



REV. ALEKSANDER K. SITNIK OFM\* – KRAKÓW

**‘THAT KNOBLOCH, THAT GARLIC, WE CAN SMELL  
IT IN OUR NOSES’. POLISH BERNARDINES  
AND THE REFORMATION IN THE 16TH CENTURY**

**Abstract**

Polish Bernardines in the 16th century were seen, including by Protestants, as staunch defenders of the faith and the Catholic Church. They undertook this activity as early as the 1520s. In it, they used traditional methods: preaching, confession, liturgy, religious song, held positions as fund-raisers and court chaplains, and organized monastic religious brotherhoods. Thanks to their good theological education and leading a moral life at an appropriate level, only three Bernardine friars known by name departed for the Protestant camp. The monks lost only one monastery in Wschowa to the Protestants, and took over the Prussian monasteries in Lubawa, Barczewo, Nowe, Gdańsk and Toruń after the Saxon monastic province of St John the Baptist collapsed during the Reformation. Much of this is due to the provincial superiors who were able to protect Bernardine monasteries from the Reformation.

Keywords: Protestants; Bernardines; preachers; apostates; Wschowa

\*\*\*\*\*

In 1514, Pope Leo X proclaimed an indulgence for the entire Christian world under the usual conditions of attending confession and Communion and making a monetary offering for the construction of St Peter’s Basilica in Rome. A 22-year-old prince, Archbishop Albrecht Hohenzollern, became the papal commissioner for this indulgence in Germany. He had under his auspices the archbishopric of Mainz, Magdeburg and the bishopric of Halberstadt. According to the agreement, half of the indulgence proceeds were to be sent back to Rome, while the other half belonged to the archbishop. He assumed that income from indulgences should

---

\* Rev. Aleksander K. Sitnik OFM – Ph.D. (dr hab.) in Church History, Archives of the Monastery of the Bernardine Fathers in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska

e-mail: [krzysztofsitnik3@gmail.com](mailto:krzysztofsitnik3@gmail.com)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5601-0492>

amount to about 51,300 ducats. He therefore incurred a debt of 29,000 Rhine guilders at the Fugger Bank. The indulgence preachers were therefore followed by representatives of the bank. This way of proclaiming the indulgence was approved by Pope Leo X with the Bull *Sacrosanctis Salvatoris* of 31 March 1515. It was undoubtedly a simony. Among the many preachers in the Magdeburg province was the Dominican Johann Tetzel. He proclaimed that in order to obtain an indulgence for the dead, it is not necessary to attend confession and Holy Communion, i.e. a state of sanctifying grace, but it is sufficient to make a monetary offering. The Augustinian Martin Luther spoke out against such a teaching, as it had no theological basis. He proclaimed the 95 theses entitled *Dominus et magister noster* in Wittenberg against J. Tetzel on 31 October 1517. They were intended to provide a basis for theologians to discuss Catholic doctrine on indulgences. They quickly spread in print in Germany because of their polemical and popular character. This was mainly due to the fact that they referred to issues widely discussed in public. In 1517, Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg sent M. Luther's theses to Rome, and ordered the Magdeburg chapter to open a church trial against the new doctrine. Pope Leo X, preoccupied with Medici family politics and the Turkish threat to Europe, initially disregarded the German monk's case and referred it to Augustinian General Gabriel della Volta. In 1518, the monastic chapter of the German Augustinians in Heidelberg voted in favour of M. Luther, in contrast to the general chapter of the Dominicans in Frankfurt (Oder). In the same year, the papal legate in Germany Cardinal Thomas Cajetan (Tommaso de Vio) summoned the German reformer to the Diet of Augsburg. However, when Luther realized that absolute submission to the Pope was being demanded of him, he resorted to the principle of conciliarism. In 1520, he published three basic polemical writings in which he formulated his views, both religious and socio-political. In his treatise *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung* (To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate), he called on the rulers to take the reform of the Church into their own hands, thus granting them primacy over ecclesiastical authority. He demanded the reform of monasteries and the abolition of celibacy. In a work published in Latin, *De captivitate babilonica Ecclesiae preludeum* (On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church), he spoke out strongly against the Pope and the clergy, and rejected the sacraments as a human invention through which the clergy enslaves the faithful. Finally, in a letter published in German and Latin, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen/ Tractatus de libertate christiana* (On the Freedom of a Christian/A Treatise on Christian Liberty), he preached the necessity of submission to secular authority in every area except the spiritual. The final decision on M. Luther was made by Pope Leo X. With the bull *Exurge Domine*, announced on 15 June 1520, he condemned 41 sentences taken from Luther's writings, and on 3 January 1521, with the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* he excluded him from the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> The schism has thus become a reality.

<sup>1</sup> R. Decot, *Mała historia reformacji w Niemczech*, Kraków 2007, pp. 26–39; Z. Wójcik, *Historia powszechna XVI–XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 180–183; Z. Zieliński, *Niemcy. Zarys dziejów*, Katowice 1998, pp. 62–63.

Over time, 'Wittenberg innovations' reached Poland, which, being in the Western circle of culture and Christianity, participated in its achievements and crises. These trends, however, did not religiously divide the nation for long or lead to civil wars. The hallmark of Poland's Protestantization was its relatively large diversity in terms of religion. The Reformation in the country was divided into three periods by Rev. Prof. Boleslaw Kumor. In the first, covering the years 1520–1535, speeches by reformers were rare, and their supporters included mainly bourgeois of German origin. The reformation was fought against by the king with edicts and Primate Jan Łaski with reformist synods. The second period encompasses years 1535–1563. After the death of King Sigismund I the Old in 1548, the nobility and magnates began to openly join the Reformation camp. Their economic and political aspirations were closely linked to the new religion. Other significant factors included the growing influence of Calvinism, as well as the growing number of Unity of the Brethren. Protestantism was split and the idea of a national church emerged. In the third period, which falls between 1563 and 1572, the Protestant camp attempted to pursue religious unification and gain legal status. During this phase, the Counter-Reformation camp, led by papal nuncios, especially Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone and Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius,<sup>2</sup> slowly came to the fore.

The Order of Friars Minor also experienced decisive moments at the time of M. Luther's speech. The year 1517 became a milestone in its history. Until then, the two branches of the Conventual and Observant Franciscans formed one order under the leadership of a common general. In 1517, Pope Leo X summoned the Conventuals and the Observants to an extraordinary religious chapter in Rome to achieve unity in the order. However, the Conventuals refused to accept the reform and a general originating from the Observants. The consequence of this attitude was the Pope's promulgation of the bull *Ite et vos in vineam meam* on 29 May 1517, under which the Observants were recognized as the main core of the order. Only the Observants, Amadeites, Coletans and Claretians henceforth formed the Order of Friars Minor (Ordo Fratrum Minorum or Ordo Fratrum Minorum Regularis Observantiae). By virtue of the bull, the observant provincial vicars became ministers (provincial superiors).<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, vol. 5. *Czasy nowożytne. Rozłam w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim*, Lublin 2002, p. 131; W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, vol. 1. *1506–1648*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 109–110, 129–130, 156–157.

<sup>3</sup> *Dokumenty papieskie dotyczące Reguły i ideału ubóstwa św. Franciszka z Asyżu do roku 1517*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2017, pp. 143–157; Joannes de Komorowo, *Kronika Zakonu Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów (1209–1536)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2014, pp. 323–327 (text of the Bull of Leo X translated into Polish pp. 379–389); H. Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 1. *Historia Zakonu do podziału w roku 1517*, Kraków 2012, p. 140; R. Prejs, *Za Franciszkiem. Dzieje Pierwszego Zakonu Franciszkańskiego, 1209–1517*, Kraków 2011, pp. 319–321; L. Iriarte, *Historia franciszkanizmu*, Kraków 1998, pp. 96–97; K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy, 1453–1572*, vol. 1, Lviv 1933, p. 57; idem, *Franciszkanie polscy*, vol. 1. *1237–1517*, Kraków 1937, p. 10.

