agnieszka. "Katolicyzm sarmacki." In *Humanitas i Christianitas w kulturze polskiej*, edited by Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, 191–222. Warsaw: Neriton, 2009.
- Czubek, Jan, ed. *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1608*. Vol. 3. Kraków: Nakładem Akademji Umiejętności, 1918.
- Darowski, Roman. "Aktualność ks. Piotra Skargi (1536–1612)." In *Ks. Piotr Skarga, s.J. (1536–1612): Życie i dziedzictwo*, edited by Roman Darowski and Stanisław Ziemiański, 7–22. Kraków: WAM–Ignatianum, 2012.

- Daugirdas, Kęstutis. *Andreas Volanus und die Reformation im Grossfürstentum Litauen*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2008.
- Daugirdas, Kęstutis. "Petro Skargos debatų su Andriumi Volanu istorinė reikšmė." *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra* 35–36 (2013): 325–44.
- Differentiae de scholis jesuitarum nuper Varsaviae erectis, inter conventum Generalem Korczynensem erectioni contrarium et anonymum nobilem easdem promoventem, trutiniae orbis Polonici porrectae*. Irenopoli: n.p., 1670.
- Dobrowolska, Wanda. *Młodość Jerzego i Krzysztofa Zbaraskich*. Warsaw: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1926.
- Doctrinae Jesuiticae praecipua capita*. Vol. 4. La Rochelle [Geneva]: Theophilus Regius [Eustache Vignon], 1586.
- Drohojewski, Jan. *Kronika Drohojewskich*. Part 1. Kraków: W. L. Anczyc, 1904.
- Drzymała, Kazimierz. *Ks. Stanisław Grodzicki s.J.* Kraków: WAM, 1973.
- Dubas-Urwanowicz, Ewa. "Król i szlachta na sejmach batoriańskich: Konflikty i kompromisy." In *Tradycje polityczne dawnej Polski*, edited by Anna Sucheni-Grabowska and Alicja Dybkowska, 143–69. Warsaw: Editions Spotkania, 1994.
- Dubas-Urwanowicz, Ewa. "Senatorowie duchowni wobec koncepcji politycznych Stefana Batorego." In *Antonio Possevino s.J. (1533–1611): Życie i dzieło na tle epoki*, edited by Danuta Quirini-Popławska, 111–37. Kraków: Ignatianum–WAM, 2012.
- Duhr, Bernhard. *Jesuiten-Fabeln: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*. 4th ed. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1904.
- Dzięgielewski, Jan. "Jak i dlaczego powstał wizerunek Zygmunta III jako władcy nietolerancyjnego?" *Miscellanea historico-archivistica* 23 (2016): 153–61.
- Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima*. N.p.: n.p., 1590.
- An Exact and Sound Discovery of the Chief Mysteries of Jesuitical Iniquity*. London: W. Jaggard for F. Paxton, 1619.
- Fordoński, Krzysztof, and Piotr Urbański. "Jesuit Culture in Poland and Lithuania, 1564–1773." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5, no. 3 (2018): 341–51. https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/5/3/article-p341_341.xml (accessed September 30, 2024).
- Franceschi, Sylvio Hermann de. "Antijésuitisme, modernité politique et juridictionnalisme vénitien." In *Les antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, edited by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire, 265–90. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.
- Frazel, Thomas D. "The Composition and Circulation of Cicero's *In Verrem*." *Classical Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2004): 128–42.
- Friedrich, Karin. "Poland–Lithuania." In *European Political Thought, 1450–1700: Religion, Law, and Philosophy*, edited by Howell Lloyd, Glenn Burgess, and Simon Hodson, 208–42. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Frost, Robert. *After the Deluge: Poland–Lithuania and the Second Northern War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Frost, Robert. *The Oxford History of Poland–Lithuania*, vol. 1, *The Making of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Gabriel, Frédéric. “An tyrannum opprimere fas sit?: Construction d'un lieu commun; La réception française du *De Rege et regis institutione* de Juan de Mariana (Tolède, 1599).” In *Les antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, edited by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire, 241–63. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.
- Gay, Jean-Pascal. “Le jésuite improbable: Remarques sur la mise en place du mythe du jésuite corrupteur de la morale en France à l'époque moderne.” In *Les antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, edited by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire, 305–27. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.
- Giard, Luce. “*Le Catéchisme des jésuites* d'Étienne Pasquier, une attaque en règle.” In *Les antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, edited by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire, 73–90. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.
- Grabowski, Tadeusz. *Literatura ariańska w Polsce 1560–1660*. Kraków: Księgarnia Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1908.
- Graff, Tomasz. “Biskupi krakowscy wobec Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w dobie pierwszych królów elekcyjnych: Zarys problematyki.” In *Kościół w społeczeństwie w Czechach i w Polsce w średniowieczu i w epoce nowożytnej*, edited by Wojciech Iwańczak, Agnieszka Januszek-Sieradzka, and Janusz Smolucha, 69–97. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum, 2020.
- Gregorowicz, Dorota. “*Impietas gravissima*: The Warsaw Confederation in the Papal Diplomacy's Discourse in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century.” *Roczniki humanistyczne* 71, no. 2 (2023): 89–108.
- Grendler, Paul F. *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe 1548–1773*. Leiden: Brill, 2018. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004391123_002 (accessed September 28, 2024).
- Gruchała, Janusz. “Piśmiennictwo zachodnioeuropejskie i polskie w lekturach Jana Brożka (na podstawie rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej).” *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 29 (1979): 85–122.
- Grzebień, Ludwik, ed. *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy (1564–1995)*. Kraków: Ignatianum–WAM, 2004.
- Grzybowski, Stanisław. *Jan Zamoyski*. Warsaw: PIW, 1994.
- Herburt, Jan Szczyński. *Discours aux grands de Pologne sur la nécessité de faire sortir les jésuites de ce royaume pour y rétablir l'union et la tranquillité*. Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert, 1726.
- Höpfl, Harro. *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540–1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- I lupi smascherati nell'Appendice alle Riflessioni del Portoghese, nella traduzione e confutazione del libro intitolato Monita secreta Soc. Jesu, ed in altre aggiunte, e documenti rari ed inediti.* Aletopoli [Lugano or Rome], 1761.
- Inglot, Marek. *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo (1772–1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia.* Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997.
- Inglot, Marek. "The Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire (1772–1820) and the Restoration of the Order." In *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773–1900*, edited by Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jonathan Wright, 67–82. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Jovaiša, Liudas. "Lietuvos jėzuitų misijų trajektorijos." In *Vieno pasaulio negana*, edited by Brigita Zorkienė, 18–26. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 2019.
- Jurgiewicz, Andrzej. *Anatomia libelli famosi et scurrilis Andreae Volani Lwowcoviensis apostatae et praefecti synagogae Calvinisticae Vilmensis.* Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1591.
- Jurgiewicz, Andrzej. *De pio, et in sancta ecclesia iam inde ab apostolis receptissimo sacrarum imaginum usu [...] itemque de sanctorum veneratione et invocatione theses, in Academia Vilmensi disputandae, adversus impium et famosum libellum, a Volano quodam [...] editum.* Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1586.
- Jurgiewicz, Andrzej. *Kwestyj kilkadziesiąt albo pytania katolickie [...] Andrzejowi Wolanowi i ministrom litewskim.* Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1590.
- Jurgiewicz, Andrzej. *Quaestiones de haeresibus nostri temporis Andreae Volano et Lithuaniae ministris* (Vilnius: n.p., 1590).
- Kawecka-Gryczowa, Alodia. *Ariańskie oficyny wydawnicze Rodeckiego i Sternackiego: Dzieje i bibliografia.* Vol. 3. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974.
- Kelly, James E. "The Jesuit English Mission." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, edited by Ines G. Županov, 293–317. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Kempa, Tomasz. *Konflikty wyznaniowe w Wilnie od początku reformacji do końca XVII wieku.* Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2016.
- Kempa, Tomasz. "Konfederacja warszawska w trzech bezkrólewicach poprzedzających rządy kolejnych monarchów z dynastii Wazów w Rzeczypospolitej." *Roczniki humanistyczne* 71, no. 2 (2023): 47–87.
- Kieniewicz, Leszek. *Senat za Stefana Batorego.* Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2000.
- Kłaczek, Jarosław, ed. *Ewangelicy w Toruniu (XVI–XX w.)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2011).
- Kochanowicz, Jerzy. "Bezpłatne szkolnictwo jezuickie jako wyzwanie dla Akademii Krakowskiej." In *Z dziejów polskiej teorii i praktyki edukacyjnej*, edited by Władysława Szulakiewicz, 115–26. Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 2009.
- Komorowska, Magdalena. "In the Eye of the Storm: Books in the Conflict between the Jesuits and the University of Kraków (1622–1634)." In *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth*, edited by Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma, and Jolanta Rzegocka, 56–71. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

- Komorowska, Magdalena. *Prolegomena do edycji dzieł Piotra Skargi*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ, 2012.
- Korewa, Jan. "Sprowadzenie jezuitów do Polski." *Nasza przeszłość* 20 (1964): 13–49.
- Korolko, Mirosław. *"Klejnot swobodnego sumienia": Polemika wokół konfederacji warszawskiej w latach 1573–1658*. Warsaw: Pax, 1974.
- Kościełak, Sławomir. *Jezuici w Gdańsku: Od drugiej połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe–WAM, 2003.
- Kościełak, Sławomir. "Jezuici w trzech wielkich miastach pruskich w XVI–XVIII w." *Hereditas monasteriorum* 3 (2013): 155–87. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=246402> (accessed September 27, 2024).
- Kościełak, Sławomir. "Szermierze teologii z Gimnazjum Gdańskiego." In *Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie*, vol. 1, *Szkice z dziejów*, edited by Edmund Kotarski, 329–60. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2008.
- Kosior, Katarzyna. "Henry Valois's Court and Elective Kingship in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1573–1574." *Historical Journal* 64, no. 4 (2021): 865–90.
- Kosman, Marcei. "Jezuitów polskich obraz własny: Badania ostatniego stulecia," *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 43 (1999): 213–27.
- Kosman, Marcei, and Andrea Mariani. "Jesuits in the Early Modern Polish–Lithuanian State: Recent Trends and Research Directions." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 86 (2017): 145–208.
- Kot, Stanisław. "Dysputacje arian polskich." *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8 (1935–36): 341–70.
- Kriegseisen, Wojciech. *Stosunki wyznaniowe w relacjach państwo–kościół między reformacją a oświeceniem: Rzesza Niemiecka—Niderlandy Północne—Rzeczpospolita polsko–litewska*. Warsaw: Sempex, 2010.
- Kruszewska, Teresa. "Antyjezuicka twórczość Jana Turnowskiego w latach 1614–1616." In *Ze studiów nad literaturą staropolską*, 295–346. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1957.
- Ks. Jana Wielewickiego T.J. *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego 00. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1609 do r. 1619 (włącznie)*. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1889.
- Kucharski, Adam. "Tumult i konfederacja: Konfesyjne znaczenie wydarzeń toruńskich z lat 1724 i 1767 w ujęciu gazet pisanych." *Studia historyczne* 62, no. 1 (2019): 5–24.
- Kupisz, Dariusz. "The Polish–Lithuanian Army in the Reign of King Stefan Bathory (1576–1586)." In *Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1500–1800*, edited by Brian Davies, 63–92. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Kurdybacha, Łukasz. "Rola reformacji i kontrreformacji w dziejach oświaty." In *Historia wychowania*, edited by Łukasz Kurdybacha, 1:356–67. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967.
- Kuźmina, Dariusz. *Jakub Wujek (1541–1597): Pisarz, tłumacz i misjonarz*. Warsaw: Wydaw. SBP, 2004.

