

**KAZIMIERZ ŁATAK CRL<sup>1</sup>**

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw

ORCID 0000-0003-2471-6372

## **FELIX SAECULUM CRACOVIAE – KRAKOW’S HAPPY AGE: LEGEND AND REALITY**

**Felix saeculum Cracoviae czyli fenomen szczęśliwego wieku Krakowa: legenda i rzeczywistość**

### **Abstract**

This article is a reflection on the phenomenon referred to in Polish historiography as *felix saeculum Cracoviae*, i.e., Krakow’s happy age. The concept first appeared in the mid-16th century, in a hagiography of blessed Michał Giedroyc (+1489) written by Jan of Trzciana, a professor at the University of Krakow. It was directly associated with a group of six saints/clerics who lived and worked in 15th century Krakow metropolitan area: Jan Kanty, Izajasz Boner, Szymon of Lipnica, Stanisław Kazimierczyk, Michał Giedroyc and Świętosław Milczący. In the early 17th century, the notion laid the foundation for a multi-layer hagiographic construct, which with time began to be used also in reference to the city’s 15th century history, presented as a remarkable period of thriving religious life and a “great era in its spiritual history”. However, an in-depth study of the phenomenon leaves no doubt that the ‘happy age’ is only a beautiful legend far removed from historical reality.

**Keywords:** the phenomenon of *felix saeculum Cracoviae*, religious culture in 15th century Poland, hagiography

### **Abstrakt**

Artykuł jest refleksją nad fenomenem nazwanym w historiografii polskiej *felix saeculum Cracoviae* – szczęśliwy wiek Krakowa. Samo pojęcie pojawiło się w połowie XVI w. w żywocie błogosławionego Michała Giedroycia (+1489), spisany przez Jana z Trzciany, profesora Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego. Pojęcie łączyło się bezpośrednio z grupą sześciu świętych duchownych, którzy żyli i działali w aglomeracji krakowskiej w XV wieku: Janem Kantym, Izajaszem Bonerem, Szymonem z Lipnicy, Stanisławem Kazimierczykiem, Michałem Giedroyciem i Świętosławem Milczącym. Na początku XVII wieku pojęcie stało się osnową dla wielowarstwowego konstrukt hagiograficznego, który z biegiem czasu zaczęto odnosić również do dziejów miasta w XV wieku, ukazując je jako okres niezwykły, okres

<sup>1</sup> Prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Łatak CRL, kierownik Katedry Nauk Pomocniczych Historii w Instytucie Historii Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego. E-mail: [k.latak@uksw.edu.pl](mailto:k.latak@uksw.edu.pl).

intensywnego życia religijnego oraz „wielką epokę w jego duchowych dziejach”. Studium pogłębione nad fenomenem nie pozostawia jednak wątpliwości, że jest to tylko piękna legenda daleka od rzeczywistości historycznej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** fenomen *felicis saeculi Cracoviae*, kultura religijna w Polsce w XV w., hagiografia

The term *felix saeculum Cracoviae* dates back to the mid-16th century and refers to a cultural and ideological phenomenon in the history of 15th century Krakow. Undoubtedly, the 15th century was a turbulent time of tremendous “civilisational and ideological tensions, when a new reality in European thought and history of culture was emerging from the doctrinal output of the Middle Ages, supplemented by Greek and Roman heritage”; it was a century of contrasts, “combining the close of the old, mediaeval millennium with the vanguard of the new trends of humanism and the Renaissance.”<sup>2</sup> In Krakow, the period was given a name, which became fixed in the form of the following eulogy: *Felix saeculum Cracoviae – Krakow’s happy age*.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the source of ‘happiness’ lied in neither wealth nor the progress of civilisation, but rather in the alleged fact of nearly communal life<sup>4</sup> of six saintly clerics in the Krakow metropolitan area, namely of St. Jan Kanty (+1473), St. Szymon of Lipnica (+1482), St. Stanisław Kazimierczyk (+1489), Blessed Michał Giedroyc (+1485), Servant of God Izajasz Boner (+1471) and Servant of God Świętosław Milczący (+1489), “who were linked by bonds of friendship not so much due to their scholarly and spiritual profession as their heroic virtues, to such an extent that they almost formed a separate confraternity.”<sup>5</sup> Jan Kanty (John Cantius) was a university professor and canon of St. Anne’s Collegiate Church in Krakow, Izajasz Boner was a university professor and a monk at the monastery of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine at St. Catherine’s Church in Kazimierz, Szymon of Lipnica was a bachelor of arts and a monk at the Bernardine monastery in Stradom, Stanisław Kazimierczyk was a bachelor of arts and a member of the Order of Canons Regular of the Lateran at the Corpus Christi Church in Kazimierz, Michał Giedroyc was a bachelor of arts and a brother of the Order of Canons Regular of the Penitence at St. Mark’s Church in Krakow, and Świętosław Milczący was a missionary at the parish church of Blessed Virgin Mary in Krakow.

<sup>2</sup> W. Szelińska, *Słowo na otwarcie sesji*, in: *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae – krakowscy święci XV wieku. Materiały sesji naukowej, Kraków, 24th April 1997*, ed. K. Panuś, K.R. Prokop, Kraków 1998, p. 15. See also: S. Świerżawski, *Dzieje filozofii europejskiej XV wieku*, vol. 1-6, Warszawa 1974-1983; vol. 7, Kraków 1987; S. Szczur, *Historia Polski. Średniowiecze*, Kraków 2002; H. Samsonowicz, *Złota jesień polskiego średniowiecza*, Poznań 2001; idem, *Dziedzictwo średniowiecza. Mity i rzeczywistość*, Wrocław 2011; M.K. Barański, *Historia Polski Średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2012.

<sup>3</sup> M.T. Zahajkiewicz, *Z badań nad reformą Kościoła w średniowieczu w ośrodku krakowskim (w. XIV-XV)*, „Acta Mediaevalia”, 4/1983, pp. 131-136; J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 1, Kraków 1992; idem, *Kraków w XV wieku*, in: *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae...*, pp. 19-26; T. Graff, *Kraków i Uniwersytet Krakowski w czasach błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, in: *Święty Stanisław Kazimierczyk CRL (1433-1489). Postać – Środowisko – Kultura – Dziedzictwo*, ed. K. Łatak, Kraków 2010, pp. 163-167.

