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THE SYMBOLIC ROLE OF POVERTY IN THE FRANCISCAN PREACHING OF THE SAXON ERA

Poverty is one of the universal metaphors which organises the perception of social world, which is why its presence in the old Polish culture—as conditioned by Christianit—comes as no surprise. There were many reasons for the high status of poverty in Christian axiology. Poverty was, among other things, the sign of renunciation and rejection of carnality,¹ the sign of ascetic lifestyle or grace, and consequently a path to freedom, identified with salvation. Paradoxically, poverty was one of the values strongly affirmed and sacralised by religion—in Sarmatism, which treasured lavishness if not splendour – being one of the important symbols affecting social attitudes and cultural models. Information that sermons can provide seems to be of value in research on the position of poverty in the symbolic system of Old Polish culture.

The preacher's metatext of the Baroque era was the fruit of the Post-Tridentine evolution of homiletics in the Catholic Church.² In Poland, it emerged in its last form in the Saxon era. At that time, models of church pronouncement, disseminated in public life on an unprecedented scale,

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The Polish version of the article was published in *Roczniki Humanistyczne* vol. 61, issue 2 (2013).

¹ Interpreted as a sign of mortal life, tantamount to the symbol of sin and death.

² See Mieczysław BRZOZOWSKI, "Teoria kaznodziejstwa," *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*, vol. 2/1, edited by Marian Rechowicz (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1975), 363–428; Kazimierz PANUŚ, *Zarys historii kaznodziejstwa w Kościele kat olickim. Część druga. Kaznodziejstwo w Polsce od średniowiecza do baroku* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo M), 2001; Wiesław PAWLAK, *Koncept w polskich kazaniach barokowych* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2005); see also Janusz T. MACIUSZKO, *Symbol w religijności polskiej doby baroku i kontrreformacji* (Warszawa: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1986); Janusz A. DROB, *Trzy zegary. Obraz czasu i przeszłości w polskich kazaniach barokowych* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1998).

became one of the essential components of the Church's communication strategy, which was dynamically promoting various forms of religious activity.³ The importance of preaching stemmed from pastoral ministry and the desire to achieve the best possible rapport with the listeners.⁴ However, it was not only about flattering the audience but also about shaping its axiology and image of the world. It can be assumed that the message preached in those times, subordinated mainly to elocution, was an extremely strong vehicle in terms of its persuasive potential, whose communicative efficiency is confirmed not only by the scenes of preaching recorded in the memorial literature but also by the penetration of ideas promoted by the Church into the social consciousness of all social strata. Of course, we need to remember that preaching in the Saxon era was in close relationship with artistic setting contingent on rhetoric and frequently extensive liturgy. According to the practice prevailing in Europe, this was a kind of preaching in which the word coexisted with the image, especially when it formed part of staged religious events, such as coronations of paintings⁵ or funeral ceremonies.⁶

³ Stanisław LITAK, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2004), 361–402; IDEM, "Ze studiów nad religijnością niższych warstw społecznych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII w.," *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 40, no. 1 (1996): 163–73; Tomasz WIŚLICZ, *Zarobić na duszne zbawienie. Religijność chłopów małopolskich od połowy XVI do końca XVIII w.* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2001), 19–53, 88–95, 124–28, 146–60; IDEM, "Religijność wiejska w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej: problemy i trzy przybliżenia," *Barok. Historia—Literatura—Sztuka* 11, no. 2 (2004): 97–118; Henryk SUCHOJAD, "Mentalność religijna szlachty małopolskiej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku," in *Pamiętnik Świętokrzyski. Studia z dziejów kultury chrześcijańskiej*, edited by Longin Kaczanowski (Kielce: KTN, 1991), 123–37. In this regard, an important role was played by the organizational structure of the Church, still evolving in the 18th century. See Wiesław MÜLLER, "Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim," *Zarys dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce*, by Jerzy Kłoczowski, Lidia Müllerowa, and Jan Skarbek (Kraków: Znak, 1986), 64–98, 144–81, 200–38. The network of Roman Catholic parishes in the Republic of Poland was still being extended throughout the 18th century, its shape directly before 1772 was presented exhaustively and innovatively by Szady, see Bogumił SZADY, *Geografia struktur religijnych i wyznaniowych w Koronie w II połowie XVIII wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2010).