- Łaski, Jan. *Defensio verae semperque in ecclesia receptae doctrinae de Christi Domini incarnatione, adversus Mennonem Simonis Anabaptistarum doctorem*. Bonn: Laurenz von der Mülen, 1545.
- [Łaszcz, Marcin]. *Judicium albo rozsądek [...] o Konterfecie jezuitów z Equesa łacińskiego pod maszką prawdziwą w polski język przczynionym*. Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1594.
- Laus, Jan. *Nobilis Poloni pro Societatis Jesu clericis, oratio prima in ficti Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actionem primam*. Poznań: Jan Wolrab, 1590.
- Lazzerini, Luigi. "Officina Sarpiana: Scritture del Sarpi in materia di gesuiti." *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 58, no. 1 (2004): 29–80. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43050143> (accessed September 5, 2024).
- Leitsch, Walter. *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften–Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2009.
- Lelewel, Joachim. "Uwagi nad dziejami Polski i ludu jej." In *Polska: Dzieje i rzeczy jej rozpatrywane*, 3:28–469. Poznań: J. K. Żupański, 1855.
- Łempicki, Stanisław. "Zamoyski, jezuita i Skarga: Kilka uzupełnień i przyczynków." *Pamiętnik literacki* 11, no. 1 (1912): 566–89.
- Lepszy, Kazimierz. *Walka stronnictw w pierwszych latach panowania Zygmunta III*. Kraków: Gebethner and Wolff, 1929.
- Leroy, Michel. *Le mythe jésuite: De Béranger à Michelet*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1992.
- Lichy, Kolja. *Stand und Aufstand: Adel und polnisch-litauisches Gemeinwesen im Rokosz von 1606–1609*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021.
- Łopatecki, Karol. "Konfederacja generalna warszawska: proces uchwalenia i jej legitymizacja." *Roczniki humanistyczne* 71, no. 2 (2023): 23–46.
- López, David Martín. "Jesuits and Conversos in Sixteenth-Century Toledo." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8, no. 2 (2021): 173–94. https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/8/2/article-p173_173.xml (accessed September 15, 2024).
- Łukaszewska-Haberkowa, Justyna. "'Grammatica' of Emmanuel Alvarez S.J. and Its Editions in Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century." *Classica Cracoviensia* 18 (2015): 229–40.
- Lulewicz, Henryk. "Skład wyznaniowy senatorów świeckich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za panowania Wazów." *Przegląd historyczny* 68, no. 3 (1977): 425–45.
- Maliszewski, Krzysztof. "Mity o edukacji Towarzystwa Jezusowego." *Biuletyn historii wychowania* 13/14 (2001): 7–12.
- Małek, Janusz. "O Piotrze Artomiuszu, pastarze kościoła NMP w Toruniu i jego twórczości." *Linguistica Copernicana* 8, no. 2 (2012): 37–50.
- Mariani, Andrea. "The Contribution of the Society of Jesus to the Political Culture of Lithuanian Elites." *Open Political Science* 2 (2019): 153–73.

- Mariani, Andrea. "Cudzoziemcy w prowincji polskiej i litewskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego: Przyczynek do badań nad wielokulturowością dawnej Rzeczypospolitej." In *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, edited by Wojciech Walczak and Katarzyna Wiszowata-Walczak, 15:71–113. Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2023.
- Mariani, Andrea. "Wspólnota jezuitów w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów: Między tradycją a zmianą." *Zapiski historyczne* 84, no. 4 (2019): 123–77.
- Markauskaitė, Neringa, ed. *Jėzuitai Lietuvoje (1608–2008): Gyvenimas, veikla, paveldas*. Vilnius: Lietuvos Nacionalinis Muziejus, 2012.
- Maryks, Robert Aleksander. "‘Idźcież już precz!’ [Come on, get out already!]: The Origins and Development of the Earliest Anti-Jesuit Literature in the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania, 1577–1614." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 26–44. https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/10/1/article-p26_004.xml (accessed September 30, 2024).
- Maryks, Robert Aleksander. "Protestantism and Early Jesuits." In *Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Africa*, edited by Robert Aleksander Maryks and Festo Mkenda, 3–10. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Maryks, Robert Aleksander. *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Matava, R. J. "A Sketch of the Controversy ‘de auxiliis.’" *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 7, no. 3 (2020): 417–46. https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/7/3/article-p417_417.xml (accessed September 30, 2024).
- Maukisch, Johann. *Schriftmäßige Gegenstellung der Lutherischen und Jesuitischen Religion*. Gdańsk: D. F. Rhete, 1664.
- Maukisch, Johann. *Warnung, dass man die Kinder in der Jesuiten-Schul nicht schicken soll*. Gdańsk: [D. F. Rhete], c.1664.
- Mazurkiewicz, Roman. "Wstęp." In Andrzej Wolan, *De libertate politica sive civili: O wolności Rzeczypospolitej albo ślacheckiej*. Edited by Maciej Eder and Roman Mazurkiewicz, translated by Stanisław Dubingowicz, 9–53. Warsaw: Neriton, 2010.
- McKenzie-McHarg, Andrew. "Early Modern Variations on the Theme of Complicity: How Jesuits Came to Be Linked with Regicide." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 63–82. https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/10/1/article-p63_006.xml (accessed September 30, 2024).
- Meller, Katarzyna. "Fatalne skutki pewnej ‘kolacy’ Jakuba Niemojewskiego z jezuitami poznańskimi czyli poznańska polifonia wyznaniowa w XVI wieku." In *Poznań pisarek i pisarzy*, edited by Zbigniew Józef Kopeć, Jerzy Borowczyk, and Lucyna Marzec, 85–100. Poznań: WUAM, 2016.
- Meller, Katarzyna. "Potrydenckie konwersje protestantów na katolicyzm: Świadczenia piśmiennicze." In *Formowanie kultury katolickiej w dobie potrydenckiej: Powszech-*

- ność i narodowość katolicyzmu polskiego*, edited by Justyna Dąbkowska-Kujko, 300–50. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016.
- Merczyng, Henryk. “Pięć pokoleń ewangelickich rodu z Drohojowa Drohojowskich: Notatka z dziejów polskiego kościoła ewangelickiego w ziemi Sanockiej.” *Przegląd historyczny* 2, no. 2 (1906): 271–76.
- Mihalik, Béla Vilmos. *The Ever-Reviving Phoenix: Jesuits in Hungary*. Leiden: Brill, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004697683_002 (accessed September 30, 2024).
- Millet, Olivier. *Calvin et la dynamique de la parole: Étude de rhétorique réformée*. Paris: Champion, 1992.
- Moraczewski, Jędrzej. *Jezuici w Polsce: Rys historyczny*. Paris: L. Martinet, 1861.
- “Mowa miana w senacie polskim przez Drohojewskiego kasztelana w: [sic] na początku panowania Zygmunta trzeciego przeciwko zakonowi jezuickiemu.” MS IV 966, the Princes Czartoryski Library, Kraków.
- Muir, Edward. *The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance: Skeptics, Libertines, and Opera*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Müller, Joseph Theodor. *Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder*, vol. 3: *Die polnische Unität 1548–1793; Die böhmisch-mährische Unität 1575–1781*. Herrnhut, 1931.
- Müller, Michael G. *Zweite Reformation und städtische Autonomie im Königlichen Preußen: Danzig, Elbing und Thorn während der Konfessionalisierung (1557–1660)*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997.
- Najmanowicz, Jakub. *Zniesienie obrony collegium p[atr] Societatis Jesu w Krakowie*. Kraków: Maciej Andrzejowczyk, 1628.
- Natoński, Bronisław. *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*. Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum–WAM, 2002.
- Natoński, Bronisław. “Humanizm jezuicki i teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna w XVII i XVIII wieku: Nauczanie i piśmiennictwo.” In *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Od odrodzenia do oświecenia*, part 1, *Teologia humanistyczna*, edited by Marian Rechowicz, 87–219. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1975.
- Natoński, Bronisław. *Humanizm jezuicki i teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna od XVI do XVIII wieku: Nauka i piśmiennictwo*. Kraków: Ignatianum–WAM, 2003.
- Nelson, Eric. *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Niedźwiedź, Jakub. “Inkulturowanie szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce i na Litwie w XVI–XVIII wieku.” *Formowanie kultury katolickiej w dobie potrydenckiej: Powszechność i narodowość katolicyzmu polskiego*, edited by Justyna Dąbkowska-Kujko, 222–48. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016.
- Niedźwiedź, Jakub. *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Vilnius: Forms of Writing and Rhetorical Spaces in the City*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2023.
- Nowak, Zbigniew. “Gdański paszkwil antyjezuicki z 1586 roku: Początki literatury antyjezuickiej w Polsce.” *Rocznik gdański* 25 (1966): 51–71.

- Nowakowski, Michał E. "Investigating a Polish Reformation Enigma: The Reattributed 'Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima' (1590) and Its Impact on the Anti-Jesuit Sentiment in Poland–Lithuania and Europe." *The Polish Review* [in review].
- Nowakowski, Michał E., and Przemysław M. Raczyk, "On the Hunt for Anti-Jesuitica: A Report from a 2023 Research Trip to European Libraries and Archives." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 11, no. 2 (2024): 301–24. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-11020006> (accessed September 26, 2024).
- Nowicka-Jeżowa, Alina, ed. *Drogi duchowe katolicyzmu polskiego XVII wieku*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa UW, 2015.
- O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Obirek, Stanisław. *Jezuici na dworach Batorego i Wazów (1580–1668): Wpływ kapelanów dworskich i wychowawców księży na postawy panujących i politykę państwa*. Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1996.
- Obirek, Stanisław. *Jezuici w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w latach 1564–1668: Działalność religijna, społeczno-kulturalna i polityczna*. Kraków: WAM, 1996.
- Obremski, Krzysztof. "Kalwińska mowa podszyta nienawiścią: Wilno lat 1581–1582 i Apologeticus." *Pamiętnik literacki* 108, no. 3 (2017): 23–40.
- Obremski, Krzysztof. "Konfederacja warszawska, ksiądz Piotr Skarga i mowa podszyta nienawiścią." *Terminus* 26, no. 1 (2013): 51–80.
- Ogonowski, Zbigniew. *Socynianizm: Dzieje, poglądy, oddziaływanie*. Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR, 2015.
- Opaliński, Edward. *Kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej w latach 1587–1652*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1995.
- Ord, Melanie. "Venice and Rome in the Addresses and Dispatches of Sir Henry Wotton: First English Embassy to Venice, 1604–1610." *The Seventeenth Century* 22, no. 1 (2017): 1–23.
- Parsons, Jotham. "Historical Introduction." In Étienne Pasquier, *The Jesuits' Catechism or Their Doctrine Examined (1602)*. Edited by Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jotham Parsons, translated by Patricia M. Ranum, xii–xxxiv. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Pasquier, Étienne. *The Jesuits' Catechism or Their Doctrine Examined (1602)*. Edited by Robert Aleksander Maryks and Jotham Parsons, translated by Patricia M. Ranum. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Pavone, Sabina. *Le astuzie dei gesuiti: Le false istruzioni segrete della Compagnia di Gesù e la polemica antigesuita nei secoli XVII e XVIII*. Rome: Salerno, 2000.
- Pavone, Sabina. "The Deceivers Deceived: How a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Anti-Jesuit Circle Duped a Jesuit Rector." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 10, no. 1 (2023): 45–62. https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/10/1/article-p45_005.xml (accessed September 30, 2024).
- Pavone, Sabina. *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita secreta: The Forged Secret Instructions of the Jesuits; Myth and Reality*. St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005.

