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THE IMAGE OF LUBLIN IN POLISH RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were a period of the greatest development of Lublin in modern times. Thanks to a favourable configuration of numerous circumstances, it advanced from a small frontier municipality to one of the main towns in Poland, becoming, at the same time, one of the more important centres of commerce in Central-Eastern Europe¹. This state of things was primarily the consequence of the Polish-Lithuanian union, which situated Lublin in the very centre of the Jagiellonian monarchy, at the crossroads of three economic areas, whose subsequent progress required constant commercial exchange.² In this respect, it owed its fame to the fairs whose rhythm, as H. Samsonowicz aptly noticed, marked the existence of Lublin at least from the middle of the fifteenth century³. From that time up to the end of the sixteenth century the town remained a prominent centre of long distance exchange along the latitudinal route connecting Russia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Central Poland, Silesia, Germany and the whole of Western Europe⁴. During the sixteenth

¹ M. Małowist, *Wschód i Zachód Europy w XIII–XVI wieku (Eastern and Western Europe in the Thirteenth-Sixteenth Century)*, Warszawa 1973, p. 190 sqq; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej (The History of Towns and Burghers in Pre-Partition Poland)*, Wrocław 1986, p. 125, 165, 181, 189, 258, 321, 425.

² The consequences of the Union for Lublin have been discussed by: K. Mysliński, *W monarchii jagiellońskiej (In the Jagiellonian Monarchy)*, in: *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny (The History of the Lublin Region)*, vol.1, ed. T. Menceł, Warszawa 1974, p. 183 sqq.

³ H. Samsonowicz, *Handel Lublina na przełomie XV i XVI wieku (Lublin Trade at the Turn of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century)*, "Przegląd Historyczny" vol. 59: 1968, p. 612–615.

⁴ A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia z dziejów handlu Polski z Wielkim Księstwem*

century its significance increasingly depended on trade directed to the south-east — the Muslim countries and the Ukraine, and towards the north — Gdańsk. Use was made both of road transport and the intermediary of Kazimierz Dolny, which played the role of a port on the Vistula, and served the Lublin fairs⁵. The fact that Sebastian Klonowic, an author and bencher from Lublin, devoted two of his compositions — *Roksolania* and *The Raftsman* — to those two routes⁶ is worthy of particular attention.

The promotion of the town on the Bystrzyca river to the rank of one of the big urban centres in the Commonwealth contributed to the rise of its political importance. In 1474 Lublin became the seat of the third voivodship in Little Poland, which included the Lublin' and Luków districts excluded from the Sandomierz voivodship⁷. Subsequently, in the course of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century both Lublin and Urzędów were the seats of the local gentry diets; from 1532 on Lublin only had to play the role of a host for gentry conventions⁸. Lublin also played an important role in state and Church administration. At the same time, due to the fact that it was situated on the route linking two main capitals — Cracow and Vilno — it was the frequent host to the royal court, especially during the reign of the last Jagiellons.⁹ Lublin became also the scene of several Seyms with the most important one — the Seym of 1568–1569, at which the real union between Poland and Lithuania was signed. The location of Lublin and

Litewskim i Rosją w XVI wieku (Studies from the History of Polish Trade with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Russia in the Sixteenth Century), Warszawa 1956; H. Samsonowicz, *Handel Lublina...passim*.

⁵ S. Kutrzeba, *Wisła w historii gospodarczej Polski (The Vistula in Polish Economic History)*, Lublin 1918, p. 35; J. Kus, *Udział Kazimierza Dolnego w splawie wiślanych od XVI do XVIII wieku (The Participation of Kazimierz Dolny in Transport on the Vistula from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century)* in: *Problemy dziejów i konserwacji miast zabytkowych (Problems of the History and Conservation of Monument Towns)*, Radom-Kazimierz Dolny 1990, p. 48-56.

⁶ See commentaries in: R. Szczygieł, *Lublin ośrodkiem wielkiego handlu w XV i XVI wieku (Lublin as the Centre of Great Trade in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century)* in: *Spojrzenia w przeszłość Lubelszczyzny (Into the Past of the Lublin Region)*, Lublin 1974, p. 35.

⁷ K. Myśliński, *Powstanie województwa lubelskiego (The Origin of the Lublin Voivodship)* in: *Spojrzenia w przeszłość Lubelszczyzny...*, p. 18–23.