⁴ It seems that the experiences of preachers in the late Middle Ages were particularly important. See Paweł T. DOBROWOLSKI, *Wincenty Ferrer kaznodzieja ludowy późnego średniowiecza* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1996); Cynthia L. POLECRITTI, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy. Bernardino of Siena and His Audience* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2000).

⁵ Bogdan ROK, "Życie religijne w sanktuariach maryjnych na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w czasach saskich," in *Between Baroque and Enlightenment. Obyczaje czasów saskich*, edited by Krystyna Stasiewicz and Stanisław Achremczyk (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych, 2000), 155–65; Tomasz CIESIELSKI, "Koronacje cudownych obrazów w osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej," in *Cywilizacja prowincji Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, edited by Aleksander Jankowski and Andrzej Klonder (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Akademii Bydgoskiej, 2004), 195–211; Andrzej Józef BARANOWSKI,

It seems that these relationships are well illustrated by the preaching experience of the great religious congregations operating in the Polish Republic, with the Franciscans among them.⁷ In this regard, they played a significant role because the idea of poverty was important to them, which in the Franciscan philosophy was connected with the assumed evangelical imitation of Jesus and the corresponding realisation of the *povertas–minoritas* model.⁸ It should not be forgotten that Franciscan Christology was permeated with references to the cult of the Saviour's humanity, conceived as *vir dolorum, pauper et patiens*.⁹ As a consequence, the affirmation of poverty, strongly present in Christianity, gained a special status among the Friars Minor. However, while poverty was undoubtedly one of the most important themes in Franciscan spirituality, it seems to function in an intricate context in Franciscan preaching.

First of all, references to poverty were conditioned by the corresponding *topica*,¹⁰ therefore Franciscan spirituality was not the only source of inspiration.

“Oprawa uroczystości koronacyjnych wizerunków Marii na Rusi Koronnej w XVIII w.” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 57, nos. 3–4 (1995): 299–320; IDEM, *Koronacje wizerunków maryjnych w czasach baroku. Zjawisko kulturowe i artystyczne* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2003).

⁶ Juliusz A. CHROŚCICKI, “*Caritas et artis. Kazania i mowy pogrzebowe jako źródło historii sztuki.*” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* no. 3 (1968): 384–405; IDEM, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), 43ff.; IDEM, “O przestrzeni ceremonialnej,” in *Artyści włoscy w Polsce XV–XVIII wiek*, edited by Juliusz A. Chrościcki (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2004), 67–85; Tomasz ZIELIŃSKI, “Kazania pogrzebowe w konwencji sarmackiej pompa funebre,” in *Od liryki do retoryki. W kręgu słowa, literatury i kultury. Prace ofiarowane profesorom Jadwidze i Edmundowi Kotarskim*, edited by Irena Kadulka and Radosław Grześkowiak (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2004), 189–95.

⁷ Janusz A. DROB, “Drukowane kazania franciszkańskie w XVI i XVII wieku. Próba postawienia problemu,” *Franciszkanie w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*, edited by Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1998), 320–38. Vol. 2/1 of *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*. Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, “Zakony męskie w Polsce w XVI–XVIII w.,” in *Zarys dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce*, by Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, Lidia MÜLLEROWA, and Jan SKARBK (Kraków: Znak, 1986), 652–730.

⁸ Lazaro IRIARTE, *Historia franciszkanizmu* (Kraków: Serafin, 1998), 32.

⁹ Alicja SZULC, *Homo religiosus późnego średniowiecza. Bernardyński model religijności masowej* (Poznań: UAM, 2007), 173; Teresa OBIEDZIŃSKA, “Topografia wizerunków kulturowych Ukrzyżowanego w średniowiecznej i renesansowej kulturze Polski,” in *Nurt religijny w literaturze polskiego średniowiecza i renesansu*, edited by Stefan Nieznanowski and Janusz Pelc (Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1994), 83–141; Alina NOWICKA-JEŻOWA, *Tradycja średniowieczna w religijności katolickiej XVI wieku*, 187–219; see also Gerald O’COLLINS, *Chrystologia. Jezus Chrystus w ujęciu biblijnym, historycznym i systematycznym* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2008), 118–224.