Thus, the last Bernardine vicar in Poland was Rafał of Proszowice.<sup>4</sup> The first provincial, in turn, was Leon of Łańcut, elected at the provincial chapter in Kraków on 8 September 1517.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, the Bernardine province had 27 monasteries in the following cities: Kraków (1453), Warsaw (1454), Kobylin (1456), Kościan (1456), Wschowa (1456), Poznań (1457), Tarnów (1459), Lublin (1460), Lwów (1460), Sambor (1460), Przeworsk (1461), Kalisz (1465), Koło (1466), Warta (1467), Kowno (1468), Radom (1468), Wilno (1468), Opatów (1469), Łowicz (1470), Święta Katarzyna (1477), Tykocin (1479), Bydgoszcz (1480), Połock (1498), Skepe (1498), Budzław (1504), Słupca (1507), Kazimierz Biskupi (1514). Thus, the Bernardines had institutions in almost all of Poland's major cities, and the bourgeoisie, especially of German origin, often converted to Protestantism. These conventions comprised about 800 monks.<sup>6</sup> Until the takeover of the monastery in Lubawa in 1580, the Bernardines had not received any new foundation.<sup>7</sup> Historians explain the temporary stagnation in the establishment of new monastic institutions by the intensification of the Reformation movement, during which a significant number of magnates, wealthy nobility and burghers, from whom the founders of Bernardine monasteries had hitherto been recruited, turned to Protestantism.<sup>8</sup>

In the 16th century, the Bernardines took over a number of Prussian monasteries previously belonging to the Saxon province of St John the Baptist, which, under the influence of St John Capistrano in 1518, were passed to the Observants.<sup>9</sup> During the Reformation, the Saxon province collapsed mainly due to a lack of candidates for the order from among the Lutheranized German population in Pomerania. The first Prussian monastery was taken over by the Bernardines in Lubawa (Löbau) in the Michałów Land. Its founder was the Bishop of Chełmno, Mikołaj Chrapicki. In 1502, he brought the Friars Minor from the Saxon province to the Lubawa

<sup>4</sup> Rafał of Proszowice was born around 1453 in Proszowice. From 1467 to 1472 he studied at the Academy of Kraków, where he earned the title of bachelor of liberal arts. Afterwards, he entered the Order of Friars Minor (Bernardines) in Kraków. He served as vicar of the Polish Vicariate in 1506–1509, 1514–1517, and then as provincial superior in 1526–1529 and 1532–1534. He died in the odour of sanctity on January 26, 1534 in Warta; K. Grudziński, *Rafał z Proszowic*, in: *Hagiografia polska. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny*, vol. 2, ed. R. Gustaw, Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin 1972, pp. 261–270.

<sup>5</sup> Joannes de Komorowo, *Kronika Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 339; N. Golichowski, *Upominek dla czcigodnej zakonnej Braci OO. Bernardynów w Galicyi i W. Ks. Krakowskiem*, part 1. *Szereg prowincjałów i wykaz wypadków znaczniejszych*, Lviv 1895, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 619–620.

<sup>7</sup> S.B. Tomczak, *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, in: *Wkład bernardyńców w życie religijno-kulturalne Narodu Polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, eds. C. Gniecki, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2016, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Wyczawski, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 622.

<sup>9</sup> The origins of the Saxon province of the Franciscans – Conventuals until 1518, and then Observants – were described by J.B. Freed, *Dzieje saskiej prowincji franciszkanów w XIII wieku*, in: *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, vol. 1. *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej*, part 1. *Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1983, pp. 195–225.

monastery. Under the influence of the Reformation, the religious house began to depopulate. In 1564, the last Lubawa Observant from the Saxon province, Andrzej Laurentii, died. The next bishop of Chełmno, Piotr Kostka, made efforts with the apostolic nuncio in Poland, Giovanni Andrea Caligari, to repopulate the abandoned monastery. The Bernardine provincial Mikołaj of Busko agreed to take it over. In 1580, the bishop gave the foundation to the Bernardines.<sup>10</sup>

In 1326, Warmian Bishop Eberhard built a monastery and a church dedicated to St Andrew the Apostle for the Franciscans. By the middle of the 16th century, the facility was deserted. The monastery and church buildings were restored by Andrzej Batory, Bishop of Warmia. At his suggestion, the papal legate Henry Gaetano, while staying in Poland, offered to hand over the property to the Bernardines, to which Provincial Benedict Gąsiorek agreed. The first Bernardine friars arrived in Barczewo in 1598.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of the 13th century, during the reign of Pomeranian Duke Mestwin II, the Franciscans took over the monastery and church of St Francis of Assisi in Nowe (Neuburg). In 1335, the foundation was renewed by Dietrich von Altenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. During the Reformation, the monks died out, so that after 1561 the monastery was completely deserted. In this situation, the custodian of the Prussian monastic custody, Maciej von Luthe, handed over the establishment to the city magistrate. Under King Stefan Batory's decree of 27 February 1581, Protestants handed the parish and monastery churches back to Catholics. In turn, on 12 November 1595, King Sigismund III Vasa issued a diploma by which the Protestants surrendered the monastery's facilities, and the Bernardines received permission to take over the institution. Chełmno castellan Jerzy Konopacki, seeking to bring the Bernardines to Nowe, initiated the transfer of ownership of the Nowe monastery by Pope Clement VIII from the Saxon province to the Greater Poland province of the Bernardines in 1603. Fourteen Bernardines arrived in Nowe on 26 June 1604.<sup>12</sup>

The monastery and church of the Holy Trinity in Gdansk (Dantiscum, Gedania) was founded for the Franciscans in 1431 by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Paul von Rusdorf. In 1555, Jan Rolaw, the custodian of the Prussian monastic custody, handed over the Gdańsk monastery to the city's Lutheran magistrate, who was already in office at the time. The Lutherans set up a denominational school in the buildings abandoned by the monks. After taking over the Prussian monastic houses in Lubawa, Barczewo and Nowe, the Bernardines made efforts, with the approval of the bishops of Włocławek, to revindicate the monastery in Gdańsk. Talks held in 1652 between Ludwik of Zbąszyń, a delegate of the provincial of the monastic province of Greater Poland Antoni Grabowski, and representatives of the city magistrate did not yield the expected results. The magistrate stood stubbornly by the position of religious freedom guaranteed to the city by the Polish kings

<sup>10</sup> J. Krawiec, *Lubawa*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, pp. 184–185.

<sup>11</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Barczewo*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Idem, *Nowe*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, pp. 233–234; K. Kościński, *Franciszkanie i Bernardyni w Nowem nad Wisłą. Przyczynek do historii południowego Pomorza*, Poznań 1906, pp. 4–7

and the non-infringement of its possessions. In this situation, King John Casimir suggested that the monks settle in Gdańsk by some chapel, and only later seek the recovery of the monastery and church. Provincial Franciszek sent three monks from Warsaw in 1673 to establish a residence in the city. The fruit of their pastoral work was the conversion of 230 Protestants, including two pastors. Concerned about this state of affairs, from 1674 the magistrate led successful efforts with state and Church authorities to expel the Bernardines from Gdańsk.<sup>13</sup>

The foundation of the monastery and church of Blessed Virgin Mary in Toruń was managed by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Poppo von Osterna (1244–1246). As a result of the pestilence prevailing in the city, the monks died out and in 1547 there was only one Franciscan living in the monastery, Bartłomiej (d. 1559), whom the Protestant burgrave of Toruń, Jan Stromband, tried to remove with no success. After Bartłomiej's death, Chełmno Bishop Jan Lubodziecki transferred the establishment to the administration of a diocesan priest, but the Lutherans refused to hand it over to him. They began holding their services in the church, and set up a grammar school in the monastery.<sup>14</sup>

The delegates of the Bernardine province to the general chapter in Rome in 1600, the custodian Hieronim Przybiński and the provincial commissioner Paweł of Łęczycza (Fr[ater] Paulus Lenczicius commissarius provincialis ministri provinciae Poloniae), appealed to the general of the order, Francis a Sosa, for the revindication of the Toruń monastery.<sup>15</sup> They issued a letter outlining the critical state of the then-destroyed and looted monasteries of the Prussian Custody under the Saxon Province of St John the Baptist. They also included in it a statement that a similar fate befell the Toruń monastery seized by Lutherans, who occupied the temple for their services and set up a grammar school for boys in the monastery house. They then motivated their request for the return of the monastery in seven concise points. They justified the need to take over the convent in Toruń, among other reasons, by the fact that it had never belonged to a religious family other than the Order of Friars Minor of the Regular Observance. During the Reformation, the Saxon province in which the monastery was located was abolished, resulting in a lack of vocations and thus its demise. The takeover of the convent by the Bernardines was agreed to by the Polish king, the nobility and the Catholic part of the Toruń bourgeoisie, anticipating that when the monks took over the church and monastery, heretical services and the Lutheran college would be abolished. In the letter's conclusion, the authors stated that the takeover of the Toruń convent would be an action both for the glory of God and for the benefit of Christians, as well as an opportunity to take the church 'out of ungodly hands' and restore the temple to its former splendour. The letter was signed by H. Przybiński and Paweł of Łęczycza.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Gdańsk*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>14</sup> Idem, *Toruń*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, p. 381.

