



## **Jewish conversions to Catholicism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries**

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Weakened by the religious challenges of the Protestant Reformation, the early modern Catholic Church sought “stability and reassurance.”<sup>1</sup> One way it did so was through “tales of individual Jewish conversions,” which went hand in hand with aggressive conversionary efforts. In Rome, these efforts began in the sixteenth century, through the burning of the Talmud and through the pressure exerted by ghetto life. In 1584, Gregory XIII ordered Roman Jews to submit to forced preaching.<sup>2</sup>

This process repeated itself in the mid-eighteenth century, especially under Pope Benedict XIV. But the motives this time were different. Rather than battling disintegrating Catholic unity, as it did in the sixteenth century, the eighteenth century papacy was responding to religious and political challenges that accompanied the rise of anti-clericalism, secularism, and demands for religious tolerance.<sup>3</sup> Similar, albeit perhaps more subtle, attempts to convert Jews, complemented by tales and polemics decrying Jewish error and telling of conversionary miracles, were also known in late seventeenth and eighteenth century Poland. Yet contrastingly, the eighteenth century Polish Church and its clergy were reacting to stimuli similar to those the Church in Rome had reacted to over a century and a half before. As in so many other areas of “modernization,” in the matter of policy, and attitudes, toward Jews, Poland once again lagged behind, its Church still embroiled in pre-modern religious and political conflicts and still responding to the aftershocks of early modern religious crises and wars, including those involving Protestants, Muslims and the Eastern Orthodox.<sup>4</sup> Seeking to buttress itself and to enhance its weakened authority, and perhaps even more its weakened prestige in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Polish clergy resorted to mission and to glorifying narrative of the kind that would show, as was so often said in sixteenth century Rome, that truly, there was only “one flock and one pastor.”<sup>5</sup> Battling non-Catholics and unruly secular leadership created a sense of purpose. More importantly, it reassured.

Admittedly, neither efforts to convert Jews in Poland, nor the results, were spectacular. Still, materials from numerous Church archives point to a steady, if limited, influx of converts to Catholicism not only from Judaism, but also

Protestantism, and Orthodoxy.<sup>6</sup> These conversions warrant examination regardless of their small absolute and relative number.<sup>7</sup> Among other things, considering the archival materials that still await exploration, advances made to Jews may have been more common than previously thought.<sup>8</sup> Bishop Franciszek Antoni Kobielski (1679–1755), of Łuck, famously tried to convert Jews by preaching in synagogues.<sup>9</sup> But he is also known for preaching to Protestants. Reports sent to Rome by Jesuit missions and colleges also mention Jesuit missionary initiatives to Jews, Protestants and “transgressing Catholics.”<sup>10</sup> Franciscan Reformed Conventuals,<sup>11</sup> too, made advances to Jews and Protestants in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, as Waldemar Kowalski’s publication of the Stopnica and Pinczów registry of converts shows.<sup>12</sup> Jews, therefore, were one of many targets in the Church’s battle for religious primacy in early modern Poland.

Most previous studies of Jewish converts to Christianity in Poland have focused either on the Jews who were ennobled following conversion, or on the Frankists, the followers of the Jewish messianic pretender Jacob Frank, who accepted Catholicism en masse in the late 1750s and 1760s.<sup>13</sup> This focus may reflect both the prominence of these cases and the availability of data. Most Polish neophytes, however, were of lower rank and were not ennobled after converting. Few, if any, Polish Jewish converts to Christianity played a role in Christian scholarship corresponding to that of Jewish converts in German lands.<sup>14</sup> Poland had no converts comparable to the controversial German Johannes Pfefferkorn.<sup>15</sup>

The difference in the type and caliber of converts in Poland and in German lands may be partly explained by the markedly different conditions. Despite social interaction between Jews and Catholics in early modern Poland, there was virtually no intellectual exchange there between these groups. The Catholic insistence on the Latin Vulgate as the only authoritative version of the Bible and the restrictions the Church placed on the study of the Bible and other unauthorized texts all but eliminated the need for Catholics to study the Hebrew language and Scriptures. This in turn lessened the need for Jewish-Catholic intellectual exchange and the opportunity for converts to become prominent as a result.<sup>16</sup> But, still, there were converts, as documents in the Jesuit Archive in Rome (ARSI) attest. These documents are especially important for observing Jewish conversions to Catholicism before the first partition of Poland in 1772.

### **Jewish converts to Catholicism and their numbers**

Jesuits interest in conversion is signaled by a prayer offered by Jan Drews (1649–1710):

Let us pray for the infidel Jews so that God our Lord may uncover their hearts and so that they may know Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Eternal Almighty God, you who do not push the Jewish infidelity away from your mercy, hear our prayers, which we offer for the enlightenment of your blind people so that they may be led away from their darkness . . .<sup>17</sup>

Whether Jews succeeded in making conversions cannot be said, but other Jesuits did succeed, converting Jews, as well as other non-Catholics, and reconciling transgressing Catholics, too. The *Litterae Annuae*, the annual reports sent to Rome from Jesuit colleges and missions, detailing Jesuit activities in early modern Poland-Lithuania,<sup>18</sup> provide ample material for investigation, including about the number of converts to Catholicism under the auspices of Polish Jesuit institutions. As with almost any official reports, the statistics are neither complete nor entirely accurate; the desire to impress superiors in Rome may have led to exaggeration. However, the reports deserve attention, since they often provide the names<sup>19</sup> and personal information about individual converts, as well as the names of particular clerics. They may also point to a broader phenomenon of Jewish conversions to Catholicism that future research in the archives of other religious orders may illuminate.

Documents at the ARSI indicate that each year, Jews, along with other non-Catholics, converted to Catholicism at Jesuit churches and colleges. Between 1712 and 1715, 11 Jews, 18 Lutherans, and 3 Calvinists converted in the Jesuit College in Lvov, and between 1754 and 1755, there were 4 Jewish and 22 Lutheran converts at the Jesuit church in Cracow. In Poznań during the same period, there were 5 Jewish, 52 Lutheran, and 2 Calvinist converts.<sup>20</sup> These numbers, even if incomplete, suggest trends in Jesuit missionary work and may highlight conversion patterns within Poland-Lithuania.

Data from the Jesuit administrative Province of Poland for 1718–1755 show a similar pattern (Table 1).<sup>21</sup>

The number of Jewish converts is fairly constant each year, except for 1738, when it is highest (67) and 1750 when it is lowest (2). Conversions in 1738 may be related to the relatively little known Jewish messianic expectations of 1740.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, there is a surge in conversions between 1739 and 1744 in the Vitebsk region, according to the *fructus spirituales* of the Vitebsk Jesuits. One convert listed by the Vitebsk Jesuits explicitly linked his conversion to the disappointments of 1740.<sup>25</sup>

These reports not only give the converts' names, but the locations where conversions occurred. In some cases, one can trace the activities of particular Jesuits.<sup>26</sup> The largest numbers of Jews during those years were converted in Cracow (17), Poznań (Posen, 16), and Stanisławów near Lwów (15). In more provincial locations, one or two Jewish converts were noted. The proportion of Lutherans converting to Catholicism, compared to Calvinists, is

Table 1.

Year	Total number of converts to Catholicism	Jews	Protestants: Lutherans and Calvinists	Schismatics (i.e., Russian and Greek Orthodox)	Others: Apostates, Atheists, Muslim, "Possessed by demon through a contract," etc.
1718	187	24	104 <sup>22</sup>	55	4
1721	212	21	164	13	14
1722	181	26	110	45	n/a
1725	308	28	251: 216 Lutherans, 35 Calvinists	19	10
1733	150	24	119	2	5
1738	261	67	172: 169 Lutherans, 3 Calvinists	6	16
1739	366	25	322: 312 Lutherans, 10 Calvinists	11	8
1741	309	21	271: 265 Lutherans, 6 Calvinists	7	10
1744	239	22	205: 194 Lutherans, 11 Calvinists	7	5
1746	238	27	119: 115 Lutherans, 4 Calvinists	89	3
1750 <sup>23</sup>	1611	2	72: 71 Lutherans, 1 Calvinist	1535	2
1751	379	9	268: 263 Lutherans, 5 Calvinists	87	15
1752	181	18	138: 126 Lutherans, 12 Calvinists	17	8
1753	474	24	208: 182 Lutherans, 26 Calvinists	219	23
1754	170	17	103: 96 Lutherans, 7 Calvinists	27	23
1755	215	22	144: 141 Lutherans, 3 Calvinists	42	7
Total	5481	377	2770	2181	153

relatively constant. As Table 1 shows, Lutheran converts consistently and significantly outnumbered Calvinists. This may relate to demographic differences between Lutherans and Calvinists. Yet it is more likely that the high number of Lutherans reflects special efforts by Jesuits, who clearly targeted Protestant, German-speaking merchants.<sup>27</sup> Records from the Jesuit ad-

Table 2.

Year	Total	Jews	Protestants	Schismatics	Other
1743	351	23	272: 265 Lutherans, 7 Calvinists	45	11
1744	822	22	225: 218 Lutherans, 7 Calvinists	567	8
1747 <sup>30</sup>	364	33	238: 224 Lutherans, 14 Calvinists	93	n/a see "Jews"
1748	492	33	327: 314 Lutherans, 13 Calvinists	132	n/a see "Jews"
1753	460	32	219: 199 Lutherans, 20 Calvinists	190	19
1754	949	32	232: 220 Lutherans, 12 Calvinists	685	n/a
1755	443	32	217: 210 Lutherans, 7 Calvinists	194	n/a
Total	3881	207	1730	1906	n/a

Table 3.