⁸ W. Sładkowski, *Skład społeczny, wyznaniowy i ideologia sejmiku lubelskiego w l. 1572–1648 (The Social and Religious Composition As Well As Ideology of the Lublin Local Diet in the Years 1572–1648)*, Annales UMCS, sectio F, v. XII, 1957, p. 132.

⁹ A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów (The Itineraria of the Two Last Jagiellons)*, "Studia Historyczne", 16: 1973, no. 2, p. 250–273.

its role in the political life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth apparently were the reason why during the *interregnum* after the death of Sigismund August, it was proposed to elect the new monarch exactly in the environs of this town,¹⁰ a plan which was never realised; instead of Lublin Warsaw became the place of royal elections.

An important role in the consolidation of the position enjoyed by Lublin was also played by the localization of the Crown Tribunal in 1578. This supreme appeal court for the gentry functioned in Lublin for the province of Little Poland (the Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Podlasie, Belz, Ruthenia, Podolia, Braclaw and Kiev voivodships)¹¹.

Lublin was also a prominent centre of cultural life of the Commonwealth. It was the hometown of Biernat, the first author who wrote in the Polish language¹². Its role in the Reformation was also considerable. From the 1570s the Lublin centre was decisive for the Arian movement at least up to 1598¹³. The role undoubtedly contributed to the establishment of a Jesuit college which rapidly began dictating the new cultural atmosphere of the town¹⁴.

Lublin was well-known not only in Renaissance Poland but in the whole of Europe. It was often mentioned in various descriptions of Poland, reports by envoys and legations, and in historical and even literary works.

I shall discuss these data in the following groups:

- the location of the town and its appearance,
- functions, especially commercial and political;
- extraordinary events and daily life.

It should be mentioned that Ambrogio Cantarini who travelled across Poland in 1474, upon his arrival on 19 April, found Lublin to be

¹⁰ S. Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia ksiąg ośmioro. 1572–1576 (Eight Books of an Interregnum, 1572–1576)*, ed. E. Kuntze, Kraków 1917, p. 6.

¹¹ H. Rutkowski, *Trybunał Koronny (1578–1794) (The Crown Tribunal (1578–1794))*, "Palestra", 1978, no 10, p. 6–7.

¹² A. Brückner, *Biernat z Lublina (Biernat of Lublin)*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (Polish Biographical Dictionary)*, vol. II, Kraków 1936, p. 84–85; R. Szczygieł, *Biernat z Lublina (Biernat of Lublin)*, *Lubelski słownik biograficzny (Lublin Biographical Dictionary)*, vol. I (in print).

¹³ S. Tworek, *Zbór ariański i jego rola w ruchu ariańskim w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku (The Arian Church and its Role in the Arian Movement in Poland during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century)*, Lublin 1966, p. 7.

¹⁴ This topic was discussed by L. Zalewski in: *Katedra i jezuici w Lublinie (The Cathedral and Jesuits of Lublin)*, Lublin 1947.

“a comfortable town with a castle”¹⁵. Similar impressions were noted down by Aleksander Gwagnin and Marcin Kromer who frequented the town upon various occasions in the sixteenth century¹⁶. The second of these authors wrote in *Polonia* that “It is not a large town but nonetheless full of beautiful buildings”¹⁷. Let us add that since Kromer saw Lublin prior to the great fire of 1575 which destroyed almost the whole town, his remarks are extremely valuable.

The celebrity of the town due to its location was also stressed in their reports by the papal nuncio, Fluvio Ruggeri in 1565¹⁸, the envoy of the Venetian Commonwealth, Hieronim Lippomano in 1575, who emphasized its place “in the midst of all the Polish provinces”¹⁵ and Stanisław Sarnicki in his *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae*, published in 1585²⁰. The fullest description of the attractions of the town was provided by Sebastian Klonowic who did not spare exaggerated praise in his poem entitled *Philtron*²¹ In *Roksolania*, issued in 1584, the poet also included a flattering depiction of this town despite the fact that Lublin was not part of Red Ruthenia, the description of which was the real topic of the poem²².