<sup>4</sup> In the 15th century, the Krakow metropolitan area was made up of three cities: Kraków, Kazimierz and Kleparz, together with the following suburbs: Stradom, Garbary, Zwierzyniec, Okół, Wesola, Czarna Wieś, Grzegórzki, Dąbie, Wola Janowa, and other industrial settlements. See J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków w XV wieku*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>5</sup> R.M. Zawadzki, *Staropolski konterfent świętego Jana Kantego*, Kraków 2002, pp. 10-15.

A wealth of literature on the representatives of *felix saeculum* has accumulated, yet the phenomenon itself was discussed in greatest detail by Roman Maria Zawadzki, professor of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, in his publications about Jan Kanty and his scholarly output. The subject is also present in works of visual art, analysed by Professor Jan Samek,<sup>6</sup> Joanna Dzik, PhD,<sup>7</sup> Waław Szetelnicki, PhD<sup>8</sup> and others. The memory of the happy age and the group of saints and blessed who played central part in the phenomenon, as Professor Franciszek Ziejka remarked in his review of "*Felix saeculum Cracoviae*" – *krakowscy święci XV wieku*, were revived in the last quarter of the 20th century, "mainly through John Paul II's historic decision to beatify Stanisław Sołtys (also called Kazimierczyk), a person venerated in Krakow for several centuries, on 18th April 1993, and to canonize Queen Jadwiga, whose deeds and life helped to prepare the coming of Krakow's happy age, in June 1997."<sup>9</sup> In today's Krakow *felix saeculum* also inspires para-religious cultural initiatives. For example, for the past decade, travel agencies have offered a sightseeing tour retracing *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae*, with visits to the Corpus Christi Basilica, St. Catherine's Church, the Church of Bernardine Fathers, Jagiellonian University's Colegium Maius, St. Anne's Collegiate Church, St. Mary's Basilica and St. Mark's Church.<sup>10</sup>

The phrase *felix saeculum Cracoviae* is attributed to Jan of Trzciana (Arundinensis), professor of the Liberal Arts Faculty of University of Krakow.<sup>11</sup> It was used in his biography of Michał Giedroyc, written in 1544, and published as late as 1605 by Krzysztof of Przeworsk.<sup>12</sup> Master Jan of Trzciana briefly mentioned Michał's contacts with four other saintly clerics, who lived and worked in Krakow's metropolitan area in same period, i.e. the second half of the 15th century: "Felicissimum erat illud saeculum, quod tot viros sanctitatis expertae Urbi Crac[oviensi] dedit, quorum suffragiis hucusque felicitate optabili securitatis perfruitur utinamque diu ipsis devota perfruatur."<sup>13</sup> This single sentence, marked by panegyric rhetoric

<sup>6</sup> J. Samek, *Specyfika odbicia w sztuce błogosławionych „felix saeculum”*, in: *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae...*, pp. 157-160.

<sup>7</sup> J. Dzik, *Ikonaografia Stanisława Kazimierczyka jako reprezentacja świątobliwych „felicis saeculi Cracoviae” w polskiej sztuce nowożytnej*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*”, 1987, vol. 68, pp. 61-91.

<sup>8</sup> W.W. Szetelnicki, *Ikonaografia błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka dawna i współczesna*, in: *Święty Stanisław Kazimierczyk...*, pp. 61-103.

<sup>9</sup> F. Ziejka, [review of:]: *Felix saeculum Cracoviae – krakowscy święci XV wieku. Materiały sesji naukowej, Krakow, 24th April 1997*, ed. K. Panuś, K.R. Prokop, Kraków 1998, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia", 1999, vol. 6, pp. 261-262.

<sup>10</sup> Based on the website: [histour.pl](http://histour.pl). (Accessed by: 22nd February 2021).

<sup>11</sup> Jan of Trzciana (Arundinensis), theologian, philologist, hagiographer, professor of the University of Krakow, notary public by apostolic and imperial authority, canon of St. Anne's Collegiate Church in Krakow, canon of the Lviv Cathedral, preacher, *sede vacante* administrator of the Lviv Archdiocese. Born in Trzciana ca. 1510, he began studying at the Liberal Arts Faculty of the University of Krakow in 1526; he was conferred his bachelor's degree in 1533, master's degree in 1539. Lecturer at the Liberal Arts Faculty in 1539-1556; dean of the faculty in 1544 and 1551. He was also a preacher in the Krakow Cathedral and St. Stephen's Church. In 1556 he moved to Lviv, where he became the Lviv Cathedral's canon and preacher. He died on 30th March 1567 in Lviv. See H.E. Wyczawski, *Jan z Trzciany (Arundinensis)*, in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich* [hereinafter: SPTK], vol. 2, Warszawa 1982, pp. 149-150.

<sup>12</sup> Rev. Krzysztof of Przeworsk (Przevorscensis), a brother of the Order of Canons Regular of the Penitence, provost of the monastery in Libichowa, provost general of the congregation.

<sup>13</sup> J. Arundinensis, *Vita beati Michaelis Ordinis S[anctae] Mariae de Metro de Poenitentia Beatorum Martyrum conventualis S[ancti] Marci Crac[oviae] opera et sumptu V[enerabilis] P[atris] fratris Christophori Przevorscensis in lucem emissa*, Cracoviae 1605. Translated into English, it reads as follows: "It was the happiest age which

and religious exaltation, a theological commentary on a group of servants of God in the 15th century city, and at the same time a testimony to the longevity of their worship in Krakow's community in the 1540s, discovered in the early 17th century, was used by hagiographers to create unrealistic stories and piece together literary mosaics, readily adopted and built upon by preachers later on.