<sup>15</sup> A.K. Sitnik, *Paweł z Łęczyczy, bernardyn (1572–1642)*, „*Studia Franciszkańskie*”, 12 (2002) p. 540.

<sup>16</sup> Archives of the Province of the Bernardine Fathers in Kraków (hereinafter: APBK), manuscript W-37, Akta różne Prowincji Wielkopolskiej Zakonu Braci Mniejszych bernardynów, 15th–18th c., k. 264–264v.

In 1603, thanks to the efforts of Chełmno castellan Jerzy Konopacki, the ownership of the Toruń monastery was ceded to the Bernardines under Pope Clement VIII, which was confirmed by King Sigismund III Vasa. The city magistrate, however, did not want to hand over the seized facilities to the monks. He even applied for a memorandum, arranged by Jan Muck von Muckendorff, in which he proved the rights of Protestants to all churches. However, the Bernardines did not stop their efforts to revindicate the monastery. It was not until 1724, during a trial against the participants in the tumult and the city council, that a verdict was passed to implement papal and royal decisions to return the monastery and church to the Bernardines. The monks arrived in Toruń on 7 December 1724, two days after the verdict was announced.<sup>17</sup>

In this way, the monasteries of the Prussian Custody belonging to the Saxon monastic province during the Reformation period became part of the Greater Poland Province of the Bernardines.

In 1520, the newly created Bernardine province was visited by the order's general, Francesco Lichetto. He attended the provincial chapter on 21–25 August 1520 in Kraków, where he expressed his highest praise for the new province and warned the monks against religious novelties.<sup>18</sup> This was the only visit by a general of the order to Poland during the Old Polish period. It undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of the Bernardines at a time of full independence and reformation.

It must be admitted that, starting from the creation of their first community in Kraków by St John of Capistrano in 1453, the Bernardines took care of the high intellectual level of the monks. They were educated in the larger monasteries, where the teachings of philosophy and theology were practised. The teachers were Bernardine friars with the title of bachelor and masters of the Kraków Academy. The Bernardines therefore achieved a higher level of education than diocesan priests. Over time, the influx of candidates to the order from the academic community almost ceased, as it did for other novices. Studying at foreign universities during the Reformation was also unsafe. For these reasons, the general level of education of Bernardines at the end of the sixteenth century declined significantly.<sup>19</sup> Apostolic nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari pointed out this problem when reporting from Poland to Rome. Nevertheless, he stressed the high moral level of their religious life.<sup>20</sup> The Kraków Cathedral Chapter issued a similar opinion of the Bernardines in an Instruction of 1551, while sparing no criticism of the moral state of the episcopate, and canons and monks of Kraków.<sup>21</sup> During the Reformation, from the ranks of the Bernardines came the Servant of God Rafał of Proszowice, who died

<sup>17</sup> Wyczawski, *Toruń*, pp. 381–382.

<sup>18</sup> *Relatio de ministro generali Francisco Licheto capitulum provinciale Cracoviae celebrante 21–25 Augusti 1520*, ed. M. Bihl, „Archivum Franciscanum Historicum”, 27 (1934) pp. 466–530.

<sup>19</sup> W.F. Murawiec, *Reforma potrydencka Zakonu Braci Mniejszych w Polsce (w. XVI–XVIII)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1990, p. 34; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 206–207.

<sup>20</sup> J.A. Caligarii nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta (1578–1581), in: *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, ed. L. Boratyński, Cracoviae 1915, pp. 206–207, no. 114, p. 211, no. 115.

<sup>21</sup> *Instructio nuntiis Capituli Cracoviensis ad Synodum a. 1551 data*, in: *Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia ab anno 1500 usque ad annum 1795*, vol. 1. *Andreae de Vienchorco*

in the Warta monastery in 1534. The satisfactory intellectual and moral state of the monks had a positive impact on the fact that the Bernardine province, suffered little loss from the Reformation, in terms of personnel.

In fact, similar trends persisted throughout the Order of Friars Minor. Similarly to M. Luther, Observants also criticized the granting of indulgences for funds intended for the construction of St Peter's Basilica in Rome, as exemplified by a speech in the late 15th century by Leipzig University professor Jan of Breitenbach. As a result, the order's general, Francisco Quiñones, obtained from Pope Clement VII a dispensation for monks to preach indulgent sermons combined with monetary contributions in 1525. General Minister F. Quiñones referred to the Lutheran disputes in a similar manner to his Catholic contemporaries, who perceived them as the beginning of the long-awaited reform of the Catholic Church. The German Observant, confessor to Emperor Charles V, Jean Glapion, thought that M. Luther could bear good fruit for the Catholic Church if he would only retract certain articles from his writings. Nevertheless, the Observants from the monastery in Jüterbog near Wittenberg, whose guardian was Bernard Dappen, who had direct contact with the new movement, had already stood in strong opposition against M. Luther's theses in the spring of 1519, for it turned out that the Protestants were not concerned with reforming the Catholic Church, but with breaking away from the Holy See altogether. In 1520, the order's general, Francesco Lichetto, arrived in Germany to reform the province of St John the Baptist, hitherto a conventual one, which in 1518 passed to the Observants. At that time he had already instructed monks to burn M. Luther's writings and establish preachers in every monastery to combat this heresy. The general chapter of the order, held in Capri in 1521, ordered the Observants to undertake prayers for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and to oppose the Lutheran heresy through the word of God and the proclamation of untainted theological teaching, even going so far as to commit martyrdom. By order of the same chapter, the Saxon Observants, led by Andreas Grone, went on a mission to the Elector of Saxony to reject the teachings of M. Luther, to no avail. Observants in Germany therefore defended the Catholic faith by example of their lives, sermons and writings. Many apostates, such as Franz Hanisch, Konrad Pellikan and Eberlin of Günzburg, issued positive opinions on German Observants and warned Protestants against them. Also, Pope Paul III in 1537 stated that the Observants, through their exemplary lives and sermons, had converted many transgressors to the Catholic faith, although not all of them, obviously. According to Heribert Holzapfel, about 20 monks in German-speaking countries are known to have converted to Protestantism during the 60 years of the 16th century. There were probably more of them. Nevertheless, they represent a negligible percentage of the 2,000 Observants living in the German, Saxon and Cologne provinces. None of the Observant monasteries was dissolved to move to the Protestant camp. In 1520 in Leipzig, the entire Observant monastery headed by Augustine of Alfeld (d. 1532) undertook to defend the Catholic faith. In 1539

---

*Zebrzydowski, episcopi Vladislaviensis et Cracoviensis epistolarum libros a. 1546–1553 continens*, ed. W. Wisłocki, Cracoviae 1878, p. 485, no. 846.



