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## **“Haec foecunda magnorum virorum parens Academia Cracoviensis”**

**A history of the Jagiellonian University  
in academic panegyrics for Krakow bishops  
in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century**

The panegyric literature of the Baroque attracts the attention of an increasingly numerous group of philologists, literary scholars, and historians. Equipped with research tools, they set out on a journey through the endless ocean of thousands of prints and manuscripts, making their way through the froth of verbosity and probe new depths in search of pearls (or empty shells) of rhetoric and factography. It has been quite a long time since it was required to prove that this area is as worthy of exploration and valuable in terms of research as every other trace of the past, every message left by a culture or every reflection of the life and mindset of people and the society. It is hardly conceivable that this literary genre should be omitted, especially with regard to the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, its heyday, massive body of works generated, and its enormous impact.<sup>1</sup>

The arbitrary time frame announced in the title, the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, coincides with the ‘silver age’ of the first kings of the House of Vasa in the Republic of Poland. In the history of Krakow, this corresponds to the final stage of the Old Polish splendor. For the University of Krakow, this was the acme of late humanism, systemic changes and the crucial

1. The latest introduction to the subject and its literature is offered by M. Czerenkiewicz, *Polonia illustrata. Łacińska twórczość panegiryczna Szymona Starowolskiego*, Warsaw 2019, pp. 38–83.

stage of the conflict with the Jesuit Order over autonomy and position in the national school system. In the history of the diocese, the epoch was marked with a profound reception of the Tridentinum and a number of bishops who were outstanding preachers, reformers, and statesmen. The period saw the pontificate of seven bishops: Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski (1600–1605), Piotr Tylicki (1607–1616), Marcin Szyszkowski (1616–1630), Andrzej Lipski (1630–1631), Jan Albert (Olbracht) Waza (1632–1634), Jakub Zadzik (1635–1642), and Piotr Gembicki (1642–1657), and ended with a tragic milestone for the country, the old capital, and the university: the Swedish Deluge.<sup>2</sup>

The University of Krakow – together with the so-called Nowodworiski College and the emerging network of academic high schools – was an important center where panegyric literature was created.<sup>3</sup> Composing and printing panegyrics was both a part of humanist education and an important form of cultural activity, an expression of involvement in the life of the state, the society, and the Church, a tool whereby benefactors were acquired and commemorated, one's own image was shaped and maintained, the ideological identity of the academic community was built, and own culture of remembrance was cultivated. Panegyrics for Krakow bishops

2. For a synthetic introduction to this context, see: J. Małecki, J. Bieniarzówna, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, vol. 2, Kraków 1994, pp. 157–356; K. Targosz, *Blaski i cienie epoki baroku*, in: *Kraków stary i nowy. Dzieje kultury*, ed. J. Bieniarzówna, Kraków 1968, pp. 185–219; A. Bruździński, *Die kirchlichen Eliten Krakaus in der frühen Neuzeit (bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts)*, in: *Krakau – Nürnberg – Prag. Die Eliten der Städte im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Herkunft, Nationalität, Mobilität, Mentalität*, hrsg. v. M. Diefenbacher, O. Fejtová, Z. Noga, Praha 2106 (Documenta Pragensia Monographia 33/1, series Cracovia – Norimberga – Praga), pp. 313–335; T. Graff, *Biskupi krakowscy wobec Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w dobie pierwszych królów elekcyjnych – zarys problematyki*, in: *Kościół w społeczeństwie w Czechach i w Polsce w średniowieczu i w epoce nowożytnej*, ed. W. Iwańczak, A. Januszek-Sieradzka, J. Smółucha, Kraków 2020, pp. 69–97; H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, Kraków 1935, pp. 501–610; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji (1549–1632)*, in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, ed. K. Lepszy, Kraków 1964, pp. 253–307. An unintended result of this last, anniversary compilation of the history of the University of Krakow was the omission of the reign of Władysław IV (Waza) of Poland; therefore, the years 1632–1648 were not covered, cf. critical comments by H. Barycz, *Nowa synteza Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, "Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy" 9 (1966), vol. 1 (31), pp. 286, 317–324.
3. E.J. Głębecka, *Akademia Krakowska a twórczość panegiryczna w XVII w.*, in: *Literatura i instytucje w dawnej Polsce*, ed. H. Dzechcińska, Warsaw 1994, pp. 48–57.

also fitted in this reference network.<sup>4</sup> Self-contained panegyrics discussed here were written mainly to celebrate a grant of bishopric, a ceremonial entrance to city, an ingress into the Wawel cathedral or to mark the event of death or a funeral; they also include funeral prints dedicated to Bernard Maciejowski, who was praised at his burial as a former head of the Krakow diocese, although at his death held the position of the Archbishop of Gniezno. The start and the end of a bishop's pontificate were marked with grand public celebrations, which the University also played an active part in.<sup>5</sup> New panegyrics were also prompted by new ranks or honors obtained during the pontificate (e.g. the cardinal's hat) or the urge to commemorate the endowments made by bishops.

Relations with Krakow bishops were of special importance for the university community. University was one of the diocese's key institutions: it educated large numbers of clergy of all levels, the structure of its assets was to a large extent based on church benefices, while its professors were mostly priests who sat in important chapters (including the cathedral chapter) and were present in major administrative bodies (most significantly in the curia and the episcopal court). As a result, a large proportion of professors were members of the diocesan elite. Most importantly, there was also an institutional bond, since Krakow bishops were University's chancellors *ex officio*.<sup>6</sup> They were the instance to appeal to against the rector's court; they exercised control over conferring academic degrees and generally

4. Self-contained texts praising bishops were taken into consideration here, whereas laudatory elements (dedications, poems, or interspersed passages) contained in other works, e.g. in laudatory prints for new graduates, theses for academic degrees, treatises, epic poems and panegyrics for other people, were omitted. The material was selected on the basis of data contained in *Bibliografia polska* by Karol Estreicher, using Estreicher's Bibliography Electronic Database under relevant entries, see <https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/> I would like to express my enormous gratitude to Marek Miławicki OP for access to early printed books from the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław. Panegyrics by Jan Fox, a professor of the University who praised the institution in such works, although he printed and published them on behalf of the Krakow chapter, were omitted. Due to the lengthiness of Baroque titles, relevant items are quoted in footnotes in abbreviated form, according to the Harvard model (author + year), and the prints used here are listed at the end of this text.
5. E.J. Głębińska, *Akademia Krakowska*, op. cit., pp. 50–51; Sz. Fedorowicz, *Uroczyste ingresy biskupów w przedrobiorowym Krakowie*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 111 (2009), pp. 85–116.
6. J. Sondel, *Biskupi jako kanclerze i opiekunowie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*, in: *Lex tua in corde meo. Studia i materiały dedykowane Jego Magnificencji bp. Tadeuszowi*

supervised the university's well-being and development, which on multiple occasions caused contention over the extent of the said control, especially the right of visitation and reform.<sup>7</sup> Still, temporary disputes could not sever the fundamental bond: "Nonne enim corona Academiae Cancellarius est?" asked Jan of Kłobuck, "in quem quanto plures dignationes confluerint, tanto beatiores, florentiores et auctiores nos Academici, tantoque omni nomine bono cumulatiores evasimus."<sup>8</sup> Such bond was frequently of personal nature. Many bishops were the university graduates. It was often the case that the heads of the diocese took part in graduation ceremonies, visited Collegium Maius, had meals together with professors or invited them to their premises, showing respect, interest and involvement in the academic life of the university.

The conflict between the University of Krakow and the Jesuit Order over the development and privileges of monastic schooling added a unique context to relations with the bishops.<sup>9</sup> Some ordinaries hailed from Jesuit colleges and were benefactors of the order, while all had to reconcile two competing and conflicted parties clashing in the capital, both of which were valued and important to the functioning of the Church and the success of the ongoing Trent reform. The university was well aware that it was a delicate situation and asked for assistance whilst diplomatically refraining from mentioning the dispute and charging at its adversary in panegyrics.<sup>10</sup> The request for financial support, defense of rights, and assistance in dealing with the king and social estates were a recurring theme. All kinds

*Pieronkowi z okazji 40-lecia jego pracy naukowej*, eds. P. Majer. A. Wójcik, Kraków 2004, pp. 473–494.

7. The period referred to here saw the most severe conflicts over this issue with Piotr Tylicki and Piotr Gembicki, see H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 521–525; H.E. Wyczawski, *Spory bpa Piotra Gembickiego z Akademią Krakowską*, "Polonia Sacra" 5 (1952), pp. 1–16.
8. Kłobucki 1604, sheet A2v.
9. H. Barycz, *W orbicie wielkiego konfliktu*, in: H. Barycz, *Alma Mater Jagellonica. Studia i szkice z przeszłości Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 1958, pp. 134–169; B. Natoński SJ, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku*, Kraków 2002.
10. The most distinct and direct reference to the conflict with the Jesuits was made by mentioning the judgement entered in favour of the University in 1634 r., see Modliński 1636: "Tristem illam peracerbamque clymacteram sublatam iam et sepultam, Deo, Diuis, Sanctissimo pontifici Urbano VIII, serenissimo regi Vladislao Jagellonianas literas ab interitu vindicanti, i avita sede firmanti atque decore omni exornanti Tibi [i.e. bishop Jakub Zadzik] patronisque omnibus in acceptis refert..."

of respect and help for students, scholars, and schools were highly appreciated.<sup>11</sup> The bishops-benefactors enjoyed honorable positions in the academic tradition and memory. Generosity, especially making a separate endowment in perpetuity, was seen as an erection of an extraordinary statue ("monumentum"), making the founder a model to future generations and ensured him lasting memory.<sup>12</sup>

In this text, I decided to set aside any analysis of genealogical or biographical facts, praise of virtues and recommended moral models, the literary form of the works or the historical context of their authors' biographies. My analysis of selected prints focuses primarily on references to the history of the University of Krakow. Since the Renaissance, history claimed a powerful right of existence in the field of humanist and civic education; it also underwent significant methodological changes and as a consequence it became autonomous and was practiced as a scholarly research.<sup>13</sup>

11. A. Dicianówna, *Kardynał Bernard Maciejowski jako opiekun uczonych i literatów*, "Collectanea Theologica" 15 (1934), vol. 3, pp. 323–359 (particularly pp. 344–348).
12. Schoneus 1604, p. 28: "...ad nos oculos tuos humanitatis plenissimos dirige atque converte ... Nos vero insignem et admirabilem hanc tuam in nos benevolentiam atque liberalitatem ad omnem posteritatis memoriam ingeniis et literis nostris propagabimus atque humi strati altaribusque advolti, omnes Divos coelestes, publicis privatisque precationibus orabimus"; Kłobucki 1607, sheet D3v: "...Huic beneficio, quo homines ad usum rationis excoluntur, nulla finem allatura est aetas ... Nam caetera operum magnificentiae demolitur vetustas, obscurat oblivio, carpit posteritas, hoc ipsa vetustate revirescit et robur acquirit. Namque qui mire concuupiscunt, bonos iuvenes ostendere foro, assignare famae, illudqu habent animi, ut velint quemque sui similem evadere civem, et ideo ingenia refovent, ut sint qui in Republica digne succedere et in eorum munera crescere queant, hi memoriam sui vivis in monumentis posteritati linquunt, vivuntque in his, qui opera, studio et impensa sua Reipublicae dignos cives fecerunt." Cf. also Witeliusz 1629. On the bishop's patronage setting the example for the elite, see Modliński 1636, sheet C1r-v. On the eschatological aspect of acts which are inscribed in the book of God's memory and rewarded, see Witeliusz 1638, sheet C2r-v: "Ita Tu Illustriss[ime] D[omine] diversis providens hominum et locorum necessitatibus, multorum impelles linguas, quae facient in auribus Domini Dei, quasi suavem pro Tua beneficentia concentum. Quamobrem quicquid ... liberaliter praestitisti, in Divino Memoriali, haec aeternum, nunquam abolenda scribentur. Attendit Dominus [Malachias inquit] et audit, scriptique librum coram se..."
13. From the Polish literature, see R.M. Zawadzki, *Historia jako nauka w koncepcji uczonych epoki humanizmu*, in: *Ars bene vivendi. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Maciejowi Włodarskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. E. Buszewicz, L. Grzybowska, Kraków 2017, pp. 395–406; A. Krawczyk, *Historiografia krytyczna. Formowanie się nowożytnej postawy naukowej w polskim piśmiennictwie historycznym XVII w.*, Lublin 1994, pp. 31–70; K. Pomian, *Przeszłość jako przedmiot wiedzy*, Warsaw 2010; A.F. Grabski, *Dzieje historiografii*, Poznań 2011, pp. 157–289.

In Krakow, as in many universities, history was not a separate subject of instruction, although it was highly valued, taught, practiced and commonly used in arguments as an evidence erudition, and particularly, according to the well-grounded Ciceronian approach, as a treasure trove of virtues and role models. Most often it was ancient history, at the time a natural and necessary mode of expression and code of communication,<sup>14</sup> and more rarely the history of the Church, history of Poland, e.g. under the Piast or Jagiellonian dynasty, or contemporary history.<sup>15</sup> My focus on area of history at the University is aimed at studying the historical awareness and culture of Krakow's university community in the modern age. Therefore, rather than to the recipient of the panegyric, the attention is drawn to its sender, who is at the same time seen less in terms of a creative individual like than a product of his social environment and the institution he represented and identified with. The sender was never an anonymous or transparent communicator of the content: less or more explicitly and extensively, he presented himself in the work through his past and present, his strengths and problems, the values and ideals he held. He recommended himself, reminding of his existence and marking and reinforcing his own position in the public space. The past he intentionally revoked was also part of this self-creation and self-presentation.<sup>16</sup> This study is therefore a follow-up to the research that resulted in a monograph on the advent of historical self-awareness and historiography of the University of Krakow in

14. T. Bieńkowski, *Antyk w literaturze i kulturze staropolskiej (1450–1750)*, Wrocław 1976. Ancient figures and events played the same role as the Greek-Roman mythology, cf. M. Walińska, *Szyfr, kod i konwencja. Staropolskie sposoby „mówienia mitologicznego”*, „Napis” 17 (2011), pp. 97–110.
15. Synthetically on the form and diffusion of historical knowledge and reflection of the era, see H.J. Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna a humanistyczna historia narodowa (1500–1700)*, Kraków 2011 (Polonica leguntur, 12). The work by Siemek (1631) is noteworthy for the number of references to ancient and Polish history used for the purpose of educating the elites of the Republic of Poland, which is in line with the author's interest in civic formation and of Poland's political system; see H. Kowalska, *Siemek Kasper*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 36, Warsaw–Kraków 1995–1996, pp. 630–631; K. Siemek, *Civis bonus. Dobry obywatel*, Warsaw 2018 (Biblioteka Staropolska 3).
16. I omit two basic elements of the university's ideology prompted in the public and present also in the panegyrics, i.e. the ethos associated with the role of science, education and learning, as well as the presenting the university as a special institution in Poland and the Church, related to the concept of “Seminarium Reipublicae et Ecclesiae” and the Main School of the Kingdom, a subject which will be discussed in a separate text.

the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>17</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup>-century rich forms of academic memory culture flourished, culminating in the rise of erudite historiography of the University of Krakow.<sup>18</sup> The phenomenon is yet to be examined in depth, and any analysis should also take into consideration occasional literature, including panegyric works, as a carrier of historical content.

Panegyrics dedicated to bishops appeared as a separate branch of the university's panegyric writing in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The end of the century saw printed panegyrics in praise of Krakow bishop Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, containing ideological and historical themes interwoven according to a well-known model of enumerating famous graduates and professors of the university.<sup>19</sup> For the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, sixty-five self-contained academic prints dedicated to Krakow bishops were selected. Forty-three works with content and references pertaining to the university's past were used in the present analysis.

17. M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości w XV i XVI wieku*, Kraków 2017 (Historia et Monumenta Universitatis Jagellonicae 6).
18. These questions raise an increasing interest on the European scale. The overview of Polish and Western studies presented in the book cited above may be extended by newer studies, which constitute further inspiration and create context for research on the early modern historical writing at the University of Krakow, see P. Dohnt, *Introduction. University, History, Writing: More than a History of Jubilees?*, in: *University Jubilees and University History Writing. A Challenging Relationship*, ed. P. Dohnt, Leiden—Boston 2015 (Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions 13), pp. 1—17; M. Kintzinger, *Historiography of the University. A New Field for an Old Topic in German Historical Scholarship/Historiografía sobre la Universidad. Un nuevo campo para un viejo tema en la Historia de la Universidad alemana*, "CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades" 20 (2017), no. 1, pp. 97—139; F. Rexroth, *Universitätsgeschichtsschreibung*, in: *Universitäre Gelehrtenkultur vom 13.16. Jahrhundert. Eine interdisziplinäres Quellen und Methodenhandbuch*, eds. J.H. de Boer, M. Füssel, M. Schuh, Stuttgart 2018, pp. 529—537.
19. See Schoneus 1592, sheet B1v (University's designation used in the title of this article), B2 r—v (reference to a nearly 200-year history of the university, which educated many eminent figures: "Quam multi item viri principes, tam sacrorum, quam Reipublicae antistites, ex hoc florentissimo bonarum artium domicilio, ducentis prope continuis annis prodierint, et nunc Dei beneficio prodeant, quis est qui nesciat? Ut enim vetera omittam, Tomicios, Hosios, Cromeros, Patricios, Dlugosios, Miechouios; viva idque clarissima dignaque vel ipsius Aristotelis Lycaeii vel Platonis Academiae gloria exempla habemus: Karnkouium et Solicouium archiepiscopos, Baranouiium, Costkam, Goslicium, Gomolinium episcopos, Crassinios, Socolouium, Tilicium, Scargam"); Romer 1592, sheet B1r (University's designation as "procreatrix Sarmaticorum studiorum"), B2v (reference to the past with a mention of eminent Krakow bishops: "...Redeant nobis iam saecula, quae quondam sub Thomiciij, Conarscij, Gamrati, Maciouij patrocinio maiores nostri aurea iudicabant...").

An analysis of the works reveals the permanence of the university's institutionalized culture of remembrance, its core subjects and modes of expression in the form in which they developed in the Renaissance. Central to the memory of the foundation was King Władysław Jagiełło. He was recalled as the founder directly, under his own name,<sup>20</sup> or implicitly<sup>21</sup> and presented as an example to be followed.<sup>22</sup> Through its very name "Jagiellonian," the University evoked its origins in Jagiełło's will and decree.<sup>23</sup> The University was either mentioned directly, as in "Academia Iagellonia,"<sup>24</sup> in sophisticated, elaborate periphrases and metaphors: "Iagellonidae doctissima moenia,"<sup>25</sup> "domicilium Iagellonianum,"<sup>26</sup> "Iagellonum filia,"<sup>27</sup> "Iageloni grex Lycae,"<sup>28</sup> "Iagellonium Lycaeum,"<sup>29</sup> "Divi Iagellonis Lycaeum,"<sup>30</sup> "Divi Iagellonis Academia,"<sup>31</sup> "Athenaeum Iagellonianum," "Musa Iagelloniana,"<sup>32</sup> "Cymba Iagelloniana,"<sup>33</sup> "Schola Iagelloniana,"<sup>34</sup> "inclyta Iageloni Regumque filia, Cracoviensis Academia."<sup>35</sup> Jagiełło was distinctly referred to as "divus" (meaning both "the late" as well as "honorable", "saintly"), a sign of sacralization and superior reverence for

20. Papenkowicz 1616, sheet A3r: "Academia Cracouiensis, quemadmodum a divo Vladilao Iagellone, sacra Sede Apostolica approbante, rei literariae summam accepit."
21. For example, Schoneus 1604, p. 23, who recalled the visit of prince Władysław Waza within the walls of "Lycei nostri, ab abavo et cognomine suo instituti," encrypting the name of the king and its founder, while underlining the unity of the House of Jagiełło and the House of Vasa. Also cf. references to Jagiełło as the dynasty's progenitor in the panegyrics dedicated to Cardinal Jan Olbracht Vasa, see Babecki 1635, Michoński 1633, Cynerski-Rachtamowicz 1633.
22. Buczkowski 1617, sheet F4r: "...Postera olim dicant saecula, Illustriss[imum] Martinum Szyszcovium fuisse episcopum Cracouiensem, benignissimum literatorum promotorem ... D. Stanislai imitorem, insuper Iagellonis regis augustissimi, Lycaeii vetustissimi et moribus antiquis fundatissimi..."
23. M. Karaś, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Nazwa i jej dzieje*, "Język Polski" 47 (1967), pp. 241–259.
24. Śmieszkowicz 1621, no page numbering.
25. Bartłomiej of Września 1608, sheet Cr.
26. Goliniusz 1617, sheet B2v.
27. Rybkowicz 1617, sheet F5v.
28. Michoński 1633, sheet C1r.
29. Cynerski-Rachtamowicz 1633, sheet A7r. Cf. Dziedzic 1657, in the title: "Iagelloneum Lyceum".
30. Canevesi 1635, sheet A2r. Cf. Dziedzic 1657, sheet B1v: "Magni Iagellonis Lycaeum".
31. Otrębusz 1636, sheet B4v.
32. Modliński 1636, sheet A2r, D3v.
33. Kucharski 1642, sheet Erv.
34. Sulikowski 1642, sheet B4r.
35. Dziedzic 1657, sheet A2r.



the king.<sup>36</sup> The University's connections to the entire Jagiellonian dynasty were also emphasized. When Halicjusz honored Piotr Tylicki's donation to Bursa Pauperum, he recalled Anna Jagiellon's foundation of the boarding house and likened the bishop to the Jagiellons, a sacred dynasty, whose memory continued to be cherished in the University.<sup>37</sup> It was also mentioned that Anna Jagiellon's foundation had been immortalized in the name of Bursa Pauperum, which was called the Jagiellonian Bursa since then.<sup>38</sup>

More information of Anne Jagiellon's endowment was supplied by Rector Mikołaj Dobrocieski in 1600. Commemorating the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation, he emphasized the role of Bishop Piotr Wysz, the University's first chancellor and its co-founder per decree of Władysław Jagiełło and Pope Boniface IX, and gave an inauguration lecture on canon law.<sup>39</sup> Such detailed information, rarely encountered outside strictly historical works, was derived from either the oldest entries in the University matriculation roll or Maciej of Miechów's chronicle.<sup>40</sup> The date of the foundation, the year 1400, was one of the canonical milestones in the University's remembrance. It was mentioned by Andrzej Schoneus in 1607. He wrote that the University had educated men of all provinces, social estates, and professions for over two hundred years.<sup>41</sup> However, this round anniversary was not

36. R.M. Zawadzki, *O dwóch niekanonizowanych patronach Akademii Krakowskiej okresu staropolskiego*, "Analecta Cracoviensia" 34 (2002), pp. 459–469; W. Szymborski, *Władysław Jagiełły – władca idealny czy święty?*, in: *Sprawiedliwość – tradycja i współczesność*, eds. P. Nowakowski, J. Smołucha, W. Szymborski, Kraków 2006, pp. 53–73; M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski*, pp. 206–209.
37. Halicjusz 1617, sheet E4r: "Unus Tylicius post Annae Iagelloniae divae Polonorum Reginae propriam sanctissimis Iagellonibus in suam Academia omnique saeculorum memoria praedicandam liberalitatem, testatus est posteritati..."
38. Witeliusz 1629, sheet D2v: "...beneficus etiam in liberalitate serenissimae Annae Iagielloniae, temporis iniuria arctiore, in domo eius nominis iuventutis studiosae, quotannis tuenda et conservanda." In a posthumous panegyric dedicated to Tylicki, Bursa Pauperum was called "domus Iagelonia" by Bartłomiej of Września, 1616, sheet B3v. On Anna Jagiellon's connections with the University and her role in making the memory of the dynasty permanent, see M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski*, pp. 285–291.
39. Dobrocieski 1600, sheet A4r: "Petrus Visch episcopus Cracouiensis primus Universitatis huius cancellarius, Ladislai regis munere et Bonifacii noni papae concessu, Academiam hanc quasi mater sinu suo excepit atque ut nova plantatio radices ageret, benedixit principio eius ipseque primam lectionem in iure canonico primus legir."
40. M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski*, pp. 186–187.
41. Schoneus 1607, sheet B2v: "Quod quidem ducentos amplius annos graviter praestitimus semper, nullaquae pars Reipublicae, nullus ordo et status, nostrae institutionis beneficio caret."

celebrated, since the tradition of university jubilees had not yet been adopted.<sup>42</sup> Another important part of remembering the origins was the parent institution; it should also be noted that at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the role played by the University of Prague in the origins was challenged by an imaginary concept which held that the University of Krakow's beginnings could be traced to the one in Paris. This idea had not taken roots though, as confirmed by references to Prague as the parent university in a panegyric by Bartłomiej of Września entitled "Gratulatio manium."<sup>43</sup> What flourished, however, was the humanist genealogy with connections to the world of ancient schools of philosophy, noticeable repeatedly in the names used in reference to the University.

A more comprehensive overview of the University's history, combining it with the foundation myth developed in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, appeared twice, in the works by Bartłomiej of Września and Bazyl Goliniusz. Both authors pointed out especially that the University flourished and played a great role in educating and raising the civilizational level in Poland and many other countries of this part of Europe.<sup>44</sup> Bartłomiej pictured the University's mission as the confluence of the rivers Vistula, Oder, Danube (stressing that the influx of Hungarians had ceased after the fall of their kingdom following the Turkish invasion), Ropa, Dniester, and Dnieper as well as the coast

42. University jubilee culture is the subject of many studies, see W. Müller, *Erinnern an die Gründung. Universitätsjubiläen, Universitätsgeschichte und die Entstehung der Jubiläumskultur in der frühen Neuzeit*, "Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte" 21 (1998), pp. 79–102; S. Benz, *Das personale Jubiläum. Zur Vorgeschichte des institutionellen Jubiläums*, "Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte" 152 (2016), pp. 187–219 (with an extensive list of sources). First evidences of marking (although not celebrating) anniversaries in Krakow are recorded in 1700, see U. Perkowska, *Jubileusze Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 2000 (Biblioteka Krakowska, no. 140), pp. 27–28.
43. Bartłomiej of Września 1607, sheet A2r: "Haec ego Musarum quondam monumenta reliqui / Atque suis, ut fert prima aetas, sumptibus usque / Ditavi, Praga adducens medicos sopohosque / Quosve iuvat sacros manibus voluisse libellos, / Aut quibus est curae iuris dissolvere nexus / Ambigui, variasque hominum rescindere lites, / Aut rutilo caelum axe, polo geminoque secare, / Quae vulgo cunctis Academia nomine fertur, / Utque haec perpetuis, quam struxi, machina staret / Temporibus, geminas tendens ad sydera palmas, / Sollicito dium sic numen ab ore precatus." On the memory of the alma mater and its evolution, see M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski*, pp. 216–224.
44. For the components of the foundation myth, see M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski*, pp. 209–216. The panegyric works also often praised the Catholic orthodoxy of the University and its service to the Church, but the prints analyzed here did not feature any historical arguments in this context.

of the 'Ocean,' i.e. the Baltic Sea.<sup>45</sup> A similarly comprehensive vision was presented by Bazyli Golinus, first by a description of Poles' barbaric coarseness and ignorance, and then by revealing the breakthrough brought about by the University's foundation by Władysław Jagiełło and strenuous efforts to educate people from many countries, which made the University of Krakow "The Northern Academy."<sup>46</sup> Also Kacper Siemek remembered the University's fundamental service to Poland, i.e. offering culture and academic renown to the country before it became famous for its military achievements.<sup>47</sup>

Both the memory of past greatness and the ongoing educational and creative service to the state and the society were almost invariably invoked by recalling a host of "famous figures" – illustrious professors and graduates of the University.<sup>48</sup> This was another core element of the University's culture of remembrance. Such men were listed according to various criteria, not so much individually as in "catalogues," frequently in a rhetorical trick by supplying their names in plural. An extensive catalogue of this kind was compiled by Mikołaj Dobrocieski.<sup>49</sup> First, he listed chroniclers: Jan Długosz, Maciej of Miechów, Marcin Kromer and mentioned about three hundred professors and students who joined the ranks of the Order of Friars Minor inspired by Jan Kapistran's address during his visit in Krakow (quoting a literary source proves that the author used the information supplied by a historiographer).<sup>50</sup> Next, he enumerated important notables and bishops of the period: Stanisław Hozjusz, Kromer (again), Jan Ocieski, Andrzej Patry-

45. Bartłomiej of Września 1607, sheet B1r.

46. Golinus 1617, sheet B1r: "Atque ut ad fructum Academiae nostrae veniam, tam obscura quondam Polonia, excultis illis ad Eurum, Austrum, Zephyrum gentibus visa fuerat, ut eius nomen non nisi inter Scythas, hoc est barbaras, feras et ignotas gentes, referretur. Introducta vero, hac in Septemtrionem Academia, quantum ei lucis intulerit Jagello Rex, quarum non gentium oculos et ora in nos converterit, nunquam regem illum, eiusque Poloniam, neque poenituit, neque poenitebit." On service to Poland and northern nations, see also Kucharski 1642, sheet B3v-B4r.

47. Siemek 1631, sheet D4v: "Prius nostra patria dulcissima, re Academica, quam militari mundo inclaruit, non ita/ Puer est, qui ignoret, Polonorum primam esse mentionem factam tu, cum celebritas Academiae innotuit, si nos cum barbaris, si barbari simul nobiscum reponerentur, est incertum, Poloniae antea nulla, tunc celebris esse incepit mentio. Haec prima occasio fuerat nominis Polonici inlarescendi, haec aestimationis, haec gloriae..."

48. Siemek 1631, sheet A1v: "...Academia mater omnium literarum ibidem habetur, quae olim viris omnibus facultatibus cum primis florentissimis erat gloriosissima..."

49. E. Buszewicz, *Cracovia in litteris. Obraz Krakowa w piśmiennictwie doby Odrodzenia*, Kraków 1998, p. 154.

50. Dobrocieski 1600, sheet A4r.

cy Nidecki, Jakub Górski and Stanisław Sokołowski, as well as Stanisław Karnkowski, Jan Dymitr Solikowski, Wawrzyniec Goślicki, Wojciech Baranowski, Piotr Tylicki, Paweł Wołucki.<sup>51</sup> Finally, he listed former Krakow bishops who were the University's benefactors, mentioning specific achievements of only two of them: Zbigniew Oleśnicki – founder of the Jerusalem Bursa, Tomasz Strzemiński – founder of two departments of law, Jan Rzeszowski, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Jan Konarski, Piotr Tomicki, Piotr Gamrat, Samuel Maciejowski, and Jerzy Radziwiłł.<sup>52</sup> Another equally lengthy catalogue was compiled by Bartłomiej of Września in 1607, preceded by a foreword on educating men in all fields of knowledge and science. The catalogue included Jan Kanty, Jan of Głogów, Jan Stobniczka of Stopnica, Jan Długosz, Stanisław Hozjusz, Marcin Kromer, Stanisław Orzechowski, Jakub Górski, Stanisław Sokołowski, Stanisław Karnkowski, Tęczyńscy – mentioned collectively as a family ("clareque domus Tęczinia proles"), Mikołaj Dzierzgowski, Jan Dymitr Solikowski, Andrzej Noskowski, and Zbigniew Oleśnicki – those two last bishops credited with their contribution to building and renovating boarding houses (bursas). Oleśnicki was the founder of the Jerusalem Bursa in the years 1453–1455, commemorated on a publicly displayed foundation plaque; Noskowski renovated the Philosophers' Bursa in 1558.<sup>53</sup> The wrong surname (Remiszewski) listed at the end, followed by an enigmatic reference to the boarding house, could in fact belong to Hieronim Rozdrażewski, Bishop of Kuyavia.<sup>54</sup>

Presenting eminent direct predecessors of new bishops as role models was a self-evident practice, whereby the names of Jerzy Radziwiłł, Bernard Maciejowski, Piotr Tylicki, and Jakub Zadzik were repeatedly mentioned.

51. Dobrocieski 1600, sheet A4v–A5r: "illa Regni et Ecclesiae lumina, quae ex Academia Cracoviensi prodierunt, Osios, Cromeros, Ociosios, Patricios, Gorscios, Socolouios et qui adhuc vivunt Carncouios, Solicouios, Goslicios, Baranouios, Tilicios, Volucios atque propter hos tales viros."
52. Dobrocieski 1600, sheet A4v.
53. See A. Włodarek, *Architektura średniowiecznych kolegiów i burs Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*, Kraków 2000, pp. 37–39, 324–340, 341–358; A. Sołtan, *Contubernium Philosophorum – krakowska fundacja biskupa płockiego Andrzeja Noskowskiego*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 92 (2001), vol. 1, pp. 15–42.
54. Bartłomiej of Września 1607, sheet B1r-B2r. Solikowski's family name was misrepresented as Sulikowski. The unclear passage "An Remiszeui tua mens latat abdita terris? Ecce tuum Bursae pia tigna loquentur amorem" could have referred to Rozdrażewski (1546–1600), a benefactor of the University, who, among other things, made an endowment for students, see H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 531–532.

Sometimes authors from University circles recalled past Krakow bishops irrespectively of their achievements for the academic community.<sup>55</sup> At least five or six names repeatedly appear as patrons of the University. In a birthday panegyric written by Wawrzyniec Śmieszkwic for Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski, the list of model Krakow bishops contains the name of Samuel Maciejowski, who was distinguished as a patron of the institution and learned men.<sup>56</sup> In his work for Bishop Lipski, Śmieszkwic enigmatically mentioned Zbigniew Oleśnicki ("faber artium") as patron of arts and Piotr Tylicki for his "amor huius Lycaeii", asking the bishop to be like "alter Tylicius."<sup>57</sup> Bishop Tylicki joined the canonical group of bishops-benefactors thanks to his foundation of the chair of elocution.<sup>58</sup> He was praised as "omni memoria dignissimus ... Ecclesiae et literarum cultor sanctissimus."<sup>59</sup> His name was commemorated not only in the name of the chair and the popular designation of the professor in charge ("professor Tylicianus", "orator Tylicianus"), but also in broader references to speakers, rhetors and their functions.<sup>60</sup>

Jakub Zadzik was another bishop whose name was added to the list of episcopal benefactors, thanks to his endowment for the benefit of the Jerusalem Bursa in 1640 and legacies for Jan Kąty's beatification process. Obviously, panegyrics dedicated to the bishop to mark the Bursa's renovation mentioned the name of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, its founder.<sup>61</sup> On this particular occasion, two lengthier catalogues were compiled. Andrzej Lipnicki positioned Zadzik among those Krakow bishops who were most distinguished

55. Cf. Witeliusz 1631, p. 38; Witeliusz 1643, sheet Fiv. A good example of this is seen in panegyrics dedicated to Bernard Maciejowski, which mention Samuel Maciejowski as his ancestor and eminent predecessor on the episcopal throne, see Bartłomiej of Września 1608, sheet Bv; Skidzieński 1600, sheet B2v. More broadly on the parenetical function of literature and creation of role models, see T. Bieńkowski, *Aspekty edukacji staropolskiej. Stanowe modele życia i wzory osobowe*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty" 41 (2002), pp. 7–29.
56. Śmieszkwic 1621, no page numbering: "...studium et propensionem in literas atque literatos Macieiovii..."
57. Śmieszkwic 1630, sheet A2v: "Queis iste mundus, artium heu qualis faber?" (in reference to Oleśnicki), Biv (on Tylicki).
58. K. Mecherzyński, *Historia wymowy w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1858, pp. 647–653; *Ibidem*, vol. 3, Kraków 1860, pp. 399–408.
59. Wieliusz 1636, sheet A3r.
60. Cynerski-Rachtamowicz 1642, sheet B2v: "nostra Palaestra Tyliciana."
61. On the endowment, see A. Włodarek, *Architektura*, pp. 348–349; Cynerski-Rachtamowicz 1642, sheet G2r; Kucharski 1642, sheet E2r; Kuszewicz 1642, sheet D1v.; Witeliusz 1638, sheet B4v.

in service to learning: Piotr Wysz, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Jan Chojeński, Maciejowski (which one?), Piotr Tylicki and two other illustrious benefactor of the age: Gabriel Prewancjusz Władysławski and Bartłomiej Nowodworowski.<sup>62</sup> The list was much shorter than the unique catalogues by Dobrocieski and Bartłomiej of Września mentioned above. The mention of Bishop Chojeński is rather surprising, since he had almost never appeared in canonical enumerations. Even less orderly is the catalogue of "famous men" compiled on a certain occasion by Jan Cynerski-Rachtamowicz. Aside from a group of the then spiritual senators, Cynerski-Rachtamowicz lists the greatest patrons of liberal arts, orators and writers: Piotr Tylicki, Bartłomiej Nowodworowski, Krzysztof Baldwin Ossoliński Voivode of Sandomierz, a former student of Nowodworowski College, Sędziwój of Czechel, Jan Długosz, and Marcin Kromer.<sup>63</sup> This example perfectly illustrates the authors' freedom and even arbitrariness in the selection of models and proves that any reconstruction of repetitive, commonly accepted content should always make references to large samples instead of single texts.

Scant references to famous scholars were limited to contemporaneity, evoking memories of addressees or authors. Bartłomiej of Września referred to Tylicki's own memories of youthful years at the University, recalling his masters: Sokołowski, Górski, and Benedykt Herbest.<sup>64</sup> Szymon Halicki reminded Bishop Szyszkowski of Jan Wielogorski, his preceptor during his studies at the University of Krakow.<sup>65</sup> In a panegyric for Bishop Gembicki, Jan Dziedzic recalled the ceremony of conferring the title of Doctor of Theology to Jan Brożek – "clarissimo in tota Europa mathematico" – which had taken place during the bishop's lifetime.<sup>66</sup>

Discussing endowments and donations provided an opportunity to include historical references. The discussion of the foundation of the Tylician's rhetoric department inspired Stanisław Czerny to criticize Stephen

62. Lipnicki 1642, sheet C4v–D1r.

63. Cynerski-Rachtamowicz 1642, sheet G3r–G4v. Sędziwój (Sandivofius) was referred to as "Korabita," and thus as Bishop Zadzik's relative, and due to his prophetic speech on the defeat in Chojnice. The event was recorded by Jan Długosz, and as such became part of the Renaissance historiography, see W. Drelicharz, *Sędziwój z Czechła*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 36, Warsaw–Kraków 1995–1996, pp. 394–399.

64. Bartłomiej of Września 1607, sheet B3v.

65. Halicjusz 1617a, sheet B3r; mentioned by H. Barycz, *Historja*, see 539.

66. Dziedzic 1657, sheet D2r.

Báthory's efforts to hire professors from Italy and emphasize that Krakow, equipped with a truly competent department of rhetorical art, did not fall behind foreign universities.<sup>67</sup> Stephen Báthory's efforts at elevating the university were remembered, albeit in a positive manner, by Kacper Siemek.<sup>68</sup> Meanwhile, Bartłomiej of Września used his praise of Tylicki to enumerate contemporary rectors: Jakub Janidło and Andrzej Schoneus (who had just died) as witnesses of the bishop's benevolence.<sup>69</sup> In an earlier posthumous panegyric for Cardinal Maciejowski, he mentioned two deaths in the same year: one-year-old prince Jan Kazimierz Waza (deceased 9 January 1608) and Rector Mikołaj Dobrocieski (deceased 28 January 1608), to whom he paid appropriate tribute.<sup>70</sup> On the same occasion, Dobrocieski was recalled by Jan of Pilsen, son of Franciszek (Francisciades).<sup>71</sup>

Another way was to refer to tradition related to a specific faculty or field of knowledge. This was the strategy adopted by Szymon Halicki, when on his appointment to the chair of elocution, he recalled Stanisław Grzepski, Stanisław of Marzenin (Mareniusz), and Jakub Górski.<sup>72</sup>

Among the people mentioned in panegyrics, Jan Kanty enjoyed a special position. Kanty was called "praestes et domesticus noster," and according to Samuel Kuszewicz, commonly venerated in the academic community, which made attempts to approve and formalize his cult; he was considered patron-saint of the University, the diocese, and even the Kingdom of Poland. The panegyrics discussed here provide compelling evidence in this respect. From 17<sup>th</sup> century, references to Jan Kanty became an indispensable part of almost all panegyrics and academic prints.<sup>73</sup> In these texts, he was called a saint, a paragon of virtues and the ideal professor, but without

67. Czerny 1616, sheet B4v: "...quarum omnium, artem dicendi Reipublicae Christianae esse pernecessariam non expers, publicum exegetam non e media Italia, ut Batthoreus noster tentavit, ubi eadem artes, ingenia eadem, sed e numero suorum academicorum ... constituit censuque largo auctum esse voluit."
68. Siemek 1631, sheet D4v. Stefan Batory's policy towards the University of Krakow was discussed by H. Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 469–500.
69. Bartłomiej of Września 1616, sheet D3v.
70. Bartłomiej of Września 1608, sheet C2r: "Nicolaus il(l)e potens / Moribus, arte, fide, Dobrociescius? Ecce bona / Alta columna iacet. / Musarum patriaeque decus templique corona."
71. Jan of Pilsen 1608, sheet [5v]: "Cracae vrbis splendor Dobrociescius ille disertus."
72. Halicjusz 1617, sheet E2r, F2r.
73. See M. Rechowicz, *Jan Kanty*, in: *Hagiografia polska. Słownik bio-bibliograficzny*, ed. R. Gustaw OFM, vol. 1, Poznań–Warsaw–Lublin 1971, pp. 544–546; R.M. Zawadzki, *Staropolski konterfekt świętego Jana z Kęt*, Kraków 2002.

providing any specific historical details. Jan Kanty figured is gratitude for intercession in his illness and for his recovery donated 30,000 Polish złoty to cover the cost of the beatification process, and later to Piotr Gembicki, who as the Bishop of Przemyśl took part in the translation of relics ordered by Zadzik, and himself allocated 10,000 Polish złoty to cover the expenses.<sup>74</sup>

The texts analyzed in this study varied in the level of saturation with historical content. With few exceptions, more references of this kind were included in works of prose rather than verse. The strength of the genre's convention was decisive in this respect.<sup>75</sup> As any other literary genre, panegyrics were considered carriers of memory and had a remembrance function. They should be called a 'circulation medium,' which is even more interesting because of its position at the intersection of spoken and written communication. Most panegyrics were first delivered in front of a large audience, and later edited, printed, and distributed. Their primary role was to store and circulate content. Their impact was significant in terms of the size of the auditorium and the number of readers, but at the same time transient and ephemeral, judging by their occasional character. A panegyric has never enjoyed the esteem of a cultural text of canonical, fundamental significance. Undoubtedly, the panegyric ritual itself was a cultural text, and its strength lied in the multiplication of an institutionalized, celebrated and repeated message in front of a vast audience, which contributed to the creation and reinforcement of a canon of memory.

Panegyrics are an interesting example of the great role played by individual knowledge, awareness, memory and creative selection in the broader phenomenon of a community's collective memory, institutional identity, and historical culture. Some authors omitted historical themes altogether,

74. Charbicki 1636, sheet B3r–v; Cynerski-Rachtamowicz 1642, sheet H1v, I2r; Kucharski 1642, sheet B1r, E1r, E2v; Kuszewicz 1642, sheet A3r, D1r, D3r; Lipnicki 1642, sheet D1r–v; Speronowic 1642, sheet A4r, A4v, B2v; Sulikowski 1642, sheet B1r, Szlachetka 1642, sheet B2r; Stokowski 1643, sheet B4r; Bieźanowski 1657, sheet E2r; Dziedzic 1657, sheet D2r; Racki 1657, sheet E1v. He is mentioned by Buczkowski as one of patron-saints of Poland next to St. Stanislaus, St. Wojciech, St. Florian, St. Hyacinth, and St. Casimir – Buczkowski 1617, sheet F5r. A separate printed panegyric for bishop Zadzik to mark his donation for canonization was published by Witeliusz in 1638.
75. For synthetic remarks on the role of cultural memory as well as an overview of research concepts and terminology used in the present study, see A. Erll, *Kultura pamięci. Wprowadzenie*, transl. A. Teperek, afterword and scient. ed. M. Saryusz-Wolska, Warsaw 2018, pp. 182–263.



while the majority included single, entry-like references. The author's position in academic hierarchy was important. The content of texts authored by rectors and professors was more significant than of those written by students of the University or Nowodworski College, which, apart from demonstrating the mastery of language and style, lack specific historical information.<sup>76</sup> In this context it is worth mentioning the deliberate use of accurate and rich historical argumentation in panegyrics by Mikołaj Dobrocieski, Bartłomiej of Września, and Bazyli Goliniusz. They were not only part of the powerful elite and actively supported the University, but also created their texts in the second, vitriolic phase of the clash with the Jesuits and deliberately used various opportunities to manifest the key historical and ideological program for the University, jointly creating an extensive narration of the communal identity.

Texts written by university orators who were officially appointed to honor public celebrations did not yield much historical information. It would thus be interesting to find out whether other works by these authors featured an equally poor expression of historical content or perhaps some other factors, such as the type of the addressee, audience or circumstances, were at work in these particular cases. In other authors, more personal modes, less of a collective/institutional than generational or autobiographical memory, were triggered. We also encounter – particularly in the ways of addressing the University and in its Jagiellonian genealogy – references to semi-consciously used but deeply rooted mental and linguistic patterns. Nevertheless, even single but recurring references are important. They are an indicator of the most basic components of the community's identity and historical awareness, even if unsupported by well-founded knowledge, and instead based on information circulating in the public domain and absorbed within the University's walls.<sup>77</sup>

76. This is a sign of adjustment to the characteristics of the genre rather than lack of historical knowledge, which was taught in Nowodworski College as part of literary education, also through theatre, see H. Barycz, *Historia Szkół Nowodworskich od założenia do reformy H. Kollątaja*, Kraków 1988, pp. 162–172; K. Targosz, *Teatr Szkół Nowodworskich w Krakowie w XVII wieku*, "Pamiętnik Teatralny" 25 (1976), vol. 1–2, pp. 21–46; J. Okoń, *Akademicki dramat o Bolesławie z roku 1637*, *ibid.*, pp. 53–62.

77. Such channels for passing knowledge and tradition directly were mentioned by the authors of the analysed texts, indicating memory, preaching, legislative texts, plaques, paintings, anniversary liturgy: Kłobucki 1607, sheet D3r: "vivunt enim viventque semper atque etiam in memoria et sermone"; Halicjusz 1617, sheet F3v: "hoc vero vivat et regnet in omnibus statutis, tabulis, imaginibus scribatur, notetur,

The panegyrics analyzed here allow us to emphasize three commonly expressed components of cultural memory and canonical historical awareness:

- the memory of Władysław Jagiełło as the founder,
- the memory of the Jagiellonian foundation (together with an entire constellation of related content),
- and the cult of Jan Kanty as the patron and model professor.

Using Assmann's terminology, these components were figures of the University's cultural memory. The remaining content should be linked to the communicative memory, which got constantly updated. We do notice the preservation of continued tradition, but also conspicuous characteristics which were observed already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: weak presence of the Middle Ages<sup>78</sup>, the focus on persons representing culture and the humanist era in the University's history, strong emphasis on current affairs, especially on the near future and contemporaneity (hence the rise of a "drifting gap" accentuated in research), and – last but not least – an emblematic approach to names, which were not supported by particular biographical details and hardly ever with any information on achievements, a sign of routine, reliance on popular belief and only very occasional study of the sources. Misspelling names is a clear manifestation of this phenomenon. Especially lists of "famous men" in the form of litanies of names (frequently in conventional, Latinized version) should be treated as indicative. The effect of the work depended solely on its audience, i.e. whether the signals were detected and supplemented with suitable knowledge or they resonated hollow, remaining an ornament, a mere impression of plenitude and grandness. The functionality of panegyrics necessitated a use of clear signs. Therefore, examples of well-known public figures and famous authors were most common. Jan Długosz was always mentioned as a historiographer and never as the founder of the Lawyers' Bursa, since everyone knew him as a historiographer, but only some professors and students recognized him as the founder of the student's boarding house. The attitude to the addressee

exprimatur"; Witeliusz 1629, sheet D2v: "non parum nobis fuisset ad ipsius beneficentiam anniversaria et pperpetua recordatione sancte colendam".

78. J. Tazbir, *Polski barok wobec średniowiecza: między wzorcem a naganą*, "Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki" 1 (1992), no. 1, pp. 7–27, with a significant distinction for the 1st half of the 17th century, more closely linked to the culture of the Renaissance.

also imposed a certain form on the argumentation. Accordingly, in writing to and about Krakow bishops, special attention was paid to the graduates and benefactors of the University who also were bishops, particularly of the Krakow diocese. This is why the analyzed texts contain relatively few references to rectors, professors, scholars or events in the University's history. Traces of knowledge and memory of those persons are to be found in texts addressed to the academic community, i.e. in printed graduation publications, panegyrics marking celebrations at the University, and official speeches.

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Bartłomiej of Września 1607 — Bartłomiej of Września (Wresnanus), *Gratvlatio manivm ad Illvstri[simum] et Reverendis[simum] D.D. Petrvm Tylicki episcopvm Crac[oviensem], ducem Seuerien[sem]*, Cracoviae 1607.

Bartłomiej of Września 1608 — Bartłomiej of Września (Wresnanus), *Lacrymae academicae in Ivctosvm fvns Illustriss[i]mi ac Reuerendiss[i]mi D[omi]ni D. Bernardi Macieiowski S.R.E. cardinalis, arciepis-copi Gnesnensis, primatis incltyti Regni Poloniae, legati nati ... dicatae executoribus pientissimis et fratri maestissimo*, Cracoviae 1608.

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# Abstract

Maciej Zdanek

*"Haec foecunda magnorum virorum parens Academia Cracoviensis."*

*A history of the Jagiellonian University in academic panegyrics*

*for Krakow bishops in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century*

In 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Krakow University developed fundamental elements of its memory culture and historical awareness. In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Krakow academic community strengthened its message concerning its past. Occasional literature, in particular panegyrics, was a particularly important medium of this message. Numerous academic prints were dedicated to Krakow bishops, since they were the University's chancellors, and frequently its alumni and supporters, while the University itself was one of the key institutions in the diocese, closely related to the Church. The panegyrics were created mostly to celebrate the award of bishopric, a ceremonial entrance of a bishop to the city, an ingress to the Wawel Cathedral or were written in the event of death and the funeral. Seven bishops ruled the diocese in the analyzed period. In that time, university professors and students dedicated a total of 65 panegyrics to them, of which 43 contained references to the University's past. Panegyrics were a medium of the University's institutionalized memory culture. Key facts and persons mentioned in the works include: the foundation of 1400, founder King Władysław Jagiełło, House of Jagiellon as the dynasty of founders and representatives of the golden age in the University's history, Jan Kanty – a revered professor of theology (deceased in 1473) as an exemplary lecturer and patron of the University, as well as catalogues of renowned professors and alumni of the University. The catalogues were in fact lists of surnames, and they were supplied as an evidence of the University's long history and service to the society, the country, and the Church.

**Keywords:**  
17<sup>th</sup> century,  
University  
of Cracow,  
Cracow bishops,  
university  
historiography,  
cultural memory,  
academic prints,  
occasional  
literature,  
panegyrics

# Abstrakt

Maciej Zdanek

*„Haec foecunda magnorum virorum parens Academia Cracoviensis”.  
Historia Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w akademickich panegirykach  
dla biskupów krakowskich w I połowie XVII wieku*

## Słowa kluczowe:

XVII wiek,  
Uniwersytet  
Krakowski,  
biskupi krakowscy,  
historiografia  
uniwersytecka,  
kultura  
pamięci, druki  
akademickie,  
literatura  
okolicznościowa,  
panegiryki

Uniwersytet Krakowski w XV-XVI w. wypracował fundamentalne elementy swojej kultury pamięci i świadomości historycznej. W I połowie XVII w. krakowskie środowisko akademickie wzmocniło przekaz dotyczący swojej przeszłości. Bardzo ważnym medium tego oddziaływania była literatura okolicznościowa, a zwłaszcza panegiryki. Liczne druki akademickie poświęcano biskupom krakowskim, ponieważ byli oni kanclerzami uniwersytetu, a często jego wychowankami i mecenasami, uniwersytet zaś był jedną z najważniejszych instytucji diecezji, mocno związaną z Kościołem. Panegiryki takie powstawały głównie z okazji nadania biskupstwa, uroczystego wjazdu biskupów do miasta i ingresu do katedry wawelskiej oraz z okazji śmierci i pogrzebu. W analizowanym okresie diecezją rządziło siedmiu biskupów. W tym czasie profesorowie i studenci uniwersytetu dedykowali im 65 panegiryków, z których 43 utwory zawierały treści i nawiązania z przeszłości uniwersyteckiej. Panegiryki były nośnikiem zinstytucjonalizowanej uniwersyteckiej kultury pamięci. Głównymi figurami tej pamięci były: fundacja 1400 roku, fundator król Władysław Jagiełło, dynastia Jagiellonów jako dynastia fundatorów i reprezentantów złotego wieku w dziejach uniwersytetu, otoczony kultem profesor teologii Jan Kanty (zm. 1473) jako wzorzec profesora i patron uniwersytetu oraz katalogi sławnych profesorów i wychowanków uniwersytetu. Katalogi te miały formę wyliczania nazwisk, a przytaczano je jako dowód żywotności i zasług uniwersytetu dla społeczeństwa, państwa i Kościoła.