Year	Livonia	Łuck–Brest	Płock	Poznań (including Warsaw)	Samogitia	Varmia	Vilna
1743	9	–	1	1	2	–	10
1744	1	–	1	3	–	–	17
1747	1	3	2	–	5	–	22
1748	2	1	2	–	3	2	23
1753	2	–	5	3	3	–	19
1754	3	1	2	4	–	–	22
1755	1	9	1	4	–	–	17
Total	19	14	14	15	13	2	130

ministrative Province of Lithuania for 1743–1755 reveal a similar trend<sup>28</sup> (Table 2).<sup>29</sup>

The number of Jewish converts ranges from 22 to 33. Again, converts from Lutheranism significantly outnumber those from Calvinism. These documents can also be broken down by region to show where the 207 Jews converted during these twelve years (Table 3).<sup>31</sup>

Jesuits were apparently most successful in the Vilna diocese, which averaged just over ten converts per year. This may be explained by the fact that

Vilna was the largest diocese in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Society of Jesus had long been established there, with its famous academy and press.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the Jewish population of Vilna was larger than that in regions such as Livonia or Varmia. The statistic for the Łuck region, which was headed by the active Bishop Kobielski, is curious. The small number of Jewish converts seems to contradict his claim that “many of the infidels were converted and baptized,”<sup>33</sup> although the number may be simply a sign of Jesuit weakness. In Kobielski’s diocese, Dominicans were more prominent,<sup>34</sup> whereas Jesuits had a larger presence in the Lithuanian parts of the eastern provinces of the Commonwealth.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the Vilna region covered extensive territory that included fifteen towns, such as Vilna itself, Grodno, Słuck, and Vitebsk. The Łuck region covered only the two towns of Pinsk and Drohiczyn. Given Bishop Kobielski’s missionary activity and reports and the Jesuit data from the Łuck region, one might speculate that there were a variety of Church institutions and individual clergy working toward converting Jews.

The Jesuit *Litterae Annuae* for 1685–1722, the *Litterae Annuae* for Great Poland for 1754–1770; and the *Historia Provinciae Poloniae Minorae* for 1754–1770 indicate that 50 of about 75 converts from Jesuit institutions whose gender is known were men.<sup>36</sup> Others were Jewish women (15) and Jewish children (10).<sup>37</sup> Among the children, five converted with their parents – four girls with their mothers and one boy with his father. The remaining five children were males aged 10 to 17.<sup>38</sup> A twenty-two-year-old woman who converted in Przemyśl in 1767 is said to have abandoned “the sect and her husband” (*sectam et maritum deservit*),<sup>39</sup> which could have meant either Judaism or Frankism. In addition, there were more than 260 Jewish converts whose gender was not disclosed. They are identified only as “converted *ex Iudaismo*.” The data does not permit sound conclusions on gender, but if we combine the information with data from Jesuits in Vitebsk and Franciscan missions in Pińczów and Stopnica, it appears that men who converted in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were sometimes financially supported and encouraged to convert by Polish nobles with whom they had business relations.<sup>40</sup> Jewish women may have been less likely to have direct, extended business contacts with nobles and may have been prompted to convert more by personal circumstances, as was the case of a Jewish woman who converted because her Jewish husband had abandoned her.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Jesuit records indicate that many Jewish women married Christian men immediately after their conversions.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from conversion, some of the sources reveal traces of “apostasy” from Catholicism to Judaism, which were most often recorded when the “apostates” reverted to Christianity. A few “apostates” may have been Jewish converts to Christianity who returned to Judaism, but were later “recon-

verted” to Christianity. One such Jew, baptized by a Greek Orthodox priest in Niemirów, escaped that town, returned to Judaism, was apprehended, persuaded to renounce “his errors” by a Jesuit missionary, and, finally, converted to Catholicism.<sup>43</sup> A number of individuals referred to as “apostate *a Fide Catholica ad Judaismum*”<sup>44</sup> may have been Christians, often women, who adopted Judaism, although without formal conversion. Maryna Dawidowa and Maryna Wojciechówna were tried and punished for apostasy in the town of Dubno (today part of Ukraine) in 1716.<sup>45</sup> Such cases, as well as Protestant missions in Poland, must have contributed to the Church’s sense of embattled insecurity and underlined further the need it felt for reassurance.

### Church regulations and Jewish converts

The increase in conversionary efforts coincided with the general rise of interest by the Polish Church hierarchy in Jews. After paying relatively little attention to Poland’s Jews for centuries, in the late 1600s and 1700s, Polish Church officials became interested in regulating Jews and Jewish-Christian interaction.<sup>46</sup> Some Church officials, who were worried that the Jewish population was growing rapidly and overtaking the overall population in Christian towns, considered measures that would limit Jewish growth and proportionately increase the Christian population, both of which Jewish conversions to Catholicism could have achieved simultaneously. In the seventeenth century, as archival evidence attests, few Church officials pursued this strategy eagerly, but by the early eighteenth century, bishops began to issue rulings in pastoral letters and synodal legislation in support of conversion alongside the efforts of the Catholic clergy itself.

Rulings made at eighteenth-century synods were based on a bull of Clement XI in 1704, which consolidated and reinforced texts issued by his predecessors. In particular, Clement XI revived the ruling, standard since the thirteenth century,<sup>47</sup> ensuring that conversions not be discouraged because of potential financial loss, especially of inheritances, to which the convert, while still a non-believer, would have been entitled. The Church, too, would benefit directly through tithes on property previously not subject to this tax. Clement also ordered that converts be instructed in the Articles of Faith both before and after conversion, that their contacts with “infidels” be limited following baptism, and that they should marry only born Catholics. Local priests were to guard against relapse and the resumption of Jewish rites; if converts reverted to “their vomit,” they were to be treated as heretics.<sup>48</sup> The pope referred to Gregory XIII’s 1584 bull concerning forced preaching, confirming its validity, but also repeated the traditional caveat that Jews should be converted by persuasion, not force. He cited fragments of Paul III’s *Cupientes Iudaeos*,

of 1542, which dealt with the material well-being of converts, their status within society, and their protection from harm. The faithful were urged not to despise recent converts, especially those who were poor,<sup>49</sup> to welcome them, and to cultivate these new “buds of the Church.” This bull was republished in the legislation of the Płock synod of 1733 and, in a very loose translation into Polish, four years later in the pastoral letters of Bishops Josaphat Michał Karp of Samogitia and Jan Aleksander Lipski of Cracow,<sup>50</sup> which also emphasized the problem of acceptance,<sup>51</sup> for their change of status often left converts vulnerable to abuse.<sup>52</sup> Jews who converted were regularly considered suspect, by Catholic, as well as Jewish, society;<sup>53</sup> and both societies regularly consigned converts to a social limbo.<sup>54</sup>

Even though converts were theoretically no longer subject to the restrictions imposed on Jews, one eighteenth-century regulation indicates that the rule had notable exceptions. The Synodal Constitutions of the Chełmno Synod of 1745 declared ineligible for the priesthood all “those born of Heretics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Schismatics, Jews unconverted to Holy Faith, and those who have fallen into such heresy themselves.”<sup>55</sup> The converted son of a Jew, in other words, was ineligible to become a priest; exceptions might be made only in the second generation. Such restrictions contradicted canon law. According to the sixteenth-century tract *De Iudaeis et Aliis Infidelibus*, by Marquandus de Sussanis, which is regarded as indicative of the direction papal Jewry policy sought to take during the Counter-Reformation – intended, as this tract was, to be a handbook for judges in cases involving Jewry law<sup>56</sup> – a convert was freed from restrictions upon Jews and was fit for both priesthood and public office.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, whereas the 1737 Polish “translation” of the bull by Clement XI implies the existence of limitations on converts, the Chełmno Synod of 1745 actually advocated them, making discrimination into law. The lead in such discriminatory practice began in the sixteenth century, when the Jesuit Order refused to accept descendants of Jews as members.<sup>58</sup> But there is no way of knowing whether this particular precedent influenced the Chełmno Synod. It should, however, be noted that converted Jews were not the only group labeled unfit to enjoy the full rights of Catholics; Jews appear together with “Heretics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Schismatics.”<sup>59</sup> The struggle thus was against all whose Catholic purity might be suspect.<sup>60</sup>

The fact should not be glossed over that Polish synods and bishops decided to focus upon Jewish converts, and to republish papal bulls concerning them only in the late 1600s and the 1700s, not during the first hundred or so years of these texts’ existence. This may indicate that previously there had been fewer converts from Judaism<sup>61</sup> or that they had been better accepted. More likely, the problems related to the absorption of Jewish converts into Polish society stemmed not so much from their growing number but from the

increasing intolerance and exclusiveness that emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, eventually to become part and parcel of modern Polish nationalism.<sup>62</sup>

Eliminating non-Catholics through conversion, or at least asserting authority over them, was part of this process and a crucial aspect of the missionary efforts by Bishop Franciszek Antoni Kobielski of the Łuck diocese in the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In his 1741 pastoral letter to the Jews of his diocese, Franciszek Antoni Kobielski wrote:

Out of our Pastoral obligation and the authority given to us by God over all neighbors, and regarding you also as our neighbors and desiring your conversion, we commanded the superiors of the Churches in our diocese, having advised you about the time, to demonstrate at least once every four months to you, gathered in your synagogues or schools, the proofs about the Messiah and Incarnated God, from your Prophets and Scriptures, clearly described by Patriarchs, Prophets, and St. David your King of Israel, by Prophet Jeremiah in your Psalms and other books. [Now] we command you to receive with respect the priests who come to you with God's word and teachings in your schools, and to listen to them.<sup>63</sup>

This letter was to be affixed to the doors of synagogues and read “in a clear and distinct voice.”<sup>64</sup> But Kobielski's aim was not purely conversionary. This is a *pastoral* letter<sup>65</sup> addressed to Polish Jews, the only such letter written in Polish and actually delivered (to Jews) in early modern times.<sup>66</sup> Beyond conversion, it seems, Kobielski intended to assert his “God-given” authority over all people within his diocese, including the non-Catholics, who were formally outside his jurisdiction. Jews, moreover, were not Kobielski's only target. A Protestant missionary reported from his travels in Poland, in 1747, that “this bishop was seized with religious fervor and decided to bring to the Roman throne [the Catholic Church] not only Jews but also Protestants.” Yet he soon had to abandon his efforts. Local Protestants threatened to enlist the help of the Prussian King, were these efforts to persist.<sup>67</sup>

But they did persist, certainly to Jews. In his 1749 report *ad limina* to Pope Benedict XIV, Kobielski wrote: “While inspecting my diocese I visited Jewish synagogues in all places, I preached pastoral sermons so that they may convert.”<sup>68</sup> His report boasted the success of his efforts, but complained that he did not have enough clerics to assist him in this work:

Indeed . . . God so blessed the works of my pastoral care that many of the infidels were converted and baptized, and the number of those receiving religious instruction [*catechumenorum*], just as that of the other poor, rises daily. But almost all require support [*suffragio*] and alms and

should be assisted and provided for [during their] life by me and other benefactors, so that they may not return to their vomit [*ne ad vomitum redeant*]. But I have to confess that for such great harvest I have few workers. Therefore, I beseech Your Holiness, seeing that it is worthy, to reissue the bull of Gregory XIII concerning those preaching to the Jews and to encourage the religious who are exempt from my jurisdiction to devote themselves readily to [this] beneficial work, I cannot demand it at all,<sup>69</sup> indeed despite my insistent attention [*meis enim officiis licet frequenter inculcatis*].<sup>70</sup>

Turing to the Dominican General in Rome, Kobielski asked about the methods the Dominicans used to convert Jews in Rome. Kobielski inserted the detailed response he received – that essentially confirms that which is known from other sources – into a collection of his letters published between 1740–1742.<sup>71</sup> At least one-third of all Roman Jews, among them children aged 12 or older, were required to listen to weekly sermons. If a quorum was lacking, the Jewish community was fined. The Jews also paid the preachers a food and clothing allowance. Sermons began in the evening and lasted about an hour; but the preacher himself determined the actual length. Sermons were based on the Gospels and dealt with aspects of Christianity that Jewish teachings negated. The doctrines were then applied to the Law of Torah. Soldiers were present to ensure that the Jews remained silent and did not slip out before the end. The Jews were encouraged to respond with questions and comments that the preacher then rebutted.<sup>72</sup>

We do not know whether Kobielski tried to apply these methods himself. But in publishing them, Kobielski certainly wanted to make them known in Poland. However, Roman methods could have been applied in Eastern Europe only with difficulty. Unless they lived in Church-owned towns or *jurydyki* (enclaves within towns), Polish Jews, unlike those of Rome, were not directly subject to Church jurisdiction. And there were over half a million Polish Jews in the mid-eighteenth century, not three to four thousand, as at Rome.<sup>73</sup> Also unlike Jews in the Roman ghetto, Polish Jews lived in towns and villages scattered throughout the vast territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Kobielski had no troops either to enforce his rules. Still, he persisted, continuing his incursions by preaching in synagogues while he toured his diocese. He also had a collection of his conversionary sermons published.<sup>74</sup>

Yet as Jacob Goldberg has pointed out in his work on Jewish converts to Catholicism in Poland, both the scope and the results of missionary efforts among Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were limited.<sup>75</sup> Despite Kobielski's claims, we know of no mass wave of conversion in his diocese. His own personal conduct may have also dampened prospects. One source from the period – albeit hostile to Catholicism – maintains that Kobielski of-

ten preached while drunk, provoking merriment among the Jews. This source, Stephan Schultz, a Protestant missionary to the Jews in Poland, reporting his travels throughout Poland in 1747 described his visit with Józef Andrzej Załuski (1702–1774), then a royal referendary and later the Catholic bishop of Kiev, with whom Schultz discussed Kobielski. Thanking Schultz for a gift of books, Załuski said:<sup>76</sup>

“This man makes a good effort [trying to convert Jews].<sup>77</sup> May there be such a person in Poland, since there are so many Jews here.” Mr. Janotzki<sup>78</sup> said, “But this bishop [Kobielski] also ordered preaching to Jews.” [Załuski] responded, “That does not mean that he measures up to this task.”<sup>79</sup>

Schultz then explained:

Later I heard that the above-mentioned bishop is the Łuck diocese bishop [Kobielski] and that Załuski was right [in] saying that this bishop did not measure up to his task. The following circumstances may serve as evidence. . . . Once he went to a synagogue in Węgrów and began preaching. Because he was completely drunk, he fell asleep during the sermon. The sermon was finished by a vicar, and the bishop was carried out from the synagogue. In his first and second sermons, the wine made him say, “Dear Jews, my beloved brothers, when you become Christian, I will ennoble you.” It is said that these words took [the bishop] fifteen minutes to say because his eyelids were constantly closing. Jews could not help but laugh during this sermon.<sup>80</sup>

Superfluous to add, the existence of Protestant competition was a further incentive for the Catholic Church to press forward with conversionary activity. More important, perhaps, this competition generated a need “to demonstrate” success. That demonstration often took the form of invented narratives. Revealing about clerical anxiety, these narratives provided reassurance, and guidance, too, in a trying moment.

### **Church rhetoric and Jewish converts**

Authors of controversial works, as well as Polish Catholic preachers, often used stories of Jews and Jewish converts rhetorically. They were ammunition against the challenges Catholicism faced from Protestants and lay Polish leaders. Some authors claimed to be writing exclusively *ad convertendos Judaeos*,<sup>81</sup> but their works appear directed at Protestantism, too,<sup>82</sup> strengthening Catholic faith by refuting Jewish and Protestant error.<sup>83</sup> These polemical

writings and narratives, therefore, were part of the broad effort in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to assert Catholic primacy over the diverse cultures of Poland-Lithuania.

In the polemics, Jews appear as idealized theological stereotypes.<sup>84</sup> They were generally presented as culpable for their role in Jesus' death, which in turn caused their exile by the Romans. Yet approached properly, Jews might be redeemed.<sup>85</sup> A 1645 work by Marek Korona, featuring a discourse between "a Catholic Theologian, a Rabbi, and an Arian [anti-Trinitarian]," typifies this genre. In these works, Jews usually convert, acknowledging their mistakes and recognizing Catholicism as the true Church, despite vociferous Protestant dissent.<sup>86</sup>

Sermons, too, show Jews converting, however, not because of theological argument, rather through miracles. The Jesuit preacher Stanisław Bielicki told the story of a Jew who allegedly converted in Cracow in 1703 during the Northern War with Sweden (1700–1721).<sup>87</sup> The Polish Royal Army was building a bridge over a river in the presence of the Polish king Augustus II, together with his generals, two Catholic bishops,<sup>88</sup> and a Jew, who was "an agent of the General Commissar Bliwernicz." The Swedes cut the bridge's ropes, and the Jew, standing nearby, fell into the water and began to drown. The Catholic bishops prayed to St. Stanislaus, who was said to have crossed that very river with dry feet, which evoked the mockery of the Protestant royal generals in the Saxon army. Why, they asked, if the saint had indeed crossed the river with dry feet, did he not save the Jew. The bishops continued to pray intensely, and the Jew miraculously survived. The Protestants were proven wrong, and the Jew converted, taking the name Stanislaus – or least so goes the story.

This account is typical. The miracle leading to the Jew's conversion was employed to challenge Protestant skepticism about the power of Catholic saints. Such miracle stories also asserted Catholic superiority, as did numerous medieval exempla, which were carefully chosen to reflect contemporary Polish life. That this was possible unintentionally reveals how much Poland lagged behind the times.

One such exemplum, from a collection in the Dominican archives at Cracow, concerns a "fallen" Agnieszka (Agnes), who was saved by the Virgin Mary and subsequently converted her Jewish mistress.<sup>89</sup> Though this text is dated 1265, elements in it indicate that it may have been reworked in the early modern period. The story supposedly took place after a war, when convents for "young ladies had to release them back to their homes," perhaps a reference to the Religious Wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even though such conflicts did not effect Poland greatly. After Agnieszka left the convent and returned to her father, he raped and impregnated her. When she

was about to give birth, the devil, disguised as a monk, advised her to drown the infant. Struggling with her maternal feelings, she threw the baby into a lake and then traveled to a town where she was hired as a wet nurse by a Jewish woman named Sarah, in whose home Agnieszka spent five years, sad and depressed. Having befriended her mistress, Agnieszka told Sarah about the Virgin Mother of Christ, emphasizing Mary's motherly qualities. She also taught Sarah the Pater Noster and the Hail Mary. After years of inner struggle, Agnieszka confessed her "sins" to a Dominican friar, who sent her to the Pope for absolution.

