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STEPHEN BÁTHORY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNIVERSITY OF KRAKOW

Summary

This research paper discusses the evolution of the attitude of Stefan Bathory (1576–1586), king of Poland, towards the University of Krakow. Being aware of the university's obsolete structures and its functioning, the king planned to create an elite royal college, in which foreign scholars, especially Italians, were to provide education. Due to the failure of his plan, Bathory changed his attitude towards the University, and became its important patron and benefactor. At the same time, however, he also contributed to the establishment of the Jesuit Vilnius University (1578/1579). The author analyses the monarch's relations with the Krakow *Alma Mater* over ten years of his reign, trying to explain the circumstances and motives of his conduct towards Krakow's university elites.

Keywords: Stephen Báthory – king of Poland, University of Krakow, Jesuits, early modern education

The subject I am going to discuss is still to be described in detail by historians. The matter received more attention only from some researchers, i.e. mostly by Henryk Barycz, Waclaw Urban, Bronisław Natoński, Maciej Zdanek and Tomasz Graff². Sources dealing with Stephen Báthory's relations with the University of Krakow during his reign in the

¹ The text of the article is based on a paper presented during the conference entitled: "European Identity in the Reflection of Hungarian-Polish Relationships" – Hungary, Szeged, 12–14 XI 2019.

² H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dobie humanizmu*, Krakow 1935, pp. 467–500, 530, 723; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Krakow 1933 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 80), pp. 81–94; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji (1549–1632)*, in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. Lepszy, Krakow 1964, pp. 258–259, 265, 274, 291; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, Krakow 2002 (Klasyki Jezuickiej Historiografii, 1), passim; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości w XV–XVI wieku*, Krakow 2017 (Historia et Monumenta Universitatis Jagellonicae, 6), p. 280; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita (ok. 1567–1641). Duchowny i profesor Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*, Krakow 2018, pp. 101, 137, 140, 145–146, 242–243, 265, 337.



Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1576–1586) can be found not only in Polish but also in foreign archives, especially in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI). Such sources are quite abundant and have not yet been entirely used or analyzed. Therefore, my considerations are not only a summary of all the findings of the Polish historiography reported to date but also an attempt to reveal new research perspectives.

As a young person, Báthory stayed at the court of the Habsburgs; later in his life, he became an opponent of the House of Habsburg. He knew many scholars of his age³. We know that he was well-acquainted with the intellectual culture of the Renaissance. A turning point in his life was his election as the king of Poland and marriage to Queen Anna Jagiellon. Emperor Maximilian II of the House of Habsburg was his rival for the throne, and the competition between the two brought Poland to the brink of a civil war⁴. More importantly, the Krakow University sided with Maximilian at that time, a move which Báthory would never forget. The university still stood by the Habsburg even after Báthory's supporters took over Krakow in 1576. Rector Jakub Górski openly sided with the Austrian candidate and allegedly even received money from the Habsburgs for canvassing support for Maximilian II among students and professors. Such agitation did take place. Górski brought about the publication of the proclamation on the emperor's election to the Polish throne, promising prosperity to the university during the monarch's reign. Meanwhile, he fought the Prince of Transylvania's backers at the university. Professors and scholars won over by Górski were reluctant to accept the proposals made by Báthory's bloc concerning a change in the university's attitude. Students even threatened to leave Krakow if they continued to be exposed to Báthory's option. Eventually, only after several days, out of respect for the Jagiellonian lineage in the person of Anna Jagiellon, at a general meeting the university recognised Báthory as the king of Poland. Aversion towards the Transylvanian prince was still present, since Báthory, the only serious candidate for the Polish crown, had not promised anything to the university⁵. At the same time, both the imperial envoys and Alfonso II's emissaries spoke of improving the university's infrastructure and bringing

³ Batory did not, however, study in Padua once, as previously thought. See: G. Gömöry, *Gdzie studiował Stefan Batory, albo narodziny legendy*, "Terminus", 16 (2014), no. 2 (31), pp. 169–173.

⁴ J. Besala, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1992; idem, A. Biedrzycka, *Stefan Batory*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 43, Warszawa–Krakow 2004/2005, pp. 114–129 (bibl.); see e.g. T. Csorba, *A humanista Báthory István*, Budapest 1944; I. Horn, *A könnyező krokodil: Jagelló Anna és Báthory István házassága*, Budapest 2007; eadem, *Báthory István uralkodói portréja*, in: *Portré és imázs – Politikai propaganda és reprezentáció a kora újkorban*, eds. N. G. Etényi, I. Horn Ildikó, Budapest 2008, pp. 363–401; L. Makkai, *Stefan Batory w Siedmiogrodzie*, Warszawa 1961; K. Olejnik, *Stefan Batory 1533–1586*, Warszawa 1988; *Stefan Batory – król Rzeczypospolitej i książę Siedmiogrodu. Báthory István lengyel király és erdélyi fejedelem*, eds. A. Körmendy, R. Lolo, Pułtusk 2008; E. Veress, *Báthory István király (terror hostium)*, Budapest 1937; W. Zakrzewski, *Po ucieczce Henryka. Dzieje bezkrólestwa 1574–1575*, Krakow 1878.

