????? ????? ?????????? ? ????????????? ? ?????? XVI–XVII ??.

30.11.2004 | ????????, ????????

** **

????? ????? ?????????? ? ????????????? ? ?????? XVI–XVII ??.

???????? ????????

?????? XVI ???? – ??????????? ??????????? ??????, ?????????? ??????? ????????, ??????????????????? ??????????, ??? ??????????? ????????? ??????????? ?????????? (????????, ????????????, ??????-??????????, ? 1596 ?. – ??????; ??????????: ??????????, ????????, ??????, ??????? ??????), ? ????? ????? (?????????? ? ???????) ? ??????????. ??? ??????? ??????????????????? ??????? ?? ???????????? ???????????? ?????????? ???????? ??????????, ??????? ??????????? ??????????? ??? ??????????????????? ????????????? ? ???????, ??????? ??????, “??????? ???????”, ?????????? ????????? ??????????? ?????, ???????? ?? ??????????? ??? ?????????????, ????????????? ?????????????? ??????????. “?????????” ? ??? ??????? ??????? “??????” (?????????, ???????????????, ?????????????) ????????? ????????? ??????????? ????? ?????? ?? ??????????? ???????????, ??????????? ???????????????? ? ??????????? ????????: “??????” ? ????? ?????? ??????????? ?????????? ???????? ? “???? ??????????” – ??????????? (Brückner 1905), ? ??????????? “??????????”. ???????, ??? ???????? ???????????????? ??????????? ?? ????????? ????????????? ? ??????????? ? ????????? ????????? ???????-?????????? ???????? (Tazbir 2000: 24–49).

???, ? ?????????? ??????????? ????????? ???????? ?????? ??? ??????????? ??????? ??????, ? ??????? ??????? ?????-??????????? ??????????????? ????????? ? ????????? ????????????? ????????, ??????????, ??? ?? ?????, ???????????????? ? ????????????? ????????????? ???????????? ? “?????” (“???? 1592. ? ???? ?? ??????? ??? ???? ?????, ? ???????? ???? ??? ??????, ? ??? ? ????????, ? ?????? ?? ??????? ? ??”), ? ??????????? ????? ?????-?????, ???????? ???????????? ???????? ? ??????????? ??????????? ???????????? ????????, ?? ??????? ?? ??????????? ????????? ??????? ????: “????? ?????? ??????? ? ???? ???? ?????????, ?? ??????? ???? ?????????? ??? ????????? ????? ? ??? ????, ? ??????? ?????? ??????. ?? ?????? ?? ? ?????? ? ????????? ????????” (Badecki 1950: 299–300); “? ?????, ???????? ? ?????, ??? ???? ????????? ??????????, ?? ??????? ????? ?????? ????, ? ????? ???????? ????????? ? ????” (Badecki 1950: 325).

???????? ???????? ?????????? ? ??????????, ?????? ?????????? ?????? ????? ????????? ???????? ??? ??????????????????? ????????? ??????? ????????? ???? ????? ??????????? ? ??????????? ??????????, ??? ? ????????? ??????? ? ???? ???????, ?????????? ? ?????????????????, ? ??????????? ???????????? (“???? 1606. ?? ?????????? ? ???? ? ????? ????? ??????? ?????, ???????, ???????, ?????? ?????? ? ?? ?????, ????? ???? ? ?????? ????????? ????. ??????? ?????? ?? ????, ????? ??? ??? ?????? ???? ? ????????; ????? ???? ?????? ???? ??? ???? ???????, ? ??? ???? ?? ??????? ? ???????. ?????? ??? ????? ? ?????????? ????? ??? ????????” (Badecki 1950: 319).

? ??????????? ??????? ????? ????? ??????????? ? ?????????? ??????????? ? ?????????? ????????, ? ??????????? ????????? ? ??????: “???? ?? ???? ????? ?????? ? ????? ??????????, ????? ?? ???? ????????? ???? ???????. ?? ??? ???? ???? ??????????????, ??? ????? ?? ?? ????????? ?? ?????? ?????????; ???? ? ?????? ??? ??????, ??? ??????, ?? ????? ????? ?? ??? ??????? ?????” (Badecki 1950: 319).

????? ????? ????????? ?? ?????? ??? ???????????? ??????????? ????????? (?????, ????????? ? ?.?.), ?? ? ??? ???????? ???????????? ??????, ??????????????? ??????????????? ??????. ???, ?? ????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? – ??????????? ???????? ? ?????????, ??????? ??????? ??? ??? ?????? (Badecki 1950: 326), ??? ?????? ?????????? ?????: ? ??????? ?????? ?? ???? ???? ?????? ??????? ?????? ????????? ????? – ??? ????????? ???, ??? ?? ???????, ?? ?? ??????? ? ?? ???? ??????? ???? ? ????, ?????????? ????? ??? ??????, ??????? ??? ?????? ? ????? ??????? ?? ???, ??????? ? ??????? (Badecki 1950: 338). ??????? ?????????? ????????? ? ??????? ????? ????? ????? ???? ??????? ? ??????????????? ?????????? ? ????????, ??????????, ?????????, ??? ???? ????? ???????? ?? ?????????? ???????? ????????, ????????, ????? ????????? ?????????. ? ??????? ??????? ????? ????? ???????????????? ??????????, ?????????? ?????????? ????????????? ??????????????????? ?????? ? ?? ??????????? ?????? ????????, ??????? ?????????? ??? ??????, ?????? ??????????, ? ?????? – ??? ????????? ??????????.

