

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN KRAKÓW

THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY
BULLETIN



SPECIAL ISSUE

KRAKÓW 2020

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The original version of the Bulletin is the e-version on the Jagiellonian Library website
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Publication of this special issue of the Jagiellonian Library Bulletin in English is financed under contract
No. 673/P-DUN/2019
by the funds of the Minister of Science and Higher Education allocated for disseminating scholarly achievements



Ministerstwo Nauki
i Szkolnictwa Wyższego

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Poland

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Kraków 2020

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The publication is co-financed by the Jagiellonian University in Kraków from the Jagiellonian Library funds

ISBN 978-83-955592-8-0

ISBN 978-83-955592-9-7 (online)

ISSN 0006-3940

ISSN 2450-0410 (online)

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DOI: 10.26106/45ZF-5G09

THE FIVE STAGES OF GRIEF IN HORACE'S *ODE* I.24

Why blush to let our tears unmeasured fall
For one so dear? Begin the mournful stave,
Melpomene, to whom the sire of all
Sweet voice with music gave.

And sleeps he then the heavy sleep of death,
Quintilius? Piety, twin sister dear
Of Justice! naked Truth! unsullied Faith!
When will ye find his peer?

By many a good man wept, Quintilius dies;
By none than you, my Virgil, trulier wept:
Devout in vain, you chide the faithless skies,
Asking your loan ill-kept.

No, though more suave than the bard of Thrace
You swept the lyre that trees were fain to hear,
Ne'er should the blood revisit his pale face
Whom once with wand severe

Mercury has folded with the sons of night,
Untaught to prayer Fate's prison to unseal.
Ah, heavy grief! but patience makes more light
What sorrow may not heal.

(transl. John Conington)

I.

Ode I.24 by Horace – described by David Porter as being one of the few “truly tragic”¹ in the collection – is about a real event and – like Virgil’s journey to Greece (the subject of the *Propempticon* to Virgil [I.3]) – made a huge impact on the poet. This event was the death of Quintilius Varus, who was a dear friend of his. Quintilius Varus was the addressee of *Ode* I.18 and there are references to him in the poet’s other works.²

As we now know, this poem was included in the first volume of the *Odes* as part of a planned sequence presenting the consecutive stages of human life. *Odes* I.23 and I.25 – preceding and following *Ode* I.24 – are devoted to the subject of love. The former deals with the feelings of young people, while the latter deals with those of older people. *Ode* I.24 deals with the difficult subject of the death of a close friend and in particular the grief that follows such a loss.³

Quintilius Varus, who died prematurely in 24 BC, was a member of the inner circle of the writers of the so-called Golden Age of Latin poetry – a group which had connections with the court of the Emperor Augustus. The dead man’s relations with Horace were not confined to social circles, but also encompassed artistic matters. He was a harsh, yet – as scholars now believe – “constructive” critic of his friend’s poetry.

In the ode which he devoted to Quintilius Varus, Horace speaks of him as an impartial reader and reviewer of his poems who pitilessly pointed out every imperfection, while encouraging the poet to improve whatever needed improving:⁴

*Quintilio siquid recitares: “Corrige, sodes,
hoc” aiebat “et hoc”; melius te posse negares,
bis terque epertum frustra; deler iuebat
et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.*
(l. 438–441)

*If you ever read Quintilius anything, he’d say:
‘Oh do change this, and this.’ If, after two or three
Vain attempts, you could do no better; he’d order
Deletion: ‘return the ill-made verse to the anvil.’
(transl. A.S. Kline)⁵*

¹ See D. H. Porter, *Horace’s Poetic Journey. A Reading of Odes 1–3*, New Jersey 1987, p. 85.

² See Hor. *Ars*. 438–444; Hor. *Carm.* I.18.1; Hor. *Ep.* 5.74. As *Varius*: Hor. *Sat.* I.5.39–42, 93; Hor. *Sat.* I.6.55; Hor. *Sat.* I.9.23; Hor. *Sat.* I.10.44.81; Hor. *Sat.* II.8.21.63.

³ See H. F u q u a, *Horace Carm. 1. 23–25*, “Classical Philology” 63, 1 (Jan., 1968), p. 45.

⁴ See M. E. C l a r k, *Quintilius’ Ethos as Critic of the Poet: Horace, AP 438–44*, “Classical World” 85, 3 (Jan.–Feb., 1992), pp. 229–231.

⁵ H o r a c e, *Ars Poetica, or: Epistle to The Pisos*, transl. A. S. K l i n e, [online] https://www.poetry-intranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/HoraceArsPoetica.php#anchor_Toc98156253 [accessed on: May 26, 2020].

Quintilius Varus was a friend not only of Horace, but also of Virgil, who in Eclogue 6 (which would appear to have been dedicated to Quintilius himself and not, as some scholars claim, to Alfenus Varus)⁶ proclaims that trees in the sacred grove will sing his praises: *'tis of you, Varus, our tamarisks shall sing, of you all our groves (te nostrae, Vare, myricae, / te nemus omne canet, lines 10–11)*⁷. Interestingly, there is a similar motif in Horace's *Ode* I.24, where, however, it is Virgil who – like a modern Orpheus – sings the praises of his deceased friend while the trees listen to his lament in silence: *No, though more suasive than the bard of Thrace / You swept the lyre that trees were fain to hear (Quid si Threicio bandius Orpheo / auditam moderere arboribus fidem?, lines 13–14)*.

This might have been an uncanny coincidence, although – given the timing of the publication of both works (*Ode* I.24 was written around 24 BC, while the *Eclogues* were written between 42 and 37 BC) – Horace may well have made a conscious reference to the Eclogue which his friend Virgil had dedicated to Varus while the latter was still alive. This might well have been the reason for the peculiar reversal of Virgil's motif in Horace's *Ode* I.24, though there is not enough proof to allow us to say with any certainty that the allusion was made deliberately.⁸

Eclogue 6 and *Ode* I.24 share three other similarities. The first is the motif of muses which is to be found in both works. *Ode* I.24 begins with an apostrophe to Melpomene that calls on her to celebrate the deceased Varus with a lament, while in Eclogue 6 the poet refers to his “rustic” or bucolic muse: *now will I woo the rustic Muse on slender reed (agrestem tenui meditabor hirundine musam, line 8)*.

The second of these similarities is the motif of Orpheus, which is also present in both works. Virgil merely makes a passing mention (*not so do Rhodope and Ismarus marvel at their Orpheus – nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea, line 30*), whereas Horace greatly expands this motif, comparing Virgil in mourning to the legendary Thracian bard (*Quod si Threicio blandius Orpheo / auditam moderere arboribus fidem?, Ode* I.24, 13–14).

An interesting interpretation of this passage has been put forward by Philip Thibodeau,⁹ who – on the basis of Horace's comparison of Virgil to Orph-

⁶ See e.g. H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil*, Berkely 1942, p. 229. The issue of two Varuses (with a settlement for Quintilius) has been described in detail by Emma A. Hahn. See E. A. Hahn, *The Characters in the Eclogues*, “Translations and Proceedings of the American Philological Association” 75, 1944, pp. 233–236. The literary context indicates however, that Varus in *Eclogue* 6 and Varus in *Ode* I.24 might be the same person.

⁷ All translations of the Eclogue 6 – H. R. Fairclough, [online] <https://www.theoi.com/Text/VirgilEclogues.html#6> [accessed on: May 26, 2020].

⁸ Regarding Horace's allusions to Virgil, see L. Herrmann, *Virgile à Athènes d'après Horace*, “Revue des Études Anciennes” 37, 1, 1935, pp. 16–17.

⁹ See P. Thibodeau, *Can Vergil Cry? Epicureanism in Horace Odes 1.24*, “Classical Journal” 98, 3 (Feb.–Mar., 2003), p. 247.

eus¹⁰ – draws attention to the parallel: Virgil – Orpheus, Quintilius Varus – Eurydice. There are limits to the “magical” power of Virgil’s poetry: although it can move trees (just like the songs of Orpheus), it cannot bring our lost loved ones back to life.¹¹ Here, however, the comparison of Virgil to Orpheus on the one hand and of Varus to Eurydice on the other is not purely aesthetical (in the sense that it is a beautiful analogy extolling Virgil’s exceptional poetic talent). In the context of the whole work, the *intentio textus* stemming from this parallel serves to further emphasize the emotional bond that existed between the deceased and his artistic friends, as well as the extent of their grief.

The portrait of Virgil in the throes of such deep pain has been interpreted in various ways. Some scholars, such as Akbar Khan, interpret *Ode* I.24 as being a work that is critical of Virgil, whom Horace chides for exercising “insufficient control over his emotions.”¹² Thibodeau also detects some criticism here, though he sees it not as an expression of personal animosity between the poets, but rather as a display of Horace’s Epicurean honesty towards Virgil, whose lament would be seen as being unnecessary by any Epicurean.¹³

Such a reading of *Ode* I.24 is based on the fact that in two other mournful *Odes* (I.33 and II.9), Horace does criticize lamenting addressees for their lack of restraint in displaying emotion.¹⁴ In *Ode* I.33 he chides the elegist Abius Tibullus for his excessive indulgence in sorrow after the loss of his beloved Glycera, while in *Ode* II.9 he advises Valgius to end his long period of mourning after the premature death of his young friend Mystes. However, the events described in these two works did not personally involve the lyrical subject (i.e. the poet himself). Moreover, it is worth mentioning that in *Ode* I.33 we are dealing not with true mourning, but with “mourning” used as a metaphor (mourning that is not funereal, but erotic),¹⁵ whereas in *Ode* I.24 Horace is referring to an event that also affects him personally.

In the context of Horace’s professed Epicureanism and his reproachful rhetorical questions, one might think that Virgil had been wasting his time by allowing himself to be immersed in the depths of despair. However, such an interpretation of Horace’s poem is quite clearly at odds with the meaning of the (equally rhetorical) question which is to be found in its first two lines: are there any limits to the pain

¹⁰ The use of the Orpheus motif in a mournful poem was not Horace’s innovation. It had been used before in *Alcestis* of Euripides (line 965nn.), see G. P a s q u a l i, *Orazio lirico*, Firenze 1920, p. 255.

¹¹ See P. T h i b o d e a u, op. cit., p. 247.

¹² See A. K h a n, *Horace’s Ode to Virgil on the Death of Quintilius: 1.24*, [in:] *Why Horace? A Collection of Interpretations*, ed. W. S. A n d e r s o n, Wacuonda (IL) 1999, pp. 78, 80.

¹³ See P. T h i b o d e a u, op. cit., p. 252.

¹⁴ See M. L o w r i e, *Lyric’s “Elegos” and the Aristotelian Mean: Horace, “C” 1.24, 1.33 and 2.9*, “Classical World” 87, 5 (May–June, 1994), p. 377.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

caused by the loss of a loved one? (*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus / tam cari capitis?*, lines 1–2). Here the lyrical subject clearly speaks from the heart and seems to fully identify himself with the chorus of grieving friends, while Virgil only comes to the foreground in the third strophe, after the rhetorical questions posed in the first two strophes. Notwithstanding the critical overtones of the words addressed to Virgil, Horace would not seem to be treating him as being a person who is expressing an inappropriate attitude towards unhappiness (and whose morale therefore needs to be strengthened by means of a poetic and philosophical *vituperatio*), but rather as a person who is grieving over the loss of a close friend.

In his role of key mourner – the representative of a group of poets who are immersed in grief after the sudden death of a valued friend and critic – Virgil becomes not merely a mourning companion, but (to a certain degree) an object of observation in the eyes of his author-friend, almost like a statue of Orpheus lamenting Eurydice, accompanied by the captivating sounds of his lyre – an attitude that has been immortalized in song by Horace the Epicurean.

II.

Ode I.24 begins with a strophe expressing Horace's deep grief over the loss of a friend. He refers to the deceased man using the tender term *carum caput* – literally “dear head.” This part of the work depicts the feeling of emptiness and yearning that is typical of mourning and that psychologists call the depression stage.¹⁶ Despite the identical name, it does not share many similarities with depression as a disease, though it can take on a pathological form and develop into clinical depression.¹⁷ The emotionally charged rhetorical question: “Can shame and temperance somehow deter the immensity of grief for the deceased?” (*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus / tam cari capitis?*, lines 1–2) concerns this stage of bereavement, when those who are mourning allow themselves to be dominated by their emotions. Horace's poem becomes an outlet for these feelings: “Begin the mournful stave, Melpomene” (*Praecipue lugubris / cantus, Melpomene*, lines 2–3).

The next strophe of the ode contains an element of incredulity and even indignation: “How is it possible that Quintilius, so loved by his friends, fell into the eternal sleep to never wake again?” (*Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor / urget?*, lines 5–6). “Will there ever be a man to match the humility, honesty and fidelity of the deceased” (*Cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror, / incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas / quando ullum inveniet parem?*, lines 6–8)? The emotions expressed in this strophe match another stage

¹⁶ See E. Kübler-Ross, D. Kessler, *On Grief and Grieving. Finding the Meaning of Grief through the Five Stages of Loss*, New York–London–Toronto–Sydney 2005, p. 20.

¹⁷ See L. Grinberg, *Guilt and Depression*, transl. Ch. Trollope, London–New York 1992, p. 129.

of mourning, which psychologists call denial.¹⁸ This definition is also quite misleading: in the case of people who are terminally ill, denial means pretending that the condition which has been diagnosed simply does not exist,¹⁹ whereas in the case of people grieving over the death of someone close, denial merely refers to the stage during which they cannot come to terms with the loss of their loved one. A typical phrase used by people in mourning is: “I can’t believe he is dead.”²⁰ Horace’s rhetorical question – full of disbelief – has exactly such a meaning: “And sleeps he then the heavy sleep of death, Quintilius?” (*Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor / urget?*, lines 5–6).

The third strophe, which is central to the ode as a whole, presents the reactions of the dead critic’s acquaintances to the news of his untimely death. Horace concentrates mainly on Virgil, whose emotional ties to the much lamented Quintilius Varus are no lesser than his own. In vain, Virgil pleads with the gods to return Quintilius, who in the past interceded with them on his behalf: “Devout in vain, you chide the faithless skies, Asking your loan ill-kept”²¹ (*Tu frustra pius, heu, non ita creditum / poscis Quintilium deos*, lines 11–12). He feels cheated by the gods. As a pious (*pius*) person, he entrusted his friend to the gods, asking for their benevolence and care, only to have him snatched away from the world of the living. This may constitute yet another reference to Virgil’s Eclogue 6: *To Phoebus no page is more welcome than that which bears on its front the name of Varus (nec Phoebus gratior ulla est quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen*, lines 11–12). The gods, however, seem to understand this as a request for the exact opposite: instead of taking Quintilius into their care, they “take” him from Virgil as a kind of a horrific gift. That is why the lyrical subject complains with bitterness: *non ita creditum* – “a loan ill-kept.”

The third strophe therefore matches that stage of grief which psychologists call bargaining.²² People who are grieving often ask themselves the question: “what would happen / what would have happened if I ...?,” tormenting themselves simultaneously with accusations that it was their own irresponsible behaviour that contributed to the death of their loved one. This is how the lyrical subject feels – and Virgil with him. They both feel cheated and even mocked by the gods, as if their naïve “entrusting” of Quintilius Varus to their care had led to his death. This strophe also contains an element of anger,²³ which is very conspicuous further on in the poem (strophe four and the middle of strophe five), when the lyrical subject expresses his frustration by

¹⁸ See E. Kübler-Ross, D. Kessler, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁹ See S. Scott, *Delay in seeking help*, [in:] *Cambridge Handbook of Psychology, Health and Medicine*, ed. S. Ayers et al. (2nd edition), London 2007, p. 71.

²⁰ See E. Kübler-Ross, D. Kessler, op. cit., p. 8.

²¹ The *tu frustra pius [...] poscis* contains an ambiguity – it can mean both “devout in vain [...] asking” and “devout [...] asking in vain.”

²² See E. Kübler-Ross, D. Kessler, op. cit., p. 17.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

means of two consecutive rhetorical questions: *though more suasive than the bard of Thrace you swept the lyre that trees were fain to hear, what comes of it?* (*Quid si Threicio blandius Orpheo / auditam moderere arboribus fidem?*, lines 13–14) and *Should the blood revisit his pale face, whom once with wand severe Mercury has folded with the sons of night, untaught to prayer Fate's prison to unseal?* (*Num vanae redeat sanguis imagini / quam virga semel horrida, / nn lenis precibus fata recludere / nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi*, lines 15–18).

Horace also uses language that is emotionally very intense and is at the same time full of clear contrasts: the phrase *vana imago* (the pale face) stands in opposition to the word *sanguis* (blood); similarly, the word *fides* (lyre) stands in glaring contrast to the phrase *virga horrida* (severe wand) describing Mercury's wand – which godly attribute is used by the “guide of the souls.”²⁴

Here we may also note that the Latin noun *fides* is a homonym of the word “faith,” which in the context of the aforementioned futility of Virgil's prayers and the alleged perversity of the gods gives this contrast a meaning that is even stronger and more emotional. On the one hand, there is the lyre or the faith of the poet Virgil, while on the other, there is the relentless, cruel judgment of the gods.

The last two strophes of the poem exhibit a surprisingly different tone. There is no anger, sadness or frustration in them. Instead, they are full of truly philosophical, Epicurean tranquility: *Heavy grief, but patience makes more light, what sorrow may not heal* (*durum: sed levius fit patientia / quicquid corrigere est nefas*, lines 19–20). Interestingly, these strophes also coincide with the last stage of grief, which is commonly known as acceptance.²⁵ Horace advises Virgil to come to terms with the misfortune as soon as possible, as this will allow him to close a painful chapter that prevents him from feeling the joy of life. As he concedes, however, this is by no means an easy task.

A careful reading of *Ode I.24* – not only in its original, historical context, but also taking into account the findings of modern psychology – shows that many centuries before the five stages of mourning were defined by modern psychology, the Roman poet Horace had instinctively distinguished them, basing his remarkably accurate portrayal on his insightful observations of Virgil, who was also unable to come to terms with the death of their mutual close friend. At the same time, the image of a bard stricken with grief inspired Horace to turn Virgil into an almost allegoric figure: a second Orpheus.

Translated by Jacek Smycz

²⁴ See M. J. Putnam, *The Language of Horace's "Odes" I.24*, “Classical Journal” 88, 2 (Dec., 1992 – Jan., 1993), p. 128. Additional information regarding Mercury's wand, see J. Rüpke, *Merkur am Ende: Horaz, Carmen I.30*, “Hermes” 126, 4, 1998, p. 448; P. Thibodeau, op. cit., p. 247.

²⁵ See E. Kübler-Ross, D. Kessler, op. cit., p. 24.

SUMMARY

Long before modern psychology classified and explained the five stages of mourning, the Roman poet Horace made an intuitive portrayal of these stages in his *Ode* I.24, which was written on the death of his friend Quintilius Varus. In this poem, Horace describes the consecutive phases of grief in bereavement – nowadays defined as depression, denial, bargaining, anger and acceptance – with remarkable accuracy.

KEYWORDS:

Horace, Quintilius Varus, Virgil, *Ode* I.24, the five stages of grief, psychology

PIĘĆ STADIÓW ŻAŁOBY W *ODZIE* I.24 HORACEGO

STRESZCZENIE

Na długo przed wyszczególnieniem przez psychologów pięciu etapów żałoby rzymski poeta Horacy instynktownie uczynił to w swojej *Odzie* 1.24, napisanej po śmierci przyjaciela, Kwintyliusza Warusa. W utworze tym poeta bardzo trafnie scharakteryzował kolejno stadia depresji, zaprzeczenia, negocjowania, gniewu oraz akceptacji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Horacy, Kwintyliusz Warus, Wergiliusz, *Oda* 1.24, pięć faz żałoby, psychologia

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DOI: 10.26106/9G2A-C498

ITALIAN RHETORIC IN THE MANUSCRIPT NO. 126
FROM THE COLLECTION
OF THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

This article is devoted to the collection of rhetorical texts brought from Italy – mainly speeches and letters – included in the 15th-century manuscript no. 126 of the Jagiellonian Library.¹ This manuscript has long aroused the interest of researchers of the Late Middle Ages and early humanism, who agree that it is a copy of a hypothetical manuscript brought from Italy to Cracow by John of Ludzisko (Jan z Ludziska), a medical student in Padua. It also contains all the known speeches of John of Ludzisko, based precisely on the models from the aforementioned collection of rhetorical texts. In addition, as Juliusz Domański pointed out in his study on the beginnings of humanism in Poland, this manuscript is the oldest codex created in Cracow to include both

¹ The research was conducted as part of the project *The reception of Italian intellectual culture in the Krakow university environment from ca. the second half of the 14th century until the end of the 15th century* financed by the National Center of Science, granted on the basis of decision number DEC-2012/07/N/HS3/00514. The following abbreviations are used in the text: BA – Biblioteca Ambrosiana; B. Arciv. – Biblioteca Arcivescovile; BAV – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BJ – the Jagiellonian Library; BCzart. – the Princes Czartoryski Library; BL – British Library; BN – National Library in Warsaw; BOZ – the Zamoyski Family Library; BNM – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; BSB – Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Oss. – the Ossolinski National Institute Library; DBI – *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*; PSB – *Polish biographical dictionary*; SPK – Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz; WL – Württembergische Landesbibliothek. The term ‘Italian’ in the text will refer to the place of origin of the texts, not to the language in which the texts were written – all the texts discussed are in Latin. The term ‘Cracow’ manuscripts in the text does not refer to the current location of the manuscripts, but to the fact of their belonging to persons associated with the Cracow intellectual milieu in the 15th century or the fact that they were written in Cracow.

humanistic texts and rhetorical works of a medieval nature.² The previous studies on the manuscript have focused on codicological issues and have failed to identify all texts and authors.³ Little attention has been paid to the very structure of this manuscript, the principles of grouping the texts, or the phenomenon of certain texts being dependent on others. There has been no exhaustive analysis of the relationship between this manuscript and other manuscripts containing rhetorical texts brought by John of Ludzisko.⁴ The below analysis of the ‘Italian’ part of the MS BJ 126 will serve to demonstrate the principles of the organization of Italian rhetorical texts, including texts representing the so-called new Italian rhetoric, which may be the starting point for future considerations on the creation of such manuscripts and reception of Italian rhetoric.

The notion of ‘new’ humanistic rhetoric refers not only to the very fact of drawing from ancient models, but also to the way in which these models are evoked and to understanding the very role of rhetoric, which at the time ceased to be subordinated to other disciplines. The desire to imitate the style of the ancients also brought intellectual changes; the imitation of ancient styles, categories and vocabulary had an impact on cognitive processes.⁵ The ‘new’ Italian humanistic rhetoric, just like humanism, was not a homogeneous phenomenon and underwent a number of transfor-

² J. D o m a ń s k i, *Początki humanizmu*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1982, pp. 87–89.

³ The exact catalogue description of the MS BJ 126 with extensive incipits and explicits was given by J. S. B o j a r s k i, *Jan z Ludziska i przypisywane mu mowy uniwersyteckie*, “Studia Mediewistyczne” 14, 1973, pp. 38–54. A more recent description, taking into account the current foliation, is contained in *Catalogus codicum mancriptorum medii aevi Latinorum, qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 1, eds. Z. W ł o d e k, J. Z a t h e y, M. Z w i e r c a n, Wrocław 1980, pp. 99–115. However, the authors of the catalogue have not identified all the texts. Recently, G. Franczak has made new discoveries regarding the identification and circumstances of the creation of some Italian rhetorical texts from this manuscript, but he based his research on the description from *Catalogus codicum* and has not read the manuscript itself, G. F r a n c z a k, “*Vix imitabilis.*” *La Griselda Polacca fra letteratura e cultura popolare*, Kraków–Udine 2006, pp. 62–64.

⁴ A group of manuscripts containing rhetorical texts brought by John of Ludzisko is discussed by G. F r a n c z a k (op. cit., p. 75), who lists seven manuscripts: BJ 42, BJ 126, BJ 173, BJ 2232, BCzart. 1242, Oss. 601 and manuscript of the Library of the University of Wrocław IV Q 48. In the case of the last of the manuscripts listed, which belonged to the monastery in Henryków and whose place of origin has not been determined, the only common element is the translation of the tale of Griselda by Petrarch, see W. G o b e r, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, vol. 19, p. 185, [online] <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=19190> [accessed on: July 10, 2016]. According to G. Franczak, the editors of the story about Griselda in this manuscript, written in 1447, depended on the lost manuscript belonging to John of Ludzisko, see G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 96.

⁵ C. V a s o l i, *La dialettica e la retorica dell’Umanesimo. „Invenzione” e „Metodo” nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo*, Milano 1968, pp. 3, 29; R. G. W i t t, *Sulle tracce degli antichi. Padova, Firenze e le origini dell’umanesimo*, transl. D. D e R o s a, Roma 2005, p. 29.

mations, and the issue of its beginnings arises controversy among researchers.⁶ It is generally accepted that the development of humanism saw its turning point around the year 1400, when Italian humanists of the generation of Leonardo Bruni began to imitate the style of one specific ancient author (Cicero); this distinguished them from their predecessors, who imitated the styles of various authors.⁷ A phenomenon characteristic of the 15th century was the coexistence of medieval and humanistic rhetoric within the same manuscripts and even the same work. Humanists often used forms typical of medieval rhetoric in public letters and speeches, while in private writings they imitated ancient writers.⁸

The biography of John of Ludzisko has been studied by Jan Fijałek, Bronisław Nadolski, Marian Friedberg, Jacek Stanisław Bojarski and Mieczysław Markowski.⁹ It is known that in the years 1430–1433 John was studying medicine in Padua, where

⁶ Some researchers considered Petrarch to be the initiator of humanistic revival, see S. R i z z o, *Il latino del Petrarca e il latino dell'umanesimo*, [in:] *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell'umanesimo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, 19–22 maggio, 1991*, “Quaderni petrarcheschi” 9–10, 1992–1993, pp. 349–350; According to R. G. W i t t, op. cit., pp. 85–177, the origins of humanism have been associated with the activities of the Paduan writers – Lovato Lovati (around 1240–1309) and Albertino Mussato (1261–1329), while other researchers have used the term ‘prehumanism’ (‘preumanesimo’), just like in the classical work of G. B i l l a n o v i c h, *Il preumanesimo padovano*, [in:] *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 2: *Il Trecento*, eds. G. A r n a l d i, M. P a s t o r e S t o c c h i, Vicenza 1976, pp. 40–85.

⁷ Researchers use the terms ‘oratory humanism’ or ‘first Ciceronianism’ (‘primo ciceronianismo,’ ‘premier cicéronianisme’) in reference to the first fifteen years of the 15th century, as opposed to mature Ciceronianism at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries; see R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 30; M. F u m a r o l i, *L'Âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et «res literaria» de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Genève 2002, pp. 337–346; P. O. K r i s t e l l e r, *Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance*, [in:] i d e m, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, New York 1979, pp. 85–105; D. G i r g e n s o h n, *Studenti e tradizione delle opere di Francesco Zabarella nell'Europa centrale*, [in:] *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana: atti del Convegno, Padova 6–8 febbraio 1998*, eds. F. P i o v a n, L. S i t r a n R e a, Trieste 2001, pp. 167–176; C. R e v e s t, *Naissance du cicéronianisme et émergence de l'humanisme comme culture dominante: réflexions pour une histoire de la rhétorique humaniste comme pratique sociale*, “Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge” 125–1 (2013), [online] <https://mefrm.revues.org/1192#ftn3> [accessed on: January 22, 2016].

⁸ R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 11; S. Ś w i e ż a w s k i, *Dzieje filozofii europejskiej XV wieku*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1974, p. 341.

⁹ J. F i j a ł e k, *Polonia apud Italos scholastica saeculum XV*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1900, pp. 79–83; B. N a d o l s k i, *Rola Jana z Ludziska w polskim Odrodzeniu*, “Pamiętnik Literacki” XXVI, 1929, pp. 198–211; i d e m, *Jan z Ludziska*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 10, Wrocław 1953, p. 461; i d e m, *Jan z Ludziska, pionier Odrodzenia w Polsce*, Inowrocław–Strzelno 1977; M. F r i e d b e r g, *Kancelaria m. Kazimierza pod Krakowem. 1335–1802*, “Archeion” XXXVI, 1962, pp. 144–145; J. S. B o j a r s k i, *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 3–85; M. M a r k o w s k i, *Działalność Jana z Ludziska na polu astronomii w świetle rękopisów Państwowej Biblioteki ZSRR im. W. I. Lenina w Moskwie i Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XXIII, 1973, pp. 57–67.

he obtained a doctoral degree (March 9, 1433).¹⁰ However, the researchers continued to debate the issue of the duration of John's stay in Italy and the question of his possible rhetorical studies.¹¹ Jan Fijałek and Bronisław Nadolski suggested that he could have studied under one of two famous rhetoricians, namely Gasparino Barzizza of Bergamo or Guarino of Verona.¹² These hypotheses were rejected by Jacek S. Bojarski.¹³ While it seems that the presence of rhetorical texts in the MS BJ 126 does not necessarily suggest that John of Ludzisko did undertake regular studies under the direction of one of the famous Northern Italian rhetoricians, one should nonetheless consider the possibility of John coming into contact with the 'new' rhetoric in Padua itself.

At the beginning of the 15th century, certain conditions which had arisen in Padua favoured the development of rhetoric and grammar, and allowed both disciplines to become independent of strictly professional purposes and of their subordination to logic. One of the factors contributing to this change was the separation of the Faculty of Arts and Medicine (*Universitas artistarum et medicorum*) from the Faculty of Law (*Universitas iuristarum*). In Padua, this resulted in rhetoric gaining a stronger connection to medicine rather than to law (the attempt to introduce humanism at the University of Pavia, where teaching rhetoric remained largely the domain of lawyers, proved unsuccessful despite the efforts of Lorenzo Valla, who assumed the chair of the faculty in 1431).¹⁴ In addition, with the introduction of a separate subject – *Ars notaria* – as part of the curriculum of legal studies, teaching rhetoric and grammar was given freedom to develop without being subordinated to the needs of law. This explains why one of the first manuscripts containing an Italian collection of rhetorical texts was brought to Poland by a Pole studying medicine in Italy, and not a Polish student of law.¹⁵

Studia humanitatis were introduced at the University of Padua in the form of optional lectures with attendance open to the whole university. The students were asked to pay to enrol in such classes, so the scholar conducting them had to make sure they remained 'attractive.' Their form resembled inaugural lectures given to the

¹⁰ J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 24–25; J. Fijałek, op. cit., p. 79.

¹¹ B. Nadolski, *Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 200; J. Fijałek, op. cit., pp. 75, 83.

¹² J. Fijałek, op. cit., p. 83.

¹³ J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 28.

¹⁴ M. Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla: nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, Roma 1969, p. 47.

¹⁵ In the years 1400–1430, at least nine Poles studied law in Padua: Paul Vladimiri (Paweł Włodkowiec), Andrew Łaskarz (Andrzej Łaskarz), Peter Wolfram (Piotr Wolfram), Peter Leszczyc of Lubstów (Piotr Leszczyc z Lubstowa), Nicholas Kicki (Mikołaj Kicki), John of Poland (Jan z Polski), Władysław Oporowski, Wojciech Jastrzębiec, the canon of Gniezno called James (Jakub), see J. Fijałek, op. cit., pp. 3–15, 20–26, 33–44, 49–56, 62–65; D. Gallo, *Lauree inedite in diritto civile e canonico presso lo Studio di Padova (1419–1422, 1423, 1424, 1428)*, "Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova" XX, 1987, pp. 11, 19, 23, 25, 27; L. Gargan, *Nuovi codici „condotti” a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, "Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova" XXII–XXIII, 1989–1990, pp. 19, 33–35.

entire university community at the beginning of each academic year. The themes tackled during the lectures often reflected the issues discussed in humanities-centred debates held outside the university.¹⁶

Since the mid-14th century, the model of teaching rhetoric and grammar in Padua was shaped under the influence of Petrarch (invited to Padua in 1349 and active in the area of Padua and Venice from 1361 until his death in 1374), and later under the influence of rhetorician Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio. Gasparino Barzizza (1360–1431), professor at the universities of Pavia (1403–1407 and 1428–1429), Padua (1407–1421), Bologna (1426–1428) and also a private teacher (for example in Venice in 1407), played an important role in introducing Ciceronian models to Padua.¹⁷

STRUCTURE OF THE MS BJ 126

The main part of the MS BJ 126, containing rhetorical works brought from Italy (ff. 1–40r, perhaps also Petrarch's piece on ff. 40r–42v), was written in two columns by several scribes (folios 1–6 and 15–32 were written by the same hand) in Cracow in the 1540s.¹⁸ The leather binding of the manuscript dates to around 1450, while the paper is slightly older. The speeches by John of Ludzisko (ff. 51r–73r), intersected by a fragment of the *Prologue* of Leonardo Bruni to the translation of Plato's *Phaedo* dedicated to Innocent VII,¹⁹ were written down in one column, with most of the text recorded by an unknown scribe and a part written by Peter Gaszowiec (Piotr Gaszowiec, d. 1474), the first known owner of this manuscript, astronomer and doctor of medicine, three-time rector of the University of Cracow, considered to be a student of John of Ludzisko.²⁰ Later, after binding the manuscript, the blank pages

¹⁶ G. Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza with Special Reference to His Place in Paduan Humanism*, London 1979, p. 43.

¹⁷ P. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, Baltimore–London 2004, p. 208; R. G. Mercer, op. cit., pp. 12–19, 135–136; R. G. Witt, op. cit., pp. 87–95. In the biography of Gasparino Barzizza, the date of death was specified as February 1431, see G. Martellotti, *Barzizza Gasperino*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 7, Roma 1970, pp. 34–39.

¹⁸ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 114–115.

¹⁹ Unidentified author in *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 110, see J. S. Bojarski, *De laudibus et dignitate philosophiae oratio*, “Medievalia Philosophica Polonorum” XIII, 1968, p. 46.