Let us mention that Lublin was considered part of Red Ruthenia by Jan Krasieński in his description of Poland²³; it is not surprising

¹⁵ A. Cantarini, *Podróż przez Polskę 1474–1475 (A Journey Across Poland. 1474–1475)* in: *Cudzoziemcy o Polsce. Relacje i opinie (Foreigners about Poland. Reports and Opinions)* ed. A. Przyboś, R. Żelewski vol. I, Kraków 1971, p. 106.

¹⁶ A. Gwagnin, *Kronika Sarmacji europejskiej (The Chronicle of European Sarmatia)*, transl. by M. Paszkowski, ed. F. Bohomolec, Warszawa 1768, p. 197–198; M. Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urzędach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie (Poland, or on the Location, Population, Customs, Offices and Public Issues of the Polish Kingdom in Two Books)*, transl. by S. Kazikowski, Olsztyn 1977, p. 62.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *Relacje nuncjusów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690 (Reports of Apostolic Nuncios and Other Persons about Poland from the Year 1548 to 1690)*, ed. E. Rykaczewski Berlin 1864, vol. I, p. 125.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ S. Sarnicki, *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae...*, in: J. Długosz, *Historia Poloniae*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1712, col. 905.

²¹ S. Klonowic, *Philtron*, transl. by S. Moroniewicz, quoted after: A. Grychowski, *Lublin i Lubelszczyzna w życiu i twórczości pisarzy polskich (Lublin and the Lublin Region in the Life and Works of Polish Writers)*, Lublin 1974, p. 25–26.

²² *Ziemie Rusi Czerwonej (Roxolania)*, poemat S. Klonowica, (*Lands of Red Ruthenia (Roxolania)*), a Poem by S. Klonowic), transl. by W. Syrokomla, Wilno 1851, p. 23.

²³ J. Krasieński, *Polska czyli opisanie historyczno-topograficzne (Poland, or an Historical-Topographic Description)*, transl. S. Budziński, Warszawa 1852, p. 112.

therefore, that William Bruse, an English envoy, called Lublin “the metropolis of Rus”²⁴.

We also owe to Klonowic information about the town’s architecture in his description of the fire which broke out in the night of 7 May 1575²⁵. He listed the beautiful Cracow Gate which burnt down together with porches, ballustrades, guardrooms, from which trumpeters announced each hour, a magnificent clock and “globe-shaped roof covered with lead sheets”. The fire also totally destroyed the Dominican church of St. Stanisław, and the tower of the St. Michael parish church, visible even from a distance of 5 miles; the tower was covered with copper and topped with a gilt ball with a cross and an iron flag which indicated the direction of the wind. The fire devoured the newly erected parish school and the townhall as well as many houses within the city walls and in the Cracow suburb.

Halina Wiśniewska believes that the description offered by Klonowic possesses great literary merits²⁶. She also stresses that none of this author’s works presented such a plastic vision of reality described from personal experience.

Much attention was devoted by the descriptions, chronicles and literary sources to the commercial functions of Lublin. Many authors mentioned its famous fairs; Gwagnin and Sarnicki listed three annual gatherings²⁷ while Krasieński, Lippomano and Orzelski — one²⁸. The accent was placed on the international character of those events. “Traders from distant countries”, wrote Gwagnin, “Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Germans, Lithuanians, Muscovites and others from closer and more distant lands came to these fairs”²⁹. Krasieński also mentioned the inhabitants of Livonia, Prussia, Hungary, Valachia and Jews³⁰. Kromer stated generally: “The town (...) is famous for its commercial exchange

²⁴ *A Relation of the State of Polonia. Anno 1598*, in: *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, vol. XIII, Romae 1965, p.7. About the authorship of this report see: E. A. Mierzwa, *Angielska relacja o Polsce z roku 1598 (An English Report about Poland from 1598)*, Annales UMCS, sectio F, v. XVII 1962 (printed in 1966), p. 87–111.

²⁵ The State Archive in Lublin, Registers of the Town of Lublin, 150, p. 253–254, transl. by S. Paulowa, in: “Rocznik Lubelski”, vol. XCI: 1973, p. 222–225.

²⁶ H. Wiśniewska, *Renesansowe życie i dzieło Sebastiana Fabiana Klonowica (The Renaissance Life and Works of Sebastian Fabian Klonowic)*, Lublin 1985, p. 41–42.