¹⁰ The notion of *topica* was not purposefully limited with an adjective because references to poverty in its various senses were made, both in biblical and classical *topica*, and these should be

This spirituality was manifested strongly in festive preaching any time the preacher made reference to holidays inscribed in the tradition of the Order, such as: on the occasion of sermons prepared for the feasts of the Portiuncula, feasts of St. Francis, St. Clare and St. Anthony.¹¹ Hagiographic sermons dedicated to the Founder featured the model of sanctity of the “Poverello of Assisi,” which had already been formed in the 13th century.¹² Typically, the similarity between the life of Francis and Jesus was emphasized,¹³ which increased the importance of the motive of voluntary renunciation—a common idea in hagiography—leading to poverty conceived as a virtue. Francis’ poverty was a sign of resemblance to Christ, in which not only personal sacrifice was to be expressed, but also heroic struggle with the evil of the world and rejection of injustice which condemned the weaker ones to suffering. The uniqueness of St. Francis’ perfect attitude was demonstrated by his stigmata, a mysterious sign that aroused understandable anxiety as well as fascination of the faithful, which preachers gladly used for persuasive purposes.¹⁴ So structured, the symbolic and allegorical distinct image of the Saint¹⁵ often became the basis for preaching devoted to him.¹⁶

viewed against interpretations formed in the Middle Ages and early modern era. See Przemysław NEHRING, *Topika wczesnych łacińskich żywotów świętych. Od Vita Antonii do Vita Augustini* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 1999); Alicja SZULC, “Reduc me in memoriam. Wokół nurtu pasyjnego średniowiecznych kazań bernardyńskich,” in *Bernardyni na Śląsku w późnym średniowieczu*, edited by Jakub Kostowski (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut, 2005), 157–68.

¹¹ This category may additionally include sermons for the feasts (in some cases treated as religious sermons) of the following: St. Bernardine of Siena, St. John the Capistrano, St. Peter of Alcantara, Our Lady of the Angels of the Portiuncula, the “stigmata of St. Francis.” See Antoni WĘGRZYNOWICZ, *Nuptiae Agni gody Baranka Apokaliptycznego albo kazania na uroczyste święta Pana Jezusowe, Najświętszej Panny i Świętych bożych*, [...] (Kraków, 1711), coll. 683–700; 365–82; 755–70; 771–84; Manswet GRABOWSKI, *Charakter pański nieśmiertelną chwałę św. Pańskich reprezentujący herbowną literą Abdank J.W. Jmci P. Stefana Wychowskiego Św. Rzymskiego Imperium grafa starosty niechorowskiego, fundatora piotrkowskiego św. Franciszka obserwatorów wypisany* [...], no place indicated (Poznań, 1739). See also: Wiesław MURAWIEC, “Grabowski Manswet,” in *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, edited by Henryk Eugeniusz Wyczawski (Nakładem Archiwum Prowincji OO. Bernardynów, 1981), 157–58.

¹² Lazaro IRIARTE, *Historia franciszkanów*, 64; Piotr ANZULEWICZ, “Franciszek z Asyżu, III. Duchowość,” in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 5, coll. 429–31.

¹³ It was an approach characteristic of the Christian hagiographic *topica*, hence its recurring presence in Polish Franciscan preaching since the Middle Ages. See Alicja SZULC, *Homo religiosus*, 223–24.

¹⁴ Manswet GRABOWSKI, *Charakter pański*, 189–95.

¹⁵ Janusz A. DROB, “Obraz św. Franciszka w polskich kazaniach drukowanych w XVII w.,” *Studia Franciszkańskie* 2 (1986): 107–13.

Moreover, in accordance with the preaching practice of all congregations, references to the model bequeathed by the Founding Father were reiterated in festive sermons devoted to canonized and blessed Franciscans.¹⁷ It may be added that, proportionally to the potential of the congregation, the social perception of the evolving motive of poverty in the interpretation so typical of the Friars Minor was thus reinforced.