²⁰ A. Birkenmajer, *Gaszowiec Piotr*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 7, pp. 294–295; B. Nadolski, *Humanistyczne mowy lekarza Piotra Gaszowca*, “Pamiętnik Literacki” XXVIII, 1931, pp. 461–462; B. Nadolski (*Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 200) believed that the speeches of John of Ludzisko included in MS BJ 126 were copied by the author himself. Later researchers found, however, that the MS BJ 126 did not contain the handwriting of John of Ludzisko as the writing ductus differed from this present in the writing of John of Ludzisko known from a note in the municipal records of Kazimierz and the treatise of Johannes Dank on solar eclipse copied by John, M. Friedberg, op. cit., pp. 144–145; J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 54.

were filled with speeches by Peter Gaszowiec (ff. 73v–77r), written down by the author himself and partly by Peter Świętopełk (Piotr Świętopełk, d. 1497) of Ząbrzec (Rząbiec near Włoszczowa), who came in possession of the manuscript after Gaszowiec, and then handed it over to the library of Collegium Maius.²¹ The orations by the sons of King Casimir Jagiellon and the speech by Scholaster of Cracow Zbigniew on ff. 77v–78r were added by Stanisław Biel (d. 1541) – a humanist and author of the letter-writing manual *Exordia epistolarum* who received a doctorate in theology in Rome (1502) and went on to work as a professor at the University of Cracow, lecturing on Virgil and Ovid (from 1485) and later (from 1491) – on Aristotle.²² The last work, a speech by Stanisław Biel (f. 78v), was added to the manuscript in 1509.²³

The MS BJ 126 contains a consolidated body of texts of Italian origin, which indicates that it was copied from another manuscript (brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko). What makes it even clearer that the texts functioned as a single unit is their organisation into sections on the basis of genre. The first block of texts consists of speeches, mostly related to the Paduan and Venetian milieu (ff. 1r–35r). The speeches are followed by letters and literary works classified as epistolography (ff. 35r–40r and perhaps the work by Petrarch on ff. 40r–42v).

The medieval works found on folios 42v–50v most probably did not belong to the corpus of rhetorical texts brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko.²⁴ This is evidenced by the clearly different nature of these texts, both in terms of genre and chronology, the absence of these texts in typical humanistic anthologies circulating in Padua, and the fact that John of Ludzisko did not use them in his speeches.²⁵

This medieval block included texts related to Alexander the Great, which were widespread in the Middle Ages and in the 15th century, especially *Historia Alexandri Magni de proeliis*.²⁶ Among them is a letter of Pseudo-Alexander the Great to Aristotle including a description of India (“Semper memor tui...,” f. 42v), a pseudo-epi-

²¹ Peter Świętopełk of Ząbrzec was matriculated at the University of Cracow in 1446, in 1460 he became a master of arts, in 1494 a doctor of theology, *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 115; *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508. Biblioteka Jagiellońska rkp. 258*, vol. 1, Kraków 2004, no. 46e/024.

²² H. B a r y c z, *Biel Stanisław*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 2, p. 32; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 115.

²³ J. S. B o j a r s k i, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 38; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 114.

²⁴ According to G. F r a n c z a k, the collection brought by John of Ludzisko also included the works on ff. 1r–45r (excluding *Expositio quorundam versuum, quo dyabolus dicitur composuisse cuidam puero*), see G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., pp. 89–91.

²⁵ The sources used by John in his speeches were identified by J. S. Bojarski in the critical edition of John's orations, see J a n z L u d z i s k a, *Orationes*, ed. J. S. B o j a r s k i, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1971.

²⁶ G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 87; see R. M. Z a w a d z k i, *Legenda o Aleksandrze Wielkim w rękopisach polskich XIII–XV w.*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XXI, 1971, vol. 1/2, pp. 69–70; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 91.

graphic letter of Mardocheus to Alexander the Great (“Forma epistole, quam Mardocheus princeps Iudeorum misit Alexandro...,” ff. 42v–43v),²⁷ pseudo-epigraphic correspondence of Alexander the Great with Dindimus, King of the Brahmans (*Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, ff. 43v–45r).²⁸ Texts related to Alexander the Great circulated in the Paduan milieu,²⁹ but it has not yet been possible to indicate a manuscript created outside Cracow and related to the Paduan milieu which would contain a collection of Paduan rhetorical texts similar to the one in the MS BJ 126 and the entire Alexandrian ‘bundle.’ The issue of the presence or absence of such a collection in the milieu of the University of Padua would require separate research.³⁰ Therefore, it cannot be concluded whether this ‘bundle’ was brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko or whether he bought it somewhere else, although the latter option seems more likely.

Among the texts related to the legend of Alexander the Great there is a piece titled *Lamentacio de obitu Domini Iacobi doctoris legum* (inc.: “Viris prudentibus doctoribus et scolaribus universis Studii Bononiensis Tadeus de Suessa, magister, imperialis curie iudex...,” f. 42v), written by Taddeo di Sessa Aurunca (c. 1190/1200–1247), an outstanding lawyer associated with the court of Frederick II.³¹ Researchers have so far struggled with identifying this work and the figure of James,³² and its placement in the manuscript between the letter of Pseudo-Alexander the Great to Aristotle (inc.: “Semper memor tui...,” f. 42v), a work known in Poland as early as the 12th century, and the

²⁷ MS Oss. 601, ff. 318v–320r. This letter was included in the Appendix to *Historia de proeliis*. See A. M o m i g l i a n o, *On Pagans, Jews and Christians*, Middletown 1987, p. 319.

²⁸ Composed of five letters, titled *De vita et moribus Bragmanorum*, MS BJ 126, ff. 43v–45r, MS Oss 601, ff. 320v–325r. Alexander’s correspondence with Dindimus in the MS BJ 126 has been preserved in the form defined by M. Steinmann as *Collatio III*, which has survived in interpolated versions of *Historia de proeliis* and is an expanded version of the Italianised edition from the 10th century, M. S t e i n m a n n, *Die Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi – eine annotierte Arbeitsbibliographien*, pp. 53, 55, 61, [online] <https://gfa.gbv.de/dr.gfa,004,2001,a,03.pdf> [accessed on: February 13, 2016].

²⁹ R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 87.

³⁰ The second Cracow manuscript with these texts is the MS Oss. 601, ff. 320v–325r.

³¹ As A. K i e s e w e t t e r points out, no recent in-depth studies are available on the figure of Taddeo di Sessa, A. K i e s e w e t t e r, *Il governo e l’amministrazione centrale del regno*, [in:] *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell’età angioina. Persistenze e mutamenti nel Mezzogiorno. Atti delle quindicesime giornate normanno-sveve. Bari, 22–25 ottobre 2002*, ed. G. M u s c a, Bari 2004, p. 44; N. K a m p, *Friedrich II. im Europäischen Zeithorizont*, [in:] *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, eds. A. E s c h, N. K a m p, Tübingen 1996, p. 15.

³² The authors of the catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the Jagellonian Library date the speech for 1436 (it is not known on what basis, as there is no date provided in the manuscript of this work) and indicate Bertrandus de Bononia, a rather unknown figure, as its author, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 107. In the catalogue descriptions of manuscripts BJ 42 and 173, the author is identified correctly as “Thaddeus de Suessa,” but “Bertrandus de Bononia” is mentioned as the protagonist of the work, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 32 and 175. G. Franczak (op. cit., pp. 89–90) has noticed the inconsistency and erroneous datation in the catalogue, but he has been unable to correctly identify the work.

pseudo-epigraphic letter by Mardocheus to Alexander the Great (“Forma epistole, quam Mardocheus princeps Iudeorum misit Alexandro...,” f. 43v) could be surprising.³³ The piece in question is a fragment of a letter of condolence written following the death of the eminent Bologna doctor of law and glossator Giacomo Baldovini (d. 10 April 1235), among whose students were such prominent lawyers as Accursio, Odofredo and Hostiensis.³⁴ The text of the letter, composed in accordance with the model of letters dedicated to deceased professors, testified to the author’s rhetorical knowledge and well-developed skills in *ars dictaminis*.³⁵ It is also known from two medieval manuscripts from outside Cracow, in which it is, however, included among the letters of Pietro della Vigna, master of *ars dictandi* and politician connected with the court of Frederick II.³⁶ The text could not be found in anthologies of Italian rhetorical texts from the 15th century. It is uncertain whether it was brought from Padua by John of Ludzisko.

The bundle of medieval texts includes an anonymous narrative poem with a commentary; in the MS BJ 126 manuscript, it bears the title of *Expositio quorundam versuum, quos dyabolus dicitur composuisse cuidam puero* (inc.: “Expositurus vobis pater Hugo versiculos, quos humani generis inimicus fecit...,” ff. 45r–v), while in other manuscripts written between the 12th and 15th century, it appears under various other titles – *Versus maligni angeli, Tractatus de Fluvio Oronte, Versus extranei*. It is known from 36 manuscripts (including 16 from the 12th century), while its annotated version – the

³³ It is also accompanied by the same texts in the MS Oss 601 (f. 318r–v), while in the other two Cracow manuscripts (BJ 42, f. 4v; BJ 173, f. 200r) it is included separately from the “Alexandrian” texts.

³⁴ The full text of the letter was published by F. Delle Donne, *Ancora sullo “Studium” di Napoli in epoca sveva: una nuova lettera per la morte di Giacomo Baldovini*, “Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo” CXIV, 2012, pp. 54–55. In the F. Delle Donne edition, however, Taddeo da Suessa’s letter is addressed to the doctors and students of the University of Naples, not of Bologna. The content of the letter in the MS BJ 126 is identical to the edition by Fulvio Delle Donne; however, in the MS BJ 126 the second half of the letter is missing. In the MS BJ 126 (f. 42v), Giacomo Baldovini was mentioned as ‘Jacobus de Bo’ (Jacobus de Baldovino). For more on Giacomo Baldovini, see R. Abbondanza, *Baldovini Iacopo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 5, Roma 1963, pp. 521–525. A letter of condolence following the death of Giacomo Baldovini was also written by another lawyer – Pietro della Vigna – associated with the court of Frederick II. See F. Delle Donne, op. cit., p. 48. The letter was published in: *Petri de Vineis, iudicis aulici et cancellarii Friderici II. imp., epistolarum, quibus res gestae ejusdem Imperatoris aliaque multa ad historiam ac jurisprudentiam spectantia continentur, libri VI*, cur. Joh. Rudolphus Iselius, Basileae, sumptibus Joh. Christ, 1740, transcr. F. Delle Donne, vol. 2, ch. IX, p. 18, [online] [http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/let-teratura.nsf/\(cercaVolumi\)/5D327240C1B-85238C1257263003E3484?OpenDocument](http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/let-teratura.nsf/(cercaVolumi)/5D327240C1B-85238C1257263003E3484?OpenDocument) [accessed on: December 18, 2015].

³⁵ Detailed analysis of the letter: F. Delle Donne, op. cit., pp. 49–53.

³⁶ The edition by F. Delle Donne was published on the basis of two manuscripts containing this letter: a thirteenth-century manuscript from Cologne (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana C.B. 132, f. 29r) and a manuscript from Prague from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries (Národní knihovna České republiky, III. G.3 (528), ff. 69v–70r); see idem, op. cit., p. 53; H. M. Schaller, *Della Vigna, Pietro*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 37, Roma 1989, pp. 781–782.

same which is included in the MS BJ 126 manuscript – can be found mainly in manuscripts from Central Europe.³⁷ The work was also included in the MS Oss. 601 – another manuscript related to the Cracow milieu, containing the largest number of works from the corpus of Italian texts appearing in the manuscript MS BJ 126.³⁸ What follows, after two blank folios, is a fragment of a Latin lexicon (inc.: “Accersibant, id est appellabant, advocabant...,” ff. 48r–49r).³⁹ It cannot be found in any of the six above-mentioned Cracow manuscripts which include texts from the collection believed to have been brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko. The lexicon is followed by short medieval poems and sentences which are also absent from all of the Cracow manuscripts containing the same Italian texts as the MS BJ 126 manuscript.⁴⁰

The MS BJ 126 is arranged in a thematic and functional order. Speeches delivered in specific circumstances are placed side by side, e.g. two orations in praise of the arts (inc.: “Vellem, ut pro magnitudine...,” ff. 2r–3r, and inc.: “Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum...,” ff. 3r–4v), two funeral speeches (one by Guarino of Verona, delivered at the funeral of Giorgio Loredan, inc.: “Maxima pars hodierno die...,” ff. 8r–9v, and another by Andrea Giuliani, given at the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, inc.: “Si quis vestrum est...,” ff. 9v–10v), two speeches delivered at the presentation of doctoral insignia (one by Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” ff. 15r–v, and another by Francesco Barbaro, celebrating the doctoral promotion of Alberto Guidalotti, inc.: “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...,” ff. 15v–16r). Speeches with commendations (praise) of academic disciplines are also grouped together, for example five speeches on ff. 16r–20r, including three commendations of philosophy (inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” ff. 16r–16v, inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 16v–17r, and inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” f. 18v) and two commendations of law (inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 17r–18v, and inc.: “Multi forte vestrum mirantur...,” ff. 18v–20r); as well as four speeches on ff. 25r–26v – one with the praise of philosophy (inc.: “Constituerunt nostri prisci...,” f. 25r) and three with the praise of theology (inc.: “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi...,” ff. 25r–v, inc.: “Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris...,” f. 26r, inc.: “Non sit aliquis vestrum...,” f. 26v).

Some of these thematically arranged texts are ‘packages’ also known from other European manuscripts.⁴¹ The MS BJ 126 also groups together texts written by a spe-

³⁷ L. Doležalová, *The Devil as a Christian Author? The Case of Versus maligni angeli*, [in:] *Auctor et auctoritas in Medii Aevi literis. Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature*, eds. E. D’Angelo, J. Ziolkowski, Firenze 2014, pp. 321–330.

³⁸ Oss. 601, ff. 325r–326r.

³⁹ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 109.

⁴⁰ MS BJ 126, ff. 50r–v; for the list of incipits, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 109–110; J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 49–51.

⁴¹ These ‘packages’ will be discussed below.

cific author, but this only becomes apparent after identifying the works appearing as anonymous in the manuscript. The speeches of the authors related to the Paduan and Venetian milieu, known only from the Cracow manuscripts, are also usually grouped together in the MS BJ 126 (ff. 11v–12r, 23r–29v, 31v–33r, 34r–35r). From the codicological point of view, the first six speeches form a distinctive entity (ff. 2r–6v), because they are separated from the rest of the texts with a blank folio. The first four are by Cristoforo Barzizza, while the author of the last two is still unknown.

OTHER CRACOW MANUSCRIPTS WITH ITALIAN RHETORICAL TEXTS FROM THE COLLECTION OF JOHN OF LUDZISKO

The Cracow manuscripts which contain Italian rhetorical texts from the collection brought by John of Ludzisko are the following: BJ 42, BJ 173, BJ 2038, BJ 2232, Oss. 601, BCzart. 1242 and perhaps BOZ 896. What follows below is their brief description. A detailed analysis of the relationship between these codices shall be presented elsewhere.⁴²

The oldest of the manuscripts mentioned above is the BCzart. 1242, dated by Maria Kowalczyk for around 1435,⁴³ and by other researchers – for around 1444, namely the date provided in the colophon of Guarino’s letter to Poggio Bracciolini on f. 155r.⁴⁴ No provenance notes survived in this manuscript (its first and last part were damaged).⁴⁵ As stated by M. Kowalczyk, a large part of the manuscript was copied by James Parkosz of Żórawice – a doctor of decrees, professor and rector of the University of Cracow, and the owner of the codex.⁴⁶ In this manuscript, Italian rhetorical texts from John’s collection form a separate unity placed in its second part, after legal dictionaries, a legal treaty and hagiographic works.

The MS BJ 2232, belonging to an unknown decretist, a student of Thomas Strzemiński (Tomasz Strzemiński) and John Elgot (Jan Elgot), was assembled before 1450. It contains university speeches from Cracow, repetitions from *Decretales*,

⁴² Preliminary findings regarding the distribution of texts from the Italian collection brought by John of Ludzisko in manuscripts related to the Cracow milieu were included in the article *Iohannes de Ludzisko: uno studente polacco a Padua (1430–1433) e le sue raccolte di oratoria accademica*, “Quaderni per la storia dell’Università di Padua” 50, 2017, pp. 53–81. A detailed analysis of these relationships will be the subject of a monograph under preparation.

⁴³ M. K o w a l c z y k, *Jakub Parkosz z Żórawic. Przyczynki do życiorysu*, [in:] *Colligite fragmenta, ne pereant. Studia z dziejów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2010, p. 293.

⁴⁴ The letter from Guarino to Poggio, inc.: “Ex hiis litteris, quas nuper...” was written on July 3, 1416, the year 1444 is the date of the copy. See G. F r a n c z a k, *Vix imitabilis...*, p. 66.

⁴⁵ S. K u t r z e b a, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Musei principum Czartoryski*, vol. 2, Cracoviae 1908–1913, pp. 147–148.

⁴⁶ M. K o w a l c z y k, *Jakub Parkosz...*, p. 293.

texts discussing legal issues, as well as, in a separate part, Italian rhetorical texts (the texts from the collection of John of Ludzisko and works by Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini and copies of papal bulls).⁴⁷

The MS BJ 173, containing copies of speeches, sermons and letters, is dated to a similar period, around 1450 (before 1460). Its first part consists of speeches delivered at the Faculty of Law of the University of Cracow, followed by a block of Italian rhetorical texts.⁴⁸

The MS BJ 42, containing Polish administrative documents, dates to a similar period, around 1450–1460. This manuscript, originating from the office of the Bishop of Cracow, consists of two main parts – the first contains Italian rhetorical texts and the second – letters and speeches related to the office.⁴⁹

The MS BJ 2038, belonging to Valentine of Pilzno (Walenty z Pilzna), a book-binder active in Cracow, was produced in a later period.⁵⁰ It was probably written in the 1470s, because the colophon on f. 60v mentions the year 1476, and on f. 212 there is a note with information about a fire of the Bernardine monastery in Stradom in 1473.⁵¹ The manuscript contains a collection of speeches and letters, as well as a rhetorical treatise by Stefano Fieschi titled *Synonima sententiarum*.

The latest manuscripts are the MSS Oss. 601 and BOZ 896. The former includes letter forms and also contains texts from the 1470s and early 1480s. It belonged to John Latoszyński (Jan Latoszyński), doctor of decrees and canon of the Cracow cathedral chapter.⁵² This manuscript has the closest connection to the MS BJ 126 from among the discussed Cracow manuscripts. The MS BOZ 896 also dates to the second half of the 15th century. It can be divided into two parts. The first contains Italian rhetorical texts from the first half of the 15th century (including six speeches present in the MS BJ 126) and a speech by John of Ludzisko titled *De laudibus et dignitate philosophie* (without the beginning), and the second part includes speeches addressed to Pope Innocent VIII. It is not known where the manuscript was written and who had been its owner before it found its way to the Zamoyski Family Library.⁵³

⁴⁷ M. Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy uniwersyteckie z pierwszej połowy XV w.*, Wrocław 1970, p. 23.

⁴⁸ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 164–186.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 89–91.

⁵⁰ A. Lewicka-Kamińska, *Walenty z Pilzna, introligator krakowski XV wieku*, “Roczniki Biblioteczne” XCVIII, 1974, fasc. 1–2, pp. 265–273.

⁵¹ This manuscript has not yet been given a modern catalogue description. W. Wisłocki dates it to the 15th century, see W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 2, Kraków 1881, p. 496.

⁵² W. Kętrzyński, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*, vol. 3, Lwów 1898.

⁵³ See *Inwentarz rękopisów do połowy XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej*, eds. J. Kaliszuk, S. Szylber, Warszawa 2012, p. 64; I. M. Radziejowska, ‘Mowa soborowa’ Poggia Braccioliniego, “Przegląd Tomistyczny” VIII, 2000, p. 365.

'PACKAGES'

'Packages,' or sets of different texts circulating as a single unit (copied together), can be divided into sets of texts by one author and sets consisting of miscellaneous texts. 'Packages' were formed in the aftermath of the circulation of many similarly composed copies or were created by the authors themselves. Some humanists assembled their own letters into collections or whole *epistolaria*, and sometimes this was done by the addressees, their friends or relatives. The letters would be selected and arranged in a specific order (often not a chronological one), and the resulting collections would then find their way into manuscript circulation.⁵⁴ Another issue is the 'dismissal' of certain texts as a result of omission or deliberate choice made by the copyist. In the case of speeches, 'packages' could have been created by the authors themselves, but sometimes they were assembled by other parties, for example students – Paduan university speeches were often collected by students from beyond the Alps.⁵⁵

The following basic 'packages' included in the MS BJ 126, which are known from other manuscripts from outside Cracow, have been successfully identified: Gasparino Barzizza's speeches (divided into smaller 'packages' which circulated in various configurations), the speech of Cristoforo Barzizza, Poggio Bracciolini's letters from Constance in conjunction with other texts, an anonymous speech with the commendation of canon law (inc.: "Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes...") and a speech by Pseudo-Demosthenes (inc. "Nichil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua...," ff. 20r–v), and two funeral speeches written by Guarino and Andrea Giuliano.

Out of the 54 works that can be identified in the 'Italian' part of the MS BJ 126 (ff. 2r–42v, including Petrarch's text closing the collection and f. 56v containing Bruni's *Prologue to Phaedo*), the largest number of texts – 15 in total – can be found in the MS Udine B. Arch. 70,⁵⁶ while 12 texts are included in the MS Berlin SPK,

⁵⁴ J. Rice Henderson, *On Reading the Rhetoric of Renaissance Letter*, [in:] *Renaissance-Rhetorik*, ed. H. F. Plett, Berlin–New York 1993, p. 143; D. Mazzucconi, *Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" XX, 1977, pp. 183–189; L. Gualdo Rosa, *Le lettere familiari di Leonardo Bruni: alcuni esempi della loro diffusione in Italia nel primo Quattrocento*, [in:] *Per il censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni. Seminario internazionale di studi, Firenze, 30 ottobre 1987*, eds. L. Gualdo Rosa, P. Viti, Roma 1991, p. 37.

⁵⁵ G. P. Mantovani, *Le orazioni accademiche per il dottorato: una fonte per la biografia degli studenti? Spunti dal caso padovano*, [in:] *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana. Atti del convegno. Padova 6-8 febbraio 1998*, ed. F. Piovani, Trieste 1998 (Contributi alla storia dell'università di Padova, vol. 34), pp. 111–112.

⁵⁶ Udine, B. Archiv. 70: Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Vellem, ut pro magnitudine..." ff. 3v–4r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Si pro gravi mereore vestro..." ff. 5r–6r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Postquam decreto patrum..." ff. 8r–9r; Andrea Giuliano, inc.: "Si quis vestrum est..." ff. 17r–19r; Francesco Barbaro, inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die..." ff. 22r–23r; Pseudo-Demosthenes, inc.: "Nihil habet rex Alexander..." ff. 30v–33r; anonym., inc.: "Multi forte mirantur..." ff. 31v–33r; Guarino of

Lat 613⁵⁷ and 11 – in the MS Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021.⁵⁸ The manuscripts from outside Cracow most similar to the MS BJ 126 were written after Gasparino Barzizza's death, when his speeches already constituted a closed collection. The manuscript of Udine, identified by Ludwig Bertalot as the Paduan rhetorical collection, was written in the 1440s, and the texts contained therein were created between 1401 and 1435.⁵⁹ The manuscript of Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021 was written in 1435.⁶⁰ As pointed out by Ludwig Bertalot, the manuscript MS Berlin SPK, Lat 613 with a collection of speeches and letters is slightly newer.⁶¹ Researchers have not identified any manuscripts from outside Cracow which would contain all Italian

Verona, inc.: "Optavi, cum sepe alias...", ff. 34r–35r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Non mediocri voluptate...", f. 38r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...", ff. 38v–39r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", f. 39r; Gasparino Barzizza, "Quamquam multos hic esse...", ff. 40av–42r; Leonardo Bruni, *Prologue* to the translation of *Phaedo*, inc.: "Qui tuam laudant," f. 44r–v; anonym., inc.: "Vereor, magnifici presides...", ff. 52v–53v and Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...", f. 53v.

⁵⁷ Berlin SPK, Lat 613, Francesco Barbaro, inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die...", f. 24r; anonymous, inc.: "Multi forte vestrum mirantur...", ff. 27v–29r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Non mediocri voluptate afficior...", f. 34r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...", f. 34v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", ff. 34v–35r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...", ff. 37v–38r; anonymous, inc.: "Vereor, magnifici presides...", ff. 46v–47r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria...", ff. 55r–56r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum...", ff. 56v–58r; Andrea Giuliano, inc.: "Si quis vestrum est...", ff. 94v–96v, 132v–133r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Si pro gravi mereore vestro...", ff. 108r–109r; Guarino of Verona, inc.: "Maxima pars hodierno...", ff. 111r–113r.

⁵⁸ Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...", ff. 1r–2v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...", ff. 2v–3r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", ff. 3r–4v; anonymous, inc.: "Multi forte mirantur...", ff. 7r–9v; Andrea Giuliano, inc.: "Si quis vestrum est...", ff. 19r–22r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Multas ex tuis oracionibus accuratissime...", f. 22r; Leonardo Bruni, *Prologue* to *Phaedo*, inc.: "Qui tuam laudant...", ff. 30r–v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Non mediocri voluptate...", ff. 32r–33r; Francesco Barbaro, inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die...", ff. 33r–34v; Pseudo-Demosthenes, inc.: "Nihil habet rex Alexander...", ff. 35r–36v; Guarino of Verona, inc.: "Optavi cum sepe alias...", f. 38r.

⁵⁹ Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 30v–33r, 38r–39r, 40v–42r. Watermarks on ff. 1–49 of the MS Udine B. Arciv. 70 suggest the year 1442, see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung Paduaner Reden des XV. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, vol. 1, Roma 1975, pp. 209–210, 212.

⁶⁰ The exact date is known thanks to the colophon of the manuscript: "Ego Venceslaus de Alamania alta complevi sermones suprascriptos Anno MCCCC 35 dominica, qua cantatur in s. Matre ecclesia Circumdederunt," [in:] L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 212.

⁶¹ The researcher did not provide a more precise date of the creation of this manuscript, L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung*, p. 212; see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A finding list of uncatalogued*

texts found in the MS BJ 126. Thus, it seems that we are dealing largely with an original collection.

An extremely interesting aspect of the MS BJ 126 is the presence of texts popular in Europe, but appearing as part of quite original ‘packages’ known only from a small number of manuscripts from outside Cracow or exclusively from Cracow manuscripts.

One of such ‘packages’ or a combination of ‘packages’ can be the collection of five widely popular speeches of Gasparino Barzizza placed one after another (*Gasparini Pergamensis oratio in laudem medicine et pro petendis insigniis doctoratus*, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...,” ff. 15r–v; *Oratio de recommendacione philosophie*, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” ff. 16r–16v; *Oratio de philosophia*, inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapientia...” [in other manuscripts from outside Cracow it appears more frequently in the version of “Nisi vestra singularis et egregia sapientia...”],⁶² ff. 16v–17r, *Oratio de iure civili*, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 17r–18v and *Oratio de philosophie recommendacione*, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” f. 18v). Among these speeches, placed immediately after Barzizza’s first speech, there is an oration by Francesco Barbaro (*Oratio Francisci Barbaro in promocione Alberti Guidotti, cum susciperet insignia doctoratus*, inc.: “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...,” ff. 15v–16r). The above mentioned speeches by Gasparino Barzizza were often found in collections of humanistic texts of Paduan origin and appeared together in manuscripts, albeit in various configurations (these will be discussed below after the presentation of the speeches themselves).

Six of the above mentioned speeches appear together, although not side by side, in the Udine manuscript.⁶³ Two manuscripts from outside Cracow contain five of the above speeches,⁶⁴ three manuscripts – four (without the first speech by

or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the renaissance in Italian and other libraries, vol. 3: *Alia itinera 1, Australia to Germany*, Leiden 1983, pp. 483–484.

⁶² See C. Revest, *Culture humaniste et rhétorique cérémonielle à l’université de Padoue (c. 1400–1435)*, vol. 2: *Catalogue*, Memoire de l’École Française de Rome – Année 2013 – section Moyen Âge, p. 24, [online] <https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1662/files/2013/12/Revest-M%C3%A9moire-EFR-vol.-2-en-ligne.pdf> [accessed on: September 10, 2015].

⁶³ See note 58.

⁶⁴ London, BL, Arundel 138, Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 149r–151r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” ff. 174v–175r, Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” ff. 180v–181r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapientia...,” ff. 184v–185r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 188v–189r, (without the speech by Francesco Barbaro); Berlin, SPK, lat. F 613: Francesco Barbaro, inc.: “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...,” f. 24r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” f. 34r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapientia...,” ff. 34v–35r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 37v–38r (without the speech inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”).

Gasparino and that by Francesco Barbaro),⁶⁵ eleven manuscripts – three,⁶⁶ eight manuscripts – two.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” ff. 56v–57r, Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 72r–73r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 73v–74r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 78v–80v; München, BSB, Clm 5354: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 325r–327r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 332r–333r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 333r–334r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” ff. 334v–335r; Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, 159: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 37v–39r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” ff. 43v–44r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 45r–46v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” f. 46v.

⁶⁶ Speeches by Gasparino (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici...,” “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): Venezia, BNM, Marc. Lat. XI 102 (3940), ff. 5r–7r; Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 1531, ff. 435v–437r, 438r–439r, 427r–438r; Roma, Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Nic. Rossi 229 (33 E 27), ff. 35r–36r, 37r–38r; Praha, Státní knihovna, III G 18, ff. 52r, 53v–54r, 438r–439r; Praha, Státní knihovna, I F 8, ff. 129r, 130r–131r, 138r; Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II 164, ff. 21r–22r, 30r, 33r. Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...” and “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...”): Venezia, BNM, Marc. lat. XI 101 (3939), ff. 28r–33v, 44v–46v. Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): London, BL, Harley 2268, ff. 34r–35v, 50v–53r, 62r–63r. Speeches (“Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...,” “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, 1139, ff. 106r–107r, 109v, 115r; Toledo, Archivo y Bibl. Capitulares, 101, ff. 5r–6r, 35r, 38r–39r. Speeches (inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): München, BSB, Clm 265, ff. 23v–26r and 173r–174v. Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...” and “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...”): Milano, BA, O 57 sup. ff. 19r–20r and 20v–22r; Milano, BA, L 69 sup., ff. 254r–255v and 256v–258r, Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2293, ff. 54r–56r. Speeches (inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): Città di Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 607.

⁶⁷ Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...” and “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...”): Milano, BA, O 57 sup. ff. 19r–20r and 20v–22r; Milano, BA, L 69 sup., ff. 254r–255v and 256v–258r; Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2293, ff. 54r–56r. Speeches (inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): Città di Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 607. Speeches (“Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): Stuttgart, WL, HB.VIII. 26, ff. 49r–52r and 62r–70r. Speeches (“Antequam ea, que hodierno die...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): München, Universitätsbibliothek, F 607, ff. 24v–27v and 79v–81r; London, BL, Arundel 70, ff. 60r–61r and 23v–26r. Speeches (inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MM.674, p. 14.

It would be possible to provide more details on the intensity of circulation of Gasparino Barzizza's speeches by arranging the European manuscripts not related to Cracow which contain these speeches in chronological order. This would require a more detailed query, since aggregate directories such as *Iter Italicum* often date manuscripts rather vaguely – in this case to the 15th century. Only in the case of some of the manuscripts mentioned above has it been possible to determine their exact time of creation.⁶⁸

Gasparino was mentioned as the author in the MS BJ 126 only in the title of a speech in praise of medicine (in manuscript Oss. 601 no author was given for any of the above speeches). These speeches are sometimes anonymous also in other European manuscripts.⁶⁹ Anonymity is quite a typical phenomenon when dealing with such collections.⁷⁰

The first of the commendations of medicine was delivered by Gasparino Barzizza on the occasion of receiving the degree of the doctor of arts (16 September 1413). The addressee of the speech was Gasparino's supervisor, Paduan professor of medicine Giacomo della Torre da Forlì (d. 1414).⁷¹ The speech was very popular in Europe.⁷²

⁶⁸ Manuscript London, BL, Arundel 138, is dated to 1440–1500, see [online] <http://www.bl.uk/cata-logues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1849> [accessed on: September 16, 2016]; P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 4, Leiden 1989, pp. 127–128. MS Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 1531, is dated to 1447–1449, see [online] http://cmdf.irht.cnrs.fr/cmdf_B1.htm?D=B&L=B&N=C [accessed on: September 20, 2016]. 1471–1487 is the dating for the manuscript of Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek Mc 70, [online] <http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/Mc70> [accessed on: September 17, 2016]. The MS Milano, BA, L 69 sup. was created not earlier than in the 1450s, see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 1, pp. 333–334, and the MS Milano, BA, 57 sup., also containing letters of Sixtus IV, was created not earlier than in the 1470s, see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 1, p. 336.

⁶⁹ The speech “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...” is included as anonymous in MS Stuttgart, WL, HB.VIII.26, f. 62; In the MS Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70, Gasparino Barzizza's speech appears anonymously: inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” (ff. 72r–73v), while his name is mentioned in the titles of subsequent speeches inc.: “Sencio, magnificent patres et doctores amplissimi...” (ff. 73v–74r).

⁷⁰ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 102 lists all these speeches as anonymous. G. Franczak (op. cit., p. 76) names Gasparino Barzizza as the author of only one of the above mentioned four speeches, namely *Oracio de philosophie recommendacione* (inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”). In the MS Udine B. Archiv. 70, containing all aforementioned Barzizza's speeches, as well as other humanistic works, the author's name was provided only in two of the 61 texts, while the rest was described as anonymous, L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 210.

⁷¹ *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450*, eds. G. Zonta, I. Brutto, second edition, vol. 1, 1406–1436, Padova 1970, no 302; for more on Giacomo della Torre (Jacobus Forliviensis), see: T. Presenti, *Professori e promotori di medicina nello Studio di Padova dal 1405 al 1509. Repertorio bio-bibliografico*, Trieste 1984, pp. 103–112; P. Sambini, *Su Giacomo della Torre (†1414)*, “Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova” VI, 1973, pp. 149–161.