⁵ Giuseppe Moletto, *L'Efemeridium [...] per anni XVIII [1563–1580], Venetia 1563–10 III 1576* (Jagiellonian Library, Cim. Q. 5531); Notes of professor Marcin Glicjusz (18 I–11 II 1576), in: Cyprian Leovitius, *Ephemeridium Novum Atque Insigne Opus ab Anno Domini 1556 usque in 1606. accuratissimè supputatum: cui præter alia omnia in cæteris editionibus addi solita, etiam hæc accesserunt I. Eclipsium Typi Elegantissimi. II. Expedita Ratio Constituendi Coelestis thematis, cum tabulis [...]. III. Brevis Ratio Geneses Iudicandi, cum novis quibusdam observationibus & electionum methodo [...]. IIII. Loca Stellarum Fixarum ab Anno Domini 1349. usque in 2029. diligenter annotata. V. Themata Qvatvor Anni Temporum, cum brevi declaratione revolutionis mundi [...]. Excudebat Augustae Vindelicorum Philippus Ulhardus*, Augsburg 1557 (Jagiellonian Library, Cim. 8420); H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 467–469; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, p. 81; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości*, p. 280.

scholars from Italy and Germany⁶. The fact that the king had taken the Jesuits under his care was another source of conflict with the university. According to the professors, the order posed a serious threat to the Krakow University's monopoly for learning in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, even more so that the Jesuits did not collect tuition fees from their pupils or students⁷. The professor's concerns were reinforced after the establishment of the Jesuit Vilnius University at Báthory's initiative in 1578⁸. Also, the background to those events was the scholarly decline of the Krakow University, which was moving away from humanism. However, the scale of the decline is disputable and requires further research and comparison of the findings with the situation in other universities of the era⁹. Neverthe-

⁶ Świętosław Orzelski, *Interregni Poloniae libros*, ed. E. Kuntze, in: *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 22, Cracoviae 1917, pp. 381, 490 (Alfonso II's emissaries: *Cracoviensem scholam viris doctis cuiusvis professionis instruet, artifices muniendarum atrium adducet suisque sumptibus fovebit* and imperial envoys: *Cracoviae Academiam novis stipendiis atque viris doctissimis ex Italia et Germania accitis augeat*); see also Reinhold Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski do śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do roku 1594 ksiąg XII*, ed. J. Byliński, W. Kaczorowski, Opole 2015, p. 182–184; *Kronika polska, litewska, żmódzka i wszytskiej Rusi Macieja Strzykowskiego*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1846, p. 423; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 468–469.

⁷ See more: B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, passim; H. Barycz, *Geneza i autorstwo „Equitis Poloniae in jesuitas actio prima”*, Krakow 1934; idem, *Alma Mater Jagellonica. Studia i szkice z przeszłości Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*, Krakow 1958, pp. 134–169; J. Bieniarzówna, *Schylek świętości*, in: eadem, J.M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 2: *Krakow w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, Krakow 1984, pp. 316–319; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 305–334; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji*, pp. 278–284; H. Barycz, *Alma Mater Jagellonica*, pp. 134–169; W. Szymborski, *Uniwersytet contra Towarzystwo Jezusowe*, „Alma Mater”, 161/162 (2013/2014), pp. 46–49; J. Sondel, *Słownik historii i tradycji Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Krakow 2012, pp. 586–590; J. Łukaszewska-Haberkowa, *PROPHETIA HILDEGARDIS. Autorytet Hildegardy z Bingen w sporach między jezuitami i Akademią Krakowską*, „Roczniki Filozoficzne KUL”, 56 (2008), no. 2, pp. 345–358; J. Paszenda, *Kościół św. Barbary w Krakowie z domem zakonnym księży jezuitów. Historia i architektura*, Krakow–Wrocław 1985 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 125); J. Poplatek, *Studia jezuitów polskich w Akademii Krakowskiej w XVI w.*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 20 (1964), pp. 77–111. See also: M. Nowicki, *Wychowanie w staropolskich szkołach jezuickich. Pomiędzy duchowością a świeckością*, „Humaniora. Czasopismo Internetowe”, 2 [10] (2015), pp. 23–33; J. Łukaszewska-Haberkowa, *Wpływ pierwszego pokolenia polskich jezuitów na życie kulturalne i religijne Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w latach 1564–1608*, Krakow 2014 (Studia i materiały do dziejów jezuitów polskich, 25); J. Kochanowicz, *Wychowanie w szkołach jezuickich okresu staropolskiego*, in: *Pedagogika ignacjańska: historia, teoria, praktyka*, ed. A. Królikowska, Krakow 2010, pp. 205–236; idem, *Bezpłatne szkolnictwo jezuickie jako wyzwanie dla Akademii Krakowskiej*, in: *Z dziejów polskiej teorii i praktyki edukacyjnej*, ed. W. Szulakiewicz, Toruń 2009, pp. 115–126; K. Puchowski, *Jezuickie kolegia szlacheckie Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów: studium z dziejów edukacji elit*, Gdańsk 2007; *Wkład jezuitów polskich do nauki i kultury w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami*, ed. I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, Krakow-Warsaw 2004; *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce*, oprac. R. Darowski, J. Paszenda, Krakow 1994; *Jezuici a kultura polska*, eds. L. Grzebień, S. Obirek, Krakow 1993; S. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce*, Krakow 1933; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Walka z różnowierstwem*, Lwów 1900; J. Paszenda, *Cztery wieki Jezuitów w Krakowie*, in: *Studia z historii Jezuitów*, ed. S. Nawrocki SJ, Krakow 1983, pp. 135–172; A. Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College system*, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 1986; J. Niedźwiedz, *Jesuit Education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, „Journal of Jesuit Studies”, 5 (2018), no. 3, pp. 441–455.

⁸ J. Bieliński, *Uniwersytet Wileński (1579–1831)*, vol. 1, Krakow 1899, pp. 31–53; L. Piechnik, *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej 1570–1599*, Rzym 1984, pp. 56–58; P. Rabikauskas, *Założenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, „Lithuania”, 4 (1994), pp. 21–27; S. Bednarski, *Geneza Akademii Wileńskiej*, in: *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, vol. 1: *Z dziejów dawnego Uniwersytetu*, Wilno 1929, pp. 1–22.