- Pawłowska-Kubik, Agnieszka. *Rokosz sandomierski 1606–1609: Rzeczpospolita na politycznym rozdrożu*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2019.
- Pelczar, Andrzej. "Jan Brożek (1585–1652): Matematyk, historyk nauki, profesor i dobrodziej Uniwersytetu." In *Wydział Matematyki i Fizyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: Złota księga; 600-lecie odnowienia Akademii Krakowskiej*, edited by Bolesław Szafirski, 239–69. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000.
- Piechnik, Ludwik. "Działalność jezuitów na polu szkolnictwa w Poznaniu w XVI w." *Nasza przeszłość* 30 (1969): 171–210.
- Piechnik, Ludwik. *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, vol. 1, *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej (1570–1599)*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1984.
- Piechnik, Ludwik. "Nowe elementy wniesione przez jezuitów do szkolnictwa polskiego w XVI wieku," *Collectanea theologica* 46, no. 1 (1976): 67–77.
- Pieńkowski, Maciej A. *Trudna droga do władzy w Rzeczypospolitej: Sejm koronacyjny Zygmunta III 1587/1588 i sejm pacyfikacyjny 1589 roku*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2021.
- Piawski, Kazimierz. "Sobór trydencki i jezuita." In *Szkice z dziejów papieżstwa*, edited by Kazimierz Piawski, 45–97. Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1958.
- Piawski, Kazimierz. "Znaczenie i rola kontrreformacji w Polsce." In *Pierwsza konferencja metodologiczna historyków polskich: Przemówienia, referaty, dyskusja*, edited by Stanisław Herbst, Witold Kula, and Tadeusz Manteuffel, 1:509–14. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1953.
- Płocki, Józefat. *Jan Niemojewski: Studium z dziejów arian polskich*. Kraków: Krakowska spółka wydawnicza, 1922.
- Eines Pohlischen Edelmanns Anrede an die Grossen von Pohlen, die Ruhe und Einigkeit des Koenigreichs durch Wegschaffung derer Jesuiten zu befoerdern, betreffend*. N.p.: n.p., 1727.
- Possevino, Antonio. *Epistola ad Stephanum Primum, Poloniae regem serenissimum: Adversus quendam Volanum haereticum Lituani*. Ingolstadt: Wolfgang Eder, 1583.
- Ptaszyński, Maciej. "Nietolerancyjna konfederacja warszawska: O znaczeniu swobód wyznaniowych w 1573 roku." *Kwartalnik historyczny* 131, no. 2 (2024): 215–43.
- Ptaszyński, Maciej. "'Papież litewskiej reformacji' czy późny humanista?: Uwagi na marginesie najnowszej biografii Andrzeja Wolana." *Kwartalnik historyczny* 117, no. 3 (2010): 107–20.
- Ptaszyński, Maciej. "The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth." In *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*, edited by Howard Louthan and Graeme Murdock, 40–67. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Rabikauskas, Paulius. *Vilniaus akademija ir Lietuvos jėzuitai*. Edited by Liudas Jovaiša. Vilnius: Aidai, 2002.
- Radymiński, Marcin. "Academia controversa seu controversiarum Academiae Cracoviensis cum aemula Societate Iesu, in Regno Poloniae, de iure universitatis,

- analecta collecta opera." MS 227, Jagiellonian Library. <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/205000/edition/193784> (accessed September 29, 2024).
- Rościszewska, Zofia. *Lewartów (Lubartów) w latach 1543–1643*. Lublin: [KUL], 1932.
- Roşu, Felicia. *Elective Monarchy in Transylvania and Poland–Lithuania, 1569–1587*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Rott, Vladimír. *Bracia czeszy w dawnej Polsce*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2002.
- Rubik, Tadeusz. "Wujek, Jakub," in *Encyclopedia of Jesuit Translation Culture in Poland–Lithuania, 1564–1820*, edited by Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee and Robert Aleksander Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2025), https://doi.org/10.1163/3050-7642_EJTC_micro264.
- Rule, Paul. "The Chinese Rites Controversy: Confucian and Christian Views on the Afterlife." *Studies in Church History* 45 (2009): 280–300.
- Ryczek, Wojciech. "'Kolacyja przyjacielska' Jakuba Niemojewskiego z jezuitami poznańskimi: Glosa terminologiczna." *Terminus* 26, no. 1 (2024): 43–60. <https://doi.org/10.4467/20843844TE.24.003.19706> (accessed October 7, 2024).
- Ryczek, Wojciech. "Zafarbowane słówka krasomędrków: Mikołaj Rej o sztuce barwienia słów." *Napis* 21 (2015): 13–32.
- Rzewuski, Paweł. *"Monarchia mixta," czyli poszukiwanie suwerena: Studium koncepcji władzy w I Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1505–1609*. Warsaw: Fundacja Augusta hr Cieszkowskiego, 2022.
- Salmonowicz, Stanisław. "Pietyzm w dawnym Toruniu." *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 43 (1999): 55–63.
- Scholz, Bernhard W. *Erzherzog Karl von Österreich (1590–1624): Bischof von Breslau am Vorabend und zu Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2024.
- Schwarm des heiligen Römischen Bienenkorbs, Das ist, Aufßflug etlicher grossen, schädlichen, vorwenig jaren erwachsener [...] Wespen Hurnüssen Flädermäußen [...] Darvor, Eine stattliche [...] warnung, eines Polnischen Catholischen Ritters*. N.p.: n.p., 1592.
- Siwek, Andrzej. "Spory o jezuitów w polskiej historiografii, 1795–1918." *Studia historyczne* 34, no. 4 (1991): 551–68.
- Skarga, Piotr. *Artes duodecim sacramentarium seu Zvingliocalvinistarum [...] contra Andream Volanum huius haereticae pestis in Lituania archiministrum*. Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1582.
- Skarga, Piotr. *Kazania sejmowe*. Wrocław: Ossolineum-DeAgostini, 2003.
- Skarga, Piotr. *Pro sacratissima Eucharistia contra haeresim Zvinglianam: Ad Andream Volanum*. Vilnius: Typographia Nicolai Radivili, 1576.
- Skarga, Piotr. *Siedm filarów, na których stoi katolicka nauka o przenaświętym sakramencie ołtarza, postawione przeciw nauce zwinglyjańskiej, kalwińskiej Andrzeja Wolana*. Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1582.

- Sławiński, Wojciech. "Spory doktrynalne na toruńskim synodzie generalnym 1595 r." *Czasy nowożytne* 2 (1997): 27–45.
- Smith, Logan Pearsall. *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- Smolarek, Katarzyna. "Piotr Artomiusz i jego kancjonał toruński z końca XVI wieku." *Rocznik toruński* 41 (2014): 169–86.
- Smoleński, Władysław. *Wiara w życiu społeczeństwa polskiego epoki jezuickiej: Studium historyczne*. Warsaw: K. Kowalewski, 1883.
- Sobieski, Waclaw. *Nienawiść wyznaniowa tłumów za rządów Zygmunta III*. Warsaw: S. Demby, 1902.
- Sobieski, Waclaw. "Rola jezuitów w dziejach Rzplitej Polskiej: Kilka zastrzeżeń." In *Szkice historyczne*, 105–85. Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1904.
- Starnawski, Jerzy. "Zarys dziejów dialogu w piśmiennictwie polskim średniowiecznym, renesansowym i reformacyjnym." *Roczniki humanistyczne* 34, no. 1 (1986): 137–78.
- Stec, Wiesław. *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625*. Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii UW w Białymstoku, 1988.
- Sucheni-Grabowska, Anna. "Przeobrażenia ustrojowe od Kazimierza Wielkiego do Henryka Walezego." In *Tradycje polityczne dawnej Polski*, edited by Anna Sucheni-Grabowska and Alicja Dybkowska, 16–74. Warsaw: Editions Spotkania, 1994.
- Sucheni-Grabowska, Anna. *Zygmunt August: Król polski i wielki książę litewski 1520–1562*. Warsaw: Krupski i S-ka, 1996.
- Szczucki, Lech, and Janusz Tazbir. *Literatura ariańska w Polsce XVI w.: Antologia*. Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1959.
- [Szembek, Fryderyk]. *Gratis plebański, gratis wyćwiczony w jezuickich szkołach krakowskich, mędrszym niż przyszedł do domu się wracający, to jest respons na dyskurs plebański o kolegium jezuickim krakowskim, "Gratis" nazwany, i na dwu inne tegoż autora w tejsze materyje*. Poznań: [Jan Wolrab], 1627.
- Szpaczyński, Przemysław. "Zygmunt III wobec zabiegów innowierców o egzekucję Konfederacji Warszawskiej." *Studia oecumenica* 11 (2011): 111–24.
- Szyszkowski, Marcin. *Pro religiosissimis Societatis Jesu patribus, contra ficti Equitis Poloni actionem primam oratio*. Kraków: Officina Lazari, 1590.
- Szyszkowski, Marcin. *Schutzred für die ehrwürdigen Herren unnd Vätter, der Societ Jesu: Wider eines ungenannten erdichten Polnischen Edelmanns erste Action oder Schandschrift*. Dillingen: Johann Mayer, 1593.
- Tarpley, Webster G. "Paolo Sarpi: His Networks, Venice, and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War." PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2009.
- Tazbir, Janusz. *Hieronim Zahorowski, zapomniany autor głośnego pamfletu*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963.
- Tazbir, Janusz. "Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce." In *Jezuici a kultura polska*, edited by Ludwik Grzebień and Stanisław Obirek, 311–33. Kraków: WAM, 1993.

- Tazbir, Janusz ed. *Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce 1578–1625: Antologia*. Translated by Andrzej Kempfi. Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963.
- Tazbir, Janusz. "Niemojewski h. Szeliga Jakub." In *Polski słownik biograficzny*. <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jakub-niemojewski-h-szeliga> (accessed September 15, 2024).
- Tazbir, Janusz. *Państwo bez stosów: Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVI i XVII w.* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967).
- Tazbir, Janusz. *Piotr Skarga: Szermierz kontrreformacji*. Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1978.
- Tazbir, Janusz. "Polemika Jakuba Niemojewskiego z jezuitami poznańskimi." In *Księga Pamiątkowa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu dla uczczenia 600-lecia założenia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, edited by Gerard Labuda, 246–60. Poznań: WUAM, 1965.
- Tazbir, Janusz. "Wstęp." In *Literatura antyjezuicka w Polsce (1578–1625): Antologia*, edited by Janusz Tazbir, translated by Andrzej Kempfi, 5–33. Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1963.
- Terlaga, Jan. *Działalność ks. Jakóba Wujka T.J. jako rektora Kolegium Poznańskiego*. Kraków: Nakł. Autora, 1936.
- Torres, Francisco. *Contra Andream Volanum [...] de sanctissima Eucharistia tractatus*. Rome: Aedes Populi Romani, 1576.
- Torres, Francisco. *De sanctissima Eucharistia, tractatus primus contra Volanum Polonum*. Florence: Bartholomaeus Sermartellius, 1575.
- Tworek, Stanisław. *Zbór lubelski i jego rola w ruchu ariańskim w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1966.
- Tygielski, Wojciech. *W podróży po Europie: Studia z dziejów kultury nowożytnej*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2019.
- Urbański, Piotr. "Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621) i wpływ jego myśli na rozwój kulturowych oraz religijnych idei w Rzeczypospolitej." In *Formowanie kultury katolickiej w dobie potrydenckiej: Powszechność i narodowość katolicyzmu polskiego*, edited by Justyna Dąbkowska-Kujko, 181–221. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016.
- Vega, Emanuel. *Assertiones theologicae, de augustissimo Eucharistiae sacramento, quibus refelluntur [...] sectarii, contra veram, et realem praesentiam Christi in Eucharistia*. Vilnius: Society of Jesus, 1585.
- Vermigli, Pietro Martire. *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae de sacrosancto Eucharistiae sacramento*. [Zurich]: [Christoph Froschauer], [1559].
- Vogler, Bernard. "Les jésuites vus par les protestants rhénans (1560–1620)." In *Les antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne*, edited by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire, 455–68. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.