Prince John Frederick of Saxony gave the city to the Lutherans. At that time, the Observants, headed by the monastery's guardian Kasper Sager, put up so much resistance that the prince banned them from visiting houses and persuading the townspeople to persevere in the Catholic faith. They were expelled from the city in 1543. A similar fate befell the Observants from Zwickau in 1525, from Brunswick in 1528, from Weimar in 1532, from Magdeburg in 1542, from Halle in 1546, among others. The city of Legnica witnessed the activity of Antoni of Wrocław. It was only after he and his fellow congregants were expelled from the city in 1524 that Protestantism was able to flourish. In the Diocese of Wrocław, Eusebius of Neumarkt (d. 1531 in Głogów) was widely known as a 'slayer of heretics'. Due to the spread of negative opinions about monasteries by Protestants, monks lost their livelihood base, as well as an influx of new candidates for the order. Many were even expelled from their premises. As a result, the Observants had to leave some 300 monasteries in Germany and Austria. Between 1520 and 1620, 500 monks shed blood in defence of the Catholic faith. Similarly, in France, the Huguenots burned about 100 monasteries, and 200 Observant monks known by name became martyrs between 1560 and 1580. More than 80 monks shed their blood for the faith in the Netherlands. The best known are Nicholas Pieck and his companions. In 1572, they left a heroic example of constancy and patience in Gorkum and Brielle. In England, King Henry VIII imprisoned the Observant provincial and confessor to Queen Catherine of Aragon, John Forest, in 1533. Despite this, the Observants were not intimidated. William Peto, a guardian in Greenwich, was among the first to speak out against the king's actions. In 1534, the Observant monks were expelled from their monasteries, and some 200 were imprisoned in London. In Scotland, some 140 monks were sentenced to exile.<sup>22</sup>

In religiously tolerant Poland, the situation of the Observant monks was not as dire as in Germany or England. The Bernardines lost only one monastery in Wschowa (Fraustadt) near Leszno. It was founded by the townsfolk in 1455. The magistrate offered the Bernardines land for the construction of a church and monastery outside the city walls. That same year, the provincial chapter in Olomouc approved the new foundation, and the following year the Austrian-Czech-Polish vicar Gabriel of Verona approved it. In 1462, the Bernardines built a monastery and half-timbered church with donations from the townsfolk and local nobility. They dedicated the temple to St Francis of Assisi and St Bernardine of Siena.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Iriarte, *Historia franciszkanizmu*, pp. 315–320; H. Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 2. *Historia Zakonu od 1517 do 1909 roku*, Kraków 2012, pp. 381–400.

<sup>23</sup> *Kronika wschowskich bernardynów*, ed. A. Pańczak, Wschowa 2019, p. 23; K. Lutowski, *Bernardyński kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, eds. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa-Leszno 2009, p. 371; J. Pawłowska, *Rafał Gurowski – dobrodziej wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Rafał hrabia Gurowski. Szkice do XVIII-wiecznego portretu szlacheckiego*, eds. K. Lutowski, M. Małkus, Wschowa 2007, p. 27; S.B. Tomczak, *Wschowa*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, p. 442; APBK, manuscript W-27, *Annalium Polono-Seraphicorum tomus IV. continens trium conventuum, videlicet Posnaniensis, Thorunensis ac Vschovensis fundationes, progressus et res memorabiles. Archivum conventus Vschovensis seu Fraustadiensis. Introductio FF. Minorum Observantium ad civitatem*

The mid-16th century saw the Protestantization of Wschowa, populated mainly by German-speaking people. Protestantism was embraced by the city's starost Maciej Górski. In 1552, after parish priest Michael Tschepe died, the starost handed over the parish church to his fellow parishioners. He then brought in Protestant priest Jan Weisshaupt, who left Wschowa in 1554 because of 'angry monks'. His place was taken by Andrzej Knobloch, about whom the guardian of the Bernardine monastery named Jan used to say: 'That Knobloch [*pol. knobloch – a garlic-flavoured sausage*], that garlic, we can smell it in our noses.' Another Wschowa guardian and preacher, Fabian Orzeszkowski (1556–1558), in his polemical sermons, spoke out against Protestant priests, especially A. Knobloch, who was particularly active in Wschowa. F. Orzeszkowski accused A. Knobloch of selling several Hosts to Lublin Jews in exchange for a fur coat. He delivered a sermon on the subject on the second day of Easter in 1558, calling him a 'corrupter of pious souls'. Consequently, on 1 September of the same year, the Bernardine monastery and church were burned down. The buildings were probably set on fire by Piotr Henszten, a former servant of the monastery, who was bribed by the Protestants with 4 Polish marks. The crowd of people surrounding the burning monastery buildings prevented the few willing to undertake rescue operations from doing so. The Bernardines took up residence in outbuildings. Three weeks later, the buildings that had survived the first fire were set on fire for a second time under unexplained circumstances, and the fire has now completely consumed them. Catholics accused a Protestant by the name of Walenty, of arson, but failed to prove his guilt. The homeless monks were thus forced to leave the city in 1558. Some of them went to the monastery in Kościan, others to Poznań.<sup>24</sup>

After 71 years of their absence, the Bernardines returned to Wschowa. On 29 August 1628, thanks to the efforts of Wschowa starost Hieronim Radomicki, Apostolic Nuncio Antonio Santacroce and Poznań Bishop Maciej Łubieński, King Sigismund III Vasa ordered the city magistrate to return to the monks the land

---

*Wschovensem [...] opera P.F. Joannis Kamiński anno 1722, 1453–1730, k. 362; manuscript W-33, Topographica ac chronologica conventuum Majoris Poloniae descriptio [...] opere et studio [...] Patris Augustini Ciepłiński, 15th–17th century, p. 234.*

<sup>24</sup> E. Śliwiński, *Sytuacja polityczna ziemi wschowskiej w drugiej ćwierci XVII w.*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 107; A.M. Wieczorkowski, „Boża Rola”. *Staromiejski Cmentarz Ewangelicki we Wschowie w latach 1609–1630*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 225; A. Pańczak, *Działalność rekatalizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 315; J. Pawłowska, *Zabiegi Hieronima Radomickiego o powrót wschowskich bernardynów do Wschowy w świetle ich kroniki*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 365; Ch. Fryc, A. Pańczak, L. Szymborski, *Wczoraj i dziś franciszkanów we Wschowie. Historia, przewodnik, liturgiczna posługa w kościele klasztornym*, Wschowa 2000, p. 8; H.E. Wyczawski, *Orzeszkowski (Nucius) Fabian (1495–1575)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 359; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 248–249; *Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów, czyli Bernardynów we Wschowie, 1455–1808*, Wschowa 1971 [typescript in the Library of the Franciscan Monastery in Wschowa], pp. 7, 9; APBK, manuscript W-27, *Annalium Polono-Seraphicorum tomus IV*, k. 366–368; manuscript W-33, *Topographica ac chronologica conventuum Majoris Poloniae descriptio*, pp. 235–236.

that once belonged to them, as well as the ruins of the monastery and church. On 25 June of the following year, the Bernardines appeared in Wschowa. Thanks to the acquisition of benefactor Michael Tarnowicki, they built a new monastery and erected St Joseph's Church. The temple was consecrated in 1652 by a Bernardine, Maciej Kurski (1660–1681) – Suffragan Bishop of Poznań. Upon their return to Wschowa, the Bernardines, undertook conversion activities in addition to their usual pastoral work. Between 1716 and 1793, they succeeded to make 102 conversions to the Catholic faith.<sup>25</sup>

Acts of hostility on the part of Protestants towards the Bernardines were cited by the continuator of the chronicle of Johannes de Komorowo, Innocenty of Czerniejewo. When the monastery in Bydgoszcz burned down in 1545, 'Lutheran doctrine supporters rejoiced, and Catholics, together with their brothers, grieved immensely', the chronicler recorded. A similar situation occurred when a fire consumed Stradom and Kazimierz in Kraków in 1556. At the time, 'the Lutherans were very angry' that the Bernardine monastery had survived. In 1567 in Kalisz they paid a cleric to set fire to the monastery infirmary.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from the lost monastery in Wschowa, only three Bernardines are known to have abandoned the order and joined the Protestants. Compared to apostasies in other orders, that number represents a negligible percentage. According to Innocenty of Czerniejewo, the earliest among the transgressors was a preacher from Warta named Zachariasz. In 1562 he joined the Picards, or, as Rev. Kamil Kantak puts it, to the Unity of the Brethren.<sup>27</sup>

Before 1566, Daniel Ostrowski a preacher from Kościan, wrote a polemical work on the Mass under the title *Odpowiedź [...] na list przeciw ofierze świętej Nowego Testamentu, którą Kościół apostolski Mszą zowie, do niego pisany, w której też jest wywód tej ofiary najświętszej położony*. The treatise, based on Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers, was the result of a polemic with a Protestant, a certain Bojanowski (d. 1566), and was highly regarded in terms of theological matter by the prelate of Gniezno, later Jesuit Stanisław Warszewicki. However, D. Ostrowski, began to lead an immoral life. 'It can be heard', wrote Fr. K. Kantak, 'that having risen from bed, he walked without preparation to the altar'. He also had an affair with a woman. In order to keep D. Ostrowski in the order, S. Warszewicki

<sup>25</sup> *Kronika wschowskich bernardynów*, pp. 48–50; A. Pańczak, *Działalność rekatalizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, pp. 318–319, 328; Pawłowska, *Zabiegi Hieronima Radomickiego o powrót wschowskich bernardynów do Wschowy w świetle ich kroniki*, pp. 367–368; K. Lutowski, *Bernardyński kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, pp. 371–373; N. Golichowski, *Przed nową epoką. Materiały do historii OO. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Kraków 1899, p. 140; APBK, manuscript W-27, *Annalium Polono-Seraphicorum tomus IV*, k. 378; manuscript W-33, *Topographica ac chronologica conventuum Majoris Poloniae descriptio*, p. 239.