²⁷ Gwagnin, *Kronika...*, p. 198; Sarnicki, *Descriptio...*, col. 905.

²⁸ Krasieński, *Polska...*, p. 112; *Relacje nuncjuszów...*, p. 249; Orzelski, *Bezkrolewia ksiąg ośmioro...* p. 23.

²⁹ Gwagnin, *Kronika...*, p. 198.

³⁰ Krasieński, *Polska...*, p. 112.

in which Christian nations participate together with pagan ones"³¹.

The greatest attention was paid to Lublin upon the occasion of the political events which took place there. The chroniclers recall successive stays of the royal court and the diets which occurred here, the best described being the one which was convened in the years 1568–1569, and which witnessed the signing of the Polish-Lithuanian union, known as the Union of Lublin. This fact is recorded among others in the anonymous *Notes of a Lithuanian* written down by one of the courtiers of Sigismund August³². The union Sejm was described in every detail in a rhymed report by Jan Ponętowski, who also enumerated the attending senators and deputies, as well as foreign envoys. He commented on the atmosphere in the town during the Sejm sessions in a rather dubious way: "Things are badly off in Lublin/ Some cry and others laugh while doing evil deeds"³³.

An event which was reflected in the works of various men of letters was the homage paid by Albrecht Friedrich, the Duke of Prussia, to Sigismund August on 19 July 1569. It was described in the chronicles i. a. of Gwagnin and Bielski³⁴ while the famous poet Jan Kochanowski (who was present at that time in Lublin as is proven by Mirosław Korolko)³⁵ wrote an extensive poem entitled *The Banner, or the Prussian Homage*³⁶. The composition was given the form of scenes painted on a banner which was handed to the vassal; they were depicting the history of relations between Poland and the Teutonic Knights, and predicted a great future for the Slavic World.

A description of the Prussian homage together with the information about the site of the happening — the square before the Cracow Gate

³¹ Kromer, *Polska...*, p. 52

³² *Zapiski Litwina, slugi i wychowawca Zygmunta Augusta (l. 1560–1593) (Notes of a Lithuanian, a Servant and Ward of Sigismund August (1560–1593))*, in: Biblioteka Naukowego Zakładu im. Ossolińskich, vol. XI, Lvov 1868, p. 277.

³³ J. Ponętowski, *Sejm walny koronny lubelski. (The General Crown Sejm in Lublin)*, in: *Krótkich rzeczy polskich sejmowych pamięci godnych komentarz (A Brief Commentary on Polish Sejm Matters Worthy of Remembrance)*, ed. J.K. Turowski, Kraków 1858, p. 23.

³⁴ Gwagnin, *Kronika...*, p. 394; M. Bielski, *Kronika Polska (The Polish Chronicle)*, Warszawa 1832, p. 179–180.

³⁵ M. Korolko, *Głosy źródłowe do "Proporca albo Holdu Pruskiego" Jana Kochanowskiego (Source Glosses to the "Banner or the Prussian Homage" by Jan Kochanowski)*, "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce", vol. XXV, 1981, p. 167.

³⁶ J. Kochanowski, *Proporzec albo Hold pruski (The Banner or the Prussian Homage)* in: *Dzieła polskie (Polish Works)* ed. J. Krzyżanowski, Warszawa 1989, p. 81–90.

(today Łokietek Square) — was also presented in *The General Crown Sejm in Lublin* written by Jan Ponętowski³⁷.

An interesting report about the events which took place in Lublin in March and April 1569 is contained in a diary by Hans Schweinichen, a servant of Henry, the Duke of Legnica, a candidate to the Polish throne, who described his journey to King Sigismund August. Duke Henry was welcomed in Lublin with all due honours; he was accompanied by a large entourage, composed of 150 horses either pulling carts or saddled³⁸.

Schweinichen emphasized that the court of the Duke of Legnica was accommodated in two houses in the center of the city, while to the Bishop of Olomouc, who acted as imperial envoy, were assigned quarters “outside the town”. He complained however, about inconveniencies, saying that “in Lublin we had such uncomfortable quarters that at home pigs live better, since my father and Hans Sedlitz the elder had to sleep together in the attic, while I and young Hans Sedlitz lay (...) on hay”³⁹.