????????? ?????? ? ???????? ???????? ??????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ???????????? ??????????????????? ? ???????? ?????????????????, ???????? ???????? ????????. ?? ?????? ??????????? ??????? ?????????? ? ???????? ??????, ?????????? ?? ?? ??????????? ??????? ? ???????? – ?? ? ??????? ??????? ????? ?????????? ??????????????? ?? ???????????? ????, ?????????? ???????? ? ??????????, ?????????? ????????????????? ? ????????????????????. ???????????? ? ???? ????????, ??? ???? ? XVI ?. ????????? ????????? ?????? ??????, ???????? ??????? ????? (1510-1573), ?????????? ? ?????????? ???????? ?? ????????? ??????????????????, “????????? ??? ????? ? ??????????? ??????????” (Fram 1997: 28). ????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ? ?????? ??????????, ? ????????? ???????, ?????????? ? ? ?????-??????????? ????????, ??????? ??????????? ????? ????????? ????????? ????????, ??????? ?????????? ? ?? ???????? ??????????? ? ????????? ?????????? ??????????, ? ? ??????? ?????? ?? ????????????????????? ????????.

????????? ???????? ??????XVI ?., ???, ????????, ??????? ????? ???????? (??. 1457–1523), ????????, ?????????? ??????????? ???????? ??????????? ???????????, ???????? ???????? ???? ?????? ? ????????? – ????????, ?????????? ? ????????? ?????? – ? ????? (“??? ?????????? ????????? ????? ??? ???????? ???????? ? ????, ?????????? ? ????????”), ???????? ????????? ? ????? ? ???? (Miechowski 1517:62–63, 71).

?????? ???????, ????????? (? 1520 ?.) ?????? ?????????? I, ?.?. ?????, ???????? ?????? ???? ??? ????????? (?? 1516) ? ??????? ??????????????? ????????????? ??????, ???, ?????? ???????????? ??????????, ????????? “??????, ? ??????? ???? ????????, ????????? ??????????, ??????? ????, ??? ????????? ??????? ? ??????? ???????; ????? ???????? ??????”, ????????? ????????? ????????? ??????????: “?? ?????? ????? ?????? ????????? ?????? – ??????. ?????? ? ???? ??????? ??????? ?????, ??? ????????????? ????” (Decii: 1521: 13).

??? ????? ???????? ?? ?????? ????? ????? ? ????? ???????? “? ??????” ????????? ?????????? ????????? ?????? – ?????????? II – ??????? ??????: “? ??? ????? ?????? ??? ???? ?????? ?????? ????? ???????? ????? ????????, ??? ??????????????????? ?? ???? ??????? ???????, ?????? ? ?????? ?????????? ????????; ????????, ??????, ??????, ???????????? ? ??? ??????, ??????, ????????, ??????, ?? ???? ?????? ???????? ???????? ??????????, ?? ??????? ???? ????????, ????? ?????? ? ???????; ??? ??????? ????????? ???????, ??? ??????? ????? ?? ???? ???????, ??????????, ????????, ????????, ??????, ????????” (?????? 1550: 88).

?????? ????????? ?????? ??????????? ???????? ???????? ? ??????????? ??????????, ??????? ??????????? ????????? “???????? ????” ???????? ???????? – ????? ?????????? ? ??????. ??????? ???????? ?????????? ????? ???????? ?????? (1573) ?????????? ???????????, ?????????? ??????????????? ??????? ??????? ? ????????? ?????? ? ???????????? ??????????? ??????? (Skarga 1595; Tazbir 2000: 97–105). ??????????? ??????????? ?? ???? ????????? ????????????? ??????????? ? ?????, ????? ???????, ??? ????????? ???????????? ??? ??????, ??????????? ????? ? ?????? ??????????? ??? ??????? “????????” ????, ? ????? ???????????? ??? ???????????. ?????? ? ???????? ??????????? ????????????? ??????????? ????? ???????? ?????, ????????? ????? ??????????? ? ????????? ???????????, ????????? ??????? ? ??????????? ??????????? ??????????. ???????, ????????, ?? ????????? ????????? ????? (1592) ????? ??????? ????????? ??????????? ???????????????? ??????????? ?????????? ????????, ????????????? ?????? ???????? ???????????? ? ??????, ????????? ???? ????? ????? ??????????? ???? ? ????????? ????? (????????, ???????????, ??????, ?????), ? ??????????? ????????? ???? ????????? ???????? ????????, ????????? ??????????? ?????????? ?? ????????? ? ??????????? (Tazbir 2000: 31–32).

???? ????????? ???? ????????? ?? ???????????????? ?? ????????? ????????? ??????, ????? ????????? ???????????? ????????????? ???????? ? ????? ???????? ??????????. ??? ???????????, ????????? ???? ????????? ? ?????? (???????? ? ????????? ??????????: “? ???? ???? ? ??????? ????????, ?????? ??? ???????????? ????? ? ??? ??????????? ?????” – 3 ???. 4: 25) ???? ?? ???????????????? ???? ? ???? ??????? ? ?? ????????? ????????? ?????? XVI – ?????? ???????? XVII ?. ??? ??????????? ????????? ???? ???????? ???????? ?? ????????? ? ??????? ??????? ????????????? ????????? (Fram 1997: 32–33), ???? ???????? ?? ????????? ????????? ??????????? ??????????? ??? ??????? ????? ???????????? ??????????? (Tollet 1986; W?grzynek 1995).