The first author to recognise the value of the mention and the term coined by Master Jan of Trzciana, as well as its potential application in the Church's Counter-Reformation strategy of the era was Marcin Baroniusz, a publisher of a series of lives of Polish saints and saintly people. Baroniusz was a cleric from the Przemyśl diocese, although had connections to Hieronim Ręczajski's curia, Krakow Archdeacon and Krakow Bishop's Chancellor Bernard Maciejowski, as well as Piotr Tylicki.<sup>14</sup> The life of Saint Stanisław Kazimierczyk, Baroniusz's first work surviving to this day, was published in 1609.<sup>15</sup> The hagiography is not a historical dissertation; rather, it is a theological treatise, in which history provides merely the background and the connections. Its author, on the basis of very limited information on Stanisław's life and work, built an ideal model of sainthood and monastic perfection with clear post-Trent theological elements.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the writer did not obtain information on *felix saeculum Cracoviae* and the saints who represented the age from the annals of the canons of the Corpus Christi Monastery, where Kazimierczyk lived, worked and died; instead, he sourced it from the life of Michał Giedroyc, released in print in 1605. We may come to a conclusion that it was Baroniusz who laid the foundation for the Baroque construct of the ideological and cultural phenomenon of *felix saeculum Cracoviae*. Like Piotr Skarga's works, his hagiographic publications were undoubtedly widely-read and must have sparked a great deal of interest in his circle, since this trend in writing was soon picked up by many other authors, including those from the university.<sup>17</sup> Biographical sections in the hagiographies published by Baroniusz are trite, schematic, and designed in such a manner that they could have been easily used in the life of any other saint. They display a clear methodological

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gave so many saintly men to the City of Krakow, thanks to whose intercession it has since enjoyed much-needed safety, and may it enjoy its safety for long".

<sup>14</sup> Baroniusz hailed from Jarosław, he was born undoubtedly in the 1570s; he was a cleric at the Przemyśl Diocese, albeit he was conferred minor orders. Before 1600, he left for Rome, where he stayed until 1602/1603, and became acquainted with the work of Cesare Baronio. It was under Baronio's influence that he started writing the lives of Polish saints and saintly people. Upon his return to Poland, he established connections with Hieronim Ręczajski's (+1613) curia. Kamil Kantak believed that Baroniusz had belonged to the Bernardine Order, which seems highly questionable, for as early as 1609 and 1610, when consecutive lives of saints were published, he signed his works as "clericus Jaroslaviensis dioecesis Premisliensis". He died presumably in 1610; in any case, last traces of his public activities date back to that year. See M. Daniluk, *Baroniusz, Baron, Marcin*, in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 2, Lublin 1985, col. 61-62; H.E. Wyczawski, *Baroniusz (Barański) Marcin*, in: *SPTK*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1982, pp. 106-107; K. Kantak, S. Komornicki, *Baroniusz Marcin*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. 1, Warszawa 1935, p. 307.

<sup>15</sup> M. Baroniusz, *Vita, gesta et miracula Beati Stanislai Poloni Casimiriae ad Cracoviam oriundi, Canonice Regularium Lateranensium Sanctissimi Salvatoris, Ordinis Divi Augustini, Viceprioris Conventus Sacratissimi Corporis Christi Casimiriae, Confessoris nunc primum in lucem edita*, Kraków 1609.

<sup>16</sup> For critical remarks on the work, see K. Łatak, *Najstarsze żywoty i miracula świętego Stanisława Kazimierczyka (1433-1489). Studium z dziejów średniowiecznego i nowożytnego piśmiennictwa hagiograficznego w Polsce*, Łomianki 2020, pp. 91-103.

<sup>17</sup> To mention the most significant ones among the many: Maciej Ubiszewski (1609), Adam Miecznikowski (1611), Fryderyk Szembek (1610), Jędrzej Gronowski (1615), Krzysztof Łoniewski (1617), Ludwik Skrobkowiec (1623) and Adam of Opatów (1628).

similarity to ready-made texts of the second of the three nocturnes of the *matutinum* in the post-Trent breviary intended for collective reading (*commune sanctorum*), where it was enough to refer to the saint by his or her name, and the rest was built so as to match any of the saints.<sup>18</sup> Baronius assumed that it was not so much the story of the life of a saint that was crucial as his or her miraculous powers, the wonders he or she had done and kept doing. The more numerous, spectacular and incredible the miracles, the better – it was the miracles which stimulated the reader's imagination and created an atmosphere of *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, a convincing argument. Accordingly, descriptions of miracles constituted half the content of the lives of saints published by Baronius. A reader who learned about such a multitude of miraculous recoveries from light and severe ailments, but also not so infrequent cases of resurrections, could not have remained indifferent. Even if they were doubtful, the descriptions left them with a desire to verify the accounts on the spot, as well as with a memory which spurred them to action in extreme situations. Jan Kanty enjoyed the highest position in Baronius's ranking of miracle-workers, with as many as 26 people risen from the dead. The runner-up was Szymon of Lipnica, who brought 10 people from the dead. At the bottom of the ranking were Michał Giedroyc, who resurrected 4 people and Izajasz Boner, with only 2 resurrected.<sup>19</sup>

I shall omit a lengthy catalogue of authors: hagiographers, historiographers, preachers and panegyrists, who took up the subject of *felix saeculum* in various forms in the 17th and 18th century. However, it must be emphasised that they were extremely successful in amplifying its image, outlined in a general manner by Master Jan of Trzciana, and rediscovered and revived by Marcin Baronius. Skilfully operating on a limited stock of source data and a questionable intra-monastic and intra-ecclesiastical tradition, they not so much recreated the historical reality of the second half of the 15th century in the Krakow metropolitan area as they created theological reality in the spirit of the Council of Trent's reform. This reality proved to be immensely useful in the pastoral tradition of the Church of that period, which in Poland was still struggling with Reformation, i.e. Lutheranism and Calvinism. Files concerning the visitation of the parishes in the Krakow Diocese in the 1590s under Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł contain information on a significant number of churches taken over by the Protestants and remaining in their control.<sup>20</sup> Even Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski, who ran the Krakow Diocese in the years 1616-1630, in his letter to Rome of 1625 reported that he had taken back 37 churches from the Protestants.<sup>21</sup> Like accounts of wondrous images of Virgin Mary weeping and radiant with a bright glow, lengthy catalogues of spectacular miracles worked by nearly almighty patron-saints circulated along with the lives of saints were used

<sup>18</sup> "Beati N. dies, cuius festivitatem celebramus [...]", "Triumphalis beati martyris N. dies hodie nobis anniversaria celebritate recurrit [...]", "Quoniam hodie natis est virginis N. invitat nunc integritatis amor, ut aliquid de virginitate dicamus [...]"'. See *Breviarum Romanum. Ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum Summorum Pontificum cura recognitum. Editio tipica*, Romae 1961.