Another event in Lublin which resounded with a great echo in the literature of the period was the incident involving an Erazm Otwinowski, who during a *Corpus Christi* procession in 1564 tried to tear out a monstrance from the hands of the priest. It was mentioned in the contemporary *Unknown Arian Chronicle* edited recently by Lech Szczucki⁴⁰ described also by Andrzej Lubieniecki in his *Poloneutychia*⁴¹ as well as by his cousin Stanisław⁴². Catholic writers for a long time recalled this incident as an example of blasphemy and godlessness⁴³.

The attention of men of letters was drawn to the sudden death of Jan Kochanowski, the greatest Polish Renaissance poet which took place in

³⁷ Ponętowski, *Sejm walny...*, p. 32.

³⁸ *Pamiętnik Hansa Schweinichena do dziejów Śląska i Polski (The Diary of Hans Schweinichen to the History of Silesia and Poland 1552–1602)*, transl. by H. Feldmanowski, Dresden 1870, p. 8.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 9, 13.

⁴⁰ L. Szczucki, “*Nieznanej Kroniki Ariańskiej*” część pierwsza (*The First Part of the “Unknown Arian Chronicle”*), in: *Wokół dziejów i tradycji arianizmu (Around the History and Tradition of Arianism)*, Warszawa 1971, p. 170.

⁴¹ A. Lubieniecki, *Poloneutychia*, ed. A. Linda, M. Maciejewska, J. Tazbir, Z. Zawadzki, Warszawa 1982, p. 143, 160.

⁴² S. Lubieniecki, *Historia reformationis Polonicae*, Varsoviae 1971, p. 171–172.

⁴³ This literature has been listed by S. Tworek, *Zbór lubelski...*, p. 32. See also: *Z przeszłości kulturalnej Lubelszczyzny (From the Cultural Past of the Lublin Region)*, Lubin 1978, p. 30–31.

Lublin during the session of the Senate of the Commonwealth in Lublin in August 1584⁴⁴. It was recorded by Andrzej Trzcieski⁴⁵ and Joachim Bielski in a supplement to the chronicle by his father⁴⁶, as well as mentioned in a biography of the poet, ascribed to Jan Brożek and later utilised by Szymon Starowolski in *A Hundred Polish Authors*⁴⁷. Note of the event was also made by Father Jan Wielewicki in the *Journal of the Jesuit Order in Cracow*⁴⁸.

The most extensive work was written by Sebastian Klonowic, who in the following years (1585) published in Cracow *Funeral Sorrows in Honour of the Well Born and Learned Gentleman Nobilis Jan Kochanowski, Deceased... Worthy Pole, Bold Nobleman and Gracious Poet*⁴⁹. The thirteen *Sorrows* in which the Lublin poet once again displayed his erudition, present the atmosphere following the great loss. Among the towns which mourned after the death of Kochanowski Klonowic mentions also Lublin.

Sixteenth-century writers who described Lublin often drew attention to the everyday life and customs of its inhabitants. We encounter this everyday's life reality in the works of Klonowic, especially in his

⁴⁴ R. Szczygieł, *Okoliczności śmierci i pogrzebu Jana Kochanowskiego (Circumstances of the Death and Funeral of Jan Kochanowski)* in: *Jan Kochanowski. W czterechsetlecie śmierci (Jan Kochanowski. On the Four Hundredth Anniversary of His Death)*, Lublin 1991, p. 211–219.

⁴⁵ A. Trzcieski, *Carmina. Wiersze łacińskie (Carmina. Latin Poems)* ed. by J. Krokowski, Wrocław 1958, p. 461 — *Trenodia na pogrzebia najszlachetniejszego Pana Jana Kochanowskiego (Funeral Poems at the Funeral of the Most Noble Mr. Jan Kochanowski), Elegie (Elegies)*.

⁴⁶ J. Bielski, *Kronika Marcina Bielskiego (The Chronicle of Marcin Bielski)*, ed. J.K. Turowski, Sanok 1856, book VI, p. 1522.

