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THE PONTIFICAL UNIVERSITY OF JOHN PAUL II IN KRAKOW

Forms of piety among members of religious confraternities in Krakow in the early modern period

One of Milanese diocesan synods under a great Milanese cardinal and archbishop St Charles Borromeo (1538–1584) summoned priests to forcibly encourage their faithful to enrol in a confraternity, as fraternal duties would contribute to changes in one's habits and deepening one's piety, and, consequently, to salvation¹. As the most eminent advocate of the post-Trent Church reform, Borromeo was undoubtedly a role model in laying down the principles of Church ministry to all bishops of his epoch, including Krakow bishops. Bernard Maciejowski (Ciołek coat of arms, 1548–1608), who later on became a Krakow bishop, also spent some time at Borromeo's court in order to confirm himself in the conviction of his priestly vocation. Maciejowski drew on the example of Borromeo's life and teachings in his priestly and episcopal service, also in reference to religious confraternities. Marcin Szyszkowski (Ostoja coat of arms, 1554–1630) became so fascinated with the work of St Charles that he founded him a sanctuary at Karczówka in Kielce. At this point one should emphasize a noticeable and undeniable continuity of the educational mission of entire generations of Polish bishops, in particular Krakow bishops, who were genuinely interested in developing various fraternal communities in their dioceses². It was presumably for this reason that Rev. Just Pomorski

¹ *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis ab eius initiis usque ad nostram aetatem opera et studio*, vol. 2: *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis a Sancto Carolo Cardinali Sanctae Praxedis Archiepiscopo condita Federici Card. Borromaei archiepiscopi Mediolani jussu undique diligentius collecta et edita*, part. 1: *Concilia provincialia – Concilium provinciale Mediolanense v (a. 1579)*, ed. A. Ratti, Mediolani 1890, kol. 705; J. Górka, *Cześć Maryi. O pobudkach i środkach nabożeństwa do Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, Tarnów 1907, pp. 153–158.

² G. Alberigo, *Carlo Borromeo come modello di vescovo nella Chiesa post-tridentina*, „*Rivista Storica Italiana*” 79 (1967), pp. 1031–1052; G. Panzeri, *Carlo Borromeo e la figura ideale del vescovo della Chiesa tridentina*, „*La Scuola Cattolica*” 124 (1996) no. 5, pp. 685–731; L. B. Pastor, *Karol Borromeusz wzór biskupa po myśli Trydenckiego Soboru*, [in:] L. B. Pastor, *Katolicy reformatorzy XVI*

(Gwiazdy coat of arms, † after 1649), one of 17th century Krakow monks from St Mark's church, concluded that "Lord gave us diverse ways of finding Him and our salvation, with different spiritual congregations, monastic recluses meant for the stronger and perfect, whereas the weak and imperfect may join various communities or lay fraternities"³.

Introduction

Following a short collapse of confraternities during reformation, religious confraternities of the faithful gained fresh momentum after the Council of Trent in the 16th century, and developed most rapidly in the 17th century. It was a time when, in the period of intense Christian sensibility, a desire was born among the faithful to become more involved in the life of the Church and strive to deepen one's spiritual life in a fraternal community. As forms of active religious life, such communities were voluntary groups of laypersons, even if priests were their members. All confraternities had to have a hierarchical structure, obtain an approval by a competent Church authority, remain under the supervision of such authority and have a common purpose which defined their unique character. The ways to achieve the purpose had to be included in the statutes and reflected in their internal organisation⁴.

stulecia, Kraków 1924, pp. 192–204; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821, czyli do połączenia arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego z biskupstwem poznańskim. Według źródeł archiwalnych*, vol. 3, Poznań 1889, p. 565; S. Łempicki, *Biskupi polskiego renesansu*, Lwów 1938, pp. 33–34; K. Blaschke, *Kościół na Karczówce. Zapomniane sanktuarium św. Karola Boromeusza*, [in:] *Święty Karol Boromeusz a sztuka w Kościele powszechnym, w Polsce, w Niepołomicach*, ed. P. Krasny, M. Kurzeja, Kraków 2013, pp. 79–80.

³ *Bractwo Zophiey S. w Krakowie z dawną fondowane, y wielkimi Indulgentiami od Stolicy Apostolskiej ubogacone, y przywilejami robowane. A poważnością ś. pamięci Jeo Mci x. Piotra Tylickiego Biskupa Krak. także Jego Mci x. Franciszka Synomety, na on czas Legata Apostolskiego confirmowane. Teraz znowu do druku podane za powodem zakonników Fratrum de Poenitentia, ss. Martyrum, S. Mariae de Metri, de Urbe, sub regula S. Augustini militantium y za staraniem x. Justa Pomorskiego rectora tegoż Bractwa, y P. Walentego Gedzickiego Wiceger. Brackiego*, Kraków 1627, u Bartł[mieja] Kwaśniowskiego, f. A3v.

⁴ G. Le Bras, *Esquisse d'une histoire des confréries*, [in:] G. Le Bras, *Études de sociologie religieuse*, vol. 2: *De la morphologie à la typologie*, Paris 1956, pp. 418–422; H. E. Wyczawski, *Przygotowanie do studiów w archiwach kościelnych*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1989, p. 214; H. Durand, *Confrérie*, [in:] *Dictionnaire de droit canonique contenant tous les termes du droit canonique avec un sommaire de l'histoire et des institutions et de l'état actuel de la discipline*, ed. R. Naz, vol. 4, Paris 1949,

The most important 17th century Church regulations concerning confraternities were set forth in the papal Bull *Quaecumque* issued by Clement VIII (1592–1605) on 7th December 1604. The document, considered one of the fundamental laws regarding confraternities, also applied to such communities in Krakow. The pope commanded that all confraternities had to seek re-approval by an ordinary and an official confirmation by the Holy See. The purpose of the document was to impose order in this matter. The pope prohibited the establishment of duplicate fraternities or fraternities with similar aims in the same parish church or the same town. Exceptions to this rule included: Confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, Confraternities of Christian Doctrine and fraternities established by orders with previous privileges, e.g. Dominicans' Confraternities of the Rosary, Carmelites' scapular fraternities, and Jesuits' Sodalities of Our Lady. For the same reason the diocesan synod of the Krakow diocese summoned by bishop Marcin Szyszkowski in 1621, having discussed the issue of confraternities in diocese and monastic churches, included in its Statute 48 the provisions set forth in the *Quaecumque* papal bull as well as Section 3 of *Exposcit*, a previous bull by pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) of 15 July 1583, which also regulated the subject of confraternities⁵.

In the early modern period in a medium-sized city like Krakow there were a number of religious associations and groups of Catholics intent on caring for their piety. Some of these groups dated back to as early as the 14th century, others grew from the spirit of the restoration developed at the Council of Trent, which saw these fraternities as a possibility of implementing such restoration on a broader scale. Therefore, not only did the period witness an increased number of new religious communities, but also a renewal of older groups, thus becoming a time of their most untrammelled growth. Each of those confraternities was a place of worship where the piety of its members was always developed

pp. 128–129; M. Venard, *Les formes de piété des Confréries dévotes de Rouen à l'époque moderne*, „Histoire, économie et société” 10 (1991) no. 3, p. 283; W. Markiewicz, *O bractwach kościelnych*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa wiecu katolickiego w Krakowie odbytego w dniach 4, 5 i 6 lipca 1893 r.*, ed. W. Chotkowski, Kraków 1893, p. 357.

⁵ Clemens VIII, const. *Quaecumque*, 7 dec. 1604, [in:] *Codicis iuris canonici fontes*, vol. 1: *Concilia generalia – Romani Pontifices usque ad annum 1745*, ed. P. Gasparri, Romae 1947, no. 192, pp. 366–370; Gregorius XIII, const. *Exposcit*, 15 iul. 1583, [in:] *Codicis iuris canonici fontes*, vol. 1: *Concilia generalia – Romani Pontifices usque ad annum 1745*, op. cit., no. 151, pp. 264–265; Aneks, [in:] W. Bochnak, *Religijne stowarzyszenia i bractwa katolików świeckich w diecezji wrocławskiej (od XVI w. do 1810 r.)*, Wrocław 1983, pp. 1–8; *Reformationes generales ad clerum et populum dioecesis Cracovien. pertinentes. Ab [...] D. Martino Szyszkowski [...] in Synodo Dioecesana sancitae et promulgatae. Anno M.D.C.XXI die decima Februar.*, Cracoviae [1621], in *Officina Andreae Petricouij*, pp. 140–149.

and fostered. Undoubtedly the process had its impact mostly on the personal spiritual growth, but also on the transformations which were in progress in the world at that time. It influenced not only pilgrimages, iconography, songbooks or prayer books, but, first and foremost, the religiousness of other believers, although this influence went far beyond to much more remote environments. This piety had its roots in the teachings of the Church, which was reinforced by the resolutions of the *Tridentinum*⁶.

In the early modern period in Krakow there were dozens of fraternities which had been developing since the Middle Ages, in particular following the Council of Trent. The fraternities were active in the Krakow urban agglomeration, which was home to 12 parishes, each of unique character. In addition to the court parish, the cathedral parish of St Wenceslaus and of Virgin Mary at the Market Square (*in Circulo*) – the city's main parish – Krakow contained the following parishes: All Saints, St Stephen, Holy Cross, St Anne, St Florian, Corpus Christi, St Michael & St Stanislaus, St James, St Salvator, St Nicolas. The cathedral parish, managed by the chapter house, was limited only to the Wawel castle hill. Five parishes were encircled within the city walls, three were situated in Kazimierz, and one of each in Kleparz, Zwierzyniec and outside the city walls. Three of those were ran by collegiate churches, and four by monasteries, of which one was incorporated to a nun monastery – the Norbertines in Zwierzyniec. Three parishes were connected to the Krakow University. To the above religious landscape of Krakow one should add numerous monasteries, which with time, even unintentionally, generated communities that competed with parishes. In Krakow, a real centre of monastic life in the period of the 1st Republic of Poland, there were 24 male and 11 female orders⁷. Historians were able to trace back 36 religious

⁶ Sobór Trydencki, sessio 22 de reform. can. 8: *Episcopi etiam*, can. 9: *Administratores tam*, [in:] *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych: tekst łaciński i polski (1511–1870)*. Lateran v, Trydent, Watykan 1, vol. 4, ed. A. Baron, H. Pietras, Kraków 2005, pp. 658–661; M.-H. Froeschlé-Chopard, *La religion populaire en Provence orientale au xviii^e siècle*, Paris 1980, pp. 158; S. Litak, *Bractwa religijne w Polsce przedrozbiorowej XIII–xviii wiek. Rozwój i problematyka*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 88 (1997) f. 3–4, pp. 503–505, 510–514; N. Tanner, *Krótką historia Kościoła katolickiego. Nowe spojrzenie*, Kraków 2015, pp. 239–240; L. Châtellier, P. Martin, *La prière dans le christianisme moderne. Présentation*, „Revue de l'histoire des religions” 217 (2000) no. 3, pp. 325–326.

⁷ B. Przybyszewski, *Krakowskie duchowieństwo parafialne przy końcu średniowiecza*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia” 2 (1994), p. 31; A. Niewiński, *Przestrzeń kościelna w topografii średniowiecznego Krakowa. Próba syntezy*, Lublin 2004, pp. 174–175 (Źródła i Monografie, 274); J. Bieniarzówna, *Odrodzenie życia religijnego w Krakowie na przełomie xvi i xvii w.*, [in:] *Dialog Kościoła z kulturą*, vol. 2: *Materiały z vi i vii Tygodnia Kultury Chrześcijańskiej w Krakowie*, ed. S. Miśniewicz, Kraków 1988, pp. 168–169; J. Bieniarzówna, *Miasto wielebnych i przewielebnych*, [in:] *Dzieje Krakowa*, ed.

confraternities around those institutions, active in as many as 51 communities. This was an exceptional situation, not only in the diocese⁸. Thus, there is little doubt that every inhabitant of Krakow, from magnates and the patritiate down to the pleb and even paupers, belonged to a religious community, the basic aim of which was to work towards salvation through piety and spiritual progress. Fraternities were key religious educators of the Krakow society⁹. It is impossible to assess a community's internal religiousness or spirituality. Instead, we shall focus on presenting examples of religious attitudes typical of those communities. The piety of each confraternity was demonstrated in various private exercises and practices to which the members were obliged as well as religious exercises in the community during its regular weekly meetings. Despite many shared characteristics, e.g. the care for eternal salvation, the communities had its own, unique spiritual 'countenances', separate priorities and ways of acting. They expressed the unity of the fraternal community and, in a specific way, every member's personal piety – and the methods of practising Christian charity – with strong focus on mutual solidarity, both worldly and heavenly¹⁰. However, it would

J. Bieniarzówna, J. M. Małecki, vol. 2: *Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, Kraków 1984, p. 271; S. Zonenberg, „Cura animarum” zakonu kaznodziejskiego w średniowieczu w tle rozwoju duszpasterstwa mniejszego, „Lietuvos istorijos studijos” 18 (2006), p. 16.

