

NAMES OF RELIGIOUS DISSENTERS IN JAKUB WUJEK'S *IUDICIUM* (1570)

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The paper aims to answer the question whether designations for religious dissenters used by Jakub Wujek reflect the actual multiplicity of reformed confessions existing at the time. The material has been excerpted from the first edition of *Iudicium* (Cracow, 1570). Considering the theme of the work, it could be said that Wujek's dissenting adversary is primarily an adherent of a Reformation denomination. The text features 49 names of religious followers and nearly one-third is related to the Reformation. More general names, such as *heretyk* [heretic], represent a particular group.

Key words: *Jakub Wujek, Jesuit Counter-Reformation, dissenters, Reformation, 16th century lexis*

The Reformation reached Poland a mere few years following Martin Luther's promulgation of his thesis, in the 1520s (Sienkiewicz 1991: 94), but an interest in the new doctrine became widespread only late in the third quarter of the century (Wójcik 2012: 236). The latter half of the 16th century was also a time of the Jesuit Counter-Reformation and fierce religious polemics, which caused the various Protestant factions to seek alliance in order to defend themselves against the Counter-Reformation (Tazbir 1967: 104).

In 1570, Mikołaj Szarfenberger's Cracow printing house published *Iudicium Albo Rozsądek niektórych Katholików o Co[n]fesiey Sędomierskiej [...]*. The text was anonymous, but the authorship was soon attributed to Jesuit Jakub Wujek. Let us remember that at the time Wujek, born in Wągrowiec in Greater Poland, was not a renowned champion of Catholicism. He received his holy orders in 1568 in Pułtusk, and dedicated himself to preaching (Kuźmina 2004: 51). *Iudicium* was his first text (Nowy Korbut 1965: 419), written in response to a document signed in 1570 in Sandomierz. It was entitled *Konfesya, albo Wyznanie Wiary Powszechnej Kościołów Chrześcijańskich Polskich z roku 1570*. As its

foundation, the factions adopted the *Helvetic Confession* translated by Krzysztof Treacy (Tazbir 1965: 106; Tokarczyk 1987: 91).

Wujek's *Iudicium*, Latin for *tribunal*, *judgement* (STL 2002: 223), assumes the form of a conversation between a Catholic and a 'konfessyjoniŝta' [Confessionist]. Since the assertions of the confessionist rely on *Konfesja Sandomierska*, the analysis in the present paper focuses solely on the utterances of the Catholic. Being a commentary to the said document, they reflect the language of the preacher (*Konfesja...* 1995: VII). Considering the theme of the work, it could be said that Wujek's dissenting adversary is primarily an adherent of a Reformation denomination. The text features 49 names of religious followers (the number does not include such lexical doublets as e.g. *luteran* and *luteryjan* [Lutheran]), and nearly one-third is related to the Reformation. More general names, such as *heretyk* [heretic], represent a particular group. The paper thus aims to answer the question whether designations for religious dissenters used by Jakub Wujek reflect the actual multiplicity of reformed confessions existing at the time. The material has been excerpted from the first edition of *Iudicium* available from the Lower Silesian Digital Library¹.

Thus far, the issue of the names of believers in Wujek's writings has been addressed on the margin of deliberations concerning linguistic depictions of religious dissenters in texts by this author, for instance by Danuta Kowalska (2000) or Jolanta Migdał (2005a; 2005b). However, none of these studies have examined the volume analysed in this paper.

Due to the dialogic formula of the text, the most frequent designations are *katolik* [Catholic] and *konfessyjoniŝta* [Confessionist], as in e.g.:

Confefs. Wedle podánia Apoftolŝkiego y ŝtórych Doktorow.

Cathol. [...] a wŝzák podánie Apoftolŝkie y ŝtórych Doktorow niŝey odrzucaćie. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 38²)

Furthermore, *konfessyjoniŝta* is often found in the margin, in the paragraph summary and in the inventory which recapitulates such summaries.

Throughout the text, the name *konfessyjoniŝta* is used by the author over 900 times, while *katolik* is repeated approximately 700 times. These

¹ J. Wujek, *Iudicium Albo Rozsądek niektórych Katholików o Co[n]fesiey Sędomierskiej [...]*, Kraków 1570, published by M. Szarfenberger, <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=5592> [dostęp: 14.10.2016].