<sup>19</sup> M. Baronius, *Vita, gesta et miracula Beati Stanislai Poloni*, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Archive of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow [hereinafter: AKMKr], Visitationes, ref. AV 1(1592); AVCap 14(1598); AVCap 15(1598).

<sup>21</sup> B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, vol. 5, Lublin 1984, p. 148; J. Kracik, *Powszechny, święty, w historię wpisany*, Kraków 2005; E.E. Wróbel, *Życie religijne i zakonne w Polsce na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, in: *Cztery wieki Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce (1605-2005)*, ed. A. Ruszała, Kraków 2005; B. Wołyniec, *Biskup Marcin Szyszkowski (1616-1630) jako twórca nabożeństwa siedmiu kościołów krakowskich*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia,” 21/2015, pp. 189-208.



as a most precious argument in combating Protestantism, while the idea of confraternities promoted the integration of urban and rural Catholic communities.<sup>22</sup> The argument of the culture-making role of the alleged *felix saeculum* and its effect in the number of most noble and saintly men was manifestly translated into mass persuasion as well as the strategy of renewing old and setting up new confraternities in parishes, which played a key role in the post-Trent revival of Catholic culture in Poland.<sup>23</sup>

Consequently, *Felix saeculum Cracoviae* is an intellectual construct created in the early 17th century among hagiographers and then successfully built upon by preachers, panegyrists and later generations of hagiographic writers, based on the principles of amplification, idealisation, sacralisation and mythologisation familiar to an experienced historian. A brief note by Jan of Trzciana, cited by Marcin Baroniusz in 1609, was not only copied in the life of Jan Kanty published in 1632 by Adam Opatowiusz, an eminent university professor, but given a separate 3-page chapter entitled: *O społeczności pomieszkania jego z Mężami świętymi, którzy jego czasu świątobliwości słynęli*<sup>24</sup> (*On my common dwelling with saintly Men, famous for their piety at that time*). Also Krakow, where the saintly men lived and worked, was a subject of a supernatural apotheosis. Professor Opatowiusz wrote, “City of Krakow, you shone more brightly at that time, for you were surrounded by lights more noble than those in the sky, and illuminated by bright rays of many a perfect virtue [...].<sup>25</sup> Other cities, although they were of country-wide importance, did not enjoy such a distinction. It should be emphasised that in the first half of the 17th century the legend of *felix saeculum* was of great use not only to the Church in its post-Trent cultural renaissance activities but also to the capital city, which started losing its significance due to the relocation of the royal court to Warsaw, as mentioned by Rev. Stefan Ranatowicz in his chronicle.<sup>26</sup>

In his study on St. Jan Kanty, Professor Roman Zawadzki suggested that an inspiration for the 17th century creation of the *felix saeculum* construct could have been drawn from the idea of mediaeval spiritual confraternities, which were established between monasteries, as well as readily bestowed by monasteries on lay persons. The idea enjoyed special popularity in Poland, and was presumably spread, among others, by Izajasz Boner.<sup>27</sup> The concept of confraternities is associated mainly with mendicant orders, yet it was widely practised by monastic orders and orders of canons regular. Founded in 1405 by King Władysław Jagiełło, the Monastery of Canons Regular at the Corpus Christi parish church in Kazimierz already in the first decades of its existence established confraternities with multiple Canon

<sup>22</sup> J. Kracik, *Święte obrazy wśród grzesznych sarmatów. Ze studiów nad recepcją kultowego dziedzictwa*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 1991, vol. 76, pp. 141-192.

<sup>23</sup> B. Kumor, *Kościelne stowarzyszenia świeckich na ziemiach polskich w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, 10/1967, pp. 289-356; J. Flaga, *Bractwa religijne w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2004, pp. 6-7.

<sup>24</sup> A. Opatowiusz, *Żywot i cuda wielbego Jana Kantego, doktora w Piśmie Świętym i profesora Akademii Krakowskiej. Z manuskryptów Wielkiego Kolegium i Kościoła Świętej Anny, także Historiej W. Macieja Miechowity, polskiego historyographa i z innych poważnych i wiary godnych autorów wybrany i wypisany*, Kraków 1632, pp. 37-39.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 38.

<sup>26</sup> S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriae civitatis, urbi Cracoviensi confrontatae, origo. In eaque ecclesiarum erectiones et religiosorum fundationes, nec non series, vitae, res gestae praepositorum Conventus Canonice Regularium Lateranensium [sancti] Augustini ad Ecclesiam Sacratissimi Corporis Christi descriptae*, MS. BJ 3742 III, sheet 47.

<sup>27</sup> R.M. Zawadzki, *Staropolski konterfekt świętego Jana z Kęt*, pp. 14-15.

monasteries in Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia and Austria.<sup>28</sup> Before the end of the 15th century the monastery established confraternities with many other centres, including the abbey in Trzemeszno, the provostry in Mstowo, the provostry in Kłodawa, the Cistercian abbey in Mogiła, the Benedictine abbey in Tynie, the Augustinians in Kazimierz, and even with the Carthusians in Lechnica (in Spiš).<sup>29</sup> The idea of confraternities declined in the second quarter of the 16th century; this is confirmed by the fact that monastic obituaries do not contain entries on the deceased members of confraternal orders. However, the 17th century saw its revival. Entries on deaths of members of confraternal orders started appearing again in monastic obituaries; immediately after the notice of their death was received, a solemn mass with complete funeral liturgy was celebrated by the monastery, along with the tolling of the bells.<sup>30</sup> Professor Zawadzki's suggestion that the origins of the 17th century construct of *felix saeculum* should be traced back to the idea of monastic confraternities so popular in the Middle Ages, seems highly reasonable. The concept, which provided spiritual bonds between monasteries, was transferred into a link which allegedly connected the clerics, who, even if they knew one another, had merely a nodding acquaintance.