<sup>26</sup> Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 247; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, eds. K. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 5, Lviv 1888, pp. 370, 380, 386.

<sup>27</sup> Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 211; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 385.

published his treatise in print commissioned to Mateusz Siebeneycher in Kraków in 1566. However, D. Ostrowski abandoned the order, joined the Protestants and married. No information about his fate as a Protestant is contained in the sources. His imminent death prevented him from achieving an arguably more significant position.<sup>28</sup>

The next apostate was Julian Poniatowski, a Bernardine. He was born in 1580 and entered the Order of Friars Minor (Bernardines) at a young age. At the age of 25, he was already a preacher and philosophy lecturer in Lublin. He was probably already then suspected of having Protestant views, since he had to take an oath of allegiance to the Catholic Church. He suffered from a nervous disease. In 1602, when the monastery in Lublin burned down, he was transferred to Radom. Provincial Marian Postękański entrusted him there only with the role of a preacher. In January 1602, he and his confrater went on a fundraising trip. He stayed in Kurów with Abraham Zbąski, who embraced Calvinism. He took the 50 zlotys and all the items from fundraising, and sent the monk back to the convent. From there, he went to Gdańsk. Before the end of May of the same year, he married Zofia Pawłowska and became a Protestant priest. The Bernardines made unsuccessful efforts to make J. Poniatowski return to the monastery. Finally, at the provincial chapter in Radom at the end of May 1602, a curse was placed upon him during the sombre ceremonies, which were vividly described by Rev. K. Kantak:

The superior, preceded by twelve priests, wearing mourning chasubles, enters the church. At the front of the procession they carry a crucifix, wrapped in a pall. Each participant holds a candle in their hand. The chairman (commissioner Gąsiorek or the new provincial Czerniejewski) ascends the pulpit and reads the text of the curse, as Julian Poniatowski, having already renounced heresy once, embraced it once again, having betrayed both the Order and the Church, having committed double transgression, having taken the Church's vestments and paraphernalia and exposed them to the insults of heretics. That is why he curses him out of the Church, expels him from the community of believers and puts him under divine judgement. Now they are breaking and trampling candles, ringing the bells and reciting that terrible psalm of the CVIII curse. Finally, the candles are thrown into the fire.

Such a solemn curse, as far as we can judge, the only incident of its kind for the Bernardines, did not fail to make a great impression. It was recounted that during the event, Poniatowski, absent of course, 'stretched his tongue beyond his teeth and lips and they could not hide it as long as this solemn act of cursing lasted to the horror of the ministers who were with him, the sacrilegious wife and family'.<sup>29</sup>

On 18 April 1603, the procurator of the Bernardines of Radom, Jan Dychowski, recorded a complaint in the Lublin castle against J. Poniatowski that he had stolen 50 zlotys and commodities estimated at the same amount from the fundraising.

<sup>28</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Ostrowski Daniel (zm. po 1566)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 361; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 211–212; S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik Zakonu OO. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Lviv 1874, pp. 256–257; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 386.

<sup>29</sup> K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy, 1573–1795–1932*, vol. 2, Lviv 1933, p. 240.

The Bernardines did not learn until 1605 that J. Poniatowski had been in Gdańsk. After some time, a Bernardine fund-raiser met him in Vilnius. The authors of the sources are silent about his further fate.<sup>30</sup>

Other Bernardines fought to defend the Catholic faith. In Toruń, a Bernardine (Gebron) of Grębow preached a sermon in the presence of the papal legate and the king against the teachings of M. Luther. Due to his efforts, heretical books were publicly burned. As Rev. K. Kantak speculates, this was the first anti-Protestant sermon delivered in Poland from the pulpit in Polish language. Unfortunately, its content has not been preserved.<sup>31</sup>

Before 1522, Cezary of Gostyń (d. 1552 in Poznań) lived in a monastery in Wrocław, founded by St John of Capistrano. After the Franciscans were expelled from the city by the townspeople in 1522, he moved to the Bernardine province in Poland. He dedicated his memoirs about the expulsion of the Observants from Wrocław under the title *Historia tragedialis [...] inter [...] patrem [...] Benedictum [...] Benkowycz, commissarium generalem et dominos Wratislavienses in negotio Fratrum Minorum Ordinis S. Francisci Regularis Observantiae* to the then Kraków custodian Rafał of Proszowic.<sup>32</sup> In Kraków, Stanisław (a.k.a. Hieronim) of Lviv (d. 1556 in Tarnów), a lecturer of theology and preacher at the Cathedral Church, translated the Scriptures into Polish to counteract the impact of the Lutheran Bible. This translation was to be handed over to the Jesuit Antoni Possewin for proofreading.<sup>33</sup>

There is no trace, according to historian Hieronim Eugeniusz Wyczawski, OFM, of the Bernardines defending Catholicism with polemical writings in the early stages of the Reformation, although some 30 of them were engaged in writings of various kinds at the time. They used this method only during the Counter-Reformation period. Initially, they opposed heresy mainly through sermons. In them they explained the dogmas of the faith, especially those attacked by Protestants.<sup>34</sup> Among the main preachers of this period was Marcin of Podolin (d. 1559 in Kraków), whom the author of his obituary calls 'a hammer of heretics'. He preached in the central monasteries of the province: in Kraków, Warta, Poznań, Warsaw and Lviv.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Wyczawski, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 622; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 2, pp. 36, 238–240.

<sup>31</sup> Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 2, p. 388; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 212, 219; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 339.

<sup>32</sup> The manuscript is in the Jagiellonian Library, ref. 3539. A.K. Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy. Historia klasztoru i kościoła pod wezwaniem świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Andrzeja Apostoła we Lwowie, 1460–1785*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, pp. 255, 357; Grudziński, *Cezary z Gostynia*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 80; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 196, 213–214, 242, 304; *Kroniki Bernardynów poznańskich*, eds. S.B. Tomczak, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2002, pp. 41, 43, 55, 105, 110, 336, 396; Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, pp. 2–3, 342, 357–358.

<sup>33</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Stanisław ze Lwowa (Leopoliensis)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, pp. 456–457; Holzapfel, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 2, p. 393; Barącz, *Pamiętnik*, p. 209.

<sup>34</sup> Wyczawski, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, p. 622.

<sup>35</sup> Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy*, p. 231; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 219–220.