² Numbers of pages where quotations are found follow the numbering of the scanned pages in the digital library.

are nearly all instances of the usage of *konfessyjonista* recorded in *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* (954 in the lexicon) and the majority of instances of *katolik* (1089). Hence, the large number of attested examples is not due to the fact that both lexemes became widespread owing to the new religious circumstances, but results from the dialogic form adopted by the writer in that text.

In *Iudicium*, synonyms to *katolik*, construed as ‘member of the Roman Catholic Church’ are few and far between: the names *łacinnik* [Latinist] and *powszechnik* [Universalist] occur either once or several times. The name *katolik* derives from the Greek *katholikós*, meaning ‘universal, general’, therefore the lexeme *powszechnik* draws on the Greek etymon, e.g.:

Mogłyć być **powszechnikow** nie ktorých vczynki złe / ale wiára Piotrowá / to ieft Rzymjka [...] nigdy niewstała. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 49)

Wujek employs the name *łacinnik* in opposition to *grek* [Greek], which stands for an adherent of the Eastern rite, e.g.:

[...] ináksza Mfza ieft u Grekow / á ináksza u **Láćinnikow** [...]. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 506)

The lexeme *konfessyjonista* is much broader in terms of semantic capacity. Wujek defines it in one of the Catholic’s lines as: “Cathol.

Wszak **C[on]fessionifte** potomkowie są Luterowi / [...]” (Wujek, *Iudicium*, pp. 57-58), and then adds: “iáko Helwetowie Zwingliuszowi y Kálwinowi [...]” (Ibidem), thus distinguishing between *konfessyjonisci* [pl.] – adherents of Luther from *helweci* [Helvetians], meaning adherents of Zwingli and Calvin. Wujek writes his text in 1570, when all three great Reformation leaders have died, while the differences between their doctrines have become clearly palpable. On the other hand, a *konfessyjonista* as an adversary of the *katolik* in the dispute presented by Wujek, embodies a supporter of the Reformation in general, as demonstrated by juxtapositions of the name with specific designations derived from the names of a particular figure with whom a faction originated. e.g.:

Confessionifte Aëriani y Jowiniani. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 425)

Both the explanation provided by the author and the functioning of the lexeme in the text tallies with the definition in *Słownik polszczyzny...*, where the lexeme *konfessyjonista* is assumed to mean ‘a member of the

Evangelical-Augsburg denomination or one of its varieties, a Protestant'. Thus it refers directly to those who follow Luther's teachings or adherents of any doctrine it gave rise to, therefore it may be fairly general.

The name *konfessyjonista* is likely to have been coined by Wujek himself. It draws on the Confession of Sandomierz, which in itself is rooted in the *Confessio Augustana*, the primary confession of Lutheran faith stipulated in 28 articles at the diet in Augsburg on 15 June, 1530 (Wójcik 2012: 188). Not infrequently, the name is supplemented with a qualifying adjective derived from the name of the city where the confession was adopted, e.g. *konfessyjonista augsburski* [Augsburg confessor] or *konfessyjonista sędomierski* [Sandomierz confessor].

On multiple occasions, Wujek refers to *konfessyjonisci augsburscy* [pl.], using periphrastic names; there is, however, one instance of the name *auszpurczanin*:

Tákżeć y dziś Cefarz y Krolowie Krześciánscy / y jámi przy teyże Stolicy
státecznie stoią [...] y poddánym fwym rofkázią / áby iey słucháli / y tego kogo
Pan Bog chce mieć ná niey: A nie Witemberczan / **Auszpurczan** / Hugonotow.
(Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 78)

That particular appellation is also derived from the toponym *Augsburg* and the *Confessio Augustana*. *Słownik polszczyzny...* documents two of its meanings: 1. 'inhabitant of Augsburg, which in the period of the Reformation was an ideological centre of one of the Lutheran factions' (attested in 4 instances), 2. 'creator and member of the Augsburg faction of the Lutheran denomination' (attested in 3 instances).