⁷² G. P. Mantovani lists 10 manuscripts with this speech (she doesn't mention the MS Oss. 601), G. P. Mantovani, op. cit., pp. 92–93; C. Revest lists 20 manuscripts with this speech, but without the

The second speech was given on October 25, 1416, when Alberto Guidalotti, a representative of a well-known family of Perugia, received the title of a doctor of canon law.⁷³ Its author, Francesco Barbaro (1390–1454), came from an aristocratic Venetian family and studied in Padua under Gasparino Barzizza, graduating with the bachelor of arts degree in 1412.⁷⁴ This speech was also very popular in Europe, as evidenced by the number of manuscripts containing it.⁷⁵

In the MS BJ 126, Gasparino Barzizza's speech in praise of medicine (inc. "Non mediocri voluptate afficior...") is followed directly by a speech by Francesco Barbaro (inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die..."), which is quite a rare occurrence, found only in one Venetian manuscript.⁷⁶

Four other speeches by Gasparino Barzizza appear together in the MS BJ 126 manuscript: two speeches with a commendation of philosophy (inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...", ff. 16r–16v and inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", ff. 16v–17r), as well as a speech in praise of civil law titled *Oracio de iure civili* (inc.: "Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...", ff. 17r–18v) and the speech *Oracio de philosophie recomendacione* (inc.: "Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...", f. 18v). The first of these speeches was given on 16–20 August 1413 as the inauguration of a lecture on Aristotle's *De anima*. The oration is known from several manuscripts, including two from Cracow.⁷⁷ It is uncertain when exactly Gasparino delivered the second, slightly less known speech, which also inaugurated the lecture on *De anima*. The speeches in praise of philosophy inaugurating the lecture on *De anima* are quite similar in terms of content; they commend philosophy as

MS BJ 126, C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 25, no. 65, [online] <https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1662/files/2013/12/Revest-M%C3%A9moire-EFR- vol.-2-en-ligne.pdf> [accessed on: September 10, 2015].

⁷³ Alberto Guidalotti's doctoral promotion – *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no. 394; see G. Franzak, op. cit., p. 85; G. P. Mantovani, op. cit., p. 98. More on the Guidalotti family: T. Biganti, *Un prestigio da riconquistare: la famiglia Guidalotti nella prima metà del XV secolo*, [in:] *Beato Angelico e Benozzo Gozzoli, artisti del Rinascimento a Perugia*, Milano 1998, pp. 103–110.

⁷⁴ On October 5, 1412 he earned a bachelor of arts degree, *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no. 257; G. Gualdo, *Barbaro, Francesco*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 6, Roma 1964, pp. 101–103.

⁷⁵ L. Bertalot, *Initia humanistica Latina: Initienverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2,1: *Prosa*, A–M, Tübingen 1990, item 1297 mentions 11 manuscripts, but the only Polish one named by the scholar is the MS Oss. 601; C. Revest (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 14, no. 28) lists 20 manuscripts with this speech; G. P. Mantovani (op. cit., p. 98) adds 10 more manuscripts with this speech to Bertalot's list. J. M. McManamon mentions 22 manuscripts with this speech: *An Incipitarium...*, p. 26.

⁷⁶ Venezia, BNM, Marc. lat. XI 101 (3939), ff. 28r–33v.

⁷⁷ MS BJ 2038, ff. 37–39; Oss. 601, ff. 245r–246r. All four speeches are contained in the following manuscripts: Freiburg i. B., Universitätsbibliothek, 159; London, BL, Arundel 138; München, BSB, Clm 5354; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70; Udine, B. Arciv., 70.

the most important discipline and the origin of all other sciences. Gasparino Barzizza gave one more speech inaugurating the lecture on *De anima* (inc.: “Cum saepe mecum repeterem...”), which in some manuscripts from outside Cracow forms a ‘package’ with the two former speeches (inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...” and inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...”).⁷⁸

The inaugural speech at the Faculty of Law included in the manuscript, composed as a commendation of civil law, was given on 18 October 1416.⁷⁹ The last oration, written in praise of philosophy, was composed on the occasion of delivering *principium in artibus*, that is, a lecture inaugurating a series of lectures at the Faculty of Arts delivered by Lauro Bragadin, who obtained the degree of a bachelor of arts on November 9, 1409, and a doctoral degree the following day.⁸⁰

These four speeches appear in the exact same order only in one other Cracow manuscript.⁸¹ The speech in praise of civil law does not appear next to both of Gasparino Barzizza’s commendations of philosophy in any of the manuscripts from outside Cracow, and only in one other manuscript does it appear next to one of these orations (inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”), namely in the manuscript of Udine.⁸²

Although Gasparino Barzizza was one of the most copied and plagiarised rhetoricians,⁸³ the MS BJ 126 and related Cracow manuscripts contain a rather modest selection of his speeches – in comparison, there are 11 speeches by Gasparino Bar-

⁷⁸ London, BL, Arundel 138: the following speeches are placed directly next to each other: “Cum saepe mecum repeterem...” (ff. 184r–184v) and “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” (ff. 184v–185).

⁷⁹ C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 26, no. 69.

⁸⁰ On the basis of the title given to the speech in the manuscript of Perugia (Biblioteca Comunale, J 114, f. 46v: *Gasparini Pergamensis pro domino Lauro Bragadino in principio artium oratio*), C. Revest (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 22) adopted the date of obtaining the degree of a bachelor or doctor of arts by Lauro Bragadin as the date of delivering the speech, see *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no. 57 and 59. It can be assumed, however, that the speech had been made before Bragadin obtained his doctoral degree, as the name *principium* was used to refer to the first lecture of a candidate for a doctoral degree, see A. L. Trombetti-Budriesi, *Laureati in diritto civile nel secolo XV*, [in:] *Studenti e università degli studenti dal XII al XIX secolo*, eds. G. P. Brizzi, A. I. Pini, Bologna 1988, p. 155. For the term ‘principium,’ see H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *Salerno-Bologna-Paris*, Oxford 1895, p. 465.

⁸¹ Oss. 601, ff. 245r–251v.

⁸² Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 30v–33r. In this manuscript the speeches are in the reverse order as compared to the MS BJ 126.

⁸³ According to C. Revest, his speeches were ‘bestsellers’ among fifteenth-century manuscripts with rhetorical anthologies, eadem, *Les discours de Gasparino Barzizza et la diffusion du style cicéronien dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle. Premiers aperçus*, [online] <https://mefrm.revues.org/2996?lang=en#text> [accessed on: September 16, 2016].

zizza in the manuscript from Udine (including five identical to the MS BJ 126),⁸⁴ 11 in the manuscript of Tübingen,⁸⁵ and 19 in the manuscript from the Vatican Library (Lat. Ottob. 2293).⁸⁶ Barzizza's speeches in the MS BJ 126 are arranged in a different order than in manuscripts from outside Cracow, which may be due to the fact that certain speeches were omitted when creating John of Ludzisko's manuscript. The Udine manuscript, apart from the four speeches of Gasparino Barzizza present in MS BJ 126, also includes another two of his orations, which are not included in MS BJ 126.⁸⁷

A relatively rare 'package' is the one including four speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza (d. 1445), the nephew of the famous rhetorician Gasparino, a Paduan doctor of arts and medicine who lectured at the Faculty of Medicine since 1430 and also gave inaugural speeches at the Faculty of Arts.⁸⁸ However, the subsequent analysis of the orations will demonstrate their usefulness for determining the time and, to some extent, the 'method' of the creation of the original codex from which the MS BJ 126 was copied. The orations appear as anonymous in the manuscript and were described as such by Polish researchers.⁸⁹ The first of them is a commendation of liberal arts (inc.: "Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria earum arcium, de quibus hodierno sermo habendus est, reverendissimi patres....," ff. 2r–3r) which was delivered on October 25, 1430;⁹⁰ it is followed by Cristoforo's oration praising the liberal arts (inc.: "Postquam

⁸⁴ Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 20v–21r, 35r, 35v–36r, 38r, 38v–39r, 39r, 39v–40r, 40v–40ar, 40av–42r, 43r–44r, 53v, see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, ff. 220, 225, 226, 227, 228, 232.

⁸⁵ Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70, ff. 43v–44v, 53r–53v, 53v–54r, 54r–55r, 55r–55v, 56r–56v, 56v–57r, 72r–74r, 74r–74v, 78v–80v, [online] <http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/digit/Mc70> [accessed on: September 15, 2016].

⁸⁶ C. Revest, *Les discours de Gasparino Barzizza*.

⁸⁷ They appear in the Udine manuscript in the following order: first there are three speeches by Gasparino Barzizza common to both manuscripts discussed here: "Non mediocri voluptate..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, f. 38r, BJ 126, ff. 15r–v); "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 38v–39r, BJ 126, ff. 16r–16v); "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapientia..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, f. 39r, BJ 126, ff. 16v–17r). Next, there are two speeches absent from the Cracow manuscripts: "Si quis vestrum est, patres peritissimi..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 39v–40r); "Nisi vestra expectatio..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 40v–40ar) and a speech by Battista del Nevo da Vicenza: "Omnes, qui ante me..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, f. 40a), followed by another oration by Gasparino Barzizza also included in the MS BJ 126: "<Q>uamquam multos hic esse intelligam..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 40av–42r; BJ 126, ff. 17r–18v).

⁸⁸ T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., f. 42; P. S a m b i n, *Barzizza Cristoforo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 7, Roma 1970, ff. 32–34; R. C e s s i, *Cristoforo Barzizza medico del secolo XV*, [in:] *Padova medioevale. Studi e documenti*, ed. D. G a l l o, vol. 2, Padova 1985, pp. 705–714.

⁸⁹ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 99; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., pp. 77, 90.

⁹⁰ See T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., p. 43; L. B e r t a l o t, *Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 216–217. C. Revest dates this speech to October 25, 1429, and mentions six manuscripts with this speech (including Oss. 601), but just like L. B e r t a l o t (*Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 216–217) omits the MS BJ 126; e a d e m, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 16, no. 39.

decreto patrum conscriptorum assertus ornatissimum locum istum ascendi, colendisime antistes...,” ff. 3r–4v), delivered on October 21, 1431.⁹¹

The third speech (inc.: “Si pro gravi merore vestro...,” ff. 4v–5v), mistakenly attributed by some Polish researchers to Gasparino Barzizza, was composed on the occasion of the funeral of Paolo Veneto (d. 1429), a well-known philosopher and author of treatises on logic.⁹² The speech was composed by Cristoforo, who studied under Paolo Veneto.⁹³ It was the most popular of Cristoforo’s speeches and was also present in manuscript circulation independently from other texts by the same author.⁹⁴ It is also known from four other manuscripts originating from the Cracow milieu.⁹⁵ According to Józef Garbaciak, it owed its popularity in Poland to the fact that Paolo Veneto came to Cracow in 1412 as a Venetian envoy.⁹⁶ It seems that its wide dissemination was due to its usefulness as a model for funeral speeches.⁹⁷

The fourth speech, addressed to Pope Martin V (inc.: “Quod antea dudum optaveram, pater beatissime, ut aliquando ante pedes tuos prociderem...,” f. 6r), was composed by Cristoforo Barzizza for Giacomo de’ Dottori, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria in Praglia between 1424 and August 27, 1428.⁹⁸ The speech expresses

⁹¹ For more on the date and identification of the author of the speech, see: T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., p. 43. L. B e r t a l o t (op. cit., p. 218) dates the speech to October 21, 1431, but does not mention its author nor the MS BJ 126. C. R e v e s t (op. cit., p. 15) provides the same date and mentions Cristoforo Barzizza as the author; she cites six manuscripts containing this speech, however, she omits the MS BJ 126.

⁹² Published by J. Garbaciak, who mentioned Ch. Barzizza as the author; J. G a r b a c i a k, *Paolo Veneto, filozof-dyplomata i jego pobyt w Polsce w r. 1412*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego,” *Historia*, 4, 1960, p. 25 (the speech is published on pp. 27–30). J. Garbaciak’s work, written according to the methodology of Marxist historiography, is now somewhat outdated, although some of its findings still remain valid. Some Polish researchers attributed the authorship of the speech to Gasparino Barzizza, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 75. For more on Paolo Veneto, see A. D. C o n t i, *Paolo Veneto*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 81 (2014), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-veneto_\(Dizionario-Biografi-co\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-veneto_(Dizionario-Biografi-co)/) [accessed on: August 14, 2015].

⁹³ T. P e s e n t i (op. cit., p. 42) provides the wrong date of the delivery of the speech – 1424; see A. D. C o n t i, op. cit.

⁹⁴ J. M c M a n a m o n (*An Incipitarum*, p. 893) lists 13 manuscripts including this speech.

⁹⁵ MSS BJ 42, ff. 6r–7v; BJ 173, ff. 201v–202v; Oss. 601, ff. 260r–261r, BCzart. II 1242, ff. 170v–172r.

⁹⁶ J. G a r b a c i a k, op. cit., pp. 19–26.

⁹⁷ C. R e v e s t (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 16, no. 37) lists 12 manuscripts with this speech (including four from Cracow). J. M. McManamon lists 13 manuscripts with this speech, including five from Cracow; J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An Incipitarum*, p. 893.

⁹⁸ Giacomo de’ Dottori became abbot of Santa Maria in Praglia in 1424. The mention of the death of the abbot of Santa Maria in Praglia dates to 27 August 1428, see F. G. B. T r o l e s e, *Vita religiosa e culturale dell’abbazia dal XV al XVIII secolo*, [in:] *Santa Maria Assunta di Praglia. Storia, arte, vita di un’abbazia benedettina*, eds. C. C e s c h i, M. M a c c a r i n e l l i, P. V e t t o r e F e r r a r o, Abbazia di Praglia, p. 73; see L. B e r t a l o t, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 218; T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., p. 43. G. F r a n c z a k (op. cit.,

de' Dottori's gratitude to the Pope for granting him the position of prior of the monastery of Santa Maria in Vanzo (which took place before he assumed the office in Praglia).⁹⁹ This speech is included in several 15th-century manuscripts¹⁰⁰ – in a Vienna codex containing an anthology of classical and humanistic rhetorical texts (Cicero's *Epistolarum ad diversos libri XVI*, speeches and letters, primarily from Padua and Venice),¹⁰¹ in a Munich codex also containing other speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza and Gasparino Barzizza,¹⁰² and in a Vatican manuscript with letters and speeches by Italian humanists.¹⁰³

Exactly the same set of Cristoforo's speeches, arranged in the same order as in the MS BJ 126, is known from another Cracow manuscript.¹⁰⁴ Thus, we are dealing with a relatively original collection of speeches which has no equivalent in other manuscripts from outside Cracow. A larger collection of Cristoforo Barzizza's speech assembled at a later date is known from other European manuscripts, for example a manuscript from Udine containing a collection of fifteenth-century rhetorical texts, dated for 1429–1435.¹⁰⁵ The manuscript of Udine contains three speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza included in the manuscript BJ 126, but arranged in a different order (two commendations of arts and a speech delivered at the funeral of Paolo Veneto). Thus,

p. 76), although he knew the work by L. Bertalot, attributed the authorship to Gasparino Barzizza and did not identify the character appearing as "Jacobus de Doctoribus," see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 100.

⁹⁹ "Accepi enim primum a te tenera adhuc satis etate s. Marie de Auancio prioratum, quem et omni vite integritate et monasterii refeccione gubernandum duxi..." (BJ 126, f. 6r). W. Bracke misinterpreted this fragment and believed that this speech was meant to express the gratitude of the abbot of Santa Maria in Praglia for receiving the position of prior of the monastery of Santa Maria in Vanzo, W. Bracke, *Le orazioni al pontefice*, [in:] *Alle origini della nuova Roma Martino V (1417–1431): atti del Convegno, Roma, 2–5 marzo 1992*, Roma 1992 (Nuovi studi storici/Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, vol. 20), pp. 139–140. For more on the convent of Santa Maria in Vanzo, see P. Gos, *Santa Maria in Vanzo. Da priorato benedettino a seminario diocesano*, [in:] *Il seminario di Gregorio Barbarigo. Trecento anni di arte, cultura e fede*, Padova 1997, pp. 11–28.

¹⁰⁰ L. Bertalot (*Eine Sammlung...*, p. 218) lists four manuscripts with this speech (München, BSB, Clm. 265, f. 188v; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. 5197, f. 10; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3136, f. 173v; Oss. 601, f. 261v), but omits the MS BJ 126.

¹⁰¹ *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum: praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 2: *Cod. 2001–3500*, Wien 1868, pp. 212–213; *Bücher aus der mittelalterlichen Universität Wien und ihrem Umfeld zusammengestellt von Friedrich Simader, Wien, ab 2007*, [online] <http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/hschrift/kataloge/universitaet/Register.htm> [accessed on: July 12, 2016].

¹⁰² München, BSB, Clm 265, f. 188v; see C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 12, no. 18–20, p. 15, no. 31, p. 22, no. 57, p. 24, no. 64, p. 73, no. 28, [online] <http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/m%C3%BCnchen-bayerische-staatsbibliothek-clm-265-manuscript/6814> [accessed on: July 10, 2016].

¹⁰³ Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 5197, f. 10r; see *Iter Italicum*, vol. 6: (*Italy III and Alia itinera IV*), ed. P. O. Kristeller, Leiden 1992, pp. 337–338.

¹⁰⁴ Oss. 601, ff. 257–263r.

¹⁰⁵ Udine, B. Arciv., 70, ff. 1r–12r; see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 213–219.

the MS BJ 126 contains an ‘early’ set of speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza from 1429–1431, available in Padua at the time of John of Ludzisko’s stay in the town. It can be presumed that if John of Ludzisko had remained in Padua after completing his medical studies, the manuscript he brought to Poland would have also contained Cristoforo Barzizza’s speeches written after 1433.

Another ‘package’ from the manuscript, consisting of two texts – the anonymous *Oratio de recommendacione iuris canonici* (inc.: “Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes,”¹⁰⁶ ff. 18v–20r) and the extremely popular speech of Pseudo-Demosthenes titled in the manuscript *Demostenis oracio ad Alexandrum incipit traducta e Greco in Latinum* (inc.: “Nichil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua...,” ff. 20r–v) – is relatively original, known only from one manuscript codex from outside Cracow.¹⁰⁷ According to the researchers, the former speech was written in circles associated with the University of Padua. Clémence Revest dated it for 1400–1435.¹⁰⁸ The oration has a humanist tone, evidenced by its many borrowings from Cicero.¹⁰⁹ Pseudo-Demosthenes’ speech to Alexander was described in this manuscript, as in many other manuscripts, as a translation from Greek into Latin, although in reality it was an anonymous Latin edition published in the supplement to the work of Quintus Qurcius Rufus *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, written in France in the 11th or 12th century.¹¹⁰ At the beginning of the 15th century, this speech remained in circulation (along with the speeches of Aischines, Demades and Pseudo-Demosthenes to the Athenians) separately from the supplement.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ L. Bertalot cites the version “Multi forte mirantur;” L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 224, likewise – P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 2: *Italy. Orvieto to Volterra*, London 1967, p. 202. C. Revest (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 9, no. 6) lists four manuscripts with this speech (omitting MS BJ 126). It appears in a ‘package’ with the other speech in question in the MS Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 30v–31r. It is also included in the same combination in one other Cracow manuscript – Oss. 601, ff. 251v–255v.

¹⁰⁷ In MS BCzart. 1242, ff. 95v–96r this piece was titled *Epistola Demostenis ad Allexandrum per Athenis* and was included among medieval texts.

¹⁰⁸ C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 9, no. 6.

¹⁰⁹ The incipit: “Multi forte vestrum mirantur” resembles the passage in Cicero’s speech (*Oratio pro P. Sestio*, 31): “forte vestrum miretur.”

¹¹⁰ S. Berti, *L’orazione Pseudo-Demostenica „Ad Alexandrum” dal XII al XVsecolo: tra latino e volgare*, “Aevum” 75, fasc. 2, May–August 2001, p. 480. For a long time this speech was considered a translation from Greek into Latin by Pietro Marcello or Leonardo Bruni, see R. Sabbadini, *Antonio da Romagno e Pietro Marcello*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto” XXX, 1915, pp. 207–246; L. Bertalot, *Die älteste gedruckte lateinische Epitaphiensammlung*, [in:] *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki oblata*, vol. 1, München 1921, p. 1; idem, *Forschungen über L. Bruni Aretino*, “Archivum Romanicum” XV, 1931, pp. 300, 304; idem, *Uno zibaldone umanistico latino del Quattrocento a Parma*, “La Bibliofilia” XXXVIII, 1936, pp. 77–78.

¹¹¹ L. Silvano, *Pseudo-Demostene „Ad Alexandrum” o la forza del falso*, [in:] *Vestigia notitiae. Scritti in memoria di Michelangelo Giusta*, ed. E. Bona, Alessandria 2012, p. 490.

These four speeches, in particular *Ad Alexandrum*, enjoyed enormous popularity, far bigger than genuine speeches by Demosthenes translated by Bruni.¹¹² According to the researchers, this could be due to the fact that Pseudo-Demosthenes' speeches were some of the first texts in circulation to be attributed to Greek orators.¹¹³ In addition, they were quite short, which facilitated their copying. The speech *Ad Alexandrum*, also copied individually, gained great popularity thanks to its Ciceronian style (it was a compilation or plagiarism consisting primarily of two speeches of Cicero – *Pro Marcello* and *Pro Ligario*, as well as fragments of works by other ancient authors).¹¹⁴

Another relatively original 'package' comprises two funeral speeches, one by Guarino of Verona (1374–1460), a well-known humanist and rhetorician teaching rhetoric in Venice, Verona and Ferrara (*Oracio Gwarini Veronensis in funere Georgii Laureani*, inc.: "Maxima pars hodierno die fortissimo viro Georgio Laureano a vobis effecta...", ff. 8r–9v), and the other by Andrea Giuliano (1384–1455), a Venetian patrician educated under Gasparino Barzizza and Guarino Verona (*Andree Iuliani in Manuelem Crisiloram Epitaphios, id est funebris oracio*, inc.: "Si quis vestrum est, viri dilectissimi, qui forte admiretur...", ff. 9v–10v).¹¹⁵ The former oration was written on the occasion of the funeral of Giorgio Loredan, the victorious commander at the Battle of Gallipoli (1416), who died in a sea battle off the coast of Sicily in 1421. The speech was very popular in humanistic anthologies.¹¹⁶

¹¹² *Pro Diopithe, Pro Ctesiphonte (De Corona), Olynthiacae*; H. B a r o n, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, Berlin–Leipzig 1928; M. A c c a m e L a n z i l l o t t a, *Leonardo Bruni traduttore di Demostene: La „Pro Ctesiphonte,”* Genova 1986; *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, vol. 7, eds. V. B r o w n, P. O. K r i s t e l l e r, F. E. C r a n z, Washington D. C. 1992, p. 111.

¹¹³ It is not known exactly when these four speeches began to circulate separately from the supplement. It is certain that they already existed as independent texts in 1403, when Bishop of Ceneda Pietro Marcello sent them to his friend Antonio da Romagno, S. B e r t i, *L'orazione Pseudo-Demostica...*, p. 479; L. S i l v a n o, op. cit., pp. 485–486.

¹¹⁴ L. S i l v a n o, op. cit., pp. 487–492. This speech can be found in Italian manuscripts with humanistic anthologies, e.g. MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021, ff. 35r–36v; Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ambr. H 52 suss., ff. 16r–17r; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, cod. 262, ff. 24v–25r (for the latter manuscript, see L. B e r t a l o t, *Uno zibaldone umanistico latino del Quattrocento a Parma*, [in:] i d e m, *Studien...*, vol. 2, pp. 241–264).

¹¹⁵ G. P i s t i l l i, *Guarini Guarino*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 6, Roma 2003, pp. 357–369; S. T r o i l o, *Andrea Giuliano, politico e letterato veneziano del Quattrocento*, Firenze 1932, pp. 32, 327; R. G. W i t t, op. cit., pp. 478–479; M. P. S t o c c h i, *Pagine di storia dell'umanesimo italiano*, Milano 2014, p. 228; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 100–101.

¹¹⁶ J. M. M c M a n a m o n lists 25 manuscripts from outside Cracow containing this speech, i d e m, *An Incipitarium of Funeral Orations and a Smattering of Other Panegyric Literature from the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1350–1550)*, pp. 932–933, [online] http://www.luc.edu/media/lucedu/history/pdfs/Incipit_Catalogue.pdf [accessed on: February 2, 2016].

The latter speech, composed by Andrea Giuliano in 1415 on the occasion of the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, enjoyed great popularity in humanistic circles in Europe (the great impression it made on humanists is evidenced by Poggio Bracciolini's letter to Guarino).¹¹⁷

These speeches are placed directly next to each other in one manuscript from outside Cracow, while seven other manuscripts not related to Cracow include both orations separated by other texts.¹¹⁸ The speeches appear side by side in five more Cracow manuscripts.¹¹⁹

The MS BJ 126 includes an interesting combination of five letters and two literary works, namely a letter by Gasparino Barzizza to Andrea Giuliano, four letters by Poggio Bracciolini from Constance, a polemical work by Leonardo Bruni (*Invectiva contra versutos ypocritas*) and a fourteenth-century translation of the last novella of *The Decameron* into Latin (*De oboedientia et fide uxoria*) made by Petrarch. Gasparino Barzizza's letter concerned the speech given by Andrea Giuliano on the occasion of the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras ("Gasparinus Pargamensis Andree Iuliano salutem dicit. Multas ex tuis oracionibus..." f. 36r).¹²⁰ The letter is dated on 9 October 1432 ("Patavii VIII cal. Octobris 1432"), although it was written on September 24, 1415.¹²¹ Grzegorz Franczak noticed this discrepancy, considering it to be a mistake of the authors of the manuscript catalogue.¹²² It can be assumed that this date corresponds to the date of copying the text to the manuscript

¹¹⁷ The letter by Poggio from Constance, 15 March 1416, inc.: "Si bene vales, ego quidem valeo. Nudius tertius cum Bartholomaeum de Montepolliciano..." *Poggii Epistolae*, ed. T. de Tonnellis, vol. 1, Florentiae 1832, books I, IV, pp. 22–25. There are 45 extant manuscripts containing this speech, see J. M. McManamon, *An Incipitarium...*

¹¹⁸ They also appear next to each other in the MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, cod. 868, ff. 60–63; They are included in the following manuscripts: Berlin, SPK, cod. Lat. folio 613, ff. 94–96, 111–113, 132–133r; Berlin, SPK, cod. Lat. quarto 572, ff. 92–97, 104r–109r; Oxford, Balliol College, cod. 135, ff. 38v, 53r; Padova, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1223, ff. 104r–112r; 122r–131r; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. Lat. 5834, ff. 29r–33r, 57v–62r; Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. I.177, ff. 69r–72r, 75v–79r; Venezia, BNM, cod. XI.127 (4722), ff. 67r–78r, 96r–108r.

¹¹⁹ The speeches appear together in manuscripts: BJ 42, ff. 13v–18v; BJ 173, ff. 210v–215r; BJ 2232, ff. 181v–189r; Oss. 601, ff. 263r–269v; BCzart. 1242, ff. 180r–187v. The sole speech by Andrea Giuliano is preserved in the MS Warsaw, BN BOZ 896, pp. 5–12.

¹²⁰ MSS BJ 42, f. 18v; BJ 173, ff. 215r–v; BJ 2232, f. 189r; BCzart. 1242, ff. 187r–187v; Oss. 601, f. 300r.

¹²¹ The same date is in MS BCzart. 1242, f. 187v. The date "VIII cal. Octobris" also appears in the MS Città di Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5133, f. 105r. D. Mazzuconi lists 13 manuscripts containing this letter, but does not mention any of the Cracow manuscripts, D. Mazzuconi, *Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" MCMLXXXVIII, 1977, p. 221.

¹²² *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 106; G. Franczak, op. cit., p. 76.

brought by John of Ludzisko. The next letter from Poggio to Guarino of Verona also concerned the speech by Andrea Giuliano (“Poggius salutem plurimam dicit Guarino Veronensi. – Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo. Nudius tercius...,” 15 March 1417, ff. 36r–v). Poggio’s second letter to Guarino of Verona was devoted to the treatise by Francesco Barbaro titled *De re uxoria* (“Poggius plurimam salutem [dicit] Guarino Veronensi. Dii male faciant...,” 31 December 1417, f. 36v).¹²³ It was followed by a letter describing Poggio’s excursion to the baths in Baden, addressed to the Florentine humanist Niccolò Niccoli (“Poggius plurimam salutem dicit Nicolao suo. Si vales bene est, ego quoque valeo. Per quendam...,” 31 December 1417, ff. 36v–37v), and the last, describing the trial of Jerome of Prague, was addressed to Leonardo Bruni (“Poggius Leonardo Aretino plurimam salutem. Cum pluribus diebus ad balnea fuisset,” 30 May 1416, ff. 37v–38v).¹²⁴ This last letter enjoyed great popularity.¹²⁵ In the MS BJ 126, it is immediately followed by a polemical work by Leonardo Bruni from 1417, devoted to the vices of monks, appearing in the manuscript under the title *Invectiva contra versutos ypocritas Leonardi Aretini* (inc.: “Ex omni genere hominum...,” ff. 38v–40r).¹²⁶ Petrarch’s *De oboedientia et fide uxoria* with a preceding dedication letter (titled in the manuscript *Domino Iohanni Bochacio [...] epistola domini Francisci de oboedientia et fide uxoria*, inc.: “Librum tuum, quem nostro materno eloquio,” ff. 40r–42v) was his most popular work at the turn of the 13th and 14th century.¹²⁷

¹²³ MSS BJ 42, ff. 19r–v; BJ 173, f. 216r; BJ 2232, f. 190r; Oss 601, ff. 301r–v; BCzart. 1242, ff. 188v–190v.

¹²⁴ Manuscripts BJ 173, ff. 217v–219r; BJ 2232, ff. 190v–193r; BCzart. 1242, ff. 191r–194v; Oss. 601, ff. 304v–307r.

¹²⁵ Lucia Gualdo Rosa lists 28 manuscripts with this letter preserved in libraries outside Italy, see *Censimento dei codici dell’epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, vol. 1: *Manoscritti delle biblioteche non italiane*, Roma 1993, passim.

¹²⁶ BCzart. 1242, ff. 194r–199v.

¹²⁷ Cracow manuscripts containing the novella: BJ 126, ff. 40r–42v; BJ 42, ff. 22r–25v, BJ 173, ff. 223r–227r, BJ 2232, ff. 202r–208v, BCzart. 1242, ff. 143r–149v, Oss. 601, ff. 311r, 317v–318r. For more on this novella and its reception in Poland, see G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., passim; L. G u a l d o R o s a, *Introduzione*, [in:] *Censimento...*, p. XV; According to preliminary estimates, there exist 65 manuscripts with translations of the story of Griselda, see J. B. S e v e r s, *The Literary Relationships of Chaucer’s “Clerkes Tale,”* New York–New Haven 1942, pp. 41–100. V. Branca has identified 34 other manuscripts with translations of the story of Griselda, see *Tradizione delle opere di Giovanni Boccaccio. Un secondo elenco di manoscritti e studi sul testo del „Decameron” con due appendici*, vol. 2, Roma 1991, pp. 173–174, note 53; G. Albanese estimates that the novella was disseminated in around one hundred manuscripts, but does not provide an exact number and instead refers to works on Petrarch’s manuscripts in individual countries or libraries (see *Fortuna umanistica della “Griselda,”* [in:] *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell’umanesimo: atti del Convegno internazionale: Firenze, 19–22 maggio 1991*, Firenze 1996, p. 571).

All these works appear together in four Cracow manuscripts,¹²⁸ while one Cracow manuscript contains four of them (BJ 42).¹²⁹ I have yet been unable to find a manuscript from outside Cracow which would contain all of the listed works. Lucia Gualdo Rosa has concluded that the texts frequently appeared in such a combination and formed an ideological whole, but she has not provided any statistical data or listed specific manuscripts containing this ‘package’ (it is unknown whether this observation was made on the basis of Cracow manuscripts).¹³⁰ Ludwig Bertalot emphasised the popularity of two letters by Poggio (the one addressed to Niccolò and containing a description of the baths in Baden and the one to Bruni with the account of the death of Jerome of Prague) in humanistic manuscripts, but he did not mention their exact number.¹³¹ It seems, therefore, that in its entirety it was a fairly original collection, composed of very popular works which were also present independently in manuscript circulation or circulated in smaller ‘bundles’ (e.g. two letters by Poggio from Constance).¹³² These seven works may have been combined in the MS BJ 126 according to the following logic: the first two letters (the first one by Gasparino Barzizza and the second one by Poggio) relate to Andrea Giuliano’s oration for the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, the letters by Poggio from Constance also formed a whole in themselves, and finally Poggio’s letter concerning the death of Jerome

¹²⁸ In three of them they appear side by side: BJ 173, ff. 215r–221v, 223r–227r; BJ 2232, ff. 189r–200r; 202r–208v; Oss 601, ff. 300r–311r, 317v–318r. One of the manuscripts also contains the translation of the story of Griselda together with Petrarch’s dedication letter, appearing separately from the five letters and *Invectiva* by Bruni (BCzart. 1242, ff. 143r–143v and ff. 187r–199v).

¹²⁹ Gasparino Barzizza’s letter to Giuliano Andrea (f. 18v), two letters to Guarino by Poggio (ff. 18v–19v) and Petrarch’s *De insignia oboedientia* together with a dedication letter (ff. 22r–25v).

¹³⁰ L. Gualdo Rosa, *Introduzione*, [in:] *Censimento...*, p. XV; see A. Horczy, *An Italian Intermediary in the Transmission of the Ancient Traditions to Renaissance Poland. Leonardo Bruni and the Humanism in Cracow*, [in:] *Cultures in Motion. Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, eds. A. Izdebski, D. Jasiński, Kraków 2014 (*Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia*), p. 216. Only six manuscripts from outside Cracow containing the letter “Cum pluribus diebus” and Bruni’s *Invectiva contra versutos ypocritas* were found in the first volume of *Censimento...*, including manuscripts from libraries outside Italy. However, in none of them do the two texts appear directly next to one another (London, BL, Harley 4094, ff. 123–131v, 56r–61r; Berlin, SPK, lat. Fol 557, ff. 129v–135r, 45r–48r; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek App. 2282, ff. 71r–75r, 185r–192r; München, BSB, clm. 78, ff. 157r–161r, 62r–63v; München, BSB, Clm 418, ff. 181r–186r, 230r–232v; Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale 168[100], ff. 112r–115r, 268v–273r).