Upon Agnieszka's return from Rome, Sarah welcomed her warmly, infuriating Sarah's husband, "since he already suspected that she had led his wife astray," and in his fury, he killed Agnieszka. Terrified, Sarah hid in a closet until midnight, when her husband went to the synagogue. When she left the closet, she saw Mary and two other virgins visiting Agnieszka's body and smearing something on her wounds. By morning Agnieszka's body was gone. When the husband came home and found no corpse, he assumed that his wife had buried the body. Sarah assumed that her husband had buried Agnieszka, but was afraid to speak about it. Forty days later, a woman arrived bearing Agnieszka's greetings for Sarah and her husband.<sup>90</sup> Sarah said that the mighty Christ had resurrected her. Enraged, the husband said, "I was always afraid that she had led you into error" and locked up his wife for two years. Eventually he departed on a business trip. While he was gone, Sarah took three of their children and, inspired by the miracle she had witnessed, became a Christian.

This exemplum is significant because of Agnieszka's social role. She was a servant in a Jewish household, a frequent occupation for Christian women in Poland. More important, she succeeded in converting her mistress and her children. Despite Church prohibitions against Christian women serving in Jewish homes, this story seems to accept this economic reality and to encourage Christian servants to convert Jews. Such stories conceivably were intended to raise the confidence of these servants in Catholicism, as well as to discourage "Judaizing," which bishops complained about in their rulings.<sup>91</sup>

Other narratives turn the tables, inventing fictitious Jewish converts in order to criticize Catholic society and its lay leaders. A highly representative example is a pamphlet from 1728 that initially appears to be a conversionary manual, *The Letter of a Certain Statesman [Statysta] which Includes Some of the Reasons Why Today's Jews Rarely Convert to the Holy Catholic Faith: Also Some Methods Serving the Conversion of the Jewish Nation*.<sup>92</sup> According to its frontispiece, the author was the convert Jan Krzysztof Lewek, who was seeking financial support. But Lewek's real identity is questionable. His strong criticism of Catholic morality, and the absence of criticism of Jews

and their society, which is so often a feature of works by true converts, makes it unlikely that the author was a newly converted Jew.<sup>93</sup> Telltale as well are citations from John Chrysostom and many other Latin texts. The pamphlet opens by criticizing of Christian society. The second part, though suggesting how to convert Jews, reads primarily as a critique of Christian ways. Lewek's dilemma is how to implement his program, which closely resembles that of the Counter-Reformation as set forth in Pope Paul IV's bull *Cum Nimis Absurdum* and Marquardus de Susannis' *De Iudaeis et Aliis Infidelibus*, both predicated on the need to exert pressure by worsening Jewish living conditions<sup>94</sup> and which also required "support from the secular arm, from the lords and secular officials."<sup>95</sup> And this, Lewek says, is precisely what the pious and zealous preachers seeking to enlighten the Jews so sorely lack.

Jews also did not convert, Lewek said, because they see the sinful Christian way of life:<sup>96</sup>

The Christians' own way of life, often impious and shameful, fills Jews with disgust [discouraging them] from adhering to the Christian Faith, and the desecration and violation of the Christian Sabbath, that is Sunday, and of various Holidays are the most conspicuous [sins] in the eyes of this Nation blinded by its stubbornness. . . . When the Jews see that Christians desecrate and violate Holidays with various debaucheries and excesses at banquets and drinking-bouts and dances, and [that] many [violate them] by engaging in trade and forbidden work, they [the Jews] are greatly scandalized at that. . . . Therefore, when they see that the days dedicated to God do not differ from ordinary days, unless by more excesses and offenses to God, the unfaithful Jews doubt that Christians have a true fear of God. . . .<sup>97</sup>

The term "Christian Sabbath" rhetorically and purposefully underlines Catholic sinfulness, especially when contrasted to the Jews' strict observance of their Sabbath. The Jews' faithful religious observance stands out against Catholic laxity and the abuses, which Jews are said to perceive as scandalous despite their "blind" stubbornness.<sup>98</sup>

The central problem, nonetheless was that too many Christians treated Jews respectfully and allowed them to prosper, giving Jews little incentive to convert:

Some powerful lords and people of high status do not hesitate to converse in a familiar manner [*poufale*] with [Jews], to say nothing of keeping company or even fraternizing with them; they even give [Jews] access to their estates more easily than to other Christians, and they en-

trust them [Jews] with their affairs and show them respect, by addressing them with respectable titles.<sup>99</sup>

Appalled, the author spoke of foreign countries, which, to his mind, dealt with Jews appropriately, sharply restricting their freedoms. Contrasting foreign and local conditions was a common tactic in works that engaged in internal polemic, in particular, in those of Stefan Żuchowski and Jakub Radliński, beside those of Lewek.<sup>100</sup> There was also the problem of Jews who lorded it over Christians:

Christians take up jobs as servants to the Jews, not only during their Sabbaths and holidays, but all year long, which . . . confirms the Jews more and more in their presumption that they have authority over *Goyim*, that is pagans (as they regard Christians) who have to be at their service.<sup>101</sup>

Were Christians to prevent activities like this, were Polish lords not to coddle Jews, the Jews might be converted.<sup>102</sup> The Jews of Poland would embrace Christianity, Lewek went on, were all their economic privileges, such as the leasing of mills and inns and the right to collect tolls and taxes, abolished, “since [so restrained] they would better feel and experience that they are in exile without any hope of its end.”<sup>103</sup> The same would occur if Jews had to struggle to make a living and were forced to till the soil, construct homes, and build military structures, presumably tasks performed by lower-class Christians. Surprisingly, Lewek made no mention of the situation described two decades later, in Benedict XIV’s bull of 1751 *A quo primum*, which criticizes bishops for lending money to Jews at interest. Such activity no doubt was long entrenched, not to mention its strong suggestion that some members of the Polish hierarchy, at least, had other things than conversion on their mind when it came to Jews.<sup>104</sup>

Finally, said Lewek, if Jews were not allowed to have synagogues, where they could study “the blasphemous Talmud,” or to hire and wield authority over Christians, Jews would turn to Christianity. At the very least, educated Jews should be required to attend Christian sermons once a month.<sup>105</sup> Lewek thus was touting the application of Counter-Reformation Jewry policies – in an almost verbatim reprise, furthermore, of its exponents’ arguments<sup>106</sup> – together with calling for recent Polish synodal legislation to be enforced. Yet the author’s masked identity makes it difficult to speculate about his true motives.

What stands out is Lewek’s double frustration, first, with Jewish resistance and, second, with the secular lords and their unwillingness to cooperate with the Church, a frustration that accounts for his repeated tales of conversion. Whether real or fictitious, these tales provided solace – and about this, we

may generalize. Told in turbulent times, stories like those recounted by Lewek and others bolstered the spirits of a Polish clergy that sought “stability and reassurance” after decades, if not centuries, of loss and defeats. These stories also provided guidance and a vent for clerical frustration. It was, moreover, the stories, the fictions themselves, that really counted. For the number of actual converts, though constant and perhaps larger than hitherto realized, was still tiny and could do little to help the Church to dominate the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth anew.

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This brings us full circle, to the apparent similarities we noted between attitudes and policies adopted toward Jews in eighteenth century Poland and the Papal State. And what should be clear is that despite external resemblances, the Polish and Roman Churches pursued similar policies aimed at limitation and conversion each for motives of its own. The Roman Church was militantly opposing modernity, whatever its manifestation.<sup>107</sup> The Polish Church still perceived issues in Tridentine, Counter-Reformation terms. Such was its reality, a Church challenged for hegemony on its native terrain, just as was the Roman Church two hundred years earlier in Western and Central Europe. The Polish Church began to confront “modernity” only from about 1760s, alongside the goblins of the past.<sup>108</sup> Before that time, there is little evidence that held back as it was by the same political and ideological inertia, which threatened, and eventually catalyzed the dismemberment of the Polish state, the Polish Church knew that “modernity” existed at all. This was certainly so with respect to the Jews.

