**1 “Good fences make good neighbors”? Jews, Protestants and the city**

**1.1 Some characteristics of Jewish – Catholic coexistence in Cracow-Kazimierz**

**1.2 Protestants and the Reformation in Cracow and Lesser Poland**

“So powerful are the heretics, that they dare take arms and wreak havoc on the royal city.”[[1]](#footnote-1) Thus wrote the papal nuncio Niccolo Stoppio, who was astounded by the tolerance towards Protestants during his visit in Poland in 1564, taken aback by their status in Cracow and their ability to exercise their power in public. Indeed, during that same period the Reformation entered a period of prosperity in the capital and its supporters sought to capitalize on their newfound status and leave a mark on the city. However, the way was not quite open to the Protestants in the capital and across Poland, and the movement was yet to undergo considerable turmoil. Over the course of the Reformation’s short and eventful life, its supporters faced many internal struggles, as well as attacks from the Catholics. The counter-Reformation ultimately prevailed, determining the religious character of the capital and of the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, redrawing its internal religious boundaries and redefining the limits of religious tolerance.

As a city with a large German-origin population, and as a university town with a thriving publishing and cultural scene that also served as a center of international trade, Cracow was exposed to the ideas of the Reformation at an early stage. Many members of Cracow’s academia,[[2]](#footnote-2) which had a long tradition of advocating Church reform,[[3]](#footnote-3) had a keen interest in Martin Luther and his ideas. They attained information on his teachings from students who had attended western universities, aristocrats who travelled Europe, and foreign merchants visiting in Cracow. The German monk’s works were sold publicly within academia, and many theologists read them and discussed their contents – at least until the issue of the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* and of the royal decree of Sigismund I the Old, which strictly forbade importing or selling any of Luther’s books (1520).[[4]](#footnote-4) “Lutheranism continued to spread across Cracow with every passing day,”[[5]](#footnote-5) despite the academia’s proclamation that it was pro-Catholic and the appointment of its rector as chief censor, and despite a number of anti-Reformation decrees issued by the king – such as the decree to establish a special committee overseeing bookstores and publishing houses in 1521, a decree permitting the Cracow bishop and town committee members to search private residences for forbidden books in 1523, and a ban on attending Protestant universities abroad. Humanists, intellectuals, urban nobles, and wealthy city-dwellers who felt the need for change continued to lend an attentive ear to the novelties coming in from Germany. In an attempt to quell the spread of the Reformation in the capital, the Church launched a series of public sermons and began prosecuting city-dwellers who were accused of Lutheran errors and the desecration of Catholic sacraments (1525-1531).[[6]](#footnote-6) The preacher Jakub of Iłża, who tried to propagate Lutheran ideas from the church stand, was put on trial in1528 and 1534. He ultimately became the first Reformation supporter to gain a following in Cracow. In response to the Church’s crackdown, the Reformation movement went underground, with supporters convening clandestinely in private residences to discuss new ideas and required reforms. The Church escalated its measures against its opponents and against supporters of the Reformation in particular, even burning Katarzyna Weigel at the stake in 1539. Found guilty of relapsing into apostasy by the episcopal court of Piotr-Gamrat,[[7]](#footnote-7) Weigel was posthumously recognized as the Protestants’ “first martyr” – although she had most likely been practicing Judaism.[[8]](#footnote-8) In spite of these difficulties, Protestantism continued to attract more and more adherents. Between 1542-1547, royal librarian Andrzej Trzecieski, known in modern historiography as “the first hero of the Polish Reformation,”[[9]](#footnote-9) hosted in his home what were to become the most famous Protestant private gatherings, with the participation of a number of the Reformation movement’s most important leaders. Among these was Franciszek Lismanin (1504-1566), who served as Queen Bona’s confessor before joining the movement.[[10]](#footnote-10) Eventually, many Reformation supporters – who up until then discussed reforms as members of the Catholic Church – began abandoning the establishment and officially accepting the Protestant faith. Even before the death of Sigismund I the Old (1548), who was a strident opponent of the Reformation, the movement emerged back into the open, and public Evangelical sermons could be heard in several of Cracow’s Catholic churches.