In view of the narrow and broad meaning of the lexeme *konfessyjonista*, its synonymy is much more diversified than in the case of the lexeme *katolik*. Two groups may be distinguished among the identified synonyms. The first comprises general names, with the lexeme *heretyk* [heretic] (approximately 100 instances) used particularly often. The author defines such an individual as:

Heretyk ten iest; ktory fie Kościołowi Powfzechnemu vpornie sprzećiwia / y
śmie vczyć rzeczy temu Kościołowi przećiwnych. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 75)

The lexeme is a 16th-century borrowing from Latin (Lat. *haereticus* 'heretic', from Greek *hairetikós* 'choosing, able to choose' → 'causing a rift, disintegration'; Walczak 1996: 15-16). It appears in Polish in connection with the Reformation and quickly gains popularity, which is well-reflected in the writings of that period (*Słownik polszczyzny...* notes

1247 instances in the sense of ‘originator or adherent of religious propositions of Christian provenance which do not comply with the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church’). Much less often, no more than several times, does Wujek employ such designations as *kacierz* [from Germ. *Ketzer* ‘heretic’], *nowowiernik* [lit. new believer, proselyte] *odszczępieniec* [apostate] and *sektarz* [sectary], e.g.:

Boć Krol [...] iáko powinien iest wierne á posłufzne poddáne miłowác y bronić; ták teź powinien z drugiey strony **Kácerze** / niewierne / á nieposłufzne hánowác y kárác. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 69)

Wfzyfcy **Sektarze** i Kácerze ná tego Antykrystá záfwe bili / ále nic niewygráli [...]. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 51)

In this group only *kacierz* and *odszczępieniec* can be traced back to Old Polish, while the other names appear in the Polish language only in the 16th century (Walczak 1996: 12) in connection with the Reformation movement. *Kacierz*, just as *heretyk*, is a Greek borrowing, whence it ultimately originates³. The evident motivation behind the word-formation processes which yielded *nowowiernik*, *odszczępieniec* and *sektarz* in Polish, reflect the negative attitude of Catholics towards adherents of the new confessions.

Also Wujek uses the name *ewangelik* [Evangelical], in its new, 16th-century meaning, where it no longer denotes a ‘believer in or proponent of the Gospel’ (Pol. *Ewangelia*) but a supporter of the Reformation, e.g.:

Bezá wfzelákiemi zbytki y cielesnością [plugáwiony [...]] á ták **Ewángelikiem** zoštał [...]. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 62)

The quote above refers to Theodor Beza, collaborator and then successor of Calvin. The second meaning of the lexeme draws on the Gospel as the sole foundation of faith according to Luther’s teachings (Markiewicz 1982: 55); at places it is modified with the adjective *nowy* [new], as in:

Cathol. Widzićie / iáko dla zgody íi mili **Ewángelicy nowi** / wiáry fwoie odmieniáią. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 468)

An adherent of the Reformation can also go by the name of *sakramentarz* [sacramentarian]. In a broader sense, the appellation can be

³ For a detailed etymological analysis of the lexeme in Polish see Walczak 1996: 12-13.

considered a synonym of *konfessyjonista* (in the latter's broader meaning as well) or *ewangelik*. In a narrower sense, *sakramentarz* is a representative of the Swiss Reformation, whose doctrine negated some of the sacraments of the Catholic Church, e.g.:

Gdyż wierzą prawą bytność Ciąłá y Krwie Páńfkiey w Sákrámenćie / czego **Sákrámentarze** Zwinglianowie nigdy niepozwołá. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 64)

Much more frequently, synonyms of *konfessyjonista* assume the form of specific names relating to the principal denominations of the Reformation, i.e. Lutherans, Calvinists and Arians, or to minor factions which emerged due to theological and social differences within those doctrines.

In Wujek's text, a follower of Martin Luther is referred to as *luteran* or *luteryjan* [Lutheran]. The appellations are derived from the name of the reformer, and can be found throughout the volume chiefly in the plural, as *luterani* or *luteranowie*, with the two variants often appearing in close proximity, e.g.:

[...] nigdy ſie prawi **Luterani** [...] z Helwetámi y z Hugonotámi niezgodzá [...]. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 64)

Those who followed the teachings of Matthias Flacius, Luther's disciple and collaborator, are called *flacyjanie* [Flacians] by the author. The two occurrences of the lexeme noted in *Słownik polszczyzny...* are to be found in this very text, therefore it may be surmised that it is Wujek who coined the term based on the name of the Istrian theologian, e.g.:

Cathol. To tedy y Lutrá y wiernych wczniow iego **Fláccyánow** nie chwálić ále gánić muście [...]. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 254)

At the time, toponymic names functioned alongside designations formed from the surnames of the reformers. In the case of *auszpurczanin* a particular place-name served to coin the names *witemberczanin* and *witemberczyk* [Wittenbergian], e.g.:

Cathol. Niemáźći Ceremoniy żadnych Zydownjkich w Kościele / ále wy tu podobno Wyznawce álbo Confesionifty Augszpurſkie z Lutrem / Melánchtonem y **Witemberczykámi** rozumiećie / ktorzy tych Ceremoniy Kościelnych / áni obrazow / áni Mſzey nie odrzucáią. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 447)

As we know, it was in Wittenberg in Saxony that Luther embarked on the reform of the Catholic Church. In a narrower sense, *witemberczanin* or *witemberczyk* is an adherent of Luther, whereas in a broader one, of the Reformation movement in general.