??????????? ???????? ????????? ????????? ? XVI ?. ??????????? ? ????? ????? “??????????? ????” ? ?????? ???????? ????????? ??????????, ?????????? ?????? ????? ??? ??????? ?? ???? (??????, ??. 1533 – ??. 1594)[1], ?????????? ?? ?????? ??????? ?? ??????? ????? ? ?????? (??? “??????? ???????????, ??????????? ??????????? ?????? ??? ?????????? ???????? ???????, ??? ? ?????? ??? ?????????? ???? ????”), ??????? ? ??????? (??? “???????? ?? ??????? ????? ??????? ??????????? ??? ???????????? ??????? ??????, ??? ?? ???? ????????? ?????? ?????? ?????”). ????????????, ???, ?????? ????????? ??????????? ?????????????????? ????????????, ????? ??? ????? ????????????? ????????? ???????? ???????????? ????????? ? ???????????, ??????, ???????????? ?????????? ???? ? ???????? ????? ???????? ??????????? ??? ??????, ??????? ? ???????, ?? ??????????, ??????????? ?? ?????????????? ?????? ??????? (????. 7: 15; 30: 7; ??. 41: 11–12), ??? ????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ??????? ???? ??????? ? ????????? ?? ?? ???? ? ????????? ???????? ????? ?????? ??????? ?? ????????? ?????? ????????, ? ??? ????????, ????? ???????? “?? ??????? ????? ??? ?? ????????”. ????? ???????, ???????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ??? ??????????? ???????? ??????????? ????????? ? ????????????.

? ???? ???????, ???????-????????? ???????????, “??? ??, ?????, ???????????”, ??????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????, ??? ????? ?????? ???????? ?????? ???????? ??????? (??.: Goldberg 1985), ?????, – ??? ????? ?????, – ??? ????? ???? ???????? ? ????????, ? ???, ??? ?? ??????????, ??????????. ???? ???????????????? ? ?????? ?? ????????? ? ??????????? ??????, ?????????? ???? ????? ?????????? ? ????????????: “?????? ? ?????? ???? ?????? (?? ?????????? ??? ?? ????????????!) – ?????? ?????????? ? ?????????????, ? ???? ????? ??? ?? ????? ???????? ?????????? ??? ??????????? ??????? ? ?? ?????? ??????, ? ?????? ??? ??????? ?? ?????????? ??? ? ?????, ??? ??? ???? ?????????? ????????? ??? ?? ???????? ???? ? ??????” (Jizchak 1594: 272–273).

??????, ??? ?? ???? ???? ???????? ????????? ?? ?????? ???????, ??? ??? ????? ????? ?

?????????? ??????????? (Tazbir 1994: 13), ?????????? ??????? ?????????????? ? ?????? ???? ???????, ?????????? ??? ?????????????, ?? ????????? ????? ? ?????? ??????????? ???????. ??? ??????????? ???????, ?????????????? ? ??????? ????? ?????? – ?? ?????????? ???? ??????? ???????????, – ????????? ???????? ???? ????????, ?????????????????? “?????”, ??????????? _____, ?? ????: “? ??????? ????????? ?????????? ?????? ??????, ?????????? ????, ?.?. ????????. ??? ? ??????? ????????? ???? ??????? ???????, ??????????? ? ????????? ???????, ????????? ?? ?????? ???? <…> ? ???????? _____ ???????? ? ???????? ??? _____ (???????? ????. – ?.?.) ???? ??????? ??????: ??????????, ????, ?????????, ???????, ?????? ???????????. ? ???????? ???????? ???? ? _____ ???????? ??????. ??????-?? ? ??????? ????????? _____:

?????? – ??? _____ ?????????,

??????, _____, _____ ? ?????????? ???????,

??? – ??? ??????, ?? – ??? ????????,

???? ??? ?????????? ? ?????? ?? ???? _____.

_____ ?? – ????????? ??? _____ ????…”.

???????????? ?????????? ?? ????????? ? ???? ??????????? ??????? ?????? ? ??????????? ????????, ??? ? ? ?????? ??????? ???????????, ???????? _____ ?? ????, ??? ??? _____ ??????? ???? ???????? ? “??????????? ?????? ????”, ??? _____ _____ “??????? ???????????”, ??????? ????????????? ??????? _____ ????????, ??? “???????? ???????????? ????????”. _____ ???????, ??????????? ? ?????????? ??????????? ?????????? ??? ???????, ??????? _____ ???? ?????????? ???? _____, ?? ???? ??????????? ???????, ??????????????, ??? ???????? ?? ?????????? ??????? ??????, ???? ??????? ??????????? (_____ ?????? ????????-????????, “??? ???? ?????? ????”), ???? ????????? ??????????? ???????, ??????????? ?? _____ ????????? ?? _____ ??????? “?????????? ??????” (???????? 1666: 270–271). ?? ?????? ??????? ???????, ?? ? ?????? ??????? ?????? XVII ?. ????????? ???????????? ? _____ ? _____ ? ????????? ????????, _____ – ?????? ? ????????. ???, ??? ???????? ??????? ??????????? ?? ?????? ???????? “?????? ????” ? “????????? ??????? ? ???????? ?????????”, ? ???????? ?????? – ?? ?????? ??????? ?????? “?? ??????????? _____ ?????? ? ???????? ??????????? ???? ?????? ??????????”, _____ ???? ??????????? ??????? ? “???????? _____” ??????????? ? ????????? (_____ 1865: 123-125).