⁸ A. Bruździński, *Bractwa religijne w siedemnastowiecznym Krakowie*, [in:] *Historia świadectwem czasów. Księdzu profesorowi Markowi Tomaszowi Zahajkiewiczowi*, ed. W. Bielak, S. Tytus, Lublin 2006, pp. 103–147. H. E. Wyczawski, *Studia nad wewnętrznymi dziejami kościelnymi w Małopolsce na schyłku XVI wieku*, „Prawo Kanoniczne” 7 (1964) no. 1/2, p. 61; In his accounts to Rome of 1644 and 1650, Krakow bishop Piotr Gembicki presented only 15 of active Krakow confraternities, among which was a hitherto unidentified Confraternity of St Charles (known only in Niepołomice near Krakow) – *Relacje o stanie diecezji krakowskiej 1615–1765*, ed. W. Müller, [in:] *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 7, Lublin 1978, p. 73; „Confraternitates: Rosarii, Compassionis, Misericordiae, s. Annae, s. Ursulae, s. Sophiae, Scapularis, s. Caroli, s. Annae secundo, Cordigerorum, s. Lazari, Conceptionis B. Mariae Virginis ad s. Iacobum, Quinque Vulnerum Christi ad ecclesiam Ssmi Corporis Christi, s. Monicae, s. Angeli Custodis”.

⁹ J. Rajman, *Żebrak, sługa i rzemieślnik w elitarnym bractwie Najświętszej Marii Panny w Krakowie (XIV – pierwsza połowa XVI wieku)*, „Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie” 10 (2014), pp. 156–157; H. Manikowska, *Religijność miejska*, [in:] *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościół i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym*, ed. H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warszawa 2002, p. 12 (*Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia*, 3); S. Ropiak, *Pobożność ludowa a religijność ludowa*, „Ełckie Studia Teologiczne” 5 (2004), pp. 92–94; A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Feniks w popiołach. Uwagi o kulturze religijnej drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] *Literatura i kultura polska po „potopie”*, ed. B. Otwinowska, J. Pelc, B. Fałęcka, Wrocław 1992, pp. 122–123 (*Studia Staropolskie*, 56).

¹⁰ I. Noye, *Piété*. III. *Depuis le 16e siècle*, [in:] *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire*, ed. A. Rayez, A. Derville, A. Solignac [et al.], vol. 12, part 2, Paris 1986, pp. 1730–1739; J. Duh, *Confréries*, [in:] *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire*,

be difficult to present the process due to the lack of a greater number of sources from the earliest period of Krakow confraternities, i.e. the establishment and the emergence of new forms of piety.

Piety exerted a multi-aspect impact – first, on internal life of members of a community, by fostering Christian attitudes through participation in religious practices: masses, prayers, funerals, fraternal meetings, which also shaped everyday personal attitudes. One of the basic duties of a Catholic, and especially a member of a confraternity, was the participation in Sunday and holiday masses. The very fact that they were held in Latin favoured the appearance and development of various para-liturgical services, prayers and songs. One should also add the attitude to work and performance of the duties associated with one's social role – as fraternities called on their members not only to celebrate Sundays and holidays, but also stimulated conscientious work and proper tending to one's professional duties. Accordingly, such deeds were supported by religious motivation. They also influenced the growth and intensification of various religious services. Piety also shaped detailed religious practices (pietism) present in every confraternity, which constituted one of their fundamental objectives. Examples of this dimension of fraternal activities were found in their statutes or prayer books, and quite often in books being combinations of both. They shall be of special interest to us, albeit not all Krakow confraternities provide extant historical evidence of this type¹¹.

Christ-centric piety

As religious communities, confraternities were meant to lead to an avid, eschatologically-oriented Christian life. Consequently, fraternal piety was expressed in manifold ways through services characteristic of a particular confraternity.

ed. C. Baumgartner, vol. 2, Paris 1953, pp. 1469–1470; J. Flaga, *Rola i funkcje bractw religijnych w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] *W kręgu wielkopostnej pobożności i bractw religijnych. Materiały z V Polsko-Hiszpańskiego Sympozjum Historycznego, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, 21 maja 2006 r.*, ed. J. Bień [et al.], Lublin 2007, pp. 60–61.

¹¹ F. Michael, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem 13. Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 1. Abt.: *Culturzustände des deutschen Volkes, 1: Deutschlands wirtschaftliche, gesellschaftliche und rechtliche Zustände während des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Br. 1897, pp. 150–153; J. Duhr, *Confréries...*, op. cit., p. 1473; J. Flaga, *Bractwa religijne w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2004, pp. 169–170.

By assuming different names or referring to different patrons, each fraternity propagated services fundamental to Christian life. A basic dimension of Christian piety was to direct it towards Christ; this dimension took different forms in confraternities. This constructive, the Christ-centric aspect was realised mostly in the worship of the Eucharist, with special emphasis on eucharistic life as the pinnacle of a truly Christian life. Members of all confraternities were obliged to attend masses not only on the patronal feasts of their community, but also on other days set forth in the statute¹². The oldest confraternity for laypersons in the Krakow urban agglomeration (Krakow, Kazimierz and Kleparz) was *Confraternitas Sacratissimi Sacramenti* (Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament) – established before 1343 at the Corpus Christi Church in Kazimierz. The central purpose of the confraternity was to popularise the cult of the Blessed Sacrament, participate in eucharistic processions and accompany a priest who visited the sick with the Viaticum. A different form of the worship was participation in Holy Masses on all holidays by saying praying in candlelight¹³.

All other confraternities that followed obliged their members to attend Holy Masses on specific days. Note that those dates included days of lower liturgical rank, when participation was normally not obligatory, or days other than holidays or Sundays. During various ceremonies and holidays, when participation in the mass was obligatory for every faithful, confraternity members were additionally expected to take part in processions. Fraternity masses were usually held in the chapel of the confraternity or, in the absence of it, at the side altar, which was looked after by the confraternity. The Confraternity of St Sophie (*Confraternitas Sanctae Sophiae et Sancti Marci*) at the Church of St Mark gathered at Holy Masses on Sundays from 1410, first at the altar of St Dorothy and Blessed Virgin Mary, and from the 17th century in the fraternity chapel of St Sophie (currently of Virgin Mary of Częstochowa)¹⁴. *Confraternitas Sacratissimi Rosarii*, i.e. the Dominican “Confraternity of the Chain of Roses of Virgin Mary, ventured on processions with the Blessed Sacrament on the first and second Sunday

¹² J. Duhr, *La confrérie dans la vie de l'Église*, „Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique” 35 (1939) f. 3, pp. 437–440; E. Ruffini, *Exercices de piété*, [in:] *Dictionnaire de la vie spirituelle*, ed. S. de Fiores, T. Goffi, Paris 1983, pp. 351–352, 356–357; S. Simiz, *Confréries urbaines et dévotion en Champagne (1450–1830)*, Villeneuve-d'Ascq 2002, p. 51.

¹³ H. Zaremska, *Bractwa w średniowiecznym Krakowie. Studium form społecznych życia religijnego*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 46–47.

¹⁴ A. Bruździński, *Bractwo św. Zofii Krakowie na tle dziejów Kościoła krakowskiego w okresie staropolskim. Zarys problematyki*, [in:] *Bractwo św. Zofii. 600 lat istnienia*, ed. M. Łuzna, J. Machniak, Kraków 2010, pp. 17–35.

of each month and on all feasts of Virgin Mary and patron saints of the Order, with certain indulgences granted; whichever member of the fraternity visits any five altars while piously saying prayers shall be given complete absolution and his or her soul shall be saved from the tortures of the purgatory”¹⁵. *Confraternitas Misericordiae Dei* or the Confraternity of Mercy – “gathered on the second Sunday of every month, in calendar order, and all Brothers and Sisters piously listened to the Holy Mass sung”¹⁶. *Confraternitas pro Bone Mortis* or the Confraternity of Good Death – active since 1691 at the Jesuit church of saints Peter and Paul gathered for fraternal services in the Chapel of St Francis Borgia on the second Sunday of each month after the morning mass. *Confraternitas Sanctorum Angelorum Custodum* or the Confraternity of Guardian Angels – gathered at the Holy Masses in the Paulinian church in Skalka on a monthly basis – i.e. on every second Sunday of the month¹⁷. The Kazimierz Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and Five Wounds of Christ met on the third Sunday of the month; in addition to that, from 1616 onwards on each Thursday at the morning mass with a procession¹⁸. Likewise, *Confraternitas Chrodigerorum Seraphici Patris Francisci* or the Confraternity of the Cord of St Francis’s – gathered on the third Sunday of the month in the Franciscan church, at the Holy Mass, by taking the Holy Communion, as well as at processions and vespers. The confraternity also met every Wednesday¹⁹. *Confraternitas Corridiatorum seu Cinctuatorum sub titulo Beatissimae Virginis Mariae Consolationis* or the Cord Confraternity of Our Lady of Consolation – from the Augustinian St Catherine’s church in Kazimierz – met on the fourth Sunday of the month at the Holy Mass and the

¹⁵ Przewodnik abo kościołów krakowskich krótkie opisanie. Wydany w 1603. Z widokami Krakowa którego już nie ma, ed. J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, Kraków 2002, p. 93.

¹⁶ Bractwa Miłosierdzia w Krakowie u s. Barbary zaczętego roku Pańskiego 1584. dnia siódmego miesiąca października ordynacye. Na cześć Panu Bogu i rozmnożenie miłosiernych uczynków, Kraków 1819, p. 14.

¹⁷ E. Krynicki, *Bractwo Aniołów Stróżów na Skalce*, „Studia Claromontana” 17 (1997), p. 426.

¹⁸ A prayer book of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and Five Wounds of Christ was presumably done by Father Ludwik Szymon Fańciszewski CRL († 1667) and edited after 1644. The prayer book is in the possession of the Jagiellonian Library and it is damaged as it lacks the front page, pp. 45–46.