In order to denote adherents of the Frenchman Jean Calvin, the second foremost figure of the Reformation next to Luther, Wujek employs the designation *kalwinista* [Calvinist]. Similarly to names derived from Luther's surname, the lexeme is most often found in the plural form *kalwinistowie*, e.g.:

Kálwiniftámi teraz pospolicie nowe Sákrámentarze zowá [...]. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 380)

The surname of a reformer also serves the author to formulate the names *zwinglianowie* || *zwingliany* [Zwinglians], referring to Ulrich Zwingli, who paved the way for Calvin in Switzerland (Markiewicz 1982: 17), e.g.:

Gdyż wierzą prąwą bytność Ciála y Krwie Páńskiej w Sákrámenćie / czego Sákrámentarze **Zwinglianowie** nigdy niepozwołá. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 64)

On several occasions, Wujek employs the aforementioned *helwet* [Helvetian], as well as *hugonot* [Huguenot], as a synonym to *kalwinista* e.g.:

Bo około Sákrámentu Ciála Bożego / álbo iáko wy zowiećie Wiečerzey Páńskiej / nigdy się prawi Luterani / ktorzy Confesją Augspurską trzymáią / z **Helwetámi** y z **Hugonotámi** niezgodzá [...]. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 64)

Helwet is a follower of Calvin or Zwingli, as it originates from the Latin name of Switzerland, Helvetia, where both reformers were active. Meanwhile, *hugonot* is an adherent of the French branch of Calvinism; according to the definition in *Słownik polszczyzny...* its meaning is broader and denotes all Calvinists. Of the five examples in the lexicon, three originate from *Iudicium*. The three instances in question warrant the conclusion that Wujek, showing the internal diversity in the doctrine of the Reformation, uses *hugonoci* to refer to the then France.

In Wujek's text, an adherent of Arianism is an *aryjan*; the name draws on Arius, a 4th-century presbyter and priest, whose doctrine the Church found to be a heresy. Arianism which resurfaced in the 16th century drew on his teachings, e.g.:

Augustyn ś. piŕze / że **Aëriani** Heretycy takież vczyli / że fie niemamy zá vmárle modlić / áni ofiáry czynić. (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 437)

Arianism lacked internal cohesion, with frequent disputes concerning the sacrament of baptism and the dogma of the Holy Trinity. Consequently, Wujek refers to some of the doctrinal offshoots with the Greek-derived designation *anabaptysta* [Anabaptist]⁴ or its Polish equivalent *nowokrzczeniec* [lit. newly baptized], e.g.: “Bo iesli to dobre opifánie Heretyká / czemusz wy **Nowokrzczeńce** zá Heretyki macie [...],” (Wujek, *Iudicium*, p. 75), to denote the faction which did not recognize the baptism of children, as well as *trydeita* [Tritheist] and its calque *trojbożanin*, which meant the group who challenged the established notion of the Trinity, e.g.:

Cathol. Tenći iest Kościół ieden powŕzeczny [...] ktoremu rozne odŕzczepieńŕtwá rozmáite imiona dawáią / gdyż one ľáme káźde zoŕobná fwemi wľáfnemi przezwyŕski ktorých fie záprzec niemogá / fá názwane. (iáko Luterani / Káľwinistowie / Fláccyáni / **Trydeyte**. etć.). (Wujek, *Iudicium*, pp. 267-268)

Among all of the discussed names which reflect the inner division within the Reformation, such as *luteran* || *luteryjan*, *witemberczanin* || *witemberczyk*, *auszpurczanin*, *flacyjan*; *helwet*, *kalwinijan* || *kalwinista*, *hugonot*, *zwinglijan* || *zwinglijanin*; *aryjanin*, *anabaptysta*, *nowokrzczeniec*, *trojbożanin*, *trydeita*, the appellation *luteran* || *luteryjan* occurs most often (over 50 instances compared with much less numerous – from several to no more than 20 instances of other names). This disproportion may be due to the fact that, as Janusz Tazbir argues, “Catholic propaganda tended to trace the provenance of all the Reformation currents back to Luther [...]” (Tazbir 1959: 73). As a result, the names formed from the root of the surname may in a broader sense imply an adherent of the Reformation in general.

