

Dariusz M. Bryćko

# The Irenic Calvinism of Daniel Kałaj (d. 1681)

A Study in the History and Theology of the  
Polish-Lithuanian Reformation



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*To my beloved wife, Brooke,  
and our dear children, Levi and Eva.*

With three figures

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## Preface

This book is the result of my doctoral research at Calvin Theological Seminary. However, I never imagined I would be revising the text for publication while living and teaching theology in Lithuania—the very land in which Daniel Kałaj, the protagonist of this work, found refuge and applied his theology as he ascended to the highest ecclesiastical office in the Lithuanian Evangelical-Reformed Church.

Researching the history and theology of the seventeenth-century Polish and Lithuanian Reformed community has proved to be a fascinating but also challenging task, since so few have wrestled with the issues discussed in this work. Thus my greatest appreciation goes to Prof. Richard A. Muller, who agreed to supervise my dissertation project. To him I owe my method and my appreciation of Reformed theology. Furthermore, I want to thank Prof. Lech Szczucki (Polish Academy of Sciences), who suggested the topic and patiently helped me to fill the numerous gaps in my knowledge of available sources. It was Willem van Asselt (Utrecht University) who encouraged me to publish this work, and Herman Selderhuis, Christoph Spill, and the Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht editorial team who made it possible. Finally, Rev. Rimās Mikalauskas of the Lithuanian Evangelical-Reformed Church deserves my appreciation for giving me a tour of the important Reformation sites in his country.

Working with Polish sources mostly while living in the United States was easy thanks to the assistance of the Hekman Library, the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, and their staff members, including Paul Fields (thank you for your encouragement and efforts in acquiring Kałaj's work from the British Library), Lugene Schemper, Karin Maag, Susan Schmurr, and Ryan Noppen at the Meeter Center, as well as Kathy Struck in the interlibrary loan office. I also want to recognize the helpful assistance of the many librarians at the Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Biblioteka Narodowa, Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademi Nauk, and the Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek.

I must not forget to extend my sincere thanks to the benefactors who made my doctoral studies at Calvin possible—namely, John Stott Ministries (Langham Partnership). I also wish to thank my friends and colleagues who, in more ways than one, contributed to this project. This list includes Wilson De Cunha, David Holmlund, Jon Marko, Benjamin Mayes, Andrew McGinnis, Tim Raakman, Jerry Stutzman, and David Sytsma. My special thanks go to Albert Gootjes and Theodore Van Raalte, who took time to read the drafts of this work and share their thoughts. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Jacek Salij, OP (Cardinal Wyszyński University), in Warsaw for the truly irenic spirit with which he welcomed me into his classes. I am also

thankful to Rev. Cezary Smurniewski and Emilia Źochowska for helping me to better understand the past and present teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

On a practical note, I would like to thank the editors who, at various stages, edited my work. This includes Roger Schmurr, Amy Ballor, and my beloved wife, Brooke; her encouragement helped me to finish the project and her excellent editorial skills bear fruit in the final shape of this book.

Klaipėda, Lithuania—15 October 2011

Dariusz M. Bryćko

*Soli Deo Gloria*

# 1. Historiography

## 1.1 Introduction

The need for a better understanding of the nature and character of Polish Reformed theology in the seventeenth century is the main reason we find it necessary to engage in this research. In the sixteenth century, “Polish Calvinists” (a pejorative name given to them by their opponents) gained much influence in Poland and abroad. The most significant leader of that era, Jan Łaski (Johannes a Lasco, 1499–1560), was widely recognized, and his irenic influence continues to be further explored by a number of Reformation scholars. Because Reformed Polish Christians lost their influence and were harshly persecuted in the seventeenth century, however, many assumed that this meant the intellectual death of the Polish Reformed community. Yet, despite great difficulties, some evangelicals—as Reformed Polish Christians preferred to be called—remained in Poland and continued to struggle for their existence and for doctrinal orthodoxy. In this work, we will explore the life and theology of one such individual, Daniel Kałaj.

Daniel Kałaj (d.1681) was a Polish Reformer of Hungarian descent who was born in Little Poland (Małopolska)<sup>1</sup> and trained in Franeker, Friesland, under some of the most brilliant Reformed theologians of seventeenth-century Europe, such as Cocceius and Cloppenburg. Kałaj’s ministry in the Reformed Church of Little Poland was abruptly interrupted when he was wrongly accused by Catholic authorities of spreading then-outlawed Arianism and was called, somewhat perplexingly, a “Calvinoarian.” He was subsequently sentenced to death for this offense, making him the first Polish Protestant minister to receive a sentence of capital punishment under the new anti-toleration law of 1658. The law had been issued against Arians, under the false pretext of military treason during the Second Northern War (1655–1660). Kałaj escaped the ax by fleeing to Lithuania (and later to Gdańsk), where he wrote his best-known work, *A Friendly Dialogue between an Evangelical Minister and a Roman Catholic Priest*.<sup>2</sup>

1 Małopolska historically was known as an area of southern Poland stretching from Częstochwa in the west to Lublin in the east, encompassing Kraków. Today, the name is still in use and refers to one of Poland’s sixteen administrative provinces.

2 Daniel Kałaj, *Rozmowa przyjacielska ministra ewangelickiego z xiedzem katolickim o ksiązce jednej w Krakowie, tak rok przeciwko D.K. wydanej [...] która roku pańskiego 1671 napisana Eladin a Lacik Ren Mitis Gerson deducie y prezentuie* (Gdańsk, 1671).

## 1.2 Statement of Thesis

The Reformed faith had a longer-lasting impact on the Polish Reformed Church than has often been recognized, specifically in regard to the influence of Polish ministers and theologians trained in Franeker, the Netherlands—a place where many Polish Reformed theologians and pastors found safe haven and in which Polish Reformed theology flourished. Furthermore, through an analysis of Daniel Kałaj's work, we will demonstrate that he does not fit neatly into the historical trajectory that elevates tolerance at the expense of commitment to Reformed orthodoxy. Rather, he remains almost entirely Reformed in doctrine, combining this with the irenic framework of doctrinal formulation and practice that became characteristic of the Polish Reformation.

