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Always Faithful? Confessional Situation in Sixteenth-Seventeenth-Century University of Cracow*

The article aims at showing in a new light the confessional situation of the University of Cracow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, using sources omitted in previous research into the topic and thanks to a more detailed analysis of the sources used by other scholars (e.g., *Acta rectoralia*, university conclusions, rectors' and professors' diaries). The Academy of Cracow (as it was called then) was a Catholic institution, thus portraying the attitude of the university's authorities to non-Catholics in a period of confessional struggle in Cracow and in the Commonwealth seemed promising. Another point was to analyse the possibilities for non-Catholics to function within the walls of the University in different periods of time, as well as to describe the most important events and regulations, which influenced the University's policy. The author also tried to bring to light the subsequent stages of administrative exclusion (on various levels) of non-Catholic students. However, the contacts of the Academy with religious minorities in Cracow is a matter so complex, that it remained beyond the scope of the article.

Key words: confessional relations, Cracow Academy, Protestant Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Protestantism, Calvinism

* The Polish version of the text was written as part of the project: "Tumulty wyznaniowe w dwóch stolicach Rzeczypospolitej: w Krakowie i Wilnie, od XVI do XVIII w. – geneza, mechanizmy, uczestnicy", realised in 2013–2017 and financed by the programme "Diamentowy Grant" of the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

The aim of this paper is to present the confessional situation in the Cracow University in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is not a new issue (neither are the contacts of the University with the Catholic Church), as Henryk Barycz,¹ Waław Urban² and Janusz Sondel,³ among others, have already written about this subject. The fundamental *novum*, in comparison with the earlier research, (and maybe the most important part of the article) is an attempt to present the attitude of the University's authorities to the non-Catholics and to analyse the possibility of their functioning within the University. However, the only and sometimes difficult University's interaction with the Cracow religious minorities (mainly the Protestants and Jews) deserves a separate text and remains beyond the scope of this essay. I do not aspire to explore in this paper the religiousness of the individual members of the Cracow University, because there is no evidence of it whatever in the researched sources. I try to show the outer manifestations of devotion inside the University, its existing standards of religiousness and examples of their violation.

It seems worth exploring what was gained by the both sides of "the cooperation agreement", i.e. the Catholic Church and University. The activity of the Cracow Academy has also been presented from the Counter-Reformation perspective, meant not for the internal reform of the Catholicism, but for fighting the Reformation using administrative methods. This brings us closer to answering the question, why the final victory of the Reformation at the University was unlikely (despite a short-term success). I was also trying to revise a too uniform and, in my opinion, distorted picture of the University as forever faithful to the Catholic Church, which was reflected in the title referring to J. Sondel's work.

Founded in 1364 and re-established in 1400, the *studium generale* in Cracow was in many respects a conservative institution. Its religious profile and the attitude towards the non-Catholics must be regarded

¹ Cf. H. Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu* (Kraków, 1935), esp. Book I, Chapt. V: "W obliczu ruchu reformacyjnego", Chapt. IX: "Duchowieństwo i dynastia wobec uniwersytetu"; Book II, Chapt. III: "Ostatnie ślady 'nowinek' religijnych i pierwsze objawy nietolerancji".

² Cf. W. Urban, "Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontreformacji (1549–1632)," in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. Lepszy (Kraków, 1964), pp. 253–307.

³ Cf. J. Sondel, *Zawsze wierny. Uniwersytet Jagielloński a Kościół rzymskokatolicki* (Kraków, 2006).

as one of these respects. No one, surely, could be surprised by the fact that the mediaeval universities were treated as institutions of canon law. A papal approval was required to establish them, which was also crucial to gain the university status for the Christian world and the possibility to grant a “licence to teach everywhere” (*licentia ubique docendi*).⁴

The Cracow University was established in the country, where the Catholicism was the dominant religion. One of the reasons for its restoration was the Christianisation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and consequential need to educate priests who were to play role of missionaries. No wonder that in the sixteenth century the Cracow Academy (as the University of Cracow was called then) was considered a stronghold of the Roman orthodoxy, hostile towards any sign of difference. In the second half of the century, this opinion was significantly strengthened after the tumults against the Protestants as the „voice of the street” attributed the participation and even the instigation of the attacks to the students and professors of the Cracow University.⁵

In correspondence with Rome, the University’s authorities often emphasised their religious orthodoxy,⁶ which reflected reality in so far as the university, as an institution, basically from the beginning remained hostile to the Reformation. It was noticed and appreciated by the subsequent Popes, among others, Pius V, who in 1566 “on the occasion of complying with a University’s request, promises in the future the munificent graces and encourages its further intense action against the heresy”.⁷ While his successor in a *breve* issued on 7 April 1578, addressed *Dilectis filiis rectori et profesoribus Universitatis Cracoviensis Gregorius papa XIII*,⁸ after giving the Apostolic Blessing, stated

⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 35.

⁵ Cf.: “przedsię jednak są autorowie i pryncypałowie tumultu tego nie żadni insi, tylko kolegiaci z ich alumny i studenci w bursach, szkołach i gdzie indziej mieszkający, una cum complicitibus suis, oni dobrze wiedzą, z kćoremi,” “List ewangelickiej szlachty małopolskiej skierowany do wszystkich sejmików z prośbą o radę, pomoc i wspólne działanie w ukaraniu winnych zająć i zapobieżeniu ich ponawiania się w przyszłości,” in: *Materiały do dziejów reformacji w Krakowie. Zaburzenia wyznaniowe w latach 1551–1598*, ed. R. Żelewski (Wrocław, 1962), p. 35, no. 45.

⁶ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 300.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 307.

⁸ *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis: ab anno 1441 ad annum 1589*, ed. H. Barycz (Kraków, 1933), p. 377, no. 420.

that he was overjoyed by the fame the University was gaining, while guarding Catholic Faith, fighting off attempts by heretics and protecting the authority of the Holy See. The Pope's words read aloud at the University's convocation were received *cum animi gratitudine*.⁹

The position of Catholicism at the University was also strengthened by the fact that each time it was the Bishop of Cracow who was appointed its chancellor¹⁰ and that church prebends were the main form of the professors' salaries.¹¹ Furthermore, even younger lecturers and students were finding additional financial resources at Church service.¹² The majority of the professors were clergymen and a significant part of the teaching staff at the Faculty of Liberal Arts was simultaneously pursuing studies at one of the higher faculties in order to move to better paid chairs and improve financial situation. The lecturers' income varied considerably – the highest was received by professors of theology, then of law and medicine (the bulk of physicians' income was made up of private practice), and the lowest by young lecturers of liberal arts.¹³ At the time of the Cracow University refoundation in 1400, the Faculties of Theology and Law were given three chairs each, the Faculty of Medicine – one. Initially, the Faculty of *artium* was composed of the biggest number of chairs, but by the mid-fifteenth century it lost 12 out of the initial 34 chairs. The proportions changed, mostly to the benefit of the theological faculty, because 11 theological and 8 canonical chairs were added during that period.¹⁴ The Faculty of Theology, the largest among the higher

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 377–378.

¹⁰ Since the restoration of the University by Władysław Jagiełło, the chancellor of the Kingdom had been appointed the chancellor of the University. During the Great Schism, it had a tacit approval of the Popes, as they tried to keep the neophyte King in their obedience. The situation changed when, in 1412, Wojciech Jastrzębiec, the Kingdom's chancellor, ascended the bishop's throne in Cracow. At the time, it became established practice that the most important office of the University was held by the Bishop of Cracow and not, as the king originally wished, by the Kingdom's chancellor. Cf. Z. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1400–2000* (Kraków, 2000), p. 11.

¹¹ Cf. Sondel, *Zawsze wierny*, p. 31.

¹² Cf. Z. Skubała-Tokarska, Z. Tokarski, *Uniwersytety w Polsce. Rys historyczny* (Warszawa, 1972), p. 53.

¹³ Cf. K. Stopka, "Od założenia do schyłku XVIII w.," in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, ed. K. Stopka, A. K. Banach, J. Dybiec (Kraków, 2000), p. 35; A. Wyczański, "Uniwersytet Krakowski w czasach złotego wieku," in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, pp. 224–228.

¹⁴ Cf. Skubała-Tokarska, Tokarski, *Uniwersytety*, p. 49.

faculties, the most prestigious and the most profitable¹⁵, exercised doctrinal control over lectures at the Faculty of Arts by informal influence on their form and content – its students were simultaneously the lecturers at the largest faculty – the introductory Faculty of Liberal Arts.

Since its beginning, the Cracow University was an ecclesiastical educational institution. Only in the late fifteenth century, with the re-establishment of the medical faculty, the married professors started to appear,¹⁶ although *uxoriat* still constituted the exception rather than the rule. Hostility because of the marriage was experienced, among others, by Mikołaj of Koprzywnica (d. 1542), a doctor of canon law. In 1500, having taken minor orders, the scholar was appointed a counsellor by Wojciech of Pniewy, the rector. However, later on he took a wife, Agnieszka Minocka, and he moved in with her to a house next to the College of Jurists. Despite the looming excommunication and harassment from academic colleagues, he neither ceased lecturing nor abandoned his wife. Only in 1505 Pope Julius II gave him a dispensation to continue university work and to keep the house that was occupied by him and his family. In spite of this, the married professor (and since 1506 also a notary public and Cracow councillor) did not know peace as he was still the object of attacks due to marital status. After his wife's death in 1509, he took Holy Orders, was given a few prebends, crowning his ecclesiastical career in 1520 by obtaining a canonry in the Wawel Cathedral (at the same time he resigned from his post as city councillor), but even this did not secure him peace. In 1518 he was accused of irregularities in managing the University's accounts and the attacks were led by professors of Law: Grzegorz of Szamotuły and Jakub Bełza, who could not forgive the widower previous marriage.¹⁷

The professors' resistance to the married colleague might be partly explained by a departure that his case constituted in the customs of the University, which – as a corporation of the taught and (especially) the teachers – was not an institution willing to introduce changes.

¹⁵ J. Muczkowski, *Mieszkania i postępowanie uczniów krakowskich w wiekach dawniejszych* (Kraków, 1842), p. 11. He pointed out, that the principal objective of the majority of professors was to obtain the chair of theology and thereby better benefices (preferably of the St. Florian's church) or an ecclesiastical office, followed by a use of a replacement for their academic obligations.

¹⁶ Cf. Skubała-Tokarska, Tokarski, *Uniwersytety*, p. 53.

¹⁷ Cf. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów*, p. 133.

Professors should have resided in colleges, where the monastic atmosphere and, of course, celibacy were supposed to prevail. A member of a college had to wear clerical robes, devote time to scientific work and prayer, and the communal dinners (with an obligatory prayer before and after meals) should have taken place in silence so as not to drown out reading of the Holy Scripture aloud.¹⁸ Some of the professors must have protested against the married colleagues out of sincere indignation, while others attacked them out of pure jealousy.¹⁹

For years and centuries, academic customs and ceremonies of religious nature were perpetuating at the University of Cracow. Almost every ceremony contained religious elements, of course in the Catholic spirit, which might have been of significant importance to the dissenters' functioning within the academic environment. Catholic ceremonies accompanied such events of academic life as: exams, inauguration and closure of academic year, promotions, disputes, performances. Neither the election of University's authorities had religious-free atmosphere. Krzysztof Stopka said that "the indirect, multi-level" rector's election was treated "like a canon one".²⁰

The religious nature of the Academy was also influenced by its rectors, mostly the clergymen. Until the reform introduced by Hugo Kołłątaj in the late eighteenth century, out of 200 rectors only 15 were laymen.²¹ The deans also played a role in the supervision of the University's orthodoxy. Heads of faculties were to control lectures of their professors for religious correctness. The dean of the theological faculty looked through and revised sermons prepared by bachelors and preached during academic masses.²² Religious practices were also present at the University's meetings – for example, at convocation before granting a benefice by the University, the gathered professors kneeling said an invocation to the Holy Ghost.²³ Meetings before an admission of a new member to a college looked similar.²⁴

¹⁸ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 626.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Chwalba, *Collegium Maius* (Kraków, 2009), p. 65.