¹⁹ H. Liricius, *Bractwo Chordy abo Paska zakonnego S. Franciszka w Krakowie u Braciy mniyszch Conventualium nazwanych mocą Stolicy Apostolskiej postanowione y do Arcybractwa Asyzyckiego przyłączone. Z sporządzeniem nabożeństwa ktore zwykło bywać na Mszach y Processyach Brackich y z niektórymi modlitwami. Przez x. Hyppolita Lyricyusa z Starego Sącza, Zakonnika Zakonu Franciszka S. Conventualium* [s. l.], 1616, pp. 23–26.

procession²⁰. At *Confraternitatem Animarum Purgatorii ac Peccatorum Obstinatorum sub invocatione Sanctissimi Crucifixi, Sanctissimi Redemptoris* or the Confraternity of Saviour or the Crucified Redeemer – commonly known as the Redemptorist Confraternity – “on each Monday there was a Holy Mass and lecta with alms for the poor”²¹. According to Piotr Pruszc (1605–ca. 1668), the Confraternity of St Anne (*Confraternitas Sanctae Annae*) gathering at the churches of St Anne, St Nicolas and Saints John and Augustine in Zwierzyniec and a competitive confraternity at St Bernardine’s “recited the Votive of St Anne on Tuesdays”²². *Confraternitas Sancti Joseph* or the Confraternity of St Joseph – active from 1668 at the discaled Carmelites’ church of Saints Michael and Joseph in Krakow met at the Holy Mass on every Wednesday and on St Joseph’s day, with time giving rise to the Wednesday Votive of St Joseph²³. Members of the Confraternity of the Soldiers of St Michael the Archangel – *Confraternitatis Militari Sancti Michaelis Archangeli* – gathered at the Holy Mass every Thursday in the church of godly Bernardines²⁴. Founded in 1765, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, also met on Thursdays for the Votive of the Blessed Sacrament in All Saints’ Collegiate Church²⁵. Members of the Confraternity of Blessed

²⁰ Archive of Metropolitan Curia in Krakow (AKMKI), ms AV, vol. 28: Acta visitationis Ecclesiarum Parochialium tum Capellarum, Oratoriorum Hospitalium Confraternitatum ac aliorum piorum locorum intra et extra Civitatem Cracoviensem consistent. Vigore literarum specialis commissionis [...] D. Andreae Stanislai Kostka in Załuskie Załuski [...] Episcopi Cracoviensi [...] per Hyacinthum Łopacki Can. et Archip. Crac[oviensem] [...] visitatorem in Anno Domini 1748 et sequen. conscripta, pp. 642–643.

²¹ P. H. Pruszc, *Kleynoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa albo Kościoły, y co w nich iest widzenia godnego y zacnego. przez [...] krotko opisanie, Powtornie zaś z pilnością przyéżrzane, y do druku z additamentem nowych Kościołów y Relikwii S. Podane*, Kraków 1745, W Drukarni Akademickiej, pp. 57–58.

²² P. H. Pruszc, *Kleynoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa albo Kościoły...*, op. cit., p. 28; AKMKI, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 123, 170, 330.

²³ B. J. Wanat, *Kult Świętego Józefa Oblubieńca NMP u Karmelitów Bosych w Krakowie. Informator historyczny*, Kraków 1981, p. 37; the claim provided by Anna Szylar that this Confraternity was at the Bernardine church of Saint Joseph, *Bractwa religijne przy klasztorach żeńskich w XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Bractwa religijne w średniowieczu i w okresie nowożytnym (do końca XVIII wieku)*, ed. D. Burdzy, B. Wojciechowska, Kielce 2014, p. 171.

²⁴ L. Kremer, [Przedmowa]. *Zacnie Urodzonym a Szlachetnym Panom, Ich. Mosciom pp. Burmistrzowi y Senatowi Stołecznego Miasta Korony Polskiej Krakowa, Panom y Collegom moim Łaskawym służby Braterskie zaleca*, [in:] L. Lessius, *Narada którey wiary trzymać się mamy [...]. Przełożona z łacińskiego na język polski przez Ludwika Kremera rayce krakowskiego*, Cracoviae 1616, sumptibus Burchardi Kuikij, f. (?)^{3v}.

²⁵ W. Serwatowski, *Książka podręczna Bractwa Przenajświętszego Sakramentu zjednoczonego z Bractwem Trójcy Przenajświętszej przy Kościele parafialnym Kolegiaty w w. Świętych w Kra-*

Virgin Mary Queen of Heaven, also called the Confraternity of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary – *Confraternitatem (Assumptionis) Beatae Mariae Virginis* – at the Marian Church gathered for *votive prayers held on Saturdays and various feasts*²⁶ both to Christ and to Virgin Mary²⁷. Similarly, the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary (*Confraternitas Immaculatae Conceptionis Beatae Virginis Mariae*) at St Bernardine’s Church in Stradom, according to Piotr Pruszczyk’s account, “enjoyed a special privilege granted by the Holy See: on every Saturday before the altar of the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary, with the Blessed Sacrament exposed, there was a solemn votive of the Mystery of the Immaculate Conception of B[lessed] Virgin Mary, with the introit «Egredimini», funded by Piotr Konstanty Stadnicki” of Żmigród²⁸, Szreniawa coat of arms (ca. 1668–1745)²⁹. Members’ presence at prayers and meetings was generally regulated on the basis of “whoever lives close and as time permits. However, if anyone has insufficient time to attend, then they should [...] say – at home or in another appropriate place” the prayers that are normally said during the meeting or other prayers prescribed in the statutes³⁰.

Monthly fraternity meetings in every community were usually combined with a Holy Mass. Sometimes they were held on the same day, but at a different time, e.g. in the afternoon or evening. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament

kwie [...] podług powtórnego wydania z r. 1771 przez Ks. Waleryana Serwatowskiego [...] ułożona, Kraków 18932, p. 4.

²⁶ P. H. Pruszczyk, *Kleynoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa albo Kościoły...*, op. cit., p. 57.

²⁷ K. Trzcziński, *Porządki y powinności bractwa P. Mariey Krolowej Niebieskiej, ktore od Roku Pańsk. 1333 przy kościele teyże Rodzicielki Bożey Panny przenaświętszey w Rynku Krakowskim zaczęte od przełożonych kościelnych wielkimi odpustami naddane y od [...] krolow polskich [...] wczczonę [...] y za powodem [...] x. Krzysztopha Trzczińskiego, archipraesbytera y starszego tegoż bractwa do druku podane, Kraków 1629, W Drukarni Andrzeia Piotrkowczyka, f. A3–A3v.*

²⁸ P. H. Pruszczyk, *Kleynoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa albo Kościoły...*, op. cit., p. 124; АСМКК, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 336–337; This was the “Franciscan” format of the Holy Mass for the “Conception of Mary” feast introduced in 1263 throughout the Franciscan Order. The format was designed by Leonard Nogarolo, a Franciscan from Verona, who performed the function of the protonotary apostolic. It started with the words „*Egredimini et odete filiae Sion reginam vestram*”, („Come forth, ye daughters of Jerusalem, and sing for thy Queen”). The introit was presumably inspired by a quote from the Song of Songs 3, 11. The form was approved by pope Sixtus IV in 1476 and included in Roman missals in the years 1477–1570, and later on only in Franciscan missals.

²⁹ *Bractwo Zophiey S. w Krakowie...*, op. cit., f. B5v–B6.

³⁰ [Cyprianus a Sancta Maria], *Skarb karmelitański. Skarb łask, przywilejów i odpustów Bractwa Szkaplerza Świętego Najświętszej Panny z Góry Karmelu*, do druku przygotowali i przypisami opatrzyli L. Sterczewska, S. T. Prażkiewicz, Poznań 2011, pp. 486–487 (Karmelitańska Tradycja Maryjna, 2).

also attended second vespers on the third Sunday of the month, during which a sermon was delivered and a Chaplet was recited. The eucharistic cult, common to all confraternities, was expressed particularly on the day of Corpus Christi. During the procession with the Blessed Sacrament the confraternities were obliged to wear their special dress. Later on the fraternities were reminded by Church authorities to choose attire which would not come as 'ridiculous'³¹.

Confraternities were obliged to take the Holy Communion several times a year, following preparation in the form of regular confession. Therefore, the members were expected to meet not only the provision of the Fourth Council of the Lateran, which obligated all faithful to take the Holy Communion on Easter. The Church indicated the cult of the Eucharist as necessary for the development of the Christian way life. This was also expressed among the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which instructed all members to "try to [...] take the Blessed Sacrament at least once a month, be it on the 3rd Sunday of the month, or on any feast of J[esus] Christ or Blessed Virgin Mary in a given month, and especially on days celebrated by the Fraternity, such as the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Nativity, Holy Thursday and on the Octave of the Corpus Christi"³². The Confraternity of the Rosary encouraged its members to frequently participate in confession. "Thus everyone shall strive, according to his or her state or profession, to use such spiritual medicine, if not immediately after committing a sin, then at least once a month, i.e. on the first Sunday of the month, and, as an absolute duty, on feasts of Blessed Virgin Mary"³³. Statutes of elitist Sodalities of Our Lady contained a prescription stipulating that "congregationis finis est virtus pietasque Christiana, et in litterarum studiis progression", the achievement of which required frequent administration of holy sacraments such as penance, communion; members of sodalities were expected to participate in sacraments on each first Sunday of the month, all days of Virgin Mary and other important

³¹ S. Fedorowicz, *Procesje parafialne i klasztorne w oktawie Bożego Ciała w dziewiętnastowiecznym Krakowie (1795–1918)*, „Nasza Przeszłość” 115/116 (2011), pp. 219–227; A. Grabowski, *Starożytnicze wiadomości o Krakowie. Zbiór pism i pamiętników dotyczących się opisowej i dziejowej przeszłości oraz zwyczajów tej dawnej stolicy kraju, z dodatkiem różnych szczegółów Polaków mających. Z dawnych rękopiśmiennych źródeł zebrał [...]*, Kraków 1852, p. 297.

³² Previously quoted fraternity prayer book by Father Faściszewski pp. 12–13.

³³ W. Andrzejowicz, *Ogród Różanny albo opisanie porządne dwu szczepów wonnej Róży Hierychuntskiej, t. j. o dwu świętych Różańcach dwojga bractw błogostaw[ionej] Panny Maryey Naświęt. Imienia Pana Jezusowego w zakonie kaznodziejskim wszczepionych. Kwoli braciey y promotorom obojga Bractw świętych. Przez wo. Br. Waleryana Lith. presidenta Bractw pomienionych tegoż zakonu*, Kraków 1627, w druk. Franc. Cezarego, f. Ttv.

feasts – indeed rather frequently³⁴. Among the Jesuit Confraternity of Good Death there was a duty to participate in the sacraments of penance and the Holy Communion once a quarter. The Confraternity of Mercy required that “by fraternal obligations, Brothers and Sisters should confess and take the Blessed Sacrament twice a year, that is on the second Sunday after the first day of February. Also in July at the Fraternity Mass”³⁵. The Confraternity of Angels in Skalka was obliged to frequently attend confession, at minimum on the days of its patron saints: Apostles Peter and Paul, Philip and James, John the Baptist, Stanislaus, Paul the Hermit and St Philip Neri³⁶. The Confraternity of St Ursula and Eleven Thousand Virgins Her Companions – *Confraternitas Sanctae Ursulae Virginis et Undecim Millium Sociarum Eius* – at St Stephen’s Church obliged its members to take the Holy Communion twice outside the Easter period: on the first Sunday after the Corpus Christi and on the first Sunday after the feast of St Ursula³⁷.

All confraternities stressed the importance of the frequent administration of the sacraments of penance and the Holy Communion as well as the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and its public veneration. The Confraternity of St Anne at the Bernardine Order in Stradom gathered for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament on the feast of St Anne (from the first to the second vespers), on the feast of St Joachim, on Tuesdays after the Days of the Cross, at 3 p.m. on each Sunday of the Great Lent³⁸. The Italian Confraternity of St John the Baptist or *Confraternità di San Giovanni Battista della Nazione Italiana (Confraternitas Sancti Ioannis Baptistae Congregationis Italicae)* at the Franciscan monastery held adorations twice a year: on the feast of St John the Baptist and Virgin Mary of Loreto³⁹. As the source of Christian life, the eucharistic cult was shared by all confraternities, contributing to a deeper understanding of the Christian

³⁴ *Leges et statvta Congregationvm B. Virginis, qvae in Collegiis Societatis Iesv, institutae, Atque a Sede Apostolica approbatae, variis indulgentiis et gratiis exornatae sunt*, Cracoviae 1598, apud Andream Petricouium, pp. 5–6; J. Flaga, *Z problematyki jezuickich bractw i sodalij w xviii wieku*, [in:] *Państwo, Kościół, niepodległość*, ed. J. Skarbek, J. Ziółko, Lublin 1986, pp. 171–172.

³⁵ *Bractwa Miłosierdzia w Krakowie u s. Barbary...*, op. cit., p. 15.

³⁶ A. Goldonowski, *Bractwa S. Anyoła Stroża od Oyca S. Vrbana VIII. za przyczyną świętej pamięci. Zygmunta III. Krola Polskiego &c. Oycom Zakonu Pawła Pierwszego Pustelnika nadanego [...] Powinności, Artykuły, Ustawy [...] przez W. x. Andrzeia Goldonowskiego [...] zebrane y wydane*, Kraków 1641, u Piątkowskiego, f. E2.

³⁷ AKMKR, ms AV, vol. 28, p. 73.

³⁸ AKMKR, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 330–331.

³⁹ W. Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku. Utracona szansa na modernizację*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 304–305, 338–341; AKMKR, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 370–371, 382.

communio. In this way all confraternities played a significant and irreplaceable role in the growth of eucharistic piety among the faithful⁴⁰.

An interesting example of Christological fraternal piety is found in the recommendations of the Confraternity of St Sophie of 1627, which instructed its members to say the Camaldolese *Chaplet of Our Lord* (The Camaldolese Crown Rosary), in which the number of beads corresponds to the number of Christ's earthly life and his five wounds. The chaplet was composed before 1516 *through divine revelation*⁴¹ by Blessed Michele Pini, a recluse from a retreat in Camaldoli in Florence (ca. 1450–1522). It was bestowed with a number of papal indulgences, starting from pope Leon X (1475–1521) and his brief *Nuper nobis fide* of 18 February 1516⁴². At the same time, it is an interesting illustration of the origin of new forms of piety, and also the influence of a contemplative order newly arrived in Krakow on the confraternity's spiritual life.

Another original example of piety can be found in the Confraternity of the Most Holy Name of Jesus (*Societas Nominis Dei*), the founder of which was a Dominican Bartłomiej Marcinkowicz of Przemyśl († after 1618), a preacher in the Dominican church in Krakow⁴³. It was strongly related to the Confraternity of the Rosary, so it was sometimes called the Arch-Confraternity of the Rosary of the Most Holy Name of Jesus. The members of the Confraternity, as well as the members of the Confraternity of the Rosary, greeted each other with the words, *Praised be Jesus Christ*, which replaced the previously used *God*

⁴⁰ S. Bylina, *La religion civique et la religion populaire en Pologne au bas Moyen Âge*, [in:] *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam)*. Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre de recherche «Histoire sociale et culturelle de l'Occident. XII–XVIII siècle» de l'Université de Paris X – Nanterre et l'Institut universitaire de France (Nanterre, 21–23 juin 1993), ed. A. Vauchez, Rome 1995, pp. 326–327 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 213).

⁴¹ S. Stankiewicz, *Bractwo Zofiej świętej, z dawna w Koronie Polskiej, na różnych mieyscach, osobliwym nabożeństwem, y Wielkimi Odpustami słynące; a teraz za dozwoleciem S. Stolice Apostolskiej, y za powagą Urzędu Duchownego, przy kościele Sączowskim przez W. X. Szymona Stankiewicza, plebana Sączowskiego Fundowane, y iuż z łaski Bożej, szczęśliwie wprowadzone; a dla lepszej Informacyi, Braci y Siostr Bractwa tego, z powinnościami, Nabożeństwuy, y z Odpustami swemi, za dozwoleciem Starszych, do Druku podane*, Kraków 1685, w Drukarni Akademickiej, p. 32.

⁴² C. Somigli, *Pini Michele, eremita, beato*, [in:] *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, ed. F. Caraffa [et al.], vol. 10, Roma 1969, pp. 874–875; P. Robert, *Camaldules (Orde des)*, [in:] *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, ed. C. Baumgartner [et al.], vol. 2, Paris 1953, p. 57; *Sommario cronologico dei documenti pontifici riguardanti la Congregazione Eremitica Camaldolese di Monte Corona (1515–1908)*, [Frascati] 1908, no. 2, p. 2.

⁴³ L. Kremer, [Przedmowa]..., op. cit., f. (?)4v; *Alberti Bolognetti nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta 1581–1585*, part 1: 1581–1582, ed. L. Boratyński, E. Kuntze, C. Nanke, Cracoviae 1923/1933, pp. 630–631 (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, 5).

*Help*⁴⁴. There is a scarcity of information on the observance of the Feast of the Most Holy Countenance of Jesus Christ by the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost (*Confraternitas Sancti Spiritus*) at the Church of the Holy Cross ran by the Order of the Holy Ghost. The feast was celebrated on the second Sunday after Epiphany. The service was popular in Rome, and was presumably brought to Krakow by the Order of the Holy Ghost⁴⁵.

On 12 November 1717, at the Visitation Sisters' church in Krakow, under the Franciszka Teresa Szembekówna († 1724) administration, the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was erected⁴⁶. The confraternity was solemnly induced on 6 June of the following year and popularised a nascent aspect of the Christological worship, different from previous fraternities. The confraternity originated from a monastic community established in Coutances in the year 1688 and enjoyed "special indulgences on the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi" granted by Church authorities⁴⁷. The confraternity formulated three fundamental goals for its members: adoration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, reparation to the Sacred Heart of Jesus for the sins of those who inflicted wounds during his Passion, as well as "requesting various graces

⁴⁴ A. Brückner, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1990, p. 118.

⁴⁵ K. K. Antosiewicz, *Bractwo Ducha Świętego, jego geneza i rozwój*, [in:] *Christianitas et cultura Europae. Księga jubileuszowa profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*, vol. 1, ed. H. Gapski, Lublin 1998, p. 49; H. D. Wojtyńska, *Kult Świętego Oblicza Chrystusa*, [in:] *Kult Męki Pańskiej. Historia i terażniejszość. Materiały z sesji naukowej w Olsztynie, 3-4 marca 2001 r.*, ed. H. D. Wojtyńska, Olsztyn 2001, pp. 105-109.

⁴⁶ M. Dziewulski, *Nowy dar Ducha przénąyswiétszego Serce Jezusowe, sercá potrzebny m ofiarowane w poniedziałek święteczny, w dzień solemny bráctwá tegoż Naysłodszeo Serca z Kościoła Nayswiétszey Maryi P. Wniebowzięcia fárnego Archipresbyterálnego Kraków: in Circulo, do Kościoła ww. Páńien teyże Naysów: Matki Náviedzenia, ná Biskupiu, Introdukcyi. Roku P. 1718. dnia 6. Czerwca, pod czás ránieyszeo Nabożeństvá, w pomienionym kościele Arehipresbyterálnym, Kázaniem reprezentowane. A potym Wielmożnemu Państwu W. J. M. P. Janowi z Kownat Komeckiemu, Burgrabiemu, y Regentowi Grodzkiemu Krakowskiemu, W. J. M. P. Annie z Kraszkowic Komeckiej, Burgrábinie, y Regentowy Grodzkiej Krakowskiej, Panstwu y Dobrodzieystwu dedykowane, przez x. Marcella Dziewulskiego, S. T. L. Kustoszá ná ten czás Lubelskiego, Káznodzieie Ordynáryuszá Kraków: Fránciszkáń. Z pozwoleniem Zwierzchności Duchowney, także Przełożonych Zakonnych, do druku podane, Kraków 1720, w Drukárni Fránciszká Cezárego.*

⁴⁷ P. H. Pruszczyk, *Kleynoty Stołeczneo Miasta Krakowa albo Kościoły...*, op. cit., p. 162; C. Drążek, *Rozwój kultu Serca Jezusa w Polsce*, [in:] *Bóg bliski. Historia i teologia kultu Najświętszego Serca Jezusa*, ed. Cz. Drążek, L. Grzebień, Kraków 1984, p. 60; S. Szymański, *Dzieje kultu Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Polsce*, „Homo Dei” 30 (1961) no. 4, p. 352; J. Sygański, *Historia nabożeństwa do Najśw. Serca Jezusowego po całym świecie a w szczególności w Polsce*, Kraków 1892, pp. 57-48, 54-55 (Pobożne Książki dla Wiernych Każdego Stanu, 49).

needed by the mankind through the memory of His love⁴⁸. Of special significance for them, in terms of celebrating religious feasts, were five Fridays after the day of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, also called *the Fridays of the Heart of Jesus*. On all Fridays of the Great Lent, when Lord's suffering was venerated, the Holy Communion was administered. A further recommendation was participating in the so-called *quinquennae*, i.e. five Fridays in the glory of the Heart of Lord, making confession and taking the Holy Communion at least on the first and last Friday. The service to the Heart of Jesus was an effect of the development of a Catholic reform aimed at deepening the piety of the faithful. Therefore, the confraternity manifested definitely novel forms of piety, previously unknown in spiritual life. Such piety was brought about by the progressing Catholic reform, which strove to internalise the religious experience⁴⁹.

Another form of Christ-centric worship was the cult of the Passion – the suffering and death of Jesus Christ. In Krakow it was popularised especially in the Franciscan church by the Confraternity of the Passion of Jesus Christ and Blessed Virgin Mary (*Confraternitas Compassionis Iesu Christi et Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*), commonly known as the Confraternity of the Passion of the Christ or the Confraternity of Good Death. The community was established in 1595 by a Krakow canon Rev. Marcin Szyszkowski. As noted by Pruszcz in *Klejnoty*, “On every Friday of the Great Lent, As the Passion commences, Brothers of the Confraternity enter the Chapel, greeting people with the following words: *Memento homo mori: Remember that you will die*”⁵⁰. At the time, the large Franciscan church and the Chapel of the Passion of Christ could not accommodate the congregation during the services held by the confraternity. Its members held their own *Service of the Fifteen Steps of the Passion of Christ* together with the *Litany of Passion*. The Franciscan approach to spirituality and contemplation of the Passion of Christ was perceived as a unique path to Christian perfection. The prayers were a pious meditation on the suffering of the Lord's Son and His Mother along with the inseparable theme of atonement; they were meant to lead through compassion (*compassio*) to the essential mystery of the Passover. It was more than merely emotional dolorism; the main focus was on the spiritual

⁴⁸ J. Królikowski, *Początki kultu Najświętszego Serca Jezusa w Polsce. Odnowić pamięć o Bożej Miłości* (9), „Nasz Dziennik” 17 (2014) no. 177 of 1 VIII, p. 14.

⁴⁹ M.-H. Froeschle-Chopard, *La dévotion au Sacré-Cœur. Confréries et livres de piété*, „Revue de l'histoire des religions” 217 (2000) no. 3, p. 532; C. Drażek, *Bractwo Serca Jezusowego w dawnej Polsce*, „Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny” 34 (1981) no. 3, p. 180.

⁵⁰ P. H. Pruszcz, *Klejnoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa...*, op. cit., p. 22.

dimension of compassion⁵¹. The confraternity celebrated its patronal feast on 14th September, i.e. on the Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in Kazimierz, following its aggregation in 1616 to the Arch-Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and Five Wounds of Christ at St Lawrence's Church *in Damaso* (Rome), said the "Chaplet of the Sacred Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Litany of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ"; its members also performed their examination of conscience according to the Five Wounds of Christ. The confraternity's attitude towards the Passion of Christ was very much like the one of the previously discussed community⁵².

Pneumahagic piety

Special veneration of the third divine person, i.e. the Holy Spirit, was spread by the Order of Canons Regular of the Holy Ghost *de Saxia* and the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost Members of the confraternity celebrated the feast of the Pentecost with special solemnity, and recited the Officium of the Holy Spirit each Monday⁵³. The worship did not cover a wider scale of the faithful, but was related to the the veneration of Christ and Virgin Mary, and inspired by various liturgical prayers⁵⁴. In the Paulinian Confraternity of Angels, the appointment on new authorities of the confraternity was celebrated by a Holy Mass according to the of the format of the Holy Ghost, and the hymn *Veni Creator* along with other prayers to the Holy Spirit was sung directly before the appointment⁵⁵. Similar ceremonies were prescribed by the laws of the Confraternity of Blessed

⁵¹ M. Godawa, *Nabożeństwa Arcybractwa Męki Pańskiej w Krakowie w wewnętrznej analizie porównawczej*, „Polonia Sacra” 15 (2011) no. 1, pp. 47–65; A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Tradycja średniowieczna w religijności katolickiej XVI wieku*, [in:] *Nurt religijny w literaturze polskiego średniowiecza i renesansu*, ed. S. Nieznanowski, J. Pelc, Lublin 1994, pp. 215–216 (Religijne Tradycje Literatury Polskiej, 4).

⁵² Previously quoted fraternity prayer book by Father Fałciszewski, pp. 47–80.

⁵³ K. K. Antosiewicz CSS, *Bractwo Ducha Świętego...*, op. cit., p. 49; P. Saunier, *De fraternitate S. Spiritus historicus commentarius. Institutionem, Approbationem, & praerogatiuas gratias complexus*, Cracoviae 1651, In officina Francisci Caesarii, pp. 67–72.

⁵⁴ F. Vandenbrouke, *Esprit Saint. V. L'action du Saint-Esprit dans les ames*, [in:] *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire*, ed. A. Rayez, C. Baugartner [et al.], vol. 4, part 2, Paris 1961, p. 1316.

⁵⁵ A. Goldonowski, *Bractwo S. Anyoła Stroża...*, op. cit., f. f2v–f3.

Virgin Mary at the Marian Church in Krakow⁵⁶. The absence of more prayers addressed exclusively to the Third Divine Person should not be construed as lack of expression of its worship amongst confraternities. It constituted a significant part of the fraternal worship of Christ, Mother Mary and saints alike.

Marian piety

The worship of Virgin Mary was another aspect of Christian piety. Mary, the Mother of Christ, enjoyed special veneration by the faithful since the early days of the Church. The Marian dogma and cult are an integral part of the deposit of faith and the Christian belief. This part has developed gradually through the Christ-centric faith of the Church. It is a salient and indispensable key for interpretation of different periods of history. One cannot understand the history of the Western civilization, including Poland, without due attention to the role and place of the Blessed Virgin. This fact is independent of a historian's personal beliefs⁵⁷. Traditionally, there are seven components to this worship: invoking the name of Mary, veneration, greeting, acknowledgement, following, entrusting and other, such as wearing a scapular or a medallion. The veneration should always be internal, manifesting itself in a fully Christian life. Hence, not only the acceptance of the truths of faith, but also applying them by e.g. asceticism⁵⁸. Like in all Christian spirituality, the Marian dimension was also important in confraternities – for some of them the veneration of Mary was their key purpose and mission. The worship was manifested in confraternities in multiple ways. Members of the Confraternity of the Rosary were obliged not only to recite the Rosary, but also the entire Officium of Blessed Virgin Mary. They were expected to propagate the knowledge of the prayer, “Brothers of the Rose Chain, teach

⁵⁶ K. Trzcziński, *Porządki y powinności bractwa P. Marięy Królowey Niebieskiej...*, op. cit., f. c1–c2.

⁵⁷ G. M. Roschini, *Mariologia*, vol. 2: *Summa mariologiae*, part 3: *De singulari cultu Beatae Mariae Virginis*, Romae 1948, pp. 232–236; G. M. Roschini, *Katechizm maryjny z dodaniem dokumentów Magisterium Kościoła katolickiego*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 61–64, 71–73; S. Rumiński, *Kult maryjny w Kościele*, „Homo Dei” 35 (1966), p. 134; J. Pelikan, *Maryja przez wieki*, Kraków 2012, p. 199.

⁵⁸ A. Rybicki, *Maryjna duchowość*, [in:] *Leksykon duchowości katolickiej*, ed. M. Chmielewski, Lublin–Kraków 2002, p. 495; J. Majkowski, *Matka Boża w dawnej polskiej ascezie*, „Homo Dei” 26 (1957) no. 6, pp. 862–872.

one another, those who teach it more show the way to salvation”⁵⁹. The aim of the academic Confraternity of the Rosary, i.e. the Oratorio of the Holy Rosary – *Oratorium Sacratissimi Rosarii Academiae Cracoviensis* – initially active at the Dominicans’ and then at the discaled Carmelites’ in Podzamcze, was to inspire piety among students both by the prayer of the Rosary and by frequent confession, communion and presence at masses⁶⁰. The students were reminded to deepen the spirit of their prayers, encouraged to even a short mental meditation – hence the publication of the work *Exercitia spiritualia studiosorum* written by the master of the order of discaled Carmelites, John of Jesus and Mary (San Pedro y Uztarros, 1564–1614)⁶¹.

The basic duty of the members of the Confraternity of the Slaves of Blessed Virgin Mary (*Sodalitas Maniciporum Beatae Mariae Virginis*) was to venerate the Mother of God, an external sign of enslavement was displayed by “constantly wearing a twine, chain or cord around one’s neck”⁶². The essence of such slavery was total submission to the Mother of God, perceived as the greatest freedom and reigning with God. The Marian cult was inextricably linked to that of the Eucharist, as the members were supposed to take the Holy Communion on each Marian feast⁶³.

The Confraternity of the Sacred Scapular (*Archiconfraternitas Sacratissimi Scapularis*) at Carmelitan churches in Piasek and Wesola obliged its literate members to recite the Officium of Blessed Virgin Mary, whereas the illiterate ones were expected to say other prayers or fast on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The members of the confraternity were to say the *Hours of Our Lady of the Scapular* as well as the Chaplet of the Carmelitan Scapular, composed of 7 tens of *Hail Mary* and 7 tens of *Lord’s Prayer* – each day of the week had an intention of this

⁵⁹ M. Bobowski, *Polskie pieśni katolickie od najdawniejszych czasów do końca XVI wieku*, Kraków 1893, pp. 387–388.

⁶⁰ K. Gumol, *Oratorium Św. Różańca Akademii Krakowskiej, czyli Akademickie Bractwo Różańcowe u ojców dominikanów*, „Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego” 1 (1968), pp. 175–196.

⁶¹ Juan de Jesús María, *Exercitia spiritualia studiosorum Oratorii Pietatis academici; apud PP. Carmelitas Discalceatos Cracouiae erecti. Quae caeteris Christi fidelibus summoperè commendantur. Studio PP. Carmelit. Discalc. Conventus Crac. ex pijs libellis; potissimum verò ex operibus Adm: R. P. F. Joannis à Jesu Maria Generalis Carmelit. eorundem collecta. Superiorum permissu, Cracouiae 1632, in officina Andreae Petricovii, f. A3–A3v.*

⁶² *Powinności Bractwa Niewolników y Niewolnic, Błogosławioney Bogarodzice Panny Mariey, Dziedzicznejey Paniey wszytkiego stworzenia*, Kraków 1642, W Drukarniey Andrzeia Piotrkowczyka, f. A2–A3.

⁶³ J. Misiurek, *Historia i teologia polskiej duchowości katolickiej*, vol. 1: (X–XVII), Lublin 1994, p. 251.

prayer assigned⁶⁴. In addition to wearing a scapular or other acts of piety, the confraternity put great emphasis on following Mary, which plays an important role in Carmelitan spirituality⁶⁵. The Officium of the Mother of God was chanted by the Italian Confraternity of St John the Baptist during their Sunday and holiday masses⁶⁶. The Confraternity of the Cord of St Augustine and St Monica dedicated to Our Lady of Consolation recited a special Chaplet to Our Lady of Consolation, composed of 13 *Lord's Prayers* and 13 *Hail Marys*. They were recited to venerate 12 Apostles and Jesus Christ, the King of Apostles. The chaplet closed with the antiphon *Welcome Queen* to venerate the Mother of God; those who did not know the antiphon said 5 *Hail Marys* for the pope, consent among Christian lords and the eradication of heresy. In addition, the Hours to Our Lady of Consolation, composed by Honorat Górny († 1672) were sung and other prescribed prayers were said⁶⁷. Founded on 23rd November 1631 by the provost of St James's Church in Kazimierz and Opatów canon Rev. Jan Olchawski (1621?–1633), the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary (*Archiconfraternitas Beatae Virginis Mariae Immaculatae Conceptae*)⁶⁸ venerated the Immaculate with special prayers: the Chaplet, Hours and Litany to the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary⁶⁹. The objective of the Confraternity of the

⁶⁴ A. Kośliński, *Officjum abo godzinki P. Mariey. Według zwyczaiu Kármelitow stárodawney obserwáncyey. Z odpustámi Grzegorzá Papieža trzynastego przez W. x. Alexandra Koślińskiego tegoż zakonu Doktorá Theologá Prowincyalá ná ten czas Prowincyey Polskíey. Dla bráciey y Siostr Bráctwa Szkaplerza Świętego. Trzeci raz do druku podane*, Kraków 1651, w druk. wdowy y dziedzic. Andr. Piotrk., pp. 15–137.

⁶⁵ P. Spiller, *Historia i duchowość Arcybractwa Szkaplerza Karmelitańskiego*, [in:] P. Spiller, G. Zań-Ograbek, *Arcybractwo Szkaplerza Świętego przy kościele Karmelitów w Krakowie „Na Piasku”*. *Historia, duchowość, ikonografia*, Kraków 2001, pp. 55–62.

⁶⁶ AKMKr, ms AV, vol. 28, p. 382.

⁶⁷ H. Górny, *Arka pociechy albo Godzinki o Pocieszeniu Najświętszey Panny Maryey wszystkim wiernym, osobliwie w Bractwie Paska Rzemienego, Zakonu braci Eremitow Augustyna S. pod tytułem Pocieszenia N. M. P. będącym. Z pozwoleniem Starszych przez W. O. Honorata Gornego, Doktora Pisma S. tegoż Zakonu do druku podana*, Kraków 1695, w Drukarni Mikołaja Alexandra Schedla J. K. M. ord. Typog.

⁶⁸ Archives of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, ms Vis. 63: *Acta visitationis generalis Celsissimi [...] Domini Casimiri a Lubna Lubieński [...] episcopi Cracoviensi ducis Severiae dioecesis Cracoviensis 1711 a.*, pp. 633–634; AKMKr, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 203–209; B. S. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. 2, Kraków 1999, pp. 588–589.

⁶⁹ J. Olchawski, *Constitvcie albo Zbior powinności Archiconfraterniey Niepokalanego Poczęcia Przenaświętszey zawsze Panny Maryey, W Rzymie, przy kościele ś. Wawrzyńca in Damasco, założoney. Która Archiconfraternia, za pozwoleniem Rzymskiej, ze wszystkimi łaskami, y Odpustami, dla pożytku Katholików, oboiey płci nadanemi, nowo roku 1630. wyprawiona; potym w rok do Krakowa*

Patronage of Blessed Virgin Mary Queen of Poland (*Confraternitas sub invocatione Patrocinii Beatae Mariae Virginis Reginae Poloniae*), established in 1730 at the Piarist Church of the Transfiguration of Jesus, was to spread the veneration of the Mother of God by reciting 12 Hail Marys a day and saying the prayer *pro statu Regni Poloniae* once a year for an hour. The confraternity held a solemn celebration of the Immaculate Conception and the feast of Annunciation⁷⁰. The Confraternity of the Passion of Christ sang the Officium of the Mother of God at its chapel on every Sunday⁷¹. A particularly Christ-centric Confraternity of the Heart of Jesus also venerated Our Lady of Sorrow, solemnly celebrating her feasts⁷². Also other confraternities, whose names did not contain references to the Mother of God, honoured her – e.g. the Carmelitan Confraternity of St Joseph held solemn celebrations of the feast of Our Lady of the Scapular or other Marian feasts⁷³. Common to all confraternities, Marian piety bore fruit in the form of the reinforcement of loyalty to the Church among members of confraternities, a counter-reformative approach and strengthening the national spirit. Thus, the role of confraternities in popularising and developing the worship of the Mother of God is undeniable⁷⁴.

The cult of angels and saints

According to the doctrine of the Church, angels are benevolent spirits who constantly look at the Divine countenance and fulfil the will of God, contributing to our salvation. The cult of angels in the Church grew particularly after the Council of Trent. The worship was propagated by the Confraternity of Holy Guardian Angels under the auspices of the Paulinian order in Skałka. Members

wprowadzona, 23 listopada, y przy Kościele ś. Jakuba na Kazimierzu, wroczysto wystawiona iest, Kraków 1632, w Drukarniey Andrzeia Piotrkowczyka, pp. 118–136.

⁷⁰ C. Skowron, *Pierwszy kościół pw. Królowej Polski*, „Nasza Przeszłość” 9 (1959), p. 394.

⁷¹ AKMKR, ms AV, vol. 28, p. 657.

⁷² C. Drażek, *Bractwo Serca Jezusowego w dawnej Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 180.

⁷³ B. J. Wanat, *Arcybractwo św. Józefa u karmelitów bosych w XVII i XVIII wieku w Krakowie*, [in:] *Introibo ad altare Dei. Księdzu Profesorowi Stefanowi Koperkowi CR z okazji 70-lecia urodzin i 45-lecia kapłaństwa*, ed. S. Szczepaniec, J. Superson, J. Mieczkowski, Kraków 2008, p. 560.

⁷⁴ S. Bylina, *La religion civique et la religion populaire en Pologne au bas Moyen Âge...*, op. cit., pp. 327–328; G. M. Roschini, *Katechizm maryjny z dodaniem dokumentów Magisterium...*, op. cit., pp. 68–69.

of the confraternity recited “Minor Officium of the Holy Guardian Angel, Chaplet to Guardian Angels and Litany to Holy Guardian Angels”⁷⁵. The Confraternity of the Soldiers of St Michael the Archangel was of slightly different character, with limited devotional aspect. The community had its “proprietary Officium [...] and other brief prayers” written by Bernardine Marcin Piwko of Bydgoszcz († 1639)⁷⁶.

The worship of St Joseph, inspired by his role and participation in the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God, personal sanctity and intercession, was propagated by the Confraternity of St Joseph. Its members were obliged to “keep an image of St Joseph at home, take holy sacraments on feasts of St Joseph, especially on 19th March. Every Wednesday, when the Votive of St Joseph was held, this was preceded by singing the Officium or the Hours to St Joseph and a litany to the saint. Every day they recited Lord’s Prayer, Hail Mary and Gloria Patri to honour the seven joys and sorrows of St Joseph”. The confraternity celebrated with particular solemnity the following quarterly feasts of St Joseph: Wedding (the Sunday after Epiphany), Care (third Sunday after Easter), Anticipation of Birth (Sunday before Christmas), Escape to Egypt (Sunday of the Pentecost), Finding in the Temple (Disputation), Return from Egypt (Sunday after the Ascension), the Sleep of St Joseph (last Sunday of August, after St Bartholomew). St The confraternity venerated St Joseph both in Christ-typical as well as ecclesiastical manner; the saint was the role model in terms of faith and obedience to God. He therefore became the prototypical Christian which the Catholic reform desired to mould⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ A. Goldonowski, *Bractwa S. Anyoła Stroża...*, op. cit., f. j1v–05; E. Krynicki, *Bractwo Aniołów Stróżów na Skalce...*, op. cit., pp. 421–422, 436–437.

⁷⁶ L. Kremer, [*Przedmowa*]..., op. cit., f. (?)3v; M. Lenart, *Miles pius et iustus. Żołnierz chrześcijański katolickiej wiary w kulturze i piśmiennictwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (xvi–xviii w.)*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 48–54 (Studia Staropolskie, 21); E. E. Wróbel, *Bractwo Pana Wojewody*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia” 12 (2006), p. 160; [M. Piwko], *Officium pro Confrateritate Militari sub Nomine S. Michaelis Archangeli, tanquam supremi Christiani exercitus Ducis & Principis congregata. Desumptum partim ex Breuiario Romano, partim ex Sacra Scriptura, ad vsuum eorundem Confratrum accommodatum*, Kraków 1610, w Drukarni Piotra Piotrkowczyk, pp. 1–110; *Orationes Fraternalitatis Militaris S. Michaelis Archangeli*, [in:] M. Piwko, *Bractwo żołnierskie świętego Michała Archanyoła, in anno 1596 zaczęte, a na początku roku 1604 ogłoszone*, Kraków 1604, w Drukarni Łazarzowej, Bazylki Skalski, f. A1–B3; S. Herman, *Wojna i żołnierz w okresie kontrreformacji (do roku 1648)*. *Szkice z dziejów literatury polskiej i obcej*, Zielona Góra 1983, pp. 65–66.

⁷⁷ A. Z. Urbański, *Istota, podstawy teologiczne, przymioty i formy kultu świętego Józefa*, „Kronika Diecezji Włocławskiej” 57 (1974) no. 11–12, pp. 269–278; B. J. Wanat, *Kult Świętego Józefa Oblubieńca NMP...*, op. cit., pp. 32, 101; B. J. Wanat, *Arcybractwo św. Józefa u karmelitów bosych...*, op. cit., pp. 560–561, 573; AKMKR, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 619–620.

Confraternities dedicated to saints venerated their patrons and spread their worship by paying tribute to a reflection of divine perfection in those saints. It was God who crowned them and who allows them to cooperate in the work of salvation of mankind⁷⁸. The eschatologically-oriented Confraternity of St Ursula called on its members to devote their lives to St Ursula⁷⁹. The Confraternity of St Sophie would “observe the feast of Saint Sophie on Sundays after the fifteenth of May, when the feast of the saint falls, and are granted indulgences on this very day”⁸⁰. In addition to the above, except for ordinary prayers to St Sophie, the prayer book did not prescribe any other services. The Confraternity of the Cord of St Francis recited litanies and hours to St Francis as well as prayers composed by their patron saint⁸¹. The patronal feast of the Confraternity of St Anthony (*Confraternitatis Sancti Antonii de Padua*) was St Anthony’s day, for which members prepared by a novena of prayers along with fasting⁸². The Literary Confraternity of Blessed Virgin Mary (*Confraternitas Litteratorum Assumptionis Beatissimae Mariae Virginis*), relocated in 1583 from the Church of St Barbara to a little church of St Adalbert at the Market Square, in addition to venerating the Mother of God, revered St John of Nepomuk, instructing its members to carry an image of Virgin Mary and St John of Nepomuk on their chests or with their *beads*, or at least keep such images at home. The confraternity prepared for the feast of St John of Nepomuk (16th May) by a novena combined with fasting on seven Wednesdays, confession, and the Holy Communion⁸³. There were also local ingredients to the worship – the Confraternity of St Sophie venerated and prayed to Blessed Michał Giedroyc (ca. 1420–1485), a saintly monk from St Mark’s Krakow monastery⁸⁴. The cult of saints, according to recommendations of the post-Trent *Roman Catechism*, encouraged people to seek saintly intercession, but also inspired the

⁷⁸ J. Bochenek, *Zarys ascetyki*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 283–284.

⁷⁹ T. Ryk, *Bractwo św. Urszuli w Krakowie*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów społeczno-religijnych w Polsce*, ed. Z. Sułowski, E. Wiśniowski, Lublin 1974, pp. 34–36.

⁸⁰ AKMKr, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 651–652.

⁸¹ H. Liricius, *Bractwo Chordy abo Paska zakonnego S. Franciszka...*, op. cit., pp. 69–74, 85–119.

⁸² Provincial Archives of Franciscans in Krakow, ms A VI 5: *Liber Confraternitatis Sancti Antonii de Padua*, f. 1v–2v; K. Kantak, *Franciszkanie polscy*, vol. 2: 1517–1795, Kraków 1938, p. 295.

⁸³ J. Wielewicki sI, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. Jezuitów u ś. Barbary w Krakowie*, vol. 1: *From 1579 to 1599 (inclusive)*, ed. J. Szujski, Cracoviae 1881 (*Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, 7), p. 40; B. Kumor, *Kościelne stowarzyszenia świeckich na ziemiach polskich w okresie przed-rozbiorowych*, [in:] *Księga tysiąclecia katolicyzmu*, vol. 1, ed. M. Rechowicz, Lublin 1969, p. 525; AKMKr, ms AV, vol. 28, pp. 550–551.

⁸⁴ *Bractwo Zophiey S. w Krakowie...*, op. cit., f. G6v–G8.

faithful to follow the example of saints, shaping religious attitudes and fraternal spirituality⁸⁵.

Eschatological aspect of piety

The next most important Christian duty after relation with the *sacrum* was one's love of his or her neighbours, to the fore of which was aiding the dead who undergo purification in the purgatory. Fraternal piety had powers which were directed eschatologically. Matters of afterlife were of special importance. For the confraternity, death did not have a solely individual character, it was rather a collective experience marked with spiritual solidarity, regulated by pious acts of living towards dead members. Members of the confraternity and their family members were entitled to a dignified funeral. Hence particular interest in prayers for the dead in every community, both for dead confraternity members and for the deceased from outside the community⁸⁶. For the Confraternity of the Saviour or the Crucified Redeemer, popularly known as the Confraternity of Redemptorists, active since 1645 at the Marian parish, prayer for the dead and the dying was one of objectives⁸⁷. According to the instruction of the Confraternity of the Scapular, the death of any member of the confraternity was to be notified to its authorities, who immediately requested the sacristan to ring the bells. All

⁸⁵ *Catechismus Romanus seu Catechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos Pii Quinti Pont. Max. iussu editus. [Editio critica]*, ed. P. Rodríguez [i in.], Città del Vaticano – Pamplona 1989, p. 411; W. Nowak, *Kult i życie liturgiczne bractw kościelnych Olsztyna*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” 36 (1992) no. 2, p. 105.

⁸⁶ S. Simiz, *Confréries urbaines et dévotion en Champagne...*, op. cit., p. 67; C. Jamet, *Les confréries de dévotion dans le diocèse de Rennes (xviiie – xviiiie siècle). Piété et spiritualité: de l'idéal au quotidien*, „Annales de et des pays de l'Ouest” 87 (1980) no. 3, p. 488; H. Zaremska, *Żywi wobec zmarłych. Brackie i cechowe pogrzeby w Krakowie w xiv – pierwszej połowie xvi w.*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 81 (1974) no. 4, p. 740.

⁸⁷ National Archives in Krakow, ms 3364: *Descriptio foundationum octavae Assumptionis B.M.V. litianiarum sabbatarum et confraternitatis animarum purgatorii sub invocatione Crucifixi in ecclesia B.M.V. in Circulo Crac.*, pp. 29–46; C. Sapecki, *Przyjaciel w ostatniej potrzebie doznany; Albo Bractwo Najswiętszego Odkupiciela Ukrzyżowanego, Na ratunek dwu wielkich Nędzarzow ostatnim niedostatkiem ściśnionych. To iest Ludzi w grzechach zakamiałych, y Dusz w Czyśćcu gorejących. Przy Kościele Archprezbiterialnym Krakowskim Najswiętszej Panny w Rynku założone. A tą Księgą W ktorey opisuje Mizerna kondycja obu tych zebrakow y oraz różne do ratunku ich podaię sposoby obiasnione*, Kraków 1673, W Druk: Dziedzic: Krzysztofa Schedla, pp. 2–3.

members of the confraternity were obliged to say prayers for the deceased: the psalm *Miserere* or *De profundis*, or *Ave Maris stella*, and the illiterate to recite 7 times *Lord's Prayer*, 7 times *Hail Mary* and *Credo*. It was obligatory for fellow members of the confraternity to participate in the funeral. The Confraternity of the Rosary recited "four anniversary prayers a year, that is soon after the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord, or after Candlemass, after the feast of the Annunciation, after the Assumption of Virgin Mary, and the feast of the Birth of Mary", with each member obliged to "say one's prayers, ten Hail Marys, one Credo, for living and dead members of the Fraternity"⁸⁸. Memorial services were held on the days following Marian feasts: Birth, Annunciation, Purification, Visitation, Assumption, the Holy Rosary and on the Monday after the first Sunday of the month⁸⁹. On the first Thursday of the month, the Confraternity of St Anne at the Bernardines' in Stradom prayed for its deceased members⁹⁰. The Cord Confraternity of Our Lady of Consolation at the Augustinians' in Kazimierz gathered to pray for the dead on Mondays after the fourth Sunday of the month, when their monthly meeting was held⁹¹. Meanwhile, the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost gathered every Monday at the Holy Mass for its dead members⁹². The Confraternity of Blessed Virgin Mary at Marian Church "vowed to hold a memorial service for Brothers and Sisters from the Confraternity who had passed away"⁹³. The Confraternity of the Cord of St Francis met at the Holy Mass for the dead on Mondays following the fraternal Sunday, i.e. after the third Sunday of the month⁹⁴. Prayers for the dead were also meant to prepare the living for their last moments. With this in mind, the Confraternity of St Sophie included *A Prayer for Redeeming Death* in its prayer book⁹⁵. Undoubtedly, the eschatological dimension

⁸⁸ W. Andrzejowicz, *Ogród Różanny...*, op. cit., f. Mm2, Tt1v.

⁸⁹ W. Andrzejowicz, *Ogród Różanny...*, op. cit., f. Tt2–Tt2v.

⁹⁰ J. Duracz, *Pobúdka do Bractwa y Confraterniey Szkáplerzã od przeczystey y niepokalány Pánný Máryey z Gory Kármelus dánego, Błogosláwione` Symonowi Stoczkiuszowi ieyże Zakonnikowi w Anglię mieszákájącemu. Karmelicie. Przez Brátã Jacka Dvraacza, tegoż zakonu professã. Psalm 123. Ecce quam bonum & quàm iucundum habitare (ego addo & orare) fratres in vñum*, Kraków 1610, W Drukárni Symonã Kempinięgo, pp. 50–51; J. Flaga, *Krakowskie bractwa jako formy życia społeczno-religijnęgo w średniowieczu*, „Zeszyty Naukowe KUL” 23 (1980) no. 1, pp. 81–82; АКМКР, ms AV, vol. 28, p. 330.

⁹¹ АКМКР, ms AV, vol. 28, p. 644.

⁹² P. Saunier, *De fraternitate S. Spiritvs...*, op. cit., p. 96.

⁹³ K. Trzciński, *Porządki y powinności bractwa P. Mariey Krolowey Niebieskiej...*, op. cit., f. c3v.

⁹⁴ H. Liricius, *Bractwo Chordy abo Paska zakonnego S. Franciszka...*, op. cit., p. 25.

⁹⁵ *Bractwo Zophiey S. w Krakowie...*, op. cit., f. F4–F4v.

was the reason why membership in confraternities was so appealing – “as they will tend well to me after I die”⁹⁶.

Charity

The Roman Catechism reminded that mercy was a duty of a pious Christian; prayer had to be accompanied by alms. Even though all Krakow confraternities paid special attention to the meaning of good deeds in strengthening piety, some of them considered charity a key element, while others saw it as an additional activity⁹⁷. The charter of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament stipulated that “since Jesus promised mercy to the merciful, one should show mercy unto another as much as possible, in particular when the other falls victim to some kind of sickness or distress; such person must be entrusted to God through prayers of all, visited for consolation, or – if need be and whenever possible – given succour; and if he passes away, when such time comes, his brothers should lay his body in the grave, attend a Holy Mass for his soul, or everyone should say the Chaplet of the Five Wounds of Jesus”⁹⁸. Acts of mercy were of prime importance to the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost. Such deeds were viewed both in spiritual and external aspect. A deed of mercy should go hand in hand with the spiritual dimension, that is, with prayers.

Another classic charitable confraternity was the Confraternity of Mercy founded by Servant of God Rev. Piotr Skarga (1536–1612). The aim of this community of the faithful was to raise money and alms “for the needs for which people are ashamed of begging, but suffer poverty at home or in sickness, or due to some

⁹⁶ A. Brückner, *Literatura religijna w Polsce średniowiecznej*, vol. 1: *Kazania i pieśni. Szkice literackie i obyczajowe skreślił [...]*, Warszawa 1902, p. 73.

⁹⁷ *Catechismus Romanus seu Catechismus...*, op. cit., p. 495; K. Bracha, *Homo orans w dydaktyce kaznodziejskiej Polski późnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Zbożność středověku*, ed. M. Nodl [et al.], Praha 2007, p. 26 (*Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia*, 6); J. Flaga, *Działalność charytatywna bractw religijnych w XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Ecclesia et status. Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej profesora Józefa Krukowskiego*, ed. A. Dębiński, K. Orzeszyna, M. Sitarz, Lublin 2004, pp. 378–379; J. Plis, *Z dziejów kościelnej działalności charytatywnej w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, [in:] *Dzieła miłosierdzia chrześcijańskiego w Polsce i w archidiecezji lubelskiej. Sympozjum (Lublin, 18 maja 1996 r.)*, ed. A. Mieczkowski, Lublin 1997, pp. 49–53.

⁹⁸ Prayer book of rev. Faściszewski, pp. 17–18.

misfortune”⁹⁹, as the Confraternity is “high hope and good spirit of the ones ashamed of their poverty”¹⁰⁰. Accordingly, the confraternity opened the Chamber of the Needy called the Pious Bank. Like the Italian *Mons pietatis*, the institution gave interest-free loans to the poor *on security*, without usury, “so that people did not become poor and did not make Jews richer by usury”¹⁰¹. Soon, another “branch” was opened – the Box of Saint Nicolas, a “pious aid to maids ashamed of their poverty”¹⁰². For there are “virtuous maids, poor orphans, who do not have a mother or a father, nor any succour from friends, some of them want to become nuns or wives of good craftsmen, and those maids benefit from these institutions, which also do many good deeds”¹⁰³. The above-mentioned were soon joined by the Confraternity of St Lazarus of Bethany, the purpose of which was to save beggars and the abandoned from death in the street, as well as to organise funerals for paupers. Not only were members of the confraternity obliged to participate in the gatherings, but also to contribute their donations to the fraternity box. Each member was also expected to hold street collections in front of St Barbara’s Church in aid of the poor¹⁰⁴. Dressed in copes, they raised money

⁹⁹ K. Zelner, *Kronika albo czasopismo x. Krzysztofa Zelnera mansonarza kościoła Panny Maryi w Rynku Krakowskim obejmująca zdarzenia w końcu xvi i na początku xvii wieku*, [in:] *Groby królów polskich w Krakowie w kościele katedralnym na zamku. Poprzedza Kronika x. Krzysztofa Zelnera mansonarza kościoła Panny Maryi. Tę, oraz inne pomniki historyczne z dawnych rękopisów wydał Ambroży Grabowski*, Kraków 1835, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ J. Januszowski, *Nauka umierania chrześcijańskiego także iako konającego Panu Bogu oddawać i czego na ten czas pilnować trzeba przytym y przykłady o roskoszach niebieskich i mękach czyscowych, częścią z łacińskiego na polski język przełożone przez Księdza Archidyakona sądeckiego a teraz przez JP. Dadziboga Tomasza Tołoczkę Stolnika P[owia]tu Grodzień[skiego] do druku podana*, Wilno 1695, w Druk. Akad., f. (?)1v.

¹⁰¹ L. Kremer, [Przedmowa]..., op. cit., f. (?)1v; K. Zelner, *Kronika...*, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁰² L. Kremer, [Przedmowa]..., op. cit., f. (?)2.

¹⁰³ J. Januszowski, *Apostrophe, abo rzecz do Bractw Duchownych*, [in:] J. Januszowski, *Navka vmierania chrzescianskiego. Także iako konającego Panu Bogu oddawać, y czego na ten czas pilnować trzeba: Przy tym y przykłady o roskoszach niebieskich y mękach czyscowych y piekielnych: Częścią z Włoskiego, częścią z łacińskiego na Polski język przełożone przez [...] Do tegoż iest przyłożone Apostrophe do Bractw Duchownych*, Kraków 1604, w Drukarni Łazarzowej, p. 323.

¹⁰⁴ J. Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. Jezuitów u ś. Barbary w Krakowie*, vol. 1: *From 1579 to 1599 (including)*, op. cit., p. 151; *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595*, ed. H. Barycz, Kraków 1930 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 70), pp. 147–148; M. Bednarz, *Jezuici a religijność polska (1564–1964)*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*” 20 (1964), p. 200; *Bractwo miłosierdzia*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, ed. L. Grzebień [et al.], Kraków 1996, p. 62; J. Kracik, M. Rożek, *Hultaje, złoczyńcy, wszetecznicze w dawnym Krakowie. O marginesie społecznym xvi–xviii w.*, Kraków 1986, pp. 119–121; S. Cieślak, *Kościół Świętej Barbary w Krakowie. Przewodnik*, Kraków 2000, p. 9.

for the needy, walking door to door during the Great Lent, and the inhabitants of Krakow “gave, some of them out of embarrassment, whilst some of them out of mercy”¹⁰⁵.

Other confraternities practised charity on a smaller scale, but, as far as possible, trying to find appropriate areas for the needs of the body or the soul. The Confraternity of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary purchased the *Jesus Christ* tenement at Szczepański Square, opposite St Stephen’s Church, and in 1588 organized there a hospital for destitute merchants. The Confraternity of Saint Lazarus (*Confraternitas Mendicorum sub titulo Sancti Lazari*) at the Marian parish was “needful for the poor, as it helped and cared for beggars lying in the street”¹⁰⁶. The Confraternity of Christ’s Poverty (*Fraternitas Paupertatis Christi*) assisted the poor by paying them for carrying framed images of saints during processions as well as participation in funerals¹⁰⁷. The Confraternity of the Passion of Christ (or the Confraternity of Compassion), as reported in 1616 by councillor Kromer, “would release one prisoner during the Holy Week”¹⁰⁸, and every years since 1647 tried to obtain a pardon for a person sentenced to death. In time, the confraternity obtained a significant privilege of withholding executions of convicts by city authorities¹⁰⁹. The members of the Confraternity of Good Death were obliged to care for the sick by supporting them materially and spiritually, assisting them in taking holy sacraments, and ensuring proper funerals after death. The fraternal obligation of *sepelire mortuos* was seen as critical as other merciful deeds for the body, binding for all faithful¹¹⁰. In certain confraternities, recommendations in this matter were far from specific. The Confraternity of the Cord of St Augustine and St Monica dedicated to Our Lady of Consolation called on its members to perform their Christian duties by “living piously, in the love

¹⁰⁵ *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595...*, op. cit., p. 148.

¹⁰⁶ L. Kremer, [Przedmowa]..., op. cit., f. (?)2v.

¹⁰⁷ J. Kracik, *Ludzie z przedmieścia historii. Kleparzanie czasów staropolskich*, Kraków 1993, pp. 293–295 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 129); W. Urban, *Jan z Koszyczek redivivus (ok. 1488–1546)*, „Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny” 3 (1997), p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ L. Kremer, [Przedmowa]..., op. cit., f. (?)1.

¹⁰⁹ J. Kuś, *Bractwo Męki Pańskiej*. „Notificationes e Curia Metropolitana Cracoviensi” 124 (1986) no. 3/4, pp. 87–88.

¹¹⁰ P. H. Pruszczyk, *Kleynoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa albo Kościoły...*, op. cit., p. 117; S. Załęski, oo. *Jezuici przy kościele św. Piotra i Pawła w Krakowie. Szkic historyczny*, Nowy Sącz 1896, p. 160; *Bractwo (Kongregacja) Dobrej Śmierci*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach...*, op. cit., p. 62; P. Ariès, *Człowiek i śmierć*, Warszawa 1989, p. 185; A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Pieśń czasu śmierci. Studium z historii duchowości XVII–XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1992, p. 331–354.

of God and neighbours, saving the poor and doing other good deeds”¹¹¹. Other communities paid more attention to the spiritual dimension. Members of the Confraternity of the Slaves of Blessed Virgin Mary vowed to pray every day for Christians enslaved by Saracens. The Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary, aside from their prescribed prayers to the glory of the Mother of God, also set out to “bring up several orphaned boys” or the poor – three each year – and “assist poor maids into matrimony”. To this end they gathered donations on the patronal feast of the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary¹¹². The Confraternity of St Ursula was obliged to hold a dinner for patients of some poor hospital and serve the meals¹¹³. Other confraternities urged their members to perform charitable acts for the needy, paying special attention to spiritual and material needs of the fellow members. The charitable activities were financed primarily from the donations made by the members.

The piety of confraternity members depended mostly on their own involvement in following the regulations and instructions of the community. The turn and the greater part of the 17th century was marked by a spirit of genuine religious zeal. In contrast, the turn of the 18th century was associated with a decline in piety, as vast masses of the faithful were overcome by spiritual stagnation and religious indifference. Despite strenuous post-Trent ministry, the Saxon times (in particular) were a period of trivialization or even decline of religious life, which – along with the spread of individualism – led to the languor, and subsequently to the collapse of confraternities. Furthermore, Enlightenment activists, even Catholic ones, declared an open war not only on the institutions of religious authority, but also on the folk piety of confraternities, regarding it as a sign of ignorance, although it was the activists themselves who displayed even greater prejudice, despotism and intolerance. Accusing the Church and its diverse communities of the very same attitudes, they themselves were led to *fits of rage*¹¹⁴. Last but

¹¹¹ W. Kolak, *Matka Boża Pocieszenia przy kościele św. Katarzyny w Krakowie. Dzieje kultu*, Kraków 2000, p. 32.

¹¹² J. Olchawski, *Constitutvce albo Zbior powinności Archiconfraterniey Niepokalanego Poczęcia...*, op. cit., pp. 13, 79–89.

¹¹³ T. Ryk, *Bractwo św. Urszuli w Krakowie...*, op. cit., p. 60.

¹¹⁴ W. Markiewicz, *O bractwach kościelnych...*, op. cit., p. 350; C. L. Becker, *Państwo Boże osiemnastowiecznych filozofów*, Poznań 2008, pp. 21–43; W. Witkowski, *O czci Najświętszego Serca Jezusa. Studium historyczne*, Kraków 1884, pp. 30–36, 67–75, 111–112; M. Cieński, *Konstruowanie oświecenia. Narracje o wieku oświecenia z końca xx stulecia*, [in:] *Narracja, historia, fikcja. Dawne kultury w historiografii i literaturze*, ed. Ł. Grützmacher, Warszawa 2009, pp. 121–128; B. Arciszewski, *Wykład historyczny i moralny święt, obrzędów, zwyczajów kościoła katolickiego. Napisał [...]*, Lwów 1852, p. 354; J. Kłoczowski, *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa polskiego*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 194–202;

not least, another serious threat to the functioning or even existence of certain confraternities was the closure of the order or the monastery under the auspices of which the community operated.

Conclusions

Confraternities played a prominent role in the social and religious history of Krakow, in addition to being a manifestation of post-Trent dynamics of the Krakow Church, with time weakened and beset by crisis. Exceptionally elaborate forms of piety were fundamental features of religiousness in their lives and work. Of special significance were sacraments, particularly confession and the Holy Communion, as well as feasts, frequently accompanied by statutory religious practices. They were applicable only on the principle of good will, i.e. they were not binding on the conscience on the pain of sin. Their types and intervals depended on the confraternity's dedication, statutes and spirituality of the order under the auspices of which the confraternity was placed. Creating unique religious climate, confraternities were genuine schools of piety for their members, contributing to their formation and development of religious life, deepening their internal piety (perhaps emotional and ritual rather than theological) and raising the morale of the faithful. As such it was primarily of folk character and expressed by a set of religious practices, especially rituals, and therefore it should not be classified as educated, courtly or elitist piety. Confraternities were a formative tool in respect of their members. This determined the significance and richness of the Christian life of such communities, which had diverse prayers and practices, and were set apart by both historical continuity and development¹¹⁵.

J. S. Pasierb, *Religijność polska w okresie oświecenia*, [in:] *Życie kulturalne i religijność w czasach Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, ed. M. M. Drozdowski, Warszawa 1991, p. 57; S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin 2004, pp. 241–241 (Dzieje Chrześcijaństwa Polski i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, 2: Wiek XVI–XVIII); A. Zamoyski, *Święte Szaleństwo. Romantycy, patrioci, rewolucjoniści 1776–1871*, Kraków 2015, pp. 6–11, 41–42; B. Stanisławczyk, *Kto się boi prawdy? Walka z cywilizacją chrześcijańską w Polsce*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 63–74; A. Zybortowicz, *Bilans*, [in:] A. Zybortowicz [et al.], *Samo-bójstwo oświecenia? Jak neuronauka i nowe technologie pustoszą ludzki świat*, Kraków 2015, p. 441.

¹¹⁵ J. Duracz, *Pobvdka do Bractwa y Confraterniey Szkáplerzá...*, op. cit., p. 64; N. Davies, *Złote ogniwa. Polska – Europa*, Warszawa 2004, p. 60; J. Flaga, *Rola i funkcje bractw religijnych w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku...*, op. cit., pp. 60–61, 76.

A distinctive feature of piety, especially post-Trent piety, was the growth of the Eucharistic cult. Fraternal regulations obliged members to attend Sunday and additional masses, as well as para-liturgical Eucharistic services of the confraternity, in which unique and custom prayers and chants were used. During processions, members wore special fraternal attire¹¹⁶. The most important duty was to make confession and take Holy Communion more often than the other faithful. Confraternity members were obliged to participate in Eucharistic processions and accompany priests who visited the sick with the Viaticum. The piety-forming cult of the Eucharist was supplemented with veneration of Christ in individual mysteries of his life, especially Passion and Death. Another noticeable characteristic of fraternal piety during the early modern period was special veneration for the Mother of God. All Marian feasts were solemnly celebrated. On a second, less conspicuous level, members were recommended to recite the Rosary, Litanies, sing Hours or meditate. The cult of the Third Divine Person, the Holy Spirit, was not particularly developed in a separate form; it was mainly linked to the worship of Christ and the veneration of His Mother Mary. All of the above features of fraternal piety were accompanied by the cult of saints. The worship of St Joseph, St Michael the Archangel, Holy Angels came much to the fore then, but the medieval cult of saints connected with the Franciscan Order, i.e. St Francis and St Anthony, the Augustinian Order, i.e. St Monica and St Augustine, as well as local Krakow saints, was still maintained.

Although the piety of individual members of a confraternity depended on their zeal, contrary to all appearances and stereotypes it should be concluded that this piety was far from superficial, ritual or ostentatious, as frequently pointed out in relation to the early modern period, but was based on deep faith, even if it lacked solid intellectual backing. A certain trivialization of such piety could be observed in the Saxon period. By fostering pious practices, confraternities worked towards an important aim – to enliven and deepen the Christian life.

¹¹⁶ R. Sauzet, *Présence rénovée de catholicisme (1520–1670)*, [in:] *Histoire des catholiques en France du xv^e siècle à nos jours*, ed. F. Lebrun, Paris 1985², p. 148; S. Starowolski, *Polska albo Opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, przełożył, wstępem i komentarzami opatrzył A. Piskadło, Kraków 1976, p. 56: “The town is famous for confraternities of pious people, who in time of more solemn feasts, according to an old custom, walk in processions clad in various colours: the Confraternity of the Rosary wearing red, the Confraternity of Mercy wearing green, the Confraternity of the Scapular clad in blue, and of the Passion of Christ in black. The Italian Confraternity is snow-white, the Confraternity of Corpus Christi in snow-white with red hoods, the Confraternity of St Sophie in pure white. The Confraternity of St Anne in off-white, the Confraternity of St Monica in azure, and so on”.

Confraternities were the forefront of Krakow's Catholic society, they provided foundations for various activities and influenced the cultural and religious character of the city. Membership in a confraternity required a person to observe pious practices, but also to live one's life in a proper way. Therefore, acts of fraternal piety did not merely *feed* religiousness, but also had considerable educational significance¹¹⁷.

By working towards an internal discipline of the faithful, development of private religious life, activating and attaching their members to a specific church and its clergy, confraternities played a prominent role in raising the Catholic awareness of the society. Such communities were schools of religious, pious and moral formation, bustling with life. They contributed to an awakening of faith and the veneration of Christ and the blessed sacraments, as well as strengthening the Marian cult, thus opposing anti-Catholic movements. In turn, the piety exercised an impact on the entire life and all forms of activity of the members, fostering their love of neighbours and creating an elite of contemporary lay Catholics. Undoubtedly, thanks to such communities the influence of institutional Church on the faithful was much greater than through its conventional appeal, i.e. the pulpit. Confraternities should therefore be seen as one of the most effective forms of ministry, conducive to the internalisation of Christianity amongst many believers. Confraternities did shape the image and position of the Church in the early modern period. They enabled Krakow parishes to properly fulfil an instruction of the Roman Catechism ordering provosts to teach parishioners how to pray¹¹⁸. Having left so many noticeable (and even more unnoticeable) traces, the piety of confraternities was obviously a catalyst and lay the foundation for the development of the city, and transformations that were taking place, as well as processes which enabled to preserve the spirit of national dignity and identity in the difficult centuries that came afterwards¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁷ J. Łepkowski, *Przegląd krakowskich tradycji, legend, nabożeństw, zwyczajów, przysłów, i właściwości podał* [...], Kraków 1866, pp. 15–18; J. S. Bystron, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce. Wiek XVI–XVIII*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1994, p. 319; D. Burdzy, *Bractwa religijne Sandomierza w okresie przedrozbiorowym (XIV–XVIII w.)*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*” 101 (2004), p. 36.

¹¹⁸ *Catechismus Romanus seu Catechismus...*, op. cit., p. 527.

¹¹⁹ A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Feniks w popiołach...*, op. cit., pp. 136–137; A. Nichols, *Patrząc na liturgię. Krytyczna ocena jej współczesnej formy*, Poznań 2005, pp. 20–21; S. Litak, *Od reformacji do oświecenia. Kościół katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej*, Lublin 1994, pp. 107–108.

Abstract

The author analyses forms of piety among Krakow religious confraternities, both those which originated already in the Middle Ages and those from the post-Trent epoch. There were dozens of confraternities in the early modern Krakow. The author was able to trace back 36 religious confraternities, active in as many as 51 communities. The article shows that almost every member of each stratum of the urban community, from the patriciate to the commoners, belonged to a religious confraternity of sorts. Confraternities had many functions, but the religious education of Krakow inhabitants was the most significant. In each subsection the author presents various forms of fraternal piety, namely: Christ-centric piety, pneumahagic piety, Marian piety, the worship of angles and saints, as well as the eschatological dimension. Towards the end, the article contains briefly characterises the charitable activities of religious confraternities. The author concludes that religious confraternities played an important role in building the Catholic awareness of the society, and the fraternal piety was indeed a basis and a catalyst of the growth of the city of Krakow.

Keywords

piety, religious confraternities, Krakow, Middle Ages, post-Trent epoch

Streszczenie

Formy pobożności członków bractw religijnych w nowożytnym Krakowie

Autor analizuje formy pobożności krakowskich bractw religijnych, zarówno tych, które powstały jeszcze w średniowieczu, jak i tych z epoki potrydenckiej. W nowożytnym Krakowie działało kilkadziesiąt bractw. Autorowi udało się potwierdzić źródłowo 36 religijnych konfraterni działających wówczas w 51 wspólnotach. Artykuł pokazuje, że niemal każdy członek poszczególnych warstw społeczności miejskiej, od bogatego patrycjatu poczynając, a na ubogim plebsie kończąc, należał do bractw religijnych. Bractwa miały wiele funkcji, jednak jedną z ważniejszych było wychowanie religijne społeczeństwa

Krakowa. Autor w podrozdziałach przedstawia różne formy pobożności brackiej: pobożność chrystocentryczną, pobożność pneumahagijną, pobożność maryjną, kult aniołów i świętych, jak również jej wymiar eschatologiczny. W ostatniej części artykułu scharakteryzowana została także działalność charytatywna bractw religijnych. Na zakończenie autor dochodzi do konkluzji, że bractwa religijne odgrywały istotną rolę w budowie katolickiej świadomości społeczeństwa, natomiast sama pobożność bracka była niewątpliwie podłożem i katalizatorem rozwoju Krakowa.

Słowa kluczowe

pobożność, bractwa religijne, Kraków, średniowiecze, epoka potrydencka

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