The Reformation began to truly prosper in the capital with the enthronement of young Sigismund II Augustus, whose preachers Jan of Koźmin and Wawrzyniec Discordia were influenced by the sermons of Jakub of Iłża. Unlike his father, the young king was “inclined to pragmatic compromise” in matters both political and religious.[[11]](#footnote-11) In 1550, nobleman Mikołaj Oleśnicki banished the Paulinist monks from his city, Pińczów (approximately 70 kilometers from Cracow), turning his city into the first Protestant center in Lesser Poland. As of 1552, the minister Grzegorz Paweł of Brzezin, one the most prominent leaders and theologists of the Polish Reformation movement, began conducting Protestant services in private homes near Cracow. These were attended “by masses of people arriving on foot from Cracow with the utmost enthusiasm […] in good times and bad times, and without fear of the threats or insults levelled at them along the way at the incitement of the Church.”[[12]](#footnote-12) In the 1550s, many Poles who had previously been interested in Lutheranism began leaving the Catholic establishment for Calvinism. This new confession, which highlighted proactiveness and professional achievement and cultivated a strong work ethic, was tailored to the needs of wealthy city-dwellers. The parliamentary-Presbyterian institution of the Calvinist Church allowed its adherents a say over what was done in their communities and afforded them the right to oppose the king if the latter disobeyed the law. This coincided with the interests of the nobility, which was struggling against the Church’s monopoly and the clout of the monarchy.

Calvinist congregations were quick to emerge. The first Calvinist synod was held in the above-mentioned Pińczów already in 1550. The first Protestant general assembly of Lesser Poland was held in 1554 in Słomniki, near Cracow. The assembly decided upon the organization of the Calvinist Church, which was replete with assemblies and local subdivisions.[[13]](#footnote-13) In addition to religious ministers, lay patrons (*equestris ordinis*) were elected for the community’s management, whose job it was to look after and protect members of the community. This structure contributed considerably to the dependence of the Calvinist community on wealthy, privileged and well-connected nobles.[[14]](#footnote-14) On August 17, 1557, the first public Protestant mass was held in Cracow, at the court of burgrave and senator Jan Boner.[[15]](#footnote-15) This event marked the official beginning of the Cracovian Evangelical community. At the request of the followers, Grzegorz Paweł was appointed as the first permanent chief Protestant minister in Cracow, subsequently serving in this position for ten years.[[16]](#footnote-16) Stanisław Wiśniowiecki was appointed as his assistant. Later on, services were held at the private homes of nobleman Marcjan Chełmski next to the Church of St. Francis,[[17]](#footnote-17) and of Jan Tarło on St. John street. Another minister, Daniel Biliński, was appointed in 1558 for the benefit of German-speaking adherents who were not proficient in Polish.

According to the Calvinist doctrine as it was adopted in Poland, there was no place for social ideals that would appeal to city commoners or members of the lower classes. This gap, along with some theological disputes, led many city-dwellers to leave the Calvinist Church in favor of more radical avenues. Already at the general assembly of 1556 in Secemina, Piotr of Goniądz spoke against the dogma of the Holy Trinity and in favor of an egalitarian human society. After many heated discussions, the Calvinist denomination split into the larger Reformed Church and the anti-Trinitarian minor church (*Ecclesia Minor*), referred to by its rivals as Arian (after the ancient Christian sect), and by its supporters as the Polish Brethren. Grzegorz Paweł, who published the anti-Trinitarian *Tabula de Trinitate* in 1561 – whose copies were publicly burned at the request of the Calvinists and on the king’s orders – became a leader of the Polish Brethren in Cracow. This internal schism was officially approved by the 1565 Protestant general assembly in Piotrków. In Cracow, members of the more radical denomination held their services at a residential building on 14 Szpitalna street, corner of St. Thomas street, which had been donated to the Polish Brethren Church by Stanisław Cikowski.[[18]](#footnote-18) Thanks to the combined efforts of Grzegorz Paweł, the Unitarian Giorgio Biandrata, and Lismanini,[[19]](#footnote-19) the capital fast became the most important center of this radical denomination (alongside Lublin), up to the establishment of the ani-Trinitarian center in Raków (1567). Between 1579-1583 and between 1587-1598, Cracow was home to Fausto Sozzini (Faustus Socinus), the unofficial leader of the Polish Brethren who helped crystallize this confession’s theology. Due to his substantial contribution the adherents of the brethren were known in western Europe as the Socinians.[[20]](#footnote-20)