In the 19th century the subject of *felix saeculum Cracoviae* no longer drew so much attention. It was mostly referred to in sermons delivered and published on the occasion of liturgical commemorations of the saints and blessed of the period, also when renovated chapels and altars dedicated to those saints and blessed were put into service<sup>31</sup>. The concept was also discussed in historical and theological studies in the second half of the 20th century. The 'happy age' was commonly referred to as a period of "remarkably intense religious life in the Krakow metropolitan area", "a great era in Krakow's spiritual history" or "a unique period in the history of the royal city".<sup>32</sup> Undoubtedly, back then religious life permeated everyday life and popular culture, although not to such a great extent as is usually suggested. A detailed analysis of the files on official and bishops of the era stored in the archive of

<sup>28</sup> K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu w Krakowie do końca XVI wieku*, Elk 1999, pp. 202-207; P. Krafl, *Początki konfraternit reholnich kanovníku sv. Augustína v Kazimierzi s konventy z Cech a Moravy. Edice konfraternitních listin kláštera Tela Pane z moravských archivů*, in: *Przemijanie i trwanie. Kanonicy Regularni Laterańscy w dawnej i współczesnej Polsce*, ed. K. Łatak, I. Makarczyk, Kraków 2009, pp. 209-216.

<sup>29</sup> K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu w Krakowie do końca XVI wieku*, pp. 202-207; P. Krafl, *Dokument konfraterni kartuzów Lapis Refugii na Spiszu dla kanoników regularnych w Kazimierzu pod Krakowem*, „Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU/PAN w Krakowie”, 49/2004, pp. 9-13.

<sup>30</sup> K. Łoniewski, *Nomina monasteriorum, quibus Conventui Ecclesiae Sacratissimi Corporis Christi in Casimiria specialis intercessit Confraternitas: a quo tempore, et quae sint illius obligationes*, in: *Regula Beatissimi Patris Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi De communi vita Clericorum. Huic adiecta Collectio D[omi]ni Petri Claretiae Canonici Regularis de domo Rudnicensi super Statuta Canoniorum Regularium [...]*. In *usum Canonicorum Regularium Cracoviensis Conventus Ecclesiae Sacratissimi Corporis Christi in Kazimiria*, Kraków 1618, pp. 03-06; K. Łatak, *Cystersi mogiłscy w nekrologu krakowskiego klasztoru kanoników regularnych laterańskich. Uwagi do dziejów konfraterni*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 1998, vol. 90, pp. 461-464; idem, *Konwenty mstowski i kłobucki w nekrologu konwentu krakowskiego*, in: *Mstów. Miasto – Klasztor – Parafia na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. K. Łatak, Łomianki 2013, pp. 437-450.

<sup>31</sup> See e.g. J. Kulczycki, *Kazanie miane 10 grudnia 1850 roku w czasie sumy z okazji nowo wybudowanego ołtarza i poświęcenia go pod tytułem NMP Loretańskiej i patronów polskich w kościele Bożego Ciała Księża Kanoników Laterańskich*, Kraków 1850.

<sup>32</sup> J. Kuś, *Bl. Izajasz z Krakowa 1399-1471*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 1972, vol. 38, pp. 35-36; J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków w XV wieku*, p. 25; S. Szczur, *Historia Polski...*, pp. 584-585; K. Ożóg, *Kościół krakowski w czasach błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, in: *Święty Stanisław Kazimierczyk...*, pp. 175-199; J. Zbudniewek, *Miasto Kazimierz w czasach błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, in: *Święty Stanisław Kazimierczyk...*, pp. 153-162.

Krakow's bishop's curia,<sup>33</sup> as well as sermonaries kept in the archive of the Corpus Christi monastery,<sup>34</sup> which I reviewed in terms of morality and moral theology rather than dogmatics, do not seem to support the vision of the 'happy age' articulated both by past and contemporary historians and hagiographers. On the contrary, they prove that cult and culture in those times, much like today, did not go hand in hand. Fifteenth century Krakow's *acta officialia* and *acta episcopalia* contain information on moral, marital and disciplinary matters, and relevant penalties imposed, which corroborate Rev. Professor Jan Kracik's view that "the gap between ritual/legalistic and evangelical model of piety could have been so enormous that it was possible for it to accommodate both conscientiousness without conscience and excessively moral moralising."<sup>35</sup> They also support a synthesis of Professor Karol Górski's research on Poland's mediaeval spirituality: "There is brutality and violence next to faith, and that brutality and violence are not attenuated by practising Christian virtues [...]. In the Middle Ages no-one was indifferent to God, even though they lived contrary to their faith."<sup>36</sup> The subordination of the rhythm of everyday life to weekly and yearly ecclesiastical calendar does not prove in any way that the culture of that life, both for individuals and masses, was a sum of Christian values. Proceedings conducted in the officiality and the curia, and penalties imposed on clerics and lay people alike, demonstrate quite clearly that everyday life was radically removed from the ideals set by the Ten Commandments and standards promoted by the Church.

Although extant lists of miracles worked by the six saintly men undoubtedly play an important role in the debate, they reflect for the most part the piety of the beneficiary rather than mass piety, and the former could have been as unique as the miracle the beneficiary experienced. Descriptions of the events rarely mention the religious beliefs and notions of the healed person, and thus they cannot provide a convincing basis for general conclusions. Sometimes even the saint himself, like Stanisław Kazimierczyk, suggested religious practices to be performed by the sick in return for the healing. They usually included a pilgrimage to his grave, saying a specific number of *Lord's Prayers* and *Hail Marys*, requesting a mass, or an offering in the form of a candle or another wax item.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, votive practices were not spontaneous acts but followed clearly formulated requests.

It appears that outward manifestation of religious practices was more intense in the 15th century than in the subsequent one. Still, it should be noted that the ecclesiastical calendar of the era contained a great number of obligatory feasts, feasts with octaves and processions, and indulgence feasts accompanied with fairs. In her remarkable study of the subject, Izabela Skierska, PhD, ascertained that there were more than a hundred obligatory feasts in mediaeval Poland.<sup>38</sup> The problem, however, was not the number of feasts, but the scarcity of data on the quantity of the faithful participating in the ceremonies. Preachers from the Corpus Christi

<sup>33</sup> For a description of the files in the Krakow's officiality and general vicariate, see E. Knapek, *Acta oficjalatu i wikariatu generalnego krakowskiego do połowy XVI wieku*, Kraków 2010.