⁹ T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 24, 147–148; see also: J. Bieniarzówna, *Schylek świętości*, p. 319; A. Bryk, *Jakub Janidło z Bodzentyna*, in: *Złota Księga Wydziału Prawa i Administracji*, eds. J. Stelmach, W. Uruszczak, Krakow 2000, p. 92; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji*, pp. 252–307.

less, the formulaic interpretation of Aristoteles's works and Scholasticism dominated the Krakow curricula. Note that theology lectures were still based on Peter Lombard's *Book of Four Sentences*, and Thomism became obligatory part of the curriculum as late as the early 17th century. Although the need for reform was clearly felt, the professors were conservative in this respect, and if they agreed to any changes, they were merely of a cosmetic nature. In the meantime, the university was losing its international character; foreign students or professors were seldom seen. Thus, it became a local higher education institution recruiting students and teachers mainly from Poland, especially its southern parts¹⁰. All of those factors undoubtedly affected the relations between Báthory and Krakow's *Alma Mater*. Thanks to surviving sources we are able to study them in detail, although an interpretation of Báthory's specific decisions, sometimes mutually contradictory, may present certain difficulties. Let us then go back to the events in our story. When it became clear that in the competition between Emperor Maximilian and Stephen Báthory the latter is going to prevail, the professors decided to appease the new monarch. To this end, they sent a delegation with eminent scholar Marcin Glicjusz to Mogiła near Krakow, where the king was staying before he entered the capital¹¹. Moreover, when Báthory was ceremonially entering Krakow, the entire university stepped forward to welcome him¹². The monarch responded accordingly and on 29th May 1576 he even came to the seat of the university, and his entry in the guestbook survives to this day¹³. Another courtesy gesture of the monarch was the appointment of Stanisław Sokołowski, a famous university theologian, to the position of the royal preacher¹⁴. In view of the king's acts, the professors believed that the relations with the king had stabilised. They hoped that Báthory would also help them solve their financial problems related, for example, to collecting money from debtors. The king did not fail them in this matter, as he issued two documents ordering that the university's claims be satisfied¹⁵. At the same time, in 1577 the

¹⁰ Jagiellonian University Archives, MS 47½, pp. 1–29; Jagiellonian Library, MS 1171 III, pp. 1–9v; *Statuta Uniwersytetu krakowskiego*, ed. J. Szujski, „Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce”, vol. 2, Krakow 1882, pp. 367–400; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 146, 174–175, 189–195, 266, 269; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji*, pp. 252–258; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 404, 485–486, 561–562; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, pp. 83–84; K. Stopka, *Od założenia do schyłku XVIII w.*, in: K. Stopka, A.K. Banach, J. Dybiec, *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, ed. J. Wyrzumiński, Krakow 2000, pp. 9–84.

¹¹ Notes of professor Marcin Glicjusz (19 IV 1576); H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 469–470.

¹² Świętosław Orzelski, *Interregni Poloniae libros*, p. 628; notes of Professor Marcin Glicjusz (23 IV 1576); H. Barycz, *Historja*, p. 470.

¹³ Jagiellonian Library, MS 1795, pp. 5–7; [...] *Die autem XXVIII May eiusdem Anni in tercio Rectoratu Clarissimi viri Jacobi Górszy iuris utriusq. Doctor. Canonici Plocen. nomen suum in Album Rectoris dedit ac ipse manu sua inscripsit Universitatis se patronum fore proessus ac bonum et fortunas eius se semper promoturum Regia fide promisit et recepit*. See also H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 470, 723; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, p. 82.

¹⁴ Marcin Bielski, *Kronika*, vol. 3, ed. K.J. Turowski, Sanok 1856, p. 1388–1389; *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis ab anno 1441 ad annum 1589*, ed. H. Barycz, Krakow 1933, p. 372; notes of professor Marcin Glicjusz (12 XII 1576); L. Grzebień, *Sokołowski Stanisław*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 40, Warsaw–Krakow 2000–2001, pp. 183–189; H.E. Wyczawski, *Sokołowski (Socolovius) Stanisław*, in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1983, pp. 132–136; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji*, p. 291; H. Barycz, *Historja*, p. 470; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, p. 82; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 265–266.

¹⁵ *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, pp. 370 and n.; *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis*, vol. 5, ed. Ż. Pauli, Cracoviae 1900, nos. 451–452; H. Barycz, *Historja*, p. 470; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, pp. 82–83.

Council of Piotrków passed a number of resolutions raising the university's hopes for an improvement of its financial circumstances and aid from the Polish clergy. The Council appealed to the king to grant some profitable benefice to the university, to which Báthory responded favorably, promising that he would grace the institution with learned men and "ensure that it is not regarded as the worst academy in Christendom"¹⁶. Imagine then how puzzled the Krakow professors were when over the next few months the monarch, together with the University of Padua's former rector (Chancellor Jan Zamoyski)¹⁷ made considerable efforts to implement the plan for the establishment of a Royal College in Krakow, following the example of the French Royal College founded by Francis I. The Krakow college was to employ professors invited from abroad especially for this purpose. Báthory justified his idea as follows: *Erigendum igitur Cracoviae novum regium gymnasium esse existimavimus ad instar gymnasii regii Cameracensis Paressiis a domino Francisco primo Galiarum rege conditi, in quo suis horis artes quaelibet ac facultates ingenuae, theologia, jurisprudentia, medicina, philosophia, disciplinae mathematicae, humaniores et literae ac linguae doceantur. Ad quod quidem gymnasium illustrandum doctores ex regionibus exteris accersendos putavimus*¹⁸.