- Walsham, Alexandra. "‘This New Army of Satan’: The Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England." In *Moral Panics, the Media, and the Law in Early Modern England*, edited by David Lemmings and Claire Walker, 41–62. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Wasiak, Kornelia. "Walka o zaprzysiężenie Konfederacji Warszawskiej od 17 maja 1573 r. do 22 kwietnia 1574 r. w świetle ‘Diariusza polskiego do Francji po Henryka Walezego w 1573 roku.’" In *Vade nobiscum: Studia z wieków dawnych*, edited by Cyprian Wiśniewski, Krzysztof Gryglewski, Jakub Kuliś, and Jakub Pisarski, 22:73–89. Łódź: Wydawnictwo UŁ, 2021.
- Wasilewski, Tadeusz. *Ostatni Waza na polskim tronie*. Katowice: Śląsk, 1984.
- Wilczek, Piotr. *Polonia reformata: Essays on the Polish Reformation(s)*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016.
- Williams, George Huntston, ed. *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601–1685*. 2 Vols. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980.
- Wiszniewski, Michał. *Historia literatury polskiej*. 8 Vols. Kraków: Gieszkowski, 1851.
- Wolan, Andrzej. *Ad scurilem et famosum libellum, Jesuiticae scholae Vilnensis, et potissimum maledici conviciatoris Andreae Iurgevitii [...] responsio*. N.p.: n.p., 1589.
- Wolan, Andrzej. *Apologia [...] ad calumnias et convitia pestiferae hominum sectam, qui se falso jesuitas vocant*. Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1587.
- Wolan, Andrzej. *Defensio verae orthodoxae veterisque in ecclesia sententiae [...] contra novum et commentitium transubstantionis dogma, aliosque errores ex illo natos: Ad Petrum Scargam Jesuitam Vilnensem, vanissimi huius commentii propugnatores*. Vilnius: Johannes Kartzanus, 1579.
- Wolan, Andrzej. *Idololatriae Loiolitarum Vilnensium oppugnatio itemque ad nova illorum obiecta responsio*. Vilnius: Joannes Kartzanus, 1583.
- Wolan, Andrzej. *Libri quinque contra Scargae jesuitae Vilnensis Septem [...] columnas, et librum Duodecim artium Zuinglio-caluinistarum*. Vilnius: Daniel Lancicius, 1584.
- Wolan, Andrzej. *Vera et orthodoxa veteris ecclesiae sententia de coena Domini ad Petrum Skarga*. Łosk: Typis Castris Loscensis, 1574.
- Załęski, Stanisław. *Czy jezuita zgubili Polskę?* Lviv: Redakcja "Przeglądu lwowskiego," 1872.
- Załęski, Stanisław. *Jezuici w Polsce*. 5 Vols. Lviv: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1900–1906.
- Zanardi, Mario, ed. *I gesuiti e Venezia: Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù; Atti del convegno di studi, Venezia, 2–5 ottobre 1990*. Padua: Giunta Regionale del Veneto–Gregoriana Libreria, 1994.
- Zieliński, Sławomir. "Jezuici a reformacja w syntezach szkoły Lelewelewskiej: Lelewelew, Moraczewski i Schmitt." *Nasza przeszłość* 134 (2020): 209–32.

Index

- Academic Gymnasium, Gdańsk 17
Academic Gymnasium, Toruń 14, 84, 106–7
Acquaviva, Claudio 80, 125–26, 141, 143
 De confessariis principum 125
Actio (*Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima*) 13, 55–64, 69, 89, 92, 135, 156–57
 accounts of violence in 61
 anti-Habsburg sentiment in 62, 64
 anti-Jesuit themes in 64
 anti-Jesuitism and 64
 authorship of 55*n*2, 58
 Catholic authorship claim and protestant approaches in 59, 62–63
 critiques of Jesuits in 60
 Egzorbitancja i przestroga niejakiej wielkiej niebezpieczności and 56–57, 59, 63
 Henryk Barycz and 55–58, 63
 In Verrem of Cicero and 56
 Jan Brożek and 64, 156–57
 Jan Drohojewski and 53, 55–59, 156–57
 original publication in 1590 of 63
 publication in German and Polish of (German in 1592 and Polish in 1593) 55, 62
 Spanish Habsburg influence and 61, 64, 89
 Spanish massacre of Protestants in Antwerp in 1576 referenced in 64
 Wojciech of Kalisz and 55, 64, 69*n*9
“Ad patres jesuitas” 14, 76
Ad scurilem et famosum libellum ... (Wolan) 45, 45*n*65–66, 46*n*67–68
Ad senatum equitesque Polonos oratio ... (Rościszewski) 114
Agryppa, Waclaw 49
Alabiano, García 141
Albert of Prussia, duke 44
Álvares, Manuel 149
Amsterdam, The Netherlands 79*m*6
An Exact and Sound Discovery ... (Micanzio) 137*n*24
Anabaptists 67
Anaphora 70–71
Anatomia consilii ... (Cichocki) 99
Anatomia libelli famosi ... (Jurgiewicz) 46*n*70
Andreae Volani [...] *orationi [...]* *responsio* (Bartsch) 45
Andrzejowczyk, Maciej 143*m*17
Anna of Austria [1549–1580] (queen) 129
Anne of Austria [1601–1666] (queen) 129
Anti-Coton 6
anti-Habsburg sentiment 40, 62, 64, 80
anti-Jesuit literature. *See also* specific works
 anti-Habsburg sentiment and 40, 62, 64, 80
 anti-Jesuit pamphlets 12, 76–77, 82, 108, 123, 136, 139, 142–43, 145, 153, 156
 anti-Jesuit poetry 50
 anti-Jesuit rhetoric 40, 46–47, 80
 anti-Jesuit texts 105, 142, 147, 152, 158
 anti-Jesuit themes 39, 45, 54, 64, 146, 148, 153
 anti-Jesuit tropes 157
 anti-Jesuit writings 14, 22, 74, 77, 80, 123, 143, 146
anti-Protestant incidents highlighted in 60, 143
anti-Protestant riot recorded in 61
anti-Protestant tumults leading to 10, 47, 55, 57
anti-Jesuitism 6, 13, 40, 46–47, 64
anti-Spanish 40. *See also* anti-Habsburg
anti-Trinitarians 31
“Apologeticus” 11, 39, 47, 49–54, 64, 89, 101, 136, 155–57
Actio and 64, 89
anti-Protestant violence in Vilnius and 11, 50
authorship of 11, 39, 47, 49
Catholic Reformation in Poland–Lithuania and 155–57
Consilium and 101
main parties involved in 50
Monita privata and 136
origins of 50
portrayal of Jesuits in 51–52
reception of 53
two distinct parts of 50
Warsaw Confederation and 50, 54

- Apologia [...] ad calumnias* (Wolan) 42,
43ⁿ54–ⁿ56, 44ⁿ57–ⁿ59, 45ⁿ62–ⁿ63
anti-Jesuit themes in 45
depiction of Jesuits in 43, 45
Jesuit response to 45
Vilnius Jesuits and 46
- Apologia, to jest dowody i obrona ...*
(Niemojewski) 22
- Apostolic Tribunal of the Roman Rota 143
- Arianism 68
- Arians 66, 68, 72
- Arnauld, Antoine the Elder 6
Oratio [...] pro Universitate
Parisiensi ... 65ⁿ44, 152ⁿ68
Plaidoyer 65
- Arnauld, Antoine the Younger 6
- Artes duodecim sacramentarium*
(Skarga) 37ⁿ31
- Artomiusz, Piotr 107ⁿ6
Cantional 107
- Assertiones theologicae ...* (Vega) 41, 41ⁿ50
- Assertionum de Eucharistia* (Wolan) 42
- Augustine, Saint 24, 27, 35
- Austria 3, 129
- Barcin, Poland 84
- Batrsch, Fryderyk
Andrae Volani [...] orationi [...]
responsio 45
- Barycz, Henryk 1–2, 15, 37, 49, 52, 55–58, 63,
139–42, 145–47, 150–53
authorship of *Actio* for 55, 57–58
forms and origin of *Actio* for 56
Geneza i autorstwo ... 1ⁿ1, 55ⁿ1, 56ⁿ2,
56ⁿ5, 57ⁿ7, 58ⁿ11, 63ⁿ42, 153ⁿ70
Jan Łasicki ... 37ⁿ33
“Uwagi wstępne” 2ⁿ3, 15ⁿ46, 139ⁿ1,
140ⁿ2, 141ⁿ6–7, 142ⁿ9–10,
145ⁿ28–29, 147ⁿ33, 150ⁿ54, 151ⁿ63,
152ⁿ64–65
- Basel, Switzerland 84
- Báthory, Sigismund (prince) 8
- Báthory, Stephen (king) 4, 8–13, 17, 34,
36–38, 40–43, 50, 54, 57, 60–61, 92, 140,
148, 155–56
anti-Jesuit literature and reign of 155
aims during reign of 40, 42
anti-Protestant policies of 156
Antonio Possevino and 36
- Catholic Reformation during reign
of 155
Consilium's reference to 92
death in 1586 42–43
Defensio (Wolan) and 34, 36
edict of 1581 condemning religious
violence by 38, 50, 60
election as king of 9, 34
Gregory XIII (pope) and 4, 34
Henrician Articles and 9–10, 155
invitation to Jesuits to come to
Poland–Lithuania 10
Jan Brożek and 148
Jan Zamoyski and 10, 34
Jan Wolan and 40
Mikołaj “the Red” Radziwiłł and 37
oath to Warsaw Confederation 38, 41
Protestant appeal to 38
religious conflicts during the reign of 10
Vilnius University's elevation by 4, 34
- Bellarmino, Robert 143
- Bembus, Mateusz
Monita salutaria 133, 134
- Beza, Theodore (Théodore de Bèze) 43, 47
- Bohemian Brethren. *See* Czech Brethren
- Bohemian Revolt (1618–20) 128
- Brożek, Jan 2, 15, 64, 80, 100–1, 103, 137, 139,
141–43, 145–54, 156–57
Actio and 64, 156–57
book collection of 152
Cesare Cremonini and 80, 145, 153
Charles Scribani's *Politico-Christianus*
and 147
Chinese Rites controversy discussed
by 148
conflict between Kraków Academy and
Jesuits and 139, 141–42, 153–54
death of Kraków academy student in
conflict with Jesuits and 145
Equitis Poloni actio and other sources for
Jesuit education of 152
fourth dialogue of 139, 147, 151
Fryderyk Szembek and 151
“Gratis” 15, 80, 101–3, 137, 139–40,
142–43, 145–47, 147ⁿ35–ⁿ38,
148ⁿ39–ⁿ40, 148ⁿ42, 148ⁿ44–ⁿ46,
149ⁿ47, 149ⁿ49–ⁿ52, 150ⁿ55–ⁿ59,
151ⁿ61, 152, 152ⁿ69, 153, 154, 156. *See*
also “Gratis”