???? _____ ????????? ?????????????? ? ???????? ???????? ??????????? ??????????? _____ ?????? ?? ??????????? ??? ?? ???????????? ??????, ??????, ?????????????, ??? ?? ????????? ????????? ?? _____ _____, ??????? ? ???? ???????? ??????? – ??????????? ???? – _____ _____ ???? ??, ??? ??? ??????????? ??? ????????, ??? ??????????? ??????? ???? ?????? ??? ???????????. ??? ?????? ?????????????, ??????? _____ ?????? _____ _____ ??????????, ??? ????????????? ???? – ??? “_____ ? ??????? ???????, ????????? _____ ? ??????? ? ?????? ???????? ?????? ??????????? ??????”, ? ?????? ?? ????????? ?? ???????? ?????? _____ ????????????? (Skarga 1597: 74, 87–93).

? ??????????? ???????? ???????? ????????? _____ ?????????????????? ???????????, ?????? (Kot

1932; Szczucki 1964), ???????? ??????? ?? ?????? ???? ?????? ??????????? ??? ??????????? ???????, ? ????? ??????, ??????????? ? ????????????? ???? ???? (1658), ??????????? ? ???????? ???????????????? ??????????? ???????? ?????????????????. ?? ???????? ?????? ???????, ???? ??????? ??????????? ? 1646 ?. ??????????? ????????????? ?????????? ? ???? ?????????? ???????? ?????? ???????? ? ???? ???????, ?????????? ?????? ???????, ??????? (Filozofia i my?l 1979: 540).

? ???????? ?????????????????? ????????? ??????????? ??? ????????????? ????????????? ? ????? ?? ??????????? ?????, ? ????????????? ???????????????? ? ??????????? ???????? ?????? ? ?????????? ???????, ???????? ???????? ? ????????? ??????????? ?? ???? ???????????, ??????????? ? ????????????? ?????? ???? ???????? ?????? ????????. ???, ???????? ??????????? “??????????”, – ? ?????????, ? ????????????? ? ????????, – ?????? ?????? ?? ?????? ????? ????????? ? ??? ????????, ? ?? ????????? ??? ???? ?????? (??.: Wojciech 1592; ?aszcz 1592); ? ???? ??????? ?????? ??????????? ? ??????? ? ?????????????, ? ??????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??????. ???? ???????? ?????? ???????? ??????? ? ?????? ???????????????? ????????? ??? ????????? ????? ????????? ?? ???? ??????????? ????????: “???? ??? ?????????? ????????? ? ???????, ???? ? ?? ?????? ???? ? ?????? ???????? ???????. ? ???????? 12 ???? ????????????? ???????? ???????????? ? ????, ???? ???????? ??????????, ? ?????????? ?????? ????????? ? ????????? ? ????????? ????? ? ??????????? ?????. ???????????? ????????? ?? ?????????? ???????, ??????? ????? ?????? ??? ????????? ? ?????? ??????. ? ??????? ??, ??? ??????, ??? ?? ??? ??? ?? ????? ??????????, ? ??? ???? ?? ???? ????-?????? ???? ?????? ??????????, ????????? ???? ????” (Lubieniecki 1616:52-53).

???????????? ?????-??????????? ???????? ?????????? ? “?????????? ????” ?????? ?? ????, ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ???, ????????? ????, ???, ? ??????? ?? ?????????? ????? ??????????, ?? ?????? ?? ?????? ????, ?? ? ???????? ?????, ? ????? ???????? ? ????????? ?????. ??? ????????? ??? ???????????? ? ??????????? ??????????, ??????????? ???????? ? ???????????? ???????, ?????????????? ??????????. ?? ????????? ? ????? ????????????? ???????????? ?????????? ?? ??????????, ???????????????, ??????? ?????????? ? ?????????? ???????, ? ?????? ? ??????,??? ??????? ??????? ????????: “????????? ??? ? ???? ?????? ???????????? ?????????? ???????? ? ?????? ?????? ????????? [??????] ??????? ?? ?? ?????????? ??????, ?????????? ? ???????? ? ??????? ?????? ??? ?? ?????? ? ?? ???????, ? ??? ???????????? ? ???????????? ? ?????????? ??? ???????, ????????, ??? ??? ?????????? ???????? ???????, ????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ?????????? ????????, ? ?????? ????? ?????? ?????????? ????” (Jizchak 1594: 9).

????????, ???? ????????, ????????? ?? ???? ?????? (???????? ???????? ? ??????? ???????????) ????, ????????????? ????????????? ? ?????? ??????????? ??????? ??? ? ??????, ??? ? – ? ????????? [2] – ? ????????, ???????????? ?????????? ????? ?????????? ???????? ???????? ???????? ?????? ? ??????????, ?? ?????? ????????? ? ????, ??? ?? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????, ? ???????????? ???????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ??????????? ????? ??????.