¹³¹ L. Bertalot, *Eine humanistische Anthologie. Die Handschrift 4768 der Universitätsbibliothek München*, [in:] idem, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, Roma 1975, vol. 1, p. 30.

¹³² For example, Poggio’s letters: “Poggius plurimam salutem dicit Nicolao suo. Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo...” and “Poggius Leonardo Aretino plurimam salutem. Cum pluribus diebus...” München, BSB, Clm. 28137, ff. 202r–209r.

of Prague formed an ideological whole with the work by Bruni condemning the vices of monks. The tale of Griselda in Petrarch's Latin translation – or rather its adaptation, as its tone was much more moralizing in comparison with Boccaccio's original – fitted into this context very well, as it contained an *exemplum* of the life of a Christian wife, and in a broader sense – of Christian life.¹³³

SPEECHES APPEARING INDEPENDENTLY IN THE MS BJ 126
KNOWN FROM OTHER EUROPEAN MANUSCRIPTS

The presence of a very popular speech on the vices of clergy authored by Poggio and titled *Oracio Poggio Florentini* (inc.: “Vellem, patres reverendissimi, tantum virtutis atque animi roboris...,” ff. 12r–14r) in our manuscript is extremely interesting and meaningful. Poggio Bracciolini composed it in Constance in the summer or early autumn of 1417, but its ‘neighbouring’ texts in the MS BJ 126 are Paduan pieces: a speech in honour of Giorgio Corner (inc.: “Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam...,” f. 12r) and university oration by Gasparino Barzizza (“Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” ff. 15r–v). Poggio's speech was very popular in Europe, but it has not been possible to identify any manuscripts from outside the Cracow milieu in which it would appear in direct connection with at least one of the above-mentioned Paduan speeches.¹³⁴ The popularity of the oration in Cracow is evidenced by its inclusion in seven other Cracow manuscripts.¹³⁵ The fact that Poggio's speech from Constance was placed next to Paduan texts in the MS BJ 126 indicates that it was brought to the Cracow milieu from Padua.

The placement of a letter from Guarino to Poggio Bracciolini, written on 3 July 1416 in response to Poggio's letter reporting the proceedings of the Council of Constance (inc.: “Gwarinus Veronensis doctissimo viro Poggio secretario apostolico salutem plurimam dicit. Ex hiis litteris, quas nuper...,” ff. 33r–v) in the manuscript BJ

¹³³ G. A l b a n e s e, op. cit., pp. 572–583.

¹³⁴ Critical edition: R. F u b i n i, *Un'orazione del Poggio Bracciolini sui vizi del clero, scritta al tempo del concilio di Costanza*, “Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana” 142, 1965, pp. 24–33. Also published by I. M. Radziejowska on the basis of six Polish manuscripts: M. R a d z i e j o w s k a, ‘Mowa soborowa’ Poggia Braccioliniego, “Przegląd Tomistyczny” VIII, 2000, pp. 362–396. There are 16 manuscripts containing this speech listed in the catalogue of speeches delivered at the Council of Constance, see C. N i g h m a n, P. S t u m p, *A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons & Other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)*, p. 33, [online] <http://bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump/3-Main-Sermon-Register.pdf> [accessed on: May 27, 2016]; J. M. McManamon lists 18 European manuscripts with this speech, including six from Cracow, see J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An Incipitarium...*, p. 1029. Poggio's speech is followed by Gasparino Barzizza's speech in the MS Oss. 601 (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...”), ff. 233r–243r; Poggio's diatribe follows the speech in honour of Giorgio Corner in the MS BN BOZ 896, pp. 17–24.

¹³⁵ MSS BJ 42, ff. 8r–12v; BJ 173, ff. 206r–210r, BJ 1596, ff. 179r–184r, BJ 2232, ff. 175r–180v; BCZart. 1242, ff. 172v–179r; Oss. 601, ff. 233r–242r.

126 may seem coincidental. It does not appear next to Guarino's speeches nor among his letters; instead, it follows Paolo Robobelli's speech delivered at the University of Padua and an anonymous text titled *Gratiarum actio* (ff. 31v–33r) and precedes a piece by Bernardo Messalto in honour of Nicholas d'Este (f. 34r). Such a placement breaks the harmony of the division into speeches and letters, as well as – like in the case of the above-mentioned *Oracio Poggy Florentini* – seems to ignore the 'Constance-related' part of the codex. In some manuscripts from outside the Cracow milieu, this letter appears next to writings by Paduan authors.¹³⁶ The piece, rather popular in European manuscripts, can be found in four other manuscripts from Cracow, but in none of them is it surrounded by the same texts as in the MS BJ 126.¹³⁷

Separately from any 'package,' the BJ 126 manuscript contains a modified version of Guarino's speech delivered on 10 October 1409 on the occasion of the end of term of the Venetian humanist Zaccaria Trevisan (1370–1414) as the *podestà* of Verona and the assumption of this office by another Venetian, Albano Badoer (around 1360–1428).¹³⁸ In the MS BJ 126, as well as in other manuscripts, the names of Albano Badoer and Zaccaria Trevisan were replaced by Fran. B. and P. Lau., referring to Francesco Bembo and Pietro Loredan.¹³⁹ Francesco Bembo (d. after 1427) held the

¹³⁶ This letter is placed between a letter by Gasparino Barzizza and a letter by Francesco Barbaro in the MS Venezia BNM, Lat. XI. 101 (3939), ff. 12r–14r. For more on this manuscript, see C. R e v e s t, *Naissance du cicéronianisme...*

¹³⁷ MSS BJ 173, ff. 229r–230r, BCzart. 1242, ff. 152v–155r; Oss. 601, ff. 297r–299r. It is also known from at least 20 manuscripts, see G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 79.

¹³⁸ Inc.: "Optavi tum sepe alias..." (BJ 126, ff. 10v–11v); This speech was published by R. S a b b a d i n i, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese con 44 documenti*, Catania 1896, pp. 170–172. For more on Zaccaria Trevisan, see P. G o t h e i n, *Zaccaria Trevisan*, "Archivio Veneto" 5 series, 21, 1937, pp. 1–59; i d e m, *Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio. La vita e l'ambiente*, Venezia 1942; B. G. K o h l, *Francesco Barbaro*, [in:] *The earthly republic. Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, eds. by B. G. K o h l, R. G. W i t t, Philadelphia 1978, p. 180; R. G. W i t t, op. cit., pp. 470–475. For more on Albano Badoer, see G. C r a c c o, *Badoer Albano*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 5 (1963), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/albano-badoer_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/albano-badoer_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed on: December 5, 2015]; R. S a b b a d i n i, *La scuola*, pp. 16, 170–172. A very similar incipit ("Optavi cum alias, tum maxime...") may be found in a speech delivered by Matteo Bissaro, a lawyer and orator from Vicenza, when the office of the *podestà* in Vicenza was assumed by Francesco Barbaro (26 February 1425). For this reason, some scholars were convinced that the above-mentioned speech from the MS BJ 126 manuscript may be identified with the one by Bissaro, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101. For more about Matteo Bissaro, see: E. R a g n i, *Bissaro Matteo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 10 (1968), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-bissaro_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-bissaro_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed on: February 9, 2016]. List of manuscripts with Bissaro's speech: J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An Incipitarium*, p. 618.

¹³⁹ The speech appears as anonymous in the MS BJ 126. It is also known from four other Cracow manuscripts: BJ 42, ff. 12v–13r (titled *Oratio doctissimi viri Gwarini Veron.*); BJ 173, ff. 210r–v (also as *Oracio doctissimi viri Guarrini Veronensis*); BJ 2232, ff. 180v–181v; BOss. 601, ff. 270r–v. Some manuscripts contain the version: "Optavi cum sepe alias" (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 34r–35r);

office of the *capitano* of Verona in 1411 and 1413, Pietro Loredan (d. 1438) was the commander of the Venetian fleet, but none of them served as the *podestà* in Verona.¹⁴⁰ In the speech, which followed the Ciceronian model, Guarino praised the virtues of the Venetian *podestà*.

Another text popular in the fifteenth century, a pseudo-Ovidian epistle from Sappho to Phaon (*Incipit Epistula Saphos poetige Mutilene, inc.*: “Hec quid ubi...,” ff. 35r–36r), appears in the MS BJ 126 separately from Ovid’s *Heroides*, in which it was later included.¹⁴¹ Its presence among Italian rhetorical texts from the 15th century can be attributed to the fact that 15th-century humanists treated it as a newly discovered ancient work.¹⁴² This text was often found in anthologies with classical and humanistic texts copied in the Paduan milieu. Many of them belonged to students (especially to those originating from north of the Alps).¹⁴³ However, it cannot be found

P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 2, p. 202. Already R. Sabbadini noticed that many manuscripts include the names Fran. B. (= Franciscus Bembo) and P. Lau. (Petrus Laureanus) together with Guarino’s speech, and he could list only two manuscripts containing the correct version of the names of the two *podestà* of Verona (Zaccaria Trevisan and Albano Badoer): Chemnitz Stadbücherei 2411 (now Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, App. 2282) and Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, Cod. H VI 26; *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, ed. R. Sabbadini, vol. 3: *Commento*, Venezia 1919, pp. 10–11; see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 6: *Italy and alia itinera*, Leiden–New York–Koln 1992, p. 501.

¹⁴⁰ S. Borsari, *Bembo, Francesco*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 8 (1966), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-bembo_res-a4e1833c-87e7-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-bembo_res-a4e1833c-87e7-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed on: February 11, 2016]; G. GuLLino, *Loredan Pietro*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 65 (2005), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-loredan_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-loredan_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed on: September 12, 2016].

¹⁴¹ Manuscripts BJ 42, ff. 3r–4v; BCzart.1242, ff. 426–432. For 25 Vatican MSS, see L. Gualdo Rosa, (review) *M. Buonocore, Aetas Ovidiana. La fortuna di Ovidio nei codici della Biblioteca Vaticana, Sulmona, Centro Ovidiano di Studi e Ricerche, 1994, pp. 303, tavv. XLII*, “Humanistica Lovanien-sia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies” 45, 1996, p. 542. For 13 Florentine MSS, see A. Perosa, *Studi di filologia umanistica*, ed. P. Viti, vol. 2: *Quattrocento fiorentino*, Roma 2000, p. 39.

¹⁴² The letter was considered to be a genuine work by Ovid until the end of the nineteenth century. The Ovidian authorship was first questioned by classical philologists in the 20th century. Some researchers believe that Sappho’s letter to Phaon was not written by Ovid (which is indicated by its style and content, as well as the method of transmission. In no manuscript did it appear as the fifteenth letter in the Ovid collection of *Heroides*, as it did in print editions), but it was placed either at the end or separately, see R. J. Tarrant, *The Authenticity of the Letter of Sappho to Phaon (Heroides XV)*, “Harvard Studies in Classical Philology” LXXXV, 1981, pp. 133–153; P. E. Knox, *Introduction*, [in:] *Ovid Heroides selected epistles*, ed. idem, Cambridge 1995, pp. 6–7; G. P. Rosati, *Sabinus, the Heroides and the Poet-Nightingale. Some Observations on the Authenticity of the Epistula Sapphus*, “The Classical Quarterly” 46, 1, 1996, pp. 207–216.

¹⁴³ L. Gargan, *‘Dum eram studens Padue.’ Studenti-copisti a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, [in:] *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana. Atti del Convegno Padova, 6–8 febbraio 1998*, eds. F. Piovani, L. Sitrani-Rea, Trieste 2001, p. 45.

in the above mentioned Udinese manuscript with a collection of humanistic and classical texts.¹⁴⁴

The manuscript also contains a speech composed by an unidentified author in praise of newly graduated doctor Cristoforo da Campo (inc.: “Vereor, magnifici presides...,” ff. 6r–v) which also seems to be a separate text (not belonging to any bigger collection). The addressee of the speech could be identified as the son of Giovanni, patrician of Verona, who studied civil law at the University of Padua.¹⁴⁵ The oration mentions Pietro Marcello, Bishop of Padua (in the years 1409–1428) and Paolo Dotti (c. 1392 – c. 1455). The former belonged to the humanistic milieu of Padua and had contacts with Gasparino Barzizza. The latter was a Paduan lawyer who earned a doctorate in civil law at the University of Padua, where in 1415 he was appointed professor of law (lecturing since 1422). This speech could be dated roughly to 1419–1427.¹⁴⁶ The oration was relatively widespread in

¹⁴⁴ See L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 209–235.

¹⁴⁵ The text mentions the doctor’s name, family name, and place of origin: “de optimis studiis et nature excellentia, de preclara opus domini Christofori nostri familia aliqua dicam... minime de egregia ipsius familia dicam, quae ex Campo cognominata et nam olim maiores sui optima ac opulenta castella in Tridentina regione possederunt... ac permanent, ut dignitatem cum summa laude et gratiam optimorum civium veronensium et aliarum nationum sibi iure optimo vindicaverunt. Egregius denique vir Johannes, pater suus adeo instituisse fortunas sibi comparavit...” (BJ 126, f. 6v). C. Revest has identified the addressee of the speech as Cristoforo da Campo, though she cites a different incipit, C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 33. Cristoforo da Campo was a member of the commission appointed in 1427 to reform the statutes of Verona, see G. M. Varanini, *Die Statuten der Städte der venezianischen Terraferma*, [in:] *Statuten, Städte und Territorien zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit in Italien und Deutschland*, eds. G. Chittolini, D. Willoweit, Berlin 1992, p. 219; For more on Cristoforo da Campo, see: G. Dal Pozzo, *Collegii Veronensis iudicum advocatorum [...] elogium*, Verona 1653, pp. 87–89; C. Carcereri de Prati, *Il collegio dei giudici-avvocati di Verona*, Verona 2001, pp. 58, 61. The speech in honour of Cristoforo da Campo is also listed as an anonymous work by A. Sottili, *Studenti tedeschi e umanesimo italiano nell’Università di Padova durante il Quattrocento*, vol. 1: *Pietro del Monte nella società accademica padovana (1430–1433)*, Padova 1971, p. 16.

¹⁴⁶ The *terminus post quem* could be 1415 (the date of obtaining a doctorate by Paolo Dotti) and the *terminus ante quem* could be 1428 (the date of death of Pietro Marcello). It seems that this time span can be narrowed down further. It can be assumed that Cristoforo da Campo was already a doctor of law when he joined the commission established to reform the statutes of Verona in 1427, so he must have obtained his doctorate earlier. He was a member of the Collegio dei giudici-avvocati of Verona and according to the 1399 statute, the candidates to this corporation were required to have studied law at a university for five years. It was not until 1497 that the statute was changed to include the requirement of holding a doctoral degree, see C. Carcereri de Prati, op. cit., p. 63; *Lo statuto del collegio dei giudici e avvocati di Verona (1399)*, eds. A. Ciarralli, G. M. Varanini, Verona 2009, p. 92. The Paduan *Acta graduum* from the years 1415–1428 do not list any doctor of civil law who could be identified with our Cristoforo, therefore it can be assumed that Cristoforo

European manuscripts (especially those from Germany).¹⁴⁷ In the European manuscripts, however, it was surrounded by texts other than in the MS BJ 126. Moreover, they usually appeared in different configurations, which would indicate that this oration did not belong to any fixed ‘bundle.’¹⁴⁸ The speech was included in another Cracow manuscript (Oss. 601, ff. 6r–v) in the same text combination as in the MS BJ 126.

So far, I have not been able to identify a ‘bundle’ which could include the anonymous wedding speech composed in the Paduan milieu (*Oracio pro sponsalibus*, inc.: “Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitrator...,” ff. 20v–21v), known from two manuscripts from outside Cracow.¹⁴⁹ It is difficult to determine the date of its composition, because the text does not mention the names of the newlyweds and only includes a general praise of the marriage.¹⁵⁰ The oration was composed in line with the canons of

obtained his doctorate in the period corresponding to the gap in *Acta graduum* (from 1419 to 1428), see D. Gallo, *Lauree inedite in diritto civile e canonico presso lo studio di Padova (1419–1422, 1423, 1424, 1428)*, “Quaderni per la storia dell’università di Padova” XX, 1987, p. 2; see J. Fijak-Łek, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

¹⁴⁷ C. Reeves lists nine manuscripts with this speech (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 12, no. 18): Cracow BJ 126, ff. 6r–6v, Oss. 601, ff. 262r–263r, Berlin SPK, Lat. F 613, ff. 46v–47r; Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, 30, ff. 16r–17v; Freiburg i. B., Universitätsbibliothek 159, pp. 36v–37v; München, BSB, Clm 265, ff. 172v–173r; München, BSB, Clm 5354, ff. 324r–325r; Stuttgart, WL, HB VIII.26, pp. 34–38 and Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 52v–53r; see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 232.

¹⁴⁸ In the MS Udine, B. Arciv. 70, it is preceded by a speech on the occasion of the doctoral promotion in canon law, inc.: “Optarem ego, magnifici presides...,” ff. 51r–52r, followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech inaugurating the lecture on *De anima*, inc.: “Maxime vellem...,” f. 53v. In the manuscript of München, BSB, Clm 265, it is followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech in praise of philosophy, inc.: “Sentio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 173r–173v. In the MS Stuttgart, WL, HB.VIII.26, it is preceded by a speech on the occasion of conferring doctoral insignia in canon law to Maffeo Bon, ff. 30r–34r, followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech on the occasion of conferring a doctorate in civil law, inc.: “Si quis forte vestrum miratur...,” ff. 38r–42r. In the MS Berlin SPK, Lat. 613, it is preceded by a speech on the occasion of conferring doctoral insignia in canon law, inc.: “Optarem ego...,” ff. 45r–46r, followed by a speech inaugurating a lecture on *De oratore* by Cicero, inc.: “Quamquam sepius...,” f. 47r. In the MS München, BSB, Clm 5354, it is followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech in praise of canon law “Quamquam multos hic esse...,” ff. 325r–327r; see C. Reeves, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 10, no. 10; p. 12, no. 19; p. 22, no. 57; p. 26, no. 59; p. 28, no. 73; p. 30, no. 76.

¹⁴⁹ The following passage gives evidence that the speech was composed in the Paduan milieu: “Sit propterea ad honorem et gaudium sempiternum virorum nobilium huius regie civitati Patavini...” (BJ 126, f. 21v). The speech can also be found in the MSS: Belluno, Seminario Gregoriano, 49, f. 71v; Venezia, BNM, Marc. Lat. XI 101 (3939), ff. 19v–21v.

¹⁵⁰ A. F. D’Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Cambridge 2004 (Harvard Historical Studies, vol. 146, p. 150).

Ciceronian humanism and may be associated with the circle of Guarino of Verona, who was the author of many wedding speeches.¹⁵¹

The following funeral speech, *Oracio pro funere Bartholomei Cirmisoni Lodovici de Pirano* (“Sepe numero, patres amplissimi, cogitavi mecum, quanto esse debeat...,” ff. 21v–22v), is also included independently of any ‘bundle.’¹⁵² Delivered in 1421, it was written on the commission of the University of Padua by Ludovico da Pirano (d. 1447), a Franciscan monk, provincial vicar and Paduan doctor of theology (1415).¹⁵³ The oration was written in a traditional (medieval) style, as the author did not have humanistic rhetorical preparation. The protagonist of the speech was Bartolomeo Cermisone (Cermisone da Parma, b. ca. 1340, d. after 1415), a condottiere who fought in the forces of the Carrara family from around 1360. In 1389, following the surrender of Francesco Novello, he joined the side of the Visconti family.¹⁵⁴ There are only seven extant manuscripts with this oration, including five manuscripts from the Cracow milieu.¹⁵⁵

John of Ludzisko’s collection of orations in the MS BJ 126 includes a short fragment of Leonardo Bruni’s *Prologue* to the translation of Plato’s *Phaedo* with a dedication to Pope Innocent VII (inc.: “Qui tuam laudant sanctitatem, pater beatissime, opus certe bonum, pium agere...,” f. 56v). It is placed between a speech welcoming Casimir Jagiellon upon his entrance to Cracow for the coronation and a speech addressed to Archbishop of Gniezno Vincent Kot (Wincenty Kot). The prologue is dated to the period between October 1404 and March 1405.¹⁵⁶ It can be supposed that the scribe in-

¹⁵¹ The beginning of the speech was taken from Cicero’s second speech against Verres (Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, inc.: “Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitror, iudices, hunc per hosce dies sermonem vulgi atque hanc opinionem populi Romani fuisse...”).

¹⁵² For a printed edition of the speech, see: A. C a l a n d r i n i, G. M. F u s c o n i, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi. Appunti e documentazione per una storia della Chiesa di Forlì, II, Il secolo XV*, Forlì 1993, pp. 859–862.

¹⁵³ G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 86; T. C a l i o, *Ludovico da Pirano*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 66, Roma 2006, pp. 427–430; C. C e n c i, *Lodovico da Pirano e la sua attività letteraria*, [in:] *Storia e cultura al Santo*, ed. A. P o p p i, Vicenza 1976, pp. 265–278.

¹⁵⁴ R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 386; M. M a l e t t, *Cermisone Bartolomeo*, [in:] *DBI*, 23 (1979), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-cermisone_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-cermisone_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed on: August 16, 2015].

¹⁵⁵ Cracow MSS containing this speech: BJ 173, ff. 227r–228v; BJ 2232, ff. 208v–209v; Czart 1242, ff. 149v–152v; Oss. 601, ff. 273r–v. Tommaso Calio (op. cit., pp. 427–430) mentions only three manuscripts with this speech: Città di Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat., 327, f. 289b; BJ, 173, BJ 126; McManamon adds the MS St. Petersburg Archives of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, LOIII, cod. 1 box 614, ff. 55–58, J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An incipitarius...*, p. 805.

¹⁵⁶ P. B o t l e y, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, Cambridge 2004, p. 12; Leonardo Bruni *Are­tino. Humanistisch-Philosophische Schriften: Mit Einer Chronologie Seiner Werke Und Briefe*, ed. H. B a r o n, Leipzig 1928, p. 161.

tended to copy the rest of the prologue on the following empty folio (f. 57r–v) but for some reason did not do it. The text could have been included in the MS BJ 126 independently of the other texts from the ‘Italian’ collection believed to have been brought by John of Ludzisko, because it is known from two other Cracow manuscripts containing a collection of Italian rhetorical texts. The first one, MS BJ 2038 (ff. 38v–39r), was written too late (in the 1470s), so the prologue could not have been copied from it. The second one is the MS BJ 519 (ff. 116v–117r), whose first part (ff. 1r–9v) was written in Constance in 1414 and the second part – around 1420; it was eventually bound in Cracow around 1450.¹⁵⁷ The prologue may have been copied from it to the MS BJ 126. It is also possible that the prologue belonged to the collection supposedly brought by John of Ludzisko (it is included in other European manuscripts containing the collection of rhetorical texts most similar to the one in the MS BJ 126),¹⁵⁸ and the copyist, upon realizing that he had not entered it together with the other texts from the Italian collection, began to copy it to a blank folio next to the speech by John of Ludzisko.

SPEECHES KNOWN ONLY FROM THE MS BJ 126 AND CRACOW MANUSCRIPTS

The corpus of Italian works brought by John of Ludzisko contains a number of texts, including some by unidentified authors, which are known only from Cracow manuscripts.

The MS BJ 126 includes four epigrams by Antonio Baratella appearing outside their original context. Antonio Baratella (c. 1385–1448), a Paduan poet and humanist, student of Gasparino Barzizza, teacher of grammar (in Padua in 1415–1416, in Pirano in 1426–1427 and in Belluno in 1430–1434) and the teacher of the sons of Doge Francesco Foscari,¹⁵⁹ is not identified as their author in the MS BJ 126. The first of these four works was addressed to Guarino of Verona (inc.: “Itala, quem gemine laurus et Greca serenant...,” f. 35), the second one to Pope Martin V (inc.: “Multa vetant calamo, quod adest hoc suscipe gratum...,” f. 35)¹⁶⁰ and the last two to Sic-

¹⁵⁷ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 3, p. 224.

¹⁵⁸ Udine, Arciv. 70, f. 44r; Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021, ff. 30r–30v.

¹⁵⁹ The most comprehensive work on Antonio Baratella is the monograph by A. S e g a r i z z i, *Antonio Baratella e i suoi corrispondenti*, “Miscellanea di Storia Veneta,” series III, vol. 10, Venezia 1916, pp. 1–187, and the biography by B. Z i l i o t t o, *Baratella Antonio*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 5, Roma 1963, pp. 778–780. Ruggiero Marconato’s study has a more popularizing character, *Antonio Baratella (1385–1448). Vita, opere e cultura di un umanista padovano*, Citadella 2002.

¹⁶⁰ Another manuscript containing this text is mentioned in *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, 105: Padova, Biblioteca Civica, B. P 881. For the description of its content, see: [online] <http://www.nuovabibliotecamano-scritta.it/StampaManoscritto.html?codice=7883> [accessed on: March 11, 2016].

co Polenton (around 1375–1446 / 1448), a humanist, notary of the Carrara family, employed in the communal chancery in Padua from 1415 (inc.: “Nullus ad Euganeas hinc sedes perget amicus...,” f. 35r and inc.: “Nuper ab altissimo cepi Siccone tabelas...,” f. 35r).¹⁶¹ The two epigrams addressed to Sicco Polenton form part of a larger poetic work titled *Laureia*, devoted to the subject of the mythical origin of the town of Loreggia.¹⁶² The work was finished before 1434 and is known from the Venetian manuscript BNM, Lat. XII 174 (3955).¹⁶³ So far, it has not been possible to find a manuscript in which these two epigrams would appear separately from *Laureia* in the same order as in the MS BJ 126. The literary output of Baratella was not held in high esteem by his contemporaries and his poems had a much more modest circulation than Barzizza’s.¹⁶⁴ Baratella’s poem *Foscara* written in 1422 in honour of Doge Francesco Foscari is known only from two manuscripts.¹⁶⁵

The next group consists of four pieces written in honour of well-known people (ff. 34r–34v). It was treated as a whole by the authors of the catalogue of the medieval manuscripts preserved in the Jagellonian Library, who, however, had difficulty identifying the author and suggested a double authorship on the basis of the analysis of explicits (the authors were supposed to be Bernardus de Messaltis and Bernardus de Imiola). The author is referred to as Bernhardus de Mesaltis in the explicits of two pieces (expl. “Bernhardum de Mesaltis tue excelsitudinis devotissimum,” ff. 34r and 34v). The first one was written in honour of Nicholas d’Este, Marquis of Ferrara in the years 1393–1441 (inc.: “Optavi tua gesta, clarissime princeps...,” f. 34r)¹⁶⁶ and the second one in honour of Francisco Foscari, doge in the years 1423–1457 (inc.: “Ecce tue matris...,” f. 34r).¹⁶⁷ In the case of the elaborate rhymed piece in honour of Gasparino Barzizza (titled *Ad exundantissimum eloquencie fontem Gasparinum de*

¹⁶¹ Another manuscript with this text is mentioned in *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, 106: Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare CCCXVI.

¹⁶² A. Segarizi, *Antonio Baratella...*, p. 126.

¹⁶³ The two epigrams to Sicco Polenton are included in the Venetian manuscript on f. 73r and 80v, respectively. The author would like to thank Professor Rino Modonutti from Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari, Università degli Studi di Padova for this information.

¹⁶⁴ In a letter to Bishop Feltre Enrico Scarampo of 6 October 1437, Sicco Polenton was critical of the poetic works of Baratella, see S. Polenton, *La Catina, le orazioni e le epistole*, ed. A. Segarizi, Bergamo 1899, p. 124.

¹⁶⁵ A. Baratella, *Foscara*, eds. A. Cassata Contin, E. Martellozzo Forin, Venezia 2014, p. 54.

¹⁶⁶ Berardo Messalto probably wrote more speeches in honour of Nicholas d’Este, as could be argued on the basis of the entry from 1467 in the catalogue of the Borso d’Este Library “Quedam Carmina ad Illmum d. Nicolaum estensem edita in uno folio reali in duabus faciebus,” see G. Bertoni, *La biblioteca estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I (1471–1505)*, Torino 1903, p. 222.

¹⁶⁷ A. M. Ippolito, *Este, Niccolo d’*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 43, Roma 1993, pp. 396–403; G. Gullino, *Foscari Francesco*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 49, Roma 1997, pp. 318–320.

Bartutis in arte oratoria, inc.: “Fessus ad Hesperias...,” f. 34v), appearing as the last of the four discussed pieces, some scholars read the author’s name in the colophon as “Bilardus de Imiola” or even “Bilardus de Imola.”¹⁶⁸ The name in the colophon can also be read as “Bernhardus” and the place of origin as “Muola,” which could refer to Muggia, also called “Muia” or “Mugla” in the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁹ It seems that the author should be identified with Bernardo Messalto of Muggia, who lived in Venice in the Santa Margherita district in the years 1395–1420. He served as the rector of a school in Venice and wrote pieces which he often addressed to well-known personalities.¹⁷⁰

Some Polish scholars have found it more problematic to identify the author of the penultimate of the four pieces discussed above, written in honour of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (*Oracio continens laudes excellentissimi principis et domini*, inc.: “Excellentissime princeps. Licet parvitas mea non sit digna...,” f. 34v), mainly due to the name Polisenam listed in the colophon (*edita per Polisenam de Masaltis*).¹⁷¹ The mysterious Polisenam was the daughter of the aforementioned rhetorician and poet Bernardo Messalto.¹⁷² She received a literary education and also wrote poems in Latin.¹⁷³ The phrase *edita per Polisenam de Masaltis* seems to suggest that Polisenam published a speech composed by her father. This thesis is also supported by the fact that the piece must have been written during the reign of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414–1414).¹⁷⁴ The speech is known from three more Cracow manuscripts.¹⁷⁵

It has not been possible to identify any other European manuscript containing the same set of panegyrics by Bernardo Messalto, which proves that they were not popular. They could have found their way to the manuscript of John of Ludzisko via

¹⁶⁸ *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 105; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁶⁹ MS BCzart. 1242 (f. 207r) states even more clearly “Bernardus de Muola.” I would like to thank Professor Halina Manikowska (The Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences) for her suggestions regarding the transcription of this passus in the manuscript. For more on the medieval Muggia, see E. R o s a m a n i, *Vocabolario giuliano dei dialetti parlati nella Venezia Giulia, in Istria, in Dalmazia, a Grado e nel Monfalconese*, Trieste 1999, p. 658; see G. P e l l e g r i n i, *Ricerche di toponomastica veneta*, Padova 1987, p. 147.

¹⁷⁰ Listed as *rector scholarum* in Venice in the years 1396–1419, E. B e r t a n z a, G. D a l l a S a n t a, *Maestri, scuole e scolari in Venezia fino al 1500*, Venezia 1907 (*Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia*), pp. 215, 217, 224, 228, 234, 241, 248, 250, 256, 260, 267, 270, 295. I would like to thank Anna Pomierny-Waśnińska who helped me to access this work. Bernardo Messalto had ties to humanist Antonio Baratella, A. S e g a r i z z i, *Antonio Baratella*, p. 118.

¹⁷¹ See *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 105; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁷² Polisenam is mentioned in the last will made by “Chatarucia uxor ser Bernardi rectoris scholarum” on 15 December 1402, E. B e r t a n z i, op. cit., p. 241.

¹⁷³ V. C o x, *Women’s Writing in Italy, 1400–1650*, Baltimore 2008, p. 261; B. Z i l i o t t o, *La cultura letteraria di Trieste e dell’Istria. Parte prima dall’antichità all’umanesimo*, Trieste 1913, p. 90.

¹⁷⁴ G. G u l l i n o, *Mocenigo Tommaso*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 75, Roma 2011, pp. 150–153.

¹⁷⁵ MS BJ 173, ff. 200r–v; Oss. 601, ff. 299v–300r; Czart 1242, ff. 155r–v.

Padua or may bear evidence to John's ties to the Venetian milieu (both are possible in view of the close connections between Padua and Venice and their geographic proximity). The alleged manuscript of John of Ludzisko, with the MS BJ 126 believed to be its copy, contributed to the introduction of a set of texts by author(s) of secondary importance to circulation in the peripheries of Latin Europe, but at the same time resulted in their preservation solely in manuscripts present within this circulation.

The speech titled *Oracio composita et pronunciata per egregium arcium doctorem Paulum de Robobellis pro principio studii Patavini de lune Octobris 1420* (inc.: "Nisi vestrum pars maxima non ignoraret," ff. 31v–33r) in the MS BJ 126 is currently known from another manuscript related to the Cracow intellectual milieu.¹⁷⁶ The speech was delivered in 1420 by Paolo Robobelli (Paulus de Robobellis), a representative of a well-known Venetian family, Paduan master of arts (1418) and later doctor of medicine (1425).¹⁷⁷

The speech *Oracio in laudem generosi viri domini Georgii Cornario in introitu sui regiminis in Padvam 1430 decembris 8* (inc.: "Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam..." f. 12r)¹⁷⁸ has also been found solely in manuscripts from Cracow. The oration was commissioned by the University of Padua on the occasion of the assumption of the office of the Paduan *podestà* by Giorgio Corner (1374–1439), a member of an influential Venetian family and the son of a doge.¹⁷⁹ Its author was Pietro Del Monte (ca. 1400/1404–1457), a member of a wealthy though non-aristocratic Venetian family, a student of law in Padua (from 1420).¹⁸⁰ He completed rhetorical studies under Guarino of Verona, and his formation can be described as partly humanistic and partly scholastic, as in his output he combined humanistic themes with scholastic concepts.¹⁸¹

In the case of the anonymous wedding speech ("Vereor, patres optimi, ne admiremini hodierno die," f. 11v), an attempt can be made to identify its addressee, defined in the text as the Venetian vice-*podestà* and *capitano*.¹⁸² The authors of the catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library correctly interpreted

¹⁷⁶ MS Oss. 601, ff. 293v–297r.