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## Notes

1. Kenneth R. Stow, "Church, Conversion and Tradition: The Problem of Jewish Conversion in Sixteenth Century Italy," *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica: rivista del Dipartimento di studi storici dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea dell'Università "La Sapienza" di Roma* 2 (1996), 32.
2. Kenneth Stow pointed out that this bull violated canon law, because it promoted forced preaching, which only Leo X had ordered, once, and was heard of no more; Kenneth R. Stow *Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century* (Seattle, 2001), 42.
3. Marina Caffiero, "'Le insidie de' perfidi giudei': Aniebraismo e riconquista cattolica alla fine del settecento," *Rivista storica italiana* 105 (1993), 555–581; Mario Rosa, "La Santa Sede e gli ebrei nel Settecento," *Storia d'Italia: Annali* 11/2 (1997), 1072–1073; Mario Rosa, "Tra tolleranza e repressione: Roma e gli ebrei nel '700," in *Italia Judaica: gli ebrei in Italia dalla segregazione alla prima emancipazione* (Rome, 1989). On Pope Benedict XIV's various attempts to reassert papal authority see: Bernard Dompnier, "Le pardon sans pelerinage: La France, Le Jubile de 1751 et Rome [Pardon without pilgrimage: France, the 1751 Jubilee and Rome]," *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea [Italy]* 5 (1997), 589–617; Stefania Nanni, "'Anno di rinnovazione e di penitenza: Anno di riconciliazione e di grazia: il giubileo del 1750,'" *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea [Italy]* 5 (1997), 553–587; Paola Vismara Chiappa, "Per la storia del monachesimo femminile nell'Italia del settecento," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa [Italy]* 33 (1997), 694–715; Maria Pia Donato, "Gli 'strumenti' della politica di Benedetto XIV: Il giornale de' letterati (1742–1759)," *Dimensioni e Problemi della Ricerca Storica* 1 (1997), 39–61; Elia DelCuratolo, "L'editto carolino contro la massoneria (1751) nel quadro dei rapporti tra regno di Napoli e Santa Sede," *Clio [Italy]* 23 (1987), 35–53.
4. The wars had religious resonance since they were waged against non-Catholic neighbors – Orthodox Russia, Muslim Ottoman Empire, and Protestant Sweden. Moreover, at the beginning of the eighteenth century Lutherans were visible politically, especially in the administration and entourage of the King August II who had been a Lutheran Saxon, but was forced to convert to Catholicism after his election to the Polish throne. For an alternative view on the Church's motivations in the eighteenth century see Yehudit Kalik, "Ha-Knesiyah ha-Katolit ve-ha-Yehudim be-Mamlekheth Polin-Lita ba-Me'ot ha-17-18" (PhD dissertation, Hebrew University, 1998), 52, 101; Jacob Goldberg, "Changes in the Attitudes of the Polish Society toward Jews in the Eighteenth Century," in *Polin: From Shtetl to Socialism*, ed., Antony Polonsky (London, Washington, 1993).
5. See Kenneth Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555–1593* (New York, 1977), 257–261.
6. For instance, the Jesuit *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* (ARSI), *L'archivio della congregazione per l'evangelizzazione dei Popoli (Collegium de Propaganda Fide)*, which is especially valuable for the Capuchin overtures to Eastern Orthodox Christians, and archives of religious orders in Poland, such as, for instance, the Franciscan *Biblioteka i Archiwum O.O. Franciszkanów Reformatów* in Cracow.
7. That there were few converts per Jesuit may be inferred from statistics from Jesuits sources discussed below that show a total of just over nine thousand converts between roughly 1718–1755 (although the data for Lithuania data is from 1743–1755). By comparison there were only about 2362 Jesuits in 137 residences in Poland-Lithuania. See

- Stanisław Litak *Od Reformacji do Oświecenia: Kościół Katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej* (Lublin, 1994).
8. Jeske-Choiński's book *Neofici polscy*, while anti-Semitic in intent, provides valuable information on Jewish conversions to Catholicism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jan Doktor studied Jewish conversions to Protestantism and Protestant missions to Polish Jews. See: Doktor, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan: Dzienniki ewangelickich misjonarzy z ich wędrówek po Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1730–1747* (Warsaw, 1999), 27–28, 204. In 1737, the priest Stefan Turczynowicz founded a female religious order of Mariavites (*Mariawitki* in Polish) whose aim was to convert Polish Jewish women. Goldberg, *Ha-Mumarim be-mamlekhet Polin-Lita*. Also published as "Konwertyci w społeczeństwie staropolskim" in *Spoleczeństwo Staropolskie* (Warsaw, 1989), vol. 4. Wacław Urban, "L'oeuvre de mission de l'église catholique en Pologne" in *Le millenaire du catholicisme en Pologne* (Lublin, 1969); Janusz Tazbir *Historia kościoła katolickiego w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1968), 166. Kalik, "Ha-Knesiyyah ha-Katolit ve-ha-Yehudim," 102–103. Also see a late nineteenth century memoir by one of the Mariavite sisters published in Karol Górski, "O zakonie pp. mariawitek" *Nasza Przeszłość* 9 (1959), 395–407. On pre-eighteenth century converts, see Edward Fram, "Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates in Medieval Ashkenaz and Premodern Poland," *AJS Review* 21, no. 2 (1996), 299–339. Elisheva Carlebach has also shown that a group of prominent Jewish converts from Poland in German lands likely undocumented in Polish sources, e.g., Joseph Samuel Frey, Moses Aaron of Cracow (also known as Moses Marcus), Paul Christian, and Joseph bar Zadok. Elisheva Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Early Modern German Lands, 1500–1750* (New Haven, 2001), 12, 28, 97, 110.
  9. On Bishop Kobielski's efforts see also Majer Bałaban *Le-Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-frankit* (Tel-Aviv, 1934), 95–100 and Kalik, "Ha-Knesiyyah ha-Katolit ve-ha-Yehudim," 40–45.
  10. Archiwum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI), the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus, MS Pol. 88 "ASJ Residentiae Vinnicensis:" 1761 Conciones extraordinarias fecit in Ecclesiis alienis Latinis et Graecis atque Synagogis Judaeorum 25; 1762 Conciones extraordinarias fecit in Ecclesiis alienis Latinis et Graecis atque Synagogis Judaeorum 48; 1763 Conciones extraordinarias fecit in Ecclesiis alienis Latinis et Graecis atque Synagogis Judaeorum 82. After mentioning the sermons in 1761, the report states "convertit ad fidem Catholicam ex Judaismo 1."
  11. In Polish "Franciszkanie Reformaci," in Italian "frati riformati de' Minori Conventuali."
  12. Waldemar Kowalski, "Pińczowski spis konwertytów XVII–XIX wieku," *Nasza Przeszłość* 73 (1990), 5–33; idem "Stopnicki rejestr konwertytów XVII–XIX wieku," *Nasza Przeszłość* 76 (1991), 193–285. See also Bogdan Rok, "Stosunek polskiego Kościoła katolickiego do sprawy żydowskiej w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku," in *Z historii ludności żydowskiej w Polsce i na Śląsku*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis (Wrocław, 1994), 88. On Catholic missions and preaching in Poland in the late eighteenth century see Jerzy Flaga *Działalność duszpasterska zakonów w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku, 1767–1772* (Lublin, 1986). I thank Dr. Adam Teller for pointing this work to me.
  13. For example, Jacob Goldberg *Ha-Mumarim be-Mamlekhet Polin-Lita* (Jerusalem, 1985), Ludwik Korwin *Szlachta moższowa* (Cracow, 1938), Ludwik Korwin *Szlachta polska pochodzenia żydowskiego* (Cracow, 1933). Jan Doktor extensively studied the Frankist movement. See for instance Doktor *Śladami mesjasza-apostaty: żydowskie ruchy mes-*

- jańskie w XVII i XVIII wieku a problem konwersji* (Wrocław, 1998). See also Bałaban, *Le-Toldot ha-Tenu`ah ha-Frankit*.
14. Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 47–66.
  15. Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 52–53. Johannes Reuchlin *Recommendation Whether to Confiscate, Destroy and Burn All Jewish Books: A Classic Treatise against Anti-Semitism*, (New York, 2000). Aside from Frankist polemicists, only one Polish Jewish convert, Jan Serafinowicz, who testified in the ritual murder trial of Sandomierz Jews in 1710, earned notoriety comparable to some German Jewish converts. On Serafinowicz see Murray J. Rosman *Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 206–207.
  16. Besides the crucial cultural differences, the Jewish population in German lands was significantly smaller than that in Poland, perhaps forcing German Jews to interact more with Christians. For a discussion of the cultural differences between East and West, see also Magdalena Teter, “Jews in the Legislation and the Teachings of the Catholic Church in Poland 1648–1772” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2000), especially chapter 3. Moreover, members of the Polish Catholic clergy were apparently not well educated. See for instance Johannes Callenberg’s recollection of his conversation with a Polish rabbi in Doktor, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, 185–200, especially 195:
 

He [said] he would learn Latin but the Catholic priests in Poland look grudgingly when Jews want to study Latin. He [said] he would learn this language so that he could read their [Christian] books in jurisprudence and compare [Christian] law with their [Jewish law] . . . [Catholic priests] know Latin so poorly that they hardly read it. It is enough that they are able to read the mass and everyone respects them. If a Jew studies Latin, they immediately either force him to be baptized and to worship idols or they burn him at the stake.
  17. This prayer was originally published in a 1721 prayer book and found by Bogdan Rok. Rok, “Stosunek polskiego Kościoła Katolickiego do sprawy żydowskiej w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku,” 89.
  18. As Bishop Kobielski’s activities suggest, Jesuits were not the only ones attempting to spread Catholicism. For missionary activity among Eastern Orthodox by Capuchins see documents in L’Archivio della Congregazione per L’Evangelizzazione dei Popoli – Collegium de Propaganda Fide, Roma SC Polonia 1-24. The *fructus spirituales*, or “fruits of mission,” for the Vitebsk Jesuit college show a wide range of achievements and activities by Jesuits. In addition to converting Jews, Protestants, and “Schismatics,” the Jesuits also made a concerted effort to reach out to Catholics. *Istoriko-iuridicheskie materialy izvlechenye iz aktov knig gubernii Vitebskoi I Mogilevskoi khраниashchikhsia w tsentralnom archive v Vitebske*, ed. M. Verevkin, 32 vols. (Vitebsk, 1889), 19, 337–410.
  19. Elisheva Carlebach noted recently that “names signifying spiritual freedom, grace, and bliss which they were about to enter were also popular among converts” in early modern German lands. Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 110. In Poland, most of the converts’ names appear to have been assumed after baptism, although some, such as Sabatowicz or Szulnicki, may have preceded it. Some names clearly derive from places, e.g., Braclawski, Stanislawski, and Ostrowski. Names stemming from Polish names of months recur in various locations and indicate the month in which the conversion took place. See for instance, a man from Czeczol, Józef Lutyński (Polish *luty* = February), who converted on February 2 is listed right next to Jan Styczyński (Polish *styczeń* = January), who converted on January 1. Similarly see the frequent Majowski (*maj* = May). Another