??????? ????, ??? ?? ??????? ??????? ??????? ????? ? ????????? ????????? ?????????? ???????? ??????? ?? ??????? ????????? (????? 2000: 260, ??????? 2002: 9), ? ?????? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ? ????? ?????????? ????? ????? ?????? ?????????? ?? ???????????? ?????, ??? ?? ?? ????????? ??????? ???????? – ?? ? ???????????? ??????, ? ? ??????? ????? ??????. “??????????? ? ?????????” ????????? ??????? ??????????? ??????? ?????????? ? ??????????????? ??????????? ???????????? ???????? ?????????? ?????? ??? ?????????? ???????????? ????? (Nicholls 1993: 273; Ben-Sasson 1973).

??????????? ? ????? (??????????????????) ??????? ?????????? ????????? ?????? ????????? ????????, “???????????? ??????????????????”, ??????? ??? ??????????, ? ????????, ? ?????????? ????????????? ?????? – ? ? ???? ??? ????????? ?????????? ? ???????, ?????? ???

????????, ?????????????? ??????? ????????, ?? ??????? ?????????????.

????????????? ???? ??????? ?? ?????????? ????????????? ?? ???? ? ???????? ?? ???????? ? ???????. ?? ???? ????? ?????? ? ?? ???????, ?????????? ??????? ??????????? ???????? ????????? ???????, ????????, ????? ?????????????? ?? ???????. “??? ??????? ??????, ???????, ?????, ??????? ? ????????, ?????? ??????? ??? ?????? ????????????? ????? ? ????????, ??????? ?????? ? ?????????????? ?? ??????? ? ??? ??????, ??? ????????, ????? ??? ??? ?????????? ???? ?? ????”[3], – ????????? ? ????????? ????????????? ?????? ?????? XVI–XVII ??. “?????? ????” (Bogowie 187). ??? ?????, ??? ? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????, ??????? ? ??????? ??????, ????????, ???????, ??? ???????? ??????????? ??????? ?? ???? ? ???????? ?? “?????????” ????????????? ????????? ?????? ?? ??????? ??????, ????? ??????????? ??????, ? ??? ?????????? ???? ?? ?????? ????? ????????? ??????????.

? ?????????? ????? ???? ????? ?????????? ? ????????? ? ??????????, ?? ?????? ??????, ? ??????? ????? ??????, ?????-????????????? ?????????. ????????? ??????? ????????? – ????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ? ?????????? ???? ? ?????? ?????? ?????????? II – ? ?????????????? ???? ????????, ??? ?????????? “?????????????” (Lubienecki 1616: 52). ? ??? ???????? ????????, ?????????? ????????? ? ?????????? ? ?????? ?????? ??????? ? ??????? ????, ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ????, ??????????? ??????? ??????, ???????? ????????? ????????? ????????? ??????????-????????? ?????? (?????????? ???????, ?????????? ?????????? ? ???? ? ??.). ????????????? ????? ???????? ? ??????????? ?????????? ???????? ????????? ??? ????????????? ??? ? ?????????????? ????????? ?????????? ?????????? _____, ??? ? ? ???????? ????????? – ?? ??????? ???? ?????????? ? ?????? ??????, ??????? _____ ??????? ?????????? ?????????????? ???????? ?? ????????, ???? ???????? ???? ?? ?????? _____ ???????? (Pietrzyk : 23).

????????? ?????? ? _____ ?????? ??????????, ?? ?????? ????????? ?????????????, ?? ???????? ??? ????????????? ??????? ? ?? _____, ?? ?????? ??? ??????? ???? ??????????? ? ????????????? (Funkenstein 1994: 28). ? ???????? ? ??? ?????????? ? _____ ????????? ?????????????? _____ ?????? (1530–1593), ?????????? ?????? ?? ???????? ???? ? ?????????? ????????? ? ?? ?????? ??????? ?????????? ?? ??????????? ??????????? ????????????? ??????. ???? ?????????? ?????????????? ? ??, ??? _____ ?????????? ???????????? ???????? ?????? ?????????? ? ?????????? (? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?? ??????????, ?? ?????????? ?? ?????? ???? ?? ????????? ? _____ ???????) ?????? ?????? ? ? ????????? ?????? ?????????? ???????, ??? ? ?????? ?? _____ ??????????, ? ?? ???????? ?????? (Budny 1583; Kot 1956).

??????, ???? ??? ????, ??? ?????? ??? ???? ?????????? ??????, ???????? ??, ?????????????? ??? ????????????? ? ???????, ??? ? ??? ?????? ????????? ???????? _____ (????????, ? ???????? “?? ???????? ?????????? ??????????? ????”: “????????? _____ ?????????? ??? ???, ??? ?, ??????? ??????? ??????, ??????? ? ?????????? ????????” – Budny 1576; Merczyng 1913), ?? ???????????? ??? ????????????? ???????? ? ??????????, ??????? ?????????? ????????? ???????????: “?????? ? ???? ?????? ????????? ? _____ ??????? ???? ??????” (Literatura Aria?ska 1959: 319, 604). ??????? ????????, ??? ????????? ????????? ??????? ??????? ??????? ? ???????????? ???????? ? ???????? ??????????? ????????? ??????. ???, ???? ?????? ?? ???? ?????????????? ? ??? ??????????? ?????????? ? ????????, ?????????????? ???? ? ??????? ???????? ???????? ??????????.