## 1.3 The State of the Problem

The theology and history of the Polish Protestant tradition has not been sufficiently researched, especially when it comes to the second half of seventeenth-century thought in Poland.<sup>3</sup> Also, the discussion—carried mostly by historians—lacks a theological dimension that is crucial for a complete understanding of the material.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, significant work has been done on the rise and development of Socinianism in Poland and on the eventual banishment and dispersion of the Polish Brethren.<sup>5</sup> There have been, in

3 Much of the research (mostly on the sixteenth century) has been presented in the Polish journal *Reformacja w Polsce* (Reformation in Poland) which, after World War II, was renamed *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* (Rebirth and Reformation in Poland). For a comprehensive bibliography of the source please see Anna Budniewska and Agnieszka Mitura-Karkowska, *Bibliografia zawartości czasopisma „Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce“ v. I–XLIII* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2000); „Biografia roczników *Reformacja w Polsce* 1921–1956,“ *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 3 (1958): 217–287.

4 Exceptions to this include works such as: Darius Petkūnas, „Holy Communion Rites in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Agendas of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,“ (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2004); Kai Eduard Jordt Jørgensen, *Ökumenische Bestrebungen unter den Polonischen Protestanten bis zum Jahre 1645* (København: NYT Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1942).

5 Lech Szczucki, *Faustus Socinus and His Heritage* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2005); Martin Mulsow and Jan Rohls, *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Studies in Intellectual History 134 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2005); Mariangela Priarolo and Maria Emanuela Scribano, *Fausto Sozzini e la filosofia in Europa: Atti del convegno, Siena, 25–27 Novembre 2004* (Siena: Accademia senese degli Intronati, 2005); Paul Visser, *Socinianisme in de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Doopsgezinde Historische Kring, 2004); Janusz Tazbir, *Stando Lubentius Moriar: Biografia Stanisława Lubienieckiego* (Warszawa: Iskry, 2003); Lech Szczucki, *Nonkonformiści religijni XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1993); Stanisław Lubieniecki, *History of the*

addition, some efforts to locate the works of several significant Polish Reformed or “Calvinist” thinkers in the broader context of the European Reformation: note here Mikołaj Rej (1584–1641),<sup>6</sup> Jan Łaski (1499–1560),<sup>7</sup> Bartholomaeus Keckermann (c. 1572–1609),<sup>8</sup> Jan Makowski (Johannes Maccovius, 1588–1644),<sup>9</sup> and Mikołaj Arnold (Nicolas Arnoldi, 1618–1680).<sup>10</sup>

Recent scholarship has also identified significant connections between the Dutch and German Reformed universities and academics in the Reformed communities that continue to exist in central and eastern Europe, as evidenced not only by the work of Jan Makowski in Franeker,<sup>11</sup> John Alsted in Gyulaferhervar,<sup>12</sup> and Bartholomaeus Keckermann in Gdańsk,<sup>13</sup> but also by the

*Polish Reformation and Nine Related Documents*, trans. and ed. George Huntston Williams (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); Zbigniew Ogonowski, *Mysł ariańska w Polsce XVII wieku: Antologia tekstów* (Wrocław, Poland: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991). For older sources please see *Bibliographie de la Réforme, 1450–1648; Ouvrages Parus De 1940 a 1955* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1958), 3–35.

- 6 Janusz T. Maciuszko, in *Mikołaj Rej: Zapomniany teolog ewangelicki z XVI w.* (Warszawa: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 2002), rightly identifies Bullingerian accents in Rej’s thought. Also see Aleksander Brückner, *Rej. Człowiek i dzieło* (Lwów: H. Altenberg, 1922); *Mikołaj Rej studjum krytyczne* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1905).
- 7 Oskar Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, 2nd ed. (Warszawa: Neriton, 1999); Halina Kowalska, *Działalność reformatorska Jana Łaskiego w Polsce 1556–1560*, 2nd ed. (Warszawa: Neriton, 1999); Henning Jürgens, *Johannes a Lasco: Ein Leben in Büchern und Briefen* (Wuppertal, Germany: Foedus, 1999); Jürgens, *Johannes a Lasco in Ostfriesland: Der Eerdegang eines Europäischen Reformators* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2002); Christoph Strohm, *Johannes a Lasco: Polnischer Baron, Humanist und Europischer Reformator; Beiträge zum Internationalen Symposium vom 14.–17.* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); See also: Brückner, *Jan Łaski*; Hermann Dalton, *John a Lasco: His Earlier Life and Labours*, trans. Maurice J. Evans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886); Basil Hall, *John a Lasco 1499–1560: A Pole in Reformation England* (London: Dr. Williams Trust, 1971); Hall, *Humanists and Protestants: 1500–1900* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990).
- 8 Danilo Facca, *Bartłomiej Keckermann i filozofia* (Warszawa: Instytut filozofii i socjologii PAN, 2005); Joseph S. Freedman, *Philosophy and the Arts in Central Europe, 1500–1700: Teaching and Texts at Schools and Universities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
- 9 Willem J. van Asselt, „The Theologian’s Tool Kit: Johannes Maccovius (1588–1644) and the Development of Reformed Theological Distinctions,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 68, no. 1 (2006): 23–40; Martin Klauber, „The Use of Philosophy in the Theology of Johannes Maccovius,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 30, no. 2 (1995): 376–391; Michael D. Bell, „*Propter Potestatem, Scientiam, Ac Beneplacitum Dei*: The Doctrine of the Object of Predestination in the Theology of Johannes Maccovius,” (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1986); Abraham Kuyper, Jr., *Johannes Maccovius* (Leiden, Netherlands: D. Donner, 1899); Stefan Kiedroń, „Jan Makowski (1558–1644): Polski teolog we fryzyskim Franekerze,” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 40 (1996): 37–52.
- 10 Also known as Nicolaus Arnoldi (1618–1680). For detailed information see *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme* (Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok, 1978), 2:37–38.
- 11 Kuyper, *Johannes Maccovius*, 3–100; Bell, „*Propter Potestatem, Scientiam*,” 5–29.
- 12 Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform*, *Oxford Historical Monographs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13.
- 13 Freedman, *Philosophy and the Arts*, 305–325; Facca, *Bartłomiej Keckermann*, 15–16.