²⁰ Cf. Stopka, "Od założenia," p. 30.

²¹ Cf. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów*, p. 19.

²² Cf. Stopka, "Od założenia," p. 31.

²³ Cf.: *Conclusiones*, p. XII; note no. 245; "Statuta Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego," ed. J. Szujski, *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce* 2 (1882), p. 382.

²⁴ Cf. "Statuta antiqua Collegii Maioris," ed. J. Szujski, *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce* 1 (1878), point 28: "De electione novi Collegiati," p. 12.

Moreover, the University participated in Catholic ceremonies held in the city. During religious processions the rector together with professors walked before the Cracow city councillors and the cathedral chapter,²⁵ which indicated the extremely high social status of the rector and University, but it also had significance for the piety of the people of that time. The procession leaders might have got satisfaction from the recognition of their high social status, but also from the proximity to the object of worship.

The Cracow Academy also celebrated all the major Catholic feasts, especially the Marian festivities, Corpus Christi and the commemoration of its patron, the blessed John Cantius (20 Oct.). It is also worth highlighting the role of the cult of saints and blessed in the life of the Cracow Academy, which is illustrated (aside from the celebration of their liturgical commemoration), for instance, by placing saints on seals.²⁶ Of even more significance is the fact that the saints were also present at the Cracow University in the capacity of students and lecturers²⁷ and the authorities themselves put a lot of effort in a struggle to have them raised to the altars.

A good illustration is the issue of John Cantius' canonisation raised by the Cracow Academy in Rome in 1629. The saint was to become an ally of the University in its struggle against the Society of Jesus, an answer to accusations of the University's little devotion.²⁸ Sometimes the saints played the part of a bargaining chip (or – even worse – a weapon) as is demonstrated by the fact that Jakub Najmanowicz, the rector, and Jerzy Zbaraski, the Cracow castellan (equally averse to the Society as the University), arranged the celebration of St. Teresa's canonisation during the celebrations commemorating Jesuits'

²⁵ Cf. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów*, p. 18.

²⁶ On the greater seal of the University (from the early fifteenth century), St. Stanislaus was depicted in a blessing gesture supporting the shield with an eagle, while on the seal of the King Ladislaus' College (before 1434 – later the Greater College [*Collegium Maius*]) Mother of God with blessing Child and the *Pogoń* symbolic of the Jagiellonian foundation were depicted. The rector's seal from the late fifteenth century reproduces only the University's coat of arms – the two crossing sceptres, and all the remaining seals are of a later date. Cf. A. Chmiel, *Pieczęcie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie* (2nd edn., Kraków, 1996), passim, esp. pp. 44–57.

²⁷ Cf. Sondel, *Zawsze wierny*, pp. 401–477.

²⁸ For more on these relations cf. W. Szymborski, "Uniwersytet contra Towarzystwo Jezusowe," *Alma Mater* 161–162 (2013/2014), pp. 46–49, cf. also a list of basic references there.

saints on 18 July 1622.²⁹ Without doubt, the organisers from within the Academy wanted to steal the show of their rivals. That is why this celebration actually deserves to be called a counter-celebration.

The canonisation of John Cantius eventually took place only on 27 September 1680. "Its own" intercessor was commemorated by the Academy's authorities in many different ways, manifesting devotion and the testimony to the worship of the blessed John. The professor of Kęty frequently appeared, among others, on the binding and internal illustrations of the University's books.³⁰ The University's Church, and (from 1535) the St. Anne's Collegiate Church, where the saint was entombed, became the more monumental place of his commemoration. However, some actions anticipated the official decisions of the Catholic Church, so might it be that the Academy itself consciously promoted the worship of its member? Even before the beatification, John Cantius was held in high esteem when in 1539 his remains were placed in a new coffin. Fourteen years later, Jakub Friedel of Kleparz, the rector, founded a Renaissance effigy for him. Already as a blessed, he received further foundations (in 1680). Then plans emerged to erect a more magnificent church able to cope with growing influx of pilgrims to the John Cantius' grave. The building, just like the beatification itself, was an important stage in the propaganda dispute with the Jesuits, as the Academy by its foundation (with the support of John III) wanted to outshine the St. Peter and Paul's Church. It is also significant that professors rejected a project developed by the architect and instead they approved the project of the *S. Andrea della Valle* Church, which belonged to the Theatines – the Jesuits' rivals.³¹

Adam Opatowczyk, a Counter-Reformation theologian, known for his participation in Jewish pogroms, worked particularly intensely

²⁹ Cf. S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 2 (Lwów, 1894), pp. 219–220.

³⁰ E.g. on the cover of the 1662–1695 *Acta rectoralia* (Cracow, Archives of the Jagiellonian University [Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, hereafter: AJU], MS 20) and in the manuscript of the Philosophical Faculty promotion book (AJU, MS 91½), both engraved in a piece of metal set in the binding, with an encircling inscription "S. Ioannes Cantivs, Polonvs, Stud. In Academia Crac. prof., a. d. 1422," and at the bottom of a decorative page (fol. 117), with the 15 September 1697 list of the promoted (with the coronation of Augustus II of Saxony depicted at the top of the page).

³¹ Cf. M. Rożek, *Urbs celeberrima. Przewodnik po zabytkach Krakowa* (Kraków, 2006), pp. 126–127.

for the John Cantius' cult and the overall increase of devotion.³² This professor, an author of ascetic and hagiographic writings, focused, among others, on distributing in 1628 the Latin and Polish lives of John Cantius. Undertaken the year before the delegation was despatched to Rome, the efforts, most probably, were to pave the way for Cantius canonisation. It is worth asking why it was decided to promote that very professor, among many pious,³³ to be raised to the altars. It requires more in-depth studies, but some of the qualities that made him a more attractive candidate for the halo can still be highlighted as his industriousness or the time distance.

Andrzej Włodarek pointed out that a church or chapel were the integral part of colleges and dormitories. In spite of the Cracow being considered the second Rome and the distance to the nearest church was not far, nevertheless, a part of the dormitories had their own sacred spaces. The Poor's Dormitory, founded in 1409 by Jan Isner, a doctor of theology, was intended mainly for the students from Lithuania and Rus. Thus, the founder deed fitted his deed into King Władysław Jagiełło and Queen Jadwiga plans, i.e. to prepare the educated staff for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania recently incorporated into the Christian *communitas*. In 1515 the Dormitory's authorities were permitted by Jan Konarski, the Bishop of Cracow, to celebrate the mass in its chapel founded by Maciej of Miechów.³⁴

The Jerusalem Dormitory, founded in 1453 by Bishop of Cracow and Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, also had a chapel. There is no mention of it in the Act of Foundation, but its existence has been evidenced since 1488.³⁵ The chapel also served the neighbouring Philosophers' Dormitory. Other collective student dwellings were probably using the nearby churches, as parochial schools obviously did, but e.g. lodgers of the Długosz Dormitory were attending the nearby St. Mary Magdalene's chapel and of the Hungarian Dormitory – the Hungarian chapel at the Franciscan church.³⁶

³² Cf. Urban, "Akademia Krakowska," p. 284.

³³ As e.g. Antoni of Napachanie, a theologian (an author of the first Catholic theological book in Polish), who died in the opinion of sanctity, enjoyed a kind of worship and was buried next to John Cantius. Despite this, he was not beatified. Cf. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów*, p. 154.

³⁴ Cf. A. Włodarek, *Architektura średniowiecznych kolegiów i burs Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego* (Kraków, 2000), p. 36.

³⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 38.

³⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 48.

The *Collegium Maius* and *Collegium Iuridicum* used the nearby St. Anne's Church and St. Mary Magdalene's chapel, which both played a significant role in the life of colleges, as the ceremonial promotions took place there, members of colleges participated in solemn liturgies and the anniversaries of deceased founders and benefactors were also celebrated. Moreover, the cemetery of the St. Anne's Church and the church itself were the place of burial of numerous professors of the University. Dozens of times a year, the solemn academic services (over the years, they were given richer and richer liturgical formula) gathered the professors and the youth. Despite this, it is hard to find sources describing such a ceremony. However, the latter author proved that the large reading rooms in the *Collegium Maius* and *Collegium Iuridicum* were placed on the first floor at the corners of the buildings to facilitate the access to the church and chapel linked with the colleges.³⁷

Members of the Cracow University might have also gathered in other churches more loosely linked to the Academy, among others, in the Cathedral. This is indirectly evident from a case filed by a prosecutor of the rector's court against Jan Tarnowski, the Radom Castellan's son. His crime was to appear in the Cathedral on 31 May 1578 *in anniversario tunc celebrato* and to dare take Communion in forbidden shoes.³⁸ After having examined the case, the rector fined Tarnowski with 6 groszs. Most probably, the occasion to gather was the feast of the Visitation of the Holy Virgin Mary. There should be no doubt about the participation of the academic community in this event, as the days off, that is Saturdays and Catholic feasts, were replaced by celebrations in a church.³⁹ Besides, the Academy's authorities must have also participated in the mass, as it is highly improbable that the student was denounced by a complete stranger.

Officially, both the students and professors were required to wear clerical robes. The 6 February 1492 University's Conclusion forbade students from wearing secular clothing, "intra collegia vel extra".⁴⁰ They risked a fine and solitary confinement for disobeying this regulation. Krzysztof Boroda showed that similar ban appeared almost half

³⁷ Cf. *ibidem*.

³⁸ Cf.: "ausus est ire ad offertorium in calceis aulicis seu turcieis," the 1536–1580 *Acta rectoralia*, AJU, MS 17, p. 508.

³⁹ Cf. A. Karbowskiak, *Mieszkania żaków krakowskich w XIV–XVI wieku* (Lwów, 1887), p. 34.

⁴⁰ *Conclusiones*, no. 121, pp. 70–71.

a century earlier in the statutes of dormitories.⁴¹ Previously, professors' robes were also gradually uniformed and modelled after the clerical ones.⁴² The academic authorities tried, by prohibiting the use of some elements of clothing ("lay", "courtly", "Turkish"), to oblige people subordinate to their power to wear a clerical garment or at least one that resembled it.⁴³ A students' penchant for fashionable clothes "courtly or even military" was treated by Henryk Barycz, among others, as a symptom of relaxation of morals at the Cracow University in the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ So, in the period considered, it seems that students wearing long clerical robes should be treated rather as the exception than the rule.

While students living outside dormitories and parochial schools enjoyed relatively greater freedom (although they had to get a rector's permission to rent a flat or to live with their families), their colleagues living together were subject to significantly stricter rigours. Choir singers and church servants were recruited from the less wealthy students boarding mainly in dormitories. Students residing in dormitories and parochial schools ate meals together during which passages from the Scripture, theological textbooks or other moral writings were read.⁴⁵ They had classes and academic disputes and attended masses and services.⁴⁶ On the agenda, there was also an intercession for the institution's benefactors, both the deceased and alive, with the help of collective prayers or special masses. One might presume that the participation in these practices was mandatory. Not only did the charitable purpose motivate the donors, but mainly a care for their salvation. For example, the foundation of the Jerusalem Dormitory commemorated

⁴¹ Cf. K. Boroda, *Studenci Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w późnym średniowieczu* (Kraków, 2010), p. 213.