???? ? ?????????? ?????????? _____ ?????? ??????????? ??? ??????????? ??????? ??????, ?? _____ ?? ???? ??????????? ??????????? ?????????? ? ??? ??? ?? ??????, ???????? ??? (????????: “…??? ?? ???? _____ ??????, ???????? ??????????? ?????????? _____ ?????? ? _____ ??????????? ? ???? ? _____ ?????? _____?” (Jizchak 1594: 50; ??. _____: 91, 95). ?????????? ??????????? ??????????? ? ???, ??? ??????? _____ ?? _____, ??? ? ?????????? ?????? ??? ??????? _____ ???????, _____ ????????? ???? ????????????? ??????? ?? ???? ?? ????????

????? “????????????? ???????” (Budny 1583), ?????????????, ??? ??????????? ?????, ?????? ??????? ????? ??????, ????????? ?????, ? ????? ???? ??????? ???? ?? ????? ????????? ???????????. ? ??? ??, ??? ??????????, ??? ?????????? ??? ?????? – ???? ??????, ? ?????? – ??????, ????????? ? ??????????, ????????? ????? ?? ????? ???????? ??????, ?? ?????????? ???????? ????????? ??????? ?????, ? ?????????? ???? ?????? “?????? ?????? ????????????? ?? ???????? ? ?????? ??????, ??? ????? ?????? ?? ????????? 39, 41 ? ? ?????? ?????? ????? ?????????” (Jizchak 1594: 120). ???????? ? ???????? ????????????? ? ?????????? ??????????? (? ??? ??? ????????????? ??? ??? ????????????), ????? ????????, ??? ??????? ?? ????? ?? ????????? ?????? ?? “????????? ???????? ?????? ???????” (Jizchak 1594: 283).

?????????? ?????? ? ????????????? ??????, ????? ????????? ?? “?????? ????? (?.?. ???????????. – *?. ?.*) ??????”, ??????? ??????????? ? ?????? ????????, ????????? ? ?????, ??????????? ?? ????????? ? ???????, ??????? ???????? ???????? ??????? ? ????????, ????? ???????, ?????? ??????????. ????? ??? ?? ???????? ??????? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ????? “De uno vero Deo”, ??????? ???????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ??-??????? ????????? “???????” (“??????????? ??????, ?????????? ??-???????? ????????, ?? ?? ?? ?????? ??????? ??????? ???????????, ? ??????? ??????? ?????? ??????????? ? ????????? ???????? ???????????? ????, ? ? ??????????? ?? ????????? ????????, ???????? ??? ????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ????????, ??????????? ?????????? ? ????????? ????????”. – Czechowic 1575; ???????? 2000: 131–136, 144–147) ? “??? ???” (Czechowic 1578), ?? ?????? ??????????? ???? ??????????????? ? ??????????? ??????????? ?????????, ?? ?????? ??????????????? ? ?????????? ? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ??????, ?? ? ????????, ??? ??? ? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????????? “????” ?????????? ??????????? ???????? ??????????????????? ??????? ? ??????, ?????????? ??? ?? ???????????? ?????????? ???????? ?? ????? ??????? (Jizchak 1594: 86).

???????????? ??????????? ??????? ?? ???? ??????????????? ? ???????????? ????????, ??????????? ????? ?????????? ? ????????????. ???? ???? ???????? ? ??????????, ?? ???????? ??????? ????? ?????????????????? ?????? – ??? ? ??? ???????, ????? ??? ??????????? (“???? ??, ??????????, ??????????????? ?????? ??????? ??????, ???????? ???? ????????????? ???????? ???????, ? ??????????????? ? ?? ???????!” – Jizchak 1873: 42–43), ??? ? ? ??? ???????, ????? ??? ????????: “????????, ??? ?????????? ??????? ????????, ????? ?????????? ?????????, ??? ? ??????????? ??????? ??????, ???????? ????? ??????????, ???????? ???? ???? [4] ? ????????????? ????? ???? ? ??????, ???????? ??? ?????????, ??? ????? [elohim], ??????? ????? ??????????? ?? ???????????? ?????, ???????? ??????, ? ?????? ????, ???? ? ??????? ????”. ???, ??????????, ???????? ??????????? ??????? ? ??????? ?????????? ?????????? (Jizchak 1594: 78).

?????? ???? “??????, ??? ???, ??????????? ???? ??????, ? ?? ???????? ?????? ?????? ?????” (?????? 1: 8) ? ???????? ??????? ?????????? ?????, ????? ????? ?????????? ? ???????? ???????, ??????????? ??????????? ??? ???????? “??????” ??? “??????”, ? ?????? ? ??? ??????????? ?????????? ? ??????????? ??????? ?????????????? ???????: “?????????? ???????, ??? ???? ??????? ??? ???? ?? ??? ??? ????? ? ???? ?????-?? ???? ?????, ????? ????????, ??? ???????? ??? ???????? ? ?????? ??????? ? ????? ???????? “??????”, ?? ???????? 85, ???? ?? ? ???? ?????????? ? ?? ???????? ?? ????”.