<sup>34</sup> On sermonaries kept in the monastic archive, see S. Rylko, *Patron Kazimierza bł. Stanisław Soltyś zwany Kazimierczykiem*, Kraków 1997, pp. 84-90; K. Łatak, S. Nalbach, *Ze studiów nad kulturą umysłową kanoników regularnych krakowskiej prepozytury Bożego Ciała w XV i XVI wieku*, Kraków 2009, pp. 183-186.

<sup>35</sup> J. Kracik, *Święte obrazy u grzesznych sarmatów*, passim.

<sup>36</sup> K. Górski, *Zarys dziejów duchowości w Polsce*, Kraków 1986.

<sup>37</sup> K. Łatak, *Najstarsze żywoty i miracula świętego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, pp. 165-228.

<sup>38</sup> I. Skierska, *Sabbatha sanctifices. Dzień święty w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa 2008.



Church quite often reminded the congregation on the duty to attend the mass and listen to the sermon on Sundays and holidays, which suggests that the reality was different from their expectations. Stanisław Kazimierczyk himself would chasten people for coming late to holiday services, leaving the church prior to their completion and indifferent and casual attitude to ceremonies. On many occasions he reiterated that the ceremonies, songs and prayers should manifest love rather than clamour: “Non clamor sed amor.”<sup>39</sup>

Confraternities existed at parish and monastic churches, but extant sources do not allow the numbers of their members to be determined, nor do they offer an answer to the question to what extent membership in such groups was an elite or mass phenomenon. Numbers cited in studies are most frequently estimations.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, there are examples that the “happy age” was a period of “severe and painful” crisis for some of Krakow’s confraternities, some of them even did not manage to survive. This is exactly what happened to the Confraternity of St. Sophia, founded in 1410 at the same church of St. Mark’s monastery where Blessed Michał Giedroyc, a member of the *felix saeculum*<sup>41</sup> group lived and worked.

There is a considerable amount of literature on folk piety of the period, yet one cannot help but notice that it contains plenty of generalisations with very few specifics.<sup>42</sup> Izabela Skierska in the aforementioned study admits that absence of sources makes it impossible to verify or reliably assess compliance with multiple orders and prohibitions concerning the observance of feasts. It was folk piety that was frequently denounced by preachers of the period.<sup>43</sup>

With regard to “vibrant religious life” in 15th century Krakow metropolitan area, one must take into account that it was a unique space. A total of 42 parish and monastic churches were situated within its borders, and there were a little over 20 thousand inhabitants.<sup>44</sup> In his descriptions of Krakow, Jan Długosz (Ioannes Longinus) remarked that “the city has more monastic buildings than residential houses,” and criticised burghers for their religious indifference. In Kazimierz alone, a city of barely four thousand inhabitants, there were as many as six churches, including three parish ones.<sup>45</sup> Today, we are unable to answer the question to what extent that intensity of religious life was a spontaneous manifestation of genuine spiritual needs, and to what extent it was prescribed and induced by institutional framework.

<sup>39</sup> M. Mejor, *Błogosławiony Stanisław Kazimierczyk o uczestnictwie wiernych we mszy świętej*, in: *Święty Stanisław Kazimierczyk...*, pp. 117-122; K. Łatak, *Najstarsze żywoty i miracula świętego Stanisława Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, pp. 50-54.

<sup>40</sup> Z. Jakubowski, *Początki Bractwa Najświętszego Sakramentu przy kościele Bożego Ciała w Krakowie*, „*Nasza Przyszłość*”, 26/1971, pp. 160-170; H. Zaremska, *Bractwa w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, Kraków 1977; T.M. Trajdos, *Bractwo św. Zofii przy kościele św. Marka w Krakowie (XV-XVIII w.)*, „*Nasza Przyszłość*”, 1989, vol. 71, pp. 5-59; K. Łatak, *The Album of the Archconfraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and Five Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ at the Corpus Christi Church in Kraków. A Gem of Old Polish Sacred Art and an Invaluable Historical Source*, „*Folia Historica Cracoviensia*”, 2020, vol. 26, p. 123n.

<sup>41</sup> T.M. Trajdos, *Bractwo św. Zofii przy kościele św. Marka*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>42</sup> G. Ryś, *Pobożność ludowa na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Szczecin 1995.

<sup>43</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Złota jesień polskiego średniowiecza*, passim; J. Związek, *Wizerunek świętego w XV wieku w świetle kazań*, in: *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae...*, pp. 28-51.

<sup>44</sup> K. Ozóg, *Kościół krakowski w czasach błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, p. 175; T. Graff, *Kraków i Uniwersytet Krakowski w czasach błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, pp. 164-166.

<sup>45</sup> K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu w Krakowie do końca XVI wieku*, passim.

What we do know is that theology, along with spiritual life, flourished at the university. Nevertheless, it is difficult to capture signs of this spirituality in the work of the professors of that era, who combined spiritual life with scholarly output. Complete and critical biographies of professors who were at that time considered saintly or, as Professor Krzysztof Ożóg wrote, persons “whose life was marked by deep faith and loyalty to God and the Church,” could shed some light on the matter. According to Ożóg, such individuals included Jan Isner, Stanisław of Skalbmierz, Jakub of Paradyż, Jan Elgot, Tomasz Strzemiński, Paweł of Zator, Sędziwój of Czechel and others.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, such biographies are yet to be written.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, we may easily notice that no mystical writers appeared among Krakow theologians, and when some theologians did discuss certain mystical aspects, like Jakub of Paradyż or Benedykt Hesse, they did not present their original thought.<sup>48</sup> In the 15th century, considerable popularity in monastic and intellectual circles was gained by the writings of St. Catherine of Siena, St. Bridget of Sweden, Blessed John of Ruusbroec, Thomas à Kempis. They were widely read and widely copied. In a similar vein, towards the end of the 15th century, in the Corpus Christi Church of Canons Regular, an attempt was made to compile a mystical biography of Stanisław Kazimierczyk. Rev. Krzysztof Łoniewski’s authored a description of Kazimierczyk’s experiences and visions entitled *Raptus in spiritu apparicie błogosławione*.<sup>49</sup> However, it is difficult to draw far-reaching conclusions from this fact. Stefan Ranatowicz, the monastery’s chronicler perfectly acquainted with the resources of the library and 15th century monastic writings, did not mention any monks who had written original treatises on spiritual theology.<sup>50</sup> Discussions on the “of intense religious spirituality” during the period of *felix saeculum* were most accurately wrapped up by Prof. Roman Zawadzki. “The fact remains,” he wrote, “that at that time, in Krakow or generally in Poland, mystical writers did not manifest themselves, albeit certain aspects of mysticism were discussed in the works by such authors as Paweł Włodkowic (Paulus Vladimiri), Benedykt Hesse, and particularly Jakub of Paradyż. The claim on the effect of “modern piety” (*devotio moderna*) on the rise of mysticism in those Krakow professors who left few works, sometimes excerpts or loose notes, seems unlikely and can be defended neither in relation to the above-mentioned 15th century scholars (or at least some of them) nor any other academics of the era.”<sup>51</sup>