¹⁷⁷ B. N a d o l s k i (*Jan z Ludziska, pionier...*, p. 3) incorrectly identified the author as Paolo Robortelli the Elder, misled by the similarity to the surname of another humanist from Udine, Francesco Robortelli (1516–1567). The erroneous identification was noted by G. Franczak (op. cit., p. 88), who identified the author of the speech as a member of the Venetian family of Robobelli.

¹⁷⁸ MS BCzart. 1242, ff. 169v–170r; Oss. 601, ff. 270v–271r.

¹⁷⁹ G. G u l l i n o, *Corner Giorgio*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 29, Roma 1983, pp. 212–216.

¹⁸⁰ This speech is mentioned as anonymous in *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101. G. F r a n c z a k (op. cit., p. 86) identifies Pietro del Monte as the author.

¹⁸¹ R. R i c c i a r d i, *Del Monte, Pietro*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 38, Roma 1990, pp. 141–146.

¹⁸² "Sit ad honorem ac leticiam magnifici ac generosi domini M. civitatis huius vicepotestatis et capitanei generalis" (BJ 126, f. 11v; BJ 42, f. 5v; BJ 173, f. 201r; Oss. 601, f. 271r; BCzart. 1242, f. 203v; BOZ 896, p. 15).

the abbreviation ‘M.’ as Marco, but they suggested that it referred to Marco Foscarini, who does not fit the description as he did not hold the office of the *podestà* and the *capitano* at the same time.¹⁸³ The addressee could have been Marco Giustiniani Orsalo, who held both of these functions from mid-September to December 1428, as it transpires from the list of Venetian *podestà* and *capitani* in Padua published by Andrea Gloria for the years 1405–1440.¹⁸⁴ Anthony F. D’Elia suggested that the speech could have been composed by Guarino.¹⁸⁵ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Guarino was one of the first authors to write Renaissance wedding speeches based on classical models. At his school, he taught his students how to write and deliver them.¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, Guarino never assembled his speeches or letters into a single collection, which makes it difficult to solve the problem of the authorship of the piece.¹⁸⁷

The author of the speech in praise of both laws, which in the manuscript BJ 126 is titled *Oratio utriusque iuris Paridis Cipriensis* (inc.: “Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, summo studio, maxima cura...,” ff. 29v–31v), can be identified with a considerable degree of confidence. The oration is known from another Cracow manuscript.¹⁸⁸ The first part of the speech was borrowed (with minor modifications) from the oration composed by Gasparino Barzizza to inaugurate lectures on canon and civil law, known from two German manuscripts (where it is titled *Sermo Inicialis Iuris canonici vel civilis Casparini Pergamensis cuiuscumque lectionis*).¹⁸⁹ The speech in the MS BJ 126 is about seven times longer than the corresponding speeches in German manuscripts. It can be assumed that both German manuscripts contain only the initial fragment, not the full speech by Gasparino.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸³ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101.

¹⁸⁴ A. Gloria, *Dei podestà e capitani di Padova dal 1405 al 1509. Serie cronologica provata coi documenti dal dottore A... G... direttore dell’archivio e museo civico*, Padova 1860, s. 19. I would like to thank Professor Donato Gallo and Professor Francesco Piovan of Centro per la Storia dell’Università di Padova for helping me to access this work and suggesting Marco Giustiniani as the most probable addressee of the speech.

¹⁸⁵ A. F. D’Elia, op. cit., p. 143. The speech is listed as anonymous by P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 4: *Alia itinera II. Great Britain to Spain*, London–Leiden 1989, p. 404; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101.

¹⁸⁶ A. F. D’Elia, op. cit., p. 40. Ten wedding speeches by Guarino are mentioned by C. de Rimini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese e de’suoi discepoli*, vol. 2, Brescia 1806, pp. 139–141.

¹⁸⁷ G. Pistilli, op. cit., pp. 357–369.

¹⁸⁸ Oss. 601, ff. 288r–293v.

¹⁸⁹ A slightly different incipit (“Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, firmo studio maxima cura...”) is present in the MS Stuttgart WL, HB VIII 26, p. 6 (text of the speech on pp. 6–8); Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc. 70, ff. 74r–74v; C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 17, no. 43.

¹⁹⁰ Gasparino’s speech ends with “Et contraria generale decernitis condescendam,” Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek, Mc. 70, f. 74v; Stuttgart, WL, HB VIII 26, p. 8.

The oration contains praise of Bologna and its university.¹⁹¹ It is possible to indicate the approximate time when it was written, because the author addressed the cardinal of the church of St. Cecilia and legate in Bologna.¹⁹² Among the cardinals of St. Cecilia before the 1440s (the time of writing of the MS BJ 126), Louis Aleman (1390–1450) seems to be the best match. He was a legate in Bologna in the years 1425–1428, and he was elevated to the rank of cardinal in 1426 and assigned to the titular church of St. Cecilia.¹⁹³ The time of the creation of this speech (1426–1428) coincides with the time of Gasparino Barzizza’s stay in Bologna.¹⁹⁴ It has been impossible to identify the author named Paris Cypriensis (Cypriot Paris, Paris of Cyprus), so it can be assumed that it was a humanistic pseudonym.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, due to the temporal coincidence of the time of composition of this speech with the stay of Gasparino Barzizza, it can be assumed that it was him who used the name Paris. However, it can be argued that if we were indeed dealing with Gasparino’s oration, it would be known in full from a greater number of manuscripts, since his speeches were very popular and were usually preserved in more than one manuscript.¹⁹⁶ Perhaps this speech is a compilation of an oration by Gasparino made by his student. The passage praising Bologna was later used by John of Ludzisko in his oration *De laudibus eloquentiae*, where he replaced Bologna with Cracow.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ “o beata Bononia, quem talem virum adepta es inducere” (BJ 126, f. 31r) and “Omnes, qui Bononie moram studendi gratia trahunt...” (BJ 126, f. 31v).

¹⁹² “Vellem, viri amplissimi, oratione mea efficere posse nos intelligere tum me Reverendissimo tituli Sancte Cicilie et huius alme Civitas dignissimo legato impartire laudes optatum forti viro et sapientissimo homini et maximo principi debeat” (BJ 126, f. 31r).

¹⁹³ *Hierarchia catholica mediæ aevi, sive Summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta*, ed. P. E u b e l, Monasterii 1913, p. 40; G. P è r o u s e, *Le cardinal Louis Aleman et la fin du grand schisme*, Lyon 1904, pp. 25, 45, 51–84.

¹⁹⁴ R. G. M e r c e r, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁹⁵ There is no student with that name in the Paduan *Acta graduum* nor in the Bolognese *Liber secretus iuris caesarei dell’Università di Bologna* (vol. 1: 1378–1420, ed. A. S o r b e l l i, Bologna 1938; vol. 2: 1421–1450, ed. A. S o r b e l l i, Bologna 1942). The only person with the name Paris mentioned in the documents related to the University of Bologna published by C. P i a n a does not correspond to our Paris (Paris de Puteo is not an option as he was born in 1410, see C. P i a n a, *Nuovi documenti sull’Università di Bologna e sul Collegio di Spagna*, vol. 2, p. 1097). He is not identified by G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 87.

¹⁹⁶ In the list of humanistic speeches drawn up by C. Revest, there are six speeches by Gasparino Barzizza which are known only from one extant manuscript (among a total of 41 listed speeches by Gasparino), see C. R e v e s t, *Culture humaniste...*, pp. 17–33, no. 40–81.

¹⁹⁷ The passage from the speech by Paris Cypriensis (Gasparino Barzizza?): “Quam igitur per hos annos, civitatem in orbe terrarum doctorum vel auctoritate, vel sciencia vel multitudine aut copia hac

Another speech in the MS BJ 126, the author of which is called “Paris Romanus” (*Paridis Romani De oratorie facultatis laudibus oracio feliciter incipit*, inc.: “Non eram, viri eruditissimi, nescius illud me dicendi genus...,” ff. 28r–29v), has so far been found in one more Cracow manuscript.¹⁹⁸ It does not contain any hints (references to persons, places, etc.) allowing us to determine the date and place of its creation. It seems that also in this case the name Paris was a pseudonym. It is possible that it was a pseudonym used by Gasparino Barzizza or some other representative of “Ciceronian” humanism. In the speech, Cicero is presented as the model of an orator.¹⁹⁹ John of Ludzisko used entire passages from the speech in his oration *De laudibus et dignitate eloquentiae*.²⁰⁰

It has proved impossible to identify the author of the speech delivered to celebrate Thomas of Cyprus receiving a bachelor’s degree. Titled *Oracio pro licencia in medicinis* (inc.: “Si quid est, viri lectissimi, quo in tanta fluctuancium rerum tempestate...,” ff. 23r–v), it is only known from one Cracow manuscript.²⁰¹ The analysis of its content indicates that the speech could not have been delivered, as suggested by G. Franczak, for Thomas, son of Peter of Nicosia, who obtained a bachelor’s degree in medicine in Padua on July 22, 1424, because the oration praised King of Cyprus Jacob, and in 1424 Cyprus remained under the rule of Janus of Lusignan (d. 1432).²⁰²

Similarly, it is difficult to identify the author of the following oration (known so far from one other Cracow manuscript), called *Principium in artibus* (inc.: “Censeo, magnifici presides, vos patres ornatissimi non parum dicendi muneris...,” expl.: “vehementissimo amoris incendio mentibus vestris maiorem in modum teneatis,

quam colimus sanctissima Bononia...” (BJ 126, f. 31v) was used by John of Ludzisko, who replaced “in orbe terrarium” with “in maiori parte Germanie” and “sanctissima Bolonia” with “famosissima Cracovia.” See Jan z Ludziska, *Orationes*, p. 43. John of Ludzisko’s borrowings from the speech of Paris Cypriensis are pointed out by B. Nadołski (*Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 209), J. S. Bójarski (*Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 31–32), G. Franczak (op. cit., p. 6). M. Perdek analyzes a fragment of John’s speech in praise of Cracow focusing on the rhetorical figures used by the author, see [online] <http://www.mediewistyka.pl/perdep.htm> [accessed on: January 6, 2016].

¹⁹⁸ See MS Oss. 601, ff. 284v–288r.

¹⁹⁹ See MS BJ 126, f. 28v.

²⁰⁰ B. Nadołski, *Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 209.

²⁰¹ The text includes the name: “Hic vir prudentissimus Thomas Ciprius...” (BJ 126, f. 23r; Oss 601, ff. 274r–275v).

²⁰² *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no 608. G. Franczak based his conclusions on the fact that there was only one Thomas of Cyprus listed in *Acta graduum*, see *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no 528 and 609; see G. Franczak, op. cit., p. 90. For the rulers of Cyprus, see Ł. Burkiewicz, *Królestwo Cypru jako obiekt zainteresowań państw śródziemnomorskich w latach 1192–1489. Próba zarysowania problemu*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego,” *Prace Historyczne*, fasc. 137, 2019, pp. 27–42; M. Miśtał, *Historia Cypru*, Kraków 2013, pp. 233–235.

amen,” ff. 23v–24v).²⁰³ The speech praises philosophy and eloquence, but it lacks references to people or places which would allow to tie it to a particular Italian university. It could be hypothesized that it was composed in Padua because of the mention of Titus Livy of Padua among ancient orators and writers described as masters of rhetorical art.²⁰⁴ The discovery of alleged bones of Livy in the monastery of St. Justine constituted an important event for building his image as the mythical founder of Padua and for the associated sense of pride of the town’s inhabitants.²⁰⁵ However, it is difficult to indicate a more accurate date of creation of this speech.²⁰⁶ Another hint pointing to its Paduan provenance is its placement between two Paduan speeches (the first one in honour of Thomas of Cyprus and the second one discussed below, mentioning the rectors of the University of Padua).

Another anonymous Paduan oration known only from Cracow manuscripts is treated by some scholars as one whole with the discussed *Principium in artibus* (inc.: “Magnopere congratularer ac vehementissima animi iocunditate tenerer, magnifici presides...,” ff. 24v–25r).²⁰⁷ It was delivered on the occasion of the doctoral promotion of an unidentified law student. The names included in this speech allow for its precise dating. The following were mentioned: Pietro Marcello, Bishop of Padua (1409–1428) and doctor of both laws (1413),²⁰⁸ Bartholomeus Nani, *Podestà* of Padua (from late 1426 to at least November 1427), and Bartholomeus Mauracenus (Mo-

²⁰³ MS Oss. 601, ff. 275v–277v. Some scholars considered the oration and the subsequent speech (on ff. 24v–25r) to be two parts of the same text. *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 103; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 90. J. S. B o j a r s k i believes it to be a separate speech, see *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 43–44.

²⁰⁴ “Non equidem mihi persuadeo... philosophie laudem... attigisse, imo... existimarem Ciceronis eloquenciam, Salustii eleganciam, Bruti ornatum dicendi copiam... Addo posthac, quid Valerius Maximus, quid Titus Livius Patavus, quid Demostenes, quid Homerus Grecane eloquencie princeps, quid ceteri poete tam Greci quam Latini... dicere potuissent” (BJ 126, f. 24v).

²⁰⁵ After the discovery of the alleged remains of Livy, important Paduan families planned to erect a mausoleum in his honour near their family houses, while Venetian authorities (since 1405 Padua was under Venetian rule) designated Piazza dei Signori for this purpose. Finally, the wall of Palazzo della Ragione was chosen as the burial place. The discovery was described by Siccò Polenton in a letter to Niccolò Niccoli of 28 October 1414 (printed edition: S. P o l e n t o n, *La Catina, le orazioni e le epistole*, ed. A. S e g a r i z z i, Bergamo 1899, pp. 77–84), M. P. S t o c c h i, op. cit., p. 211; see G. B i l l a n o v i c h, *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell’Umanesimo*, vol. 1: *Tradizione e fortuna di Livio tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Padova 1981; G. B o d o n, *Veneranda Antiquitas. Studi sull’eredità dell’antico nella Rinascenza veneta*, Bern 2005, p. 187.

²⁰⁶ This speech is dated to 1436 in *Catalogus codicum* (vol. 1, p. 103), however, there is no evidence for such a date.

²⁰⁷ Antonio da San Severino listed in the speech (BJ 126, f. 25r). The speech is also preserved in MS Oss. 601, ff. 277v–278v.

²⁰⁸ “...permaximas etiam grandes [!] tibi habeo Petro Marcello, utriusque iuris doctori solertissimo, Dei et apostolice institutionis gracia huius ingenue civitatis presuli condigno” (BJ 126, f. 24v). For

rosini), *Capitano* of Padua (11 January 1427–January 1428).²⁰⁹ The text also includes the names of Albanus Mauracenus (Albano Morosini), rector of the Faculty of Law, and Marianus de Camereno (Mariano da Camerino), rector of the Faculty of Arts.²¹⁰ It is difficult to precisely define the dates of Albano Morosini's term as the rector. The year 1425, cited in the antiquarian work by Facciolati as the date when Albano held his office, does not fit here.²¹¹ It is possible that Albano's term was prolonged by one year or that he was a vice-rector in 1425 and then became the rector in 1426.²¹² Mariano da Camerino was mentioned as rector on August 9, 1426, and since the election to the office usually took place in May, he must have held his post until May 1427.²¹³ Other figures listed are Bartolomeo Zabarella (1400–1445), papal protonotary, Archbishop of Padua (from 1426), later Archbishop of Split (1428–1439) and Florence (1439–1445),²¹⁴ as well as three famous Paduan professors of law – Raffaele Fulgosio of Piacenza (1367–12 September 1427), Raffaele Raimondi (1387–20 October 1427) and Prosdocimo Conti (around 1370–1438).²¹⁵ The speech must have been written in 1427, before September 12, 1427 (death of Raffaele Fulgosio), and most likely between January and May 1427.²¹⁶

more on Pietro Marcello, see D. Gallo, *Un'orazione universitaria di Pietro Marcello (Padua 1417)*, "Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova" XXI, 1988, pp. 55–66.

²⁰⁹ "Vobis insuper magnificis dominis Bartholomeo Nani, huius urbis magnifice pretori perspicacissimo, ac Bartholomeo Mauroceno, capitaneo illustrissimo, immortales gratias dico..." (BJ 126, ff. 24v–25r). A. Gloria, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²¹⁰ "Multasque preterea gratias refero vobis domino Albano Mauraceno et magistro Mariano de Camareno, utriusque unite universitatis, iuristarum scilicet et artistarum rectoribus benemeritis..." (BJ 126, f. 25r).

²¹¹ I. Facciolati, *Rectores iuristarum ab anno MCCCCVI usque ad MDIX, Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, Patavii 1757, p. 6. Iacopo Facciolati's work was criticised due to its antiquarian nature, see M. Boscaïno, *Facciolati Iacopo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 44, Roma 1994, pp. 65–68.

²¹² I would like to thank Professor Donato Gallo (Centro per la Storia dell'Università di Padova) for this suggestion.

²¹³ 17 August 1435, *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no 1068.

²¹⁴ "Gratias referre tibi domino Bartholomeo de Zabarellis, papalis Curie prothonotario reverendissimo necnon huius cathedrali ecclesie Patavine archipresbitero dignissimo, cuius sciencie claritas atque profunditas vitam teneris annis toti terrarum orbi stuporem" (BJ 126, f. 25r); For Bartolomeo Zabarella, see: A. Belloni, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

²¹⁵ MS BJ 126, f. 25r. For more on these lawyers, see: A. Belloni, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 47, 312; M. J. C. A. B. e, „*Cum essem in Constantie...*” *Raffaele Fulgosio and the Council of Constance 1414–1415*, Leiden 2015; C. Bukowska-Gorgoni, *Fulgosio, Raffaele*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 50, Roma 1988, pp. 699–702; B. G. Kohl, *Conti, Prosdocimo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 28 (1983), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/prosdocimo-conti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/prosdocimo-conti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed on: March 6, 2016].

²¹⁶ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Donato Gallo for helping to determine the date of composing this speech.

It has not been possible to identify the author, place or time of the creation of the short speech in praise of philosophy titled *Oratio in laudem philosophiae* (inc.: “Constituerunt nostri prisci non ordine exiguo...,” f. 25), known from another Cracow manuscript.²¹⁷

Four theology-themed speeches (*Sermones*; inc.: “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris...,” ff. 25r–v; inc.: “Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris...,” f. 26r; inc.: “Non sit aliquis vestrum, viri doctissimi, qui forte perscrutetur...,” f. 26v; inc.: “Ne dum satis mecum ipse constitui, patres optimi...,” f. 27r) are also known from another Cracow manuscript.²¹⁸ They do not contain any information allowing for a more precise identification, such as references to persons or places. It can only be asserted that they were composed in a university milieu.

The first one (inc.: “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris...,” ff. 25r–v) contains the praise of theology and is constructed in a traditional way, typical of medieval university speeches – it is built around an initial quotation from the Old Testament.²¹⁹ It contains a reference to Peter Lombard, whose *Sentences* were a standard reading at the Faculty of Theology.²²⁰ This speech is a compilation, combining medieval features with elements which may be interpreted as influences of humanism, but do not definitively point to such a conclusion (e.g. the borrowing from Cicero).²²¹

The second speech praising theology (inc.: “Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris...,” f. 26r) begins quite typically – with the speaker excusing himself for undertaking to deliver it.²²² Some phrases indicate the humanistic nature of the oration.²²³

The beginning of the third of the discussed speeches, an oration concerning the mystery of the Incarnation (inc.: “Non sit aliquis vestrum, viri doctissimi, qui forte perscrutetur, quod ego, qui neque genio neque eloquencia is sim...,” f. 26v), refers to Andrea Giuliano’s popular speech written for the funeral of Manuel

²¹⁷ MS Oss. 601, f. 278v.

²¹⁸ MS Oss. 601, ff. 279r–282r.

²¹⁹ “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris,” Wisdom of Sirach 24:23; for more on the structure of medieval university speeches, see M. K o w a l c z y k, *Krakowskie mowy...*, p. 8.

²²⁰ MS BJ 126, f. 25v; M. A s z t a l o s, *The Faculty of Theology*, [in:] *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. d e R i d d e r - S y m o e n s, Cambridge 1991, p. 412.

²²¹ “Quantum dicendi gravitate, splendore aut copia...” (MS BJ 126, f. 25v) is a reference to Cicero’s speech *De imperio (Pro lege Manilia)*, 42: “iam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat.”

²²² MS BJ 126, f. 26r; MS Oss. 601, f. 280r.

²²³ The phrase “ad orandum venerim” could be found in the orations by Gasparino Barzizza: “Si quis forte vestrum miratur... quadam atque mihi insolita ratione dicendi ad orandum venerim,” see *Gasparini Barzizii Bergomatis et Guiniforti filii opera*, vol. 1, ed. G. A. F u r i e t t i, Roma 1723, p. 69.

Chrysoloras.²²⁴ It is thus possible to indicate the year 1415 as *terminus post quem* for this speech.

The last of the university ‘theological’ speeches (inc.: “Ne dum satis mecum ipse constitui, patres optimi...,” f. 27r) is a university sermon for the feast of Corpus Christi. Nadolski described the style of this speech as medieval, because it begins with an invocation to the Virgin Mary.²²⁵

The above university speeches are followed by an unidentified wedding speech, known so far from one other Cracow manuscript (inc.: “Cum videam in hac mea etate...,” f. 27v).²²⁶ There is no information in the text to help determine the author of the piece or the time and place of its composition. The speech contains the usual praise of the institution of marriage, and its author makes a reference to Cicero.²²⁷

The manuscript BJ 126 also contains an anonymous speech accompanying the ceremony of awarding doctoral insignia at the Faculty of Arts (inc.: “Vellem, patres amplissimi, ea esset in me elegancia...,” ff. 27v–28r), which, as indicated by its content, was delivered before the students of the University of Bologna.²²⁸ It is not known who was its particular addressee, therefore it is difficult to date it precisely. The style of the oration allows us to include it in the corpus of humanistic speeches, as it praises oratorical art and contains overt references to Cicero.²²⁹ It is a compilation of various speeches, some of which may have been written outside Bologna. Its content

²²⁴ The beginning of Andrea Giuliano’s speech on the occasion of the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras: “Si quis vestrum est, viri dilectissimi, qui forte admiretur, quod ego, qui neque ingenio neque eloquentia is sim...” (BJ 126, f. 9v).

²²⁵ B. N a d o l s k i, *Humanistyczne mowy...*, p. 457, app. 1.

²²⁶ See MS Oss. 601, ff. 282v–283r.

²²⁷ “postea quid honestius, quid sancius quid ve preclarius quam ipsam divina coniunctio, cui et ipsem Cicero assentire videtur... dicens” (MS BJ 126, f. 27v).

²²⁸ What points to this conclusion is the praise of Bologna in the speech: “Nam ut olim Athenarum civitas et vetustate quadam et pulcerrimarum arcium dignitate Greciam illustrare solita erat. Ita florentissima Bononie civitas hereditario quodam iure Italie decus sibi vendicat. Nam ut obmittam agros agrorum ubertatem, que ceterum ferme urbibus prestare videtur, que Civitas vel sapientiam vel humanitate vel relinquit ornamentum cum Bononia comparanda...” (MS BJ 126, f. 28r). This passage was used by John of Ludzisko in his speech *De laudibus et dignitate eloquentie et oratorie sciencia*, see MS BJ 126, f. 53r; J o a n n e s d e L u d z i s k o, *Orationes*, p. 13 (the publisher indicated the correct source used by John). According to B. Nadolski, John of Ludzisko followed the descriptions of cities by Guarino, B. N a d o l s k i, *Rola Jana z Ludziska*, pp. 201–202. In the analysis of the passage, M. P e r d e k (op. cit.) did not notice that the praise of Cracow had been borrowed directly from the Italian original (only “Bologna” was changed to “Cracow”). G. F r a n c z a k (op. cit., p. 61) argued that the speech *De laudibus et dignitate eloquentie et oratorie sciencia* was a brilliant compilation of passages from Italian university speeches.

²²⁹ “Ut elegantissime, ait Cicero, non tam mihi copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus” (MS BJ 126, f. 27v), quoted from: *De imperio CN. Pompei ad Quirites oratio*, 3.

resembles the speeches by Gasparino Barzizza.²³⁰ This may be due to the fact that Gasparino Barzizza taught rhetoric and poetry at the University of Bologna for a short time over the years 1426–1428 (perhaps he was its author).²³¹

Another text which could not be identified more precisely is a short university speech of gratitude (*De gratiarum actione*, inc.: “Sapientissimi patres et domini mei preclarissimi, maximo cuperem,” f. 263). It was delivered at the Faculty of Arts and Medicine and is known from another Cracow manuscript.²³² The fact that it was placed after the Paduan speech in honour of Cristoforo da Campo could suggest that it was written in the Padua university milieu, but it cannot be considered a decisive argument.

The University of Padua was probably also associated with the short speech of gratitude included in the MS BJ 126 directly after the speech of Paolo Robobelli, known from another Cracow manuscript (inc.: “Si hec nostra universitas, magnifici presides, eas gracias referre posset...,” f. 33r).²³³ The oration includes an appeal to the city authorities on behalf of Venice, which indicates that the city in question was Padua.²³⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The state of knowledge about the circulation of texts, both medieval and humanistic, before the invention of the press is quite modest. Despite the increasing number of catalogue and compendial studies, such as *Iter Italicum*²³⁵ or the above mentioned registers of incipits and explicits of speeches (humanistic, funerary, from the Council of Constance),²³⁶ research is still significantly limited by the necessity to use incipits to identify texts. Meanwhile, a comparative analysis of full texts shows that one of-

²³⁰ The incipit is similar to Gasparino Barzizza’s speech in praise of philosophy: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi, ea in me esset vis atque exercitacio...” (MS BJ 126, f. 18v); C. R e v e s t, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 27, no. 71 (with reference to manuscripts containing the speech).

²³¹ R. G. M e r c e r, op. cit., p. 135.

²³² MS Oss. 601, f. 263r. J. S. Bojarski mentions it as a separate piece, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 40. Not identified by other researchers discussing the MS BJ 126, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 100; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 90.

²³³ MS Oss. 601, ff. 296v–297r. The speech can be hardly discerned as a separate text in the MS BJ 126. Only its beginning is marked with a new paragraph, there is no empty space separating it from the previous speech, and the copyist did not leave empty space for a possible title. J. S. B o j a r s k i treated this oration as a separate piece, *Jan z Ludziska...*, p. 45; It was listed in the catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the Jagellonian Library, but it was not given a separate number, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 104. It is not listed by G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit.

²³⁴ MS BJ 126, f. 33r.

²³⁵ P. O. K r i s t e l l e r, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued Or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Mss of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, vol. 1–6, London 1963–1992.

²³⁶ C. R e v e s t, *Culture humaniste...*; J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An Incipitarius...*; C. N i g h m a n, P. S t u m p, *A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons...*

ten deals with inaccurate copies or even *sui generis* variants of speeches. The analysis of full texts also allows for the identification of the author or at least the place and time of the creation of a given speech.

The authors could not be identified in case of seventeen anonymous fifteenth-century speeches included in the manuscript BJ 126. In many cases, however, it was possible to indicate the specific intellectual milieu with which these texts were associated. Further discoveries may be possible after a closer examination of manuscript resources of other libraries.

The pieces which proved possible to date had been written before the year when John of Ludzisko obtained a doctorate in medicine in Padua. It can therefore be assumed that he came into possession of these texts during his medical studies in Padua. The collection of rhetorical texts contained in the MS BJ 126 is not directly related to the canons of teaching and cannot be used as an argument proving that John of Ludzisko underwent regular rhetorical studies in Italy after obtaining his doctorate (a possible confirmation of this fact could be the presence of, for example, works of Cicero with commentary in the collection).²³⁷

By bringing Italian speeches and letters to Cracow, John of Ludzisko provided the local milieu with new rhetorical models. The manuscript BJ 126 has special importance in the research of the reception of Italian rhetoric as it reflects the reception of such texts in the Cracow milieu – the speeches of John of Ludzisko and Peter Gaszowiec were based on the models from the discussed body of Italian works.²³⁸

Some of these works (25) are known, at least for now, only from Cracow codices and not the Italian ones. This may be due to the insufficient recognition of Italian manuscripts, but it can also be explained by the fact that John of Ludzisko, like other students arriving to the Apennine Peninsula from the other side the Alps, had a less extensive literary preparation, so he brought back a manuscript codex containing texts of lesser authors or already somewhat 'outdated' rhetorical models which would be ignored by erstwhile Italian copyists.²³⁹ Many of the texts were probably copied due to their usefulness. The collection provided models for speeches delivered on various occasions: welcoming of distinguished people, funerals, weddings, inauguration of lectures, or handing out doctoral insignia.

²³⁷ G. P. M a n t o v a n i, op. cit., p. 80.

²³⁸ The speech by Peter Gaszowiec on the occasion of obtaining the degree of bachelor of medicine by James of Boksyce (Jakub z Boksysc) was discussed by B. Nadolski, who claimed that it was based on six Italian orations contained in the MS BJ 126 and a speech by John of Ludzisko with the praise of eloquence, *Humanistyczne mowy...*, p. 456; J. S. B o j a r s k i, *Prologomena*, [in:] J a n z L u d z i s k a, *Orationes*, pp. 13–14; i d e m, *Quibus fontibus Joannes de Ludzisko in sua oratione „De laudibus et dignitate philosophiae” componenda usus sit*, "Eos" 56, 1966, pp. 206–212.

²³⁹ A. Sottili draws attention to such a phenomenon when discussing the letters of Pietro del Monte, which are preserved mainly in manuscripts from German territories, *Studenti tedeschi...*, pp. 15–16.

Anthologies of rhetorical models were sometimes created inadvertently, while other times they were curated by a copyist who selected the works and arranged them in a certain order.²⁴⁰ In the MS BJ 126, it can be noted that some texts are placed next to each other with a purpose in mind. It is not known to what extent John of Ludzisko had an influence on this order (neither has it been established whether he copied the manuscript in Padua himself or purchased a ready-made codex there). The Italian texts included in the manuscript are clearly divided into sections with speeches and letters (with minor exceptions to this rule); the speeches are often grouped thematically – orations with commendations of liberal arts, speeches related to the Faculty of Theology, etc. At times, the pieces are grouped according to their authors – there are individual blocks of epigrams by Antonio Baratella or Bernardo Messalto. In many cases, it is possible to explain the placement of specific texts by identifying their presence in ‘packages’ known from other European manuscripts.

The structure of the ‘Italian’ part of the BJ 126 manuscript indicates that it was assembled from ready-made elements. A student in Padua in the 1430s could purchase or copy such pre-prepared sets with rhetorical texts from stationers or bedels who were primarily involved in trading texts related to the university’s activities; he could use the services of professional copyists or students earning money by copying. The sites where students in Padua could rewrite or possibly borrow manuscripts were monastery libraries, in particular those of mendicant orders, which in addition to theological and legal texts were also equipped with philosophical, grammatical and rhetorical works.²⁴¹

Similar examples of importing a corpus of Italian rhetorical texts and subsequently surrounding it with works from the native humanistic output are known from German territories. The manuscript codex belonging to Hermann Schedel, partially consisting of Italian texts transcribed from a manuscript brought from Padua by Johannes Heller, who studied law there in the years 1444–1448, were supplemented with speeches and letters written by German authors by the owner himself.²⁴² The manuscript written in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and owned by Burkhard von Horneck, a doctor of arts and medicine, was enriched in a similar manner.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ A. Sottili, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁴¹ L. Gargan, *Dum eram studens...*, pp. 33–42.

²⁴² Currently in the Munich University Library Hs. 4768, discussion of the manuscript – L. Bertalot, *Eine humanistische Anthologie. Die Handschrift 4768 der Universitätsbibliothek München*, Berlin 1908; A. Sottili, op. cit., p. 6.

²⁴³ Universität Würzburg, M.ch.q.1, description: *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, vol. 3, part 2: *Die Papierhandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*, ed. H. Thurn, Wiesbaden 1981, pp. 74–76; P. G. Schmidt, *Der Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance am Beispiel des Burkhard von Horneck*, “Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen” 9, 1985, pp. 1–7.

Anthologies such as the BJ 126 manuscript affected the dissemination of specific texts and played the role of an important carrier in the transmission of intellectual models. The BJ 126 manuscript makes it possible to trace the penetration of rhetorical models from the Padua environment into the Cracow intellectual milieu in the 15th century (and via Padua or through the ‘Paduan filter,’ also of other rhetorical texts – from the Venetian milieu, from the Council of Constance, or works related to Alexander the Great).

Researchers are currently carrying out analytical studies on the relationship between the BJ 126 manuscript and other Cracow manuscripts containing the same Italian rhetorical texts. An identical body of texts may have reached the Cracow milieu in the same period but through other channels. Further research in the field should focus on such issues as the circulation of rhetorical texts imported from Italy in the Cracow intellectual milieu, the issue of the popularity of certain texts and ‘omission’ of others, and their placement within the manuscript codices.

Table 1. MS BJ 126 – ‘Italian’ rhetorical collection.