How can such steps on part of the king be explained? In our opinion, Báthory had, for some time, probably pretended to be benevolent towards the university in order to conceal his real intentions to carry out a reform of higher education in Poland. He behaved in this way so as not to spark any protests on the part of professors and their numerous protectors, and to 'test the waters'. In doing so, he must have been motivated by the poor financial and academic situation at the university in Krakow – as well as Zamoyski's advice. Undoubtedly, the king did not like the policy of the university authorities in that they turned a blind eye towards the students' anti-dissident pranks. This was met with a strong reaction on part of Báthory, who addressed a special decree to the academics in the matter¹⁹. The king's plans, also those in which he wanted to limit the university's autonomy, came to nothing; one of the reasons was the objection of Piotr Myszkowski, who was the Bishop of Krakow and the university's chancellor. Many influential supporters, such as Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, were keen to help the university. However, the fact that most renowned academics from abroad refused to come to Krakow was the main reason of the failure of the king's

¹⁶ H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 471–473.

¹⁷ At that time, Poles studied in Padua very often. Cf. Archivio Antico dell'Università di Padova, vol. 487: *Acta inclytæ Nationis Polonae*; S. Windakiewicz, *Materyaly do historii Polaków w Padwie*, Krakow 1891; idem, *Padwa. Studium z dziejów cywilizacji polskiej*, Krakow 1881; idem, *Protokoły nacyi polskiej w Padwie*, Krakow 1887; idem, *Księgi nacyi polskiej w Padwie*, Krakow 1888; D. Żołędz-Sztrzelczyk, *Idealy edukacyjne doby staropolskiej: stanowe modele i potrzeby edukacyjne szesnastego i siedemnastego wieku*, Warsaw 1990.

¹⁸ *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 4: *Początki panowania w Polsce Stefana Batorego 1575 do 1577. Listy, uniwersały, instrukcje*, ed. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1877, pp. 177–179; see also: Jagiellonian Library, MS 164, p. 225; *Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici in Polonia epistolarum et actorum, pars I, aa. 1581–1582*, eds. E. Kuntze, Cz. Nanke, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 5, Krakow 1923–1933, no. 429; *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 2, ed. A. Theiner, Romae 1856, p. 316; *Archivium Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 1: *1533–1579*, ed. W. Sobieski, Warsaw 1904, nos. 132, 137–140, 152, 159, 175, 176, 183, 184, 186; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 145–146; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości*, p. 280; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 474–478; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, pp. 84–86; S. Lempicki, *Działalność Jana Zamoyskiego na polu szkolnictwa 1573–1605*, Krakow 1921, pp. 20–53.

¹⁹ *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, p. 373; *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis*, vol. 5, no. 455.

plans²⁰. As a result, Báthory realized that he had to build good relations with professors, at least for some time²¹. A measure of some degree of stability in the relations with Krakow professors was the grant of a prestigious benefice – the provostry in St. Florian’s Collegiate Church – to the university on 12 December 1578, with the caveat that the benefice should be granted to a nominated distinguished professor. The provost was to reside at the church and obtain, among others, villages with manors in Skawce near Wadowice and in Bieńczyce (today part of Krakow, more specifically of Nowa Huta) as part of his remuneration. Stanisław Sokołowski, the royal preacher and theologian, was the first provost to receive the honor; in the next years the benefice was granted to the university’s honorable theologians such as Marcin Wadowita²². As we know, Stephen Báthory, had up to that point, firmly been defending the rights of dissidents attacked by Krakow students. Then, he decided that the university should not be blamed for the students’ pranks, as it is without guilt, and that both sides of the conflict should make peace. At the same time, he threatened to execute those who incited unrest, and he authorized the royal court to deal with the students’ criminal acts. He also curtailed the letting of lodgings in the city and allowed beggar students to beg for money only during mealtimes. He also ordered the rector to allow everyone, regardless of their social status or religious denomination, to attend university classes and lectures²³. In practice, the king’s decisions were never enforced. For example, the rector’s court still heard most cases concerning students’ misbehavior in the city and, with a few

²⁰ E. g. S. Lempicki, *Działalność Jana Zamoyskiego*, pp. 36–53; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 476–478.

²¹ J. Sołtykiewicz, *O stanie Akademii Krakowskiej od założenia jej w roku 1347, aż do teraźniejszego czasu. Krótki wykład historyczny. Nayaśnieyszemu Panu Fryderykowi Augustowi, Królowi Saskiemu, Xiążęciu Warszawskiemu na posiedzeniu publicznem Szkoły Głównej dnia 10 maja roku 1810 podany*, Krakow 1810, p. 194.

²² Jagiellonian University Archives, MS 44, pp. 119–124; Archives of the Collegiate Church of St. Florian in Krakow, sygn. 98, pp. 6–30; Jagiellonian Library, MS 1795, p. 7; *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis*, vol. 5, nos. 462–463, 466, 468, 476; *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, p. 381; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości*, p. 280; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 483–484; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, pp. 87–88; S. Lempicki, *Działalność Jana Zamoyskiego*, pp. 50–51; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 116–130.