At the same time, Cracow also became an important Calvinistic center. In 1564, the first Protestant gymnasium was founded on the initiative of Krzysztof Trecy, attracting students from all over Poland.[[21]](#footnote-21) In 1568 services were being held at the private residence of nobleman Tęczyński. In 1569, “thanks to the influence of the Protestant magnates,”[[22]](#footnote-22) King Sigismund II Augustus permitted the establishment of an Evangelical cemetery in an ancient garden outside one of the city gates (*Brama Mikołajska*).[[23]](#footnote-23) On May 2, 1572, after years of praying in private homes and following continuous effort and fundraising, the community managed to obtain a permit from the king to open a Protestant church (*zbór*) in the city, on 6 St. John street.[[24]](#footnote-24) Due to the unique structure of the roof, reminiscent of a movable structure used to cover hay barracks (see picture in Chapter 4.1), the church was nicknamed “Bróg” (the Haystack). [[25]](#footnote-25) This was the so called ‘shared church,’ in which members of both the Augsburg Evangelical (Lutheran) Church and the Evangelical Reformed (Calvinist) Church could hold their services separately according to the common Evangelical confession, formulated in 1570 and known as *Consensus Sandomirensis* (see below). [[26]](#footnote-26) German services were held in a separate hall on the uppermost floor, while the German-Lutheran minister was subordinated to the Polish minister.[[27]](#footnote-27)

In 1556 there were approximately 1000 Protestants in the Cracow metropolitan area – at least according to the biased account of Protestant minister Wiśniowiecki.[[28]](#footnote-28) During the first phase of the Reformation at the capital, its supporters were predominantly city-dwellers of German origin, estimated at around 600 individuals as of 1572.[[29]](#footnote-29) More or less in the same period, records of the Catholic Church refer to 18 Arian families.[[30]](#footnote-30) According to Urban’s likely bloated estimates, there were 2,000-3,000 Protestants of different faiths and sects in the Cracow metropolitan area in 1568 – that is, roughly 10 percent of the local population.[[31]](#footnote-31) In contrast, Kościelny argues – without specifying sources – that while 15-20 percent of the Polish nobility was Protestant in the 1570s, Protestants amounted to only about four percent of Cracow’s residents.[[32]](#footnote-32) Most of these were Calvinists.[[33]](#footnote-33) Only supporters of German origin, along with a small number of Poles and other immigrants, remained faithful to Luther.[[34]](#footnote-34)

Socially, the make-up of the Protestant community was diverse. Church records report that among the Calvinists were not only the city’s wealthy, but also merchants, barbers, goldsmiths, shoemakers, an armorer, a printer, and two pharmacists.[[35]](#footnote-35) Moreover, over the course of the latter half of the 16th century, a number of voivodes, a mayor, and a sizable portion of the city council were Protestant.[[36]](#footnote-36) Considering their diverse composition, the Protestants’ power lay in the political and social standing of individuals, not so much in the number of followers. As summed up by Tazbir, “the popularity of Protestantism was derived more from quality than from quantity.”[[37]](#footnote-37) The clout and influence of the Protestants was considerable, not just within the city but across Lesser Poland. By the end of the 16th century this region contained 260 Calvinist communities and 52 Polish Brethren communities.[[38]](#footnote-38)

The Protestants’ influence as a whole, and that of the Calvinist Church in particular, was not restricted to ecclesiastical circles. Seeing as most of them were members of the nobility, their growing dominance was translated into political influence in noble assemblies, so much so that many regional diets were ultimately considered to be Protestant. In 1569, among the delegates participating in the regional assembly of Lesser Poland, 65 were Protestant and only 27 were Catholic.[[39]](#footnote-39) In the 1560s, 66 percent of the Sejm’s representatives from Lesser Poland were Protestant.[[40]](#footnote-40) What is more, at the height of the Polish Reformation, when roughly 52 percent of the non-ecclesiastical senators and 46 percent of the senate at large were Protestants, many of them came from Lesser Poland. [[41]](#footnote-41)

As stated, alongside its achievements and limited period of prosperity, the Reformation movement suffered internally from constant division and religious discord. In addition to the increasingly coordinated Catholic opposition, these were among the most decisive factors in the movement’s instability, contributing to its declining support. As early as the 1550’s and 60’s, attempts were made to unify the different denominations. In 1555, Calvinist representatives from Lesser Poland met with representatives of the Bohemian Brethren, but failed to achieve any sort of unity.[[42]](#footnote-42) After his return to Poland in 1556, Jan Łaski (John a Lasco) – a Calvinist reformer known for his work in England during the reign of Edward VI – tried in vain to unify the different Protestant confessions, even attempting to found a national church.[[43]](#footnote-43) In 1566 the Calvinist community of Lesser Poland adopted the Second Helvetic Confession, thus consolidating the foundation for their own statement of faith. Krzysztof Trecy translated it into Polish and made necessary adjustments to suit Poland’s conditions.