⁴² Cf. *ibidem*, p. 212.

⁴³ In relation to a ban on wearing some elements of clothing "statum clericalem dehonestantes" cf. "Statuta Bursae Longini seu Canonistarum," ed. P. Burzyński, *Czasopismo Poświęcone Prawu* 2, no. 5 (1864), p. LXXXII.

⁴⁴ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 645.

⁴⁵ Cf. Karbowski, *Mieszkania*, p. 32. In both the Major and Minor Colleges a similar arrangement existed, as there had been rules for reading during meals entered into their statutes. Cf. "Statuta antiqua Collegii Maioris," p. 9; "Statuta antiqua Collegii Minoris," ed. J. Szujski, *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce* 1 (1878), pp. 95–118, here p. 105. The Minor College sat at breakfasts after the morning classes and reading of *The Four Books of Sentences* by Peter Lombard, which until the sixteenth century was the main theological textbook.

⁴⁶ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 642.

on the plaque where Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, accompanied by St. Stanislas, is offering the model of the building to the enthroned Mother of God. On a slightly smaller scale, it can be seen in a manuscript – the list of movables and money left to the *Collegium Maius* by deceased professors, as even the smallest bequest ends with a call to pray for the donor's soul.⁴⁷

An absence during a collective solemn mass or prayers for the benefactors was certainly very noticeable – a dormitory's supervisor knew personally his residents (30–100 people depending on the dormitory), as he entered their personal data into the dormitory's registry book and took an oath of allegiance from them.⁴⁸ The corporate nature of the Cracow University allowed a comparison between the students' situation and the situation of members of the Cracow guilds. We know from the Guilds' statutes that craftsmen were fined for absence at mandatory religious practices. However, non-Catholics could "buy themselves out" from attending processions, masses and funerals or find a replacement⁴⁹ but in case of students this solution seems improbable. Had such a custom existed, any traces of it would have survived.

Residents of some dormitories were in special care of cathedral chapters. By the foundation of Andrzej Noskowski, the Bishop of Płock and a subsequent development of the Philosophers' Dormitory in 1558, the dorm was to accommodate 40 students, twice the previous capacity. It was in accordance with the founder's wish, provided that half of the residents will be enrolled at the recommendation and with the support of the Płock cathedral chapter and it was also reflected by the dormitory's registry book.⁵⁰ The Jerusalem

⁴⁷ Cf. Włodarek, *Architektura*, p. 46.

⁴⁸ Cf. Karbowski, *Mieszkania*, p. 34.

⁴⁹ Cf. K. Bakowski, *Dawne cechy krakowskie* (Kraków, 1903), pp. 37–38. In other towns there were similar conditions. For more on the subject cf. M. Kosman, "Konflikty wyznaniowe w Wilnie (schyłek XVI–XVII w.)," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 79, no. 1 (1972), pp. 10–11. It should be remembered that the fee for people avoiding religious practices could differ in the various corporations.

⁵⁰ In a registry book of the Philosophers' Dormitory (AJU, MS 95) a division existed, unnoticed by the previous researchers. Students were divided into the common ones and the ones enrolled with the chapter's support. The matriculation book contains personal data of students enrolled *Ex parte et ex collatione Rmi dni D. Andreae Noskowski* from 1559 to 1636, beginning at the initial pages and ending at p. 54. There is a long interval filled e.g. with records of the fifteenth-century statutes, as well as with some lists of the dormitory equipment from 1680 on, together with partial enrolments of students. After that, from

Dormitory founded by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki was under special patronage of the Cracow chapter.⁵¹

The confessional situation at a particular dormitory or school was probably more dependent on the supervisor and his personal devotion or tolerance. During the enrolment for the University's dwellings, students passed through the religious selection that is why the existence of a dissenter among the Catholic majority must have been noticed and might even have been dangerous. For instance, the *cassus* of Reinald Giza who was not allowed the matriculation *propter diversae religionis professionem*. In 1613 he studied under tutelage of Paweł Zapartowicz of Jędrzejów and was protected by the Academy's authorities.⁵² In spite of this, he was attacked by the residents of the nearby dormitory, who, supposedly, explicitly stated that they cannot tolerate the presence of any heretic in the proximity of their dwellings.⁵³ The attack was led by Kasper Siemko (Siemek), later a political writer.⁵⁴ The rector fined the perpetrators with 12 *groszs* to the court, while the victim was supposed to settle for apologies and a compensation of damage.

In some cases (the "New"⁵⁵ and Hungarian Dormitories) we have evidence indicating what kind of person was to be admitted.

p. 201 there is a *Catalogus Studiosorum ex parte et ex collatione debita Universitatis ingredientium ab anno dni 1559* similar to the first list, but it ends already at p. 206 and in 1584. As a note informs, then an agreement was reached with the Płock chapter that transferred right to present candidates for the dormitory to the University.

⁵¹ Unfortunately, we do not know what the exact nature of this patronage was. Perhaps, as in case of the Philosophers' Dormitory, the Cracow chapter might have rights to recommend a share of the residents? Cf.: "Decretum est, ut inopia ista et pericula bursae Ierusalem referantur ad venerabile capitulum Cracoviense, tanquam protectores et defensores ipsius secundum privilegium bursae" ("It was decided to present the poverty and peril of the Jerusalem Dormitory to the Cracow chapter which, according to the Dormitory's privilege, is its protector and defender"; *Conclusiones*, no. 394, p. 361).

⁵² Cf. "Akta sądu rektorskiego z lat 1580–1618," AJU, MS 18, pp. 456–457.

⁵³ Cf.: "quod nullum Haereticum penes Bursam sufferre non facile parati sunt," *ibidem*, p. 456.

⁵⁴ Cf. H. Kowalska, "Siemek Kasper h. Brochwicz (zm. 1642)," in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 36 (Warszawa and Kraków, 1995), pp. 630–631. The author gives erroneously 1615 as a date of the assault. W. Urban must have used this article, because, when mentioning the case in his work, he gave the wrong date "Akademia Krakowska" (fn. 110), despite a reference to the manuscript.

⁵⁵ Most probably it means the German Dormitory. On 17 Oct. 1557 Mikołaj Thelegdinus used the title of the supervisor (*senior*) of "Bursae olim Germanorum nunc autem Nove dicte," AJU, MS 17, p. 350. The name was firmly attached

The uniqueness of these dormitories laid in a contract concluded between the Academy and the dormitory's tenant who supervised the dorm. Usually the dormitory's supervisor, called a *senior* (a young Master responsible for the discipline and administrative matters) and its administrator, called a *provizor* (an experienced professor in control of the finances) were chosen by the University.

It should be mentioned in passing that in the contracts for a particular dormitory the same names often appeared, ensuring continuity of control. Tenants were often connected to the Cracow Academy and that gave them a possibility of additional income, but it also meant that the tenant represented, to a much greater degree, the position of the University's authorities. On 2 September 1574 a contract for the "New" Dormitory was signed with Stanisław Zabłocki, a beadle. The lodgers at his dormitory were meant to be decent, calm and of good repute, first and foremost students, next "godly men, joined in the Sacrament of holy matrimony and remaining in the Catholic Church".⁵⁶ The following day similar requirements were set for the Hungarian Dormitory's tenant. Józef of Urzędów, the Academy's treasury officer (a *procurator*) concluded a contract with Andrzej Kanyski, the Cracow prosecutor (an *instigator*), and his wife Małgorzata, under which he obliged them to admit mostly students of Liberal Arts and in their absence – also "priests and righteous married craftsmen, therefore modest and well-behaved, together with their families, so that the University did not suffer any disgrace or danger in the dormitory".⁵⁷

On 7 February 1594, there is an entry about the cancellation by the Academy's *procurator* of the 1592 contract of tenancy for the "New" Dormitory signed with Piotr Bazan, a tailor.⁵⁸ At the same time, the supervision over the dormitory was entrusted, for the three years, to Stanisław Orzechowski, a beadle, and his wife Magdalena under certain conditions, namely that the house in all its parts would be inhabited

to the dormitory probably after its reconstruction in 1534 following the earlier fire. Cf. Włodarek, *Architektura*, p. 44.

⁵⁶ "homines Sacramento matrimoniii copulatos et timoratos atque in ecclesia catholica permanentes", AJU, MS 17, p. 472.

⁵⁷ "sacerdotes et artifices honestos uxores habentes, ita modestos et compositos cum familia sua, ut nihil dedecoris aut periculi universitas paciatur ex eadem domo sua," AJU, MS 17, p. 469.

⁵⁸ In 1592 Piotr Basan (!) concluded a contract to rent "domum lapideam universitatis Classium interim appellatam," AJU, MS 18, p. 158. It seems to be another name for the "New" *vel* German Dormitory that probably was given to the premises from the side where the classrooms were situated.

by them “or by other people, but only the honest and Catholics”, except for the three rooms “pro classibus”.⁵⁹ The importance of lodgers’ Catholic faith is supported by the fact of mentioning this passage in “the table of contents” at the end of the book⁶⁰ and underlining the word “Catholics”, dated most probably at the same time. It also proves that the rector’s court records were actively used maybe as a sample for subsequent contracts or case-law.

To a large extent requirements for residents (repeated in subsequent contracts, also for other University buildings)⁶¹ were dictated by the practicalities, which are reflected in yet another contract. The University did not want any problems with insubordinate residents in order not to lose its privileges.⁶² However, one cannot help but to notice the confessional implications. Firstly, priests were the always welcome category of lodgers. Secondly, married Roman Catholic couples. It was let known *explicite* (“remain in the Catholic Church”) or *implicite* by the very fact of emphasis on the Sacrament of matrimony⁶³ – as it is impossible to expect that the Academy’s Catholic authorities would recognise a marriage performed by a Protestant minister. The similar instructions for the “regular” dormitories might have existed but, because of the absence of contract, they were not recorded, did not survive or were only transmitted orally.

Taking into consideration the earlier observations, it must be stated that non-Catholics encountered difficulties in their functioning in dormitories. If they succeeded in getting a place there, they had to pass as Catholics or, at least, to participate in mandatory religious practices (often demanded by the founders). In both cases, they risked their life and compromised conscience.

⁵⁹ “vel per alios tamen non nisi honestos et Catholicos,” *ibidem*, p. 170.

⁶⁰ It was stated in the book that “In arenda Classium” individuals admitted should be “honestos et catholicos”, referring the reader (according to the primary foliation) to fol. 85. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 625.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 72 (“Arenda domus Universitatis in platea sanctae Annae [– –] ex opposito scholae sanctae Annae”), pp. 51–52 (“Arenda domus vicinae Bursae Vngarorum”).

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 4 (the Hungarian Dormitory lease from 4 July 1580: “Nec facient ex ea tabernam aut cauponam et reliqua eiusmodo, per quae haec domus militaris et Universitatis libera, ad onera civilia servilis esse cogatur”). The Hungarian Dormitory was double-privileged – by the land law as a former residence of Melsztyński family and as the University’s building. Cf. Włodarek, *Architektura*, p. 40.

⁶³ AJU, MS 18, pp. 8–9 (“Arenda domus Universitatis vicinae Bursae Vngarorum”: “in eadem domo si inquilinos fovebunt, curabunt ut sint matrimonii nexu ligati”).