²³ Jagiellonian Library, MS 1795, p. 7; notes of professor Marcin Glicjusz (21 X 1578); *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa (1507–1795)*, vol. 1, ed. F. Piekosiński, Krakow 1885, no. 268; *Kronika Zboru Ewangelickiego Krakowskiego przez X. Wojciecha Węgierskiego*, Krakow 2007, pp. 78–86; Marcin Bielski, *Kronika*, vol. 3, p. 1442; *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595*, ed. H. Barycz, Krakow 1930 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 70), p. 24; S. Lempicki, *Działalność Jana Zamoyskiego*, p. 50; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 480–482. See also: Jagiellonian University Archives, MS 18, pp. 79–80: [...] *scriptae erant in causa inter evangelicos et studiosos Universitatis negotium omne domino rectori in convocatione, die ut supra habita, fuit commissum. Itaque die 25 Maii ad locum destinatum in stubam Collegii Maioris venerunt cum magna caterva multi magnifici et nobiles viri religionis, ut vocatur, evangelicae, quorum nomine magnificus dominus Sapieha, M. Ducatus Lithwanie vicecancellarius, gravi cum querela proposuit, quod die cum funus illustrissimi herois et vere catholici domini Nicolai Mielieckiego, palatini Podoliensis, cum pompa digna tanto senatore more catholico deduceretur, extra etiam suburbia ad locum sagittariorum alias na Strzelnicze, studiosi et pueri, relicto processionum ordine, ad locum, in quo eiusdem religionis hominum cadavera sepeliuntur, impetu cum ingentibus clamoribus facto portam fregerint, busta saxea et marmorea locis suis dimoverint, diruerint et confregerint, petens, ut omnino propter magnitudinem facti, delinquentes tanquam violatores confaederationis pacis publicae, ex praescripto cuiusdam edicti regii de data Cracoviae 27 Octobris anni 1578, facti puniantur. Multa alii quoque ad exaggerandum factum adferebant et veteres etiam iniurias revocabant. Verendum esse, ne si hoc impune abiret res aliquando ad seditionem et, quod Deus avertat, ad bellum intestinum deveniat. Ut autem inquisitio inter studiosos fieri possit commodior obtulerunt extractum et protocolo consuli Cracoviensis sub sigillo, in quo quaedam inquisitio super eo negotio ibidem habita continebatur, petentes, ut interea non legatur publice, donec a domino rectore alia etiam inter studiosos fieret.*

exceptions, people of other religions were not admitted to the university. What is more, when attaining academic degrees – such as a bachelor's or a doctoral degree – the Catholic confession of faith was required. Back then, the university was seen as a Polish bastion of Catholicism, a view which pleased even papal nuncios, who were afraid of further progress of the Reformation in Poland²⁴. In any case, at the end of 1578 it seemed that the relations between the university and the king, who visited Collegium Maius on 27 November, were improving. This time the king's visit lasted many hours. He gladly listened, together with nuncio Caligari and Jan Zamoyski, to Maronius's dispute and took a detailed tour of the university's library²⁵. In the next year, again sensing the king's good will, the university decided to profoundly reform its curricula, becoming slightly more open to humanistic works, as well as to introduce up-to-date textbooks for certain subjects²⁶. This also led to a resolution of 1586 on opening private institutions, later known as Nowodworski Colleges, which were schools preparing students for higher education, based on modernised schooling. Their actual opening took place only two years later²⁷. However, this apparent harmony in relations between the king and the university lasted for a very short time. After all, the formation of the Jesuit Vilnius University, supported by the king, raised many concerns, depriving the Krakow University of the monopoly for higher education in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. As the years went by, Báthory more and more clearly demonstrated that not only did he support the Jesuit mission in Krakow, but also the opening of a college run by the order in the capital. The Jesuit institution was then a special substitute of the Royal College which had been planned before. In addition, king Stephen wished to create a network of Jesuit Colleges all over the country, allocating income from a large part of the abbeys²⁸. Eventually, in the royal memorandum sent to the Holy See, plans for the Jesuit College in Krakow were abandoned so as not to “offend the Univer-

²⁴ I. A. Caligarii nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta 1578–1581, ed. L. Boratyński, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4. Cracoviae 1915, no. 25; *Annales Ecclesiastici*, pp. 401–403; E. Rykaczewski, *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, Poznań–Berlin 1864, p. 140; J. Sondel, *Słownik historii i tradycji*, pp. 456, 1047–1048; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 308, 482–483; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, p. 241; W. Urban, *Akademia krakowska w latach 1549–1632*, pp. 275–277.

²⁵ Jagiellonian Library, MS 1795, p. 7: [...] *et Die 27 Novembris act. publicam disputationem in maius collegium, magno cum comitatu venit, disputantes Theologos magna attentione audivit unam cum legato Summi Pontificis Ioanne Andrea Calgario finitam disputatione, Bibliothecam ingressus supellectilem librorum ac instrumenta mathematica diligenter spectavit probavitq. utq. suae benevolentiae et liberalitatis suae erga Academiam signum daret ius patronatus praepositurae ad Sancti Floriani universae Academiae donavit. In quarto rectoratu Iacobi Górszky. See also notes of professor Marcin Glicjusz (27 XI 1578); Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow, MS 1617, p. 584; S. Lempicki, *Działalność Jana Zamoyskiego*, p. 50; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 483, 723; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, p. 87.*

²⁶ H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 484–487; S. Lempicki, *Działalność Jana Zamoyskiego*, pp. 36–53; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, p. 146.

²⁷ Jagiellonian University Archives, MS 33, pp. 363–364, 378; *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, pp. 436, 445–447, 452. See also: H. Barycz, *Historia Szkół Nowodworskich. Od założenia do reformy H. Kollątaja*, Krakow 1988; J. Bąk, *Semper in altum. Z Dziejów Szkół Nowodworskich*, Krakow 1976; T. Graff, *Szkoly Nowodworskie w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów – do reformy kollątajowskiej w 1777 roku*, in: *420 lat Szkół Nowodworskich 1588–2008*, eds. T. Graff, G. Urbanek, Krakow 2008, pp. 7–38; idem, *Wokół fundacji i benefaktorów Szkół Nowodworskich w Krakowie*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia”, 19 (2013), pp. 159–176.