The afore-mentioned Consensus of Sandomierz was ultimately signed in 1570 between the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Bohemian Brethren – a more radical faction within the Bohemian Reformation, some of whose members resettled in Poland after being exiled in 1548.[[44]](#footnote-44) Under the leadership of the Lesser Poland Calvinists, the different denominations united in an effort to join forces against the ever-stronger counter-Reformation. However, they did so while maintaining their autonomy, as well as their theological and organizational distinctions. The Polish Brethren were not part of the agreement due to their anti-Trinitarian convictions, which deterred Catholics and Evangelical Protestants alike. That being said, in a Europe rife with unrest, religious wars, and persecution, an alliance between different confessions acknowledging each other and respecting each other’s rights was a rare feat. Even though it was not recognized by the king, the signing of an agreement in an attempt to prevent a religious war – rather than in its aftermath – aroused considerable interest across Europe, reinforcing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth’s growing reputation as a tolerant realm and a haven for heretics. As reflected in the agreement, this tolerance was not founded on theological or otherwise religious principles. At its core was a commitment to keeping the peace within the kingdom and to safeguarding the nobility’s privileged status, prioritizing its socio-economic integrity over its religious differences.[[45]](#footnote-45)

The Protestants tried to fight internal divisions and strengthen their status through the expansion of noble religious privileges, framing them as inherent to noble status and independent of religious denomination. By building on previous privileges (e.g. Koszyce (1374), "nihil novi" (1505), and the 1569 right to elect the king) and by exercising the political influence of individuals from within the community, the Protestants managed to obtain important rights, which helped guarantee their religious freedom and prevent the persecutions and religious strife. As early as 1555, the Sejm rescinded the ecclesiastical courts’ primacy over civilian courts, and in 1562 it de facto exempted the civilian courts from carrying out ecclesiastical verdicts. This opened up the opportunity for nobles to leave the Catholic Church. In 1563, the king re-confirmed a number of old privileges, annotating Casimir IV Jagiellon’s legislation so that it now defended the nobility’s rights to titles and positions “as long as they were members of the Christian faith,” and not necessarily “members of the Christian faith who answer to the Roman Church.”[[46]](#footnote-46)

The Protestants’ political achievements and integrative approach bore fruit. Their most notable feat was the Warsaw Confederation. This declaration, signed by both Protestants and Catholics, was approved on January 28, 1573 at the Sejm Convocation following the heirless death of King Sigismund II Augustus and prior to the first ever free election of a monarch. It vowed to uphold the peace between the adherents of the different confessions, excluding the Polish Brethren. The signatories mutually swore to “preserve the peace amongst ourselves and to shed no blood over difference in faith or church; nor to allow for the penalization of one another by confiscatione bonorum, denial of honour, or carceribus et exilio; nor to ever assist in any manner any suzerainty, or office in such undertakings. And indeed, should anyone desire to shed another’s blood, ex ista causa [on such account] we must all stand against anyone willing to do such a thing, be it under the pretext of a decree or by way of some judicial ploy.”[[47]](#footnote-47)

Whether as an attempt to maintain the status quo and address the nobility’s immediate concerns for its physical safety and religious freedom, or as a necessary and temporary evil on the Catholics’ part, the agreement reflected a clear understanding: the Protestants were politically significant and on equal standing with their Catholics peers, and it was in the state’s best interest to reach a compromise that would allow the parties to agree to disagree.[[48]](#footnote-48) In proclaiming equality before the law for all nobles from Christian confessions, the confederation became the foundation for the Evangelical Protestants’ legal status within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Following its incorporation into the Henrician Articles, which formed part of the basic law of the state to which all Polish kings were bound by oath until 1764, the Confederation effectually prohibited any state interference in its subjects’ conscientious matters. Notwithstanding the Confederation’s numerous shortcomings, on which I will elaborate in the fourth chapter, this was unquestionably the Reformations’ zenith in Poland. Although religious tolerance was hardly a value in its own right, it prevailed to a significantly higher degree than elsewhere during this period, primarily due the mutuality and equality between the parties – as expressed in and between the lines of the Confederation. Despite its many flaws, the Confederation was signed without blood-shed, surpassing in religious equality the rights afforded to the Huguenots in France in 1562, as well as the provision under the 1555 Peace of Augsburg signed in Germany, which stipulated that the prevalence of Lutheranism or Catholicism within each principality would be determined by the ruler. It introduced a balanced power structure that was superior to the asymmetric toleration of a minority. This power structure took into account the existence of intolerant tendencies and discord, while acknowledging the need to keep these in check and to uphold the peace. Naturally, this was not in service of a utopian pluralistic ideal, but in the interest of the nobility and the state. Lacking were administrative or judicial warranties, which would have given the relevant parties the means to keep the situation under control in case of a disturbance.[[49]](#footnote-49)