Poverty in Franciscan preaching, however, is above all an evangelical theme, fulfilling a complex symbolic function in the discourse inscribed in the rhythm of the liturgical year. At this stage, it is necessary to highlight the importance of the cyclical functioning of the preacher's message, which is important due to the recipient's internalisation of the senses thus conveyed, and as a result their deep integration with the old Polish cultural space.¹⁸ Poverty was one of the elements of the image of Jesus' humanity, therefore the message of Christmas sermons was extremely important. The poverty of the coming Saviour was treated as a sign of God's sacrifice and renunciation for mankind, part of which He decided to become.¹⁹ Importantly, the Christological themes were closely intertwined with references to Marian devotions, making the message so constructed additionally appealing to the public of the Polish Republic. In the Christmas sermons entitled "For Christmas Day" an important allegorical function related to poverty was played by the stable as a symbol of renunciation, the antithesis of God's majesty and glory. Its use made it possible, in a simple yet evocative way, to acquaint the recipient of the preaching with the biblical scene of the nativity of Messiah,

¹⁶ Library of the Bernardine Province in Kraków [henceforth quoted as LBPK], MS 202: Michał KOSZELNICKI, *Kazania święteczne i pasyjne 1718-1750*, sheets 163–64; Antoni WĘGRZYNOWICZ, *Nuptiae Agni*, coll. 757–58; Manswet GRABOWSKI, *Charakter pański*, 189–95.

¹⁷ For example, the sermons dedicated to St. Anthony, immensely popular in the old Polish society, see LBPK, MS 202: Michał KOSZELNICKI, *Kazania* [...], sheets 38–43; *Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mačvydo biblioteka* [hereafter: LNB], F 130 PR, MS 412, 453–65; Antoni WĘGRZYNOWICZ, *Nuptiae Agni*, coll. 683–700; Antoni LIPIEWICZ, *Prezent kaznodziejski ze skarbu ubogiego Franciszka dobytego a przy dorocznej festywie Świętego cudotwórcę Antoniego Najprzewielebniejszemu Jmci Ks. Antoniemu Wacławowi Dobrzańskiemu wikaremu generalnemu kongregacji polsko-benedyktynskiej, przeorowi i kustoszowi tynieckiemu etc. na wiazanie filadelficznym afektem ofiarowany*. Kraków, 1745, a–a2v; Gordian WĄSOWSKI, *Kazania moralne na niektóre święta z postuszeństwa świętego* [...] wydane (Kraków: Drukarnia Akademii Krakowskiej, 1743), 81–101; Manswet GRABOWSKI, *Charakter pański*, 82–87. See also: J. WYSOCKI, "Wąsowski (Wąsowski) Gordian," in *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, 512–13.

¹⁸ Eric W. ROTHENBUHLER, *Komunikacja rytualna. Od rozmowy do ceremonii medialnej* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2003), 73–81.

¹⁹ Janusz T. MACIUSZKO, *Symbole w religijności polskiej doby baroku i kontrreformacji* (Warszawa: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1986), 140–41.

which—as we know—Friars Minor depicted in various nativity plays they staged.²⁰ In this way, not only did the audience hear about the poverty of Jesus and the Holy Family, but they also watched that. In either case, the old Polish biblical realism made the message close to the recipient, making it part of the native cultural space. Stanisław Horolt, a conventual Franciscan, once wrote while explaining the motivation behind the Saviour's conduct: "Today, a happy and joyous day, on which God joined himself with human nature, who, born naked in a manger and lying not in royal a palace but in a stable among cattle, wanted to lay himself down to give us all easier access to himself in order to announce the future salvation to us."²¹ In the referenced excerpt, we can find all crucial elements of the symbolic message, repeated in Christmas sermons with the allegorical meaning of poverty emphasised. Similar interpretations were recycled in Bernardine and Reform sermons to include such oppositions as: a palace or palace rooms vs. a stable; the stable as a symbol of easy access to Jesus was reinforced by the image of simple shepherds arriving upon invitation from the angels, or God's voluntary renunciation of His due glory in Heaven for the sake of suffering and poverty on Earth—as underscored by preachers.²² In this context, the importance of symbolism related to poverty is worth noting (stable, shepherds, nakedness, suffering of cold), which is used to give credence to the emphasised ease of access to Jesus.²³ In this case, the allegory of poverty can be treated as an important source of identification and hope for the faithful, accompanied by the experience of a recurring holiday, close to the Catholic audience, rich in its traditional rituals, perceived as native and determining the identity of the inhabitants of the Republic.

It is useful to address another type of preaching involving the *topica* referring to the subject of poverty. It was an essential element of funeral sermons,

²⁰ Jan Stanisław BYSTRON, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce wiek XVI–XVIII*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 41–45.