Summing up, Jakub Wujek's *Iudicium* employs 16 various appellations of followers associated with the Reformation movement. Taking into account lexical doublets, such as *luteran* and *luteryjan*, *witemberczanin* and *witemberczyk*, *zwinglijan* and *zwinglijanin*, as well as more comprehensive terms such as *heretyk*, *kacierz*, *nowowiernik*, *odŕzczepieniec* and *sektarz*, the catalogue of names increases to 25 items. When one approaches this collection from the standpoint of external history of language, it appears that by and large the abundance of designations used by the author illustrates the fragmentation of the

⁴ Greek *anabaptysta* means “people baptizing/baptized again” (Appold 2013: 141). This Protestant doctrine emerged in the 1520s in Switzerland (ibidem: 143).

movement. Not only does he mention the three main branches of *luteranie*, *kalwiniści* and *arianie*, but he also lists the numerous minor factions, such as *flacyjanie*, *trydeici* or *trojbożanie*, thus conveying the dynamism of religious developments. *Słownik polszczyzny...* records more than 70 names referring to the Reformation, including doublets. It seems that Wujek does not take advantage of the lexical profusion which the language of that time offered. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the piece was written in 1570, a period in which – as stated in the introduction – the new denominations were just stirring up broader interest. Only mid-1560s saw the rise of the Polish Counter-Reformation and the development of polemic writings which contributed so much to the Polish language. It may therefore be surmised that the lexical and semantic field studied here was not so extensive when *Iudicium* was published and still far from complete.

In the context of Reformation-related appellations, it is worthwhile to mention the names of antique and medieval sects and their members which Wujek employs to demonstrate that reformed churches drew on the erstwhile religious dissidence which ended up being a heresy. There are over 20 such designations, including e.g. *donatysta* [Donatist] ‘1. member of a Christian religious sect guided by the views of Donatus of Carthage, a 4th-century Numidian bishop’. Names of this kind do appear in what the *konfessyjonista* says as well, in order to assert that adherents of the Reformation dissociate themselves from such tradition.

Considering the above collection in terms of internal history of language, one observes a substantial amount of lexical variants and ample synonymy, which shows that, influenced by the new state of religious affairs, the names only begin to emerge and crystallize as their form becomes more stable. Wujek resorts to neologisms which functioned in the Polish language at the time: names of followers derived from the surnames of reformers, toponyms and crucial notions of given doctrines, as well as borrowings from Latin and Greek. The author can be attributed two of the neologisms of that time. The first of those is the lexeme *konfessyjonista*, noted for the first time in *Iudicium*, the second is the surname-derived *flacyjan* which is not found anywhere else. Also, *Iudicium* may have contributed to the popularisation of the Greek loan *anabaptysta*, as most attested instances of the lexeme in the 16th century originate from that particular work. Also, such names of followers of heretical doctrines as *apostolczyk*, *jowinijan* [Jovinian] (in the second sense provided in the dictionary), *monofizyk* [Monophysite] and *montanista* [Montanist] are not found outside the discussed text.

It should be underlined that for greater effect, the author not infrequently cites the names of dissenters in one sequence, alternating between designations relating to the realities of the 16th century and names dating back to early Christianity, or switches between names of followers and reformers, even though he knows the appellations derived from their surnames.

The author employs numerous names of adherents, be existing or newly formed ones, yet he equally often writes about *potomkowie* [scions] of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Arius etc. or about those *którzy z nimi trzymali* [who sided with them].

Neither in Wujek's *Iudicium* nor in the 16th-century writings whose yield is recorded in *Słownik polszczyzny...* are there such lexemes as *innowierca* and *różnowierca* [dissenter, lit. other-believer] to be found. This has already been observed by Migdał who has studied the names used by the author to denote such individuals (Migdał 2005b: 239). The use of a later lexeme in the title of this paper is dictated by its neutrality (USJP 2008: 1218). It appears that with respect to the 16th century, a non-pejorative term, or a name without such overtones to describe religious diversity is missing.

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