A clear distinction should be made between beliefs, represented by the University and its members, and interests of the corporation, which the Academy unquestionably was. In the name of the common good, the authorities were able to enter the dispute with the Bishops of Cracow, but sometimes beliefs coincided with interests. From the second half of the sixteenth century, the University could not be favourably disposed to the Protestants due to the feud with the dissenters and problems with getting the tithes. Krzysztof Stopka calculated that during the four centuries the Cracow University owned around 600 benefices and tithes from 600 villages,⁶⁴ so the loss of the ecclesiastical income must have been painful.⁶⁵ However, Waclaw Urban warned against exaggerating the link between the Reformation and the reduction in the University's income, stating that: "[Income] was also significantly depleted by the Catholics, among others, the burghers, peasants and even priests themselves by not paying the rents or tithes due", whereas some dissenters, like Hieronim Bużeński, the Cracow Salter, constantly paid the appropriate fees.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, it is hard to expect that these facts were widely-known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, probably for propaganda reasons, it was sought to emphasize the debtors' non-Catholic faith, simultaneously stigmatising the Catholics, for example, by comparing them to the Protestants.

It should also be remembered that lecturers who had benefices were burdened with the non-academic tasks: celebrating masses, pastoral activities at the parish, other ecclesiastical services. It either required being ordained priest and time or using a deputy, which would lower income.⁶⁷ Finding a replacement could be excusable if the distance between a prebend and Cracow was significant. But it might have happened that the professor could easily be incumbent of both the academic and clerical posts. For example, in 1415 the Academy was given by the Cracow chapter the right of presentation for the All Saints' *altaria*. The master appointed by the University received

⁶⁴ Cf. Stopka, "Od założenia," p. 35.

⁶⁵ It is also worth stressing that beneficiaries of the largest incomes – lawyers and theologians – lost relatively little. The most affected were the lower clergy and young lecturers of Arts that were beneficiaries of Church prebends, as their incomes were less diversified. Besides, bishops were passing on the costs to them to compensate for their own losses caused by the cessation of the inflow of tithes. Cf. Urban, "Akademia Krakowska," p. 264.

⁶⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 262.

⁶⁷ Cf. Stopka, "Od założenia," p. 35.

income from the altar. In return, he had to preach at Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and all the Marian feasts.⁶⁸

Despite the great significance of the Cracow Academy for the Catholicism, most of the hierarchs avoided providing support, especially the financial one. Several times the provincial Synods declared the wish to improve the University's finances. Eventually, according to the resolution of the 1542 Piotrków Synod, they charged five of the richest bishops i.e. of Gniezno, Cracow, Kuyavia, Płock and Poznań in favour of the University. The commitments remained on paper, as the bishops were not eager to reduce permanently their income.⁶⁹

Up till now, we have presented a general picture of the University's confessional situation in the light of which the Academy appears as a religious monolith and an institution "forever faithful" to the Catholic Church. However, it is clear that in this respect, there were some important exceptions in the academia. Besides Jakub of Iłża, Franciszek Stankar or Franciszek Lismanin, notorious for leaving the Catholic Church, less famous supporters of the Reformation were also active in the Cracow University, like the future rectors – Stanisław Stalek of Pińczów or Jan of Turobin. The former during the 1554 Lent preached in the All Saints' Church and his sermons featured a number of "erroneous and new dogmas, contrary to ecclesiastical tradition and writings of the Fathers [– –], inspiring heresy and riots".⁷⁰ While the latter, the doctor of law, in the octave of the 1556 Corpus Christi, in the homily at the St Mary's Fara Church "said many heresies on the Eucharist to the listeners' disgust".⁷¹

In 1557, Stanisław Pik Zawadzki, a master suspected of heretical sympathies,⁷² also a future rector, asked for the permission to study abroad. The professors' meeting unanimously approved the continuation

⁶⁸ Cf. *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generalis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1 (Kraków, 1884), no. 56.

⁶⁹ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, pp. 289–290. The generosity was quite often demonstrated by the Bishops of Cracow, who held the office of the University's chancellor. However, they preferred to help by ad hoc gifts and foundations, while simultaneously avoiding the obligations for a long-term and constant assistance.

⁷⁰ Cracow, Cathedral Chapter Archives (Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej), "Acta actorum capituli ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis," V, fol. 148b–149a.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, fol. 233a.

⁷² Yet, for several dozens of years, he looked after the Cracow Dominicans and built a chapel at their monastery where he was buried. On the other hand, he was one of the most implacable enemies of the Jesuits and in 1579 as Mayor

of studies. Nevertheless, they pointed out that in case the applicant dared to stop at any of heretical places, condemned by the Holy See, which had been deprived of a name of the University,⁷³ he would be removed from his *kolegiatura* (the lecturer's post at the college). The scholar used his leave to earn a medical doctorate in Padua and, in the same year, returned to Cracow. Most probably in 1560, he left the *Alma Mater* again, but this time he decided to educate himself at Protestant universities. He matriculated at Frankfurt on Oder (1561), Heidelberg (1562) and Basle (1563). In the autumn of 1563 he returned to Cracow and was seeking the chair of Medicine. He obtained the post, despite resistance of some of the professors who, during the dispute, made accusations of religious nature.⁷⁴

In the 1550s and 1560s, heretical sympathies and professors' speeches, incompatible with the Academy's official line, did not stop. On 14 December 1578 Stanisław Stalek of Pińczów, as Dean of the Faculty of Theology, dared to give a public speech in the Protestant church, so-called *Bróg* (rebuilt after the October 1574 destruction in which Cracow students participated). He supported administering Communion under both species and spoke against the invocation of Saints. The news about the speech provoked outrage in Catholic circles and quickly reached Nuncio Caligari. Due to his high position and advanced age, the professor was spared the public recantation of theses and his reconciliation with the Catholic Church took place already on 23 December at the Papal Nuncio's in the presence of Stanisław Krasieński, an archdeacon.⁷⁵

We gave the abovementioned examples of the confessionally distinctive professors, as it is worth slightly diversifying a too general and therefore false image of the Cracow Academy as confessionally homogeneous. It is clear from the given examples that even the Faculty of Theology during a certain period was not free from supporters of the unorthodox views. It should be noted that the unusual nature of information about these events undoubtedly contributed to its preservation – the fact of their crossing the line of the University's official confessional policy. It is far more difficult to find the norm in the sources

of Cracow, he supported the University in its struggle against the Society.

Cf. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów*, p. 154.

⁷³ Cf.: "ex erroneis et damnatis a Sede Apostolica cetibus et iniquis congregationibus, qui universitatum nomen amiserunt," *Conclusiones*, no. 298, p. 269.

⁷⁴ Cf. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów*, p. 154.

⁷⁵ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 302.

researched, as for obvious reasons, the cases of its breaching are more frequently recorded. Even on the basis of given examples, we are able to obtain a picture of this norm. E.g. the professors' response to Stanisław Zawadzki's request clearly shows that the new religious ideas were only marginally implemented among them, whereas the aversion to the Protestantism prevailed. Eventually, it did not prevent the physician's career, but forced him to deny any religious accusations – perhaps by means of an oath, denouncing the dissent or by making Profession of Faith.

Due to Pope Pius IV's bull from the late 1564, making the Profession of Faith was required at the Italian universities before the promotion to the academic degree and taking up the professorial post. Afterwards the bull was sent throughout Europe. The two printed pages *in folio* with the mentioned bull were glued (in unspecified time) into the Book of Conclusions of the Cracow Academy.⁷⁶ In spite of this, it was only Nuncio Caligari, who was able to force academicians to take clear sides in the confessional confrontation. On 19 December 1578 all the incorporated professors (without the "extranei" – lecturers who were not members of colleges) made the Profession of Faith according to the formula determined by the Council of Trent. It might have been influenced by Stanisław Stalek of Pińczów's speech in Bróg five days earlier.

After such a clear display of disobedience by the experienced theologian, the Nuncio decided to put everything at stake and obtain the University's unequivocal subordination, even risking the resistance. It can be assumed that these events and the dynamic actions of the Nuncio, despite the previous reservations, contributed to the insertion of the bull's printed copy into the Book of Conclusions. It was another victory of the Counter-Reformation at the Academy, which, at the same time, meant the defeat of its autonomy.

⁷⁶ It was printed after 4 Dec. 1564 "apud Antonium Bladum Impressorem Came- ralem". Its pages have not been included in the original foliation by Marcin Glicki (they are placed between f. 1 and 2), but only in the eighteenth-century pagination (pp. 3–6). The bull is placed at the beginning of the book, just after the table of contents made by Glitius (and was not mentioned in it, as it did the eighteenth-century index at the book's end) and before the first conclusions. Unfortunately, this information does not greatly narrow down the time-frame in which the bull's copy was included into the book. It might have happened during Glicki's lifetime (d. 1591), even shortly after he had the tome of the University's conclusions bound (he might have done the index and foliation during his rectorship, for the first time in 1573) or only in the eighteenth century. Cf. AJU, MS 33, passim, esp. pp. 1–6, 387–395.

From that time on, making the Profession of Faith became mandatory for all the promoted students⁷⁷ and at some point (probably the first half of the seventeenth century) – also for all the students aspiring to study in Cracow.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, it seems that the students were forced much earlier to denounce any dissent from the Catholic faith. At the beginning of the 1509 Students' Album, there is an oath containing the five articles, which a person aspiring to become a student had to swear (I. *Obedientia*, II. *Promotio*, III. *Preceptum*, IV. *Vindicta*, V. *Hereticus*). It is followed by a quote from the Gospel of Luke saying that the truly blessed are those who listen to the God's word and keep it.

The first article concerns allegiance sworn to the rector and states: "I, X, swear to you, Lord Rector, and to your successors, who take the post according to the Canon Law", while the last: "Similarly, I shall not hold the beliefs of Hus, a condemned heretic, as also of his successors and revivers of ancient heresies. So help me God and this Holy Divine Gospel".⁷⁹ This oath accompanied matriculations for a long time, as it had been written down in the 1400–1434 Album, when Jan Hus was referred to still in a shortened form without "successors". It should be pointed out that it was not the dead letter abandoned in time, as is testified by the development of this passage and the annotation "similiter Luteri et sequatium eius" on the right margin in the corresponding place of the 1509–1551 Album. The oath was in use at least until 1642.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, pp. 308–309.

⁷⁸ As was stated in a parenthesis by Szymon Starowolski (a student in 1612–1618) in his 1625 work *Scriptorum Polonicorum Hekatonias* (1st edn.) while describing the piety of Wojciech of Szczepieszyn (XLIX), a professor of Latin literature at the Academy. Cf.: "Cracoviensis Academiae non laureati tantum, sed studiosi etiam ipsi cum inscribuntur in album Universitatis, fidei et candoris Romani professionem publicam faciunt, atque simul haeresium et novitatem omnem in manibus rectoris abiurant," quoted after: Barycz, *Historia*, p. 309 (the scholar used the 1733 edition).

⁷⁹ "Ego N iuro vobis domino rectori et vestris succesoribus canonicè intrantibus obedientiam"; "Item quod opinionem Hussi haeretici damnati, similiter et sequatium eius ac renovatorum antiquarum haeresi, non servabo. Sic me Deus adiuvet et haec Sancta Dei Euangelia"; "Album studiosorum ab a. 1509 ad 1551," Cracow, Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, hereafter: BJ), MS 259, p. 5.

⁸⁰ It also appears in the third and fourth part of the Album – for 1551–1606 and 1607–1642, respectively.