? ??????????? ??????? ???????? ? ???????? ??? ????? ?????, ??? ? ?????????? ??????????? ???????? ???? ?? ?????? – “????? ????? ?? ?????? ?????, ?? ??????? ??????? ????????, ?? ???????, ? ???? ???????, ???????? ????? ????? ??? ?? ?????? ???????” (Czechowic 1581; Rosenthal 1966; ???????? 2000: 136, 147) ???????? ??? ?????????? ??????????? ?? ?????????? ????? ? ?????????????. ??????? ????????????? ??????? ? “?????? ? ??????????? ???????”, “???????????? ???????”, ?.?. ?????????????, ? ????? ? “????????? ? ?????? ??????” – ?????? ?? ??????, ??????? ????? ???? ?????? ? ???, ????? “????? ????? ????? ? ??????? ???????”, ? ????? ???????? ? ???????? ??????????? ???? ??????????? ? ??????

??????????? ? ??? ?????????, ??????????? “??????? ??????????? ?????? ????????? ???????” (Czechowic 1581).

? ????? ?????????? ? ???????? ????? ??????????? ?????? ?????-??????????? ????????? ??? ????? ????????? ????????? ??????????? ?? ????????? ? ?????????????????? ??????????????. ???? ???????? ? ?????????? ??? ????????????? ?????????? ?????? ????????? ?????? ? ???? ??????????? ????????? ?????, ????????? ??????????? ????????, ?????? ??????? ?????????? ? ???? ???????. ??? ???????? ? ? ???????????????? ??????????? ???????? ?????????? ?????? ? ??????????? ??????, ? ??????????? ???? ?????????? ??????? ??????????????? ???? ????????? ????????????? ????????? (??.: Bogowie 187) ? ????????????? ??????????? ???????????? ? ??????????????? ?????? ????? (???????? 2001: 226–228). ????????? ???????????? ? ????????? ????????????? ? ??????????? ????? ?????? ????????-??????????????? ????????????? (Nowak 1968), ?????????? ????? ?????? ?? ??????????????????? ????????.

?????? ??????? ??????????, ??? ? ???????? ???????? ???????? ?????????? ? ????????? ???????????????? ?????, ? ??????? ??????? ?????????? ????? ??? ???????????? ? ???????? ?????????? ????????. ??? ????? ????? ? ? ??????????? ???? “?????? ?????”, ??? ????????? ??????????? ???????????? ? ?????????? ???????? ?? ?? ????????? ?? ??????? ?????? ? ????????, ? ? “??????????? ???????” ????????, ??? ??????? ????? ??????? ?????????? ??? ????????, ??? ? ?????? (? ??, ? ?????? ??????????? ???????? ? ?????????? ??????? ??? ????????? ??????, ???????? ??????? ??????? ???????? ??????????? ??????????, ???????????? ????????????? ????? ?????? ??? ????????). ?????????? ????????? ? ?????? ????? ? ????, ????? ?? ???????, ??? ????? ?? ??????????? ?? ????? ?????????? – ????????? ???????????? ???????????? ?????????? ???????, ????????? ?? ?????? (Czechowic 1575).

? ??????????? ?????????? ??????? ???????????? ????? “????????” ????????? ?? ?????? ????????? ??????, ?? ? ??????, ? ??????: ???, ????????? ???????? ???? ?? “??????” ???????? ????????, ??? ???????? ? ???? ? ????????? ??? ????????? ????????? ???????? ?? ????? ??????? (26: 4–5): “?? ??????? ??????? ?? ???????? ???, ???? ? ???? ?? ????????? ???????? ???; ?? ??????? ??????? ?? ???????? ???, ????? ?? ?? ???? ???????? ? ?????? ?????”. ? ???? ???????, ???????? ?????? ???????? ???????? (Czechowic 1594), ?????? ?????? ?????? ??? ????????? ?? ?? ?? ????????, ???????, ??? ?????? ??????? ????????? ? ???? ??????? “?? ??????? ??????”, ? ?? ? ?????? ?????? ??????????? ?????? – “???????, ????? ?? ?? ??????? ???? ??????” (?aszcz 1597).

??????????? ? ???????-????????? ??????????? ? 1564 ?. ????? ???????? ??? ???????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?? ?????? ????????? ????? ? ????????, ??? ???????? ???????? ?? ?????? ????? ???????????, ?? ? ????? ????????? (??.: Literatura antyjezuicka 1963), ?????? ???? ????????? ??? ??????? ???????, ???????? ????????? ?? ? ??????????? ?????????. ????????? ???????? ? ??????????? ?? ???????????????, ???? ????? ?????? ? ??? ???????? ?????? ??????????? ?? ????????? ? ?????? ? ???????? (Baron 1976: 84).

? “?????? ??????” (1579)[5] – ?????? ?????? ???? ??????????? ?? ???????? ?????, – ???????????? ???? ?????????? ????? ? ??????????, ?????????? ??????? ? ??????????? ????? ?????? (1536–1612), ????????? ???? ??????????? ? ?????? ??????????? ? ?????????????. ????????, ????? “????????? ????????? ? ??????????” ?????????? ? ????????? ????????? ?????? ? ????????? ??????????????? ???????? ????? – ???? (Skarga 1579: 524); ??????????? ?????? “???? ???????” – ?????????? ??????? ??????????, ???? ??? ???????? ????????? ???????? ?????? ? ??????????, – ???????? ??????????? ? ??? ?????? ? ????????, ????????, ? ????????? ? ???? ????? ??????? ? ?????? ?????? ?????? (Skarga 1859: 335–338). ??????? ???????????? ????????? ??? ?????? ???????? ??????? ??????, ????????? “??? ?????????? ? ??????????? ?????? ??????, ??????? ?????????? ? ?????? ????” ? ?????????? ??