Thus, the 15th century was considered a happy age not because of extraordinary religious zeal which translated into mass culture but rather the fact that in the Krakow metropolitan area there were several, perhaps over a dozen clerics who displayed greater inward discipline and outward activity than others. The very idea, attributed to Master Jan of Trzciana, was promoted in the early 17th century, after the publication of his hagiography of Michał Giedroyc in 1605. At the same time, Marcin Baroniusz began creating a construct around the concept, which with time became amplified and underwent modifications that focused on theology and pastoral strategy rather than history. However, literature on *felix saeculum* and its

<sup>46</sup> K. Ożóg, *Kościół krakowski w czasach błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, passim.

<sup>47</sup> T. Graff, *Kraków i Uniwersytet Krakowski w czasach błogosławionego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, pp. 163-173.

<sup>48</sup> K. Górski, *Zarys dziejów duchowości w Polsce*, as above.

<sup>49</sup> K. Łoniewski, *Żywot, sprawy i cudowne boskie wstawienie*, p. 13; K. Łatak, *Najstarsze żywoty i miracula świętego Stanisława Kazimierczyka*, pp. 80-82.

<sup>50</sup> S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriae civitatis, urbi Cracoviensi confrontatae*, origo, passim.

<sup>51</sup> R.M. Zawadzki, *Staropolski konterfekt świętego Jana z Kęt*, pp. 17-18.

representatives published in the second half of the 20th century much more often concentrates on historical reality, although the mythological component is still taken for granted. Fact meets fiction in publications of devotional character, useful in terms of pastoral strategy or prestige, narration is made up of conjectures and quite often of mechanical extrapolations from contemporary post-Vatican, unique ecclesiastical approach into perceptions of distant past. An example of the latter is the noticeable in that Świetosław Milczący is attributed with arranging “Krakow’s first Catholic Lending Library,” and Stanisław Kazimierczyk with the worship of the Eucharist modelled after the Eucharistic Crusade.

Let us try, taking into consideration various factors, tackle the problem of the confraternal bond between the six clerics, which constitutes the basis of the ideological construct of *felix saeculum Cracoviae*. Again, I shall reiterate that it the construct was associated with six saintly clerics: Michał Giedroyć, Świetosław Milczący, Jan Kanty, Szymon of Lipnica, Stanisław Kazimierczyk and Izajasz Boner. Let us begin with the earliest information. In his chronicle published in 1521, Maciej of Miechów mentioned only three saintly men from the group: Jan Kanty,<sup>52</sup> Szymon of Lipnica<sup>53</sup> and Michał Giedroyć,<sup>54</sup> although he did not suggest the existence of any special bond between them. Twenty years later (1544), Jan of Trzciana in his description of internal and external culture of Michał Giedroyć concluded that Giedroyć very rarely ventured outside the monastery to avoid distraction or temptation, and even when he did, this was only to “pay visits to people famous for their aura of sanctity and incomprehensible godly piety, with whom he felt he had strong spiritual connections”. Those people included two clerics in Krakow: Jan Kanty and Świetosław Milczący, one in Stradom: Simon of Lipnica, and one in Kazimierz: Stanisław Kazimierczyk.<sup>55</sup> However, he did not suggest, even indirectly, that all those clerics kept touch with one another. In his hagiography of Stanisław Kazimierczyk, Marcin Baroniusz mentioned his amicable relations with the four aforementioned clerics, adding that Kazimierczyk also maintained contacts with Izajasz Boner from the nearby Augustinian monastery.<sup>56</sup> Baroniusz was also one of the first authors who wrote with some conviction on the relations between the clerics; he also outlined the theology of the bond in the group, elevating it almost to the rank of a communion cemented by the Gospels, love of God and neighbour, mystical experiences and visions.

If there is any truth in the accounts of master Jan of Trzciana and Marcin Baroniusz, duplicated and amplified by many other hagiographers and preachers, today it would be not difficult but impossible to identify, as little source information is available on the majority of the saints and blessed from the group which dates back to the period when they lived and worked. Hagiographies written many years after their death, sometimes even after more than a century,<sup>57</sup> seem to merge into a single, idealised whole, which unfortunately cannot be relied upon. Undoubtedly, they are very compelling documents of the legacy of the epoch, valuable and multi-layered sources of post-Trent theological thought in Poland as well as the

<sup>52</sup> M. Miechowta, *Cronica Polonorum*, pp. 337-338.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, pp. 344-345.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, pp. 345-346.

<sup>55</sup> J. Arundinensis, *Vita beati Michaelis*.