But did all the students take the oath that excluded from their group the non-Catholics? What is nevertheless surprising is the answer to this seemingly obvious question. Not all the people aspiring to become students swore. It did not prevent some youths to enrol, whereas it closed the doors to knowledge to others (at least at the Cracow Academy).

Because of this, brothers Marcin and Rafał, sons of Rafał Liczko de Riglicze in the Cracow Diocese, were not allowed to study in the 1573 summer semester. There are lines from both their names to an annotation "He did not want to swear, that is why he was not enrolled".⁸¹ Despite this, it was noted that the matriculation fee of 6 gr. was paid. They must have paid the fee and were on the right path to be included into the students' ranks, but they did not agree to take the oath. It seems probable that the unwillingness to swear was motivated by the confessional reasons.

A 1590 summer semester entry might be seen in the same context: "Józef Masłowski, son of Feliks, is not admitted for some reason".⁸² As it is a continuous entry, so the young man was already refused "for some reason" at the very moment he wanted to matriculate, at an even earlier stage than the brothers from Regulice. It neither mentions where he was from, nor charging the matriculation fee. Without doubt, it can only be established that the matriculation refusal was, in his case, due to a delicate matter. It is plausible to think that the scribe purposely avoided developing the cryptic note – I would risk the hypothesis that it should be linked to the confessional situation.

Naturally, there might have been (and were) different reasons for not taking the oath, not only the confessional ones. In some cases, an obstacle (at least the declared one) to fulfil all the matriculation requirements was the young age, and consequently, the legal incapacity i.e. inability to take the oath.⁸³ These students were not denied the opportunity to study, although presumably, after acquiring the capacity, they were supposed to fulfil the obligation to take the oath, but, unfortunately, we do not know whether that happened.

⁸¹ "Noluit iurare ideo non incorporates"; "Album studiosorum ab a. 1551 ad 1606," BJ, MS 260, fol. 57.

⁸² "Josephus Felicis Maslowskinon est susceptus propter certas causas," BJ, MS 260, fol. 111a.

⁸³ The two sons of Seweryn and two of Krzysztof Fałęcki paying the full fee "propter aetatem non praestiterunt iuramentum," while Jan Woytowicz after paying 3 groszs "nondum iuravit". Cf. *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 4: *Ab anno 1607 ad annum 1642*, ed. J. Zathy (Kraków, 1950), p. 15.

We presume that in the vast majority of cases of the refusal to take the oath, which prevented from studying, was linked to the reasons of confessional nature. We understand them as the unwillingness to swear at all (represented e.g. by a part of the Polish Brethren) or to make declaration in the form and/or formula required by the authorities (about these aspects of an oath, see below), because of which it could be more or less exclusive to non-Catholic denominations.

It seems highly improbable for the students to have the right to disagree on the first four articles. It is even hard to understand that they did not want to submit to the rector's jurisdiction – as it was a privilege and, for a lot of people, one of the main incentives to enrol. Besides, we know that students treated this article of the oath selectively, obeying the rector when it suited them and quitting studies and leaving Cracow when the authority of His Magnificence ceased to benefit them.⁸⁴ The second article concerned the obligation to multiple the University's goods, third – the choice of tutor subordinate to the rector, whereas fourth – resigning from the blood feud and instead asserting one's rights before the rector's court. None of the first four articles seems to be as controversial as the one on heresy and each of them was disobeyed (especially the fourth). While reserving judgment, it should be said that the opportunistic denial of faith weighed on the conscience more than the earthly trifles.

What is more, this specific case confirms our assumptions, although its preservation should be regarded a fortunate exception. For some

⁸⁴ A vivid example of such behaviour is Albert of Kłodawa mixed up in the 29 May 1581 assault on the house of the notorious mayor Erazm Czeczotka. The student was supposed to clear himself by means of an oath from the accusation that he participated in the incident, but he did not show up at the deadline. Summoned before the rector's court and accused of rebelling against its decree, the student gave an evasive explanation. He claimed that it was Czeczotka himself, who freed him from taking the oath, but Albert did not want to meet rector's demand to explain the case to the city councillors. Moreover, he went to a dormitory with a naked sword, showing contempt to the University's authorities. When thrown into a solitary confinement, he said that he wanted to ask for forgiveness of the dormitory's *senior* and city council, but when released from prison, he fled the town. After a fortnight, he returned again, offended the *senior* in the dormitory and thereafter he was proscribed. Despite this, already on 16 August, he participated in a night brawl at Grodzka Street (a lot more students must have been involved in the incident, but, except for him, only a resident of the All Saints' school was caught). Cf. D. Machaj, "Sądownictwo rektorów krakowskich w XVI wieku," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 66, no. 1 (2014), pp. 67–70.

students the doors to knowledge stayed opened despite not having sworn the oath even for the explicitly noted confessional reasons. In the 1579 summer semester, we find an annotation next to the names of seven Reformed Protestants, who enrolled together, that they are “Calvinists” and were accepted “without the oath”.⁸⁵ These students revealed their lack of Catholic Orthodoxy during matriculation when they did not want to take the required oath to the rector.⁸⁶

Why were they admitted at all? Each of them paid a full matriculation fee, but that rather was not the case. It must have been mainly due to the recent King Stephen Bathory’s mandate (27 October 1578) on keeping peace in Cracow. It is not the place to discuss in full this important document, which was, doubtlessly, linked to the confessional tumults that occurred in Cracow over the year. The ninth article of the mandate is crucial to the topic of this essay. It says that regardless of the estate, profession and confession, all must have the free access to the lectures. It was Bathory who made it possible for the seven Reformed Protestants to start university on the wave of the “thaw” in 1579.

However, we do not know either what happened to them or how many non-Catholic students might have profited from the “thaw” caused by the document. The mandate should have been valid until the end of life of the issuer, who had right of patronage over the capital city. It appears that in reality it was valid for a significantly shorter period. In order to find out for how long, the sixth article will be helpful. The university was ordered, among others, for security reasons, to register students’ first names and surnames (that, naturally, was carried out), and in case of their humble origin – also their distinguishing features, which was a significant *novum*. It was supposed to prevent impersonating students by the people of ill-repute. Indeed, in the 1578/1579 winter semester, the scars and other distinguishing features were listed.⁸⁷ But already in the next semester, we cannot find any additional information on the young men’s looks, despite that the rector remained the same – Jakub Górski.

⁸⁵ “sine Juramento suscepti et ideo Calviniste sunt”. The annotation is almost illegible and ends with: “tamen illis Rectore [– –] probae causa,” BJ, MS 260, fol. 74a.

⁸⁶ Although when referring to the first one – Piotr from the Diocese of Wittenberg, an additional piece of information was written, that “Hic fuit pedagogus” and he was banished, together with his father, from Gdańsk for being a Calvinist. It is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events as both pieces of information were added at the same time. Cf. BJ, MS 260, fol. 74a.

⁸⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, fol. 73.

Coming back to the oath, it must be noted that it was not unusual as one of the main items of evidence in the proceedings before the rector's court. In the rectors' files, we can find previous witnesses' or the accused' oaths made along the similar lines. Both the formula (an Invocation to the Cross, Holy Scripture/Gospel and God the One and Triune, perhaps together with the All Saints, prevailed)⁸⁸ and the way of taking these oaths (an Invocation to God, touching of the objects mentioned, sometimes with two raised fingers or kneeling)⁸⁹ are evident proofs of the University's Catholic orthodoxy. Though, it should be mentioned that it was not an exceptional way of taking oath as similarly one must have sworn before any court,⁹⁰ except that the Reformation forced the courts to some compromise (especially the courts where the seeds of the "religious novelties" had already grew and the judges were lenient to its supporters).⁹¹

⁸⁸ Cf.: "Sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Crux," AJU, MS 17, p. 534; "Sic me Deus adiuvet et hec sancta passio Domini," *ibidem*, p. 282; "Sic eum Deus adiuvet et sancta Dei Evangelia," *ibidem*, p. 523; "Sic eos Deus adiuvet trinus et unus et omnes [sancti] similiter," *ibidem*, p. 35; "Venceslaus bedellus iuravit. [–] Sic me Deus adiuvet et haec figura passioni domini," AJU, MS 18, p. 369; "Ja Jerzy Dąbronski przysięgam Panu Bogu wsechmogącemu [–] tak mie Panie Boze wspomosz ii tha Świętha Euangelia," *ibidem*, p. 180; "Ja Szczęsny przysięgam Panu N[ajwyższemu] Szechmogącemu [–] tak mię Panie Boże wspomosz y męka iego Świętha," *ibidem*, p. 187.

⁸⁹ Cf.: "artium baccalarius, [–] iuravit se ad imaginem Crucifixi (1536)," AJU, MS 17, p. 12; a widow "tacta imagine Crucifixi, extimavit iuramento suo (1537)," *ibidem*, p. 34; "testes sic citati comparentes, tactis ob hoc in continenti scripturis sacrosanctis ac imagine Crucifixi Domini, singillatim iuraverunt in forma, dicere quam sciverint veritatem (1545)," *ibidem*, p. 184; "tacta ob hoc imagine Crucifixi Dei, duobus digitis positus genuflexo in forma ad hunc effectum prestitit (1548)," *ibidem*, p. 239; "paulo ante vive vocis oraculo facto, tacta ob hoc passione Crucifixi Dei, bene deliberatus, extensis duobus digitis geniculando iuravit in forma (1550)," *ibidem*, p. 282; "tactis ob hoc scripturis ewangelii sacrosanctis, in forma corporaliter in contumaciam partis prestitit (1552)," *ibidem*, p. 314; "qui [testes] praestito corporali iuramento ad ymaginem Salvatoris nostri crucifixi ea deposuerunt et testati sunt (1572)," *ibidem*, p. 447.

⁹⁰ A completely different form of an oath was required from the Jews. Cf. W. Kuraszkiewicz, "Formuły przysięgi w rotach sądowych XIV–XVI wieku," in: *idem*, *Polski język literacki. Studia nad historią i strukturą* (Warszawa and Poznań, 1986), pp. 580–581.

⁹¹ Cf. a Sigismund Augustus' instruction (dated at Warsaw, 30 May 1571) for the Wieliczka authorities that people granted freedom of the city should swear to the cross and not in some new "unusual" way, Cracow, National Archives (Archiwum Narodowe, hereafter: ANKr), Castr. Crac. 106, pp. 592–593.

Taking the oath did not finish with the registration in the matriculation book – it was required whenever the student appeared in court, as plaintiff or defendant, and when admitted to a dormitory, school or even college⁹². Students swore to obey the statutes and the relevant authority. It may be interesting to mention that the rectors sometimes warned the litigants not to overuse the oath during the process, especially when it was a minor case.⁹³

In the rector's court, the dissenters' problems (not only the lecturers and students but also burghers – both witnesses and victims) did not limit themselves exclusively to taking the oath that cleared from the accusations or confirmed the statements. It appears that the litigants were tested for their orthodoxy. The lack of sources forces us to draw conclusions only from a few pieces of information. The first comes from the record of an inheritance case of Tomasz of Ryczywół (*de Ryczywol*), a resident of the dormitory of the St. Anne's school, who died during the plague. Chattels left by the student were the object of a dispute between Wojciech Bujnowicz (*Bwynowycz*) of Tarnów and a student (and also a cantor of the mentioned school) Wojciech Dambrowski, Tomasz's fellow countryman. In order to prove his rights to the inheritance, the student presented three witnesses (a student – a fellow lodger at the school, a craftsman's apprentice and a Jan of Michałów). All three confessed that they had received the Holy Sacrament. The first witness additionally made the Profession of Faith, the second one stated that he hates all heretical errors and the third supposedly took again Communion during the pestilence.⁹⁴ All the

⁹² The oath was taken by the master, but it was possible for the students to reside at the college in the capacity of servitors or *gratialis* (a category of poorer students), who probably must have sworn their allegiance, too. Cf. "Statuta antiqua Collegii Maioris," p. 7 (point 13: "De iuramento magistrorum ipsi preposito").