substantial exchange of students and ideas across central Europe.<sup>14</sup> Still, comparatively little work has been done on the ongoing life of the Reformed Church in Poland or on the specifics of its theological development in the seventeenth century under the impact of the rising Counter-Reformation, the success of Roman Catholic attacks on the Socinians, and the altered political context in Poland. In fact, some extant literature gives the impression that seventeenth-century Polish Reformed churches were not truly faithful to Reformed doctrines as expressed in the Reformed confessions.<sup>15</sup>

#### 1.4 The State of Research on Daniel Kalaj

English historiography contains little information about Kalaj's life or his theological contribution. His name is found in neither encyclopedias nor history books, except where briefly mentioned in the English translation of the Polish book by Janusz Tazbir titled *A State Without Stakes*.<sup>16</sup> In German we find a few more sources, including a small brochure titled *Daniel Kalaj, A Forerunner of Ecumenism*, also by Tazbir. Both works provide valuable biographical information about Kalaj and recognize the irenic contribution of this forgotten Polish minister. Tazbir, however, describes Kalaj as a "liberal Calvinist" for whom "Catholics and Protestants are actually members of the same Christian Church, as the basic convergence of ethics and foundational dogmas are more important than the secondary differences of doctrine and rite" and where "religious debate between various faiths was useful" but "to be carried on in an atmosphere of complete freedom of conscience and expression,"<sup>17</sup> a perspective from which we will diverge in the following

14 Zdzisław Pietrzyk, *W kręgu Strasburga: Z peregrynacji młodzieży z Rzeczypospolitej Polsko-Litewskiej w latach 1538 – 1621* (Kraków: Nakł. Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, 1997); Stanisław Kot, *Polska złotego wieku a Europa: Studia i szkice* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1987). For further information see also: G.Th. Jansma, F.R.H. Smit, and F. Westra, *Universiteit te Franeker, 1585 – 1811: Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Friese Hogeschool*, Fryske Akademy 648 (Leeuwarden, Netherlands: Fryske Akademy, 1985); Karin Maag, *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Brookfield, Vermont: Scholar Press, 1997); Wojciech Tygielski, „Na cóż te koszta i trudy? W jakim celu w XVII wieku wysyłano młodzież szlachecką na zagraniczne studia?” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja ew Polsce* 50 (2006): 141 – 156; Marian Pawlak, *Studia uniwersyteckie młodzieży z Prus Królewskich w XVI–XVII w.* (Toruń, Poland: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1988).

15 An exception to this rule we find in Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litwscy w Epoce Saskiej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 1996).

16 Tazbir, *A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. A.T. Jordan (New York: Kosciuszko Foundation Twayne Publishers, 1973), 204–205. Kalaj is also briefly mentioned by Petkūnas in „Holy Communion Rites,” 164. Petkūnas only mentions Kalaj once in the context of the larger discussion on the doctrine of communion among the Polish and Lithuanian Calvinists.

17 Tazbir, *Daniel Kalaj: Ein Vorläufer des ökumenische* (Kraków: Pontificia Academia Theologica

pages. Also in German we find an earlier article by Paul Wrzecionko titled “Das ökumenische Program der Union von Sandomierz des Bartholomeus Bythner und des Daniel Kałaj”<sup>18</sup> in which the author argues that Kałaj’s ideas on religious tolerance were rooted in the Polish irenicism inspired by Erasmus and later developed by Jan Łaski and Bartłomiej Bythner (1559–1629). Wrzecionko thought Kałaj’s idea of religious tolerance was an unrealistic contribution to the slow decline of Polish Protestantism, since love cannot keep the churches together unless their doctrinal differences are cleared—a condition that proved impossible in the context of the seventeenth-century debates.

Naturally, we find more biographical information about Kałaj in Polish historiography. However, even here the discussion of Kałaj’s theology is unsatisfactory. We find short biographical sketches of Kałaj’s life and work in Szczepanowice in Roman Darowski’s *History of the Catholic and Calvinist Churches in Szczepanowice by Dunajec*<sup>19</sup> as well as Zbigniew Ogonowski’s *Philosophy and Social Thought of Seventeenth-Century Poland*.<sup>20</sup> The most important analysis of Kałaj’s life and work is available in Marek Wajsblum’s “*Ex regestro arianismi: Sketches from the History of the Fall of Protestantism in Little Poland.*”<sup>21</sup> Wajsblum includes more information than anyone on Kałaj and the seventeenth-century history of Polish Calvinism.<sup>22</sup> His extensive

Cracoviensis, 1995), 27:622, 626; Tazbir, *A State Without Stakes*, 204–205. A similar statement is later repeated in Tazbir’s publication *Dzieje polskiej tolerancji* (Warszawa: Interpress, 1973), 107. Tazbir argues for the possible relation of Kałaj to the thought of the sixteenth-century Catholic thinker Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski.

18 Paul Wrzecionko, „Das ökumenische Program der Union von Sandomierz des Bartholomeus und des Daniel Kałaj,” *Kirche im Osten* 30 (1987): 26–41.

19 Roman Darowski, SJ, *Szczepanowice nad Dunajcem: Dzieje wsi, parafii katolickiej i gminy kalwińskiej*, 2nd ed. expanded (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum WAM, 2004), 85–91, 111–112.

20 Zbigniew Ogonowski, *Filozofia i myśl społeczna XVII w. in 700 lat myśli polskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), 715–734. Ogonowski included the edited text of one chapter from Kałaj’s *Friendly Dialogue*. Also see Jan Szturc, *Ewangelicy w Polsce: Słownik biograficzny XVI–XX w* (Bielsko-Biała, Poland: Augustana, 1998), 140–141. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 11:502–503; *Nowy Korbut*, 2:609–610; *Słownik Biograficzny Pom. Nadw.*, 2:339–440. A modern reprint of Kałaj’s *Klimakteryk Heroiczny* (Gdańsk, 1673) is found in *Muza Gdańska Janowi Sobieskiemu* (Ossolineum, 1985).