	Incipit	Author	Folios
1	“Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria earum arcium, de quibus hodierno sermo habendus est, reverendissimi patres”	Cristoforo Barzizza	2r–3r
2	“Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum assertus ornatissimum locum istum ascendi, colendissime antistes”	Cristoforo Barzizza	3r–4v
3	“Si pro gravi merore vestro”	Cristoforo Barzizza	4v–5v
4	“Quod antea dudum optaveram, pater beatissime, ut aliquando ante pedes tuos procerderem”	Cristoforo Barzizza	6r
5	“Vereor magnifici presides”		6r–v
6	“Sapientissimi patres et domini mei preclarissimi, maximo cuperem ac brevi oratione mea vobis dignas laudes”		6v
7	“Maxima pars hodierno die fortissimo viro Georgio Laureano a vobis effecta”	Guarino of Verona	8r–9v
8	“Si quis vestrum est, viri dilectissimi, qui forte admiretur”	Andrea Giuliano	9v–10v
9	“Optavi cum sepe alias”	Guarino of Verona	10v–11v
10	“Vereor, patres optimi, ne admiremini hodierno die”	Guarino of Verona?	11v
11	“Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam”	Pietro Del Monte	12r

12	"Vellem patres reverendissimi, tantum virtutis atque animi roboris"	Poggio Bracciolini	12r–14r
13	"Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici"	Gasparino Barzizza	15r–v
14	"Antequam ea, que hodierno die"	Francesco Barbaro	15v–16r
15	"Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi, quanto studio sit ab his"	Gasparino Barzizza	16r–16v
16	"Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia, patres amplissimi"	Gasparino Barzizza	16v–17r
17	"Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam, illustres ac magnifici domini"	Gasparino Barzizza	17r–18v
18	"Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi, ea in me esset vis atque exercitacio"	Gasparino Barzizza	18v
19	"Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes"		18v–20r
20	"Nichil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua"		20r–v
21	"Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitror"		20v–21v
22	"Sepe numero, patres amplissimi, cogitavi mecum, quanto esse debeat"	Ludovico da Pirano	21v–22v
23	"Si quid est, viri lectissimi, quo in tanta fluctuancium rerum tempestate"		23r–v
24	"Censeo, magnifici presides"		23v–24v
25	"Magnopere congratularer ac vehementissima animi iocunditate tenerer"		24v–25r
26	"Constituerunt nostri prisci non ordine exiguo"		25r
27	"Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris"		25r–v
28	"Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris"		26r
29	"Non sit aliquis vestrum, viri doctissimi, qui forte perscrutetur"		26v
30	"Ne dum satis mecum ipse constitui, patres optimi"		27r
31	"Cum videam in hac mea etate"		27v
32	"Vellem, patres amplissimi, ea esset in me elegancia"		27v–28r
33	"Non eram, viri eruditissimi, nescius illud me dicendi genus"	Paris Romanus	28r–29v
34	"Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, summo studio"	Paris Cipriensis (Gasparino Barzizza?)	29v–31v

35	“Nisi vestrum pars maxima non ignoraret nostrarum scienciarum eximiam ac preclarissimam laudem”	Paolo Robobelli	31v–33r
36	“Si hec nostra universitas, magnifici presides, eas gracias referre posset, quibus vobis et beneficio vestro satisfactum esse intelligam”		33r
37	“Gwarinus Veronensis doctissimo viro Poggio secretario apostolico salutem plurimam dicit. Ex hiis litteris, quas nuper”	Guarino of Verona	33r–v
38	“Optavi tua gesta, clarissime princeps, scribere”	Bernardo Messalto	34r
39	“Ecce tue matris Venete, dux inclite, princeps”	Bernardo Messalto	34r–v
40	“Excellentissime princeps, licet parvitas mea non sit digna”	Bernardo Messalto	34v
41	“Fessus ad Hesperias titan pervenerat undas”	Bernardo Messalto	34v
42	“Itala quem gemine laurus et Greca serenant”	Antonio Baratella	35r
43	“Multa vetant calamo, quod adest hoc suscipe gratum”	Antonio Baratella	35r
44	“Nullus ad Euganeas hinc sedes perget amicus”	Antonio Baratella	35r
45	“Nuper ab altissimo [!] cepi Siccone tabellas”	Antonio Baratella	35r
46	“Hec quid ubi”		35r–36r
47	“Multas ex tuis oracionibus accuratissime”	Gasparino Barzizza	36r
48	“Poggius salutem plurimam dicit Guarino Veronensi. – Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo”	Poggio Bracciolini	36r–v
49	“Poggius salutem plurimam dicit Guarino Veronensi. – Dii male faciant”	Poggio Bracciolini	36v
50	“Poggius plurimam salutem dicit Nicolao suo. – Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo”	Poggio Bracciolini	36v–37v
51	“Poggius Leonardo Aretino plurimam salutem. – Cum pluribus diebus”	Poggio Bracciolini	37v–38v
52	“Ex omni genere hominum, quos variis dampnabimus”	Leonardo Bruni	38v–40r
53	“Domino Iohani Bochacio... epistola domini Francisci De insigni obediencia et fide uxoria”	Petrarch	40r–v
54	“Est ad Ytalie latus occiduum Vesulus”	Petrarch	40v–42v
55	“Semper memor tui”	Pseudo-Alexander the Great	42v
56	“Viris prudentibus doctoribus et scolaribus universis Studii Bononiensis Tadeus de Suessa magister, imperialis curie iudex...”	Taddeo di Sessa Aurunca	42v

57	“Forma epistole, quam Mardocheus princeps Iudeorum misit Alexandro”		42v–43v
58	“De vita et moribus Bragmanorum”		43v–45r
59	“Expositurus vobis pater Hugo versiculos”		45r–v
60	“Qui tuam laudant sanctitatem, pater beatissime”	Leonardo Bruni	56v

Table 2. Comparison with the description in *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediæ ævi Latinorum, qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 1, pp. 99–10.

	Incipit	Author according to the catalogue	Correct author	Pages
1	“Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria earum arcium, de quibus hodierno sermo habendus est, reverendissimi patres”	Anonymous	Cristoforo Barzizza	2r–3r
2	“Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum assertus ornatissimum locum istum ascendi, colendissime antistes”	Anonymous	Cristoforo Barzizza	3r–4v
3	“Si pro gravi merore vestro”	Gasparino Barzizza	Cristoforo Barzizza	4v–5v
4	“Quod antea dudum optaveram, pater beatissime, ut aliquando ante pedes tuos procederem”	Iacobus de Doctoribus prior in Andante	Giacomo dei Dottori (Cristoforo Barzizza)	6r
5	“Vereor, patres optimi, ne admiremini hodierno die”	Anonymous	Guarino Veronese?	11v
6	“Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam”	Anonymous	Pietro Del Monte	12r
7	“Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi, quanto studio sit ab his”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	16r–16v
8	“Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapientia, patres amplissimi”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	16v–17r
9	“Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam, illustres ac magnifici domini”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	17r–18v
10	“Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi, ea in me esset vis atque exercitacio”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	18v
11	“Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	18v–20r

12	“Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, summo studio”	Paris Cipriensis	Paris Cipriensis (Gasparino Barzizza?)	29v–31v
13	“Nisi vestrum pars maxima non ignoraret nostrarum scienciarum eximiam ac preclarissimam laudem”	Paulus de Robobellis	Paolo Robobelli	31v–33r
14	“Optavi tua gesta, clarissime princeps, scribere”	Bernardus de Messaltis	Bernardo Messalto	34r
15	“Ecce tue matris Venete, dux inclite, princeps”	Bernardus de Messaltis	Bernardo Messalto	34r–v
16	“Excellentissime princeps. Licet parvitas mea non sit digna”	Bernardus de Messaltis	Bernardo Messalto	34v
17	“Fessus ad Hesperias titan pervenerat undas”	Bernardus (Bilardus) de Imiola	Bernardo Messalto	34v
18	“Viris prudentibus doctoribus et scolaribus universis Studii Bononiensis Tadeus de Suessa magister, imperialis curie iudex...”	Bertrandus de Bononia	Taddeo di Sessa Aurunca	42v
19	“Qui tuam laudant sanctitatem, pater beatissime, opus certe bonum pium agere”	Anonymous	Leonardo Bruni	56v

Translated by Anna Sekulowicz

ABSTRACT

The present article contains an analysis of the rhetorical texts which are to be found in a fifteenth-century manuscript held by the Jagiellonian Library (shelfmark 126). This collection was probably copied from a codex brought to Cracow from Italy by John (Jan) of Ludzisko, who studied medicine in Padua from 1430 to 1433. It consists of humanistic and medieval texts (mainly speeches and letters) and clearly served as a model for speeches which were written both by John himself and by his student Piotr Gaszowiec. An analysis of the full texts (and not only of the incipits) allows us to identify the hitherto unknown authors and/or the time and place of origin of some of these works. This in turn shows that the texts in the collection are divided into certain sections, some consisting of works by the same author (e.g. the speeches of Cristoforo Barzizza or the panegyrics of Bernardo Messalta) and some of speeches meant to be delivered on particular occasions (e.g. praising the sciences or mourning someone's death). Apart from very popular fifteenth-century texts such as Andrea Giuliano's speech for the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, the collection also includes Italian rhetorical texts which had hitherto been known only from Cracow manuscripts. An analysis of the manner in which the works are arranged within the volume in question allows us to distinguish certain 'packages' of texts that are also present in other European manuscripts. Most of the texts which are included in this collection came into existence in the intellectual circles of Padua and Venice, but some of them

were written during the Council of Constance by the outstanding Florentine humanists Poggio Bracciolini and Leonardo Bruni. For this reason, MS 126 makes it possible to study the reception of Italian intellectual culture as well as the very process of the transmission of Italian models of writing to Cracow circles. It also proves that the circles of Padua and Venice served as important intermediaries or ‘filters’ in the process of the transmission of Italian models to Cracow.

KEYWORDS:

rhetoric, Jan of Ludzisko, speeches, letters, manuscript, humanism

RETORYKA WŁOSKA W RĘKOPISIE Z SYGNATURĄ 126 ZE ZBIORÓW BIBLIOTEKI JAGIELLOŃSKIEJ

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy artykuł zawiera analizę tekstów z kolekcji retorycznej, znajdującej się w piętnastowiecznym rękopisie Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej z sygnaturą 126. Miała ona zostać odpisana z kodeksu przywiezionego z Włoch do Krakowa przez Jana z Ludziska, studenta medycyny w Padwie w latach 1430–1433. Ta złożona z utworów o charakterze humanistycznym, a częściowo średniowiecznym (głównie mów i listów), kolekcja dostarczyła wzorców dla umieszczonych po niej w tymże rękopisie mów Jana z Ludziska i jego ucznia Piotra Gaszowca. Przeprowadzona analiza pełnych tekstów, a nie samych incipitów, pozwoliła na identyfikację nierozpoznanych dotąd autorów i/lub miejsca i czasu powstania niektórych utworów. Pozwoliło to pokazać sposób uporządkowania tekstów w obrębie tej kolekcji i wyróżnić w niej określone bloki tekstów, na przykład grupy utworów tego samego autora (na przykład mowy Cristofora Barzizy, panegiryki Bernarda Messalta) czy mów wygłaszanych w określonych okolicznościach (na przykład mowy z pochwałami nauk czy mowy pogrzebowe). W skład tej kolekcji obok bardzo popularnych w XV wieku utworów, takich jak mowa Andrei Giuliana na pogrzeb Emanuela Chryzolorasa, wchodzi także teksty retoryczne włoskie znane dotąd tylko z rękopisów krakowskich. Analiza kolejności ułożenia tekstów pozwoliła wskazać w rękopisie BJ 126 „pakiety” tekstów występujących obok siebie również w innych rękopisach europejskich. Większość tekstów wchodzących w skład omawianej kolekcji powstała w środowisku padewsko-weneckim, ale są wśród nich także utwory napisane w czasie soboru w Konstancji przez wybitnych humanistów florenckich Poggia Braccioliniego i Leonarda Bruniego. Z tego względu rękopis BJ 126 umożliwia badania nad recepcją włoskiej kultury intelektualnej i nad samym procesem transmisji włoskich wzorców do środowiska krakowskiego. Dowodzi też znaczenia środowiska padewsko-weneckiego jako „pośrednika” czy „filtra” w procesie transmisji włoskich wzorców do Krakowa.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

retoryka, Jan z Ludziska, mowy, listy, rękopis, humanizm

EWA ŚNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOT

DOI: 10.26106/ZBF2-4R19

ALMANACH PRO REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO CARDINALI
FOR FRYDERYK JAGIELLOŃCZYK:
THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF AN ASTROLOGER'S WORKSHOP

The wording *Almanach pro Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali* is a title set on the bounding of a manuscript kept at the Jagiellonian Library (BJ, MS 8). Jerzy Muczkowski was the first to pay attention to this manuscript in 1840 and half a century later it underwent a more detailed scrutiny by Ludwik Antoni Birkenmajer.¹ Subsequently *Almanach* was mentioned by Władysław Wisłocki, accounted for in the latest catalog of Jagiellonian Library manuscripts, and pointed up by Grażyna Rosińska.² Moreover Maria Kowalczykówna worked with the Manuscript 8 over the course of its conservation.³ It was displayed at an exhibition *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen (Poland in the Jagiellonian Times)* in Schallaburg (Austria) in 1986 and the

¹ Description of MS 8 see *Aneks. I. J. Muczkowski, Rękopisma Marcina Radywińskiego*, Kraków 1840, pp. 36, 138–141, illustration of the *Almanach* title page by K. W. Kiełsiński 1839. The illustration was also published in: anon., *Jabub Najmanowicz*, “Przyjaciół Ludu, czyli Tygodnik Potrzebnych i Pożytecznych Wiadomości” VII, No. 17, Leszno 1840, fig. b, p. 133, f.n. 3; L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Część pierwsza. Studia nad pracami Kopernika oraz materiały biograficzne*, Kraków 1900, pp. 667–668.

² W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, I, Kraków 1877–1881, p. 4; idem, *Incunabula typographica Bibliothecae Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis*, Cracoviae 1900, pp. 321–322; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediae aevi Latinorum, qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, comp. S. Włoddek, G. Zathej, M. Zwiercan, v. 1, Wratislaviae 1980, p. 3; G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings and Astronomical Tables in Cracow. A Census of Manuscript Sources (XIXth–XVIth Centuries)*, *Studia Copernicana*, vol. 22, Wrocław 1984, no. 1208.

³ M. Kowalczykówna, *Makulatura z okładek rękopisu BJ Nr 8*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XVII, 1965, pp. 9–11.

exhibition catalog entry was created by Anna Sobańska.⁴ Artistic aspects of the Manuscript 8 are considered by Barbara Miodońska.⁵ A few fragments of the text of *Almanach* were deciphered by Fr. Henryk Rybus in 1935, who studied the life of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk.⁶ However, the full text was successfully deciphered by Ryszard Tatarzyński only in 2012 and translated into Polish by Anna Kozłowska (*Annex I*).

Almanach consists of the title page (cf. color plates, fig. 1); *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501*; two Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's charts: his natal horoscope from 1468 (cf. color plates, fig. 2) and an annual horoscope (cf. color plates, fig. 3) which was made for the Sun entering the date of his 33rd birthday in 1501; twelve monthly prognostics for this year, referring to the Sun entering the monthly date of his birth in the following months; and textual interpretations of the charts. At the end, astrological tables for an unspecified year commence (p. 48) and the whole manuscript closes with an excerpt from Ovid (*Tristia* 5, 8, 15) on p. 50.

The execution of the manuscript was a task for a group of people, most prominently its author: the astrologer, who created the charts and prognostics. One may surmise he hired a scribe who copied the astrological tables for 1501, charts and all commentaries. There was also another person, a reviewer, who put his remarks in the margins of the manuscript as well as in the astrological tables and the charts.

The current study focuses on a part of *Almanach* (pp. 28–46) which contains the charts and prognostics for cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk. The charts start with his natal horoscope for the date 28 (at 23 hours 58 minutes) of the year 1468 without giving the name of the month (p. 29, fig. 2). Based on a natal horoscope of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk retained in the Jagiellonian Library (MS 3225, p. 7) one can conclude the month was April. The horoscope belongs to a large collection of various horoscopes that are 16th century copies⁷ and it corresponds to the date of April 27, 1468 at 23 hours 58 minutes 58 seconds. In the manuscript 8, we have the date of 28 with the same time (23 hours 58 minutes) and the same rising sign (27 degrees 22 minutes of Leo) in the house I. It may be concluded that the two charts were created by two different people (*Annex II*). The first astrologer could have been witness to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's birth and made his chart (MS 3225, p. 7) with the use of astrological tables, which is supported by the fact he put minutes and seconds of arc next to the

⁴ A. S. [A. Sobańska], *Almanach für das Jahr 1501 für den Kardinal Friedrich den Jagiellon (Lateinisch)*, [in:] *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*, eds. F. Stoloł, G. Stangler, Schallaburg 1986, pp. 244–245.

⁵ B. Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe*, Warszawa 1993, p. 43.

⁶ H. Rybus, *Królewicz kardynał Fryderyk Jagiellończyk jako biskup krakowski i arcybiskup gnieźnieński*, Warszawa 1935, (*Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica* 2), p. 195, f.n. 6.

⁷ Such horoscope collections were characteristic of the 16th century. See E. Poulle, *Sur la naissance de Charles Quint, de Luther, d'Erasmus et de quelques autres*, "Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance" LXXII, 2010, p. 274.

degrees. The second astrologer, aware of the sign and the degree of the Ascendant (house I), created a natal chart anew (MS 8, p. 29) using the astrolabe (which is supported by the lack of minutes and seconds after the degrees in the signs) and determined a different date of birth.⁸

The reviewer, who was probably reading *Almanach* not long after it had been written and making his corrections to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 10), put a remark “Revolucio geniture d[omi]ni re[vere]ndissimi cardinalis” (Sun entering the day of the cardinal’s birth) next to the date April 28, which was accepted as the date of birth by the second astrologer.⁹

Apart from the date, other differences between the two charts begin with the house IV which starts at 16 degrees 51 minutes of Scorpio in MS 3225 (p. 7) while at 16 degrees of Taurus in MS 8 (p. 29), which is clearly a mistake by the scribe. From this point on there are vast differences in the house dispositions between the charts and they also concern planets in individual houses as well as noting stars in the houses of the first horoscope (the house III: Azmeh 16, 4[minutes] of Libra; the house IV: *Cor scorpionis* [Antares, at present α Sco]; the house XI: Aldebaran [at present α Tau] 2, 40 minutes of Gemini).

The natal horoscope of MS 3225 (p. 7) may have been authored by one of court astrologers and physicians of Casimir Jagiellon and in view of the birth year of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk (1468), it was Piotr Gaszowiec.¹⁰ The second astrologer, who has been variously identified in literature, created also the annual horoscope and twelve monthly prognostics for the year 1501 which are comprised in the studied manuscript.

The text of *Almanach* starts on page 28 and contains additional notes to *The Astrological Tables for the Year 1501* that concern the time of bloodletting and baths as well as a table showing zodiacal attributions of human body parts (*melothesia*) according to Alchabitius, whose treaty was translated into Latin by Joannes Hispalensis in the 12th century and rendered in print in 1473.¹¹ The scribe made two mistakes

⁸ L. A. Birkenmajer was wrong (op. cit., p. 667) in assuming the astrologer copied the data from *The Astrological Tables*; E. Poulle, op. cit., p. 280. Having different dates in natal horoscopes of the same person was not uncommon, e.g. there are six known natal horoscopes of Martin Luter with different dates of the month and even different years.

⁹ According to *The Astrological Tables* (p. 10), the Sun should be at 18 degrees 11 minutes of Taurus and according to the chart it is at 17 degrees of Taurus.

¹⁰ The following astrologers-physicians served at Casimir Jagiellon’s court: Piotr Gaszowiec of Łoźmierz, who served in the dual capacity in 1464–1474, Jan Stanko – at court since 1470, Johann Liberhant of Toruń, Jakub of Zalesie – since January 1477, Jerzy Koterma of Drohobycz – since 1487.

¹¹ Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi Abd al-Aziz ibn Uthman, Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi, Al-Qabisi, Alchabitius, died 967. H. M. Carey, *Medieval Latin Astrology and the Cycles of Life: William English and English Medicine in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.5.26*, [in:] *Astromedicine. Astrology and Medicine, East and West*, eds. A. Kasoy, Ch. Burnett, R. Yoeli-Tlali, Firenze 2008, p. 45.

while copying the text: he assigned heart to Cancer and wrote “breast” at Leo, but subsequently made a correction there adding the sign of Scorpio, which is traditionally ascribed to genitals, so he made another error there.

Next in *Almanach*, there commence an introduction (p. 29) where the astrologer, employing most courteous phrasing, partly invokes his obligation to make horoscopes, which he would gladly forgo, and partly explains that he loathes to neglect his duty to put his best knowledge to use for the cardinal. He draws from diverse scholars, most importantly from the 4th century Sicilian astrologer and Christian believer Julius Firmicus Maternus and his work *Matheseos libri VIII*, which was widely popular in the Middle Ages and printed in Venice in 1497.¹² He takes it from Firmicus, for instance, that Mars and Sun will be squared in the monthly prognostic dated July 21, 1501 (p. 41) and puts this into the chart although it is not confirmed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501*. He also adopts elements of Firmicus’s terminology such as “house of life” (*domus vitae*), “radation” (*radiatio*), and duration of planetary influence (*terma, terminus*, cf. *Matheseos*... 2 XIV 3). In reference to aspects, he uses words that translate as “adverse radiation” or “oblique radiation” instead of “opposition,” and “threefold radiation” instead of “trine.”

Among other authorities the astrologer adopts also from Firmicus Maternus (*Matheseos*... 3 I 2; 4 *Proemium* 5), there are mythological figures, like Esculapius, or Aesculapius (god of physicians), and Mercury, or Hermes Trismegistos, as well as historical figures: Egyptian priest Petoris and Neoplatonic philosophers Plotinus and Porphyry. Further on, when discussing successive monthly prognostics, he refers to Haly Abenragel (Abû l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi l-Rijâ), an Arab astrologer who died after 1037 and was very popular in the 15th century with his work *Liber in iudiciis stellarum* being even translated into vernaculars.¹³

The astrologer founds his reservations about creating the almanac on a discussion of determinism and on the one hand refers to Firmicus Maternus, who said, in the chapter *What Kind of Life and Training a Mathematician Should Have*, that rulers were not subject to the influence of the stars,¹⁴ and on the other hand to Plotinus and Porphyry, who were guided by “the necessary law of destiny.” He also discerns risks of foretelling future to rulers “as though it were an awe-inspiring Scylla” (pp. 29–31) in wait for sailors in the Strait of Messina. This reference to Scylla is also taken

¹² J. R. B r a m, *Introduction*, [in:] *Ancient Astrology. Theory and Practice. Matheseos libri VIII* by Firmicus Maternus, transl. J. R. B r a m, *Noyes Classical Studies*, Park Ridge, N.J. 1975, p. 7.

¹³ J.-P. B o u d e t, T. C h a r m a s s o n, *Une consultation astrologique princière en 1327*, [in:] *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature ou Moyen Âge: mélanges d’histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan*, Genève–Paris 1994, p. 266. Abenragel was referred to by such as Richard Trewythian, 15th century London astrologer, see S. P a g e, *Richard Trewythian and the Uses of Astrology in Late Medieval England*, “Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” LXIV, 2001, pp. 193–223; H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., pp. 35, 45.

¹⁴ *Life and Training of an Astrologer*, see *Matheseos*... 2 XXX 4–5.

from Firmicus Maternus, however in *Matheseos*... it has no relation to a peril for chart-making astrologers, while Scylla is only mentioned in passing within a conversation of Firmicus and his patron Lollianus Mavortius. These statements, as written by the author of *Almanach*, sound surprising, given that throughout the Middle Ages European courts, including Kraków, hired astrologers, who served also in the capacity of royal physicians. Putting an astrologer and a physician to death, which happened in England in 1441, was a rare event, while the ban on making prognostics was issued by Sixtus V as late as 1585.¹⁵

After an extensive introduction, there comes a request to the cardinal to accept the modest deliberations and to forgive its author should they contain “things unbecoming,” plus an assurance that nothing was written “as chance would have it or was opinionated” (p. 32). Eventually the astrologer agrees to make the almanac because – as Ptolemy affirms – “many a mishap may be prevented when it is foreseen” (p. 33).

The annual chart for the date of April 28, 1501, accompanied by a bunch of remarks and a table, is placed on the page 31 (cf. color plates, fig. 3). From the wording beneath the chart, it follows that Saturn is the master of this time (*divisor*), that is it will rule for 30 months.¹⁶ The giver of life (termed *Alcochoden*, which was misspelled in the reviewer’s hand as *Alkoroden*), or a planet determining the number of years of life, is Venus, which is the mistress of the year 1501 together with Jupiter.¹⁷

The table below the chart concerns forecasting the events in the 33rd anniversary of the cardinal’s birth. The right side (heraldically) shows primary progressions (*profectio*), or the positions of the planets in the 33rd day following the birth of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, that is May 31, 1468. The left side shows directions (*directio*), which is a symbolic method that, instead of real positions, determined theoretical positions of the planets in signs of the zodiac after 33 years, counting one degree per year.¹⁸

Next, the astrologer sets about forecasting events that are going to occur in 1501 by means of referring simultaneously to the natal chart, annual chart, and monthly prognostics. These general remarks – as he says – are “elaborated in more detail in monthly explanations” (p. 34).

From page 35 on, there start charts of the monthly prognostics whose dates: January 5, February 2, March 2, March 30, May 26, June 24, July 21, August 18, September 15, October 13 (cf. color plates, fig. 4), November 11, and December 8 cor-

¹⁵ They were Roger Bolingbroke and Thomas Southwell, who were forewarning Henry VI about a grave disease and together with Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, were accused of bringing death upon the king, see S. Page, op. cit., p. 202; *Constitutio s.d.n.d. Sixti papae quinti contra exercentes astrologiae iudiciaria artem*..., Romae, ex Typ. Rev. Cam. Apostolica 1585.

¹⁶ See *Matheseos*... 2 XXVII 1.

¹⁷ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, p. 407, f.n. 2 and p. 411, f.n. 1; L. Fleming-Mitchell, *The Language of Astrology*, London 1977, p. 9.

¹⁸ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 418, f.n. 2; L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 31, 72.

respond to the Sun entering successive monthly intervals after the date of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's birth, counting 28 days on average. Predictions concerning respective months are given below the charts, and at places the astrologer refers to events in further months, for example Jupiter's retrograde motion (pp. 43, 46).

In line with the art of prognostication, the almanac's author took into consideration the nature of twelve astrological houses: I *Vita*, II *Lucrum*, III *Fratres*, IV *Parentes*, V *Filii*, VI *Valetudo*, VII *Nuptiae*, VIII *Mors*, IX *Peregrinationes*, X *Honores*, XI *Amici*, XII *Inimici*.¹⁹ The names of the houses were part of the general astrological lore, and their better understanding is facilitated by *Generale iudicium* of Władysław of Varna (BJ, MS 1963, f. 256v), where elucidations of the nature of individual houses were given at the beginning of the 16th century.²⁰

As a rule, prognostics were made on the basis of the positions of the luminaries, that is the Sun and Moon (Moon in particular) in the so-called visible houses (III, VI, IX, XII) and the descending house (VII).²¹ It was also important to ascertain positions of the father and mother; in diurnal horoscopes, they were the Sun and Venus, and in nocturnal horoscopes Saturn and the Moon.²² Moreover the rest of the male planets represented brothers and female planets represented sisters.²³ Aspects of Mars, influences of Venus, Jupiter and Mercury, and signs of the zodiac that fell into successive houses were taken into account, too.

Based on these premises and speaking in broad terms about the whole of the year 1501 (p. 32), the author of *Almanach* says that the Ascendants in the natal chart (cf. color plates, fig. 2) and annual chart (cf. color plates, fig. 3) come in the same sign of the zodiac, Leo, in which the Sun has its diurnal house and nocturnal house, and the planet also appears in the house X *Honores* of the two charts, which suggests a rise in authority, therefore the cardinal should "come to shine with a particular and perfect splendor" (p. 32). Since the growing Moon resides in the house II *Lucrum* of the annual chart (p. 31), "advantages and a growth of wealth through the cause of acquired friends may be expected" (p. 33). Later on in the general part of his reflections, the astrologer predicts that Venus and Jupiter in the house IX *Peregrinationes* of the annual chart signify "a betterment with respect to ecclesiastical goods" (p. 32).

¹⁹ *Matheseos*... 2 XIX 1–13; A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 281, 390; O. Neugebauer, H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia 1959, pp. 7–8 (*Loci*).

²⁰ E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Generale iudicium" Władysława II zwanego Warneńczykiem, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" XLI, 2011, p. 26, Latin text read by R. Tatarzyński, transl. into Polish by A. Kozłowska (later: *Generale iudicium*).

²¹ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 455.

²² *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos* III, 3–4, transl. F. E. Robbins, London 1980, p. 241; A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 393.

²³ *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos* III, 4–5, p. 251; A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 395.

Prognostication focused especially on the so-called cardinal houses (I, IV, VII, X), called strong (*Fortis*) in *Generale iudicium*, since they corresponded to the four ages of human life: from birth, through maturity to old age, and death.²⁴ Besides there were known five inactive houses (III, VI, VIII, XI, XII), three of which (III, VI, VIII) were defined as weak (*debilis*) in *Generale iudicium*.²⁵ Horoscope interpretations were based on positions of the planets in the individual houses and on harmonious or inharmonious interrelations of the planets (*mutationes*), that is geometrical aspects expressed in degrees of arc: conjunction (0 degrees), trine (120 degrees), square (90 degrees), opposition (180 degrees), as well as on transits (one planet moving over the position of the other), retrograde motion (planets reversing through the zodiac), and combustions (planets placed closer than 3 degrees away from the Sun).²⁶

The author of *Almanach* listed the aspects at the beginning of each monthly prognostic for the year 1501 and occasionally in the text (p. 36):

January 5, Sun square Jupiter, corrected into transit (p. 35);
 February 2, Sun opposition Moon (p. 36);
 March 2, Saturn trine Mars, Moon in opposition with Mars (p. 37);
 March 30, Saturn square Moon (p. 38);
 May 26, Moon in opposition with Mars, Mars square Mercury (p. 39);
 June 24, Moon in opposition with Mars (p. 40);
 July 21, Sun square Mars (p. 41);
 August 18, Jupiter trine Venus (p. 42);
 September 13, Moon conjunct Venus (p. 44, color plates fig. 4);
 September 15, Moon in opposition with Jupiter (p. 43);
 October 13, Moon conjunct Venus (p. 44, color plates fig. 4);
 November 11, Moon in opposition with Mars (p. 45);
 December 8, Moon in opposition with Saturn, Jupiter trine Sun, Jupiter square Venus (p. 46).

Most of these aspects are confirmed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (pp. 5–27). The reviewer, who read *Almanach* soon after it had been completed, clearly checked if the aspects written by the scribe were consistent with the tables (p. 35)

²⁴ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 281; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, op. cit., p. 18. The succession of the four ages of life is clockwise, which is opposite to the order of astrological houses (I, X, VII, IV).

²⁵ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 281–287; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁶ Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* I, 13–14, 18, pp. 75, 83; III, 4, p. 245; *Matheseos...* 2 XXII; A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 390; *The Beginning of Wisdom. An Astrological Treatise by Abraham ibn Ezra*, eds. R. Levy, F. Cantera, Paris 1939, pp. 209–214; O. Neugebauer, H. B. van Hoesen, op. cit., pp. 2, 10; L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 24.

and he added the omitted ones (pp. 39, 40, 45, 46). In one case, he went so far as to correct the date of a prognostic (p. 43) in order for it to correspond with the opposition of the Moon and Jupiter listed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 21).

The author of *Almanach* also relied on permanent relations of the planets and signs of the zodiac (Planetary Houses, Exaltations, Detriments, Falls)²⁷ – without mentioning them directly, he takes them into consideration in the prognostics – as well as on influences of the planets (*opera*) on the sublunary world, the human body included.²⁸ Moreover, he considered the four elements: fire, water, air, and earth, as well as the four tempers that corresponded with the four fluids (humors) in human body (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile) together with relationships of all of these with the planets and signs of the zodiac. According to Nicole Oresme, planetary aspects predicted great events in the world, such as plagues and death.²⁹ Planets and their associations with the elements, humors, and tempers produced also specific diseases in the human body. Saturn – Evil Genius – is cold, at times characterized as arid and at times as wet; it causes diseases related to a cold and dry weather (leprosy, cancer, gout).³⁰ Jupiter – Good Genius – is hot and wet, associated with minor conditions that pass quickly.³¹ Mars – lesser malefic – burning-hot and arid, is a god of war and pestilence, it spreads death and produces fever.³² The Sun is hot and arid, related to diseases that start in the mouth. Venus – Good Fortune – is cold and wet, linked with diseases that begin in the loins and genitals. Mercury has a mixed nature, but approaching cold and arid, and it is responsible for mental conditions. The Moon is cold and wet, associated with the phlegm.³³ Hot and wet tempers are productive and active, while cold and wet ones are destructive and passive.³⁴ Jupiter, Venus and the Moon are positive planets, Saturn and Mars are harmful. The Sun is of mixed nature as is also Mercury.³⁵

²⁷ Planets have diurnal and nocturnal houses in signs of the zodiac: Saturn–Capricorn and Aquarius; Jupiter–Sagittarius and Pisces; Mars–Aries and Scorpio; Sun–Leo; Venus–Taurus and Libra; Mercury–Virgo and Gemini; Moon–Cancer. Detriments: Saturn–Cancer and Leo; Jupiter–Virgo and Gemini; Mars–Libra and Taurus; Sun–Aquarius; Venus–Aries and Scorpio; Mercury–Pisces and Sagittarius; Moon–Capricorn. Exaltations: Saturn–Libra; Jupiter–Cancer; Mars–Capricorn; Sun–Aries; Venus–Pisces; Mercury–Virgo; Moon–Taurus. Falls: Saturn–Aries; Jupiter–Capricorn; Mars–Cancer; Sun–Libra; Venus–Virgo; Mercury–Pisces; Moon–Scorpio. See *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos*, p. XXVI. Fall – *casus*.

²⁸ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 96, 384, 397; O. Neugebauer, H. B. van Hoesen, op. cit., p. 7; H. M. Carey, op. cit., pp. 38–39.

²⁹ H. M. Carey, op. cit., p. 42.

³⁰ *The Beginning...*, pp. 154, 195; H. M. Carey, op. cit., p. 46; A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 285.

³¹ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 97, 284; *The Beginning...*, p. 197.

³² A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 98, 283; *The Beginning...*, p. 198.

³³ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 92, 99–100; *The Beginning...*, pp. 198–202.

³⁴ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 101.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

While making prognostics for the year 1501, it was important for the astrologer to see which planet was the master of the time and year. In *Almanach* there were three of them: Saturn and Venus with Jupiter (p. 31).