Provincial Sebastian of Lviv (d. 1561 in Kraków) preached the word of God in Lviv (1525–1526, 1529–1530), Warsaw (1528), Vilnius (before 1530) and Kraków (1541).<sup>36</sup> Another Bernardine monk, Jakub of Śrem a.k.a. Jakub Obara of Śrem (d. 1562 in Staniątki), after being ordained a presbyter, was a preacher in Opatów (1530), Kazimierz Biskupi and Radom (1531), again in Radom and Sambor (1535), Opatów (1536–1537), Radom (1537), Sambor (1538–1541) and Bydgoszcz. Toward the end of his life, he settled in Kraków. His six collections of Sunday sermons, passion sermons, Eucharistic sermons and sermons on the saints from 1522–1548 have been preserved. It exemplifies a good theological education, knowledge of works of ancient philosophy and contemporary preaching literature.<sup>37</sup>

The most prominent preachers of the 16th century included Klemens Ramułt of Radymno (d. 1562 in Sambor). He devoted his entire priestly life to preaching in the Bernardine churches of Przeworsk (1520, 1547), Poznań (1527, 1533, 1541, 1549–1551), Kraków (1529–1531), Warsaw (1542), Warta (1543), as well as Lublin, Tarnów and Lviv. His sermons were highly praised by his contemporary Stanisław Orzechowski. K. Ramułt left eight collections of sermons in manuscripts. In his polemics with dissenters, he represented a moderate position.<sup>38</sup> Florian of Piaseczno near Warsaw (approx. 1536–1576, died in Poznań), after his ordination as a presbyter, was a preacher in Koło nad Warta (1572), Bydgoszcz (1572), Tarnów (1573) and Poznań. Only the third part of his sermons survived in manuscript. Following the example of preachers, including Protestant ones, he generally did not address theological theses in them, but used a polemical method. He reproached his opponents for their moral shortcomings, and accused Poles of uncritically accepting anything new.<sup>39</sup> Provincial Mikołaj of Busko (d. 1583 in Warsaw) worked in monasteries in Warsaw (1570), Kraków (1572) and Vilnius (1576). His lost volume of polemical sermons contained seventeen teachings. He preached them during the interregnum of 1572 in Kraków. Their tone was so strident that the Bishop of Kraków Franciszek Krasieński (1525–1577) forbade him from publicly preaching them. In view of the above, he tried to publish them in

<sup>36</sup> Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy*, pp. 155, 255; W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy. Dzieje klasztoru św. Anny w Warszawie, 1454–1864*, Kraków 1973, p. 140; C. Bogdalski, *Bernardyni w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1933, pp. 345, 372; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 241–243; *Kroniki Bernardynów poznańskich*, pp. 2, 41, 50–52, 55–57, 105, 396.

<sup>37</sup> W. Murawiec, *Jakub ze Śremu*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, pp. 183–184; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 127, 147, 149, 169.

<sup>38</sup> A. Bruździński, *Bernardyni w Przeworsku w okresie staropolskim*, in: *550 lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Przeworsku (1465–2015)*, eds. M.R. Gęśła, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2015, p. 74; K. Panuś, *Zarys historii kaznodziejstwa w Kościele katolickim*, part 2. *Kaznodziejstwo w Polsce od średniowiecza do baroku*, Kraków 2001, p. 328; Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 141; H.E. Wyczawski, *Ramułt Klemens (Klemens z Radymna) h. własnego*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 407; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 221–234.

<sup>39</sup> A.K. Sitnik, *Piśmiennictwo bernardynskie XV–XXI wieku*, in: *Wkład bernardynów w życie religijno-kulturalne narodu polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, p. 270; idem, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi quiescentium, 1466–1838*, „*Studia Franciszkańskie*”, 21 (2011) p. 426; W. Murawiec, *Florian z Piaseczna*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 128; *Kroniki Bernardynów poznańskich*, p. 338.

print, with no success.<sup>40</sup> As regards the preacher Paweł of Łomża (d. 1591), who left a manuscript collection of Christmas sermons, the authors of the sources only provided news that he worked in a monastery in Vilnius and died in Kościan.<sup>41</sup> Innocenty of Czerniejewo (approx. 1510–1597, died in Poznań) minister in Przeworsk (1537, 1539, 1543, 1552), Kobylin (1547), Kraków (1570), Radom (1581) and Poznań, where he spent the last years of his life and preached polemical sermons.<sup>42</sup>

Upon the analysis of the Bernardine sermons, the conclusion is that the monks were very well versed in past and current theological and polemical literature. The credit for this should be attributed to the 16th-century monastic librarians, who made sure that the monastery's bookstores were well stocked. Rev. K. Kantak stated: 'In this respect they surpass all other monasteries, only the Dominican ones can go hand in hand with them.'<sup>43</sup> This is evidenced by the resulting studies on Bernardine monastery libraries, whose bibliographic and catalogue documentation was made by Ryszard Żmuda.<sup>44</sup>

During the period of the Reformation spreading in Poland, Polish religious songs proved useful for polemics. To prevent the faithful from committing apostasy, the Bernardines held lavish and lively services with singing in their churches, which were not practised by Protestants. At the 1524 provincial chapter in Warta, they decided that every day in every monastery the Mass would be sung, rather than recited as before.<sup>45</sup> In addition to the works of Blessed Ladislas of Gielniów in Latin addressed to the clergy and in Polish to the faithful, the words of the songs were composed by new poets, for whom singing with the people was one of the forms of catechesis.<sup>46</sup> Among them was Innocenty of Kościan (d. 1541 in Poznań), whose song about the Infant Jesus was still sung by the faithful in churches in the 18th century.<sup>47</sup> Works in Latin were also created by Fabian Orzeszkowski. A collection of poems found after his death was later lost. Only their fragments are known.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, pp. 33, 37, 87, 90, 119, 141–142; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 239–240.

<sup>41</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Paweł z Łomży*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 369.

<sup>42</sup> Sitnik, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi*, p. 428; Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 235–238, 304–305.

<sup>43</sup> Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 241.

<sup>44</sup> R. Żmuda, *Stan badań bibliologicznych o bibliotekach klasztorach bernardynów w Polsce za lata 1918–2015*, in: *Wkład bernardynów w życie religijno-kulturalne Narodu Polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, pp. 318–338.

<sup>45</sup> Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 213.

<sup>46</sup> A. Szulc, *Homo religiosus późnego średniowiecza. Bernardyński model religijności masowej*, Poznań 2007, p. 43; W. Wydra, *Władysław z Gielniowa. Z dziejów średniowiecznej poezji polskiej*, Poznań 1992, pp. 107–108.

<sup>47</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Inocenty z Kościana (Innocentius a Costen)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 180; Sitnik, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi*, p. 422.

<sup>48</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Orzeszkowski (Nucius) Fabian*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 359; Sitnik, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi*, p. 426.

Protestants were critical of the church chanting practised by the Bernardines. Such testimony was cited by Rev. K. Kantak: ‘The heretics dare to dishonour, berate, and shame, appallingly and boldly reprove the singing in the Church of God.’<sup>49</sup>

Despite the manuscript form, Polish songs spread widely throughout the country. They were used in the liturgy not only by their propagators, but also by diocesan priests in parish churches.<sup>50</sup>

The Bernardines also influenced the faithful through confessions. Each monastery had several confessors appointed. Whether they could absolve heresy, it is difficult to say. The authors of the sources attribute such a right to the monks only in 1586.<sup>51</sup>

The Friars Minor also served the faithful through the example of their own lives. Such responsibility was borne by the fund-raisers. They used contacts with people outside the monastery to spread more than just political news, as exemplified by Mickiewicz’s Father Robak (Jacek Soplica). During the Reformation, they ‘agitated in courts’ in favour of Catholicism, and thus became itinerant preachers. According to monastic statutes, the fund-raiser was to repay the host for his hospitality by celebrating Mass. Hence, the function of fund-raiser was entrusted by the superiors of the monasteries to monks who were responsible and well-behaved.<sup>52</sup>

The Reformation contributed to the development of chaplaincies in the courts of the nobility. The chaplains undoubtedly influenced the shape of the religiosity of the faithful within the reach of their pastoral activities. In order to oppose Protestant preachers with a foothold in the courts of the nobility, the Bernardines abandoned strict laws restricting monks from staying outside the monastery. This allowed the chaplaincy to develop at the courts of Catholic benefactors. In 1591, at the provincial chapter in Bydgoszcz, the chapter fathers drew up appropriate provisions for chaplains regulating, among other things, their presence at the courts during Advent and Lent.<sup>53</sup>

The brotherhoods established at Bernardine monasteries were one of the social forms of piety of the time, as well as a response to the Reformation, which placed an exaggerated emphasis on purely internal life and minimized manifestations of collective worship. They provided a sense of strength and, through statutory obligations to participate in the liturgy, taught active and conscious participation in it. The brotherhoods also held colourful processions – popular at the time – in costumes, with banners and images of patron saints and candles. The prescribed

<sup>49</sup> Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 214.

<sup>50</sup> K.J. Grudziński, A.K. Sitnik, *Bernardyni w służbie Ojczyzny, 1453–1953*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2015, pp. 37–38.

<sup>51</sup> Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 240.