21 Marek Wajsblum, „*Ex regestro arianismi: Szkice z dziejów upadku protestantyzmu w Małopolsce*” *Reformacja w Polsce VII–VIII* (1935–1936): 245–308 and 89–408.

22 Marek Wajsblum was a secularized and polonized Jew, and one of the most famous students of the renowned professor Stanisław Kot. Despite his difficult life and lack of academic opportunities he contributed much to the study of Polish Calvinism in the early twentieth century. He felt particularly passionate about the aspects of Reformation history that related well to the Marxist longing for equality and the Esperantists’ visions for world peace. For more, see Wajsblum’s personal correspondence with professor Kot: Wajsblum, *Zawsze byłem Żydem dla Polaków i Polakiem dla Żydów: Listy Marka Wajsbluma do Stanisława Kota z lat 1927–1961*, vol. 4, Biblioteka Jagiellonica Fontes Et Studia ed. Zdzisław Pietrzyk i Zbigniew Koziński (Kraków: Nakładem Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, 1996).



article consists of well-researched background information concerning the persecution of Polish evangelicals, and provides a well-developed and helpful resource. However, even here we do not find an in-depth analysis of Kałaj's theology. Wajsblum merely fits Kałaj into the established paradigm of the gradual growth of the modern idea of tolerance, which seems to dominate late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historiography. In this article, Wajsblum argues that Kałaj departed from the rigid Calvinism of the seventeenth century under the Socinian influence that shaped him before and during his studies in Franeker. Tazbir later takes up the same argument. In Wajsblum's view, Kałaj received the teachings of his master, the liberal Johannes Cocceius, and expanded them even further, paving the way for German irenicism and the teachings of the Dutch Collegiate. Wajsblum thus summarizes Kałaj's contribution to seventeenth-century Polish Calvinism:

Kałaj departed far from the Polish Calvinism of the seventeenth century. [...] We know well who influenced Kałaj. Without a doubt, while still young, he had to have been impacted by the pure atmosphere of the Socinian congregations. While in Franeker the shell of official Calvinist orthodoxy did not prevent Kałaj from being warmed up by the rays of German irenicism and the Dutch religious liberalism of the Collegiants, which were advancing thanks to the lively and future-oriented thought of the professor Cocceius—Kałaj's own master and guide.<sup>23</sup>

Next, we find multiple remarks on Kałaj's crucial role in the development of the education of the Polish Reformed Churches in Stanisław Tworek's *The Cultural and Pedagogical Activity of Calvinism in Little Poland*. However, Tworek does not seem to provide any new information when it comes to Kałaj's theology. He writes:

In the Calvinist literature of the period, special attention needs to be given to Daniel Kałaj [...who] discusses the idea of tolerance, so relevant in his own day and life. [His experience] proved the harmful effects of fanaticism and intolerance toward individuals as well as toward whole church communities. [...] His entire doctrine of tolerance was well developed and based on humanitarianism, patriotism and optimism. Unfortunately, his book was not read and made no echo in history; yet it

23 See Wajsblum, „*Ex regestro arianismi*,” 89–408, 315: „W przeciwieństwie do Budnego, a raczej rozwijając myśl socynianizmu, odbiega Kałaj daleko od Kalwinizmu polskiego wieku XVII. Na tę drogę weszli dopiero współcześni mu Bracia Polscy. Tymi drogami szedł liberalizm kollegiantów holenderskich, tak bliskich Braciom Polskim. Tymi drogami wreszcie pójdzie protestantyzm angielski, którego lewica nonkonformistyczna bez zastrzeżeń mogłaby się dziś podpisać pod wywodami Kałaja. Filiacje ideowe Kałaja są nam naogół znane. Niewątpliwie i w Polsce musiał być za młodu podatny na czystą atmosferę zborów socyniańskich. We Franeker musiały doń przeniknąć przez skorupę oficjalnej ortodoksji gorące promienie niemieckiego irenizmu i holenderskiego liberalizmu religijnego, którego drogę torowała żywa, w przyszłość wymierzona myśl profesora Coccejusa, mistrza i przewodnika Kałaja.“

stands as an honorable testimony to the existence of this very relevant and indestructible concept.”<sup>24</sup>

Finally, we find the most recent reference to Kałaj in the second expanded edition of Roman Darowski’s history of the Szczepanowice village and its two parishes: Catholic and Reformed. However, Darowski follows the secondary sources and does not discuss Kałaj’s theology.<sup>25</sup>

In sum, although the biographical material on Kałaj’s life seems to be sufficiently discussed in Polish historiography, Kałaj’s theology and its place in the context of Reformation and post-Reformation thought are insufficiently addressed, thus making the goal of this study to further that discussion in an in-depth and thoughtful manner.

## 1.5 Method and Outline

In the first half of this book, we will describe the social circumstances that impacted Kałaj’s life and work, placing him properly within the historical and theological context of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, and filling the biographical gap currently present in the English historiography. Chapter two, “The Life and Work of Daniel Kałaj,” will concentrate on the history of the persecution Kałaj’s family experienced and examine the situation of central-eastern Europe’s Reformed churches in the seventeenth century. We will also discuss Kałaj’s upbringing, education, and the theological treatise he authored, *Apologia pro divinitate Salvatoris nostri, contra antiquos et modernos Pharisaeos*, which he wrote while studying at the Reformed Academy in Franeker. Next, we will concentrate on Kałaj’s ministry among the Calvinists of Little Poland to explain how he became associated with the Socinians and was later sentenced to death for “Calvinoarian heresy.” We will conclude this section by commenting on Kałaj’s escape and further work among the Polish-speaking Calvinists in Gdańsk and Lithuania. Chapter three, “Kałaj’s Irenic Defense in Overview,” will survey the first seventeen pages of the *Friendly Dialogue*, which include Kałaj’s denial that he authored an anonymous brochure that was used as evidence in his trial. We will analyze the way Kałaj justified his escape and address questions surrounding the

24 „W literaturze kalwińskiej tego okresu na uwagę załuguje postać Daniela Kałaja [...] Powrócił tu Kałaj do tak aktualnej, również w sensie osobistym, idei tolerancji, wykazując szkoldiwość fanatyzmu i nietolerancji zarówno dla jednostki, jak i całej społeczności kościelnej [...] Cała doktryna tolerancji, bardzo gruntownie rozbudowana, oparta była na humanitaryzmie, patriotyzmie i optymizmie. Aczkolwiek książka, nie czytana, minęła bez echa, to jednak była chlubnym świadectwem ciągle aktualnej i niezniszczalnej idei.“ Stanisław Tworek, *Działalność oświatowo-kulturalna kalwinizmu małopolskiego* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1970), 352. See also pp. 158, 186, 239, 243, 275, 283, 297, 307, 318, 329, 346 – 347, 351, 370.