- group of names – Dobrowolski, Dobrochocki, and Zwoliński – all indicate willingness: Dobrowolski is rooted in *dobra* (good) and *wola* (will); Dobrochocki in *dobra ochota* (good willingness), and Zwoliński in *wola* (will) and *z* (from). Other popular names were Nowicki, from *nowy* (new), and Krzyżewski, from *krzyż* (cross). ARSI Pol 87 “Historia Missionis Czeczelnienisis Societatis Jesu, 1758–1761.” In the nineteenth century, Jews tended to retain their Germanic names. See also Jeske-Choiński’s *Neofici polscy*. Conversion to Judaism also brought about the change of the converts’ names, see for instance Uriel da Costa *Examination of Pharisaic traditions*, Brill’s studies in intellectual history, vol. 44 (Leiden; New York, 1993), 8. Lutheran converts’ names are usually German, and, where known, their origin is indicated as Silesian, Pomeranian, or Prussian. The relatively few Calvinists have Polish or Hungarian names.
20. ARSI Polonia 62 and Polonia 85.
  21. ARSI Polonia 67; Polonia 84.
  22. There is no breakdown indicating how many of the converts were Lutherans and how many Calvinists for 1718, 1721, and 1722.
  23. Missions in Moldavia and Moscovia are included here, hence the unusually high number.
  24. See Doktor, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, 35–37.
  25. *Istoriko-iuridicheskie materialy*, 19, 407.
  26. This can be found in the Jesuit *fructus spirituales* from the Vitebsk-Mohilev region that were published in *Istoriko-iuridicheskie materialy* (Vitebsk, 1890), 20, 267–315.
  27. See for example ARSI Polonia 84: “Historia Collegii Calissienisis SJ ab Anno 1754 ad Annum 1757;” “Historia Collegii Cracoviensis SJ, 1758–1761;” “Historia Residentiae Medercensis ab Anno 1758 ad 1761.” Jesuit missionaries employed the German language in preaching.
  28. ARSI Lithuania 53b.
  29. The statistics are flawed and should be used only to provide examples of conversions. Some years include data from places already listed in the Province of Poland report; the city of Poznań, for example, is included in both reports. This illustrates the inflation of numbers in such reports of the results of missionary work.
  30. For the years 1747 and 1748 the Jews are listed together with Tatars, therefore it is impossible to say how many Jews exactly were in that group.
  31. ARSI Lith. 53b.
  32. Ludwik Piechnik, *SJ Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej* (Rome: IHSJ, 1984–1990), 4 vols.
  33. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, S. Congregationis Relationes Status ad Limina, 464 Luceoriensis. Also in *Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1978), 2, 155.
  34. In fact, Kobielski wrote to the Dominican General in Rome to inquire about the methods used in Rome to convert Jews.
  35. Jan Kłoczowski, “Zakony męskie w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku” in *Kościół w Polsce* (Cracow, 1969), 2, 511–515, 535–538. Pinsk, for instance, had four mendicant residences and only one of regular clerics. The Jesuits, who were there, were classified as regular clerics.
  36. ARSI Pol. 61, Pol. 62, Pol. 85, Pol. 87, Pol. 88.
  37. The list of converts from the eighteenth century published by Teodor Jeske-Choiński also indicates that the majority of Jews who converted were indeed male. Jeske-Choiński,

- Neofici polscy*. Elisheva Carlebach also noted this trend in early modern German lands, Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, e.g., 144.
38. There were relatively many young converts in Stopnica and Pińczów as well. Kowalski, "Pińczowski spis konwertytów." Kowalski, "Stopnicki rejestr konwertytów."
  39. ARSI 88, Pol. "Littera Annu Collegii Premisliensis 1767."
  40. See, for example, the case of the conversion of Abraham Sapsa the arrendator of Adam Chełmski: "1713 Adamus Chełmski, insignis benefactor noster, instruendum fidei catholicae rudimentis Judeum 30 circiter annorum dictum Abraham Sapsa arrendarii de villa sua Słodków famulum, sponte et voluntaris ad fiam catholicam aspirantedm reliquit in conventu nostri." Kowalski, "Pińczowski spis konwertytów," 16–17.
  41. Later, in 1781, a Jewish woman from Pińczów converted to Catholicism because she was abandoned by her husband. Kowalski, "Pińczowski spis konwertytów." Jewish women abandoned could not remarry, since they were not legally divorced. Jews sometimes converted when they were involved in criminal trials. For an example of conversion, albeit much earlier, in exchange for a commuted sentence see for instance *Shu"t Maharam* no. 15, short excerpt reprinted in Ben-Zion Katz *Le-korot ha-Yehudim be-Rusya, Polin ve-Lita* (1899), 11, doc 4. Also a 1748 case in *Istoriko-iuridicheskie materialy*, 15, 229–238.
  42. See *fructus spirituales* in *Istoriko-iuridicheskie materialy*, 19, 337–410 and 20, 267–315.
  43. ARSI Pol. 87 "Historia Missionis Szarogradensis SJ 1761–1764."
  44. ARSI Pol. 88. For cases before the eighteenth century, see Fram, "Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates." Also Fram, "Ve `adain ein bein 1096 ve 1648–1649" *Zion* 62 no. 1 (1997), 31–46. Mordekhai Nadav mentions the return to Judaism of Jews who converted to Christianity during the Chmielnicki uprising. See Mordekhai Nadav, "The Jewish Community of Nemyriv in 1648 Their Massacre and Loyalty Oath to the Cossacks" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 nos. 3-4 (1984), 385–386; and his earlier version of that article "Le-Mashma'uta shel Shvuat Imunim shel Yehudim le-Kozakim be-Gezerat 1648 be-Nemirov" *Zion* 48 (1982), 77–82. For the royal decree allowing Jews to return to Judaism see *Akty izdavaemye vilenskoiu kommissieiu dla razbora drevnikh aktov* (Vilna, 1902), 29, 8.
  45. Komissiiia dlia razbora drevnikh aktov, *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, vol. 1/5 (1869), 267–270.
  46. C.f. Teter, "Jews in the Legislation and Teachings of the Catholic Church in Poland," chapter 1; Kalik, "Ha-Knesiyah ha-Katolit ve-ha-Yehudim," especially chapter 2.
  47. See for instance the 1245 letter of Pope Innocent IV to Archbishop of Tarragona, Solomon Grayzel *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (Philadelphia, 1933), 254–257.
  48. *Constitutiones et Decreta Synodi Dioecisana Plocensis sub Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Andrea Stanislao Kostka in Zaluskie*, 206–222; Jan Aleksander Lipski *Epistola Pastoralis Ad Clerum et Populum Dioecesis Cracoviensis*, 1737, chapter XXXII "O Żydach;" Josaphat Michal Karp *Epistola Pastoralis ad Clerum Dioecesis Samogitiensis*, 1737. For a discussion of measures taken by the Jewish communities in Poland regarding Jewish converts to Catholicism who reverted back to Judaism see Fram, "Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates." The phrase about Jews returning "to their vomit" comes from Proverbs 26, 11: "sicut canis qui revertitur ad vomitum suum sic inprudens qui iterat stultitiam suam." It was frequently used in the Middle Ages both in legal documents and in other Christian writings in the context of Jewish converts relapsing