<sup>52</sup> Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy*, p. 113.

<sup>53</sup> APBK, manuscript VI-b-2, *Constitutiones provinciales in capitulo Samboriensi 1597 a patribus auditoribus examinatae certisque correctionibus per reverendum patrem Benedictum Anserinum Leopoliensem pro tunc commissarium ad capitulum hociodem destinatum et patrem Franciscum Warthensem, ministrum Provinciae electum ac per admodum venerandos patres diffinitores ac alios Provinciae patres simul congregatos emendatae ex variis infra subiectis capitulis depromptae et in ordinem redactae*, 1597, k. 23.



ascetic practices facilitated self-improvement and reminded people to pray for the dead. In the 16th century, brotherhoods functioned at almost every Bernardine monastery.<sup>54</sup>

Naturally, the greatest responsibility for the moral state of the monks and the actions they took was borne by the Bernardine provincials. It was also incumbent on them to arrange the defence of the Catholic faith. The provincials of the Reformation period were among the most outstanding monks. They regularly convened monastic chapters, travelled or sent delegates to the order's general chapters, and maintained an active religious and pastoral life in the monasteries by selecting appropriate guardians, preachers and confessors. They preserved the monastic discipline. None of them leaned toward Protestantism, as was the case with the Provincial of the Conventual Franciscans, Francis Lismanini (1538–1554).<sup>55</sup> Thanks to them, the Bernardine province successfully weathered the religious storm, and during the Counter-Reformation period it was one of the stronger centres for the renewal of the Catholic Church in Poland.<sup>56</sup>

In conclusion, Polish Bernardines in the 16th century were seen, including by Protestants, as staunch defenders of the faith and the Catholic Church. They undertook this activity as early as the 1520s. In it, they used traditional methods: preaching, confession, liturgy, religious song, holding the functions of fund-raisers and court chaplains, and also by forming monastic religious brotherhoods. Thanks to their good theological education and leading a moral life at an appropriate level, very few Bernardine friars departed for the Protestant camp. This is to be credited largely to the provincials, who were able to protect Bernardine monasteries from the Reformation.

---

<sup>54</sup> J. Flaga, *Stowarzyszenia i bractwa religijne przy kościołach bernardyńskich do końca XVIII wieku*, in: *Pięćset pięćdziesiąt lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Polsce (1453–2003)*, ed. W.F. Murawiec, D.A. Muskus, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, pp. 545–562; T.M. Trajdos, *Znakomita szlachta w szeregach lwowskiego Bractwa św. Bernardyna, 1462–1499*, in: *Tempus est optimus magister vitae. Prace dedykowane Ojcu Profesorowi Wiesławowi Franciszkowi Murawcowi OFM*, ed. A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2010, pp. 93–108; A.K. Sitnik, *Bractwa przy bernardyńskim kościele św. Barbary w Przeworsku w okresie staropolskim*, „Przeworskie Studia Regionalne”, 2 (2015) pp. 143–158; idem, *Bractwa religijne i tercjarstwo zrzeszone przy bernardyńskim kościele pod wezwaniem Nawiedzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kole (do 1864)*, in: *Bernardyni w Kole*, Koło 2006, pp. 29–49; idem, *Bractwa religijne i tercjarstwo zrzeszone przy bernardyńskim kościele pw. świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Andrzeja Apostoła we Lwowie (do 1785)*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 16 (2006) pp. 269–282.

<sup>55</sup> S. Napiórkowski, *Lismanin Franciszek*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 10, ed. E. Ziemann, Lublin 2004, col. 1146–1147.

<sup>56</sup> Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, pp. 244–245.

## REFERENCES

**Archival sources**

- Archives of the Province of the Bernardine Fathers in Kraków (APBK)  
 manuscript W-27, *Annalium Polono-Seraphicorum tomus IV. continens trium conventuum, videlicet Posnaniensis, Thorunensis ac Vschovensis foundationes, progressus et res memorabiles. Archivum conventus Wschovensis seu Fraustadiensis. Introductio FF. Minorum Observantium ad civitatem Wschovensem [...] opera P.F. Joannis Kamiński anno 1722, 1453–1730.*  
 manuscript W-33, *Topographica ac chronologica conventuum Majoris Poloniae descriptio [...] opere et studio [...] Patris Augustini Ciepliński, 15th–18th c.*  
 manuscript W-37, Akta różne Prowincji Wielkopolskiej Zakonu Braci Mniejszych bernardynów, 16th–18th c.  
 manuscript VI-b-2, *Constitutiones provinciales in capitulo Samboriensi 1597 a patribus auditoribus examinatae certisque correctionibus per reverendum patrem Benedictum Anserinum Leopoliensem pro tunc commissarium ad capitulum hocidem destinatum et patrem Franciscum Warthensem, ministrum Provinciae electum ac per admodum venerandos patres diffinitores ac alios Provinciae patres simul congregatos emendatae ex variis infra subiectis capitulis depromptae et in ordinem redactae, 1597.*

## The Jagiellonian Library

- manuscript ref. 3539, Czery z Gostynia, *Historia tragedialis [...] inter [...] patrem [...] Benedictum [...] Benkowycz, commissarium generalem et dominos Wratislavienses in negotio Fratrum Minorum Ordinis S. Francisci Regularis Observantiae.*

**Printed sources**

- Instructio nuntiis Capituli Cracoviensis ad Synodum a. 1551 data, in: Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia ab anno 1500 usque ad annum 1795, vol. 1. Andreae de Viencborco Zebrzydowski, episcopi Vladislaviensis et Cracoviensis epistolarum libros a. 1546–1553 continens, ed. W. Wisłocki, Cracoviae 1878, p. 485, no. 846.*  
*J. A. Caligarii nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta (1578–1581), in: Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, vol. 4, ed. L. Boratyński, Cracoviae 1915, pp. 206–207, no. 114, p. 211, no. 115.*  
 Joannes de Komorowo, *Kronika Zakonu Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów (1209–1536)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2014.  
 Joannes de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, eds. K. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 5, Lviv 1888, pp. 1–418.  
*Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów, czyli Bernardynów we Wschowie, 1455–1808*, Wschowa 1971 [typescript in the Library of the Franciscan Monastery in Wschowa].  
*Kronika wschowskich bernardynów*, ed. A. Pańczak, Wschowa 2019.  
*Kroniki Bernardynów poznańskich*, eds. S.B. Tomczak, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2002.  
*Relatio de ministro generali Francisco Licheto capitulum provinciale Cracoviae celebrante 21–25 Augusti 1520*, ed. M. Bihl, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 27 (1934) pp. 466–530.

**Studies**

- Barącz Sadok, *Pamiętnik zakonu WW. OO. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Lviv 1874.
- Bogdalski Czesław, *Bernardyni w Polsce 1453–1530*, vol. 2. *Zakonnicy tego okresu*, Kraków 1933.
- Bruździński Andrzej, *Bernardyni w Przeworsku w okresie staropolskim*, in: *550 lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Przeworsku (1465–2015)*, eds. M.R. Gęśła, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2015, pp. 63–86.
- Decot Rolf, *Mała historia reformacji w Niemczech*, Kraków 2007.
- Dokumenty papieskie dotyczące Reguły i ideału ubóstwa św. Franciszka z Asyżu do roku 1517*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2017.
- Flaga Jerzy, *Stowarzyszenia i bractwa religijne przy kościołach bernardynskich do końca XVIII wieku*, in: *Pięćset pięćdziesiąt lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Polsce (1453–2003)*, eds. W.F. Murawiec, D.A. Muskus, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, pp. 545–562.
- Freed John B., *Dzieje saskiej prowincji franciszkanów w XIII wieku*, in: *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, vol. 1. *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej*, part 1. *Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1983, pp. 195–225.
- Fryc Chryzostom, Pańczak Alojzy, Szymborski Lesław, *Wczoraj i dziś franciszkanów we Wschowie. Historia, przewodnik, liturgiczna posługa w kościele klasztornym*, Wschowa 2000.
- Golichowski Norbert, *Przed nową epoką. Materiały do historii OO. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Kraków 1899.
- Golichowski Norbert, *Upominek dla czcigodnej zakonnej Braci OO. Bernardynów w Galicyi i W. Ks. Krakowskiem*, part 1. *Szereg prowincjałów i wykaz wypadków znacniejszych*, Lviv 1895.
- Grudziński Kajetan, *Cezary z Gostynia*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 80.
- Grudziński Kajetan, *Rafał z Proszowic*, in: *Hagiografia polska. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny*, vol. 2, ed. R. Gustaw, Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin 1972, pp. 261–270.
- Grudziński Kajetan Jan, Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Bernardyni w służbie ojczyzny, 1453–1953*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2015.
- Holzpfel Heribert, *Podręcznik historii Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, part 1. *Historia Zakonu do podziału w roku 1517*, Kraków 2012.
- Iriarte Lázaro, *Historia franciszkanizmu*, Kraków 1998.
- Kantak Kamil, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1–2, Lviv 1933.
- Kantak Kamil, *Franciszkanie polscy*, vol. 1. *1237–1517*, Kraków 1937.
- Konopczyński Władysław, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, vol. 1. *1506–1648*, Warsaw 1999.
- Kościński Konstanty, *Franciszkanie i Bernardyni w Nowem nad Wisłą. Przyczynek do historii południowego Pomorza*, Poznań 1906.
- Krawiec Józef, *Lubawa*, in: *Klasztory bernardynskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 184–188.
- Kumor Bolesław, *Historia Kościoła*, vol. 5. *Czasy nowożytne. Rozłam w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim*, Lublin 2002.
- Lutowski Krzysztof, *Bernardynski kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, eds. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa-Leszno 2009, pp. 371–386.
- Murawiec Wiesław, *Florian z Piaseczna*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 128.
- Murawiec Wiesław, *Jakub ze Śremu*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, pp. 183–184.