⁹³ Mikołaj of Bodzentyn, the rector and theologian, reprimanded Jakub Kromfelt, that it is unseemly for a doctor and priest to take an oath when the sum of money is small (2 Polish zlotys). The Doctor of Law wanted to take a clearing oath in the dispute with Ewa *de Podbrzeze* (10 April 1572). Thanks to the rector's mediation, the woman accepted half of the requested amount and was freed from paying 8 gr., demanded by Kromfelt in response to her lawsuit. Cf. AJU, MS 17, p. 442.

⁹⁴ Adam *Comvnsky*, a student, "confessus eodem modo percepit sacramentum divinissimi Corporis Domini Iesu Christi creditusque articulos fidei"; Augustyn of Cracow "addictus artificusorae laminatum: confessus est eodem anno percepit sacramentum divinissimi Corporis Iesu Christi, odio habens omnes errores

witnesses unanimously supported Dambrowski to whom the deceased was said to have promised his movables as a token of gratitude for the care during the pest.

The repetitiveness of the initial parts of the statements on taking of the Communion should provoke a moment of reflection. It may be the result of using the question list to interview the witnesses that probably needed to be further abbreviated by the scribe. However, this would indicate that keeping the Catholic faith was required for the witness to be considered credible by the court.

It is even more distinctively articulated in a 15 November 1586 case, in which the Cracow councillors brought an action against Mateusz Bereza, a bachelor of liberal arts, for an armed assault on the Town Hall. At the beginning, the witnesses were introduced by plaintiffs – we omit the statements as irrelevant here.⁹⁵ The first witness was Seruatis Pernuz, a *hutman* (a superior of the town's militia, who was also a Town Hall's judge and a night deputy of the mayor) and the Town Hall administrator, the second – Mateusz Kostan, a tinsmith and the keeper of the Weigh House, the third – Wacław Bem, a merchant, the fourth statement was given by Sebastian Kamienski, a burgher and cooper, the fifth witness was Florian Kunkowsky, the commander of the municipal guards (once caught on perjury, despite this he was allowed to testify, although he was treated with special caution). The last witness for the town happened to be Stanisław of Krosno, a municipal guard. Bachelor Bereza appeared in person to prove his innocence on the set date (19 Nov.). Firstly, he presented as witnesses Stanisław Kurinius of Przemyśl and Jan Cieskowsky, both students, then Walentyn Sobieraik, a stonemason, followed by the fourth witness – Stanisław Florowicz, a lodger of the former witness. After their statements, the defendant reserved the right to call additional witnesses.

In this case, the repetitiveness of the initial part of statements is even more striking. Almost all witnesses, after having given their

haereticorum. Jan: etiam confessus percepit eodem anno sacramentum Corporis Domini Iesu Christi et maxime eo tempore, quo plurimi mortalium pestilentica contagione morabantur," *ibidem*, pp. 447–448.

⁹⁵ The witnesses brought by the town's authorities almost unanimously pointed to the defendant as guilty of the assault. The witnesses presented by the other party accused another bachelor, a Mikołaj Jelza, and tried to unconvincingly alibi the defendant. The outcome of the case is particularly surprising – the rector did not allow further witnesses for the town, and the defendant considered it as the sentence in his favour.

personal data and profession, described their (approximate) age, then the confession, the fact of receiving the Eucharist and not being subject to excommunication. In the notes, there was also information that they had not been informed by the scribes (probably about other witnesses' statements), that their statements were made of their own free will, under oath and with nothing but the truth in mind. It was also emphasised that they were not bribed, only then the proper testimonies were submitted.⁹⁶ Most probably, it is due to using a question list – written or resulting from the practice of the rector's court. Most of the information may not strike a contemporary reader (personal data, age, independence of witness' statements etc.). What may be unexpected are the questions about religious issues.

However, they resulted not only from the “orthodoxy” of the Catholic university and the overall dislike to the dissenters, but also from the belief that only the god-fearing individuals (i.e. the Catholics) can be trusted and from the fact, that an excommunicated person was deprived of *locus standi in iudicio* and – theoretically – was an outcast from the community. In this respect, a fact from the next tome of *Acta rectoralia* should be cited, where it was explicitly stated that Krzysztof Najmanowicz, a medic (and a future four-time rector),⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Cf.: “Seruatius Pernuz [– –] orthodoxae religionis catholicus, christianus, profesto sacratissimi Paschatis confessus communicavit, Mathias Kostan, [– –] confessus, communicavit, non haereticus, non informatus per inducentem, non excommunicatus, Venceslaus Bem [– –] confessus, communicavit, catholicus, non excommunicatus, non informatus per partem inducentem. Sebastianus Kamienski Leglarz [– –] confessus et communicavit, et in omnibus generalibus bene expeditus, cum superioribus testibus in toto concordat. Florianus Kunkowsky, [– –] non excommunicatus, non instructus per inducentem, neque etiam praetio aut promissis, vel aliquo affectu ductus, sed prout testes superiores confessus, communicavit, et parti iustitiam habenti favens praestito iuramento corporali recognovit. Stanislaus a Krosno [– –] catholicus, confessus, communicavit, non excommunicatus. Stanislaus Kurinius Przemisliensis [– –] scit necessaria fidei, vim iuramenti novit et fuit quoque sibi ab officio in medium adducta, confessus, communicavit, non in gratiam parti, non informatus ab inducente, non ex odio aut aliquo affectu, non excommunicatus. Joannes Cieskowsky [– –] necessaria salutis scit, confessus, communicavit. Valentinus Sobieraiek [– –] confessus, communicavit, vim iuramenti tenet, quam etiam sibi expositam habuit, fidei necessaria tenet et in aliis cum superioribus testibus convenit. Stanislaus Florowicz [– –] scit necessaria salutis, vim iuramenti novit, confessus, communicavit et in aliis cum superioribus testibus conveniens,” *AJU*, MS 18, pp. 101–107.

⁹⁷ Cf. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów*, p. 171.

as subject to censure, was not allowed to bring cases before the rector's court,⁹⁸ and it should be added that the doctor of medicine was excommunicated by the rector himself. Under the 1491 privilege given by Cardinal Frederick Jagiellon, the University's Head had every right to do this.⁹⁹ However, the sentenced scholar disagreed. The rector emphatically made his case in a note entitled *De validate Academiae Excommunicationis*.¹⁰⁰ With the advent of the Reformation, the excommunication started to lose its power, also partly because this punishment became commonplace in the rector's court and there was a relatively easy way to get an absolution.¹⁰¹

As we can see from the above examples, the Cracow Academy frequently acted side by side with the Catholic Church, identified with it, benefited financially from this relationship, and also drew power and authority. So, it is not surprising that the noblemen's protestant movement, growing in strength, demanded to close the Catholic university. This issue was raised by the Protestant deputies (led by Stanisław Myszkowski, the Cracow Starost) at the 1562/1563 Piotrków Sejm meeting.¹⁰²

However, it should be added that not only the differences of confessional nature might have led to the proposal for the University closure, but also the riots started by students, hence the resentment of the deputies. During the period in question, it is hard to find the confessional motivation behind a majority of tumults (with an exception of the disturbance during the 1557 funeral of Regina Filipowska, a Protestant).¹⁰³ Myszkowski himself had a bad experience with students. Thanks to Jarosław Wolski's letters,¹⁰⁴ we learn that students sung

⁹⁸ Cf. AJU, MS 19, pp. 65–66.

⁹⁹ Further on the rector's judiciary cf. Machaj, "Sądownictwo," pp. 41–76.

¹⁰⁰ AJU, MS 19, p. 90.

¹⁰¹ It is not hard to find people who could not care less about being subject to this censure e.g. the rectors had to remind the excommunicated lecturers to have the penalty removed before lectures and also to ask the excommunicated to leave the University's meetings. Cf. Machaj, "Sądownictwo," pp. 45–46.

¹⁰² Cf.: Urban, "Akademia Krakowska," p. 258; Stopka, "Od założenia," p. 24.

¹⁰³ The Protestant noblemen's protest lodged with the grod court, identifying students as assailants at the Regina Filipowska's funeral (28 October 1557). Cf. ANKr, Castr. Crac. Inscr., vol. 76, pp. 434–436.

¹⁰⁴ He was a relative of a master executed in 1567 by the town authorities with the help of the grod authorities, which resulted in a freeze in relations between the town and the University. Cf. J. Muczkowski, *Krwawy burmistrz. Kartka z dziejów mieszczaństwa krakowskiego w XVI wieku* (Kraków, 1935), p. 25.

to him “malicious songs about Łukaszówna, a courtesan the voivode was courting in his youth”.¹⁰⁵ Even in June 1575, students attacked the Protestant graveyard and desecrated a number of graves, including the grave of Stanisław Myszkowski, deceased five years earlier.¹⁰⁶

Such activities, attributed to the Protestants, could not make the Academy positively disposed, neither did the rivalry from the Protestant universities and gymnasiums. Although there was also increasing pressure from the Catholic educational centres (the Vilnius Academy, the Zamoyski Academy, plans to open the Jesuit college in Cracow), but the defence of “the Catholic school” often came from Church circles (especially the ones belligerent towards the dissenters). For example, in view of Stephen Bathory’s plans to open *College Royal*, Stanisław Hozjusz sent a letter dated 14 Dec. 1577, in which he admonished the monarch not to “found a chair against a chair, where something different would be lectured from what is taught in devotion and true Christian knowledge by the most diligent Academy, which has achieved great fame from the fact that, since its foundation, it has never been infected by any kind of heresy or tolerated a heretic professor”.¹⁰⁷ While in the letter to Piotr Myszkowski, the Bishop of Cracow, Hozjusz mentioned great importance of students in the fight against the dissenters, which they proved by having participated in the destruction of the Polish Brethren typography in Cracow.¹⁰⁸

Could the Cardinal’s words really apply to the entire Academy? What was the students’ attitude to the Reformation? Henryk Barycz said that “the most serious after Iłża (Jakub of Iłża)¹⁰⁹ heresiarch Franciszek Stankar did not succeed and even triggered a hostile reaction of the young people”.¹¹⁰ It must be underlined – of the majority of youths. The notoriety of the intolerant university (from the non-Catholics point of view), evidently, did not repel students whose affiliation to the Catholic Church was highly improbable. Since

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego krakowskiego przez X. Wojciecha Węgierskiego*, ed. M. Pawelec (Kraków, 2007), p. 76.

¹⁰⁷ Barycz, *Historia*, p. 477, after: BJ, MS 164, fol. 225. Hozjusz expressed similar thoughts in a letter to Nuncio Vincenzo Laureo dated 13 December of the same year (cf. the same MS, fol. 223^b–224^a).

¹⁰⁸ Letter dated 19 April 1578, from Rome, BJ, MS 164, fol. 249a–b, after: *Materiały do dziejów reformacji*, no. 125, p. 96.

¹⁰⁹ Unless stated otherwise, all the comments in the quoted texts are by the author of the paper.