²⁸ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, no. 54, 118; vol. 5, nos. 133, 429; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 488–494; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 43–67; W. Szymborski, *Collegium Broscianum*, Krakow 2014, pp. 17–23.

sity, which rendered great service for the Catholic faith²⁹. So Báthory did not prove firm in this matter, although he was convinced of the Jesuits' higher level of schooling. Luigi Odescalchi, one of the Jesuits who came to Krakow, even boasted in a letter to the Superior General that the king experienced it first-hand in Vilnius³⁰. However, the matter was not as easy as Odescalchi claimed, as Báthory wondered if due to the effective action of the university's supporters, headed by bishop Myszkowski, it would be better to send the Jesuit mission to Transylvania, namely to Kolozsvár. This is how he made his case to Antonio Possevino, who was a Jesuit and papal envoy³¹. Without doubt, Báthory respected the opinion of the Krakow University and its defenders. For example, he was greatly impressed by bishop Myszkowski's warning in the matter³². The professors themselves were quite sensitive on the subject of the Jesuits, being perfectly aware of their unstoppable expansion in other academic centers in Europe³³. This sometimes caused undue concern, and even hysteria. For example, when a large number of Jesuits arrived in Krakow in 1579 in order to organize their mission to Transylvania, professors immediately raised alarm, believing that the order wants to open its school in Krakow. Nuncio Calagari mockingly stated that at that time in Krakow the Jesuits caused sheer panic, while prominent representatives of other denominations were welcomed often quite enthusiastically³⁴.

However, until as late as the Polish-Muscovy war, in the face of Báthory protracted stay in Livonia, the relations between the king and the Krakow University were rather harmonious³⁵. Although the king did not support the university, he suppressed any acts on part of the Jesuits aimed at establishing a college in Krakow, or at least at gaining some influence at the university. However, upon his return from a victorious war, Báthory again took the side of the Jesuits. Nevertheless, he kept warning the order: "Admittedly, we may

²⁹ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 5, no. 429; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, p. 45.

³⁰ B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 43–44.

³¹ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, no. 123; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 44, 46.

³² B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, p. 47.

³³ See e.g. *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, vol. 1:1347/48–1622, ed. M. Svatoš, Praha 1995, pp. 247–252; *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, vol. 2: 1622–1802, ed. I. Čornejová, Praha 1996, pp. 33–34; Z. Winter, *Děje vysokých škol pražských ad secessi cizích národů po dobu bitvy bělohorské (1409–1622)*, Praha 1897, pp. 201–204; R.T. Tomczak, *Graficzna teza akademicka Andrzeja Kuropatnickiego*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 55 (2017), p. 195; G. Heiss, *Die Wiener Jesuiten und das Studium der Theologie und der Artes an der Universität und im Kolleg im ersten Jahrzehnt nach ihrer Berufung (1551)*, in: *Die Universität Wien im Konzert europäischer Bildungszentren 14–16. Jahrhundert*, Hrsg. von K. Mühlberger, M. Niederkorn-Bruck, Wien–München 2010, (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 56), pp. 245–269; K. Mühlberger, *Universität und Jesuitenkolleg in Wien. Von der Berufung des Ordens bis zum Bau des Akademischen Kollegs*, in: *Die Jesuiten in Wien*, Hrsg. von H. Karner, W. Telesko, Wien 2003, (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Kunstgeschichte*, 5), pp. 21–30; K. Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten. Zur Geschichte der Universitäten in der Oberdeutschen und Rheinischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu im Zeitalter der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung*, Paderborn 1981 (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, Neue Folge, 2); T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 307–309; M. Zdaneek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości*, pp. 281–282.

³⁴ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, no. 175; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, p. 46.

³⁵ See: Jakub Górski, *Orationes gratulatoriae apud Serenissimum Regem Poloniae Stephanum Batorem, diuersis temporibus habitae, quator, Cracoviae 1582*; H. Barycz, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, pp. 90–91.

allow the college to be established, but to what avail if without the bishop's support and kindness?"³⁶ So the deadlock still persisted. Reports of the dispute on the educational system with the university were sent to Rome not only by the Jesuits but also by new nuncio Albert Bolognetti. The king himself promised the provincial superior of the Jesuits and the papal nuncio that he would do everything to shift the balance in favor of the order; on the other hand he also emphasized that his hands were tied because of bishop Myszkowski's adamant stance. Interestingly, he also assured the university and the bishop that the Jesuits would not open a college in Krakow³⁷. He clearly adopted a strategy of saying things which each party of the conflict would like to hear, without taking definite action. Perhaps he also hoped that if he managed to obtain St. Barbara's Church in Krakow for the Jesuits, he would surely satisfy their demands, at least for some time³⁸. Therefore, the university's consent in 1583 to establish the college in Krakow with the proviso that the Jesuits' students were subordinated to the university rector, had to come as a shock to the king³⁹. Surprised by such a turn of events, Báthory spoke frankly of Krakow's professors: "at last they have grown weary of the insubordination they showed us when we sought for the College to be erected"⁴⁰. However, the Jesuit College was not established at that time, even though nuncio Bolognetti hope that with Báthory's help he would follow through with his work. More and more obstacles on part of the university piled up, as some academics protested against the agreement for the undertaking⁴¹. Still, the Jesuits' influence on the university was growing. Not only did they attract young people to their sodality, but also many former students, bachelors and masters of the Krakow University joined the order. Let me just mention Piotr Skarga, a renowned Jesuit preached who obtained his baccalaureate in Krakow's *Alma Mater*⁴². During the last 3 years of his life Báthory tried to change the university's attitude towards the Jesuits with a prospect of increasing its income. He even promised to donate the first vacant abbey to the professors⁴³. At the same time, Possevino agreed to act as an intermediary between the king and the university in the matter of securing additional income for the latter. By doing so he hoped that the agreement of 1583 would come

³⁶ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Germ. 160, f. 144; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 59–60.