- Brożek, Jan (*cont.*)
 Jesuit education for 146, 149, 153
 Jesuit tactics to extract money from students discussed by 149
 Jesuits' probabilistic moral theology for 150
 "Konsens" 139, 146
 "Przywilej" 139, 146
 "Varietas" 139, 146
Wybór pism 2n3, 139n1, 145n28, 146n32
- Brückner, Aleksander 55–56, 80
- Byczyna, Battle of 12, 58
- Calagius, Andrzej 105
- Calvin, John 35, 43, 47
- Calvinism 5, 12, 21, 32, 35
- Campana, Giovanni Paolo 141
- Campion, Edmund 43
- Canisius, Peter 7
- Cantional* (Artomiusz) 107
- Capuchin 16–17
- Carl I, bishop 125, 129
- Catholic doctrine 25, 34–35, 110
- Catholic Reformation 72, 155
- Catholic ritual practices 109, 120
- Catholica et orthodoxa responsio ...* (Pisa) 25
- Catholicism 6, 10, 16, 31, 32, 37–38, 43, 59, 71, 86, 90, 125, 136, 141, 148
 re-Catholicization 12, 59, 128
- Chandieu, Antoine de la Roche. *See* de la Roche Chandieu, Antoine
- Chemnitz, Martin 22–23, 26, 44, 157
Theologiae jesuitarum praecipua capita 44n60
- China 148
- Chinese Rites controversy 148
- Chodkiewicz, Jan Hieronimowicz 31
- Chrysostom, John 35
- Chrzanowski, Ignacy 106
- Cichocki, Adam 99
Anatomia consilii ... 99
- Clement VIII (pope) 72
- Cologne, Germany 129
- commoners 35, 60. *See also* nobles
- Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania 1, 3–6, 8–14, 16–18, 20–21, 23, 27–29, 31, 34, 41–42, 47–48, 50, 53–55, 59–62, 65–67, 74–75, 77, 84–94, 97–103, 111, 117–18, 120–25, 135, 139, 143–44, 149–50, 153–57
 Austrian House of Habsburgs and 125
 Jesuit provinces of 5
 religious liberty in 118–19, 121–22
- Confederation. *See* Warsaw Confederation
- Congress of Vienna 128
- "Consent" (Brożek) 139, 146
- Consilium de recuperanda et in posterum stabilienda pace regni Poloniae* 14, 24, 64, 75, 77–84, 86–90, 92–94, 96–103, 156–57
 authorship of 79–80
 completion and publication of 78
 comprehensive strategy for implementing the expulsion of Jesuits in 92
 contribution to anti-Jesuit literature 100–1, 103, 156–57
 critique and acknowledgement of Jesuit contributions to Poland by Jesuits in 77
 ethos in 95
 Jan Szczęsny Herbut authorship of 102
 Jesuit counter-rhetorical campaign to 98
 Jesuitism and 88
 Latin translation of 83
 policy recommendations of 92
 Jesuits' role in education and rhetoric employed in 93, 96
 transnational circulation of 99
 transnational reception of 102
 visceral imagery in 97
 Warsaw Confederation and 86–87, 89
- Constance of Austria (queen) 129
- constitutions, Polish crown (Sigismund Augustus) 119, 121
- Constitutions, Jesuit 132
- Contra famosum libellum ...* (Gretser) 133–34
- Contra imposturas Jesuitarum* (Magni) 17
- Copernicus, Nicolaus 150
De revolutionibus orbium coelestium 150
- Cossack uprising (1648) 16
- Coton, Pierre 6, 129
- Counter-Reformation 14, 31, 74, 104, 113, 118, 122–23
- Cranmer, Thomas 33
Defensio verae et catholicae doctrinae ... 33n13

- Cremonini, Cesare 80, 145, 153
Oratione [...] contro li padri Gesuiti 153
- Cyprian 9, 35
- Czech Brethren 20–21, 84, 105, 107. *See also*
 Polish Brethren
- Czechowic, Marcin 13, 20, 64, 66, 69, 71–74, 155, 157
 characterization and critique of Jesuits
 by 72–74
 divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit
 for 72
 early life of 71
 theological erudition of 157
Wujek, to jest krótki odpis ... 66, 69n9, 72, 74, 155
- Czubek, Jan 75–83, 85, 87–97, 99–100, 102, 106
 editions and translations of *Consilium*
 according to 99
Pisma polityczne z czasów rokosz
Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1608 75n1, 75n3, 76n4–n8, 77n10–n14, 78n15, 81n21–n25, 82n29, 83n31–n32, 83n34, 85n35, 87n36, 88n37, 89n38–n39, 90n40, 91n41, 92n42–n43, 93n44, 94n45, 95n46–n47, 96n48–n51, 97n52, 100n54, 102n55
- Daniel of Łęczycza 38
- De auxiliis* controversy 7
- De confessariis principum* (Acquaviva) 125
- de la Roche Chandieu, Antoine 43, 47, 157
- De pio, et in sancta ecclesia ...*
 (Jurgiewicz) 42n51
- De rege et regis institutione* (Mariana) 6, 115n10
- De sanctissima Eucharistia* (Torres) 32n9, 33n11
- Defenestration of Prague 128
- Defense of the True Orthodox and Ancient View* (Wolan) 11n35, 33, 33n12, 34–35, 35n17–n21, 36, 36n24–n29, 37, 39–40, 46, 53, 157
 division into three books of 35
- Defensio doctrinae ...* (Vermigli) 33n13
- Defensio verae et catholicae doctrinae*
 (Crammer) 33n13
- Defensio verae semperque in ecclesia receptae doctrinae ...* (Łaski) 33n13
- demon 41
- Diatribae ...* (Niemojewski) 19–28, 136
- Dillingen, Germany 63
- Discours aux grands de Pologne ...*
 (Herburt) 79n16
- Dmitry (tsar) 78
- Dobrocieski, Mikołaj 55, 57
- Doctrinae jesuiticae praecipua capita* 47
- doge 127
- Dominicans 7
- Drohojewski, Jan 53, 55–59, 156–57
 Catholic pose of 59
Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima (1590)
 of 53, 55, 156
Kronika Drohojewskich 56n2
- Duplika na Replikę nowin* (Jan Turnowski) 113
- Eastern Orthodox
 Church 16
 magnates 5, 86
- edict (Bathory's 1581 in Vilnius) 38, 41–42, 50, 61
- education 2, 4–6, 10, 15, 25, 28, 45, 64, 68–69, 74, 80, 90, 94, 102, 105, 115, 136, 140, 143–44, 146, 149, 153, 155–56
Actio and 64, 69, 156
 Jesuit control of 28
 Catholic education 10
 Władysław IV and 15–16, 152
- Egzorbitancyja i przestroga niejakkiej wielkiej niebezpieczności* 56–57, 59, 63. *See also Actio*
- Elbląg, Poland 104
- Elizabeth I (queen) 7, 59
- Elzevier, Ludwig 65n44, 152n68
- England 7, 33, 47, 62, 64, 102, 116, 139
 Reformation in 33
- Enlightenment 127
- Epistola ad Stephanum Primum ...*
 (Possevino) 36n30
- Equitis Poloni in jesuitas actio prima*. *See Actio equivocatio Jesuitica*, concept of 111
- Erasmus of Rotterdam 47
- Estreicher, Karol 41n50, 46n71, 80, 83, 100

- Favaro, Antonio 153n71
 Ferber, Augustin 108, 114
 Ferdinand I (emperor) 128
 Ferdinand II (emperor) 125
 Firlej, Mikołaj 67
 Flanders 67
 Florence, Italy 32, 37
 four vows 126. See also *professi*
 France 6–7, 9, 26, 47, 54, 79n16, 90–91, 95,
 101–2, 116, 121, 129n18, 144, 157
 Francken, Christian 26
 Frankfurt an der Oder, Germany 44
 French Reformation 43
 Frisia 33
- Galileo 150
 Gdańsk, Poland 12, 17, 104, 107
 Gdańsk Polish Bible¹⁰⁷
 Geneva, Switzerland 37, 84, 105
Geneza i autorstwo Equitis Poloni in jesuitas
 actio (Barycz) 111, 55n1, 56n2, 56n5,
 57n7, 58n11, 63n42, 153n70
 Germany 26. See also Holy Roman Empire
 Głogów, Poland 105
 Gniezno, Poland 21, 141
 Golubski, Jan z Prus. See Sawicki, Kacper
 Goździec, Poland 135
 Grabowski, Tadeusz 55, 80
 “Gratis” (Brożek) 15, 80, 101–3, 137,
 139–40, 142–43, 145–47, 147n35–n38,
 148n39–n40, 148n42, 148n44–n46,
 149n47, 149n49–n52, 150n55–n59,
 151n61, 152, 152n69, 153, 154, 156
 anti-Jesuit themes in 148
 characters of Parson and Nobleman
 in 145, 147, 152
 critique of Jesuit educational monopolies
 in 101
Equitis Poloni actio and 152
 influences of 153
 Jesuit reaction to 151
 Kraków Academy and 151, 154, 156
 literary merit of 139, 147
 monetary substitute of Jesuit education
 in 149
 Najmanowicz’s *Zniesienie obrony*
 and 143
 rhetoric of 147
- Gratis plebański, gratis wyćwiczony w
 jezuickich szkołach krakowskich*
 (Szembek) 151n62
*Gravis & maximi momenti deliberatio. See
 Consilium*
 Greater Poland 4–5, 71, 83, 106, 113, 123. See
 also Poznań
 Gregory XIII (pope) 4, 34
 Gretser, Jacob 133–35
Contra famosum libellum 133–34
 Grodzisk, Poland 24
 Gunpowder Plot 7
 Guzów, Battle of 88
- Habsburg 12, 15, 40, 48, 58, 61–62, 64, 75, 80,
 102, 125, 128–29
 alliance with Jesuits 15, 125
 Austrian branch 125
 Habsburg Empire 128
 Habsburg influence 58
 Spanish branch 7, 152
 Habsburg, Carl I (bishop) 125, 129
 Habsburg, Maximilian III (Archduke) 12, 58
 Haller, Richard 129
 Hanseatic League 12. See also Toruń and
 Gdańsk
 Happ, Kasper 119
 Hasenmüller, Elias 26
 hell, doctrine of 66
 Henri (king) 31, 34
Henrician Articles (Articuli Henriciani) 9,
 11, 21, 155
 Henry III (king) 9, 116
Articuli Henriciani 9, 11, 21, 155
 Henry IV (king) 6
 Herbest, Benedykt 22
 Herburt, Jan Szczyński 14, 79–83, 102–3
Discours aux grands de Pologne ... 79n16
Votum katolika jednego jezuitach 77, 82,
 107, 156
Historia jesuitica (Hospinian) 62
 Holy Roman Empire 7, 157
 Holy Spirit 41, 66, 72
 Hosius, Stanisław Cardinal 4, 52, 63
 hospices 92–93
 Hospinian, Rudolf 26, 62
Historia jesuitica 62
 hospitals 112

- House of Austria 129
- Hozjusz, Cardinal Stanisław. *See* Hosius, Stanisław Cardinal
- Humbert, Pierre 79*n*16
- Humphrey, Laurence 43, 47, 157
- Hungary 8, 102, 116
- idolatry 37, 112, 117, 120
- Idololatryae Lololitarum Vilnensium oppugnatio* (Wolan) 37, 39, 39*n*38–*n*41, 40, 40–41, 46, 49
- images, veneration of 22, 39, 59, 109, 120
- In Verrem* (Cicero) 56
- Ingolstadt, Germany 36, 47, 63, 125, 134, 140
Jesuit University of 125
- Inowrocław, Poland 20
- Instrukcione a prencipi* (Micanzio) 137
- Iudicium albo rozsadek niektórych katolików* (Wujek) 23
- Jagiello, Władysław 121
- Jagiellonian dynasty 8, 31
- Jagiellonian Library 59*n*14, 79, 142*n*11, 152
- James I (king) 7
- Jan Kazimierz (king) 15–16
- Jan Łasicki* (Barycz) 37*n*33
- Janidło, Jakub 142
- Jansenism 27
Jansenist criticism 27
Jansenist–Jesuit controversy 127
Jansenist movement 27
- Jarosław, Poland 140
- Jerome, Saint 35
- Jerusalem 134*n*21
- Jesuit casuistry 27–28, 120
- Jesuit colleges and universities 144, 125, 150, 157
in Braniewo 45, 140
in Elbląg 104
in Gdansk 17, 104
in Ingolstadt 125, 140
in Jarosław 140
in Kraków 15, 140–41, 144–46, 152, 154
in Lublin 69*n*9
in Lviv 154
in Padua 80, 145, 153
in Poznań 21–22, 140–41
in Pułtusk 140
in Toruń 14, 84, 104, 106–7
in Vilnius 10, 30–31, 34, 45, 140, 155
in Warsaw 17, 154
- Jesuitism 88
- Jesuits 1–8, 10–17, 19–32, 34–36, 38–48, 50–81, 86–96, 98–100, 102, 104–8, 110–22, 124–25, 127–37, 139–57
accusations of manipulation of legal reasoning to undermine *szlachta* 120
accusations of non-noble origins against 143*n*14
agents of political destabilization and subverters in *Consilium* 89
Andrzej Wolan and 10–11, 17, 23, 30–49, 53, 64, 123, 155, 157
anti-Protestant riot in Kraków in 1587 and 61
arrest and punishment of Andrzej Piotrkowczyk 139–40, 151
arrival and establishment in Poland–Lithuania 4, 8, 30–31
arrival in Royal Prussia 19
as disease or infection in *Consilium* 78, 85, 97
as foreign force in Arnauld's *Plaidoyer* 65
as agents of disruption and foreign operatives in *Actio* 60
as agents of foreign interests in *Consilium* 102
as agents of the Spanish king in *Actio* 64
as aggressive besiegers of civic order according to Jan Turnowski 119
as aggressive provocateurs according to Jan Turnowski 116
as blind servants of the papacy in "Apologeticus" 51
as blood-thirsty murderers of non-Catholics and vicious destroyers of peace according to Wolan 40, 54
as cunning manipulators in *Actio* 60
as defenders of established church authority in Tyszkiewicz's *Responsio* 99
as disturbers of public order according to town councils of Toruń and Gdańsk 104