¹¹⁰ Barycz, *Historia*, p. 300.

we find entries in the 1550s Students' Album, i.e. from the time of Stankar's activity, where annotation "Hereticus" appeared next to data identifying individual students. Such a description was given to, among others, Stanisław Kokoska from the Cracow Diocese,¹¹¹ Albert Rzimsky of Warszawa¹¹² and Jan Kyslynk of Kraków.¹¹³ Next to the 1556 entry of Abraham Lidtau de Kurczko, the Wrocław (Breslau) canon and Głogów (Glogau) cantor, we find an annotation: "Left the Catholic Church, married a woman when he was a deacon".¹¹⁴ In the following year, Piotr Sokołowski enrolled, described as a "minister of heretics" and bachelor.¹¹⁵ A name "Lutheranus" was given to Erazm Gliczner ("Erasmus Jacobi Glyczner Snenius", entered the registry book in 1558),¹¹⁶ who as one of the main representatives of the Augsburg Confession from the Greater Poland, already at the time of matriculation, must have had established religious views, as he arrived in Cracow after a stay in Złotoryja (Goldberg) Gimnasium in Silesia (run by Valentin Trozendorf, a pupil of Melanchthon) and at the Königsberg University.

Without doubt, the bulk of the annotations indicating the "unorthodoxy" were made at a later date,¹¹⁷ which is evident from their form, since they are written by another hand in the smaller script, on the margin, between lines or columns. These observations apply to the majority of the records, also of a different kind e.g. informing about the student's career, him taking up the priesthood.¹¹⁸ The fact that

¹¹¹ In 1552. Cf. BJ, MS 260, fol. 7. Subsequently, he studied in Basle and even was a lodger of Lelio Sozzini. Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 303.

¹¹² In 1553. Cf. BJ, MS 260, fol. 10a.

¹¹³ In 1554. Cf. *ibidem*, fol. 12.

¹¹⁴ "Desciuit ab ecclesia catholica, duxit uxorem cum esset Diaconys," *ibidem*, fol. 19.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, fol. 21.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, fol. 23.

¹¹⁷ A particular kind of annotations is easy to date – information on a proscription. An annotation appears next to the entry of Marcin, Albert of Cracow's son (the 1574 winter semester): "Proscriptus ab Universitate ut in Actis fol. 248". Indeed, in the *Acta rectoralia* on this very page, there is an entry dated 11 March 1578 "Proscripcio rebellis studiosi", informing about Marcin's expulsion (he was given the family name Golab, which was also added to the enrolment entry) for a grievous bodily harm to a woman and disobedience to the rector – the defendant did not appear in court. Cf. AJU, MS 17, p. 504. The student spent relatively long time (over three years) in the Academy before he was expelled.

¹¹⁸ For example, listed in 1573 "Rochus Rochi Posnanienis dioc eiusdem 3 gr. Mgr. Collega minor, Senior bursae pauperum post maior poenitentarius in

the former students subsequently took the cloth is used to show the University's influence on shaping Catholic attitudes and the decision to enter an order,¹¹⁹ thus, somewhat contrariwise, a reverse trend can be shown, examples of which were given above.

It is quite possible that a larger number of students had religious preferences deviating from the Catholic faith, but they hid them, having realised the Academy's dislike of non-Catholics, and – bending their own conscience – fulfilled the confessional requirements for the functioning in the University's milieu. As did some Protestants studying in Italy who pretended to be the Catholics. They participated in masses and knelt before the host, at the same time considering this to be the idolatry.¹²⁰

Without doubt, some of the students might have changed religious views (as it was already mentioned, one way or the other). And so, for example, Andrzej Chrzastowski from the Diocese of Lwów, enrolled in June 1571,¹²¹ who, while still a student, was one of the main instigators of the first destruction of the Protestant church.¹²² Having left the walls of the Cracow University, he became a member of the Reformed Church and a fierce religious polemicist. There must have been a substantially larger scale of the non-Catholics' behaviour faced with a Catholic university. It sometimes happened at Italian universities that a Protestant refused to hold an office within an academic

arce Cracoviensi, notus sacerdos”; BJ, MS 260, fol. 56a. In 1578, Roch of Poznań obtained the degrees of Master of Liberal Arts and Doctor of Philosophy. In the Promotion book next to his entry, it was noted: “collega maior, doctissimus philosophus et theologus. Pietas in Deum et summa religio fecit, ut se nesciret magnum fuisse”; *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. J. Muczkowski (Kraków, 1849), p. 218.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Sondel, *Zawsze wierny*, pp. 273–353.

¹²⁰ It was not an isolated case, as e.g. Kasper Wilkowski's behaviour bears witness to this. Cf. M. Chachaj, “Protestanci polscy na studiach w katolickich uniwersytetach zagranicznych w latach 1564–1660,” in: *Z dziejów stosunków wyznaniowych w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVII wieku*, ed. H. Gmiterek (Lublin, 2000; Res Historica, vol. 10), pp. 190–191, 201.

¹²¹ Cf. BJ, MS 260, fol. 53a.

¹²² Jan Łasicki mentioned it in a 1592 letter to Mikołaj Naruszewicz: “Ac quia anno 1574 in densis tenebris Papisticis constitutes, suasor suis et impulsor fuit, ut templum nostrae professionis hominum, quod habent Cracoviae, ab eis dirueretur, quod bis postea ab iisdem factum est”. Andrzej Chrzastowski quoted the letter in the foreword to: idem, *Duo libelli de opificio missae* (Basel, 1594), n.p.

corporation because of the religious ceremonies linked to its acceptance¹²³ and, as we presume, some people aspiring to be a student of the Cracow Academy missed their chance by refusing to take an oath.

It does not change the fact that the non-Catholics studied in Cracow including such famous Protestants as Georg Schomann (Jerzy Szoman). He left the Racibórz (Ratibor) canonry and, at the time of the matriculation, he was already an avowed Lutheran who, according to H. Barycz, “wanders about the Poor’s Dormitory and St. Anne’s School, still studying the Liberal Arts”.¹²⁴ The first person to enrol at the Academy for the 1554 winter semester was Daniel Bilensky.¹²⁵ After he had received the position of a German preacher at the St. Barbara’s Church he delivered sermons “to the great disgust of numerous listeners”,¹²⁶ for which he was imprisoned in the bishop’s residence in Prądnik. After leaving the prison, he joined the Cracow Protestant Church, and, in 1558, he became its second minister. His holding this office was the reason for an assault on him by Mateusz Służyc of Puchaczów, a student (10 May 1577).¹²⁷

Among the Cracow Academy’s students also happened to be the ones who combined the studies with the anticlerical writings, as e.g. the 1560 students: Jan Grotowski and Jan Mylius, a Lutheran pastor’s son from Thuringia.¹²⁸ In 1576 “Balthasar Gyulay ex Comitatu Dobecensi” was matriculated (and paid as much as 30 *groszs* of the matriculation fee). There is no mention in the Students’ Album that he was a dissenter and we would pay no attention to him if it were not for an interesting annotation about his striking death: “In Istula submersus ex imperitia natationis”.¹²⁹ The unfortunate swimmer was in reality a dissenter and Bathory’s courtier. His faith might have not been a secret, but he became a student by tacit consent of the Academy’s authorities.¹³⁰ He was described as a heretic by Marcin Glicki, who wrote down in his diary that on 20 May 1577 “Alumnus Maiestatis Regis et Cliens Balthazar Dziuliai” drowned in the Vistula soon after the matriculation and summed this up by a brief “erat haereticus”. The diary’s

¹²³ Cf. Chachaj, “Protestanci,” p. 202.

¹²⁴ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 303.

¹²⁵ Cf. BJ, MS 260, fol. 11.

¹²⁶ “in grave scandalum plurimorum,” quoted after: Barycz, *Historia*, p. 304.

¹²⁷ Cf. AJU, MS 17, p. 498.

¹²⁸ Cf. Urban, “Akademia Krakowska,” p. 274.

¹²⁹ Cf. BJ, MS 260, fol. 69.

¹³⁰ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 309.

author knew exactly who the deceased was (although he misspelt the name) and an author of the entry at the matriculation book must have known this, too. In his private diary, the rector described the Hungarian as a heretic, but in a University book, it was not proper to be so blunt (in his case at least). One can only speculate about the circumstances of the mysterious death.¹³¹ This young man's different faith did not close the doors to knowledge. Surely, his protector's support was helpful as was his generous payment for the Academy, which also spared him the epithet "hereticus" in the matriculation book.

The Baltazar Giuliani's story also proves that the larger number of the non-Catholics might have been studying because a student was not always annotated accordingly, even the one whose position outside the Catholic Church did not raise any doubts. It also reminds us that the research of the confessional situation is subject to considerable uncertainty, as in this particular case it was only the student's untimely death that triggered an entry in the rector's diary clearly showing that the University's authorities were well aware of who they admitted.

We find one more interesting entry, this time from the 1590 summer semester, on Jan Chlewicki de Pawlow, Jakub's son, a native of the Diocese of Gniezno. On 25 May 1590 he was baptised by the person who made the entry.¹³² Might it be that the baptism was the

¹³¹ Naturally, it might have been a tragic accident. But an intentional drowning cannot be ruled out and there might be different reasons for this – from the robbery, through personal grounds to confessional causes. His death, nevertheless, evokes certain associations. A dissenter's existence in the community was treated as 'impurity' that might bring the God's wrath and as a result – a punishment. The way out of this situation, dangerous for the community, was its 'purification' by removing 'the infected' during the meaningful purification rite e.g. by water or fire. There are many examples when people tried to burn or drown 'the heretic'. It seems that the Cracow students knew well how to 'purify the community'. In 1598 they abducted Fausto Sozzini and led him to the marketplace, where they threw his writings and letters into the fire, threatening to do the same to him if he did not renounce his views. But – as a chronicler wrote – the fire was too low, so the 'heresiarch' was led out to the Vistula banks to be drowned, but, finally, he was saved by Marcin Wadowita, a professor of the Academy. Cf. "Nieznana kronika ariańska," ed. K. Dobrowolski, *Reformacja w Polsce* (1926), p. 169.

¹³² Cf.: "25 Maii in Ecclesia Cathedrali hoc anno a me baptizatus," BJ, MS 260, fol. 111. The information was written between columns containing the personal data and place of origin and the payment made. It was written in the neat handwriting, not in haste (characteristic of the majority of annotations).

condition of the matriculation? The above-mentioned Józef Masłowski's case might also be examined in the same light. This entry is recorded on the next page and informs that the young man "non est susceptus propter certas causas".¹³³

An unusual 1585 text informs about Adam of Krzyżanowice, a priest, becoming a student. On 3 November he "converted from a heretic sin" and "in the Wawel Cathedral publicly denounced the heresy".¹³⁴ In his case the desire to study in the Catholic-dominated university might have influenced his decision to convert, even if he was not formally required to "return to the bosom of the Church". It is difficult to determine with certainty the sequence of events, as the entry into the registry book is not dated. The student was the first enrolled in the winter semester starting a few days after the election of the new rector at the St. Gall's Day (16 October), but the conversion might have taken place before the matriculation (perhaps directly before?), because the entry is continuous and states the *fait accompli*.

Despite the fact that after 1578 the dissenters could not get even the lowest academic degree (without renouncing their faith and making a Tridentine *confessio fidei*), however, they took up studies. Such as the above-mentioned seven reformed Protestants who were admitted without the oath.¹³⁵ It was not exclusively characteristic of Cracow. There were no non-Catholics among the graduates of the majority of Italian universities i.a. Bologna and Siena (with the exception of the Jews studying Medicine), although a lot of them studied there and even entered into the registry book of the universities.¹³⁶ In Padua, even in the seventeenth century, before the promotion, it was required to confess, take the communion and make the Catholic Profession of Faith, which constituted an insurmountable obstacle for the majority the Protestants. In Padua, the non-Catholics could be awarded a degree in the purpose-built Venetian College of Artist and Physicians (1616) and College of Lawyers

The handwriting, type and colour of the ink are consistent, so it was done at the moment of logging student's data in the book.