³⁷ *Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici in Polonia epistolarum et actorum, pars II, aa. 1583*, ed. E. Kuntze, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, Krakow 1938, nos. 20, 57, 78; Jan Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego o.o. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1579 do r. 1599 (włącznie)*, in: *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 7, Kraków 1881, p. 29; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI*, pp. 60–65.

³⁸ *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595*, p. 20; *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, no. 20; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 64–65.

³⁹ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Pol. 70, f. 162; *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, nos. 43, 45, 57; Jan Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego*, pp. 35–36; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 494–495; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 66–71; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 306–307; W. Szymborski, *Collegium Broscianum*, pp. 22–23.

⁴⁰ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, no. 49; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, p. 71.

⁴¹ B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 71–76.

⁴² Piotr Skarga, *Artes duodecim Sacramentarium seu Zvingliocalvinistarum*, Vilnae [1582], p. 394; J. Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga. Szermierz kontrreformacji*, Warsaw 1978, pp. 20–22; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości*, pp. 283–284; T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, p. 307; J. Poplatek, *Studia jezuitów polskich w Akademii Krakowskiej w XVI w.*, pp. 77–111.

⁴³ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, nos. 303–304; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 81; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji*, p. 265.

into effect and that the professors would accept the Jesuit's possession of St. Stephen's Church. Possevino managed to win the king's support in the latter, and indeed two years later Báthory caused the church to be taken over by the order for the purpose of establishing a monastic novitiate (finally opened in 1589)⁴⁴. The Jesuits gradually withdrew from their plans to open a college in Krakow, hoping that their other initiatives would develop. The king himself agreed to support the opening of the Jesuit College in Poznań (*spem non dubiam amplificandi et locupletandi Collegi Posnaniensis attulit*), which created new potential for a deterioration in his relations with the Krakow University⁴⁵. Interestingly, apart from an outcry on the part of the Krakow academics, the initiative was met with a negative reaction of the rector of the Jesuit University in Vilnius. This definitely contributed to the abandonment of the plans by the Superior General⁴⁶. At that point, the relations between the Krakow professors and the king were rather strained and it was only Chancellor Jan Zamoyski who supported the university, for example by designing its next reform⁴⁷. Meanwhile, academics were trying to arouse the king's interest in backing the university. To this end, they even sent a delegation, calling him *litterarum et litteratorum amantissimus*⁴⁸. Unfortunately, their efforts proved fruitless. The king wrote to academics only on minor matters, as in his letter from Grodno of 18 April 1586 on printing Gregorian calendars⁴⁹. Paradoxically, it was Báthory's wife Anna Jagiellon, treated so coldly by her spouse, who back then started treating the university much more favourably. The first sign of her interest was her visit in Collegium Maius on 23 April 1584⁵⁰. From then onwards,

⁴⁴ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Germ. 161, f. 320; *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, nos. 288, 303, 421; *Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici in Polonia epistolarum et actorum, pars III Fasc. I (m. Jan.-Jun. 1584)*, ed. E. Kuntze, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 7, Krakow 1939–1948, nos. 17, 28, 72, 88; Jan Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego*, pp. 38–40, 56, 76, 82, 88; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 494–496; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 77 and n.

⁴⁵ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Germ. 162, f. 173; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 85–86. See also: Z. Boras, *Jezuici w Poznaniu i starania o przekształcenie ich kolegium w uniwersytet*, [w:] *Alma Mater Posnaniensis. W 80. rocznicę utworzenia Uniwersytetu w Poznaniu*, eds P. Hauser, T. Jasiński, J. Topolski, Poznań 1999, pp. 59–76.

⁴⁶ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Germ. 167, f. 11; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 87–88.

⁴⁷ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, no. 123; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 497–498; idem, *Szkice z dziejów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, pp. 92–94.

⁴⁸ *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, p. 411: *In qua quidem convocacione propositum fuit per rectorem et deliberatum de incommodis et exiguis proventibus magistrorum in Academia laborantium. Post longam tandem deliberationem huic malo hoc remedium est inventum, ut serenissimus Rex Stephanus, litterarum et litteratorum amantissimus, conveniatur, nomineque totius Universitatis quam diligentissime petatur, velit in hanc sententiam pro sua clementia descendere, ut professores Universitatis Cracoviensis provisionem honestam et laborum suorum proemium condignum habere possint. Cui sententiae ab omnibus est ascriptum professoribus, atque ad hoc negotium praelegendum reverendos ac egregios viros elegerunt, qui defectus Universitatis diligentissime Maiestati Regiae exponerent*. See also: H. Barycz, *Historja*, p. 499.

⁴⁹ See also e.g. *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis*, vol. 5, nos. 460–461, 464–465, 469, 471–472.