²¹ Stanisław HOROLT, *Kazania niektóre panegiryczne na uroczystości świętych z kaznodziejskich ambon publicznie ogłoszone* [...] (Kalisz, 1717), 1. See also Damian SYNOWIEC, "Horolt Stanisław," in *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, 178.

²² See LNB, F 130 PR MS 412, p. 192; LBPK, MS 492: U. LISIECKI, *Kazania niedzielne i świąteczne*, 167–68; Antoni WĘGRZYNOWICZ, *Nuptiae Agni*, coll. 2–4, 15–16.

²³ Węgrzynowicz uses slightly different arguments to demonstrate Jesus' openness to the faithful and when describing the scene of the birth of the Saviour he justifies His sacrifice with love for humanity, writing: "Festa amorum, peculiarly sacred love because we look at the God of charity, Deus charitas est, naked in a manger lying on earth, and here he strikes with arrows of love affection in the heart of a soul" (*Nuptiae Agni*, col. 15).

which is justified not only in the formal tradition of this genre, but also in the wider context of their functioning in the old Polish culture.²⁴

Gaining salvation required that Christians practice charity which they received from the Saviour and whose model they received through Christ. This dimension of soteriology was particularly manifest in the discourse of funeral sermons, revealing itself in their structure²⁵ as a component of the idealized, conventional biography of the deceased person.

The deceased, mentioned in the sermon, during his lifetime would renounce material goods and—although he did not have to strive for poverty as envisaged by religious ascetics—would set himself the goal of being free from the temptations of temporal life symbolized by wealth. Equally importantly, he was claimed to have a charitable Christian heart which would allow him to reach out to the needy just as Providence willed it. This kind of attitude is no more than a testimony to the virtue of piety, playing the very important role of an element of the model of a good Catholic used in the formula of a funeral sermon, a virtue deserving to be emphasised by the preacher because it is one of the chief arguments for the deceased to be granted salvation.

A charitable attitude towards the needy was manifested in generosity towards the poor and those supporting Church institutions. It should be emphasised that preachers typically spoke about the benefactors of their own congregation, but if the founder turned out to be generous also for other religious orders, this fact could not be overlooked.²⁶ In a single sermon,

²⁴ Janusz TAZBIR, "Wzorce osobowych szlachty polskiej w XVII wieku," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 88, no. 4 (1976): 784–95; Janusz PELC, "Bohaterowie literaccy a wzorce osobowe," in *Problemy literatury staropolskiej*, edited by Janusz Pelc, Series 3 (Warszawa–Wrocław–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 1978), 5–45; Jolita SARCEVIČIENĖ, "Bene vixit ideo bene mortua est: śmierć kobiety w kazaniach pogrzebowych Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego pierwszej połowy XVII wieku," *Barok. Historia—Literatura—Sztuka* 25, no. 1 (2006): 49–58.

²⁵ Given the widespread repeatability of sermon models determined by the principles of homiletics, e.g. homilies or Christmas sermons, one should remember about the schematic character of funeral preaching. See Dobrosława PLATT, *Kazania pogrzebowe z przełomu XVI i XVII wieku. Z dziejów prozy staropolskiej* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 1992); Marek SKWARA, *O dowodzeniu retorycznym w polskich drukowanych oracjach pogrzebowych XVII w.* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1999); IDEM, *Polskie drukowane oracje pogrzebowe XVII w. Bibliografia* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2009).

²⁶ This is illustrated by the fact that Jesuit and Bernardine orders mentioned in the Bernardine sermons were beneficiaries of the generosity of the Vitebsk Voivode, Marcjjan Michał Oginski. See Kazimierz ROMANOWSKI, *Żal nad żalę albo raczej od żałości w żalu skolligowane serca nad sercem fatalną zebilitowanym apopleksją, dziś serdecznym rysujące się smutkiem. Przy funebralnej serc serca dyspozycji JW. Jmci Teresy z Brzostowskich Ogińskiej kasztelanowej witebskiej [...] smutnym odrysowane stylem [...]* (Supraśl, 1721), k. g2, h; Michał PASZKIEWICZ, *Ślady bez*

a reference to donations to the Church might be made several times, forming an element enhancing the description of the virtues of the departed one. This is how Ludwik Dziembiński, a Bernardine friar, remembered the governor of Poznań Voivodeship, Władysław Radomicki,²⁷ his wife Ludwika Radomicka nee Gajewski and their son Józef Radomicki.²⁸ For example, the monk wrote about Ludwika's life like this:

Here, the clergy, religious orders and monasteries, pinned their hopes, like in Heaven [...]. Only if *Charitas diffusa est in corde eius*: she rescued the poor with a generous hand, everyone was well and warmly provided for, which should be duly admitted [...].²⁹

In the latter part of this sermon, you can also find a long list of churches founded by the dead faithful. In this case, the preacher had ready-made material to formulate an impressive amplification.³⁰ According to Dziembiński, among the churches founded or fitted out by the by the Voivode of Poznań were those in Białcz, Czarniejów, Miłosław or Obrzycko.³¹ He also emphasized the common generosity towards the Church in the family of the departed, making it a virtue that was somehow inherent in the nature of the Radomicki family and those related to them. The Bernardine invoked, among others, the example of Ludwika Radomicka's father, the Castellan of Rogozin, Franciszek Gajewski, who, as a benefactor of the Reformers, was to be “[...] the true *pater pauperum et orphanorum* [...] of poverty.” The

zwady i bez żadnej tamy bo z tryumfalnej bramy JW Ogińskich wychodzące a herbowną podkową JW. Jmci śp. Krystyny z Abramowiczów Ogińskiej wojewodziny witebskiej [...] w trakcie pobożnego życia i nieśmiertelnych pochwał utorowane. Na pański zaś rozkaz JW. Jmci Pana Marcjana Michała z Kozielska Ogińskiego [...] pokazane (Wilno, 1739), k. av-a2.

²⁷ Jerzy DYGDALA, “Radomicki Władysław,” in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 29 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1986), 278–30.

²⁸ Dziembiński's sermon is an example of an uncommon funeral oration dedicated to as many as three dead members of one family.

²⁹ Ludwik DZIEMBIŃSKI, *Elekcja w polu ojczystym pod wolą boską licznym cnót komputem, rycersko-heroicznych świata polskiego czynów frekwencją, walecznych chwały i sławy familiantów, ostatnich z ziemskiej a pierwszych do niebieskiej korony wolnym wykrzyknionych głosem śp. JW. Jmci P. Władysława hrabi z Radomicka Radomickiego wojewody poznańskiego, waleckiego, mosińskiego etc. starosty JW. Jmci P. Ludwika z Gajewskich Radomickiej wojewodziny poznańskiej waleckiej, mosińskiej etc. starościny, JW. Jmci P. Józefa hrabi z Radomicka Radomickiego wojewodzina poznańskiego, odolanowskiego etc. starosty złożona [...]* (Poznań, 1738), k. ev-e2r.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, k. gr, g2v.

³¹ The churches in Obrzycko and Czarniejewo are noteworthy, the construction of which was founded by the Radomicki family. The church in Obrzycko, designed by Late Baroque architect Pompeo Ferrari, who was well-known in Greater Poland, was not completed until around 1758.

measure of Gajewski's was made full by donations to the church in Białcz.³² Another characteristic example of the conventional image of a charitable attitude towards the poor can be found in a fragment of a funeral sermon composed by Friar Klecki, remembering the Chełmno Castellan's wife Anatolia Grabowska nee Krzycki.³³ Presenting the deceased woman as a pious and charitable Christian, the monk wrote:

This is a true and living image of Her Majesty Lady Castellan in the days of her life, she did not make anyone's life bitter, but she sweetened it with candy through her charity [...] here, we see her wisdom in that *Charitas diffusa est in corde eius* [...] was poured out without fury or indignation to anyone who was asking in the name of Jesus [...]. This wisdom was founded upon love [...], which it was so passionate about that everyone was comfortable with it, and the poor had their consolation, the subjects safety, and the sick their contentment. She never frowned upon almsgiving, and everyone had a rescue in her to resort to, and with this she strove for eternal victory and [...] gilded poor churches, monasteries, hospitals and others in any other deprivation remaining [...].³⁴

The quotation invoked above reveals the most important components of the model of a charitable Christian woman, as well as the formal closeness of the styles used by both Dziembiński and Klecki. It is worth mentioning that the description of Krzycka's attitude was not only supposed to convince her of certain salvation, but it was also supposed to perform parenetical functions, providing an example of piety for the living. This kind of commonly repeated message, apart from the significance it undoubtedly had for the family of the deceased, contributed to a certain social climate in which the poor could count on the institutional help of the Church. It was imperfect support, but since the Middle Ages it had been part of the Polish reality, which could not have been without private founders and their donations.