Jesuits (*cont.*)

- as duplicitous figures motivated primarily by ambition and political calculation for Hasenmüller 26
- as foreign interlopers according to Niemojewski 23, 25, 25
- as foreigners according to Wolan 46
- as Gibeonites and Spanish spies in *Actio* 61
- as instigators of conflict according to Chemnitz 44
- as *jezusi* (little Jesuses) in anti-Jesuit poem 53
- as Judas according to Wolan 44
- as *księża szkolni* (school priests) in poem "Apologeticus" 51
- as Loyolites according to Wolan 36–37, 44–45
- as Machiavelli and Machiavellian tactics used by 131, 147
- as masterminds of political and religious intrigue in *Monita* 136
- moral philosophy of 115
- as *przywłaszczający* (usurping) name of Jesus 23
- as papal agents or cooks in pope's kitchen according to Niemojewski 26
- as papal agents according to Pasquier and Hospinian 26
- as plague and pestilence in *Actio* 59
- as political agents undermining Protestant religious and civic autonomy 156
- as *rycerze babilońscy* (knights of Babylon) in poem "Apologeticus" 51
- as *Sathanae prostibulum* (Satan's whorehouse) 40
- as seditious men and disruptors of public peace according to Wolan 39
- as *sirenae palliatae* (cloaked sirens) according to Wolan 43
- as snakes in *Actio* 64
- as sowers of disorder in poem "Apologeticus" 51
- as subtle yet insidious influencers in *Monita* 131
- as sword with handle held by the Roman court and Spain in *Consilium* 75, 95
- as Teutonic Knights (*Crucigeri*) according to Najmanowicz, also in *Actio* and *Consilium* 62, 144, 157
- as uninvited interlopers in Jan Turnowski's *Obrona prawdy listów z miasta Torunia* 114
- as victims of Protestant aggression in Rościszewski's *Ad senatum equitesque ...* 115
- as violent and cruel in *Actio* and *Egzorbitancja* 52, 63
- attempted assassination of João I, king of Portugal and 127
- Calvinist critiques of 73
- Cesare Cremonini and 80, 145, 153
- characterization by Marcin Czechowic 72–74
- colleges and universities established by. *See under* main heading Jesuit colleges and universities
- confessors of rulers 131m9
- Consilium* and 14, 24, 64, 75, 77–81, 86–90, 92–94, 96, 98–100, 102, 156–57
- converts to Protestantism (former Jesuits) 26
- death of Sigismund III and 12, 16, 151
- denunciation in poem 50
- education and 144, 146, 149, 153
- empire (*imperium Iesuiticum*) 90
- equivocatio Iesuitica* and 111
- expulsion from France 79n16, 116, 121
- expulsion from Gdańsk and Toruń 104, 106
- expulsion from Poland as aim in *Consilium* 81, 103
- expulsion from Transylvania under Sigismund Báthory 8
- expulsion from Venice 8, 81, 122, 127, 145
- Habsburg alliance 15, 125
- Habsburgs and 12, 15, 40, 48, 58, 61–62, 64, 75, 80, 102, 125, 128–29
- influence in Poland–Lithuania 3n9
- institutions 10, 55, 144
- Jakub Najmanowicz and 143
- Jan Brożek and 2, 15, 64, 80, 100–1, 103, 137, 139, 141–43, 145–54, 156–57. *See also* main heading under Brożek, Jan

Jesuits (*cont.*)

- Jan Turnowski and 14, 83–86, 105–8, 113–23, 156. *See also* main heading under Turnowski, Jan
- Jan Zamoyski and 10, 12–13, 34, 57–58, 61, 87, 150
- Kraków Academy and 11, 15, 55–56, 60–61, 64, 74, 92, 139, 140–42, 146, 148, 149n48, 150–51, 152–54, 156
- Lublin presence of 67
- Manuel Álvares textbook used in Poland–Lithuania by 149
- Monita* as practical guidance for 131
- of Poznań 22, 25
- pedagogy of 94
- Piotr Myszkowski and 140–41
- Polish Brethren (Socinians) and 11, 13, 16, 20, 60, 66–68, 73–74, 135, 155
- Protestant Reformation and 2, 5, 27, 66–67, 105
- responses to *Monita* 133, 138
- Sixth General Congregation of 128
- Stephen Báthory and 4, 8–13, 17, 34, 36–38, 40–43, 50, 54, 57, 60–61, 92, 140, 148, 155–56. *See also* Báthory, Stephen
- theology of 23, 72, 53, 116
- University of Paris and 6, 152
- Vilnius 30–32, 36, 39, 46–47, 53, 155
- Warsaw Confederation and 5, 9, 20–21, 26, 28–29, 31, 34, 38, 41, 50–52, 54, 57–59, 86–87, 89, 119, 155
- Władysław IV and 15–16, 152, 154
- Wojciech of Kalisz and 13, 20, 23, 55, 64, 67–71, 74, 155
- Zebrzydowski Rokosz and 13–14, 29, 40, 48, 64–65, 75–78, 81–82, 84, 88–89, 102–4, 107, 126, 143, 152–53, 156–57
- Jesus Christ 43, 72, 109, 148
- Jews 72
- Jezuici w Polsce* (Załęski) 1n2, 125n4, 126n8
- Jezuitom i inszemduchowem respons* 76
- João I (king) 127
- John III of Sweden (king) 12, 129
- John, Saint of Revelations 109
- Judicium albo rozsądek ...* (Łaszcz) 63n39
- Jurgiewicz, Andrzej 42, 45–47
- Anatomia libelli famosi et scurrilis* 46n70
- De pio, et in sancta ecclesia* 42n51
- Kwestyj kilkadziesiąt albo pytania katolickie ...* 46n70
- Mendacia et convitia evangelica Andreae Volani* 45
- Quaestiones de haeresibus nostri temporis* 46n70
- Responsio [...]* *ad famosum Andreae Volani contra summum pontificem libellum* 45
- Kalisz, Poland 68
- Karcan, Jan 33, 37
- Karnkowski, Stanisław 141
- Kartzanus, Johannes 33n12, 39n38
- Kazania sejmowe* (Skarga) 126n6
- Kazimierski, Mikołaj Biberstein 69
- Kepler, Johannes 150
- Klonowic, Sebastian 55
- Kochanowski, Jan 147, 152
- Wróżki* (Divinations) 152
- Königsberg, university of 20, 44
- “Konsens” (Brożek) 139, 146
- Kórnik Library 127n12, 143n17
- Kościelecki, Łukasz 24
- Kraków 1–4, 6, 10–13, 15, 21–23, 30, 35, 41, 45–47, 49, 55–61, 63, 66–68, 74–75, 81, 88, 99, 111, 125–26, 133–34, 139–46, 148–54, 156–57
- anti-Protestant riot in 1587 in 61
- anti-Protestant tumult in 59
- Jesuit school in 15, 140–41, 144–46, 152, 154
- nobles of 151
- Kraków Academy 11, 15, 55–56, 60–61, 64, 74, 92, 139, 140–42, 146, 148, 149n48, 150–51, 152–54, 156
- gratuity of Jesuit education for 149n48
- noble lineage of professors in 150
- Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie* (Wojciech of Kalisz) 64, 66, 67n5, 68, 70n11–114, 71n15–116, 74, 155
- Krótkie uważenie konstytucyj nowotniej o jezuitach* 106, 123
- Ks. Jana Wielewickiego T. J. Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego* 126n7
- Kujawy region 20
- Kwestyj kilkadziesiąt albo pytania katolickie ...* (Jurgiewicz) 46n70

- Lancicius, Daniel 37, 39ⁿ39, 42, 43ⁿ54, 63ⁿ39, 145
- Landolfo, Peter 137
- Łasicki, Jan 37
- Łaski, Jan 33
- Łaszcz, Marcin 62, 68
Judicium albo rozsądek ... 63ⁿ39
Pogrom lewartowski 68
- Laus, Jan 63
Nobilis Poloni pro Societatis Jesu clericis 63ⁿ40
- Łęczycycki, Mikołaj 145
- Leiden, The Netherlands 2–3, 5, 7–8, 10, 17, 65, 82, 139–40, 152
- Leipzig, Germany 23
- Łempicki, Stanisław 57ⁿ9, 150ⁿ57
- lesser nobility 88. *See also* magnates and *szlachta*
- Lesser Poland 5
Letters from Poznań 112
- Leuven, Belgium 82, 140
- Lewartów, Poland (Lubartów)
- Lewartów dispute 11, 13, 20, 67–68, 74
- Libri quinque contra Scargae jesuitae Vilnensis Septem [...] columnas, etlibrum Duodecimartium Zuingliocaluinistarum* [Five books against the Vilnius Jesuit Piotr Skarga's Seven pillars [...] and book of Twelve tricks of Zvinglo-Calvinists] (Wolan) 37, 39–41, 46
- Lithuania 2–13, 16–17, 19, 25, 30–32, 34, 36–39, 46–47, 50, 52, 54–55, 58, 62, 65, 68, 75, 79, 86, 102–4, 118, 124–25, 136, 140–41, 146–49, 152, 154–55, 157–58
- Livonia 34, 41, 60, 102
- Łobżenica, Poland 83
- Łódź Vojvodship 9, 105
- London, England 33, 129, 137
- Loreto, Italy 15
- Louis XIII (king) 129
- Lower Silesia 15, 125
- Loyola, Ignatius of 39–40, 146
- Lubartów, Poland 11, 20, 67
- Lubieniecki, Andrzej the Younger 67
- Lublin, Poland 2, 11, 13, 20, 60, 67–69, 72, 135
- Lucius, Ludwig 62
- Lusławice, Poland 69
- Luther, Martin 27
- Lutheranism 20, 71
- Lutheran/Lutherans 12, 16–17, 44, 49, 67, 104, 107–8
- Lviv, Ukraine 1, 126, 154
- Machiavelli, Niccolò 147
- Maciejowski, Cardinal Bernard 127
- Macúrek, Josef 80
- magnates 5, 31, 35, 86–88, 130–31. *See also* lesser nobles and *szlachta*
- Magni, Valeriano 17
Contra imposturas Jesuitarum 17
- Marburg, University of 83, 106
- Marciana Library 82
- Margherita of Spain (queen) 129
- Marian devotion 59. *See also* images, veneration of
- Mariana, Juan de 6, 115, 120
 regicide doctrine and 115, 122
- Masovia region 5
- matrons 131ⁿ9. *See also* widows
- Matthias (emperor) 128
- Maukisch, Johann 17
Schriffmässige Gegenstellung ... 17ⁿ52
Warnung ... 17ⁿ52
- Maurice, son of William of Orange 7
- Maximilian III Habsburg 12, 58
- Mayer, Johann 63
- Melanchthon, Philip 20, 44
- Mercurian, Everard 32, 36
- Micanzio, Fulgenzio
Instruzione a prencipi 137
- Minghino, Bonatto 137
- missionary work 90. *See also* China
- Modrzewski, Andrzej Frycz 59
- Molinist controversy 27
- monarchical authority 103
- Monita privata (secreta) Societatis Jesu* 14–15, 46, 64, 101, 103, 124–38, 152, 156–57
- Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski and 127
- debut publication of 128
- German and Polish translations of 127ⁿ12
- Hieronim Zahorowski and 15, 126
- impact on contemporaneous religious and political discourses 138