⁵⁰ Jagiellonian University Archives, MS 18, p.71: [...] *Ad instantiam venerabilium decani canonicorum et totius capituli ecclesiae collegiatae sanctae Annae citati venerabiles Josephus Wrzedowius, Nicolaus Czerwienszczus et Paulus Lodensis, magistri, collegae maiores, et sancti Floriani ecclesiae collegiatae canonici, ad perhibendum testimonium veritatis in causa aureorum quinquaginta per serenissimam regalem Maiestatem in anno praesenti, die 24 Aprilis, sub votiva solemniter in eadem ecclesia sanctae Annae ibidem oblatorum. Quorum singuli tactis sacrosanctis Evangelis iuramento praestito sigillatim et concorditer responderunt se interfuisse in habitatione rectoris Universitatis, tunc ibidem congregata tota communitate Collegii Maioris, ad postulationem*

the queen made many friendly gestures towards the university, and offered increasingly generous legacies, for example for the *Bursa Pauperum*. Nine years after her husband's death, she donated 500 Polish złoty for his anniversary⁵¹. By doing so, she made sure that Báthory would constantly be remembered in prayers behind the walls of Poland's oldest university. After many years, Báthory was alive in the memory of Krakow professors mostly because he had allowed the university to obtain the wealthy provostry of St. Florian's. Nevertheless, later generations of academics did not remember the monarch's wavering policy towards the university. The issue is certainly a part of the currently popular research on the so-called "Culture of Remembrance", and deserves to be investigated more broadly in the future, which will allow us to present Báthory in the context of Krakow's academic tradition⁵².

To sum up, at this point we should ask a fundamental question: how should a contemporary historian evaluate the relations between king Báthory and the Krakow University in the context of the prospect of reform and development faced by the system of education in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth? It seems that the king should be given credit for his innovative plans for a radical transformation of secondary and higher education, by the establishment of the Vilnius University and the Royal College in Krakow, as well as support for the network of Jesuit schools, although the lack of a realistic plan to reform the Krakow University deserves criticism. Please note that only a part of his grand design was ultimately implemented. Certainly the lack of possibility of a full implementation of the king's plans in some way reflects the social and political realities of 16th century Poland, as well as the clash between the theoretical intentions of the Transylvanian-born monarch and real life. The king had to take not only the absence of a broad response on the part of foreign academics to his invitation but also the opinion and reactions of local noblemen and the university itself into account. Although the university was clearly in a state of crisis, it did have numerous and rich supporters, who defended its monopolistic aspirations, suffice it to mention the attitude of bishop Piotr Myszkowski, the university's chancellor. The educational dispute between the university and Jesuits lasted for the following decades (in 1634 the Jesuits finally had to close their Krakow college they had recently opened)⁵³.

*reverendi domini Caspar Sadlocha, scholastici Warschowiensis secretariique Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis, et se vidisse, quia idem secretarius nomine maiestatis regalis obtulit venerabili communitati Maioris Collegii cyphum aureum, monumentum ipsius maiestatis regalis praesentiae in eodem Collegio Maiori serenissimorum Jagelonum praedecessorum suorum fundatorum et dotatorum eiusdem Collegii [...]. See also: Jagiellonian Library, MS 1795, pp. 8–9; 226 III, p. 141; notes of professor Marcin Glicjusz (24 IV 1584 and n.); *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 3 (1551–1606), ed. A. Chmiel, Cracoviae 1904, p. 135.*

⁵¹ Jagiellonian Library, MS 226 III, p. 141, 160–162; notes of professor Marcin Glicjusz (24 IV 1584); *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis*, vol. 5, no. 495; *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, pp. 418–419, 434, 438–439, 445, 452; *Ułamek pamiętnika profesora krakowskiego z początku XVII wieku*, ed. A. Karbowski, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 14 (1900), p. 223; H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 499–500, 723–724.

⁵² C. Corneliben, *Czym jest kultura pamięci? Pojęcie – metody – perspektywy*, in: *(Kon)teksty pamięci. Antologia*, ed. K. Kończal, Warsaw 2014, pp. 147–264; A. Assman, *Między historią a pamięcią. Antologia*, Warsaw 2013; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości w XV–XVI wieku*, pp. 17–22.

⁵³ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, FG 447 II, f. 541–580; Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, pp. 1056v–1058; MS 1170, pp. 75–78; MS 227, pp. 1074 and n.; MS 226 IV, pp. 483–483v; *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabularis Vaticanis de prompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita*, vol. 3: *A Sixto PP. V usque ad Innocentium PP. XII. 1585–1695*,

For many years to come, historians will disagree on whether the preservation of the Krakow University's monopoly for higher education in Poland and the suppression of the Jesuits' designs, which were motivated by state-of-the art *ratio studiorum*, was a positive or rather negative influence on the development of Polish culture and education as well as the shape of the Catholic reform⁵⁴. Consequently, Stephen Báthory's interactions with the Krakow University should be perceived in the context of much broader issues. The matter certainly needs more queries and discussions, also of a comparative nature, concerning, for example, other European universities in the late Renaissance and early Baroque period.

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⁵⁴ E.g. A.K. Banach, *Stosunek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego do powstania nowych ośrodków uniwersyteckich na ziemiach polskich do końca II Rzeczypospolitej*, „Rocznik Krakowski”, 64 (1998), p. 134; H. Barycz, *Alma Mater Jagellonica*, pp. 67–68; J. Bieniarzówna, *Schylek świętości*, pp. 318–319; Z. Boras *Tradycje uniwersyteckie Poznania*, Poznań 2003, p. 91. T. Graff, *Marcin Campius Wadowita*, pp. 332–333; L. Grzebień, *Poznańskie kolegium jezuickie na tle dziejów Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Wokół jezuickiej fundacji uniwersytetu z 1611 roku*, eds. D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, R. Witkowski, Poznań 2011, p. 75; B. Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, pp. 8–12 (ed.), 118–119; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji*, pp. 278–284; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości*, pp. 280–281.

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