25 Darowski, *Szczepanowice nad Dunajcem*, 111 – 128.

authorship and dating of the *Friendly Dialogue*, which he wrote in exile. In chapter four, “Potential Sources of Kałaj’s Irenic Thought,” we will trace the continuities and discontinuities between Reformed, Lutheran, and Catholic irenic thought in central-eastern Europe. In this analysis we will search for the governing principles behind the irenic, ecumenical, and tolerant approaches to ecclesiastical union present in early modern Europe, so as to locate Kałaj in his broader context.

In the second half of the book, we will examine the remaining portion of the *Friendly Dialogue*, in which the particular theological *loci* of Reformed-versus-Roman doctrine are presented in irenic form. We will explore Kałaj’s method and fundamental stances on issues that characterized the debates of his time—not only among Reformed theologians, but also between Czech Brethren, Catholics, Lutherans, and Socinians—going beyond the presently existing literature on Kałaj and the theology of seventeenth-century Polish Reformed churches. The material discussed here will follow Kałaj’s own ordering of the theological topics, beginning with chapter five, “The Evangelical Doctrine of the Scripture.” In this chapter we will analyze his understanding of *sola Scriptura* and his responses to the questions of biblical canon, the proper use of the Bible and reason in exegesis, and the perspicuity and authority of Scripture. Chapter six, “The Reformed Doctrine of Justification,” will tackle issues related to soteriology, referencing imputed and inherent righteousness and the role of good works in the process of salvation.

“The Calvinist Doctrine of the Sacraments,” chapter seven, will discuss Kałaj’s irenic approach to the five sacraments rejected by Protestants, and present his understanding of baptism and communion against the backdrop of the Sandomierz Confession of 1570 and other confessions. Chapter eight, “The Irenic Doctrine of the Church,” will be dedicated to Kałaj’s irenic ecclesiology, seeking to reconcile with Reformed orthodoxy some of his most irenic statements, such as the following: “Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed constitute one true Church and people of God”; “It is better to be a good Catholic than a bad evangelical”; and “A great number of bad evangelicals will be condemned, and a great number of good Catholics will be saved.” Finally, in the epilogue we will draw final conclusions about the place and character of Daniel Kałaj’s irenic theology.

## 2. The Life and Work of Daniel Kałaj

### 2.1 Introduction

We will begin by bridging the gaps in the English-language historiography of Kałaj's life and work, his family background, and the complex situation of the Reformed churches in the seventeenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Each of these elements will later assist us in better understanding the Calvinist controversy and will bring insight into Kałaj's irenic-spirited theological discourse. Our analysis will correspond primarily—but not exclusively—to the findings of Stanisław Tworek, as well as to those of Marek Wajsblum (1903–1962), a student of the well-known Polish scholar Stanisław Kot (1885–1975) who has extensively researched the topic in a series of articles titled “*Ex regestis arianismi*.” We will also consult a variety of other non-English sources in order to fill in the gaps left by the previous research.

### 2.2 Three Generations of Persecution

The place and date of Kałaj's birth is unknown, but it is estimated that he was born sometime in the first half of the seventeenth century in Little Poland and was a descendent of a Hungarian Reformed family. Janusz, his grandfather, was a Protestant goldsmith who came to Poland to serve at the court of Stefan Batory (1533–1586), who in 1576 was elected king of Poland. After Batory's reign, Janusz decided to remain in Poland to raise his family.

The political situation of the “dissidents in faith,” as Protestants came to be called at the Warsaw Confederation (1573), was slowly declining. Roman Żelewski, in his book about the history of Protestants in Kraków between 1551 and 1590, provides us with multiple sources describing the increasing persecution of the Protestant community. His analysis of the presented sources defines three stages in the increasing persecution: (1) the growth of Protestant influence (1551–1573), (2) an equal sense of power between Catholics and Protestants (1574–1578), and, finally, (3) rapid waves of intolerance toward Protestants, beginning in 1578.<sup>1</sup>

This third stage reached its climax in 1591 with the destruction of the two

1 Roman Żelewski, *Materiały do dziejów Reformacji w Krakowie: Zaburzenia wyznaniowe w latach 1551–1598* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1962), sections XVIII–XIX.

Protestant congregations in Kraków.<sup>2</sup> Also, two years later, Kałaj's grandfather and family were attacked.<sup>3</sup> Catholic zealots physically injured Janusz and his wife and plundered their home. However, this did not result in any major criminal or political repercussions, despite the Warsaw Confederation's act of tolerance. The two students who initiated the attack, Posnaniensis and Calisiensis, were not punished, since the university professors denied the students' involvement in the attack and claimed they were falsely accused.<sup>4</sup> All of these events greatly contributed to the exile of evangelicals from Kraków.<sup>5</sup>

Kałaj's parents, Michał and Katarzyna, joined the exiles but did not move far, instead settling in their small estate in the village of Chorowice, a few miles outside Kraków.<sup>6</sup> Despite the move, Michał continued to be involved in the city's Reformed congregation—he was often nominated as a representative to the local church synods, and in 1641 was elected to the office of elder. On August 15, 1643, Michał shared his father's fate when another group of university students attacked and robbed him in Chorowice. Fortunately, this time the oppressors were brought to justice by the voivode of Kraków, Stanisław Lubomirski, who ordered a search for the young criminals. The first four were quickly captured, judged, and executed in Kraków. The remaining two at first somehow managed to escape, and later were judged and executed in Tarnów. Although the situation was brought to justice, it did not help Michał to support his family financially, and he sought the church's help, especially in educating some of his sons. The church responded with generous assistance: Daniel's older brother, Michał, went abroad to Franeker, which in the seventeenth century was one of the most prestigious Reformed universities in Europe.<sup>7</sup> Daniel remained in Poland for a time, studying and working as a tutor at the local church school in the town of Bełżyce, and was not sent to Franeker until some years later.<sup>8</sup>

2 Żelewski, *Materiały do dziejów*, 170–187.