In order to pinpoint the position of Jupiter in monthly prognostics, the astrologer utilized – as he says himself – Abenragel’s method, which states that if Jupiter comes to the position occupied by Saturn in the natal chart and is in the houses II and X in monthly prognostics while Capricorn is positioned almost at the Ascendant, then in the following monthly prognostics, Jupiter will be in the houses III and XII. Jupiter is at 1 degree of Aries in the natal chart (the house VIII, p. 29) and then appears in the same degree in a monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), in the house II this time. Then, the monthly prognostic dated March 30 has Jupiter in the house X at 13 degrees of Aries (p. 38). Moreover, Capricorn is placed in the house I on February 2 (p. 36) and July 21 (p. 41). As a result, the astrologer puts Jupiter in the house III (July 21, p. 41; December 8, p. 46) and the house XII (March 2, p. 37).

To understand the craftsmanship of the astrologer – author of *Almanach* – it is necessary for us to appreciate the horoscopes and prognostics from the perspective of different categories of the astrological houses.

THE CARDINAL HOUSES (I, IV, VII, X) IN PROGNOSTICATION

The house I *Vita*. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns: “bodies, life, baths, medicines necessary for life, secret matters, [personal] bonds, exercise, work, health, new attire, and all that is permanent in life.”³⁶ In the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501 (p. 35), the astrologer announces that the month promises to be fortunate because of **Venus** in the Ascendant. **The Sun** in this house (the monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36) “secures a glorious and laudable state in this month.”³⁷ At the same time, an opposition of the Sun and Moon listed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 7) as well as in this prognostic (the Sun is in the house I, and the Moon, waning, in the house VII) plus the fact that the Sun approaches a square with Saturn, which resides in the house IV, is taken to indicate that the cardinal will not be “immune to morbid humors” (p. 36). The astrologer relies here on the nature of Saturn and the Moon (cold planets), which are related to phlegm. The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501 (p. 38) starts at 9 degrees of Cancer, which is a diurnal and nocturnal domicile of **the Moon**, and this planet happens to be squared by Saturn, therefore the astrologer predicts a “disappearance of certain thoughts and spiritual reflections” in this month. According to the monthly prognostic of August 18,

³⁶ *Generale iudicium*, p. 34.

³⁷ The astrologer ignores the fact that the Sun in Aquarius, i.e., detriment, so the influence of the planet is the weakest.

1501 (p. 42), **Mars** is in Taurus, where is its declination, is also the sign of the primary progression for the year (table, p. 31) and so, based on the principles of *melothesia*,³⁸ the astrologer suggests the sign “could threaten with amassing humors in the neck.” However this will be prevented, and the cardinal’s health will be protected, by a trine of Jupiter and Venus (p. 42), which the astrologer mentions in the introduction (p. 32), together with Taurus being a domicile of Venus.

The house IV Parentes. In *Generale iudicium*, it denotes: “erecting edifices for the glory of God, receiving inheritances, cultivating abilities, generosity, the wealth of aged men, lands, towns, buildings, waters of the earth, secrets of the nature, treasures.” **Jupiter**, which resides in Pisces (the monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35), which is its own domicile, secures good fortune in all matters connected with this astrological house. According to the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43), this house hosts **Venus** (at 11 degrees of Libra), which foretells an exceedingly positive event that should occur between October 3 and 4. This statement is consistent with *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 23), where the Part of Fortune is noted at 16 degrees 46 minutes of Scorpio on October 3 and 4.

The house VII Nuptiae. In *Generale iudicium*, it denotes: “married couple, nuptials, adversities, [court] proceedings, arguments, wars [...] overt enmities, purchase of arms.” **Mars** in this house (the annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31, color plates, fig. 2) “threatens with a loss and deception in respect of goods after the death of friends.”³⁹ In line with the nature of the house, **Saturn** (the monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35) predicts envy. **The Sun** in its monthly sign, that is Leo, which is simultaneously the domicile of this planet, squares Mars in the monthly prognostic dated July 21, 1501 (p. 41). This is interpreted as an indication of “an indisposition caused by heat” since both planets are hot and arid.

The house X Honores. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “kingdoms, fame, elevation, mastery, military matters, valor, aggrandizement, reign, praise, public esteem, magnificence.”⁴⁰ When making a comparison of the natal and annual charts (cf. color plates, fig. 2 and 3), the astrologer says there is Leo at the Ascendant of them both, where **the Sun** has its diurnal and nocturnal domicile, and the planet also appears in the house X of both charts (17 degrees of Taurus, pp. 29, 31). The positioning of the Sun in the house X of the annual horoscope foretells renown and a growth in authority, which the astrologer draws from Haly Abenragel.⁴¹ Next, he goes on to say that Saturn and Mercury (1 degree of Gemini) in this horoscope “will

³⁸ Taurus is associated with the neck in human body.

³⁹ *Generale iudicium*, p. 34.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁴¹ The first Latin translation of the work by Haly Abenragel *Liber in iudiciis astrorum* (1254) by Alvaro of Oviedo. See. J.-P. Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe–XVe siècle)*, Paris 2006, p. 189; H. M. Carey, op. cit., pp. 35, 45.

lend profound ability and signify acute intellect” (p. 33). Based on this premise, the astrologer predicts that the land under the governance of Fryderyk (called His Most Illustrious Eminence) “should be blessed with benefits” (p. 32). Moreover, **Venus**, which is in this house as well (p. 33), will bring many affairs to a successful end and the cardinal will enjoy a society of convivial companions and “find delight in things fragrant and pleasurable” in line with the nature of the planet, which is associated with pleasures and perfumes.⁴² This is supported by the natal horoscope (p. 29, color plates, fig. 2) and the monthly prognostic dated March 30, 1501 (p. 38).

In the monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), the house X is in Scorpio, the diurnal domicile of **Mars**, therefore the astrologer expects “an issue of some reign or kingdom.”

On March 30, 1501 (p. 38), **Mercury** appears at 7 degrees of Aries beside **Venus** in the house being discussed, which is to signify “an arrival of honors.” However, the text of this prognostic needs to be explained in respect of the language employed by the astrologer. In the house III of the March prognostic, we find the Moon at 8 degrees of Virgo, and the ruler of “the place,” that is Virgo, is Mercury, the very planet that together with the opening sign of the month, Aries, will reside in the house X. This will contribute to a successful resolution of the matter related to the kingdom and reign “for those who would counteract will subdue to Your [...] Eminence.”

THE INACTIVE OR WEAK HOUSES (III, VI, VIII, XI, XII) IN PROGNOSTICATION

The house III *Fratres*. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns “brothers, sisters, blood-relatives, in-laws, short voyages, justice, gentleness, patience, ingeniousness, legation, dispute.”⁴³ In the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501 (p. 35), this house hosts **Mercury**, patron of scholars, and **the Sun**, which makes the astrologer conclude these planets “will sharpen the intellect in providing advice,” and in keeping with the nature of the house, they will bring an opportunity for a short journey in order to deliver the advice. However, the cardinal’s health may be at peril since the Sun in the house III is in opposition with the Moon in the IX.

In the monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), the house I is in Capricorn and the house III in Aries, which the astrologer comments, according to the order of the zodiac, with the words: “the degree of the Ascendant reaching out to the house III,” and this is to indicate the cardinal will receive a correspondence from his brother. On March 30, 1501 (p. 38) **the Moon** will be in the house III, which should

⁴² H. Ryb u s (op. cit., p. 195, f.n. 6) says this reflects the statement of Miechowita about Fryderyk Jagiellończyk’s inclinations toward revelry, which was not unrelated to the cardinal’s health.

⁴³ *Generale iudicium*, p. 35.

ensure “brief and fruitful journeys.” Predictions of this kind are consistent with *Generale iudicium*, where positioning of the Moon in this house is described as *gaudium*.⁴⁴ Moreover, there appears the sign of Leo here, which is also at the Ascendant of the cardinal’s annual horoscope (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3), therefore in line with the nature of the house, the astrologer predicts a meeting with the brother.

In the following monthly prognostic (July 21, 1501, p. 4), **Jupiter** and **Mars** are in Taurus⁴⁵ and the astrologer notes they have both returned to the place they were at in the cardinal’s natal chart (p. 31, color plates, fig. 2), which is clearly a mistake because Jupiter and Mars are in Gemini in the house XI in the natal chart (p. 29). In his conclusions derived from positioning of Jupiter and Mars in the house III, the astrologer says the cardinal will be busy with public affairs.

According to the prognostic dated October 13, 1501 (p. 44, color plates, fig. 4), “the month [is] not entirely felicitous” although the Part of Fortune is marked on October 29 at 13 degrees 29 minutes of Sagittarius in *The Astrological Tables* (p. 23). **Venus** in this prognostic, residing in the sign of the month, that is Scorpio (p. 44), again foretells, in line with the nature of the house, a meeting with the brother. The influence of Venus will not be very pronounced, however, since the planet is in its declination. Perhaps it is on this account that “many false dreams” are expected and “some of the superiors and inferiors in clergy will wish to contradict” the cardinal.

In the monthly prognostic dated November 11, 1501 (p. 45), the astrologer says that “short journeys will not be all prosperous” for the cardinal, which is not explained in any more detail. However, the Moon is in this house, which is conducive to such travels.⁴⁶

The astrologer’s assertion that December “will bring false envoys as well as insidious legations” (the monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501, p. 46) is related to this house most probably. It hosts Jupiter, the Good Genius, but the planet’s retrograde motion, which will disturb its positive influence.

The house VI Valetudo. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns “horses, beasts of draught, diseases, loss of slaves, old women, rejection, injustice.”⁴⁷ In the introductory thoughts, the astrologer states that Venus will arrive at the place Saturn occupied in the natal chart, that is it will enter the house VIII *Mors* (December 8, 1501, p. 46), which makes him conclude there will be “losses in matters pertaining to the house VI” (p. 33). He returns to this in the last monthly prognostic (December 8, 1501, p. 46), but says there **Saturn** may only “disturb the bodily state to a small extent.” The reviewer strived to understand this last explanation and added **Jupiter**

⁴⁴ Joy. *Generale iudicium*, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Mars in Taurus, i. e., detriment, so its influence is the weakest.

⁴⁶ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 282–283.

⁴⁷ *Generale iudicium*, p. 36.

in the house VI, which was to indicate there was a conjunction of Saturn (Evil Genius) with Jupiter (Good Genius) in this house at 27 degrees of Gemini.

In the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501 (p. 35), the astrologer expects the cardinal to have some condition of the teeth or head since the house VI is in Aries and this sign is associated with the head according to *melothesia*.

According to the monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501 (p. 37), this house hosts **the Moon**, “which, being in escape from the opposing Mercury and from Leo, will raise some reservations on the part of the people.” These poetic phrases refer to the waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo. The house VI, which as a rule concerns diseases, is also related to a loss of slaves and this term, taken from the Antiquity, is translated by the astrologer as *popularis*. The situation is aggravated further by an opposition of the Moon and Mercury (p. 37).

According to the monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, this house hosts **Mars** in Aries, which is the planet’s diurnal domicile, therefore the astrologer warns about possible inflammations and pains in the head for Mars is a hot and arid planet that produces fever⁴⁸ while Aries is associated with the head in *melothesia*. Mars in the house VI always signifies diseases and injuries of all kinds.⁴⁹

The house VII Mors. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “fear, death, inheritance, killing, poison, [things] causing death.” In the monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501 (p. 38), this house is in Aquarius, which is a domicile of **Saturn**, therefore the astrologer predicts “a slight trouble from aged men.” In the monthly prognostic dated May 26, 1501 (p. 39), **Venus** appears in Taurus, which is the sign of the primary progression for the year (p. 31), and, in line with the nature of the house, signifies “a wealth after somebody’s death.” According to the monthly prognostic dated June 24, 1501 (p. 40), the house hosts **the Sun** in Cancer and since this is the sign of the month, the astrologer thinks it “heralds an extraordinary and noble occurrence.”

In the subsequent monthly prognostic (November 11, 1501, p. 45), this house hosts **Mars** – lesser malefic. What is more, the Moon is in opposition to Mars and is “combust.” According to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 25), on November 10 there was a conjunction of the Sun and Moon, that is the Moon was combusted since it was placed too close to the Sun. The astrologer predicts, therefore, that beginning from November 11 the cardinal will experience “hatred and malignance on the part of certain clergymen who will act against the Church or religion” and moreover, his health will be in danger.

The house XI Amici. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “acquired friends, benefactors, assistants, good hopes for successful transactions [concerning one’s estate], king’s taxes, king’s dues, joy.” In the monthly prognostic dated March 2, 1501 (p. 37), the house hosts **Mars** (which is also “the master of the Ascendant” since

⁴⁸ H. M. Carey, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴⁹ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 282–283.

the house I is in Aries, where the planet has its diurnal domicile) and **Mercury**. In keeping with the nature of the house, the astrologer expects the cardinal to consider matters of the kingdom.

In the next monthly prognostic (March 30, 1501, p. 38), the house XI hosts **the Sun** in Aries, which is the sign of exaltation of this planet, and all this “allows for expecting some advantages from acquired friends and people of the high estate.” In the chart of the monthly prognostic dated June 24, 1501 **the Moon** is in the house XII, which “will multiply friends.”

In the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43), **Mars** and **Jupiter** reside “in the same house they were in on the day of birth” (the natal chart, the house XI, p. 29). This is expected to bring more friends who will support the cardinal’s endeavors. However “some of those who appeared to be allies will possibly wish to withdraw.” This is to cause “certain minor worries on the 24th or 25th of September” since according to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 21), these days will see squares of the Moon with Venus and the Moon with Saturn. Besides, the astrologer states that the date of October 6 is “uncertain.”⁵⁰

The house XII Inimici. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “banditries, intrigue, hatred, exertions, enmity, misery of pain, violence of prisons.” In the monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), this house hosts **Mars** and **Venus**, which makes the astrologer conclude that Mars in Capricorn, where it exerts its strongest influence (exaltation), indicates “certain clandestine and fierce enemies,” but the presence of Venus will help to “sooth their raging souls.” The successive monthly prognostic (March 2, 1501, p. 37), where **the Sun** is in Pisces, which is the sign of the month, and **Jupiter** is in Aries, suggests, in line with the nature of the house, that “someone will intend to contradict” the cardinal.

According to the monthly prognostic dated May 26, 1501 (p. 39), the house XII hosts **the Moon**, which is in opposition to Mars, as noted in *The Astrological Tables For the Yea 1501* (p. 13). On this basis, the astrologer expects “unfriendliness of certain people” and also health issues, such as “ailments of the head, stomach pains.” The first condition may be explained by the fact that the house VI *Valetudo* hosts Mars in Aries while Aries is associated with the head according to *melothesia* (table, p. 28). On the other hand, Libra, where the Moon resides in the house XII, is associated with kidneys, although Firmicus Maternus⁵¹ adds also the entrails, lower part of the belly, navel, hips, groins, and buttocks.

According to the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43), on account of **Saturn**, “which is the master of time” (p. 31), “there will arrive sorrowful thoughts, difficulties and announcements in respect of the reign and the Kingdom.”

⁵⁰ An opposition of the Moon and Sun on October 5 and a transit of the Moon and Mercury at the turn of September 5 are noted in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 23).

⁵¹ *Matheseos*... 2 XXIV 1; H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 45.

Saturn in the house XII is a universal herald of greater malefic, disability, chronic diseases,⁵² and so the astrologer makes a rare prediction of when specifically the said difficulties may be expected, which is “shortly after Saint Matthew,” or September 21, because according to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 21), the Moon will form a square with Jupiter and Mercury on this day.

THE REMAINING ASTROLOGICAL HOUSES

The house II *Lucrum*. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns “sale, purchase, profit, wealth, rents, food, estates, servants, reigning, receiving.”⁵³ The growing **Moon** in the annual chart (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3, at 20 degrees of Virgo) suggests advantages and an enlargement of wealth thanks to friends. **Mars** (the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501, p. 35) threatens with a division of the wealth. **Jupiter** and **Mercury** (the monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36) indicate an enlargement of wealth, which is all the more pronounced since the planets are in Aries and Pisces, where they also appear in the primary progression, that is 33 days after the cardinal’s birth (table, p. 31).

In the monthly prognostic dated March 30, 1501 (p. 38), the astrologer refers to the annual horoscope, where Leo appears at the Ascendant. The same sign is to be found in the house II and in the house III *Fratres*, which makes the astrologer conclude there will be a meeting with the brother concerning the wealth.

According to the monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501 (p. 42), **Saturn** suggests the cardinal “will be disturbed by frequent thoughts of pecuniary matters.” In the monthly prognostic dated November 11, 1501 (p. 45), this house hosts **Mercury** and **the Sun**, which predicts “a growth of wealth and riches.”

The house V *Filii* denotes, according to *Generale iudicium*, “joy, gleefulness, bliss, rents, borrowed properties of children, women’s apparel, accord with them.” In the monthly prognostic dated June 24, 1501 (p. 40), the house hosts **Jupiter** and **Mars**. It is taken to foretell – contrary to what the house characterizes – “an arrival of ambassadors, however some of them will be false or coming from foes.” On the other hand, **Saturn** in the house V in the monthly prognostic date July 21, 1501 (p. 41) “will assign the insignia of authority” to the cardinal.⁵⁴

⁵² A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 282–283.

⁵³ *Generale iudicium*, p. 35.

⁵⁴ The current study of the horoscopes and monthly prognostics of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk is not intended to examine to what extent the predictions are related to any actual facts of history that occurred in 1501. It seems worthwhile to mention, though, that after the unexpected death of Jan Olbracht on June 17, 1501, the cardinal was appointed the interrex. See A. Gąsiorowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnięscy w Polsce pierwszych Jagiellonów*, “Roczniki Historyczne” LIX, 1993, p. 99; M. Kosman,

According to the monthly prognostic dated August 18, 1501 (p. 42), **the Sun** is in this house in Virgo, which is not its domicile, therefore the astrologer predicts “divergent tidings and opinions among the friends.” **The Moon** in the house V in the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43) “signifies multiple envoys, false as usual.” This is probably based on the fact the Moon is in Scorpio, i.e., in its Fall (*casus*).

Similarly **Mars** in this house (the prognostic dated December 8, 1501, p. 46) in Taurus, where it is in detriment, foretells “false envoys as well as insidious legations.”

The house IX *Peregrinationes*, according to *Generale iudicium*, denotes “law, God’s wisdom, astronomy, manual trade, legations, long travels, service to the Church.”⁵⁵ In the annual horoscope, the house IX hosts **Venus** and **Jupiter**, that is “benefics” and Good Genius, and this is taken to signify a betterment with respect to ecclesiastical goods. In line with the nature of this house, voyages and legations are expected, too.

In the monthly prognostic dated March 30, 1501 (p. 38), the house hosts **Mars** – lesser malefic – which forecasts a “misfortunate horse ride during a long-lasting voyage.” In addition, the house is in Aquarius, which is a domicile of **Saturn** – Evil Genius – hence “trouble from aged men.”

In the next monthly prognostic (May 26, 1501, p. 39), the presence of **Mercury** in the house IX signifies travels as well as “a letter or message from afar” since Mercury is Jupiter’s messenger.⁵⁶ The message may be false as Mercury squares **Mars**, which is also noted in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 13). We have also **Saturn** – Evil Genius – there, which is to suggest “austerity towards religious transgressors.”

In the monthly prognostic dated October 13, 1501 (p. 44, color plates, fig. 4), the astrologer states the cardinal “will tend to divine and ecclesiastical matters,” but does not explain this with positions of the planets in the chart. One may only surmise he relies on **Jupiter** being at 1 degree of Taurus, which is not its domicile.

Since the astrologer utilizes both positive and negative aspects in making predictions, therefore a conjunction of **Venus** and **the Moon** (the monthly prognostic dated October 13, 1501, p. 44, color plates, fig. 4) foretells sound health in October. Similarly, a trine between **Venus** and **Jupiter** (August 18, 1501, p. 32) “will protect the health and lend a comfortable disposition.”

Perils are supposed to be brought upon by oppositions as well as squares between the planets. An opposition of **the Sun** and **Moon** (February 2, 1501, p. 36) causes a danger from harmful humors; an opposition of **the Moon** and **Mercury** (March 2, p. 37) “will raise some reservations on the part of the people” while an op-

Między ołtarzem i tronem. Poczet prymasów Polski, Poznań 2000, pp. 89–94; N. Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland. The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468–1503)*, Aldershot 2007, p. 52.

⁵⁵ *Generale iudicium*, p. 37.

⁵⁶ P. Grimal, *Słownik mitologii greckiej i rzymskiej*, ed. J. Łanowski, Wrocław 1997, p. 232.

position of **the Moon** and **Mars** (May 26, p. 39) will bring “ailments of the head, stomach pains and unfriendliness of certain people” (November 11, p. 45). This last peril may also be suggested by the “combust Moon” (p. 45).

An important statement relevant to making health forecasts by the astrologer is to be found in the monthly prognostic dated March 2 (p. 37), where he says: “For the whole bodily substance of man is subjected to the rule of this deity,” that is, the Moon, therefore it is evident he draws from lunar medicine in his prognostics. Thanks to this, we can understand a statement contained in the introductory part of *Almanach* that “a not very serious infirmity from a cold cause and an abundance of phlegm as well as raw humors will threaten in June and at the end of October” since the prognostics of June 24 (p. 40) and November 11 (p. 45) note a square of **the Moon** and **Mars**.

The Moon, whose mythological archetype was a Chaldean god Sin, governed the physical health of man and made the human body rotten and moldy.⁵⁷ Lunar medicine, based on the phases of the Moon and the Stations of the Moon in successive signs of the zodiac as well as on the North and the South Nodes of the Moon, was quite widespread and it was recommended by Roger Bacon, Pietro Abano, Cecco d’Ascoli, and William of Ockham, however, the author of *Almanach* does not make direct references to them.⁵⁸ Nicholas of Lynn and John Sommer created lunar almanacs that specified Stations of the Moon, the day of the month and its ruling planet, an hour of day and night, rising sign of the zodiac and proper time for bloodletting and application of leeches, while the author of *Almanach* makes remarks about the time of bloodletting and baths directly following *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 28). The Moon and its position was also regarded in considering possibilities of curing an illness and the times of administering medicines, which was also noted in *Almanach* (p. 28).⁵⁹

In prognosticating the cardinal’s health, the author of *Almanach* also considers positioning of **Saturn** in the house VI *Valetudo*. According to Richard Trewythian, a 15th century astrologer from London, this cold and arid planet can cause madness, epilepsy, and leprosy.⁶⁰ He also refers to a solar eclipse that took place in 1500, but whose effects are to touch upon July, 1501 and contribute to “an indisposition caused by heat” (p. 41).

Furthermore, one should mention mistakes that were probably made by the scribe. The first of these concerns the natal horoscope (p. 29): in the house IV of the chart, Taurus is inscribed instead of Scorpio, as would follow from the succession of the signs of the zodiac. Another mistake appears in the prognostic dated June 24 (p. 40). The text says about Saturn in the house VII, while the chart places it in the house VII.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *The Beginning...*, p. 201; A. Bouché-Lecleq, op. cit., pp. 288, 427.

⁵⁸ H. M. Carey, op. cit., pp. 37, 41, 53.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, pp. 41–49.

⁶⁰ S. Page, op. cit., p. 202.

⁶¹ On top of scribes who copied texts, astrologers also made their own mistakes, as can be exemplified by a wrong determination of the sex of Queen Jadwiga’s expected baby. Jan Szczekna, who I regard

One should also ascertain the place *Almanach For the Year 1501* takes among other diverse types of known horoscopes and prognostics of the Middle Ages and modern times, especially those originating from the Kraków astrological milieu of both the court and the university.

Astrological forecasts generally come into katarchic, pertaining to conception, natal, and annual horoscopes, as well as corrections of natal horoscopes. Horoscopes of all of these kinds, dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries, are gathered in two manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library (MS 3224 and MS 3227).⁶² Collections of Medieval horoscopes contain mainly charts of kings, however, horoscopes concerning people of different social groups are also known, as in the case of Richard Trewythian's notebook, who only used horoscopes as a secondary guide in his medical practice.⁶³

The oldest preserved chart interpretations in Poland come from the author of the horoscopes for Queen Jadwiga's baby, most probably Jan Szczekna, however, much more elaborate prognostications were made for Władysław Jagiełło and Sonka's sons by Henryk Czech, and these are known to us through Długosz.

Henryk Czech was predicting the oldest son, Władysław, "will come to reign many kingdoms, principalities, and dominions if the fate does not envy him a longer life."⁶⁴ The second son, Kazimierz, will love his mother dearly, but will live a very short life.⁶⁵ The third son, Kazimierz Andrzej, will outlive his brothers, but will not enjoy success. *Ex aspectibus celi*, that is, on the basis of angular relations of the planets, i.e., the aspects, Henryk Czech concluded Kazimierz Jagiellończyk was conceived and born under a sinister star (*sub infelicis auspicii sidere*) and that the Kingdom of Poland will be afflicted with various disasters during his reign so that it will be on a verge of total destruction if not for the mercy of God.⁶⁶

Another category consisted of almanacs and annual prognostics that were expected to be made by professors hired at the Kraków University since the first Astronomy

the author of these charts, strove to explain his mistake with a lengthy discussion. See E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Horoskopy dziecka królowej Jadwigi*, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" LIII, 2003, p. 20.

⁶² E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Zamek piękny na wzgórzu" *Horoskopy – zapomniane źródło historyczne*, Kraków 2015, pp. 41–57.

⁶³ S. Page, op. cit., p. 193.

⁶⁴ J. Długosz, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae liber undecimus: 1413–1430*, Varsaviae 2000, p. 229 (*primogenitum Wladislaum multorum regnorum, principatum et dominium nacturum, si fata illi evum longius non invidissent*); idem, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki...*, vol. 11, transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1985, pp. 241–242.

⁶⁵ Kazimierz was born on May 16, 1426 and died on March 2, 1427. See J. Długosz, *Roczniki...*, vol. 11, pp. 232, 237, 241–242.

⁶⁶ J. Długosz, *Annales...*, vol. 11, p. 229 (*sub cuius regimine Poloniae Regnum ad casus varios et ad interitum prope, nisi propiciatio Divina illud conservaverit*); idem, *Roczniki...*, vol. 11, pp. 241–242; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Horoskop Kazimierza Jagiellończyka – nowe źródło do treści ideowych wawelskiego nagrobka króla*, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" LX, 2010, pp. 5–30.

Chair was established there. After the reform of the Chair in 1525, the number of required prognostics rose to three.⁶⁷ The preserved manuscripts contain prognostics for the year 1451 by Marcin of Przemyśl,⁶⁸ and for the year 1472 by Walenty of Zator (BJ, MS 2496, ff. 78r–82v). Prognostics for 1481 and 1487 were prepared by Wojciech of Brudzewo (BJ, MS 579, pp. 1–23; MS 2422, pp. 25–46), for 1492 by Stanisław Bylica of Olkusz (BJ, MS 579, pp. 27–56), and for 1501 by Jan Sculteti of Kraków (BJ, MS 579, pp. 251–274).⁶⁹ The first almanac was put to print by Kasper Staube in Kraków in 1474. Other printed almanacs were created by Leonard Szklarczyk (Vitreatoris) of Dobczyce (1499, 1500, 1501, printed by Wolfgang Stöckel in Leipsig), Bernard Kapustka (1489), Michał Falkener of Wrocław (1494, 1495), and Jan of Głogów (1501), who also made commentaries to Regiomontan’s almanac.⁷⁰ The almanac we discuss here is outstanding among these examples because of the artistic quality of its execution.

THE DATING OF *ALMANACH*, ITS AUTHOR, SCRIBE, AND REVIEWER

The dating and execution of *Almanach* for Fryderyk Jagiellończych has never raised doubts.⁷¹ This is evidenced by the title page of the work (cf. color plates, fig. 1) that contains the cardinal’s coat of arms: a crownless Jagiellonian Eagle under a cardinal’s hat and a bishop’s cross on the shield exactly as they appear on the cardinal’s seal and university scepter.⁷² The remaining coats of

⁶⁷ M. Markowski, *Burydanizm w Polsce w okresie przedkopernikańskim. Studium z historii filozofii i nauk ścisłych na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 230–242; A. Strzebońska, *Szesnastowieczne kalendarze*, [in:] *Bibliologia, literatura, kultura. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waclawie Szelińskiej*, eds. M. Konopka, M. Zięba, Kraków 1999, p. 177; M. Markowski, *Maciej z Miechowa*, [in:] *Złota księga Wydziału Matematyki i Fizyki*, ed. B. Szafirski, Kraków 2000, p. 103.

⁶⁸ G. Rosińska, *The Origin, Age and Perspectives of the World According to the 15th Century Cracow Astronomers*, “Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 47, 2002, p. 8.

⁶⁹ G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings...*, no. 124, 133, 2184; M. Markowski, *Wojciech z Brudzewa*, [in:] *Złota księga...*, p. 90.

⁷⁰ BJ, MS 1839 and 2494; A. Lewicka-Kamińska, *Inkunabuły Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 1962, e.g. no. 514, 559; *Incunabula, quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, Wratislaviae 1970, no. 245, 251, 2410; B. Kocowski, *Prognostyk wrocławski na rok 1502*, “Roczniki Biblioteczne” XIV (1–2), 1970, pp. 98–99; A. Strzebońska, op. cit., p. 178; M. Markowski, *Wojciech z Brudzewa*, [in:] *Złota księga...*, pp. 90–92.

⁷¹ J. Muczkowski (op. cit., pp. 138–141) and L. A. Birkenmajer (op. cit., p. 667) erroneously thought *Almanach* was created in 1500 on the basis of astrological tables.

⁷² J. Muczkowski (op. cit., p. 36) compares the coats of arms in *Almanach* and on the university scepter. For coats of arms of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk see Z. Piech, *Średniowieczne herby w katedrze wawelskiej. Treści i funkcje*, [in:] *Katedra krakowska w średniowieczu. Materiały Sesji Oddziału Krakowskiego*

arms: Kotwicz, Abdank, and Gozdawa (?), were identified by Muczowski as early as 1840.⁷³

The dating of execution of the manuscript is demonstrated by the shape of two types of Late Medieval shields, both known from artifacts related to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, such as his rector's scepter made by Marcin Marciniak around 1493.⁷⁴ This is further supported by the application of charts inscribed in a circle, characteristic of the 16th century, and the wastepaper of the end of the 15th century which was taken out from the manuscript binding and which bears no later dates than 1498.⁷⁵

The choice of 1501 for the year of the almanac with an annual horoscope and monthly prognostics for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk surely was not accidental because it is then that the cardinal reached the age of Christ, that is 33 years. In line with the astrological practice, however, the preparation for the almanac had to start at the end of the previous year.

The cardinal was born on April 28 therefore this date constituted the beginning of the year 1501 for him and so the prognostics from January 5 to March 30, 1501 refer to his previous personal year and are numbered 10 to 13. As a result there are only nine prognostics for the cardinal's year 1501 (from April 28 to December 8) since successive four would belong to the calendar year 1502 with the dates of January 5, February 2, March 2, and March 30. The four final leaves of *Almanach*, which the astrologer started to fill with astrological tables for an unspecified year, may suggest he intended to extend the work into 1502.

The next issue which needs settling concerns the identity of people involved in the creation of *Almanach*.⁷⁶ In the introduction, the author clearly states he decided to

SHS, eds. J. Daranowska-Łukaszevska, K. Kuczman, Kraków 1996, pp. 127–152; Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów*, Kraków 2003, pp. 86–88, 209, 214–218.

⁷³ J. Muczowski, op. cit., pp. 138–141; M. Kowalczykówna, op. cit., p. 9; A. S. [A. Sobąska], op. cit., pp. 244–245.

⁷⁴ J. Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii*, Warszawa 2004, fig. 81, the German and Polish shields.

⁷⁵ J. D. North, *Horoscopes and History*, London 1986, p. 157; M. Kowalczykówna, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷⁶ Moreover, the letters *ML*, discovered by M. Kowalczykówna (op. cit., p. 9), which were inscribed in red after the completion of *The Astrological Tables* for the year 1501 (p. 20), need to be accounted for. The letter *M* embraces dates ranging from September 10 through 18, its top points are placed at the level of Saturn at 21 degrees 21 minutes of Gemini and Mercury at 19 degrees 40 minutes of Libra, while the bottom ends are on the level of Saturn at 21 degrees 27 minutes of Gemini and Mercury at 23 degrees 48 minutes of Libra. The central points of the letter correspond to the dates of September 12 and 13 and the position of Mars at 8 degrees 22 minutes and 8 degrees 40 minutes of Gemini. In order to discover the word hidden behind the letter *M*, it is important to consider the markings near the position of Mars in Gemini in the form of twice repeated single dots in gold (9, 51; 20, 2) and a triple dot in gold (9, 47). According to the information given on page 28 of *Almanach*, these markings

present “these modest reflections” and “request they be generously accepted” despite his conviction the task exceeded his capacities (p. 29). On the other hand, the title page bears coats of arms of people related to the cardinal who may be regarded sponsors of the work, that is Kotwicz on the right (heraldically) and Abdank on the left (heraldically), which Sobańska linked with the cardinal’s closest associates: Poznań Archdeacon Mikołaj Kotwicz and Fryderyk’s Chamberlain Jan Konarski, later Bishop of Kraków.⁷⁷

pertain to the times of bloodletting, making baths, and administering medicines. A single dot indicated a proper time for these actions; in this case, it fell on September 16 and September 18. And triple dots indicated a particularly good day: September 17. Such markings only appear in *The Astrological Tables* that precede *Almanach* on p. 20, so the reviewer checked if bloodletting on September 10, when Saturn was at 21 degrees 21 minutes of Gemini, would not be perilous to the cardinal’s health. Therefore, one may surmise the letter *M* refers to the word *Minucio* [bloodletting], which was one of standard terms used in *The Astrological Tables* for each month. The letter *M*, filled with degrees and minutes of the signs of the zodiac done in gold, denotes therefore a period when it was safe to let blood, that is September 10 through 18, the best of these dates being September 17.

In order to understand the meaning of these marking in more detail, we need to refer to the prognostic dated September 15 (p. 43). It appears the reviewer was worried about the position of Saturn in the house XII and the resultant “sorrowful thoughts, difficulties and announcements with respect to the reign and the Kingdom” (p. 43). Therefore, he took care to find out particularly inauspicious dates for the cardinal. The starting point was the positioning of Saturn at 21 degrees of Gemini, noted in the prognostic (p. 43), and it is in this place the reviewer began inscribing the letter *M* in the astrological table for September (21 degrees 21 minutes of Gemini, p. 20) and then sought this number all the way ahead.