The way the theme of poverty functioned in Franciscan preaching can be assumed to illustrate the significance of preacher's metatext functioning in

³² Ludwik DZIEMBIŃSKI, *Elekcja w polu ojczystym*, k. k2r.

³³ Bernardyn KLECKI, *Wiktoria w polu ozdób i swobód polskiego świata fortunnym nieśmiertelną w tryumfalnych zaszczytach sławą w walecznym; w kursie dni życia swojego dwojakim sukursiem; to jest: spojonymi w diamentowe ogniwa Aboriginów klejnotami oraz egzemplarnych dzieł i dziedzicznych cnót kopia JW. Jmć Pani Anatolii z Krzyckich Grabowskiej kasztelanowej chełmińskiej z łakomej (na wieczne życie ludzkie zabójce) Libityny otrzymana, W kościele poznańskim WW. OO. Bernardynów przy funeralnej pompie i liczego powadze auditora ogłoszona, a na temperaturę z natury nieutulonych kochającego przyjaciela żalów. JW. Jmci Pan Jan of Gotzendorff Grabowskiemu kasztelanowi chełmińskiemu oddana (Poznań, 1737); see also Wiesław MURAWIEC, "Klecki Bernardyn," in *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, p. 224.*

³⁴ Bernardyn KLECKI, *Wiktoria w polu ozdób i swobód*, k. h.

the Old Polish culture as a symbolic message, creating meanings that are important for the Sarmatian axiology. In this context, it should be emphasized that the intense sacralization of poverty in ritually shaped social communication was a guarantee of a permanent presence of this subject in the consciousness of the recipients. This is evidenced by recurring references to poverty in various types of preaching and the circumstances surrounding it. On the other hand, it is difficult to determine how and to what extent this sacralisation affected the sensitivity of the public and some social practices. For example, the so-called mourning bread handed out to the poor during funeral celebrations demonstrated the fact that the religiously motivated social climate which inspired charity was nurtured. On the other hand, poverty functioning in the preacher's discourse can be considered as one of those cultural symbols that defined the place and meaning of *caritas* in the Old Polish culture.

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dzieł i dziedzicznych cnót kopia JW. Jmć Pani Anatolii z Krzyckich Grabowskiej kasztelanowej chełmińskiej z takomej (na wieczne życie ludzkie zabójce) Libityny otrzymana, W kościele poznańskimi WW. OO. Bernardynów przy funeralnej pompie i liczego powadze auditora ogłoszona, a na temperaturę z natury prawa nieutulonych kochającego przyjaciela żalów. JW. Jmci Panu Janowi z Gotzendorff Grabowskiemu kasztelanowi chełmińskiemu [...] oddana. Poznań, 1737.

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THE SYMBOLIC ROLE OF POVERTY
IN THE FRANCISCAN PREACHING OF THE SAXON ERA

Summary

The article presents selected aspects of the functioning of the concept of poverty in the narrative of Old Polish Franciscan preaching of the Saxon era. The relationship between the context formed by Old Polish culture and the role of the idea of poverty in the Franciscan movement is presented. The author attempts to present the adaptation of the *topica*, drawing on the broadly conceived Christian tradition, to the realities of the Polish Republic. To do so, an analysis of the discourse of various types of sermons is presented. The object of the analysis is Sunday and holiday preaching. The article, though, focuses on funeral sermons, which apparently has great significance for the Sarmatian culture. The concluding section highlights the extreme importance of the issue of poverty as one of those cultural symbols that defined the place and meaning of *caritas* in Old Polish culture. It was also necessary to form various aspects of the social sensitivity of those times.

Key words: preaching; poverty; charity; axiology; social communication; Franciscanism.

Translated by Tomasz Pałkowski



The preparation of the English version of *Roczniki Humanistyczne (Annals of Arts)* and its publication in electronic databases was financed under contract no. 836/P–DUN/2018 from the resources of the Minister of Science and Higher Education for the popularization of science.