3 Żelewski, *Materiały do dziejów*, 187–196; Waclaw Sobieski, *Nienawiść wyznaniowa tłumów za rządów Zygmunta Augusta III-go* (Warszawa: Nakładem Stefana Dembego, 1902), 138–160; for a bibliography of Janusz Tazbir's works see *Kultura Polska a kultura europejska* (Warszawa: PWN, 1987); *Kultura staropolska–kultura europejska* (Warszawa: Semper, 1997), published as a Festschrift in honor of Stanisław Kot; see also Henryk Gmiterek, „The Religious Tumult in Lublin, 1633,” *Odrodzenie i Refomacja w Polsce* 50 (2006).

4 University professors denied the guilt of the accused university students and argued that the guilty ones were falsely recognized. Żelewski, *Materiały do dziejów*, 192–194.

5 Żelewski, *Materiały do dziejów*, sec. 9.

6 Wajsblum, „*Ex registro arianismi*,” 245–308; 89–408.

7 Wajsblum, „*Ex registro arianismi*,” 245–246.

8 In June 1645, the Synod in Jodłówka decided to send Kałaj for studies abroad. See Darowski, *Szczepanowice nad Dunajcem*, 85. See also Tworek, *Działaność*, 243, 275.

### 2.3 Studies in Franeker

That Kalaj and his older brother were sent abroad for education was not unusual in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially for children of Protestant families who desired the new generation to be educated in the Protestant spirit (Poland never managed to establish an evangelical college within its own borders). The University of Franeker thus attracted many Polish students. Throughout the year 1644, more than eighty Poles studied at Franeker, with half of them majoring in theology.<sup>9</sup> This high number of Poles was due partially to the very successful and controversial Polish Reformed theologian Jan Makowski (1588 – 1644).<sup>10</sup> Makowski was born in Łobżenica to the Reformed family of Samuel Makowski, who educated his son in Gdańsk under another famous theologian, Bartholomaeus Keckermann (c. 1572 – 1609). Jan Makowski traveled and studied in Lublin, Prague, Marburg, Heidelberg, and Lipsk before finally arriving in Franeker in 1613. At the age of twenty-six, he defended his doctorate under Sibrandus Lubbertus (1555 – 1625) and quickly became one of the youngest professors in the history of the academy. He also married the sister of the artist Rembrandt's wife. Theologically, Makowski was supralapsarian and a faithful follower of the scholastic method he applied. What made him stand out among all the other professors, however, was his exuberant Slavic personality. It gained him much popularity among the students, who treated him as one of their own.<sup>11</sup> Only a small part of Makowski's writings were published during his lifetime; the majority went to print after his death, thanks to his students and to Mikołaj Arnold, another Polish theologian and pastor trained in Franeker. In 1650, Arnold was appointed to Johannes Cocceius's (1603 – 1669) chair, the very position which Makowski had held.<sup>12</sup> One of Maccovius's shorter works (and thus more affordable for an average seminarian or pastor) was *Distinctiones et regulae theologicae ac philosophicae*. This handy book gained much popularity in the seventeenth century and was published in many editions, including ten Latin and four Dutch editions. This allowed the *Distinctiones* to be

9 Kiedroń, „Jan Makowski,” 37 – 52, 50; Jensma, et al., *Universiteit Te Franeker*, 73 – 89. For more, see Tygielski, „Na cóż te koszta i trudy?,” 141 – 156; Pietrzyk, *W kręgu Strasburga*; Kot, *Polska złotego*; Pawlak, *Studia uniwersyteckie*.

10 Klauber, „Philosophy in the Theology of Johannes Maccovius,” 376 – 391; Michael D. Bell, „Propter Potestatem,”; Kuyper, *Johannes Maccovius*.

11 One student described his favorite professor this way: „What the angelic doctor, the subtle mystic, the profound poet, and the chief master of all the other scholastics have ever said: the one and only Makowsky not at last bequeathed into posterity,” in a poem quoted from Andreas Petri, *Loci Communes* (Franeker: Sumptibus Joannis Arcerii, bibliopolae, 1650) after Van Asselt, „Theologian's Tool Kit,” 23 – 40.

12 Willem J. van Asselt/Michael D. Bell/Gert van den Brink/Rein Ferwerda, ed., *Scholastic Discourse. Johannes Maccovius (1588 – 1644) on Theological and Philosophical Distinctions and Rules* (Apeldoorn: Instituut voor Reformatieonderzoek, 2009), 14.

distributed throughout Protestant Europe, reaching even newly established colleges in the American colonies.<sup>13</sup>

When Kałaj's elder brother Michał arrived in Franeker, Makowski was still alive, and Michał was able to study under the famous Polish scholar. However, it seems that Michał was up to no good during his studies. The archives of the Franeker Academy recorded that he had perpetrated acts of violence against other students and had received a fine for tearing out pages from a commentary on the book of Ezekiel written by Juan Villalpando (1552 – 1608). (Villalpando was a Jesuit priest and famous architect who linked the design of Solomon's Temple to ancient Greek architecture, which claim provoked a suspicion of heresy from the Inquisition.)<sup>14</sup> Daniel Kałaj went to Franeker a few years after Makowski's death in 1644, by which time his brother was no longer there. Fellow student Stanisław Herman accompanied Daniel on his departure from Poland. Both first went to Bremen to take some classes at the city's gymnasium in preparation for the University of Franeker's much more rigorous program. The two Poles did not stay in Bremen long: Stanisław transferred to Franeker in January of 1646, while Daniel waited until the end of the academic year.<sup>15</sup>