It is difficult to determine what sort of lives the first Protestants in Cracow led. According to the representatives of the Bohemian Brethren of Greater Poland, Calvinists from Lesser Poland were “quote wanton and willful,” less inclined to follow church norms and accept higher moral standards.[[50]](#footnote-50)

On the one hand, Janina Bieniarzówna, who looked into the legislation of the first synods and noted discussions of discipline and unity among devotees, argued that the adoption of a new faith rendered people more earnest and righteous, and more inclined to live modestly and abstain from luxury.[[51]](#footnote-51) On the other hand, Tazbir posits that in Poland, “the transition to the Protestant faith did not involve lifestyle changes; nobles who changed their faith did not sever ties with Catholics and vice versa.”[[52]](#footnote-52) Mariusz Markiewicz similarly concluded that Calvinist communities in Poland were dissimilar to those in western Europe, as the Polish nobility did not change its ways or make efforts to propagate the new faith, nor secluded from its Catholic neighbors.[[53]](#footnote-53) While the truth likely lies somewhere in between, and some Protestant did indeed introduce some changes in their lives, evidence indicates that Bieniarzówna’s findings are inaccurate. In fact, Synod legislation cited by Bieniarzówna, which called upon devotees to change their ways, to cease from “gluttony, drunkenness, and immodest dancing […] and extravagant dress,”[[54]](#footnote-54) likely points to the lack of any significant behavioral change. In this respect, Calvinist communities in Poland were unique. Otherwise, religious differences had very little influence over the day-to-day lives of devotees in times of peace. Intermarriage was not uncommon, and Christians of different denominations gathered in assemblies and accommodated each other as guests. Catholics discussed religion with Protestants and attended Protestant funerals. Wealth owners employed Protestant servants and clerks. The atmosphere as a whole encouraged the development of pragmatic approaches to interfaith interaction, which existed alongside prejudice and religious animosity. A new kind of mentality emerged that was beyond prejudice and beyond tolerance, according to which social status, as well as social, political, and economic positions, took precedence over religious obligations.[[55]](#footnote-55)

As the community in Cracow consolidated, and following the Evangelists’ series of triumphs in the regional and supra-regional political arena, the Protestants began to attract opposition on both religious-political and socio-economical grounds. Among all the cities in Poland, Cracow – as an important center for all confessions – became the site of exceedingly frequent religious riots. Mobs of commoners and students attacked Protestant funerals (1597,1581,1578,1557), demolished the Evangelical cemetery (1585,1578,1577,1574) and the Evangelical hospital (1607), and assaulted Protestant clerics and community members, breaking into their homes or setting them on fire (1610,1581,1578,1577). The church building too was not spared. After being raided numerous times and demolished twice – in 1574 and 1587 – it was burned to the ground on May 26, 1591 along with the city’s Polish Brethren church building. During the above-described period of prosperity and “balance of power”,[[56]](#footnote-62) Protestants sought to retaliate against their Catholic aggressors. Protestant violence usually took the form of individual attacks against students or clerics. Such were the assaults carried out by Piotr Tomicki in 1576, by Jan Stadnicki in 1577 and 1581, as well as the murder of a student at the hands of Mikołaj Dłuski’s servant in 1582.[[57]](#footnote-63) There were also isolated cases of group attacks by Protestants, such as an ambush on a group of passers-by who had approached the Bróg in 1578, an attack on worshippers during a Catholic mass by a group of soldiers in 1587, or an attack on the Carmelite church in 1588. These few isolated cases were not part of the Protestant community’s collective effort to overcome anti-Protestant aggression, to which Chapter 4 is dedicated. After attaining a strong political and regional status, and in face of the escalating pressure of the counter-Reformation and the arrival of the Jesuits in Cracow, the Protestant leadership ceased from its displays of power and its attempts to win over new supporters. It assumed instead a defensive position and focused on upholding its existing accomplishments. As of 1574, Catholic aggression revolved primarily around three targets – the Calvinist cemetery behind Brama Mikołajska, Bróg, and the anti-Trinitarian church on Szpitalna Street. In response, the Protestant leadership focused on pursuing legal-juridical and political avenues in order to safeguard its position and to ensure its safety, putting violent retaliation aside.