⁴⁷ *Vita Joannis Cochanovicii. Przy wyd. M.T. Ciceronis Aratus (Vita Joannis Cochanovii. Upon the Occasion of Publishing M.T. Ciceronis Aratus)*, Cracoviae 1612. On the authorship see: H. Barycz, *Dokola najstarszego życiorysu Jana Kochanowskiego (Concerning the Oldest Biography of Jan Kochanowski)* in: *Z zaścianka na Parnas (From the Provinces onto the Parnassus)*, Kraków 1981, p. 285, sqq; Sz. Starowolski, *Setnik pisarzy polskich (Hundred Polish Writers)*, ed. J. Starnawski, and F. Bielań, Kraków 1970, p. 105.

⁴⁸ Father J. Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw zakonu OO. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od 1579 do 1599 (Journal of the Jesuit Order at St. Barbara's in Cracow from 1579 to 1599)*, ed. J. Szujski, in: *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. VII, Krakow 1881, p. 66.

⁴⁹ S.F. Klonowic, *Żale nagrobne na ślachtetnie urodzonego i znacznie uczonego męża, nieboszczyka Pana Jana Kochanowskiego... (Funereal Sorrows in Honour of the Well Born and Learned Gentleman, Jan Kochanowski, Deceased...)*, Lublin 1988. There also a presentation of the circumstances of the appearance of this composition.

didactic-moralistic poem *Philtron*⁵⁰, in his *Sack of Judas*⁵¹ as well as *Victoria deorum*⁵². It is particularly the second of these works which is simply permeated with a rather critical evaluation of the social relations in the town.

Certain elements of Lublin's daily existence were depicted by J. Pońętowski⁵³ as well as by an anonymous Protestant, who could be Erazm Otwinowski⁵⁴. Two epigrams: *On Poison* and *On the Apt and Clever Dodger Who Later Was a Known Thief*⁵⁵, included in the collection, published by I. Chrzanowski, refer in particular to the situation in Lublin and disapprove the local morals and customs.

The above outlined picture of the life in Lublin during the Renaissance era indicates the variety of its contents. This was a meeting point for different nations, cultures, religions and customs, leading up to their confrontation and even intermingling. In Polish realities this fact pertained above all to the mutual impact of various social groups, especially the gentry and the burghers. An historian approaches such a picture, presented by literature which, as Andrzej Wyrobisz recently stated, is the mirror of society, very carefully indeed⁵⁶. Nonetheless, this valuable source cannot be ignored.

(Translated by Aleksandra Rodzińska-Chojnowska)

⁵⁰ *Philtron (...) quo in aestimabilis vis Charitatis Christianae exprimitur (...)* Cracoviae 1582; transl by S. Moroniewicz in: *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Szkoły Realnej w Krosnie za rok szkolny 1908 and 1911 (A Report of the Headmaster of the Secondary School in Krosno for the School Year 1908 and 1911)*. The composition was dedicated to four councillors and the court official of Lublin, members of the local Literary Fraternity.

⁵¹ *Worek Judaszów to jest zie nabycie majetności (The Sack of Judas that is an Evil Winning of Property)*, Kraków 1600; ed. K. Budzyk, A. Obrębska-Jabłońska, Z. Zdrójkowski, Wrocław 1960.

⁵² *Victoria deorum. In qua continetur veri herois educatio* (ca. 1600), fragments transl. by M. Cytowska in: *Literatura mieszczańska w Polsce od końca XVI do końca XVII wieku (Urban Literature in Poland from the End of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century)*, vol. I, ed. K. Budzyk, H. Budzykowska, J. Lewański, Warszawa 1954, p. 95–146.

⁵³ *Sejm walny koronny lubelski...*, p. 9–32.

⁵⁴ See commentaries by J. Pelc, *Rola i znaczenie pisarzy arikańskich w literaturze polskiej XVII wieku (The Role and Significance of Arian Authors in Polish Seventeenth-Century Literature)* in: *Wokół dziejów o tradycji arianizmu...*, p. 113.

⁵⁵ *Anonima-Protestanta XVI wieku erotyki, fraszki, obrazki, epigramaty (Erotic Poems, Epigrams, Pictures by the Anonymous Protestant of the Sixteenth Century)*, ed. I. Chrzanowski, Kraków 1903, p. 48, 80, 87.

⁵⁶ A. Wyrobisz, *Mieszczenie w opinii staropolskich literatów (Burghers in the Opinion of Old Polish Men of Letters)*, "Przegląd Historyczny", vol. 82: 1991, no. 1, p. 51.