??? ?????????? ? ???? (Skarga 1579: 91–99).

??????????? ? ???? ???????????? ? ?????? ?????????? ????????? ???????? ????? ?? ?????? (Skarga 1579: 219–220), ???????? ? ??????-????????????? (Skarga 1579: 132, 524), ?????? ? ???????????? ?????????? ?????? ? ????????? ??????? ?????????, ? ???????? – ?????? (Skarga 1579: 221) ????? ??? ????????? ???????? ? ?????????? ? ?????????????? ??????????? ?????? ???????????? ??????????.

? ??????????? ?????? ?????????? ???? (28.9.1612) ?????? ?????????? ??????? ? ??? ???????? ????????, ??????? ??????????, ?????? ??? ??????????? ?? ?? ????????? ? ????? ?????? ??????????: “????? ????? ?? ???????? ??????, ??????????? ?????????, – ???????? ????? ?????????? ??????? ?? ?? ??? ??????????, ????????? ???????????, ????????? ??????????, ? ????? ?????? ?? ? ??????????? ??????”. ????? ??????? ??????, “?????? ??????????? ????????? ??????????”, ?????? ??????? “?? ??????????? ???????”. ????? “????????????, ??????, ????? ?????????? ? ?????? ???? ? ?????? ??????????? ??????, ?? ??????????? ?? ? ??????? ??????, ???????? ???????????? ????? ???? ??????? ????? <…> ? ???? ???????? 1595 ? ??????? ??????????? ????? ?? ??????????? ?????? ? ?? ??????????? ????????? ? ??????? ???????? ????? ????? ??????????” (Skarga 1579: XVII).

???????? ??????????? ????? ????????????? ??????? ?????? ??? ???????? ???????, ??? ?????, ??????? ??????? ?? ????????? ??????????? ????, ?, ????????????, ?? ???????? ?????? ??????, ???????? ??????? ? ???? ?? ????????? ? ??????????? ? ???? ????????? ?? ?????????? (Skarga 1592). ??????? ?? ??????? ? ????????????? ? ???????? ??????? ??????? ??????, ?? ??????????? ??????? ????????????? ???????, ?????????? ?? “??????????? ??????????”. ? ????? “???????? ??????????” ??????, ?????????? ?????? ???????? ? ??? ?????????? ??????????? ?????? ?????????? III, ????????? ? ???????? ???? (Skarga 1597: 53–72), ? ??????????? ????????????? “?????” ? ?????? ??????????? ??????? – ?????????? ???????????, ???????, ?? ??? ?????????, ????? ???????? ? ?????? ??????????? (Skarga 1597: 74, 87–93).

? 30-? ???? XVII ?. ?????? ?????????? ??????????, ?????? ??????????, ??????????? ???????????? ???????? ? ???????????, ???????? ? ??????????? ?????????????? ????????: “??????? (???????????????? ? ??????????? ??????????? ????????? ??????????? ???????????. – *?. ?.*) ? ?????????? (?.?. ???????????. – *?. ?.*) ?????????? ???????????”, ????????? *dissidentes* ???????? *distantes* – “??? ?? ???? ?? ????? ???? ??????? ?? ??????? ?????????, ??? ???? ?? ?????” (Augustyniak 2000: 95). ????????? ??????????? ????????? ???? ????????? ??????, ????? ???????????? ???????? ?? ????? ???? ???????????? ??????????? ?????????.

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- ??????? 2002 – *??????? ?.* ????????? ? ??????????? ???????????? ?????? ? ??????? ?????????? / ???. ?. ????????. ?., 2002.
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2. ????????? ??????? ? ??????????? ???????????? (?.?. ??????????) "??????????? ????" ????? ? ??????? ??? ????? ????????? "Tela ignea satanae" (Altdorf, 1681), ?????????? ??????? ?. ??????? ????? ? ??????? ? 1851 ?., ?????????? ??????? ? ????????? ?? ???????? ???? – ? 1873 ?.
3. Partz w domich, patrz w ko?cielech i na kamienicach,
   Wsz?dy pe?no ba?wanów, s?upów, jawnych licach.
   Gdzie ile ziem, miast, panów, tyle i patronów,
   Sk?d ?ydom i poganom ?miech z tych zabobonów,
   Którzy st?d blu?ni? Pana i nauk? jego,
   Mniemaj?c, by te b??dy wszytki posz?y z niego.
   Przeto? Panie, zlituj si?, a zatra? te bogi,
   Króluj sam, a wyswobód? z b??du lud ubogi
4. ? ?????? ???????? ??? ???? (???. 1: 1).
5. ?????????? ????????????? ??????? XVI–XVII ??. ????? ????????? ???????? ?????????? (? ??? ????? 8 ????????????); ???? ???????? ? ??? ?????????? ??????? ???????? (Nowy Korbut 1965: 236–237).

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