- Monita privata (secreta) Societatis Jesu (cont.)*
 Jan Ostroróg and 133
 Jan Wielewicki and Stanisław Załęski and 126
 Machiavellian tactics in 131
 marital strategy for rulers in 129
 Paolo Sarpi and 15, 128, 137
 publication locale of 125
 rebuttals to 133, 136. See also *Monita salutaria*
 rhetoric and style of 131
 themes in 133
- Monita salutaria (Bembus)* 133, 134
 moral relativism 120
 Moravia region 102
Mörderische Geschichte der Jesuiten 11
 Moscow, Russia 102
 Muhammadans 72
 Muscovy 16, 38
 Myszkowski, Piotr 140–41
- Na artykuł o Jezuitach zjazdu sandomierskiego odpowiedź* (Skarga) 76
- Najmanowicz, Jakub 142–45, 149
Zniesienie obrony 143, 144n18–n26, 145n27
- Naples, Italy 63
- Natoński, Bronisław 2, 4, 6, 11, 30, 140–41
- Nehemiah, prophet 134
- Netherlands, The 7, 21, 67
- Neue Zeitung* 108
- Niemojewski, Jakub 9–11, 17, 19–28, 35, 55, 64, 67, 100–102, 136, 155, 157
 advocacy for use of Polish rather than Latin in religious discourse 28
Apologia ... 22–23
 early life of 20
 Jakub Wujek and 9, 21, 23, 25, 155
 Jan Tomicki and 21
 Jansenism and 27
 Jesuits as papal agents and followers of pope's kitchen 26
 Reformed doctrine and early Christian tradition in writings of 35
 teachings on justification and free will 27
- Niemojewski, Mikołaj 20
- Niniński, Stanisław 49
- nobility 5, 8–10, 29, 31, 40, 52, 58, 62, 75–77, 84, 86, 88, 92, 96–97, 114, 119, 121, 126, 133, 141–42, 148–49, 151, 153, 156
 anti-absolutist sentiments in Poland–Lithuania 40
 noble estates 93, 121
 noble liberties 87, 103
- Notibergae/Notobergae 125, 125n14
- Notre Dame, Paris 9
- Nowiny z Poznania ...* (Jan Turnowski) 14, 107–8, 113, 123, 156
- Nowiny z Torunia* 113
- nuns 130
- Nysa, Poland 15, 125, 128, 135, 156
- Oath of Allegiance controversy 7
- Obrona prawdy listów z miasta Torunia* (Jan Turnowski) 14, 114, 118, 123, 156
- Opaliński, Andrzej 108
- Oppugnatio...* (Wolan). See *Idololatriae Loiolitarum Vilmensium oppugnatio*
- Oratio [...] pro Universitate Parisiensi actrice contra Jesuitas reos* (Arnauld) 65n44
- Ossoliński Library 79
- Ossoliński, Andrzej 106
- Ostroróg, Jan 133, 135–36
- Padua, Italy 8, 80, 144–45, 150, 153
 University of 80, 145, 153
- Paets, Jan 65n44, 152n68
- papacy 14, 43, 50–51, 59, 62, 82
 papal agents 26
 papal bulls 153
- Papal States 15
- Paris, France 1, 6–7, 31–32, 35, 47, 129, 140, 152
 University of 6, 152
- Pascal, Blaise 6
- Pasquier, Étienne 6, 7n20, 26, 65n44
- Patrocinium veritatis literarum Torunensium ...* (Jan Turnowski) 118n11
- Paul, Saint (St. Paul) 24, 109
- Peter, Apostle 109
- Piotrków, Catholic synod in 56
- Piotrkowczyk, Andrzej 45n64, 63, 133
 arrest and punishment of 139–40, 151
- Piotrkowczyk, Andrzej (d.1620) 139
- Pisa, Alonso de
Catholica et orthodoxa responsio 25

- Pisma polityczne ...* (Czubek) 75n1, 75n3, 76n4–n8, 77n10–n14, 78n15, 81n21–n25, 82n29, 83n31–n32, 83n34, 85n35, 87n36, 88n37, 89n38–n39, 90n40, 91n41, 92n42–n43, 93n44, 94n45, 95n46–n47, 96n48–n51, 97n52, 100n54, 102n55
- Plaidoyer* (Amauld) 65
- Pogrom lewartowski* (Łaszcz) 68
- Poland, Kingdom of 1–14, 16–26, 30–31, 33–34, 36, 46–47, 49, 54–55, 58–59, 62, 65–68, 71–72, 75, 77–79, 81, 83–85, 88, 90, 93, 98–106, 113, 116, 118, 122–25, 129, 136, 140–42, 144, 146–49, 152, 154–55, 157–58
- Polish Catholic Reformation/Polish Reformation 20, 55n2, 71–72
- Polish Index of Prohibited Books 20
- Polish nobility 84. *See also* magnates and lesser nobility
- Polish Protestant Reformation 66
- Poland–Lithuania 2, 3n9, 4–6, 8, 11–13, 16–17, 19, 25, 31, 34, 36, 46–47, 52, 54–55, 58, 62, 65, 68, 75, 79, 86, 102–4, 118, 125, 136, 140–41, 146, 148, 149n53, 152, 154–55, 157–58
- anti-Jesuit works produced in 37, 154
- partitions of 3
- Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth 1, 3–6, 8–14, 16–18, 20–21, 23, 27–29, 31, 34, 41–42, 47–48, 50, 53–55, 59–62, 65–67, 74–75, 77, 84–94, 97–103, 111, 117–18, 120–25, 135, 139, 143–44, 149–50, 153–57
- Polish–Lithuanian nobility 31, 40, 58, 62, 142, 151, 153
- religious liberty in 118–19, 121–22
- religious pluralism in 73, 87
- Polish Brethren 11, 13, 16, 20, 60, 66–68, 73–74, 135, 155. *See also* Czech Brethren
- Politico-Christianus* (Scribani) 147
- Połock, Poland 41
- popes 50. *See also* Clement VIII, Gregory XIII, and Urban VIII
- Portugal 127
- Possevino, Antonio 10, 36, 43, 47, 57, 61, 129, 140
- Epistola ad Stephanum Primum ...* 36n30
- Stephen Báthory and 10, 36, 43, 57, 61, 140
- Jan Zamoyski and 10, 57, 61
- Piotr Myszkowski and 140
- Poznań, Poland 1, 4, 9–11, 14–15, 19, 21–22, 24–25, 27, 43, 63, 84, 106–8, 112–13, 119, 127, 133, 140–41, 151, 155, 157
- Jesuit college in 21–22, 140–41
- Jesuits in 22, 25
- religious conflict in 112–13
- religious disturbances (1593) in 106
- tumults in 24
- Prague, Czechia 128, 140
- “Privilege” (Brożek) 139, 146
- Pro religiosissimis Societatis Jesu patribus ...* (Szyszkowski) 56n4, 63n40
- Pro sacratissima Eucharistia* (Skarga) 31n5, 32, 33n11
- Próba zakonu* (Skarga) 98
- professi* 126
- Protasewicz, Walerian 32–34
- Protestantism 2, 5, 16, 26, 43, 71, 86
- Protestants 2, 5–6, 10, 12–14, 16, 21, 38, 41, 49, 52, 61, 64, 106–7, 109, 112, 115, 117, 120, 123, 140
- Protestant literalism 109
- Protestant Reformation 2, 5, 27, 67, 105
- Protestant Reformation, Polish 66
- Protestant–Catholic conflicts 68
- Prussia 3, 44. *See also* Royal Prussia
- Przeclawczyk, Jan 142
- Przestroga i sposób na czasy przyszłe naprawy Rzpltej* 14, 76
- “Przywilej” (Brożek) 139, 146
- Quaestiones de haeresibus nostri temporis ...* (Jurgiewicz) 46n70
- Radymiński, Marcin 142
- “Academia controversa ...” 142n11
- Radziłów, Poland 111
- Radziwiński, Adrian 68, 71
- Radziwiłł, Albrecht 31
- Radziwiłł, Cardinal Jerzy 31, 37–38, 50–52, 141
- Radziwiłł, Janusz 88
- Radziwiłł, Krzysztof “the Thunderbolt” 42–43
- Radziwiłł, Mikołaj “the Black” 32, 35, 38
- Radziwiłł, Mikołaj Krzysztof “the Orphan” 31, 33, 37–38

- Radziwiłł, Mikołaj "the Red" 31–32, 37–38, 42
- Radziwiłł, Stanisław 31
- Raków, Poland 135
- Reformed Eucharist doctrine 33
- Reformed theologians 33, 35, 43
- regicide 115, 122
- religious liberty 118–19, 121–22
- religious orders 92–93, 101, 103, 130–31, 144, 146
- religious pluralism 73, 87
- Replika na nowiny z Poznania* (Sawicki) 113
- Respons na trzydzieści przyczyn ...* (Jan Turnowski) 119, 122–23
- Responsio ad libellum famosum ...* (Tyszkiewicz) 99, 118
- Responsio [...] ad famosum Andreae Volani ...* (Jurgiewicz) 45
- Reszka, Stanisław
- Spongia ...* 63
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de 146
- Riga, Latvia 60
- Rokosz. *See* Zebrzydowski Rokosz
- Rokosz debates 75
- Rokosz period 76–77, 89
- Roman Catholic Church 59
- Roman See 110
- Rome, Italy 2–3, 8, 17, 22, 27, 30, 32, 47, 51–52, 68, 124, 127–28, 151
- Rościszewski, Wojciech 114–15, 117–18
- Ad senatum equitesque Polonos oratio ...* 114
- Royal Prussia 4, 12, 14, 19, 104, 106–7, 113, 123, 156
- Rozmowy o rokoszu* 76
- Rudolf II (emperor) 128
- Russia 3
- Rybiński, Mikołaj 107
- Rzeczpospolita*. *See* Commonwealth and Poland–Lithuania
- Rzeczy naprawy potrzebujące abo sejmem abo rokoszem w Rzpltej* 14, 76
- Sabinus, Georg 44
- sacramental theology, Catholic 73–74, 109
- Sagredo, Giovanni Francesco 137
- Samosatenians 72
- Sandomierz Confession 23
- Sandomierz Consensus 31
- Sarpi, Paolo 8, 15, 80, 82–83, 98, 128, 137, 145.
- See also* Wotton, Henry
- Henry Wotton and 8
- Jan Szczęsny Herburt and 83
- Jesuit expulsion from Venice and 145
- Monita privata* and 15, 128, 137
- network and circle of 8, 15, 80, 98, 128, 137, 145
- Venetian Interdict and 82
- Sawicki, Kacper 51–52, 113, 123
- Tryplika na Duplikę* 113
- Sawicki, Maciej 51–52, 113, 123
- Scharffenberg, Krispin the Younger 125
- Schönhoff, Grzegorz 15
- Schriftmäßige Gegenstellung ...* (Maukisch) 17n52
- Schutzred für die ehrwürdigen Herren unnd Vätter ...* (Szyszkowski) 63n41
- SchutzRede der Warheit ...* (Jan Turnowski) 118n11
- Scotland 62, 64, 102
- Scribani, Charles
- Politico-Christianus* 147
- Second World War 2
- Sejm* 8–10, 12, 16, 20, 58, 106, 139, 154
- resolution of 1607 106
- sejmiki* 108, 117, 139, 154. *See also* *Sejm Sententia* (Wolan). *See Vera et orthodoxa ... Septuaginta graves et arduae rationes ...* (K. Zbaraski) 80–81
- Serveto, Miguel 66
- Sicily, Italy 56
- Siedm filarów ...* (Skarga) 37n31
- Sieradz, Poland 111
- Sigismund (king)
- Sigismund (son of Władysław IV) 15
- Sigismund II Augustus (king) 8, 12, 31, 121
- Sigismund III Vasa (king) 12–13, 15–17, 22, 42, 58, 75, 78, 87–88, 92, 104, 125, 129, 141n, 151, 155–56
- Battle of Guzów and 88
- death of 12, 16, 151
- establishment of a Jesuit college in Kraków and 15, 140–41, 144–46, 152, 154
- Sigismund Báthory 8
- Sigismund, prince of Sweden. *See* Sigismund