- to Judaism. Pope Gregory I used it in his letter of 591 to Virgilius, the bishop of Arles and Theodosius, the bishop of Marseilles. For the English texts see Jacob Rader Marcus, ed., *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book 315–1791* (Cincinnati, 1999), 124–126. For an example of non-legal texts see the description of the York massacre of 1189 by Roger of Hoveden in *The Annals, Comprising The History of England and of Other Countries of Europe from AD 732 to AD 1201*, trans. Henry T. Riley, 2 vols. (London, 1853; rep. New York, 1968), vol. 2, 117–119. In the eighteenth century, as Elisheva Carlebach has shown, the image of a dog returning to its vomit was also used in Friedrich Christian's *Jüdische glaube und Aberglaube* (Leipzig, 1713). Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 96.
49. On the complexity of early modern Jewish conversions, albeit in German lands, see Carlebach, *Divided Souls*.
50. *Constitutiones et Decreta Synod.*, 206–222; Lipski, *Epistola Pastoralis*, chapter XXXII “O Żydach;” Karp, *Epistola Pastoralis ad Clerum Dioecesis Samogitiensis*, 1737, 6–9.
51. Karp, *Epistola*, 7–8; Lipski, *Epistola Pastoralis (1737)*, I3v:
- Moreover, no one may inhibit these Catholics converted from Jewish infidelity from obtaining property, enjoying rights and privileges of each Province and Town, nor impede their way to public offices, and even more, under severe penalty, no one should mock them, insult them, harm them, or remind them of their Jewish origin.
52. Doktór, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, e.g., 25, 26, 48, 122.
53. This was also true according to Jewish law enacted after the wave of forced conversions during the Crusades. Rashi's interpretation of the statement *af 'al pi she hata israel hu* (despite his sins he is still Israel) served as a basis for readmitting converted Jews to Judaism. Jacob Katz, “Yisra'el 'af 'al pi she Hata Yisra'el Hu” in *Halakhah ve-Kabbalah* (Jerusalem, 1984). Fram, “Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates.” Doktór, *Wposzukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*. Carlebach, *Divided Souls*. Kenneth R. Stow, “Conversion, apostasy, and apprehensiveness: Emicho of Flonheim and the Fear of Jews in the Twelfth Century” *Speculum* 76, no. 4 (2001), 911–933.
54. C.f.; Goldberg, *Ha-Mumarim be-Mamleket Polin-Lita*; Goldberg, “Żydowscy konwertyci w społeczeństwie staropolskim.” For earlier cases see also Fram, “Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates,” 326–327. For the explanation of this phenomenon, see also Carlebach, *Divided Souls*.
55. *Constitutiones Synodales editae et promulgatae ab Illustrissimo Excellentissimo et Reverendissimo Domino D. Andrea Stanislao Kostka Zaluski in Dioecesana Synodo celebrata Anno Domini 1745* (Brunsberg, 1746), chapter IX of the appendix, 28–30.
56. Stow, *Catholic Thought*, 64. Also Stow, “Church, Conversion and Tradition: The Problem of Jews Conversion in Sixteenth Century Italy.”
57. Stow, *Catholic Thought*, 176; see citation from *De Iudaeis et Aliis Infidelibus* III, 6 in footnote 32: Ita in Iudaeo dicendum est, cum ad fidem convertitur et transit de terrenis ad celestia, et potitur dignitate sacerdotali et diamate regni. Also Stow, “The Papacy and the Jews: Catholic Reformation and Beyond,” 261.
58. This rejection was toned down in 1608 but remained in effect until 1946. John W. O'Malley *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 188–189.
59. *Constitutiones Synodales ab Illustrissimo Excellentissimo et Reverendissimo Domino D. Andrea Stanislao Kostka Zaluski in Dioecesana Synodo celebrata Anno Domini 1745*, appendix, 28–30.

60. This has been discussed in more detail in Teter, "Jews in the Legislation and Teachings of the Catholic Church in Poland 1648–1772."
61. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy*, 9–18. Also Fram, "Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates," 319. As we have seen, Jewish conversions to Catholicism increased in the eighteenth century.
62. For patterns of conversions in the nineteenth century see Todd Endelman, "Jewish Converts in Nineteenth Century Warsaw: A Quantitative Analysis" *Jewish Social Studies* 4/1 (1997), 28–59.
63. *Wszem wobec y każdemu z osobna, osobliwie niewiernym Rabinom Kahalnym, y całemu pospółstwu Żydowstwa w Diecezji Naszey Łuckiey y Brzeskiey zostaiącym* (Łuck, 1741). Also published in *Litterae Pastorales ad Universum Clerum, et Populum Utriusque Diaecesis Illustrissimi & Reverendissimi Domini Francisci Antonii in Dmenin Kobielski Episcopi Luceoriensis et Brestensis, Serenissimae Reginalis Maiestatis Cantellarii cum Annexis de Verbo ad Verbum in Tersimonium Legis Suae Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Benedicti Papae XIV Constitutionibus Et Literis in Anno 1740 Et 1741 Ac Praesenti 1742*. (no place, 1742), E3-Fv. More recently in Goldberg, *Ha-Mumarim be-Mamlekhet Polin-Lita*, 76–81; and Adam Kaźmierczyk *Żydzi polscy 1648–1772* (Cracow, 2001), 53–57.
64. Franciszek Antoni Kobielski, *Litterae Pastorales ad Universum Clerum et Populum Utriusque Diaecesis*, E.
65. The *OED* defines "pastoral" as "a letter from a spiritual pastor to his flock, esp. a letter from a bishop to the clergy or people of his diocese."
66. The language of this letter raises questions about Yiddish-speaking Jews' familiarity with the Polish language. The letter may indicate broader knowledge of Polish among Jews than has been generally assumed, unless we are to believe that the bishop preached and sent letters to Jews in a language they did not understand. I suggest that the language of the sermons and letters addressed to Jews in the Łuck diocese indicates that they understood Polish, as Daniel Stone and other scholars of early modern Polish Jews have shown in other contexts in various sources. Stone, "Knowledge of Foreign Languages among Eighteenth Century Polish Jews" in *Polin: Jews in Early Modern Poland*, ed., Gershon Hundert, vol. 10 (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 200–219. Rosman, *The Lords' Jews*. For a discussion of the knowledge of the vernacular, Edward Fram, *Ideals Face Reality: Jewish Law and Life in Poland, 1550–1655* (Cincinnati, 1997), 29–30. See also the case of apostasy of a Christian woman tried in Dubno in 1716, who passed herself off as a Jewish woman when travelling from Vitebsk to Dubno. The debate about the language of Jews in premodern eastern Europe dates back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See, for instance, Sergei Aleksandrovich Bershadskii *Litovskie evrei* (St. Petersburg, 1883), 395. Abraham Elijah Harkavy *Ha-Yehudim u-Sefat ha-Slavim* (1867). R. Centnerszwerowa *O języku Żydów w Polsce, na Litwie i Rusi* (Warsaw, 1907). Simon Dubnow, "Razgovornyi iazyk polskolitevskikh evreev v XVI–XVII v." *Evreiskaia Starina* 1 (1909), 7–40. Yet, the knowledge and the level of Jewish acculturation in premodern Poland should not be overstated. There is no evidence that Polish Jews acculturated to the level of, for example, Italian Jews. There is no equivalent of works by Polish Jews published in Polish as they were in Italy published in Italian. See for instance the translations of Benjamin Slonik's *Seder Mizvot ha-Nashim* published several times in Italian, *Precetti da essere imparati dalle donne Hebre* (Venice, 1616), later revised editions, e.g., *Precetti d'esser imparati dalle donne Hebre* (Venice 1652, 1710); also Leon Modena *Historia de gli riti Hebraici* (Paris, 1637) and *Historia de' riti Hebraici* (Venice, 1638).

67. Doktór, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, 228–229. This incident underlines differences in resources that non-Catholic communities could employ in order to combat Catholic zeal. It also illustrates the political aspects of religious conflicts in early modern Poland. Protestants could threaten to turn to Poland's foreign enemies, while Polish Jews, unable to find foreign support, often turned to the local lords in whose towns they lived. The Church faced challenges from two sources: non-Catholic Christians who threatened its credibility and secular lords whose economic interests often led them to disobey Church policies. Thus the Church had to compete for religious authority with Protestants, as demonstrated by the proselytizing activities of the *Halle Institutum Judaicum et Mohammedicum*, which sent Schultz to Poland, and for political influence among the lay leaders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On bishops' complaints concerning lords' protection of the Jews, see Archivio Segreto Vaticano, S. Congregationis Concilii Relationes Status ad Limina: "667 Dioecesis Premisliensis," report by Bishop Sarnowski (1666). The writer who published a pamphlet under the name of Jan Krzysztof Lewek, discussed below, complained that there were few conversions because the clergy lacked support from a "secular arm." On Protestant overtures to Catholics in Poland, see Doktór, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, 27–28, 204.
68. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, S. Congregationis Relationes Status ad Limina, 464 Luceoriensis. Also in *Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae*, 2, 155:
- Studio itaque deperdito aliud assumpsi medium officii meo Pastoralis incumbens evangelissandi videlicet in Synagogis verbum Dei unde circum eundo, ac lustrando diaecesis meam in omnibus lucis Synagogas Judaeorum visitavi, praedicationes ac sermones pastorales *pro conversione eorundem* ipsemet feci, ac per alias personas habiles et eruditad eosdem fieri curavi.
69. Because many religious orders had autonomy and were not under the bishop's direct jurisdiction.
70. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, S. Congregationis Relationes Status ad Limina, 464 Luceoriensis. Also in *Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae*, Rome 1978, vol. 2, 155.
71. *Litterae Pastorales Ad Clerum et Populum utriusque Diaecesis . . . in Anno 1740 et 1741 ac praesenti 1742 Emanatae*, 1742, E2-E2v.
72. In 1749, several years after Kobielski's inquiry, the Pope issued a letter endorsing forced preaching to Jews, but I found no evidence that Polish clergy were familiar with this document. Rosa, "La Santa Sede e gli ebrei nel Settecento," 1073.
73. See Anna Michałowska *Między demokracją a oligarchią: władze gmin żydowskich w Poznaniu i Swarzędzu od połowy XVII do końca XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 2000), 19. Also see Raphael Mahler *Yidn in amolikn Poyln: In likht fun tsifern* (Warsaw, 1958), especially 29–47. Even in Rome, the results of the concerted efforts at converting Jews brought meager results, see Rosa "La Santa Sede e gli ebrei," 1070. Also Stow, "The Papacy and the Jews: Catholic Reformation and Beyond," *Jewish History* 6 (1992), 272.
74. *Światło na oświecenie narodu niewiernego to iest Kazania w Synagogach żydowskich miane oraz Relfexye y List odpowiadający na pytania Synagogi Brodzkiej z Rozkazu Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jego Mości Xiędza Franciszka Antoniego Kobielskiego, Biskupa Łuckiego y Brzeskiego . . . o pozyskanie Dusz zelusem nieustannym pracującego do druku podane* (Lvov, 1746). For a detailed discussion of this work see Kalik, "Ha-Knesiyyah ha-Katolit ve-ha-Yehudim," 41–45. Unlike the Protestant missionaries to Jews in Poland from the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum* in Halle, who learnt