After the complete destruction of the Protestant church building, the Catholics had achieved their objective: fearful of building it anew, the Protestant community moved its services away from Cracow. The community now gathered in the village of Aleksandrowice, owned by Stanisław Iwan Kamiński, one of the community elders. In this village, 10 kilometers away from Cracow, Polish adherents – whose numbers were falling – prayed and assembled together with members of German descent who had remained Lutheran. The community continued as yet another small and local community, while its influence beyond the region gradually eroded. To the Protestants’ misfortune, the Cracowian students’ violent rage made its way to this remote estate in 1613. Following the incident, a new place for congregation was agreed upon: Wielkanoc, not far from Łuczanowice. As it was 16 kilometers away from Cracow, services were to be held there only on holidays, special occasions, and funerals. Services for the elderly, sickly, and children, as well as christenings, were held in Łuczanowice, somewhat closer to the capital. As an alternative to the oft-desecrated cemetery in Wesoła, a new Evangelical cemetery was also established in Łuczanowice in 1626. Between 1606-1620, the Protestants of Lesser Poland lost 30 to 40 percent of their churches. According to the earliest but slightly problematic name register of 1637, there were 297 Protestants in Wielkanoc – 176 men and 121 women.[[58]](#footnote-64) In Łuczanowice the number was between 100-150. Elsewhere in Poland the situation was much the same. By 1620, the number of Protestant temples went down by 56 percent compared to when the Reformation was at its peak. In the meantime, the king handed the Bróg’s ruins over to Stanisław Lubomirski, who then gave them to the St. Bernard Order. The Protestants voiced opposition to this move in the 1627 general assembly, to no avail. In the 1630s, the construction of a new Catholic church began atop the ruins of the Bróg. As in many other places in central Europe, the center of Cracow’s Protestant activity became overwhelmingly Catholic. Local civilian authorities took care to erect symbolic markers, entrenching the city’s newly restored religious landscape.

In addition to the physical transformation of urban space, the authorities’ treatment of the Protestants also began to change as the counter-Reformation progressed. First, new urban residents of the Protestant faith were registered as adhering to another religion. In 1637, at the request of local ecclesiastical authorities, it became legally forbidden for Protestants to join guilds. In 1655, a mob attacked the church, the minister’s abode, and the Wielkanoc estate.

Going back to the opening quote of this chapter, papal nuncio Stoppio’s brief description inadvertently encompasses a number of elements that were indeed descriptive of the Polish Reformation and of the religious tolerance that emerged within Poland. This Italian visitor saw all the Protestants as heretics, making no distinction between their different confessions. Their power in Poland, as he saw it, led to such extreme tolerance towards them that they were allowed to bear arms and run amok in the city. What likely escaped him was their noble, politically and socially privileged status. This status led to a willingness to tolerate religious differences for the sake of protecting the nobility and the state. This short-lived religious tolerance manifested itself in the form of equal political and social rights, granted to all members of the upper class without religious discrimination. While alluding to rioting, Soppio’s description also hints at the relatively “placated,” albeit not entirely peaceful character of the country’s everyday co-existence. On the one hand, this co-existence was derived from class-based privileges that were determined by the legal system and political institutions, as will be shown in Chapter 4. On the other, *conviventia* was achieved and maintained due to practical everyday needs of city-dwellers.