¹³³ Cf. *ibidem*, fol. 111a.

¹³⁴ Cf.: "Reverendus Adamus Gregory de Krzyżanowicze dioc. Cracouiensis, qui ab heretica prauitate conversus Anno eodem die 3. Nouembris publice in ecclesia Cathedrali haeresim abiurauit – soluit totum," *ibidem*, fol. 95.

¹³⁵ The annotation is hardly decipherable and ends "tamen illis Rectore [- -] probae causa," *ibidem*, fol. 74a.

¹³⁶ Cf. Chachaj, "Protestanci," pp. 189–202.

(1635), where the confessional declarations were not required.¹³⁷ Making the Tridentine Profession of Faith may be regarded as the next stage to exclude the non-Catholics from the university's milieu – “a sieve with smaller mesh” for sifting the individuals that were not able to bend their conscience enough to take an oath and who did not consider their religion to be a direct continuation of Hus, Luther and their “successors” teachings. But the detailed and a priori excluding contents of *confessio fidei* were meant to draw the final line of the “orthodoxy”.

The confessional situation of the Cracow Academy, outlined above, changed only under the threat to its educational monopoly posed by the Society of Jesus. Wacław Urban stated that during that rivalry, the Cracow professors would “ally even with the devil himself” against the Jesuits.¹³⁸ We cannot be sure about it, but, unquestionably, they allied with the Protestants against the Jesuits. The main henchmen were the nobility, but not only. There happened to be friendly relations between the Catholics from the academic milieu and the Protestants. Jan Brożek, a Catholic priest of otherwise unblemished orthodoxy, called Andrzej Herman, the Protestant *konsenior* (dean) and minister of the Cracow church, “the most reverend father in Christ” and “the nicest friend” in a letter found in Wielkanoc together with newly discovered printed copy of *Gratis*.¹³⁹

On the other hand, in response to the Jesuits' accusations of too small devotion, the Academy reacted with a fierce growth of the devotion level, especially in the 1620s and 1630s. As a counterbalance to the Jesuit Sodality of Our Lady, the University's authorities established the Confraternity of the Rosary which spread the ascetic-contemplative practices and its members were obliged to confess frequently.¹⁴⁰

Noteworthy are some passages from the next page of W. Urban's work:

Since 1557, a major counter-reformatory force at the University constituted riotous students, who instigated by the fanatically disposed clergymen [– –] attacked the Protestants in Cracow and its vicinity [– –]. Only in the 1570s, when at the helm were religious zealots, Marcin Glicjusz and Jakub Górski, the University's authorities more clearly favoured these students' shenanigans.

¹³⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 193–194.

¹³⁸ Cf. Urban, “Akademia Krakowska,” p. 276.

¹³⁹ Cf. *ibidem*.

¹⁴⁰ Every couple of weeks; cf. *ibidem*, p. 284.

Later, professors often saved the assaulted dissenters in distress [– –], whereas the University's authorities frequently punished the guilty students no less than in misdemeanours that had nothing in common with the religion.¹⁴¹

This long *passus* is worth quoting – on the one hand, generally, it characterises well the dynamics of events in Cracow, but on the other, in the light of new sources (or new interpretation), it should be slightly revised. In reality, students were a mighty weapon in the hands of the Counter-Reformation, but when it comes to the evaluation of the authorities' motivation, we have some doubts and the mentioned rectors and their attitude deserve a separate presentation.

Some rectors, led by Glicki, highly valued the University's welfare and that is the reason why they were trying to prevent such she-nanigans, but they lacked appropriate means to do this. In the coverage of the subsequent events, we find information that the rectors sent beadles to catch the Academy's members in the crowds committing acts of confessional violence. However, two beadles are not nearly enough to stop students – the town had much larger forces at its disposal and could not handle it better (not mentioning e.g. the *podstarości* [deputy starost] compromised during the first demolition of the Protestant church).¹⁴² However, when the rectors of Glicki's sort were presented with a *fait accompli*, they usually protected their charges not as an element of the fight against the dissenters, but for the University not to lose either the position or privileges.

Some vicious students benefited from this understanding of the University's welfare, but not necessarily the ones that participated in the confessional tumults. Getting the Academy's member out of the town's prison, however, did not mean exemption from punishment, as the severe sentences were imposed, if possible, by the rectors (led by Glicki), and frequently they were resorting to certain ploys to punish the delinquent more painfully.¹⁴³ So exempting the Academy's students

¹⁴¹ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 277.

¹⁴² Cf. "Protest podstarościęgo krakowskiego Zygmunta Palczowskiego, złożony przeciwko studentom Akademii Krakowskiej, 15 X 1574 r.," in: *Materiały do dziejów reformacji*, no. 26, p. 24.

¹⁴³ *Casus* of Adam Burkaczky from the Philosophers' Dormitory, who was tried for drawing a sword among the fellow students. The young man had already been punished by the Dormitory for carrying the weapon and he refused to be punished again for the same misdemeanour. However, the prosecutor, who filed a lawsuit, stated that he was punished for just owning the sword not for drawing it, as the Dormitory did not have such an article in its statute.

from another jurisdiction should rather fit into the fundamental “war” on the University’s prestige with other authorities active in Cracow, and not necessarily link it to the individual religious attitudes.

In conclusion, it might be stated that from the outside the Cracow Academy must really have resembled the Catholic monolith, while it was not. We focused here on showing the exceptional, in confessional respect, attitudes of the Cracow University’s students and professors. In order not to distort the confessional picture of the Cracow University, it should be emphasised that the Catholics constituted the vast, although difficult to describe, majority. According to H. Barycz, the social composition of the pupils and masters “left a characteristic imprint on the University’s confessional physiognomy. [– –] from this poor, peasant, petit-bourgeois or finally petty nobility strata, mainly from the arch-Catholic Mazovia, would spontaneously emerge the slogan of an active fight against the heterodoxy”.¹⁴⁴

The Cracow University was an ecclesiastical institution¹⁴⁵ and as such it firmly opposed the Reformation, after the temporary and marginal interest in it, because the University tried to protect its corporative interests strongly linked to the Catholicism (due to the income from the prebends, tithes). It is also relevant that a significant part of the teaching staff and students hoped for personal careers in the priesthood and the Church organisation. The professors’ and students’ choice of the Catholic orthodoxy might have been a result of the pragmatic view that recognised the threat of the Reformation’s development and a way to improve the financial situation in the victory of the Catholicism. A majority of the Academy’s income and the lecturers’ salaries came from tithes and other Church emoluments.¹⁴⁶

The rector interpreted entering the dormitory full of students with a bare sword as a breach of domicile and sentenced ‘the assailant’ to the solitary confinement, depositing the weapon and a 6-groszs fine, cf. AJU, MS 18, p. 62. The judge in this case was Glicjusz.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Barycz, *Historia*, p. 306 (referring to Nuncios Caligari and Spanocchi’s observations).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Stopka, “Od założenia,” p. 28.

¹⁴⁶ On 13 Nov. 1576 King Stephen Bathory issued a Toruń universal ordering to pay the salaries to the Cracow Academy’s professors. It was the result of a complaint that some leaseholders failed to fulfil the obligation. Cf. *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generalis Cracoviensis*, vol. 5 (Kraków, 1900), no. 452, p. 97. Whereas on 5 Jan. 1607 in the Biecz grod court book the lawsuit of the Cracow University is preserved against a number of the nobility’s members for not paying the tithes. Cf. ANKr, Castr. Biec. 38, p. 17.

Similarly, some of the students supported themselves or increased their budget by liturgical assistance in churches or by acting as altarists.

As a result of decisions made by the Reform Diets (halting the Starosts' enforcement of the sentences of the ecclesiastical courts), especially after Sigismund Augustus' death, part of the nobility (also the Catholics) enjoyed impunity and stopped paying tithes. An all noble movement for *compositio inter status*, of which one of the main objectives was to establish the rules of common, fair (according to the nobility) distribution of the financial burden and of duty to defend the borders, gave some nobles an ideological justification to withhold payment of the tithes. The attitude to the Reformation of the University and the majority of its members was influenced by exactly such mundane matters. Obviously, the genuine commitment to the Catholic faith of both the students and professors cannot be ruled out, because such indications also emerge from reading the sources. The attitude to the dissenters was negatively influenced by the Protestant Deputies' attack on the University, who in the 1560s demanded its closure. These actions were fully justified, from the dissident nobility's point of view, even supported by some of the Catholic nobility, but they resulted in the Academy entrenching itself in Catholic defensive positions and increased the aversion to the Protestantism. In spite of this, in the dispute with the Jesuits, almost all the nobility (including the dissenters) sided with the University, having chosen "the lesser evil" and consigned to oblivion the tumults from the last quarter of the sixteenth century that the Academicians were accused of.

For the majority of the members of the Cracow academic corporation the non-Catholics remained aliens till the end – *heretici, calwiniste, luterani* etc. with euphemisms found exceptionally, such as: "magnifici et nobiles viri religionis, ut vocatur, evangelicae". This diplomatic way of speaking was used when the University's authorities fell from grace of the monarchs or the mighty, who disapproved turmoil and tumults caused by the students.¹⁴⁷ Differences in the description of the same people and events can also be seen between the University's books and the private diaries of the professors and sometimes rectors-in-office. While in the official books (in the victims' presence)

¹⁴⁷ The last statement appeared in the record of a complaint lodged by the Protestants against the Cracow Academy for the destruction of the cemetery by the students (in May 1585). Lew Sapieha, then the Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, appeared before the rector, "cum magna caterva multi magnifici et nobiles viri," AJU, MS 18, pp. 79–80.

the neutral terms were often used – “ewangelicy/evangelici” (or even flattering ones, as “magnifici et nobiles viri”), in the private diaries, far more frequently, the same people appeared as “haeretici”.

The Protestants’ functioning among the Cracow University’s professors and students was extremely difficult, although not impossible. Everything depended on the attitude of the current king, the University’s authorities and general situation in Cracow. In general, however, the fifth article of the matriculation oath, functioning since the Cracow University’s re-establishment, was supposed to eliminate “the heresies”. It evidently did not discourage all the dissidents from starting studies, but some, thanks to the Stephan Bathory’s mandate, were exempted from the obligation of taking the oath. The mandate was short-lived, because once the University noticed that the king looked the other way, they ceased to obey his orders. Another matter is the dissenters’ functioning in places of the students’ cohabitation. Because of the numerous religious obligations of the residents of dormitories and parochial schools, the possibility of Protestants’ greater representation there is doubtful, even if they succeeded to get through the matriculation.

The next stage of the non-Catholic students’ exclusion was the introduction of the Tridentine Profession of Faith to the promotion ceremony. Despite this, even in the seventeenth century, the University did not fully suspend the contacts with the Protestants. Although some people were not allowed by the University to matriculate *propter diversae religionis professionem*, probably because it did not want to agree for the fifth article of the matriculation oath to be left out, nonetheless, they were allowed to choose tutors and study, somehow parallel to the matriculated peers, as exemplified by Reinald Giza.

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Trans. by Agnieszka Pospizil

First published as: “Zawsze wierny? Sytuacja wyznaniowa w Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XVI i XVII w.,” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 59 (2015), pp. 95–135

The publication of this English translation has received additional funding from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland