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## THE CULT OF THE JASNA GÓRA SANCTUARY IN THE FORM OF PILGRIMAGES TILL THE MIDDLE OF THE 17TH CENTURY

The Jasna Góra Monastery, which has gone down in the history of Polish religious culture due to the presence there for six centuries of the picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is greatly revered by the Polish people. It is the most important destination of pilgrimages which has unceasingly played this role to this very day. The Jasna Góra Monastery was founded by the Pauline monks, brought to Poland in 1382 by Ladislaus, Duke of Opole, Hungarian palatine and former viceroy of Halicz Ruthenia. According to a 15th century legend, he gave into the care of the Pauline monks, who had settled in Częstochowa, an icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary ("Rodegetria" type) which was brought from Ruthenia and was already famous for its miraculous qualities. From the very beginning of its history it became the object of pilgrimages.<sup>1</sup> The fame *de miraculis* that surrounded the previous history of this magnificent picture was why it was recognized as a holy icon, a relic, created suitable conditions for the development of *locus sacer* at the Jasna Góra Monastery.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See A. Witkowska, *Najstarsze źródła do dziejów jasnogórskiego kultu pątniczego* [The Oldest Sources to the History of the Jasna Góra Pilgrimage Cult], "Studia Claromontana", vol. I, 1981, p. 58 ff; eadem, *Częstochowa centro del culto mariano*, in: *Storia religiosa della Polonia a cura di L. Vaccaro*, Milano 1985, p. 143 ff.

<sup>2</sup> T. Łukaszak, *Teologia świętego obrazu—ikony. Studium z dziedziny teologii ekumenicznej* [The Theology of the Holy Picture—Icons. Study

Seeking traces of the oldest travels to the icon in Częstochowa, it is only in 15th century sources that we find testimonies telling of pilgrimages, about the hopes of the pilgrims, about gestures of prayer and votive, imploring and thanksgiving gestures. News of the pilgrimage cult is contained in the narratives of the outstanding historian of those times, Jan Długosz, though laconical, it is true and restrained in words; we find its confirmation in 15th century documentary material : numerous indulgence privileges and the rights given to the Jasna Góra Monastery during that century.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of these sources it is possible to establish a few questions important for the very genesis of the Jasna Góra Monastery pilgrimages.

It is possible, above all, to establish that from the very beginning pilgrimages to the Jasna Góra Monastery were the result of belief in the miraculous character of the picture, as Jan Długosz wrote : "*in loco illo rara et devota sculpturae habebatur imago, fiebat concursus, propter stupenda prodigia, quae in curatione languidorum per suffragium Dominae nostrae in loco illo contingebant*".<sup>4</sup> The fact of numerous miracles—"quia in dicta ecclesia [...] sepe clarent virtute Dei misteria"—was mentioned by King Landislaus Jagiello in his letter to Pope Martin V, written in 1429, supporting the supplication of the Pauline monks to grant the Jasna Góra Church the right to dispense indulgences.<sup>5</sup> From the same document we learn of the considerable number of pil-

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*in the Field of Ecumenical Theology*], "Studia Claromontana", vol. I, 1981, pp. 41—56; J. B u x a k o w s k i, *Teologia ikony bizantynskiej a prehistoria obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej* [The Theology of Byzantine Icons and the Prehistory of the Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Częstochowa], "Ateneum Kapłańskie," vol. LXXIX, 1972, No 381—382, pp. 22—33.

<sup>3</sup> Basic documentary material was published by J. F i j a l e k, *Zbiór dokumentów Zakonu oo. Paulinów w Polsce* [A Collection of the Documents of the Monks of the Pauline Order in Poland], Fascicle 1, 1328—1464, Cracow 1938 [hereafter referred to as CD]. Part two of the codex in typewritten form is kept in the Archives of Jasna Góra [hereafter referred to as AJG]: folios of Father J. Fijalek—embracing diplomas from the middle of the 15th century to 17th century.

<sup>4</sup> J. D ł u g o s z, *Historiae Polonicae*, lib. XI, in: *Opera omnia*, edited by A. Przeździecki, vol. IV, Cracoviae 1877, p. 399.

<sup>5</sup> CD No. 95, p. 175.

grims to the Jasna Góra Monastery at the beginning of the 15th century, we can judge this "*quia locus ille sola peregrinancium elemosina sustentatur et hominum frequentacione, quorum multitudo ad illam ecclesiam [...] concurrat*".<sup>6</sup>

It is also known that the Jasna Góra Monastery attracted pilgrims from outside Poland's frontiers "*ex partibus vicinis, Silesia, vide licet, Moravia, Prussia, Hungaria*",<sup>7</sup> and the fact that during the 15th century the Monastery received numerous indulgences, which resulted in the fact that there were days when a particularly large number of pilgrims went there. Due to the development of liturgical year, the rhythm of pilgrimages became regular, conforming the pilgrimages mentioned by Długosz "*frequenti et annua devocione*",<sup>8</sup> "*in festivitibus Sanctae Mariae*".<sup>9</sup>

On the basis of the 15th century indulgence privileges it is easy to reconstruct the growing number of these days during the first century of the development of the cult of the Jasna Góra Sanctuary and to state that the ceremonies for which crowds of pilgrims came to Jasna Góra were not only the days of Mary the Virgin.<sup>10</sup>

The first privilege granted to the Pauline monks of Częstochowa by Wojciech Jastrzębiec in 1425 did not connect the indulgences with any particular days.<sup>11</sup> They were mentioned for the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> J. Długosz, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

<sup>8</sup> *I dem*, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. I, edited by J. Dąbrowski, Varsoviae 1964, p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> *I dem*, *Historiae Polonicae*, lib. XI, p. 399.

<sup>10</sup> CD No. 95, p. 175. The fact of pilgrims arriving at Jasna Góra to be granted indulgences is mentioned in *Translatio tabule Beate Marie Virginis, quam sanctus Lucas depinxit propriis manibus*—AJG II 19 c. 216—220 dated 1474. The text was published by S. Szafranec, *Opis przeniesienia obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej z Jerozolimy na Jasną Górę* [Description of the Moving of the Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Częstochowa from Jerusalem to Jasna Góra], "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea kościelne," vol. I, 1960. No. 2, p. 204 f. and recently II. Kowalewicz, *Najstarsze historie o Częstochowskim obrazie Panny Maryi* [The Oldest Histories of the Częstochowa Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary], Warszawa 1983, pp. 65—89.

<sup>11</sup> CD No. 87, p. 161.

first time in the privilege granted by Pope Martin V on 27 February, 1429, and of the 15 days when indulgences could be granted, four were devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary : the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>12</sup> Successive privileges considerably broadened this number. The privilege of indulgences granted on 27 February, 1466 by Jan Lutek of Brzezie, bishop of Cracow, refer to as many as 55 days during the year, seven of which are devoted to the Virgin Mary : The Nativity, Annunciation, Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Assumption, Visitation of Our Lady, the Immaculate Conception and Offertory of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>13</sup> The set of indulgence days mentioned in this privilege points clearly to the connection between the cult of the Jasna Góra Sanctuary and the calendar of the holy days celebrated in the churches of Cracow in the 15th century.<sup>14</sup>

The granting of ever more new indulgences to the Jasna Góra Monastery explains the general development of pilgrimages for indulgences in the western Church at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. Believers sought in these pilgrimages an unailing means of salvation, the church institutions saw in the pursuit of indulgences an excellent way of increasing the charity of their faithful.<sup>15</sup>

In the case of the Jasna Góra Monastery the 15th century indulgences, offered to the pilgrims and connected with the duty of material support for the Monastery, helped to reconstruct the church and the monastery, after the plundering in 1430.<sup>16</sup> At that

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 96, p. 176.

<sup>13</sup> AJG 68 parchment diploma ; Folio J. Fijałek No. 161.

<sup>14</sup> See *Kalendarze Krakowskie [Cracow Calendars]* in : *Chronologia polska [Polish Chronology]*, published by B. Włodarski, Warszawa 1957, pp. 145—155.

<sup>15</sup> See A. Witkowska, *Przemiany w ruchu pielgrzymkowym i praktyce odpustów w Kościele Zachodnim w XIV—XV wieku [Changes in the Pilgrimage Movement and the Practice of Granting Indulgences in the Western Church in the 14th and 15th Centuries]*, "Znak", vol. XXIII, 1971. No. 205—206, p. 898 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae*, lib. XI, p. 399 ; A. Prohaska, *Napad husytów na Częstochowę w r. 1430 [The Attack of the Hussites on Częstochowa in the Year 1430]*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny," vol. III, 1907, p. 308 ff.

time the Jasna Góra architectural complex came into being, embracing the complex of sacral and monastery buildings, which is exactly described in *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz.<sup>17</sup> The consecration of the new Church in 1463 gives it the title "*in honorem sancte Crucis et Beatissime Virginis Marie*".<sup>18</sup> The chapel of the Blessed Virgin, mentioned by Jan Długosz in his description of the Jasna Góra Monastery, was recorded for the first time in Zbigniew Oleśnicki's document written in 1450 as the place where the miraculous picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary was kept. The new indulgences granted by the Bishop of Cracow to the Jasna Góra Church were to be gained by the pilgrims "*qui capellam in cimiterio eiusdem monasterii ingressi ymaginem Beate Virginis devote adoraverint*".<sup>19</sup> In the aforementioned indulgence privilege, Jan Lutek of Brzezie says again that a visit to the chapel is a condition of gaining an indulgence.<sup>20</sup>

A description of its interior and equipment of the chapel is brought only later by the visitation of Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł in 1593.<sup>21</sup> However, on the basis of earlier literary sources and the oldest iconographic presentations of the Blessed Virgin of Częstochowa, one can reconstruct the ornamentations adorning the picture. They probably came from 14th and 15th century votive

<sup>17</sup> *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis cracoviensis*, vol. III, in: *Opera omnia*, vol. IX, edited by A. Przeździecki, Cracoviae 1864, p. 122 f. Of the successive stages of the building of Jasna Góra see Z. Rożanow, *Kościół i Klasztor paulinów w Częstochowie w XV w.* [Church and Monastery of the Pauline Order in Częstochowa in the 15th Century], Kraków 1955, p. 161 ff. (typewritten); S. Szafraniec, *Konwent paulinów jasnogórskich 1382—1864* [The Monastery of the Pauline Order of Jasna Góra 1382—1864], Rome 1966, p. 40 f.

<sup>18</sup> CD No. 155, p. 312.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 133, p. 264; J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. III, p. 123: "*Habet et capellam in septentrionali plaga, ex muro, in qua imago Gloriosissimae et Excellentissimae Virginis et Dominae ac Reginae mundi et nostrae, Marie, mira et rara pictura elaborata ostenditur [...] quam in locum illum Vladislaus Oppoliensis dux cognominatus Ruszky, in primaria monasterii fundatione intulit*". About the expansion of the Chapel see Z. Rożanow, *op. cit.*, p. 137 ff.

<sup>20</sup> AJG 68; Folio J. Fijałek No. 161.

<sup>21</sup> AJG 130, Parchment diploma containing a summary of the post-visitation dispositions of 26 Aug., 1593. A copy of the Visitation Protocol, AJG 2096 c. 40—51 v. Description of the chapel c. 41v ff.

offerings.<sup>22</sup> 15th century sources testify clearly to the votive character of the Jasna Góra Sanctuary cult. Długosz also testifies to this, seeing the main reason for the attack on the Jasna Góra Monastery in 1430 in its wealth which came from the offerings of the pilgrims. One can also assume that it was for the same reasons that the Czech army attacked and plundered the Jasna Góra Monastery in 1466.<sup>23</sup>

To a certain extent, the development of 15th century pilgrimages testifies to the changes that took place in the economic situation of Częstochowa from the end of the 14th century.<sup>24</sup> From the very beginning the Jasna Góra Monastery pilgrimages, which greatly increased the incomes of the town population, became an important town creating factor. The advantages coming from service to the pilgrims led—particularly in the 16th and the first half of the 17th century—to a considerable growth in the wealth of both the Monastery and the Częstochowa burghers. At the same time they were the reason for the constant disputes, at first between the town and the Pauline monks, and later between the two parts of the town : the Stara and the Nowa Częstochowa.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See E. Smulikowska, *Ozdoby Obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej jako zespół zabytkowy* [The Ornamentation of the Częstochowa Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary as an Antique Complex], "Rocznik Historii Sztuki", vol. X, 1974, pp. 179—221.

<sup>23</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae*, lib. XI, p. 399 f.; lib. XII, Cracoviae 1878, p. 446 f.

<sup>24</sup> See S. Krakowski, *Stara Częstochowa. Studia nad genezą, ustrojem i strukturą ludnościową i gospodarczą Częstochowy (1220—1655)* [Old Częstochowa. Study on the Origin, System and Structure of Population and Economic Structure of Częstochowa 1220—1655], Częstochowa 1948; idem, *Dzieje Częstochowy od początku XII do początku XIX w.* [History of Częstochowa from the Beginning of the 12th Century until the Beginning of the 19th Century], in: *Dzieje Częstochowy od zarania do czasów współczesnych*, Katowice 1964, pp. 28—80; J. Braun, *Częstochowa. Urbanistyka i architektura* [Częstochowa. Town Planning and Architecture], Warszawa 1977, pp. 13—47.

<sup>25</sup> S. Krakowski, *Dzieje Częstochowy...*, p. 37; J. Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 37 f. The role of pilgrimages in creating municipal centres can be seen among others in the work of E. Ennen, *Stadt und Wallfahrt in Frankreich, Belgien, den Niederlanden und Deutschland*, in: *Festschrift Matthias Zender. Studium zur Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte*, E. Ennen, G. Wiegelmann (ed.) Bonn 1972, p. 1057 ff.

This competitiveness of interests is revealed in the royal privileges granted to the city by King Casimir IV Jagiellon in 1462 and by King John Albert in 1493. These privileges contained economic decisions either confirming the old custom of the pilgrims buying food and fodder from people living near the Monastery on indulgence and fair days,<sup>26</sup> or limited the right to sell these products only in an inn belonging to the Monastery.<sup>27</sup>

Much points to factual *locus sacer* for the Jasna Góra Monastery, giving it an important place among the places of cult which enjoyed as wide social approval in the first half of the 15th century, such a Gniezno, Święty Krzyż (in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains), Stary Sącz, Miechów, Poznań with its Corpus Christi Church, Cracow with its Wawel Hill Cathedral and the Church on the Rock.<sup>28</sup> Mention is made of the pilgrims to Częstochowa in the 15th century records of the miracles brought about by St. Stanisław, Bishop Prandota, Szymon of Lipnica,<sup>29</sup> in Długosz's *History of Poland* or the *Chronicles of Jan of Komorowo*,<sup>30</sup> but above all in the records of the miracles from the Jasna Góra Monastery.<sup>31</sup> The

<sup>26</sup> CD No. 151, p. 304.

<sup>27</sup> S. Krakowski, *Dzieje Częstochowy...*, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup> A. Witkowska, *Kulty pątnicze piętnastowiecznego Krakowa. Z badań nad miejską kulturą religijną* [The Cults of Pilgrims from 15th-Century Cracow. From Studies of Religious Culture in Towns], Lublin 1984, p. 107 f.

<sup>29</sup> J. Długosz, *Vita sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi*, in: *Opera omnia*, vol. I, Cracoviae 1887, p. 166 (1441); *Miracula Venerabilis patris Prandothe episcopi Cracoviensis*, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. IV, Lwów 1884, p. 449 (1454); *Miracula beati patris Simonis Lypnycensis*, Archives of the Bernardine Province [hereafter referred to as ABP] in Cracow, c. ABP I—e—1: 69, 197, 215, 357, (1482, 1483, 1500).

<sup>30</sup> J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae*, lib. XII, p. 120; Jan of Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, edited by X. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. V, Lwów 1888, p. 274 (1498).

<sup>31</sup> *Miraculorum B. V. Monasterii Czestochoviensis tomus primus*—manuscript AJG 2096 No. 1 (1402)—[hereafter referred to as MVCL]; P. Risinius, *Historia pulchra et stupendis miraculis referta imaginis Mariae, quo et unde in Clarum Montem Czestochoviae et Olsztyn advenerit*, Cracoviae 1523, No. 4 (1432), 64 (1434)—[hereafter referred to as: HP]; A. Goldonowski, *Diva Claromontana seu imaginis eius origo, translatio, miracula*, Cracow 1642, No. 35 (1396) [hereafter referred to as: GD].

legacies left to it in the 15th century by burghers give an additional proof of the existence of the cult of the Jasna Góra in wide stratas of the population.<sup>32</sup>

Sources concerning the beginning of the pilgrimages, incomplete and poor, has recently been enriched by so far unknown but a very valuable one. It is a fragment of a parchment document from 1435 found on the cover of manuscript 2322 in the Jagiellonian University Library (Cracow), which tells about records of evidence given by pilgrims on the miracles they had witnessed "*ad limina beate Marie semper Virginis illibate de partibus diversis utriusque sexus ibidem*".<sup>33</sup> So there was an early custom in the Jasna Góra Monastery to keep official records of miracles that had happened in the Sanctuary—a custom already well known in other centres of religious cult in Little Poland in the second half of the 13th century.<sup>34</sup> The date on the document that has been found, near to the time when the icon was brought back to Częstochowa after its renovation in Cracow (which was due to the care of the King Ladislaus Jagiello) seems to indicate an enlivenment of pilgrimages.<sup>35</sup>

A fuller picture of the development of the cult of Jasna Góra and particularly the pilgrimages connected with it, came only from the 16th century. Research on the pilgrimages to the Jasna Góra Monastery in the 16th and the first half of the 17th century

<sup>32</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Fundacje paulińskie XV wieku na tle ruchu fundacyjnego klasztorów w Polsce* [The 15th Century Foundations of the Pauline Monks, Against the Background of the Foundation of Monasteries Movement in Poland], "Studia Claramontana," vol. VI, 1985, pp. 145—159.

<sup>33</sup> M. Kowalczyk, *Cuda jasnogórskie spisane w roku 1435* [The Jasna Góra Miracles Recorded in the Year 1435], "Analecta Cracoviensia", vol. XV, 1983, pp. 319—329.

<sup>34</sup> A. Witkowska, *Miracula malopolskie z XIII i XIV wieku. Studium źródłoznawcze* [The Miracles in Little Poland in the 13th and 14th Centuries. A Study of Source Materials], "Roczniki Humanistyczne", vol. XIX, 1971, No. 2, pp. 66 ff. The further development of this institution in the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century is discussed in the paper cited in note 28.

<sup>35</sup> Z. Rozanow, *Obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej* [The Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Częstochowa], in: *Jasnogórska Bogurodzica 1382—1982*, Warszawa 1982, p. 172 ff.



thus become a point of departure for complex research on the development of pilgrimage movement around the Jasna Góra from the oldest up to modern times.<sup>36</sup>

As the key material at our disposal for the earliest period we have the oldest records of the miracles that took place at the Jasna Góra Monastery.<sup>37</sup> They are two hand-written and five printed collections. As the basic collection we accept the hand-written records of miracles from the manuscript *Miraculorum Beate Virginia Monasterii Częstochoviensis tomus primus*, which was probably started in 1591 and continued till 1668.<sup>38</sup> Earlier records of miracles in the book of the confraternity of Jasna Góra monks *Regestrum confraternitatis Ordinis Sancti Pauli I Eremitae* from the years 1517—1613, so far unknown to historians, considerably contributes to our knowledge. Apart from names of hundreds of men admitted to the confraternity, the *Regestrum* also contains records of 253 miracles in the years 1531—1596. Only in 19 cases were they repeated in the *Liber miraculorum*.<sup>39</sup> The form of these records would indicate that a current registration of evidence of miracles was kept at Jasna Góra, so this would be proof of the lasting character of the customs practiced already one hundred years earlier.

<sup>36</sup> Inspired by the jubilee of the 600th anniversary of the Jasna Góra Monastery, research is being carried out on the pilgrim's cult of Jasna Góra under our direction within the framework of the research of the Institute of Geographical History of the Church in Poland, attached to KUL. A connection with this type of research is found in Z. Jabłoński's paper: *Jasna Góra. Ośrodek kultu maryjnego 1864—1914* [Jasna Góra, A centre of the Cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary 1864—1914], Lublin 1984.

<sup>37</sup> See A. Witkowska, *Najstarsze źródła...*, pp. 67—75.

<sup>38</sup> AJG 2096 c. 61—176 : "Miracula Divae Claromontanae" from the years 1402—1654. For a description of the manuscripts see J. Zbudnierek, *Kopiarze Zakonu Paulinów w Polsce do końca XVII w.* [Copyists of the Order of Pauline Monks in Poland Till the End of the 17th Century], "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne," vol. XXXIV, 1977, p. 334 f.; also A. Witkowska, *Najstarsze źródła...*, p. 68 ff.

<sup>39</sup> AJG 798. "Regestrum confraternitatis Ordinis Sancti Pauli I Eremitae", Manuscript. (Hereafter referred to as: RC). Recently the *Regestrum* was published by J. Zbudnierek, *Jasnogórski rękopis "Regestrum confraternitatis Fratrum s. Pauli Primi Heremite" z lat 1517—1613* [The

We are interested particularly in the oldest part of *Liber miraculorum*, containing records from the years 1402—1642.<sup>40</sup> The entries of 498 miracles were mostly made by four of the Pauline monks of Częstochowa : Szymon Mielecki, Albert of Pińczów, Mikołaj Staszewski and Adam Zawada.<sup>41</sup>

As many as 167 notes (33.5%) cannot be palaeographically identified with any exactness. The chronological inaccuracies, repetitions of the same miracles, accounts of several events in one

Table 1: Editors of the Records of Miracles in the Years 1402—1641

Year	Editor	No. of Notes	Miracles
1402—1584	Szymon Mielecki	68	1—46, 48—64, 66, 69—72
1587—1598	Albert of Pińczów	105	73—121, 124—179
1622—1629	Mikołaj Staszewski	118	270—388
1639—1641	Adam Zawada	40	445—485

*Jasna Góra manuscript "Regestrum confraternitatis Fratrum s. Pauli Primi Heremite" from the Years 1517—1613*, "Studia Claramontana", vol. VI, 1985, pp. 240—374, Numeration of the records of miracles from the text of the manuscript, see A. Witkowska, *Kult jasnogórski w formach pątnicznych do połowy XVII wieku* [The Cult of the Jasna Góra Monastery in the form of Pilgrimages Till the Middle of the 17th Century], "Studia Claramontana", vol. V, 1984, pp. 170—173. In four cases the records are repeated: RC 31 = 198; 156 = 152 : 172 = 145; 225 = 229. Moreover, in RC we find 11 notes telling of the making of a pilgrimage and of enrolment in the confraternity: RC 76 (p. 23)—1523, RC 80 (p. 25)—1524, RC 87, 87a, 87b (p. 31)—1524, RC 91 (p. 32)—1530, RC 99 (p. 37)—1524, RC 99a (p. 37)—1524, RC 100 (p. 37)—1524, RC 107 (p. 48)—1525, RC 211 (p. 124)—1529. In analyses we have limited ourselves to the records of miracles.

<sup>40</sup> We have set a limit to taking advantage of the materials contained in *Liber miraculorum*, which is connected with taking it into consideration as comparative material with the records of miracles published in print after the middle of the 17th century.

<sup>41</sup> In MVCL the records of miracles are numbered. The appearance of several miracles in one record meant that we had to give an additional numbering in letters to some of them. In this way the number of 488 records is increased by 20 additional ones. On the other hand, in ten cases we find double records of the same event. So finally we get the number of 498 records. Palaeographic assignation of MVCL comp., J. Z b u d n i e w e k. *Kopiarze...* [Copyists...] p. 335.

note appearing in the records of the years 1402—1591, would indicate that this part of the collection was based on earlier accounts. The pages of the codex concerning the miracles of before 1591 should be associated with the instructions to the Pauline monks issued by Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł after his visitation to the Monastery in 1593 to keep the records of the miracles in a separate book.<sup>42</sup> From that time on, all the current evidence was carefully registered, which is not difficult to be convinced of when looking through the entries following the year 1593.

The accounts of miracles *ex tempore*, appearing in the *Liber miraculorum*, in principle already after the year 1591, have a more or less official character. Doubts as to the genesis of the accounts : whether they were really the results of evidence given or whether they were created by literary fiction, are explained by notes of the circumstances and the form of the evidence given, which are contained in many of them,<sup>43</sup> of the witnesses and monks who were present at the time of the miracles.<sup>44</sup> There is also no lack of letters of recommendation and certificates of the reliability of the accounts issued by the municipal authorities or authorities of the Church and quoted *in extenso*.<sup>45</sup> A proof of the fact that accounts were written at the same time as evidence was given of them, are the mentions that the witnesses were received by the monk writing the report, the fact of the signing of the report by the person giving evidence, sometime the request of the

<sup>42</sup> See A. Witkowska, *Najstarsze źródła...*, p. 68 f.

<sup>43</sup> The evidence was preceded by the an oath given personally (MVCL 102, 104, 118, 123, 146, 275, 277, 281, 283, 292, 359) in front of witnesses (MVCL 113, 125a, 156, 174, 296, 303, 307, 337) or only to the confessor and the monk writing the records (MVCL 151, 220, 281, 316, 393), or they were left in written form at Jasna Góra (MVCL 80, 184, 190, 191, 205, 233, 270, 272, 279, 284, 285, 343, 349, 354, 369, 379, 414). Sometimes personal presence was replaced by giving evidence in the form of a letter (MVCL 373, 483).

<sup>44</sup> The witnesses are mentioned generally (i.e. MVCL 231, 275, 286, 287, 288, 290, 329, 330, 331, 332, 415) or by name (MVCL 185, 216, 230, 239, 240, 244, 254, 262, 263, 287, 289, 308, 317, 372, 390, 395, 419). The Pauline monks appear either as witnesses of the evidence or as recorders (MVCL 207, 208, 220, 221, 224, 280, 295, 307, 316, 318, 398).

<sup>45</sup> MVCL 194, 195, 234, 279, 346, 380, 398, 427, 464, 475.

witness that the miracle be proclaimed.<sup>46</sup> The form of the report was mostly decided by the Pauline monks who wrote it. It depends on the literary invention of the writer what form the report took. Apart from short entries, simply registering the miracles, there are also many developed tales about miracles; they give us exceptionally rich information, showing the realities and customs of the everyday life as well as the world of ideas and the religious attitudes of those times.

Much less informative are the reports of miracles in the above mentioned inquisitional document issued in 1435. In addition, the damaged parchment shortens its contents. Nevertheless, the 35 miracles noted in the document allow us to reconstruct a fragment of the oldest records.

Hand-written records of miracles are not the only ones that have survived until our times. As we have already mentioned printed collections are known that were bound together with the first prints concerning the history of the miraculous picture kept at the Częstochowa Monastery.<sup>47</sup> Up to the middle of the 17th century five collections have survived. Two 16th century collections are derived from the Latin work of Piotr Risinius *Historia pulchra et stupendis miraculis referta imaginis Mariae quo et unde in Clarum Montem Czastochoviae et Olsztyn advenerit* published in Cracow in the year 1523 [hereafter referred to as : HP] and from the amplified translation of it known as *Historya o Obrazie w Czestochowie Panny Maryey y o cudach rozmaitych Tey wielebney Tablice* [A History of the Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary Kept at Częstochowa and of the Various Miracles Connected with this Revered Picture], published in Cracow in 1568, probably prepared by Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko [hereafter referred to as : HO]. In the first half of the 17th century a work by Andrzej Żymicjusz *Skarbnica kościoła Jasnej Góry Czestochowskiej* [The Treasury of the Jasna Góra Church of Częstochowa] which was

<sup>46</sup> The words *coram me*, among others in MVCL 73, 123, 151, 292, 298, 301, 305; a signature under the evidence in MVCL 242, 423, request for a record of a miracle and its proclamation in MVCL 270, 274, 277, 281, 285, 287, 295, 339.

<sup>47</sup> Discussion of the prints, see A. Witkowska, *Najstarsze źródła...* p. 62 ff.

printed in Cracow in 1618 [further referred to as : Ż] contained some miracles as well as two works by Andrzej Goldonowski *Summariusz Historiey o Obrazie Panny Mariey który jest na Jasney Górze Częstochowskiey z różnych Historyi starych polskich y lacińskich krociusienko zebrany* [A Historical Summary on the Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary Which is Kept at the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa Taken from Various Old History Books in Polish and Latin], Cracow 1639 [further referred to as : GS] and *Diva Claromontana seu imaginis eius origo, translatio, miracula*, Cracow 1642 (further referred to as : GD).<sup>48</sup>

An analysis of the contents of the above mentioned works enables to state that the basis of all 16th century editions, both hand-written and printed was an old register of miracles which has not survived until today. It is also possible that the writers used the type of record represented by the recently discovered document from the year 1435. An argument in favour of this is the appearance of as many as eleven miracles mentioned in it in the collection of Piotr Risinius.<sup>49</sup> The 17th century printed collections repeat mostly the records from the *Jasna Góra Liber miraculorum*.<sup>50</sup>

The basic framework 767 (87.2<sup>0</sup>%) of the entries contained in *Regestrum confraternitatis*, in *Liber miraculorum* as well as in the 15th century document are supplemented by these prints with the additional 113 (12.8<sup>0</sup>% of the total records) miracles. So, 880 records *de miraculis* till the year 1642, have survived, and

<sup>48</sup> We succeeded in finding A. Goldonowski's first work in the Gdańsk PAN Library, call number N. 1. 80.8° entry 1. This short work has survived also in a 17th century copy probably made by Wojciech Ulatowski and kept in the Library of the Ossolineum Publishing House in Wrocław, call number ZNiO II 334 c. 211—231v. This copy has been given a different title: *Historia krótka o obrazie Panny Maryey, który jest na Jasnej Górze Częstochowskiey* [A Short History of the Picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is at Jasna Góra in Częstochowa] and W. Kętrzyński did not identify it with Goldonowski's work. See Catalogue of manuscripts kept in the Library of the Ossolineum Publishing House, vol. II, ed. W. Kętrzyński, Lwów 1882, p. 370.

<sup>49</sup> Document from 1435—BJ 2322; HP 50, 51, 53, 55, 57, 57a, 58, 61, 63, 64, 65.

<sup>50</sup> See A. Witkowska, *Najstarsze źródła...*, p. 71 ff.

are known today, 70% (616 notes) in one work and 30% (264 notes) in several compositions.<sup>51</sup> The numerical relation of the records in the different collections is as shown in Table 2 :

Table 2 : Records *de miraculis* in Collections from the Years 1435—1642

Collection	No. of notes in one work	No. of notes in several	Total
BJ 2322	24	11	35
RC	234	19	253
MVCL	305	193	498
HP	6	67	73
HO	10	58	68
Ż	9	72	81
GS	—	34	34
GD	28	237	265

The records of miracles till the middle of the 17th century should be regarded with no doubt just as a fragment of some rich older collection. But for the research on the pilgrimages, even the possession of an incomplete file of miracles creates a favourable situation. Shortcomings in the basic source, when we are not interested in individual cases, but in mass and long-range phenomena, do not distort the picture. The records of miracles that have survived, not claiming the range of statistical documentation, give a basis for research on the extent of the influence of the Jasna Góra and the social reception of its cult.

The reviewed collections bring information about 880 pilgrimages in the years 1396—1642. The shortage of dates in many of the records sometimes makes it difficult to establish whether the day given refers to the time of the miracle or to the time when evidence of it was given ; the errors and discordances appearing in successive wordings bid us to be very cautious

<sup>51</sup> The records of miracles have survived for 190 miracles in 2 works, for 38 miracles in 3 works, for 21 miracles in 4 works, for 10 miracles in 5 works, and for 6 miracles in 6 works. They are mainly concerned with the events that happened before the year 1540, and also in the years 1587—1594, 1602—1617.

about this informational material.<sup>52</sup> This refers in particular to be the miracles noted with large gaps before the year 1591.<sup>53</sup> In the case of later records to set the date is not a great problem. What we can be certain about is the increase in the number of pilgrimages in the next half centuries of the period under review, a proof of which is the growth in the number of miracles recorded in the Jasna Góra collection. These data, it must be stressed yet again, are relative. They come from chance materials as well as fragmentary ones because of noting from the persons coming to Jasna Góra only those who were registered when they gave evidence of a miracle. They however, inform us of :

- 38 pilgrimages (4.8%) in the 15th century,
- 187 pilgrimages (23.5%) in the first half of the 16th century,
- 228 pilgrimages (28.5%) in the second half of the 16th century,
- 344 pilgrimages (43.2%) in the first half of the 17th century.

The increase in the number of pilgrimages from the second half of the 16th century is very clear.<sup>54</sup> In reconstructing the rhythm of the development of the Jasna Góra pilgrimages after the year 1591, that is, in a period better reflected in sources, our attention is drawn by the "empty years" as well as the years in which there was a particular intensification of pilgrimages.<sup>55</sup> There is a complete lack of pilgrimages in 1618 and a violent drop in their number in the years 1629—1630, probably caused by a dangerous plague which just ravaged Polish lands.<sup>56</sup> It was a serious obstacle for all kinds of migrations, and also for pilgrimages. The affluence of pilgrims at the Jasna Góra was limited in the time of plague by special orders issued by the municipal author-

<sup>52</sup> The arrangement of the records in MVCL allowed us to date some of them.

<sup>53</sup> The relative continuity of the records of after the year 1524 is interrupted by the lack of records in the years 1524—1526, 1529—1530, 1532—1536, 1541, 1543—1544, 1546—1547, 1556—1559, 1561—1562, 1564—1565, 1570, 1573, 1581, 1585, 1588, 1618.

<sup>54</sup> It was impossible to establish even a near date for 83 pilgrimages (9.4%).

<sup>55</sup> The interruptions in the records embrace as many as 14 years in the period 1524—1550, in the period 1550—1600—17 years, in the years 1600—1642 one year. Altogether there is a lack of records for 32 years (21.3%).

<sup>56</sup> S. Krakowski, *Stara Częstochowa...*, p. 123 ff.

ities ; the strangers were not allowed to get into the town. On the other hand, the pilgrimages grow animated after this disaster was over. The records of miracles several times inform that the great crowds are coming to Częstochowa to fulfil the vows made during the epidemic.<sup>57</sup> In the year 1631 it was written that "from Easter till the day of St. Michael the Archangel, so many people came every day to fulfil their vows at the Holy Place that there was no diarist who could remember similar concourses of people flocking to the Holy Place ; this was known by the confessors who lived there at that time, for all of them from work and listening to confessions were ill for a whole year and some of them died after only a few days of illness from this work".<sup>58</sup>

The increase of pilgrimages in number was also connected with the territorial development of the phenomenon. The process of expansion of the Jasna Góra pilgrimages depended not only on the clerical activeness of the Pauline monks of Częstochowa, on the measures they used to propagate the cult, measures that were sometimes innovatory, if only to mention the Jasna Góra poster, printed in German at Haller's in the years 1514—1524.<sup>59</sup> Also important were factors apart from religious ones, such as the changing economic situation, the developing forms of contacts between people, the consolidation of native cultural traditions and social models of behaviour.

The miracle records give us quite a lot of material for establishing the territorial extent of the pilgrimages. Geographical names occur in more than 84% of the records and tell us where the pilgrims to Jasna Góra came from.<sup>60</sup> In general the places from which pilgrims came to Częstochowa are the places where they resided. If they came from different places, the geography of the pilgrimages was established by taking into consideration the place from which they had started their pilgrimage. A list of 327 names of places which can be identified together with 146 terms indicating only the districts, lands, regions, voivodship or country, are

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<sup>57</sup> MVCL 338, 353, 392.

<sup>58</sup> MVCL 392.

<sup>59</sup> A. Witkowska, *Najstarsze źródła...*, p. 61 f.

<sup>60</sup> Lack of data in 134 records.



a basis on which we can prepare a map of the Jasna Góra pilgrimages.<sup>61</sup>

The territorial extent of the pilgrimages in the radius of 15, 30 and 60 kilometres from Częstochowa enables the establishment of the typological extent of the pilgrimages, taking into consideration two of their categories : near pilgrimages (A) and far pilgrimages (B).<sup>62</sup> For the first category we assume pilgrims coming from places not further away from the place of cult than 30 kilometres, that is, a distance that could be covered on foot during one day. In the years 1396—1642, the pilgrimages to Jasna Góra included both categories, which are shown in Table 3.

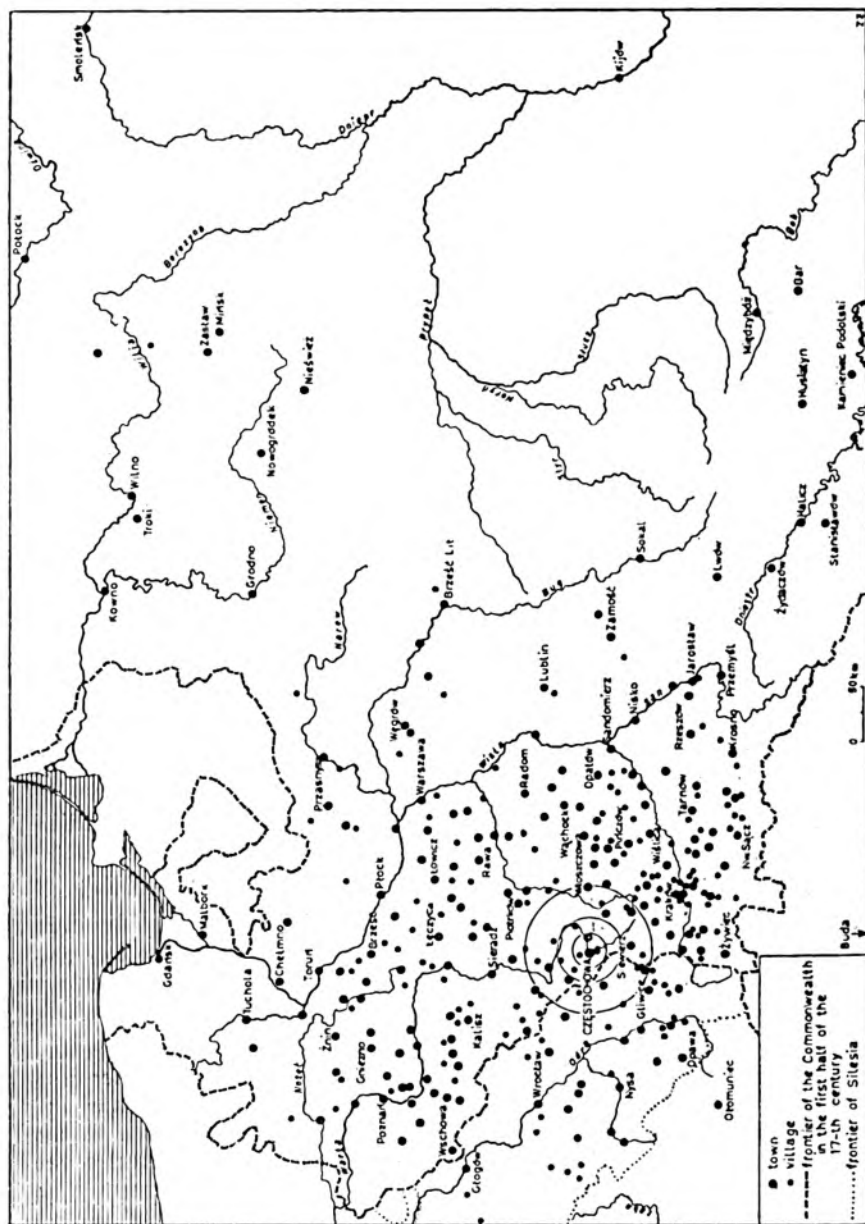
Table 3 : Categories of Pilgrimages in the Years 1396—1642

<i>Pilgrimages</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
B	Up to 15 km	11	1.9
	Up to 30 km	5	0.9
A	Up to 60 km	26	4.6
	Over 60 km	522	92.6
Total:		564	100.0

The near, one day pilgrimages, only came from eight places in near neighbourhood of the Jasna Góra Monastery. Also poorly represented were places situated at a distance of 30—60 kilometres from the sanctuary, of which some were from Silesia. Pilgrimages from places much further away were in a decided majority. The territorial extent of the pilgrimages, reconstructed on the basis of the records of miracles, does not prejudice the

<sup>61</sup> We noted 36 (4.8%) places that could not be identified.

<sup>62</sup> Typology introduced by W. Brückner, *Zur Phänomenologie und Nomenklatur des Wallfahrtswesens und seiner Erforschung. Wörter und Sachen in systematisch-semantischen Zusammenhang*, in: *Volkskultur und Geschichte, Festgabe J. Dünninger*, Berlin 1970, p. 418 was used in the research on Cracow pilgrimages in the 15th and 16th centuries see A. Witkowska, *Kulty pątnicze...*—p. 127 ff and also in research in Jasna Góra pilgrimages in the years 1864—1914, see Sz. Z. Jabłoński, *op. cit.*, p. 145 f.



Map 1 : Pilgrimages to Jasna Góra up to 1642 according to the Records de miraculis

factual character of the pilgrimages to the Jasna Góra Sanctuary. This type of record registering an insignificant number of pilgrims, is only to a certain extent representative. In the case of the near pilgrims, there is no doubt that there is a distortion in their actual participation in the total of the pilgrimages to Jasna Góra. It would be difficult to assume that the inhabitants of the places nearest to Częstochowa, within the direct range of the influence of the centre of cult, were not present among the pilgrims coming to it and were not the most numerous group visiting the Jasna Góra Sanctuary.

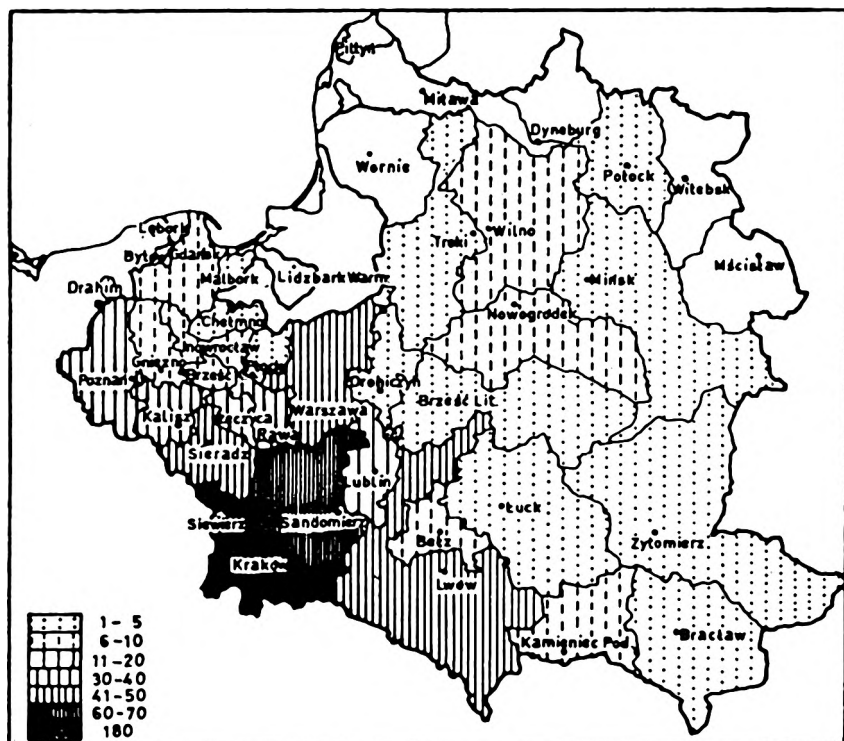
A look at the map will lead to several important conclusions.

1—The pilgrimage movement in the years 1396—1642 in the light of the records of miracles is clearly nationwide in character. It embraced in principle, the territory of the whole Poland up to the distant eastern border. But fundamentally it was concentrated within the frontiers of the so-called Crown. The River Vistula was a distinct boundary line here. Above all, pilgrimages from the left bank lower and middle reaches of the Vistula participated in the movement. From beyond the Vistula the most numerous pilgrimages were coming from the regions of Przemyśl and Jarosław, as well as from the territories to the north and east of Warsaw. From Lithuania pilgrims came mostly from the region between the Rivers Nemen and Vilija and from Ruthenian territories from places on the Rivers Bug and Dniester.

The analysis of pilgrimages according to different voivodships shows a decided domination of the three voivodships in Little Poland : the Cracow, Lublin and Sandomierz areas (37<sup>0</sup>/o).<sup>65</sup> The second place goes to the Great Poland voivodships (21.6<sup>0</sup>/o) Attention is drawn by the relatively large number of pilgrimages coming from eastern voivodships (9.3<sup>0</sup>/o) which testifies to the large range of influence of the Jasna Góra cult.

2—The large percentage of pilgrimages coming from places in the Cracow, Sieradz, Sandomierz and Kalisz voivodships (45.6<sup>0</sup>/o) is probably due to the main trade route from South to North running through these areas. It led from Cracow through Olkusz—Lelów—Krzepice—Wieluń—Kalisz to Poznań; its northern arm

<sup>65</sup> A. Witkowska, *Kult jasnogórski...*, p. 220, Table 3.



Map 2: Number of pilgrimages to Jasna Góra up to 1642 (from the voivodships)

went through Piotrków—Wolbórz to Warsaw. So Częstochowa, situated on a busy route, was often visited “on the way”.

3—The “empty” places that can be seen on the map (the region to the north of Kielce, the top of the region between the rivers Vistula and San, the territory to Mazovia and a part of the region situated at the foot of the Carpathians) can be explained, by the fact that these territories had their own, local centres of pilgrimages. As examples we could mention the then newly created sanctuaries of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Leżajsk, Rzeszów, Nowy Sącz, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Skępe and Sierpc. The poor participation of the Kielce region in the pilgrimages to Jasna Góra

was probably due to the traditional cult of the reliquary of the Holy Cross in the Monastery of the Benedictines on Mount Łysiec. Not without significance were, especially for the cult of Jasna Góra in Lithuania, the denomination relations and the particularly strong influence in this area of Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism.

4—Sources from the 16th and 17th centuries show the nationwide influence of the sanctuary. What is more, the participation of pilgrims from abroad (14.3%), particularly from Silesia, Hungary and Moravia, proves the early reception of the Częstochowa cult outside the Polish frontiers.<sup>64</sup> It resulted from the close links of the Hungarian Paulines with the Jasna Góra Monastery born already in the time of its founding; in the case of Silesia, it resulted from the influence of the Pauline Monastery at Mochów near Głogówek.<sup>65</sup> There is no doubt that Pauline monks played the main role in animating the cult. This is testified to, among other things, by the presence of pilgrims in the visits to Jasna Góra from places where there were Pauline Monasteries, and so from Cracow, Brdów, Pińczów, Siemno, Wieluń, Warsaw and from Częstochowa itself.<sup>66</sup>

The geography of the pilgrimages is linked with the problem of their social stratification. The Jasna Góra records of miracles do not give very precise information concerning the number of people participating in the pilgrimages, so they do not give a basis for data of a statistical type. The records often note facts of pilgrims coming to Jasna Góra „with others”, „with relations”, „with their families” or „with neighbours”. So we do not really know exactly how many people participated in the 880 pilgrimages that took place in the period under examination. We can only make some sociological observations on the pilgrimages themselves, the forms of cult practised by a certain social milieu. The data supplied by the records in this field allow us to state that all fundamental

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 220—222, Table 4 and 5.

<sup>65</sup> J. Zbudniewek, *Katalog domów i rezydencji polskiej prowincji paulinów* [Catalogue of Houses and Residences of the Polish Province of the Paulines], „Nasza Przyszłość”, vol. XXXI, 1969, p. 211 f.

<sup>66</sup> A. Witkowska, *Kult jasnogórski...*, pp. 214—219, Table 2.

social groups creating the social structure of Poland took part in the pilgrimages to Jasna Góra.<sup>67</sup>

It was not an identical participation. One is struck by the disproportion between the participation in the pilgrimages of the gentry and burghers and the weak participation of the peasants.<sup>68</sup> Among the gentry a considerable percentage was constituted by the magnates. Next to representants of the old magnate families of Lithuanian—Ruthenian extraction, we also find among the pilgrims to Jasna Góra numerous members of Polish senatorial families.<sup>69</sup> The consolidation of the Jasna Góra cult in the religious culture of these families, belonging by the positions they occupied to the elite of power, together with the lively traditions cultivated within the royal family, led to it becoming a state cult at the beginning of the 17th century.<sup>70</sup>

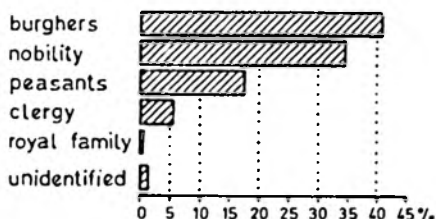


Diagram 1: Social Stratification of the Jasna Góra pilgrimages in the Years 1396—1642

The presence of representatives of the social élite as pilgrims to Jasna Góra does not, however, prejudice the élite character of these pilgrimages. The middle gentry and the burghers were clearly dominant groups in them ; they were also most active

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 180—213, table 1. 12.8% of the records of miracles do not give any data concerning the social origin of the pilgrims. It is also difficult to establish these facts in the case of collective pilgrimages (1.3% of the records) : MVCL 338, 339, 353, 368, 371, 392 ; HP 16.23 ; GD 67, 68.

<sup>68</sup> Stratification of the social standing of the pilgrims was established on the date concerning the main person appearing in the miracle.

<sup>69</sup> See A. Witkowska, *Kult Jasnogórski...*, p. 175 gg.

<sup>70</sup> The scientific postulate still remains research of the lasting character of these traditions till the end of the 18th century.

groups in society creating the social-religious culture of the Polish Baroque period.<sup>71</sup>

The urban character of the pilgrimages to Jasna Góra in the period of interest to us, confirms the opinion to be found in literature about the development of the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the burgher milieu.<sup>72</sup> Collective forms of the worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary were spread by the confraternities formed from the 15th century mainly in towns. Their activities included pilgrimages. In the records of miracles as many as 71% pilgrimages to Jasna Góra came from towns and boroughs. Even if we take into account that a certain number of them were pilgrimages of representatives of the gentry and the clergy who had settled in urban centres, the participation of towns people would be still considerable. The records of miracles bring information on the pilgrimage companies arriving in Częstochowa from rather distant towns : in 1623 from Bochnia, Lvov, Rzeszów, in 1626 from Bydgoszcz, in 1627 from Gliwice, in 1640 from Jaworów.<sup>73</sup>

Rather weak peasants' participation in the Jasna Góra pilgrimages (about 29%) should be attributed to the slower rate at which changes in the rural religious culture are taking place. The process of reception of new religious ideas and practices in the rural areas is in principle usually slower than in towns, in which there is a quicker circulation of information and wider field of human relations. But a fundamental obstacle to a more active participation in pilgrimages by the inhabitants of villages was undoubtedly the progressive pauperization of the Polish peasants and the legal limitation of their freedom resulting from serfdom.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> The results of analysis of the records of miracles change the evaluation the social character of the Jasna Góra pilgrimages to date. See M. Rechowicz, *Sanktuarium jasnogórskie a rozwój świadomości narodowej [The Jasna Góra Sanctuary and the Development of National Consciousness]*, "Ateneum kapłańskie", vol. XCIX, 1982, p. 9 ff.

<sup>72</sup> H. Zaremska, *Bractwa w średniowiecznym Krakowie. Studium form społecznych życia religijnego [Brotherhoods in Medieval Cracow. A Study of the Social Forms of Religious Life]*, Wrocław 1977, p. 122 ff.

<sup>73</sup> MVCL, 286, 287, 288, 344, 368, 456.

<sup>74</sup> J. Maciszewski, *Spółczesność [Society]*, in: *Polska XVII wieku*, ed. by J. Tazbir, Warszawa 1969, p. 132 f.; A. Wyczański, *Spółczesność polskie [The Polish Society]*, in: *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia*.

Nor was it without significance that in the period we are studying the regionalization of the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary was taking place in Poland.<sup>75</sup> Numerous local centres effectively competed with Jasna Góra in the rural areas, for a pilgrimage to Jasna Góra was costly and time absorbing. The local cult traditions and the very familiar atmosphere of the centres of cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary in their own village still retained its strength and importance for the peasants. They found there a Virgin Mary who was nearer to their human needs in her functions of Intermediary—Protectress—Spokeswoman. The motive of the Blessed Virgin Mary's royalty, which from the 16th century was clearly associated with the cult of the picture in Częstochowa, seemed to have played a relatively small role in peasant's religious feelings.<sup>76</sup> The linking of this cult with national contents led to the widening of the geographical extent of pilgrimages. On the other hand, in the social sense, the making of the Blessed Virgin Mary the patroness of the nation, together with the notion finally crystallized in the Baroque period that Mary was the Queen of Poland, led to a firm identification of the Catholic faith with Polishness in the social mentality, the national bond being closely associated with the religious one. So the Jasna Góra pilgrimages undoubtedly played the role of an important factor integrating the multinational Polish state.

The dynamics in the development of the pilgrimage movement (better attested in the sources from the last quarter of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century) point to a certain lasting yearly rhythm. We can state that in the months of late spring and summer : May, June and September, there were

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*Państwo—społeczeństwo—kultura*, ed. by A. Wyczański, Warszawa 1970, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>75</sup> See J. Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita i świat. Studia z dziejów kultury XVII wieku* [*The Republic and the World. Studies on the History of 17th Century Culture*], Wrocław 1971, p. 115 f.

<sup>76</sup> C. Deptuła, *Z zagadnień kultu maryjnego w Polsce* [*Cult of the Virgin Mary in Poland*], "Ateneum kapłańskie," vol. LII, 1960, p. 395 ff. ; A. Witkowska, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Polish Religiousness from the 15th to the 17th Century*, in: *The Common Christian Roots of the European Nations*, vol. II, Florence 1982, p. 475. f.



more pilgrimages to Jasna Góra. The lack of pilgrimages in the winter and early spring were due to the unfavourable climatic conditions in these periods. The state of the roads during the autumn rains, frosts and snowdrifts, the spring thaws and floods did not allow of making journeys, particularly long ones. The association of the pilgrimages with the weekly calendar, shows in turn the two "most active" days at the Jasna Góra Monastery : Sundays and Mondays. The more numerous attendance on Mondays was probably linked with the weekly market in Częstochowa on that day, established by a privilege granted by the King Sigismund the Old in 1508.<sup>77</sup> The linking of pilgrimages with economic activity is clear also in the case of the days on which the Częstochowa fairs were held. From the year 1508, the town had one annual fair on the first Sunday of Lent.<sup>78</sup> In 1564 the number of fairs increased to three, and in 1636 to six. They were held on the Monday following the first Sunday of Lent, the Feast of SS Philip and James (1 May), at Whitsuntide, on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene (22 July), the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 Sept.) and on the Feast of St. Catherine (25 Nov.).<sup>79</sup> On all these days the number of pilgrims clearly increases. They were also days of granting indulgences at the Jasna Góra. So we can state that the pilgrimages were linked with the economic and liturgical calendar. These links as regards the latter are confirmed by the pilgrimages arriving at the sanctuary on Christmas Eve or on the very day of the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, especially on the Feast of the Assumption, and on the Feasts of patron saints of Poland St. Adalbert, St. Florian and St. Stanislaus.

The data concerning the pilgrimage movement, gained from the records of miracles, which only register a part of the pilgrimages to Jasna Góra, are supplemented by information from other sources. A proof of the mass character of pilgrimages to Jasna Góra are brought by three visitations to the Częstochowa Monastery in the 16th century, made by Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski in 1577, by Father Stanisław Reszka in 1585 and by

<sup>77</sup> S. Krakowski, *Dzieje Częstochowy...*, p. 46.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77.

Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł in 1593.<sup>60</sup> They paid much attention to the pilgrims visiting the Pauline Monastery at Jasna Góra. The detailed dispositions aimed at making the clerical services more efficient show the concern of visitators to ensure suitable conditions for a fruitful stay of the ever more numerous pilgrims arriving at the sanctuary. We could give as an example the dispositions concerning the services for the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist: the requirement of providing a suitable number of well-prepared priests, namely confessors having special rights of giving absolution to heretics, instructions to increase the number of confessionals, to increase the number of liturgical books, especially those concerning rituals. There were also a number of decisions concerning the order of divine services to be held in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the way the visits to the miraculous picture were to be conducted, the prohibition of taking the picture to any other place, dispositions regarding the votive offerings given by the pilgrims and how to record the evidence they give about miracles and the graces they had experienced, and also instructions concerning the judicial use of exorcisms.<sup>61</sup>

Beside the visitations, numerous documents issued for Jasna Góra as a pilgrimage centre and "safe conduct" letters for pilgrims,<sup>62</sup> another proof the deeply rooted tradition of pilgrimage

<sup>60</sup> *Reformatio Clari Montis per S. Karnkowski Anno Domini 1577 die 2 iunii facta*, in: *Monumenta historica dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*, vol. XIX, ed. by S. Chodyński, Włocławek 1900; visitation of S. Reszka in AJG 2407: Visitations to the Jasna Góra Monastery 1577—1743, pp. 7—18; *Visitatio Radziwiłli Cardinalis*, in: AJG 2096, c. 40—51 v. and a summary of post-visitation dispositions signed by the Cardinal: parchment diploma AJG 130.

<sup>61</sup> All three visitations bring a lot of valuable information about the condition and activity of the Jasna Góra Monastery, giving us an idea of the reception in Poland of the religious reforms after the Council of Trent.

<sup>62</sup> In the *Regestrum confraternitatis* (c. 116—117) we find three unique for Poland forms of letters of recommendation and safe-conduct documents for pilgrims going to Jasna Góra. The pilgrims who showed these safe-conduct documents were those who were going to Jasna Góra to fulfil a vow or those visiting it on the way to Rome and other holy places in Poland or outside its frontiers. This is an extremely interesting source material, not

are the first printed guides for pilgrims which began to appear at the beginning of the 17th century.<sup>83</sup> They consist of information on the spiritual advantage gained by going on pilgrimages, as well as of a short history of the miraculous picture and some prayers; there are also included practical instructions concerning behaviour on the journey to and during the stay at Jasna Góra. In his *Summary of the History of the Picture*, Andrzej Goldonowski recorded a new kind of pilgrimage—the practise of spiritual pilgrimages “to the Church of the Blessed Virgin of Częstochowa, for those who cannot visit it at the moment”.<sup>84</sup> Persons who are ill or for some other reason cannot make the journey to the sanctuary, he proposes to divide the number of miles dividing their place of residence from Jasna Góra into stages “of the way” counted by a suitable number of Hail Marys and other prayers given in the book, preceded by a short pious reflection.

The fact that the pilgrimages came from certain places is proved by the regular pilgrimage routes established at the beginning of the 17th century from Cracow and from Błonie, near Warsaw. The first led through Skala—Bydlin—Włodowice—Choruń, the latter through Rawa—Wolbórz—Gidle—St. Anna.<sup>85</sup>

From the same time we have the first numerical data concerning the dispensing of Holy Communion at Jasna Góra and of

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known so far, proving the functioning of the Jasna Góra sanctuary as a well known pilgrimage centre in those times.

<sup>83</sup> We count among them the oldest devotional booklets connected with Jasna Góra issued in the Polish language. They are: *Historya o obrazie w Częstochowie...* [*The History of the Picture in Częstochowa...*], Cracow 1568; A. Zymicjusz, *Skarbnica kościoła Jasnej Góry* [*The Treasury of Jasna Góra*], Cracow 1618, A. Goldonowski, *Summariusz historiej o Obrazie...* [*Summary of the History of the Picture...*], Cracow 1639 and also a description of a company of pilgrims by S. Zakrzewski, *Droga Częstochowska* [*The Road of Częstochowa*], Poznań 1623. They not got the name of “Guide”, but they fulfilled this role.

<sup>84</sup> A. Goldonowski, *Summariusz...*, p. 103 ff.

<sup>85</sup> The route from Błonie given by S. Zakrzewski in *Droga Częstochowska* has become traditional and has lasted till today as a route for pilgrimages from Warsaw. The route from Cracow is given by A. Goldonowski in his *Summariusz*, p. 105 ff.

dissenters being united here with the Church.<sup>86</sup> A witness of these events, A. Goldonowski, also writes of an old tradition, according to which the non-participation in the annual pilgrimage to Jasna Góra from places not further than 40—50 miles away from Częstochowa was considered as a negligence similar to the failure to make the Easter confession.<sup>87</sup> The same author left us a colourful description of the great crowds of 17th century pilgrims and their zealous piety.<sup>88</sup> Goldonowski's accounts, undoubtedly serving the propagation of the Holy place, with their literary expression reflecting the tastes of the epoch, tinted with the triumph of the Church after the Council of Trent gives us a good introduction into the atmosphere of this remarkable place of pilgrimages, the importance of which consisted in the fact that it was a platform of a special kind of integration of the social élite and the masses, of an exchange of cultural and religious values.

(Translated by Doris Ronowicz)

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<sup>86</sup> AJG 2096 c. 29 ; A. Goldonowski, *Diva Claromontana...*, p. 297 ; *idem*, *Summariusz...*, p. nlb. 102.

<sup>87</sup> *Idem*, *Summariusz...*, p. nlb. 95.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, p. nlb. 96 ff.