1. Żelewski, *Materiały do dziejów Reformacji,* 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The Akademia Krakowska was founded in 1364 and was the second university to be established in eastern Europe. Its current name – the Jagellonian University – was given to it only in the 19th century. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. See for example: Piotr Kościelny, *Dzieje Reformacji w Polsce* (Warsaw, 2017), 111-119. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. For a discussion on Luther’s influence on the Reformation in Poland, see O. Bartel, “Marcin Luter w Polsce,” *OiRP* 7 (1962): 27-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. G. Schramm, “Reformation und Gegenreformation in Krakau,” *Zeitschrift für Ostforschungen Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa*, 19 (1970), 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The first trial was held as early as 1525. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See Wacław Urban, *Dwa szkice z dziejów reformacji* (Kielce, 1991), 25; for a description of the 1537 trial: Łukasz Górnicki, Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej . Ed. H. Barycz (Wrocław, 1950), 12-13. Magda Teter, “Katarzyna Weigel,“ in Yivo. Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. ed. Gershon D. Hundert, <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Weigel_Katarzyna> (accessed on September 1, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Tazbir, *Reformacja w Polsce* ( Książka i Wiedza (Warszawa 1993), 86-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Urban, *Dwa szkice z dziejów reformacji*, 47-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. H. Barycz, “Meandry Lismaninowskie,” *OiRP* 16 (1871), 41-43; Wojciech Węgierski, *Kronika Zobru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego* (Kraków, 1817), 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Tazbir, “Poland”, 169. King Sigismund II Augustus’ attitude to the Reformation is still under debate, but scholars agree that his religious policy was born of political pragmatism and in pursuit of political and dynastic interests. See Alicja Dybkowska, *Zygmunt August* (Lublin, 2003), 64-68; Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August. Król polski i Wielki Książe Litewski* (Kraków, 2010), 389-415. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Węgierski, *Kronika Zobru*, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Tazbir, “Poland,” 169; Stanisław Tworek, “Z zagadnień organizacji zborów Kalwińskich w Małopolsce w XVI-XVII w.” *Rocznik Lubelski* 8 (1968), 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Walerjan Krasiński, *Zarys Dziejów Reformacji w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1903), 1: 207. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Jan Boner (1516-1562), the eldest son of Seweryn Boner and an urban merchant and royal banker turned noble. Already at 14, Boner travelled to Protestant centers and met with leading figures in the movement, such as Philip of Hesse and Philip Melanchton, also befriending Erasmus, who dedicated one of his works to him in 1531. Boner initially supported Luther but later switched over to the Calvinist faith. He was an advocate for the Protestant-Evangelical denomination and even tried to integrate Protestants and Jewish converts into the city council of Kazimierz. For further reading see Marian Hanik, *Trzy pokolenia z rodu Bonerów* (Kraków, 1985), 49-58. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Walerjan Krasiński, *Zarys Dziejów Reformacji w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1903), 1: 207. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. See complaints against these services: APKr. *Inscr. Castr. Crac*. T. 76: 710, 976. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. The exact date of the establishment of the Polish Brethren Church is disputed. Some date it as early as the beginning of 1565. See H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy* (Warszawa, 1904), 108-109. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Giorgio Biandrata (1515-1588) was Queen Bona’s personal physician. He accepted the Calvinist faith while he was in Geneva. After his anti-Trinitarian inclinations were uncovered, he was banished from Geneva and returned to Poland. He was the author of a number of theological anti-Trinitarian treatises. See Janusz Tazbir, *Reformacja w Polsce. Szkice o ludziach i doktrynie* (Warszawa, 1993). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Sozzini was a theologian, a religious reformer, an author, and a poet. In 1598 he was forced to leave Cracow after a mob attack on his home and on his life, and moved to Łuczanowice. His works were collected and published by the *Biblioteca Fratrum Polonorum* in 1686. For more information, see, for example, *Faustus Socinus and his Heritage*, ed. Lech Szczucki (Kraków, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Beforehand, Cracow had one elementary school where Lutheran faith was taught in German. As of 1572, the gymnasium’s management was handed over to Jan Thenaudus. It continued to operate until the final destruction of the church building and followed the curriculum of German educator Sturm Johann. The emphasis was on the humanities and theology. It remains unclear whether Polish was also taught. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Krasiński, *Zarys Dziejów Reformacji*, 1: 207. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. APKr, *Inscr. Castr. Crac.* T. 99: 744; *Prawa y wolności*, 23-24. In this privilege, Protestants are referred to as Christians, not “heretics.” According to Węgierski, the king granted the Cracowian community the privilege to establish a school and a hospital already in 1569, together with the permit for a church. This permit is not extant. We do, however, have the permit for the cemetery from August 8, 1569. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. While the seat of the king was now in Warsaw, Cracow remained the legal capital up until 1795. See Janina Bieniarzówna and Jan M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI-XVIII* (Kraków, 1984*)*, 2: 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Samuel M.B. Linda, *Słownik języka polskiego* (Warszawa, 1807), 1:170. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Sipayłło, *Akta Synodów*, 295-296. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. See Żelewski, "Akta i relacje," 11, ft. 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Wacław Urban, "Heretycy parafii Mariackiej w Krakowkie w 1568 r." *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 32 (1987): 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. J. Bieniarzówna, "Kraków pod wpływami reformacji" in D*zieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI-XVIII .*ed. J. Bieniarzówna and Jan M. Małecki (Kraków, 1984), 2: 138. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. According to the hegemon’s head-count toward the end of the 1560s. See Ibid., 133. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Urban, “Heretycy parafii Mariackiej,” 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Kościelny*, Dzieje Reformacji*, 290, 352. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Waldemar Kowalski, “The Reformation and Krakow Society, c/ 1517-1637: Social Structures and Ethnicities” in *Stadt und Reformation: Krakau, Nüremberg und Prag (1500-1618)*, ed. by Michael Diefenbacher, Olga Fejtováand Zdzisław Noga (Praha/ Červený Kostelec, 2019) 129-148, here 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Lutheranism was perceived as part of German culture and was often referred to as “the German faith.” In the 17th century, “Luther” was a synonym for “German.” See Tazbir, “Poland,” 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Urban, “Heretycy parafii Mariackiej,” 169, 173. The city was also home to Aleksy Rodecki’s anti-Trinitarian printing press, which was attacked by students on March 28, 1578. See Bibl. Jagiell.Cim. Nr 8420. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. In 1586, even a member of the Polish Brethren, Dr. Czymerman, was elected for the city council. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Tazbir, “Poland,” 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Jarmiński, *Bez użycia siły*, 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Ibid., 13; Kościelny, *Dzieje Reformacji*, 286, 352. In 1593, when the Protestants’ legal status began to deteriorate, there were still 8 Protestants among the 34 senators. They were, however, of the lowest rank. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Knoll, “Religious Toleration,” 41. 11 Protestant delegates were sent to the general assembly (three Anti-Trinitarians and eight Calvinists). Jarmiński, *Bez użycia siły*, 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. S. Salmonowicz, “O sytuacji prawnej protestantów w Polsce,” *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 26:1 (1974), 163; Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, eds., *History of the Church* (New York, 1980), 5: 319. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Kościelny, *Dzieje Reformacji*, 296-298. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. H. Kowalska, *Działalność reformatiorska Jana Łaskiego w Polsce 1556-1560* (Warsaw 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. For more information about the consensus see: U. Augustyniak, *Konfesja sandomierska. Wstęp historyczny* (Warsaw, 1994). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. For more opinions about the agreement, the process of its formulation and implementation, see: O. Halecki, *Zgoda sandomierska 1579r. Jej geneza I zanczenie w dziejach reformacji polskiej za Zygmunta Augusta* (Cracow, 1915); Darius Petkuras, “The Consensus of Sandomierz: An Early Attempt to Create a Unified Protestant Church in 16th Century Poland and Lithuania,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 73 (2009):317-346. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. S. Godek, M. Wilczek-Karczewska (eds.), *Historia ustroju i prawa w Polsce do 1772/1795. Wybór źródeł* (Warszawa 2006), 89–91. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Norman Davies, *God’s Playground. A History of Poland*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1981), 166-167. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. S. Salmonowicz, “O tolerancji religijnej w ‘modelu polskim’ (XVI-XVIIIw.),” in *Kilka minionych wieków. Szkice i studia z historii ustroju Polski*, ed. S. Salmonowicz (Cracow, 2009), 34. [23-44] [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Kościelny, *Dzieje Reformacji*, 298. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. J. Bieniarzówna and ks. Karol Kubisz, *400 lat reformacji pod Wawelem, 1557-1957*. (Warszawa, 1958), 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. J. Tazbir, "Społeczeństwo wober reformacji" in *Polska w epoce odrodzenia. Państwo-Społeczeństwo – Kultura*, ed. A. Wyczański (Warszawa, 1986), 340. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Markiewicz, *Historia Polski*, 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Żelewski, “Zaburzenia wyznaniowe w Krakowie. Okres przewagi różnowierców 1551-1573," OiRP 6 (1961), 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Tazbir, *Reformacja, kontrreformacja,* 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Żelewski, “Zaburzenia wyznaniowe w Krakowie. Okres przewagi różnowierców 1551-1573," OiRP 6 (1961), 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
57. APKr. Cast. Crac. Rel. vol. 3, 689-90, 1156-1157; Rps: BJ cim. nr 8420. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
58. Kowalski, “The Reformation,” 147-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)