- Murawiec Wiesław Franciszek, *Bernardyni warszawscy. Dzieje klasztoru św. Anny w Warszawie, 1454–1864*, Kraków 1973.
- Murawiec Wiesław Franciszek, *Reforma potrydencka Zakonu Braci Mniejszych w Polsce (w. XVI–XVIII)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1990.
- Napiórkowski Stanisław, *Lismanin Franciszek*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 10, ed. E. Ziemann, Lublin 2004, col. 1146–1147.
- Panuś Kazimierz, *Zarys historii kaznodziejstwa w Kościele katolickim*, part 2. *Kaznodziejstwo w Polsce od średniowiecza do baroku*, Kraków 2001.
- Pańczak Alojzy, *Działalność rekatalizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, eds. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa-Leszno 2009, pp. 313–336.
- Pawłowska Jolanta, *Rafał Gurowski – dobrodziej wschowskich bernardynów*, in: *Rafał hrabia Gurowski. Szkice do XVIII-wiecznego portretu szlacheckiego*, eds. K. Lutowski, M. Małkus, Wschowa 2007, pp. 6–32.
- Pawłowska Jolanta, *Zabiegi Hieronima Radomickiego o powrót wschowskich bernardynów do Wschowy w świetle ich kroniki*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, eds. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa-Leszno 2009, pp. 363–370.
- Prejs Roland, *Za Franciszkiem. Dzieje Pierwszego Zakonu Franciszkańskiego, 1209–1517*, Kraków 2011.
- Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Bernardyni lwowscy. Historia klasztoru i kościoła pod wezwaniem świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Andrzeja Apostoła we Lwowie, 1460–1785*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006.
- Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Bractwa przy bernardyńskim kościele św. Barbary w Przeworsku w okresie staropolskim*, „Przeworskie Studia Regionalne”, 2 (2015) pp. 143–158.
- Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Bractwa religijne i tercjarstwo zrzeszone przy bernardyńskim kościele pod wezwaniem Nawiedzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kole (do 1864)*, in: *Bernardyni w Kole*, Koło 2006, pp. 29–49.
- Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Bractwa religijne i tercjarstwo zrzeszone przy bernardyńskim kościele pw. świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Andrzeja Apostoła we Lwowie (do 1785)*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 16 (2006) pp. 269–282.
- Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum mortuorum in loco Posnaniensi quiescentium, 1466–1838*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 21 (2011) pp. 413–442.
- Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Paweł z Łęczycy, bernardyn (1572–1642)*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 12 (2002) pp. 489–580.
- Sitnik Aleksander Krzysztof, *Piśmiennictwo bernardyńskie XV–XXI wieku*, in: *Wkład bernardynów w życie religijno-kulturalne Narodu Polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, eds. C. Gniecki, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2016, pp. 247–309.
- Szulc Alicja, *Homo religiosus późnego średniowiecza. Bernardyński model religijności masowej*, Poznań 2007.
- Śliwiński Eugeniusz, *Sytuacja polityczna ziemi wschowskiej w drugiej ćwierci XVII w.*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, eds. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa-Leszno 2009, pp. 103–112.
- Tomczak Salezy Bogumił, *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, in: *Wkład bernardynów w życie religijno-kulturalne Narodu Polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, eds. C. Gniecki, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2016, pp. 27–68.
- Tomczak Salezy Bogumił, *Wschowa*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 442–446.

- Trajdos Tadeusz Marek, *Znakomita szlachta w szeregach lwowskiego Bractwa św. Bernardyna, 1462–1499*, in: *Tempus est optimus magister vitae. Prace dedykowane Ojcu Profesorowi Wiesławowi Franciszkowi Murawcowi OFM*, ed. A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2010, pp. 93–108.
- Wieczorkowski Andrzej Mariusz, „Boża Rola”. *Staromiejski Cmentarz Ewangelicki we Wschowie w latach 1609–1630*, in: *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, eds. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa-Leszno 2009, pp. 225–262.
- Wójcik Zbigniew, *Historia powszechna XVI–XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1999.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Barczewo*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 19–21.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Gdańsk*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 65–66.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Inocenty z Kościana (Innocentius a Costen)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 180.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 581–631.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Nowe*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 233–237.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Orzeszkowski (Nucius) Fabian (1495–1575)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 359.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Ostrowski Daniel (zm. po 1566)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 361.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Paweł z Łomży*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 369.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Ramułt Klemens (Klemens z Radymna) h. własnego*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 407.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Stanisław ze Lwowa (Leopoliensis)*, in: *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, pp. 456–457.
- Wyczawski Hieronim Eugeniusz, *Toruń*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, pp. 381–386.
- Wydra Wiesław, *Władysław z Gielniowa. Z dziejów średniowiecznej poezji polskiej*, Poznań 1992.
- Zieliński Zygmunt, *Niemcy. Zarys dziejów*, Katowice 1998.
- Żmuda Ryszard, *Stan badań bibliologicznych o bibliotekach klasztorach bernardyńskich w Polsce za lata 1918–2015*, in: *Wkład bernardyńców w życie religijno-kulturalne Narodu Polskiego (wybrane aspekty)*, eds. C. Gniecki, A.K. Sitnik, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2016, pp. 318–338.

**„TEN KNOBLOCH, TEN CZOSNEK, CZUJEMY GO W NOSIE”.  
BERNARDYNI POLSCY A REFORMACJA W XVI WIEKU**

**Abstrakt**

Bernardyni polscy w XVI wieku byli postrzegani, także przez protestantów, jako zdecydowani obrońcy wiary i Kościoła katolickiego. Działalność tę podjęli bardzo wcześnie, bo już w latach 20. XVI wieku. Wykorzystywali w niej tradycyjne metody: kaznodziejstwo, spowiedź, liturgię, pieśń religijną, piastowane funkcje kwestarzy i kapelanów dworskich, organizowanie przyklasztornych bractw religijnych. Dzięki dobremu wykształceniu teologicznemu oraz prowadzeniu życia moralnego na odpowiednim poziomie jedynie trzech znanych z imienia i nazwiska bernardynów przeszło do obozu protestanckiego. Zakonnicy utracili na rzecz protestantów tylko jeden klasztor we Wschowie, a przejęli klasztory pruskie w Lubawie, Barczewie, Nowem, Gdańsku oraz Toruniu po upadłej w okresie reformacji saskiej prowincji zakonnej św. Jana Chrzyciela. W znacznej mierze jest to zasługa prowincjałów, którzy potrafili uchronić klasztory bernardyńskie przed reformacją.

Słowa kluczowe: protestanci; bernardyni; kaznodzieje; apostaci; Wschowa