Although unable to study under Makowski himself, Kałaj received an excellent education from Johannes Cocceius, one of Makowski's best students whom the university had hired in 1636. Cocceius's fame spread quickly as he became widely recognized for his unparalleled language and exegetical skills, which he used in advancing federal theology. He held to a more liberal interpretation of the Sabbath, which caused controversy among the Reformed theologians.<sup>16</sup> Throughout his work Cocceius confronted Roman Catholics, Jews, and Socinians.<sup>17</sup> Brian Lee's analysis of Cocceius's *Epistolae ad Hebraeos explicatio*<sup>18</sup> cites the following statistic when it comes to Cocceius's anti-Socinian polemic:

13 Van Asselt, *Scholastic Discourse*, 18, 37 – 38.

14 A.P. van Nienes/J. Rinzema, M. Offringa/P.A.J. van den Berg e.a., *De archieven van de universiteit te Franeker 1585 – 1812* (Friesland: Rijksarchief, 1985). I accessed the archives online (20 May 2011) through Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum <tresoar.nl> using „Kałaj“ as the keyword.

15 Wajsbblum, „*Ex regestrio arianismi*,“ 249; F. Postma and J. van Sluis, *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis Bibliographie der Reden, Disputationen und Gelegenheidsdrckwerke der Universitat und des Athenaumus in Franeker, 1585 – 1843* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1995). Kałaj is mentioned on pp. 118 – 119 and 127.

16 Cocceius argued that strict Sabbath keeping is no longer binding on Christians. See Van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2001); „The Doctrine of the Abrogations in the Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius,“ *Calvin Theological Journal* 29, no. 1 (1994): 101 – 116; Brian J. Lee, „Biblical Exegesis, Federal Theology and Johannes Cocceius: Developments in the Interpretation of Hebrews 7:1 – 10:18“ (PhD diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2003).

17 Johannes Cocceius, *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica philologica*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam, 1701).

18 Cocceius, *Epistolae ad Hebraeos explicatio et eius veritatis demonstratio* (Leiden, 1659).

A brief survey of the text itself indicates clearly which opponent Cocceius has in view. Given the likelihood of a polemical condition and his contemporaneous labors against the Socinians, it is not surprising to find that the work is overwhelmingly oriented against the Socinian errors. About 360 times in the course of the work Cocceius refers to other authors, and at least sixty different individuals are named. References to both “Socinians” in general and individuals such as Socinus, Enjedinus, Smalcus, and Schlichtingius make up over half of all references. If you include Hugo Grotius, whom Cocceius often mentions in the same breath with the Socinians as their “follower” or “disciple,” the number of occurrences to this group is two-thirds of the total. While frequent reference is also made to rabbinic literature, it is overall a much smaller percentage, less than ten percent.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, Lee points out that of all the Socinian writers Cocceius mentioned, he most directly pointed his pen against Jonasz Szlichtyng (1592 – 1661), a prolific member of the Polish Brethren community and coauthor of the Racovian Catechism.<sup>20</sup> Szlichtyng also advocated an ecclesiastical union of the Reformed and Socinians, and wrote an irenic confession; the two together were to serve as a basis for the reconciliation between divided Polish churches.<sup>21</sup> The union was never realized because of opposition from the Reformed side. Later, Kałaj worked for one of the families that was sympathetic to the Socinians. We will discuss this in greater detail in the next chapter.

Being aware of Cocceius’s interest in anti-Trinitarian polemics and the Polish Socinian controversy, it is not surprising that Kałaj concentrated his studies on the defense of Reformed doctrine, especially against Arian teachings. In 1648 Kałaj published his anti-Socinian treatise titled *Apologia pro divinitate Salvatoris nostri contra antiquos et modernos Pharisaeos*.<sup>22</sup> The work was presented to the ministers of the Krakovian classis, which had sponsored his education. Also in the treatise is a poem dedicated to Kałaj by a fellow student from Lithuania, Jan Audziejewicz, with whom Kałaj had apparently become good friends.<sup>23</sup> In the dedication, besides thanking God and his parents, Kałaj also explains that the inspiration for his work and even its title came from the Polish minister John Laetus, whose book he had read while living with Rev. Levinij (or Levinius, whose first name was probably

19 Lee, „Biblical Exegesis,” 132 – 133.

20 For a brief biography of Jonas Schlichtingius and some of his works, see George Huntston Williams, *The Polish Brethren: Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601 – 1685* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for Harvard Theological Review, 1980), 2:487 – 490.

21 Williams, *Polish Brethren*, 2:489. The union was never realized because of opposition from the Reformed side. Later, Kałaj worked for one of the families that was sympathetic to the Socinians. We will discuss this in greater detail in the next chapter.

22 Kałaj, *Apologia pro divinitate Salvatoris nostri, contra antiquos et modernos Pharisaeos* (Franeker, 1648).

23 Kałaj, *APD*, 8



Daniel). If Laetus's work targeted Roman Catholics, whom Laetus called "modern Pharisees," Kalaj decided to confront another group of "modern Pharisees"—namely, the Socinians.<sup>24</sup>

Kalaj's *Apologia pro divinitate Salvatoris* consists of seven disputations bearing Cocceius's approval, different from those he presented during his studies. The *Apologia* shows that Kalaj had acquired basic exegetical and polemical skills in Hebrew and Greek, and that he had read Reformed, Jewish, Catholic, and Socinian writings.<sup>25</sup> Of all of them, however, Kalaj refers most frequently to the Socinians—such as Enjedinus, Smalcus, and Socinus himself—and includes a reference to the Racovian Catechism.<sup>26</sup> Kalaj's overall goal was to prove to the reader that Socinian doctrine resembles that of the Pharisees. Thus, for example, in Disputation VI, Kalaj brings up Christ's discussion with the Pharisees in which he claimed, "Before Abraham was, I am" (John 8:56–58), positing his eternity. Kalaj then contrasts it with the teaching of the Racovian Catechism, which states that Christ has taught us how to attain eternal life by his example.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the *Apologia*, Kalaj also participated in a number of regular academic disputations, as was characteristic of those pursuing a post-Reformation theological education. These disputations were not necessarily written by him but most likely reflected his views and were to exercise his polemic skills.<sup>28</sup> The university records show that Kalaj presented under Johannes Cocceius,<sup>29</sup> Johannes Cloppenburgh,<sup>30</sup> and Christianus Schotanus.<sup>31</sup>

24 Kalaj, *APD*, 4.

25 References made to Theodore Beza (Kalaj, *APD*, A5), Rabbi David Kimchi (A3, A6), Robert Bellarmino (A8).

26 Kalaj, *APD*, A2, A8, C5, F6, G6.

27 Kalaj, *APD*, F1–F6.

28 For a discussion of the authorship of disputations in reference to University of Leiden see Keith D. Stanglin, „Arminius on the Assurance of Salvation: The Context, Roots, and Shape of the Leiden Debate, 1603–1609“ (PhD diss., Calvin Theological Seminary, 2006), 66–62. This dissertation was later published under the title *Arminius on the Assurance of Salvation: The Context, Roots, and Shape of the Leiden Debate, 1603–1609* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2007).