- Yiddish and approached Jews in this language, there is no evidence that Kobielski preached in any other language than Polish.
75. Jacob Goldberg, *Ha-Mumarim be-Mamlekhet Polin-Lita*, and “Konwertyci w społeczeństwie staropolskim.” On Kobielski’s encounter with the Jewish community of Brody, see Bałaban, *Le-Toldot ha-Tenu’ah ha-Frankit*, 95–100.
  76. Parts of the report concerning Poland were translated in Doktór, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, 217–238. Doktór points to the original Stephan Schultz *Die Leitungen des Höchsten nach seinem Rath auf den reisen durch Europa, Asia und Afrika* (Halle, 1771). Józef Andrzej Załuski was also a founder of the famous Załuski library, which Schultz was shown when he visited Józef Andrzej Załuski. Schultz then donated a number of missionary books published by the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum in Halle.
  77. The reference is to Johann Heinrich Callenberg, one of the Institute’s founders and most active missionaries in Poland. Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 85–87.
  78. A Protestant secretary in the Załuski library.
  79. Doktór, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, 227.
  80. Doktór, *W poszukiwaniu żydowskich kryptochrześcijan*, 228–229.
  81. *Judaismus convictus seu demonstratio evidentissima legem veterem cessasse, promissum Messiam advenisse, eumque esse Jesum Christum invictis argumentis e vaticiniis antiqui testamenti deducta . . . anno elapso a Judaeis factae publicae data, authore Casimiro Putelano* (Warsaw, 1757)
  82. Woyciech Kojalowicz SJ, *O rzeczach do Wiary należących rozmowy theologa z różnemi Wiary Prawdziwey Przeciwnikami* (Cracow, 1671); Woyciech Ochabowicz O.P., *Tarcza wiary świętej Rzymskiej Katolickiej przeciwko różnym iey nieprzyjaciół Impetom Wystawiona albo Theologia Polska Kontrowersye y Konkluzye Katolickie dla Prawowiernych Polskich Katholików* (Lublin, 1736). Also a work found in manuscript in the Archive and Library of the Franciscans Reformats in Cracow: Antoni Węgrzynowicz “Tractatus Compendarius Controvertistius In quo Praecipua fundamenta articulorum verae fidei proponuntur et satisfit obiecti omnibus sectarium conscriptus Per P. F. Antonius Węgrzynowicz Ref: Provinciae Minoris Poloniae S. Theologiae Lectorem,” 1698, Archiwum i Biblioteka O.O. Franciszkanów Reformatów w Krakowie. Karol Estreicher does not note this book in his *Bibliografia polska*.
  83. Jakob Radliński *Prawda Chrześcianańska od nieprzyjaciela swego zeznana: To iest Traktat Rabina Samuela Pokazujący błędy żydowskie około zachowania Prawa Moyżeszowego y przyścia Messyaszowego, którego Żydzi czekaią* [The Truth Acknowledged by Its Enemy: That is A Treatise by Rabbi Samuel Illustrating Jewish Errors concerning the Laws of Moses] (Lublin, 1733), 433: “Having given several proofs of the Holy Trinity from the Holy Scripture, I have shown some examples, not to Jews (as they do not believe our examples) but to Christians, so that they may be provided with the explanation of this mystery and so that they strengthen [their] belief in this miracle.” This is an example of the Polish rendition of the famous medieval Epistle and is most notable for Radliński’s explication of this medieval text. Radliński’s reasoning differs drastically from the understanding of this letter by the sixteenth-century Marquandus de Susannis. It is, therefore, another example of the use of Jewish converts by the Polish Church in its attempts to regain its religious dominance. See Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, 243–244.
  84. Additional discussion of polemical literature in Poland and its role in the eighteenth century see Teter, “Jews in the Legislation and Teachings of the Catholic Church in

- Poland 1648–1772,” chap. 3. For examples of Jews as theological constructs within anti-Protestant polemic see for instance, Marek Korona *Rozmowa Theologa Katolickiego z Rabinem żydowskim przy Aryaninie nieprawym Chrześcianinie* (Lvov, 1645), Joanicjusz Galatowski *Alphabetum rozmaitym Heretykom niewiernym dla ich nauczania y nawrocenia do Wiary Katolickiej od Prawowiernych Katolików* (Czernihów, 1681), Woyciech Ochabowicz *Tarcza wiary świętej Rzymskiej Katolickiej przeciwko różnym iey nieprzyjaciółImpetom Wystawiona* (Lublin, 1736).
85. On the tension between theory and practice of perception of Jews as potential converts in German lands and Western Europe, see Carlebach, *Divided Souls*.
  86. Korona, *Rozmowa Theologa Katolickiego z Rabinem Żydowskim przy Aryaninie*.
  87. Stanisław Bielicki, SJ *Święta kaznodziejskie to iest kazania doroczne na uroczystości Świętych Bożych* (Kalisz, 1717), 164.
  88. Kazimierz Łubieński and Theodor Potocki.
  89. MS. 534 “Exempla,” Archiwum O.O. Dominikanów w Krakowie.
  90. The number of days is perhaps not coincidental. Jesus is believed to have been on earth forty days after his resurrection, before ascending to heaven.
  91. Church legislation concerning Christian servants in Poland is discussed in Teter, 34–61. Kalik, “Ha-Knesiyyah ha-Katolit ve-ha-Yehudim,” 64–93. See also Adam Kaźmierczyk, “The Problem of Christian Servants as Reflected in the Legal Codes of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth During the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century and in the Saxon Period,” *Gal-Ed* 15-16 (1997), 23–40; Kalik “Christian Servants Employed by Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” *Polin* 14 (2001), 259–270.
  92. *List Pewnego Statysty Zawierający w sobie niektóre przyczyny dla Których z terażnieyszych Żydów ledwie który do Wiary Świętej Katolickiej nawracan bywa* (1728). [The Letter of a Certain Statesman [Statysta] which Includes Some of the Reasons Why Today’s Jews Rarely Convert to the Holy Catholic Faith: Also Some Methods Serving the Conversion of the Jewish Nation.]
  93. Scholars of Jewish converts to Christianity have shown that converts often attacked their former society rather than the new one. See, for instance, the cases of Pablo Christiani in the Middle Ages, or Johanness Pfefferkorn in early modern German lands. See Carlebach, *Divided Souls* for a discussion of this problem. Bogdan Rok seems to believe that Jan Lewek was indeed a Jewish convert, Rok, “Z literatury antyżydowskiej w Polsce XVIII wieku (Jan Krzysztof Lewek, *List pewnego statysty*)” in *Z historii ludności żydowskiej w Polsce i na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1994), 214.
  94. See Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, Stow, “The Papacy and the Jews: Catholic Reformation and Beyond,” and Stow, “Church, Conversion and Tradition: The Problem of Jews Conversion in Sixteenth Century Italy.”
  95. Lewek, *List Pewnego Statysty*, Av.
  96. Professor Elisheva Carlebach pointed out that this argument was also common in German literature of the time.
  97. Lewek, *List Pewnego Statysty*, A3v (unnumbered).
  98. Catholic preachers commonly used this device to expose Catholic sins. The method is discussed in Teter, “Jews in the Legislation and Teachings of the Catholic Church in Poland 1648–1772,” chaps 4–5.
  99. Lewek, *List Pewnego Statysty*, A3 [unnumbered]. Radliński in his *Prawda Chrześcijańska*, 26, while discussing Jewish exile, wrote: “Here in Poland, Jews are allowed

- everything; they receive far more respect and rights to administer estates from some lords than Christians themselves.”
100. Radliński, *Prawda Chrześcijańska*; and *Oktawa Bożego Ciała* (Lublin, 1731); Stefan Żuchowski, *Proces kryminalny o Niewinne Dziecię Jerzego Krasnowskiego* (Sandomierz, 1713 (1720?)) and *Odgłos procesów kryminalnych na Żydach o różne ekscesy, także morderstwo dzieci osobliwie w Sandomierzu roku 1698 przeświadczone w przeświełym Trybunale Koronnym przewidzionych dla dobra pospolitego wydanych* (Sandomierz, 1700). Also Joannicjusz Galatowski’s works use this device: *Messjasz prawdziwy* (1672); idem *Alphabetum rozmaitym heretykom niewiernym* (1681). Galatowski, however, was an eastern Orthodox clergyman.
  101. Lewek, *List Pewnego Statysty*, B.
  102. Ibid., Bv.
  103. Ibid., B2.
  104. See for this text Rosa, “La Santa Sede e gli ebrei,” 2, 1079.
  105. Ibid., Bv ff.
  106. Stow, *Catholic Thought*, especially chapter 10, passim. Also Stow, “The Papacy and the Jews: Catholic Reformation and Beyond,” 264.
  107. Caffiero, “‘Le insidie de l’ perfidi giudei:’ Antiebraismo e reconquista cattolica alla fine del settecento,” 580, and Rosa, “La Santa Sede e gli ebrei.”
  108. This was largely forced on them due to foreign pressures from, non-Catholic Prussia and Russia, and was limited to the intellectual elites.