<sup>56</sup> M. Baroniusz, *Vita gesta et miracula Beati Stanislai Poloni*, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> Izajasz Boner’s life – written and published as late as 138 years after his death, Kazimierczyk’s life – 120 years after his death, Michał Giedroyć’s life written 60 years and published 120 years after his death, Świetosław Milczący’s life 120 years after his death.

early-modern art of hagiographic writing. Still, when it comes to the chronology of a saint's life, his or her activity, intellectual and spiritual culture, such sources are far from reliable. They cite and provide dates which were not ascertained as unquestionable or which cannot be treated with certainty. In fact, we do not know the exact dates of birth of Michał Giedroyc,<sup>58</sup> Szymon of Lipnica,<sup>59</sup> Świętosław Milczący<sup>60</sup> or Izajasz Boner.<sup>61</sup> For Świętosław, it even proved impossible to determine who he actually was, i.e. a diocesan cleric or a Carthusian, where he came from and when he settled in Krakow. We do not know when Stanisław Kazimierczyk, Szymon of Lipnica, Izajasz Boner, Świętosław received their holy orders. We are unable to place the offices they held on a timeline; in fact, they never held some of the offices ascribed to them by seventeenth century hagiographers. Simon of Lipnica could not have been a cathedral preacher in Krakow or a guardian in a Krakow monastery; Stanisław Kazimierczyk could not have been a professor at the University of Krakow. The list of doubts and reservations is a long one. A number of important biographical questions still remain unanswered, and many of them were addressed with more or less accurate hypotheses and analogies, which with time became indisputable and were treated by scholars as a certainty.

Equally little can be said of the relations between the orders to whom the saintly men belonged or the monasteries in which they lived. Even indirect evidence of those relations proved impossible to find in late 15th century archive material from the Augustinian monastery or the monastery of Canons Regular. Neither the orders nor the monasteries had any confraternities at that time. The confraternity between the Augustinian monastery and the monastery of Canons Regular was not established until both saintly men, Izajasz Boner and Stanisław Kazimierczyk, died.<sup>62</sup>

A comparative study on the unique spirituality of the saintly men from the *felix saeculum* group did not yield the expected results. Source material from the time they lived and worked is fragmentary, while their earliest hagiographies published in the yearly 17th century are conventional, reduced to general theological principles and lack credibility. According to those hagiographies, each of the clerics was an impeccable figure: an exceptional person since childhood, well-behaved, well-versed in divine and earthly studies, lived a pious life full of hard work and mortification, studied the Holy Scriptures, worshipped Virgin Mary, the Passion of Christ and the Eucharist, was humble, obedient, disciplined, ardent in his *officium divinum*, attended the sick and the poor, was a visionary and miracle-worker, with a power sufficient to resurrect the dead. The narration lacks individual characteristics or names so few of them that they do not give a satisfactory answer to the question of what was original and unique, and what was imitative and derivative in terms of personal piety or their deeds in the community. An example of Szymon of Lipnica, who in his art as a preacher

<sup>58</sup> "he was born 'around the year one thousand four hundred and twenty, earlier or later'", "the year 1425 is supplied as late as in 20th century biographies, as a conjecture", "it may be assumed that Michał was born in the first half of the 15th century". See A. Bruździński, *Michał Giedroyc, zwany błogosławionym, na tle duchowości Zakonu Kanoników Regularnych od Pokuty*, in: *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae...*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>59</sup> "Simon was born [...] ca. 1438". See W.F. Murawiec, *Szymon z Lipnicy i jego środowisko krakowskie*, in: *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae...*, p. 71.

<sup>60</sup> "Świętosław was born in the early 15th century". See C. Skowron, *Świętosław Milczący*, in: *Hagiografia polska*, ed. R. Gustaw, vol. 2, Lublin 1972, pp. 472-481.

<sup>61</sup> "Izajasz Boner was born [...] ca. 1400". See W. Szelińska, *Izajasz Boner i krakowskie środowisko uniwersyteckie jego czasów*, in: *Felix Saeculum Cracoviae...*, p. 89.

<sup>62</sup> K. Łoniewski, *Żywot, sprawy i cudowne boskie wstawienie*, pp. 4-5.

imitated John of Capistrano by piously summoning Jesus by his name on many occasions, proves that the saintly men associated with *felix saeculum* were no stranger to imitative and derivative work; indeed, at times they used imitation so arbitrarily that it cast doubt as to their theological correctness.<sup>63</sup>

A detailed list and comparative analysis of all the information on the saints and blessed of *felix saeculum Cracoviae* leaves no doubt that: 1. *Felix saeculum Cracoviae* is a fascinating legend removed from reality, a hagiographic construct built since the first decade of the 17th century on the foundations of a sentence written in 1544 by Master Jan of Trzciana, who in his hagiography of Michał Giedroyć remarked on the number of saintly clerics living in the Krakow metropolitan area at the same time as Michał Giedroyć; 2. The notion that those clerics maintained contacts with one another was an effect of deduction inspired only by miraculous locations and worship surrounding their tombs in churches in Krakow and Kazimierz; 3. A detailed analysis of hagiographic and homiletic literature of the 17th and the 18th century, starting from the earliest work published in 1609 by Marcin Baroniusz, allows us to quite accurately retrace the evolution and growth of the significance, amplification of the content, as well as historical, theological and socio-cultural interpretations of the idea and the phenomenon of *felix saeculum*.

A single exalted phrase from mid-16th century served as the basis for erecting a multi-layered construct, which gradually became such a household name that it began to be treated as part of socio-cultural reality and academic certainty. *Felix saeculum Cracoviae* is only a legend, a certain notion, of which today's historians are well-aware.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, it does not lose its appeal in popular or academic narration, indicating that it is pointless to negate myths or legends, since they are vital signs and archetypes reflecting needs and desires, yearning and action plans. Naturally, they undergo changes and transformations, are subject to new interpretations along with political, economic, social, cultural and religious changes, yet they invariably play an important role, facilitating the identification of a social, ethnic and religious group; they are a carrier of an idea which connects people.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> W. Murawiec, *Szymon z Lipnicy i jego środowisko krakowskie*, p. 76.

<sup>64</sup> R.M. Zawadzki, *Staropolski konterfekt świętego Jana z Kęt*, pp. 41-42; M. Gaździcki, *Conturbare cave, non est placare suave. Wizerunek świętego Jana Kantego według powieści historycznej Jaszka orfabem zwanego żywota i spraw pamiętnik J.I. Kraszewskiego*, „Ruch Literacki”, 2015, vol. 56, pp. 592-593.

<sup>65</sup> See H. Samsonowicz, *Dziedzictwo średniowiecza. Mity i rzeczywistość*, pp. 87-90.



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