29 Participates in *Disertatio [sic] theologica, exhibens brevem praecipuorum et famosiorum, moderni seculi, errorum, cum succincta rationum singulorum errorum, inductione et refutatione, catalogum, Resp. Petrus Teschemacher a Loo, e ducatu Montium Barmensis* (Franeker, 1657). In response to Cocceius' *Collationes de foedere et testamento Dei, [...] doctrinae pietatis in Scripturis traditam* (Franeker, 1648). Kalaj offers *Disp. XXX de foedere Dei cum homine, agens porro de lege Novi Testamenti Resp. Daniel Kalay, Polonus*.

30 Johannes Cloppenburgh taught in Franeker between 1644 and 1652. Kalaj responded to his *Disputationes theologicae XXI: de Testamento Vereri IX de evangelio VI, de perpessionibus Christi VI, disputatae in illustri Academia Franekerana 1647 et 1648* (1648). Kalaj offered the *Loci de perpessionibus Christi disp. I, de perpessionibus et tentationibus Christi in genere [Resp. Daniel Calai, Polonus], Loci de perpessionibus Christi disp II, de morte es sepultura Christi [Resp. Daniel Calai, Polonus]*.

31 Christianus Schotanus taught in Franeker between 1639 and 1671. Kalaj responds to his *Collegium institutionum theolog disputatarum in Academia Franekerana ab illis studiosis juvenibus, quorum nomina post Praefationem ad lectorem habentur* (Franeker, 1651) in the fol-

Kałaj's final doctoral dissertation was defended under Johannes Cloppenburg and published in the same year as the *Apologia*.<sup>32</sup>

Kałaj left Franeker in 1648, but the university continued to host a number of Polish students and professors, including Mikołaj Arnold. Arnold had been residing in Franeker since 1641 and later took over Cocceius's position when Cocceius accepted a teaching position in Leiden. Arnold became a rector of the school and published some of the writings of his famous Polish predecessor, Jan Makowski,<sup>33</sup> including the aforementioned *Distinctiones et regulae theologicae ac philosophicae*, one of his more popular treatises. The first edition of the *Distinctiones* was not published until 1552, about four years after Kałaj's departure from the university, and we have no evidence that Kałaj obtained the book after he returned to Poland. However, considering the popularity of Makowski and of this particular work, it is not unlikely that Kałaj later read it. Arnold wanted Makowski's work to be used in his homeland and specifically recommended the volume to his countrymen, dedicating it to four members of the Polish *szlachta* (nobility): Stanisław Sbaski, Krzysztof Gruzewski, Jan Melchior Bielewicz, and Grzegorz Bielewicz. Also, the dedication includes a word of admonition written in the characteristically exuberant and ornate style of humanist authors.<sup>34</sup> Paraphrasing Psalm 137, Arnold expressed love and dedication to his native church and country:

It has pleased God to place me as a foreigner in these regions as an authority of the church and academy [i.e., Franeker in Friesland]. But when "I forget the church of my fatherland, let my right hand forget herself, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you," if I do not set the Polish Church that fostered me in its bosom for so many years "above my highest joy."<sup>35</sup>

Makowski's *Distinctiones* consist of twenty-three chapters that go through all of the *loci communes* of Reformed dogmatics, making nuanced distinctions in theological terms and themes drawn from Protestant biblical exegesis with the use of medieval scholastic method.<sup>36</sup> In Kałaj we find five out of six chapters

lowing three responses: *Institutionum theologiarum disp. quinta, de nominibus in Dei. Resp. Daniel Kalay. Crac. Pol*; *Institutionum theologiarum disp. sexta, de personae notione in Deo. Resp. Daniel Kalay. Crac. Pol*; *Institutionum theologiarum disp. septima, de trinitate personarum Resp. Daniel Kalay. Crac. Pol*.

32 Daniel Kałaj, *Disputatio historica-theologica de episcoporum et presbyterorum discrimine, quam D.O.M. praeside reverendo, clarissimo, doctissimoque Viro D. Johanne Cloppenburgio S.S. theologiae doctore ejusdemque in Alma Frisorum Academia professore primario praeceptore suo omnigena observantia colendo, publico subjecit examini Daniel Kalay Polonus* (Franeker, 1648). I was unable to access this work. Wajsblum identified it as being in the library of the Synod in Wilno (Vilnius): see Wajsblum, „*Ex registro arianismi*,” 253.

33 Wajsblum, „*Ex registro arianismi*,” 247–249.

34 Maccovius, *Scholastic Discourse*, 19.

35 Following here the translation from Maccovius, *Scholastic Discourse*, 19.

36 Maccovius, *Scholastic Discourse*, 21. Cf. Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dog-*

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Daniel Kałaj was a Polish Reformer of Hungarian background, born in Little Poland and trained in Franeker, Friesland, under some of the most brilliant Reformed theologians of seventeenth-century Europe. Dariusz M. Bryćko shows that Kałaj, in contrast to many Reformed thinkers of his day, was capable of communicating Reformed doctrine in a friendly and peaceful manner. Kałaj places special emphasis on the unity of the catholic church, as expressed in his statement that “the three churches, Roman and Lutheran and Reformed, are all part of one true church before God,” while at the same time attempting to retain his Reformed orthodoxy.

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