- Silesia region 12, 15, 105, 125, 156
- Skarga, Piotr 3, 5, 29–35, 37–39, 41–43, 47, 49, 51–52, 57, 76, 80–81, 87, 97–98, 125–26, 129, 143, 146, 150
- Artes duodecim sacramentariorum ...* 37n31
- Kazania sejmowe* 126n6
- Na artykuł o Jezuitach zjazdu sandomierskiego odpowiedź* 76
- Pro sacratissima Eucharistia* 31n5, 32, 33n11
- Próba zakonu* 98
- response to Wolan's *Defensio* 37
- Siedm filarów ...* 37n31
- Śmiglecki, Marcin 57, 150
- Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
- Socinians. *See* Polish Brethren
- Sozzini, Fausto 66
- Spain 7, 14, 21–22, 59, 62, 75, 95, 129
- Spanish Inquisition 40, 46, 48, 83
- Spongia ...* (Reszka) 63
- St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre 5, 9, 31, 50, 52, 54
- St. Gregory and Mary Church, Toruń 106
- Sternacki, Sebastian 67
- Strasbourg, France 44, 84, 105
- Sturm, Johann 68
- Sudrowski, Stanisław 37
- Sweden 12, 16, 58, 90, 102, 129, 141
- Switzerland 26
- Szelągowski, Adam 80
- Szembek, Fryderyk 151
- Gratis plebański ...* 151n62
- szlachta* 4, 10, 87–88, 120–21. *See also* noble privilege
- Szyszkowski, Marcin 56, 63, 134–35
- Pro religiosissimis Societatis Jesu patribus ...* 56n4, 63n40
- Schutzred für die ehrwürdigen Herren ...* 63n41
- Teutonic Knights 62, 75, 144, 15
- Theologiae jesuitarum praecipua capita* (Chemnitz) 44n60
- Thirty Years' War 128
- Tomicki, Jan 21
- Torres, Francisco
- De sanctissima Eucharistia* 32n9, 33n11
- Toruń, Poland 11–14, 38, 50, 75, 84, 104–8, 110–14, 116, 118, 136, 149, 156–57
- Academic Gymnasium in 14, 84, 106–7
- controversy over religious processions in 109–10, 113
- interconfessional conflict across Polish cities and in 111
- Jesuit college in 14, 84, 104, 106–7
- religious and political tensions in 106–7
- religious conflict in 113
- Sejm resolution of 1607 and 106
- Toruń pamphlets 12, 136
- Trąba ...* 156
- transubstantiation, doctrine of 33, 39, 110
- Transylvania 8–10, 34, 102, 155
- Trent, Council of 83
- Trinity, doctrine/dogma of 11, 66
- Tryplika na Duplikę* (Sawicki) 113
- Tudor, Elizabeth. *See* Elizabeth I
- Turnov, Czechia 105
- Turnowski, Jan 14, 83–86, 105–8, 113–23, 156
- authorship of *Krótkie uważenie* and 106, 123
- Catholic responses and rebuttals to writings of 123
- Catholic ritual practices and image veneration for 109, 120
- characterization of Jesuit behavior as intrusive and provocative 114
- critique of Jesuit casuistry 120
- critique of Jesuit moral philosophy and Mariana's regicide doctrine 115
- depiction of Protestants as loyal subjects 116
- Duplika na Replikę nowin* 113
- early life and family of 105
- international context of Jesuit activities in writings of 121
- Jesuit hypocrisy for 115, 121
- Kacper Sawicki and 113
- Kasper Happ and 119
- legal references to Władysław Jagiełło and Sigismund Augustus in works of 121
- Monita privata* and 14, 156
- Nowiny z Poznania ...* 14, 107–8, 113, 123, 156
- Obrona prawdy listów z miasta Torunia* 14, 114, 118, 123, 156

- Turnowski, Jan (*cont.*)
Patrocinium veritatis literarum Torunensium ... 118n11
 references to Jesuit expulsions from other European states in writings of 106, 116, 121–22
 rhetorical techniques of 117
 ritual practices addressed by 109, 115, 120
SchutzRede der Wahrheit ... 118n11
 tyrannicide doctrine of Juan de Mariana and 120
 Warsaw Confederation of 1573 and 119
- Turnowski, Jan Sr. 105
- Turnowski, Szymon Teofil 105
- Turrianus. *See* Torres, Francisco 30
- Tyniecki, Jan 119. *See also* Jan Wolrab
- tyrannicide 120. *See also* regicide doctrine
- Tyszkiewicz, Jerzy 99, 118, 123
Responsio ad libellum famosum ... 99, 118
- Ukraine 154
- Urban VIII (pope) 15, 152
- “Uwagi wstępne” (Barycz) 2n3, 15n46, 139n1, 140n2, 141n6, 141n7, 142n9, 142n10, 145n28, 145n29, 147n33, 150n54, 151n63, 152n64–n65
- Valois, Henri de 31
- Valois-Angoulême dynasty 9
- “Varietas” (Brożek) 139, 146
- Vasa, Sigismund (prince of Sweden). *See* Sigismund 111
- Vatican Apostolic Library 82
- Vega, Manuel de 41–43, 47
Assertiones theologicæ ... 41, 41n50
 Wolan’s response to work by 42
- veneration of images and saints, doctrine of 22, 39, 109, 120
- Venetian Interdict 82, 103
- Venice, Italy 8, 15, 81–82, 84, 101–2, 127–28, 138, 145, 153
 Jesuit expulsion of 1606 in 8, 81, 122, 127, 145
 Republic of 8, 84, 138, 145
 Signoria of 153
- Vera et orthodoxa* ... (Wolan) 30–34, 47
- Vermigli, Peter Martyr
Defensio doctrinae ... 33n13
- Vienna, Austria 12, 128, 140
- Viger, Jan 21–22
- Vilnius, Lithuania 3–4, 10–11, 30–39, 41–43, 45–47, 49–53, 60–61, 63, 65, 111, 123, 140–41, 150, 155, 157
 Academy 45, 51, 141
 anti-Calvinist unrest and tumults in 52, 60
 anti-Protestant violence in Vilnius and 11, 50
 burning of Calvinist books in 5, 52
 edict of Bathory in 1581 in 38, 41–42, 50, 61
 Jesuits 30–32, 36, 38–39, 46–47, 53, 155
 Jesuit college/university in 10, 30–31, 34, 45, 140, 155
- Vistula River 104
- Vitelleschi, Muzio 144
- Votum katolika jednego jezuitach* (Herburt) 77, 82, 107, 156. *See also* *Consilium de recuperanda* ...
- Warnung* ... (Maukis) 17n52
- Warsaw Confederation 5, 9, 20–21, 26, 28–29, 31, 34, 38, 41, 50–52, 54, 57–59, 86–87, 89, 119, 155
 “Apologeticus” poem and 50, 54
 Báthory, Stephen, oath to 38, 41
Consilium and 86–87, 89
 Jan Turnowski and 119
- Warszewicki, Stanisław 125
- Western Europe 6, 32, 37, 47, 57, 129, 136
- Whitaker, William 43, 47, 157
- widows 60, 64, 130–31, 137, 157
- Wielewicki, Jan 126, 128, 136
- Wielkopolska 21. *See also* Greater Poland
- Wieruszów, Poland 105
- William of Orange 7
- Wittenberg, University of 20
- Władysław IV (king) 15–16, 152, 154
- Wojciech of Kalisz 13, 20, 23, 55, 64, 67–71, 74, 155
 assessment tool of 70
 criticism of Jesuits 69
 early life and education of 68

- Wojciech of Kalisz (*cont.*)
Krótkie a prawdziwe opisanie dysputacyjnej 64, 66, 67n5, 68, 70n1–n14, 71n15–n16, 74, 155
 polemic against the Jesuits 70
 techniques to critic Jesuits used by 70
- Wolan, Andrzej 10–11, 17, 23, 30–49, 53, 64, 123, 155, 157
A Defense of the True Orthodox and Ancient View 11n35, 33, 33n12, 34–35, 35n17–n21, 36, 36n24–n29, 37, 39–40, 46, 53, 157
Ad scurilem et famosum libellum ... 45, 45n65–n66, 46n67–n68
 anti-Jesuit rhetoric of 40
Apologia ... 42, 43n54–n56, 44n57–n59, 45n62–n63
Assertionum de Eucharistia falsarum ... 42
 autobiography in *Ad scurilem et famosum libellum ...* 45
 dedication of *Defensio* to King Báthory by 34
 guise of a self-proclaimed simpleton in his arguments 35
Idololatriae Lololarum Vilnensium oppugnatio ... 37, 39, 39n38–n41, 40, 40–41, 46, 49
 Jesuit order as Satan's whorehouse 40
 Jesuits as Judas for 44
 Jesuits presumptuous appropriation of Jesus's name according to 43
Libri quinque contra Scargae jesuitae ... 37, 39–41, 46
 Piotr Skarga and 30–35, 37–39, 41–43, 47, 49
 Radziwiłł, Mikołaj "the Red" and 31–32, 37–38, 42
 use of church fathers writings to counter Jesuits by 35, 47
 use of highly graphic vocabulary by 40
Vera et orthodoxa ... 30–34, 47
- Wolrab, Jan 25, 63n40, 119, 151n62
 women 35, 129, 131
 Wotton, Henry 128. *See also* Sarpi, Paolo
- Wrocław, Poland 25, 37, 56, 105, 107, 125–26, 129, 149
Wróżki (Kochanowski) 152
 "Wstęp" (Barycz) 2n3, 15n46, 139n1, 140n2, 141n6, 141n7, 142n9, 142n10, 145n28, 145n29, 147n33, 150n54, 151n63, 152n64–n65
- Wujek, Jakub 9–10, 21, 23, 25, 34, 66, 72, 107
Dialysis ... 25
Iudicium albo rozsadek niektórych katolików ... 137
O bóstwie Syna Bożego i Ducha Świętego ... 66, 72
- Wujek, to jest krótki odpis na pisanie X. Jakuba Wujka z Węgrowca (Czechowic) 66, 69n9, 72, 74, 155
- Wybór pism (Brożek) 2n3, 139n1, 145n28, 146n32
- Wysocki, Szymon 21, 125
- Zahorowski, Hieronim 15, 124, 126–27, 133–36
 authorship of *Monita privata* and 126, 136, 138
- Załęski, Stanisław 1, 80, 125–26
Jezuici w Polsce 1n2, 125n4, 126n8
- Zamoyski, Jan 10, 12–13, 34, 57–58, 61, 87, 150
 1589 Sejm and 58, 58n13
 Antonio Possevino and 10, 57, 61
 "Zamoyski, jezuici i Skarga" (Łempicki) 57n9, 150n57
- Zbaraski brothers 81–82
- Zbaraski, Jerzy 14, 79–80, 82, 103
- Zbaraski, Krzysztof 80–81
Septuaginta graves et arduae rationes 81
- Zebrzydowski (or Sandomierz) Rokosz
 Zebrzydowski Rokosz 13–14, 29, 40, 48, 64–65, 75–78, 81–82, 84, 88–89, 102–4, 107, 126, 143, 152–53, 156–57
- Zebrzydowski, Mikołaj 88
Zniesienie obrony collegium ... (Najmanowicz) 143, 144n18–n26, 145n27
- Zurich, Switzerland 33, 84, 105