Following the words inscribed in *The Astrological Tables*, *L* should then be interpreted as *Lettera*, or a letter signature of the day of the week. The vertical line in *L* starts at the date of September 20, marked with the letter “d” (Monday), and ends at September 27, also Monday (January 1, 1501 fell on Friday, marked with the letter “a,” so Sundays were indicated with “c’s,” while the whole week ranged from “a” to “g.” See J. S z y m a ń s k i, *Nauki pomocnicze*, p. 126).

Thus the reviewer was looking for the date of September 21 and was verifying predicted difficulties that were to occur “shortly after Saint Matthew” (p. 43) for it was then that Mars was at 10 degrees 43 minutes of Gemini (p. 20) and two unfavorable aspects (squares of the Moon with Jupiter and with Mercury, p. 21) occurred. The horizontal line of *L* at the level of the date of September 27 links the positioning of Mars at 11 degrees 41 minutes of Gemini, Venus at 26 degrees 19 minutes of Libra, and Mercury at 21 degrees of Libra.

Therefore, the letters *ML* are not the astrologer’s initials, as used to be suspected, although they could have been interpreted as standing for “Magister Leonardus” and associated with Leonard Szklaczyk (Vitreatoris) of Dobczyce (ca. 1450–1508), a renown astrologer, dean, and rector of the Kraków University, who made a coronation horoscope for Władysław II Jagiellończyk (BJ, MS 3227, pp. 8, 57) and three enthronement horoscopes for Jan Olbracht (BJ, MS 576, f. 58v), see H. F r i e d b e r g, *Rodzina Vitreatorów (Zasańskich) i jej związki z uniwersytem krakowskim na przełomie XV i XVI wieku*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XVIII, 1968, p. 25.

⁷⁷ A. S. [A. S o b a ń s k a], op. cit., pp. 244–245; A. O d r z y w o l s k a - K i d a w a, *Podkanclerzy Piotr Tomicki (1515–1535) polityk i humanista*, Warszawa 2005, p. 29; J. S z y m a ń s k i, *Herbarz śre-*

Mikołaj Kotwicz of Żnin (ca. 1440–1507), poet and doctor of decrees of the Bologna University, was one of the trusted associates of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, who sent him out to Rome in the autumn of 1493 in order to bring the papal confirmation of assigning the Gniezno Archbishopric to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk and receiving the cardinal's hat.⁷⁸ On Mikołaj Kotwicz's return, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk appointed him the Archdeacon of Poznań and, in 1499, the Official of the Poznań Cathedral, hence Sobańska's conjectures were quite justified. However, this person must be ruled out because despite having the same surname and coat of arms, Mikołaj was a son of a townsman Jan, mayor of Żnin, and he is not known to have ever been ennobled.⁷⁹

Within the closest circle of people around the cardinal, there was, however, another person who used the Kotwicz coat of arms: Mikołaj Krzycki (ca. 1460–1504), son of a judge Mikołaj and Anna Tomicka, elder brother of Andrzej, poet and later Archbishop of Poznań. He was the Canon and Dean of Kraków as well as Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's treasurer. In 1501, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk appointed him the Dean of Łęczycza and probably it is him the coat of arms in *Almanach* should be linked with since it is placed on the right hand (heraldically) of the cardinal's coat of arms, which shows it as more prominent than the Abdank coat of arms of Konarski.⁸⁰

The third coat of arms, placed at the bottom of the title page, is similar to Gozdawa (Lilium, Goździe, Śmiara), however, it differs from it in respect of colors, which was already pointed out by Muczkowski.⁸¹ The shape of fleur-de-lis also occurs in the Bonarowa coat of arms, but – just as in the case of Gozdawa – it shows different colors.⁸² A silver fleur-de-lis in blue background appears to be most closely related to the heraldic lily used by the Hungarian House of Anjou.⁸³ This coat of arms

dniowiecznego rycerstwa polskiego, Warszawa 1993, pp. 74, 163; i d e m, *Herbarz rycerstwa polskiego z XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 9, 137.

⁷⁸ H. Rybus, op. cit., p. 40; N. Nowakowska, op. cit., p. 45; D. Quirini-Popławska, *Kotwicz Mikołaj*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 14, Wrocław 1969, pp. 505–507; P. Dembiński, *Poznańska kapituła katedralna wieków średnich. Studium prozograficzne 1428–1500*, Poznań 2012, pp. 554–556.

⁷⁹ R. Gansiniec, „Sbigneis' Mikołaja Kotwicza,” *Pamiętnik Literacki* XLVIII, 1957, p. 125; P. Dembiński, op. cit., p. 554.

⁸⁰ H. Rybus, op. cit., p. 57; P. Zabłocki, *Krzycki Andrzej h. Kotwicz*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 15, Wrocław 1970, p. 544; B. S. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, Kraków 1999, pp. 270, 279; P. Dembiński, op. cit., p. 557.

⁸¹ J. Muczkowski, op. cit., pp. 138–141; J. Szymański, *Herbarz...*, 1993, p. 126; i d e m, *Herbarz...*, 2001, p. 79.

⁸² K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1, Lipsk 1839–1846, p. 222; A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1901, p. 379: the lily is half-white in black field and half-black in white field; J. Ostrowski, *Księga herbowa rodów polskich*, n.d., no. 214, 877–880.

⁸³ According to K. Niesiecki (op. cit., p. 222), the Bonarowa coat of arms, given to Jan Boner of Wissenberg in 1346, was supposedly shaped after the French heraldic lily. W. Budka says that

is the most difficult to identify as well as to indicate the person it belonged to in spite of the letters that are inscribed above it and that have been variously interpreted and identified by researchers, although they have always been connected with the astrologer, the author of *Almanach*, himself.

Muczkowski deciphered these letters as *M.n.c.h.c.A*, while Wisłocki (in the *Catalog of Jagiellonian Library Manuscripts*) as *M.N.C.V.C.*⁸⁴ Muczkowski went on to resolve the letters as: *Magister Nicolaus Copernicus hoc composuit Almanach* and regarded Copernicus as the author of the almanac.⁸⁵ Birkenmajer rejected this hypothesis, interpreted the letters in a different way: *Magister Nicolaus Cracoviensis hoc composuit Almanach*, and identified the astrologer as Mikołaj of Kraków, called Mikosz (*Mikosz Nicolaus, Nicolai Cracovita, Cracovita Nicolaus Mikosz*), who got his master's degree in 1488, was a professor of theology and custodian of Saint Florian church in Kraków, and died in 1528.⁸⁶ This supposition was accepted by Wisłocki and Fr. Rybus, who however erroneously defined the person of the astrologer as Mikołaj Mikłosz [!] of Kraków.⁸⁷ In the 1980 catalog of the manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library, the letters were interpreted as *M.N.C b.c A*, or *Marcus Nicolai cassoviensis baccalarius cracoviensis Astrologus*, who was identified as Markus Schinagel [Schynagal] of Košice, author of almanacs and annual prognostics.⁸⁸ Rosińska cited all of these hypotheses, while Sobańska, Miodońska, and Natalia Nowakowska regarded Schinagel as the author of *Almanach*.⁸⁹ Julia Caproș opted for identifying Markus Nikolaus of Košice with Markus Schinagel.⁹⁰

There arises a question whether the letters *M.N.C b.c.*, which were put above the coat of arms, are somehow related to it (the letter *A* given below the coat of arms simply means *Almanach*). And there is another question whether the coat of arms and the

a coat of arms resembling Gozdawa was given to the Boner family by Maxymilian I, see Jan Boner, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2, Kraków 1936, p. 297. Jan Boner (died 1523) – a Kraków banker and manager of a royal salt mine – oversaw the economic undertakings of Jan Olbracht and got a village of Łobzów for lease in 1501.

⁸⁴ J. Muczowski (op. cit., p. 156) discussed whether the final part of the lettering should be treated as „b. c. TA” or “h. c. A;” W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów*, p. 4.

⁸⁵ J. Muczowski, op. cit., pp. 138–140.

⁸⁶ L. A. Birkenmajer, op. cit., pp. 667–668; idem, *Mikołaj Kopernik jako uczonec, twórca i obywatel. W 450-tą rocznicę jego urodzin*, Kraków 1923, p. 20; W. Szelińska, *Biblioteki profesorów uniwersytetu krakowskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1966, p. 75, f.n. 94; p. 166, f.n. 224; p. 295.

⁸⁷ W. Wisłocki, *Incunabula*, pp. 141, 321–322; H. Rybus, op. cit., pp. 184, 194, f.n. 6.

⁸⁸ *Catalogus...*, p. 3.

⁸⁹ G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings...*, no. 1208, p. 241; A. S. [A. Sobańska], op. cit., p. 245; B. Miodońska, op. cit., p. 43; N. Nowakowska, op. cit., p. 92.

⁹⁰ I. Caproș, *Students from Košice at Foreign Universities before and during the Reformation Period in the Town*, Doctoral Thesis, Budapest 2010, pp. 59, 67, 72, no. 65; 183, f.n. 436; 238, no. 111.

lettering come from the same time as the title page or they were added after its execution. The shape of the shield in the coat of arms suggests the turn of the 15th century, but it is smaller than the others, which indicates a lower rank of the person who used it. Moreover, the shield is connected with the top coats of arms by an elongated stick of the archbishop's cross, which is not placed centrally in respect of the shield with the Jagiellonian Eagle. The letters were placed on both sides of the stick: *M.N.C* and *b.c.* plus *A* beneath, therefore they were inscribed after the whole had been completed, although they were made in the colors used in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501*.

If we assume the letters refer to Markus of Košice, son of Nikolaus, then rather than to the person, the coat of arms may be related to the place of his origin, silver Anjou lilies in blue background being an element of the town's coat of arms, which was given to Košice by Louis the Great in 1369.⁹¹ This is not a sufficient evidence, though, since all we know about Markus of Košice is he enrolled at the Kraków University in 1466 and received his Baccalaureate in 1470 so he would be over fifty years of age in 1501.⁹² It is true there were many students from Košice at the Kraków University, which is discussed in detail by Caproş,⁹³ but at the end of the 15th century there was only one Marcus Nicolai de Cassovia. Nonetheless, there is no ground to identify him with an astrologer Markus Schinagel of Košice who would study at the Kraków University because the surname "Schinagel" does not appear among students or masters of the University at the turn of the century.⁹⁴

Schinagel authored several almanacs (for 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1493, 1497) which were published as ephemera with August Vindelicor, Erhard Ratdolt, Jo-

⁹¹ Košice supported Charles Robert in his efforts to ascend the throne of Hungary, hence the town earned numerous privileges at the times of the House of Anjou; see I. C a p r o ş, op. cit., p. 26.

⁹² *Marcus Nicolai de Cassovia: Metryka uniwersytetu krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508*, publ. A. G ą s i o r o w s k i, T. J u r e k, I. S k i e r s k a, R. G r z e s i k, Kraków 2004, p. 320; *Najstarsza księga promocji Wydziału Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1401–1541*, publ. A. G ą s i o r o w s k i, T. J u r e k, I. S k i e r s k a, Warszawa 2011, p. 233; *Catalogus...*, p. 3; I. C a p r o ş, op. cit., pp. 59, 67, 72, no. 65; 183, f.n. 436 (*Marcus de Cassoui, arcium baccalarius ex bursa Jerusalem*); 238, no. 111; In a paper *Eine Ulmer Praktik auf das Jahr 1489. Ein Beispiel für die Schwierigkeiten beim Bestimmen fragmentarischer Prognostiken* ("Gutenberg-Jahrbuch" 57, 1982, pp. 215–219) P. A m e l u n g quotes the following poem:

*Für war den spruch hat gemacht
Gepracticiert und aussgrung erdacht
Mauster marx schinagel ist er genant
In schwaben wolerkant.*

⁹³ J. C a p r o ş, op. cit., passim.

⁹⁴ M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica et astrologica Cracoviensia ante annum 1550*, "Studi e Testi" XX, 1990, Firenze, no. 75, 1–8; F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters*, vol. III/1: *Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken*, London 1953, p. 73.

hanes Zainer the Older in Ulm, Peter Schoeffers in Mainz, Michael Greyff in London, Johannes Winterburger in Vienna, and Johannes Amerbach in Basel.⁹⁵ Some of them have been preserved in manuscript, for instance the natal horoscope of 1447 and monthly prognostics of Albrecht IV Wittelsbacher, called the Wise, Duke of Bavaria-Munich (1447–1508, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cms 22.1) as well as in a collection of diverse astrological texts of 1500 in the British Library in London (Add 34603, ff. 139, 187–210).⁹⁶ From the manuscript in the British Library, we know Schinagel was a temporary vicar in Landtsperg (Landsberg, Bavaria?) and probably it was then that he made the natal horoscope and monthly prognostics for Albrecht IV.⁹⁷ In addition, he dedicated almanacs to Emperor Maximilian (1491) and Jan Olbracht (1493).⁹⁸

The preserved ephemera and manuscripts show Markus Schinagel always signed his works with the full Christian name and surname (without his father's Christian name) and added *Cracoviensis* or *de Choschovia* (of Košice) plus the title of Master, not Bachelor.⁹⁹ The fact he dedicated the prognostic for 1493 to Jan Olbracht is no indication since he also did so in regard to Emperor Maximilian and Albrecht IV, Duke of Bavaria-Munich. Therefore, in my opinion, researchers wrongly equaled two people originating from Košice: Bachelor Markus, son of Nikolaus, and Master Markus Schinagel.

The practice of inscribing initials of the name and function next to coats of arms emerges at the beginning of the 16th century in Poland, although it mainly concerns persons in a position of authority in the Kingdom.¹⁰⁰ If the letters *M.N.C b.c* signified the astrologer or possibly scribe, it is unlikely such people would have their coat of arms. Might the lily be a notary symbol of one of them?¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ P. A m e l u n g, op. cit., no. 75, 1–15.

⁹⁶ O. v o n H e i n e m a n n, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek VII*, Wolfenbüttel 1900, no. 3255; M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica...*, no. 75, 4, 10, 13; F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, op. cit., p. 73.

⁹⁷ F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, op. cit., p. 73.

⁹⁸ M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica...*, no. 75, 7; *Schynagel Marcus, Prognosticon ad a. 1493*, Wiedeń, Johannes Winterburger (*Incunabula...*, no. 218).

⁹⁹ *Arcium magister; diligens investigator et perscrutator astrorum cursorum necnon dispoſicionum figurarum celeſtium; astrologus*. O. v o n H e i n e m a n n, op. cit., no. 3255; M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica...*, No. 75, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13; F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, op. cit., p. 73.

¹⁰⁰ Z. P i e c h, *Monety...*, pp. 315–342. The letters PTEC, which stand for Petrus Tomicki Episcopus Cracoviensis, are put next to the Łodzia coat of arms; H. R y b u s, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁰¹ K. S k u p i e Ń s k i, *Notariat publiczny w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Lublin 1997, pp. 186, 197. Notary signs often bear coats of arms with variants of Gozdawa. A notary sign in the shape of a lily was used, for instance, by Mikołaj of Wieliczka, Mleczeko, however, he added the letters *M W* (Jagiellonian University Archives, *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, MS 33, p. 91; BJ, MS 5572, p. 15). The lily, placed on a shield as it is, may have a totally different sense in relation to *Almanach*. There is, for example, Bernard de Gordon's (Montpellier graduate, active in 1308) work titled *Lilium medicine*, based on Galen and astrology. A lily also appears in one of the charts in *Triumpho di Fortu-*

Kraków manuscripts from the beginning of the 16th century bear monograms starting with the letter M: *M.M.* (BJ, MS 3225, p. 17), *M.S.C.* (BJ, MS 579, pp. 88, 93, 292, 296), “*M*” (BJ, MS 579, p. 188), which signify the title of Master (*Magister Martinus*, that is Marcin Bylica; *Magister Stanislaus Cracoviensis*, Magister Maciej of Szamotuły) and this suggests the first letter in the *M.N.C b.c* monogram may be linked to this degree. If we revisit the previous hypotheses and interpret the first two letters as *Magister Nicolaus*, then the meaning of *b.c* becomes problematic.¹⁰² If the letters were to be understood as *bene composuit Almanach*, then it could be *Magister Nicolaus Cracovita*, called Mikosz; however, he used the title of Doctor and had the Ossoria coat of arms, which was already known to Wisłocki.¹⁰³ Another person to be taken into consideration was Mikołaj Czepel (1453–1518), who was closely connected with Jan Olbracht’s court and served as a secretary to Aleksander Jagiellończyk, however, he earned the title of Doctor of Canon Law in 1488 in Rome and used the Korab coat of arms.¹⁰⁴ One may also speculate that instead of the unidentified coat of arms, the letters are connected to one of the coats of arms that accompany the cardinal’s coat of arms and they reveal the person who commissioned the almanac.

The title page of *Almanach* seems crucial for this enquiry. It is comprised of a leaf cut short at the bottom and on the right side, and glued to the paper, which indicates it was reused. This is further supported by the placing of an unidentified coat of arms at the bottom. It appears that, on a request of the sponsor who commissioned the binding of *Almanach*, the manuscript was adorned with a leaf that came from or was intended for another manuscript, as would be suggested by the three coats of arms placed at the top: of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Kotwicz, and Abdank. Subsequently the stick of the cardinal’s cross was elongated and the letters *M.N.C b.c* were inscribed

na by Sigismondo Fanti, published in Venice in 1526. The charts were intended to answer a question about the future (*Rota del Giglio*). Fanti was following similar earlier works pertaining to geomancy. They were, i.a., *Experimantarius* by King Amalricus of 12th century, *Liber experimentarius* by Bernard Silvestris, as well as the work titled *Libro del Sorte Lorenza Spirito*, published in 1482. See R. E i s t e r, *The Frontispiece to Sigismondo Fanti’s Triompho di Fortuna*, “Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” X, 1947, pp. 115–159.

¹⁰² We know of many astrologers by the name Mikołaj in the 16th century in Kraków, and all of them had the title of Master or Doctor. Therefore the letters *M.N.C* are open to many interpretations, especially since the letters *N. C.* were also, for instance, a signature of an obscure composer of the first half of the 16th century in Kraków.

¹⁰³ W. W i s ł o c k i, *Incunabula*, pp. 321–322.

¹⁰⁴ H. B a r y c z, *Czepiel (Czepel) Mikołaj*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4, Kraków 1937, pp. 329–330; W. S z e l i ń s k a, op. cit., p. 75, f.n. 94; p. 166, f.n. 224; p. 295; A. L e w i c k a - K a m i ń s k a, *Renesansowy księgozbiór Mikołaja Czepla w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, Wrocław 1956, pp. 5, 10. Horoscopes for Mikołaj Czepel were made by Waclaw of Kraków and Jakub of Iłża (BJ, MS 3227, pp. 205–404).

on its sides with the *A* at the bottom.¹⁰⁵ The abbreviation might be hypothetically interpreted as *Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach* and connected with Mikołaj Krzycki of the Kotwicz coat of arms, who was Fryderyk Jaiellończyk's treasurer and who was not forgotten by the cardinal in his last will by which Mikołaj received a piece of land in the Bishop's suburbia.¹⁰⁶ It needs to be mentioned that in order to facilitate the identification of the sponsor, the word *[K]othvÿcz* was added on the left margin below the right (heraldically) coat of arms of Mikołaj Krzycki.

The search for the actual author of *Almanach* is not easy because Cracow was a busy center of astrological thought in the 15th and 16th centuries and a place of activity of many astrologers connected with the University or the royal court, where they served in the capacity of physicians as well. The most outstanding among them was certainly Maciej Karpiga, called Miechowita. Not just an astrologer and physician, which was customary at the time, he was also a historiographer, geographer, and eight times rector of the Kraków University. In fact, the text of *Almanach* contains many clues that suggest he may have authored it.¹⁰⁷

From the very beginning of the introduction, the author shows his serious approach to preparing horoscopes and prognostics, making references to Firmicus Maternus, who set the rules of conduct for astrologers (p. 29). A similar serious treatment of the tasks and obligations of an astrologer was expressed by Miechowita in his last will, made around 1518, as well as in a deed of 1522 pertaining to the reform of the Astrology Chair at the Kraków University.¹⁰⁸ He is also known to have owned a large library which included many works of astrology, such as *Almagest* by Ptolemy, retained in the Jagiellonian Library (MS 590), Pseudo-Ptolemy's *Centiloquium*, and texts by mythic Hermes Trismegistos as well as by Haly Abenragel (*Liber completus in iudiciis astrorum*). The latter gets quoted in *Almanach*.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, it should be reminded that, contrary to Birkenmajer's opinion, the horoscopes and prognostics that appear in *Almanach* were made with the use of an astrolabe, which is evidenced by the lack of minutes following the degrees of the

¹⁰⁵ *M.N.C* on the left and *b.c* on the right. I owe bringing my attention to the fact that the leaf with the coats of arms was glued to the title page to Dr. Andrzej Obrębski.

¹⁰⁶ H. Rybus, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁰⁷ Mikołaj of Szadek, called Miechowita *astrologus famatus*. Marcin Biem said of him: *doctissimus in omni facultate, signanter in medicina et in iudiciis astrorum*, and he was similarly praised by Jodocus Ludovicus Decius. See L. Hajdukiewicz, *Zainteresowania naukowe Macieja z Miechowa w świetle jego księgozbioru*, [in:] *Maciej z Miechowa 1457–1523, historyk, geograf, lekarz, organizator nauki*, Wrocław 1960, p. 233.

¹⁰⁸ BJ, MS 5572; L. Hajdukiewicz, op. cit., pp. 124, 205–238.

¹⁰⁹ *Almagest* from Miechowita's collection retained in the Jagiellonian Library: MS 590. Other manuscripts with Miechowita's dedications in BJ: 569, 1924, 1968; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Przyczynki do życia i twórczości Macieja z Miechowa*, [in:] *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 277; i d e m, *Zainteresowania...*, p. 215; i d e m, *Biblioteka Macieja z Miechowa*, Wrocław 1960, p. 125.

signs of the zodiac, and Miechowita is known to have used astrolabes (there were actually three of them in his possession).¹¹⁰ Of a particular interest is the information of a so-called “*frons astrolabii* in the form of a sheet of paper covered with a drawing of projections of astronomical circles,” as Leszek Hajdukiewicz says, which was listed in Miechowita’s will. The diagram Hajdukiewicz mentions is to be found in the charts of the cardinal’s annual horoscope (p. 31). This last chart in circular shape, was formed after the method of division in six great circles, attributed in the Middle Ages to Alchabitius (Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi), an Arab astrologer of the 10th century, whose work was also in possession of Miechowita.¹¹¹

In addition, Miechowita’s library contained manuscripts with a collection of horoscopes and “canons” of prognostication.¹¹² When writing his Chronicle, whose first edition of 1519 was confiscated and the second edition appeared in 1521, he referred directly to such horoscopes as Kazimierz Jagiellończyk’s (BJ, MS 3225, p. 1). The Ascendant of the horoscope is in Capricorn, which is in opposition to Cancer in the seventh astrological house, while Miechowita associated this latter sign with Teutonic Knights (*Pruteni*) and strove to explain conflicts between the Order of the Cross and the king in this way.¹¹³ In view of this kind of celestial-phenomena-based historiography, one may wonder if the remarks on the life and disease of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk recorded in Chronicle, are in some relation to the prognostics contained in *Almanach* of 1501, which Miechowita could have known or even authored.

According to what Miechowita noted in The Catalog of Bishops of Cracow and in Chronicle, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk died of the French disease, which was consistent with the cardinal’s inclination towards partying and drinking.¹¹⁴ Predictions of the cardinal’s health constitute a significant part of *Almanach* and the introduction says that “Venus will fully bend the habits of Your Most Reverend Eminence to its nature... [and hence certain] losses in matters pertaining to the house VI” (p. 32), which is to say, pertaining to health, in this case diseases that originate from the loins

¹¹⁰ L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Część pierwsza. Studia...*, pp. 667–668; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, pp. 130, 132.

¹¹¹ J. D. North, op. cit., pp. 4–5, fig. 3; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, p. 132.

¹¹² L. Hajdukiewicz has suggested, in fact, this might be a copy of the manuscript 3225 in BJ, see *Biblioteka...*, p. 127.

¹¹³ Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica Polonorum*, fascymile copy of the 1521 edition of the Vietor printing house, ed. P. Ta b k o w s k i, Kraków 1986, p. 320; H. R y b u s, op. cit., p. 205; H. B a r y c z, *Maciej z Miechowa. Studium z dziejów kultury naukowej Polski doby odrodzenia*, “Nauka Polska” VI, 1958, p. 83.

¹¹⁴ Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, p. 373. The information of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk’s death of the French disease, generally accepted in literature, comes from Miechowita. If he based it on the almanac of 1501 and planetary aspects, there is no reason to assume it was true, all the more so for Miechowita not being the cardinal’s physician.

and genitals, which Venus is responsible for. Next “[an] infirmity from a cold cause ... will threaten in June and at the end of October” (p. 34). It seems this is again a warning against *morbis Gallicus*, which Gallen regarded a “cold venom,” and we know Miechowita taught humoral medicine according to Galen in the summer semester of 1500 at the Kraków University.¹¹⁵

In Chronicle Miechowita repeatedly wrote about *morbis Gallica*, a disease that appeared in Europe in 1443 and in Kraków in 1495. Bartolomeo Montango the Younger, professor of medicine in Padua, thought it emerged on account of planetary aspects, and Miechowita elaborated on this idea, writing in Chronicle about an opposition of Saturn and Jupiter in countries “where Mars has its lands, that is Mauretania, Caesarea, Spain,” but adding that this is also God’s punishment for sinners “living in opulence, surrounded by lust, wine, and dangerous gamble.”¹¹⁶ We know Miechowita owned *Tractatus de pestilentiali scorra sive mala de Franzos* by a physician and astrologer Joseph Grünpeck of Burghausen, published in 1596, and it was probably this treatise that he was basing his knowledge of the disease on.¹¹⁷ Besides, Miechowita would observe various phenomena occurring in the sky, as he says in Chronicle, such as planetary aspects, comets, and solar eclipses, and *Amanach* contains a reference to a solar eclipse of the year, 1500 whose effect was supposed to have a bearing upon the cardinal’s health in July, 1501 (p. 41).¹¹⁸

Miechowita completed his medical studies in Italy (Padua or Bologna) in 1485, had his diploma recognized in Kraków in 1488 and used the title *artium et medicinae Doctor*.¹¹⁹ On hearing of an illness of Jan Olbracht in Toruń, he set out from Kraków to the king “as a physician,” although he was not a physician of the king.¹²⁰ Chronicle contains a detailed description of this voyage together with a hapless accident that occurred “in whereabouts of the inn in Prądnik,” which was interpreted to anticipate the death of Jan Olbracht.¹²¹ It seems Miechowita’s decision to go to Toruń was spontaneous and unprompted, which may indicate his deep trust in his own ability. The

¹¹⁵ L. Hajdukiewicz, *Zainteresowania...*, p. 232; T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej Miechowita na tle medycyny odrodzenia*, [in:] *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 183; idem, *Maciej z Miechowa Karpiga*, [in:] *Złota księga Wydziału Lekarskiego*, ed. J. Grochowski, Kraków 2000, p. 41.

¹¹⁶ T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej Miechowita...*, p. 175; Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, p. 357; A. Dziuba, *Wczesnorenesansowa historiografia*, Lublin 2000, pp. 59, 90, 163.

¹¹⁷ T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej Miechowita...*, p. 193; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, p. 116; T. Bilikiewicz, *Zainteresowania naukowe...*, p. 232; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 59.

¹¹⁸ Miechowita observed solar eclipses in May 1491 and October 1502. See Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, pp. 325, 346, 357, 371; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, p. 123; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 162.

¹¹⁹ M. Markowski, *Maciej z Miechowa*, pp. 102–105; T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 37; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 30.

¹²⁰ T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 37; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 130.

¹²¹ Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, p. 355; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 130.

same kind of conviction is there in the words of the author of *Almanach*, who says in the introduction that much as he wished to “forgo ... the duty of this writing,” he “[had] it in me day and night to consider no thing other than never to neglect anything I might contribute for my Most Reverend Eminence from my studies” (p. 30).

While researching the extensive library of Miechowita, Hajdukiewicz says what a pity it is no examples of Miechowita’s work as an astrologer and physician have been preserved, although he is known to have made a katarthic horoscope, requested by Jan Boner, to specify the most fortuitous time for Sigismund the Old departure for the Congress of Vienna in 1514;¹²² in 1517, he was supposed to examine the prognostics predicting the king’s disease which were sent to Piotr Tomicki from Italy.¹²³ A few other horoscopes can also be linked to the person of Miechowita: a natal chart of Andrzej Krzycki, later Archbishop of Gniezno, of 1482 (BJ, MS 3225, p. 123), an annual chart of Jan V Turzo, Bishop of Wrocław, of 1493 (BJ, MS 3227, p. 57), a katarthic chart for the School of Saint Anne of 1510 (BJ, MS 3225, p. 230), which was rebuilt after a fire at the cost of Miechowita, and a correction of Jan V Turzo’s natal horoscope, made after the bishop’s death in 1520 (BJ, MS 3225, p. 284). One may also surmise Karpiga made the correction of the Ascendant in the natal chart of Sigismund the Old (BJ, MS 3227, p. 145) and created katarthic horoscopes pertaining to the elevation of Sigismund to the Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1506 (BJ, MS 3227, p. 13) and determining the day of his coronation for the king in 1507 (BJ, MS 3227, p. 18), as well as annual horoscopes for 1509–1512 (BJ, MS 3227, pp. 146–149). If, therefore, *Almanach* for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was indeed made by Maciej Karpiga, called Miechowita, this would be the only preserved and extensive example of his astrological practice.

It is difficult to ascertain if *Almanach* never made its way to the cardinal’s hands, as Kowalczykówna assumed, for this conjecture seems to be contradicted by the elaborate binding of the manuscript made in the workshop of a bookbinder *JL*, who worked for the cardinal.¹²⁴ Some time after being completed, *Almanach* was reviewed by a person who had access to information about the cardinal and made several annotations (not always legible, sadly) on the margins in a different hand than in the main text.¹²⁵ From referring to Rasi (Abū Barkr Muhammed ibn Zakariya al-Razi),

¹²² L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, pp. 122–123, 127.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

¹²⁴ E.g. *Judicium* 1501 by Jan Sculteti of Krakowa (BJ, MS 579, pp. 215–274); G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings...*, no. 2184; J. L. [Jelonek-Litekowska], M. Kr. [Krynicka], interpret the monogram as Joannes Lithuanus, see *Buchbinder JL*, [in:] *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*, eds. F. Stollot, G. Stangler, Schallaburg 1986, pp. 502–504.

¹²⁵ Making annotations, such as recording more important events, in the margins of printed almanacs was a common practice, see L. Birkenmajer, *Zapiski historyczne wśród starych almanachów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” XVI, 1902, p. 447 and XVII, 1903, p. 404.

a Persian physician and alchemist who died around 925 and whose work *Liber ad Almansorem*, rendered in Latin by Gerard of Cremona, was very popular in the Middle Ages, it follows the person graduated from the department of *artes* or could in fact be a physician.¹²⁶ This is suggested by annotations in *The Astrological Tables* and charts as well as by comments about the cardinal's health in the margins of *Almanach*. The latter confirm that predicted conditions actually arose: "phlegmatic indisposition" twice in June and a pain in "the teeth or in a part neighboring with the head," moreover they record an "inflammation and pain [...] in the head and leg" (pp. 34–35, 39).

One may attempt to match some of the annotations with historical facts. For instance, the phrases: "goods after the death" and "confusion in the affairs of the kingdom" (p. 33) are undoubtedly connected with the death of Jan Olbracht on June 17, 1501. A couple of comments concern meetings of the cardinal with Jan Olbracht: "they met in Piotrków" (the period between February 2 and March 2, 1501, p. 36), "during the Piotrków conference" (the period between March 2 and March 30, 1501, p. 37) when the cardinal "will contemplate matters of the kingdom," and the meeting in Łęczyca (between March 30 and May 26, 1501, p. 38). In the prognostic of June 21 (p. 41), the statement of the cardinal's involvement in public matters is annotated with: "In this month after the king's death..." that is Jan Olbracht's death. In the margin of the sentence that many "inferiors in clergy will wish to contradict" the cardinal (p. 44), there is an annotation: "...to Kraków," which refers to the period between October 13 and November 11.¹²⁷

The credibility of these annotations can be verified thanks to the itinerary of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk that was compiled by Dariusz Jach.¹²⁸ In 1501, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was in Piotrków on February 8 and March 3, and in Łęczyca on April 29 through May 1 for the Fourth Provincial Synod.¹²⁹ In February, Jan Olbracht and the cardinal sat in a session of the Sejm in Piotrków which passed new taxes and burdened clergy with a double contribution.¹³⁰ Jan Olbracht also participated in the Łęczyca Synod because of the stance the clergy took regarding the contribution.¹³¹ It was then that he confirmed the king's privileges for the bishops' and chapters' estates.¹³²

¹²⁶ G. S a l i b a, *Teorie planetarne w astronomii arabskiej po XI wieku*, [in:] *Historia nauki arabskiej*, vol. 1: *Astronomia teoretyczna i stosowana*, eds. R. R a s h e d, R. M o r e l o n, Warszawa 2000, p. 840.

¹²⁷ L. A. Birkenmajer deciphered this annotation as: ... *Μίχος Cracovita* and considered it the signature of Mikołaj Mikosz. See *Mikołaj Kopernik. Część pierwsza. Studia...*, p. 668.

¹²⁸ D. J a c h, *Zarys kariery kościelnej i wstępna próba ustalenia itinerarium królewicza kardynała Fryderyka Jagiellończyka*, ed. K. B a c z k o w s k i, Kraków 2002, pp. 72–73, (*Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Historyczne*), vol. 129.

¹²⁹ D. J a c h, op. cit., p. 72; N. N o w a k o w s k a, op. cit., pp. 49, 90.

¹³⁰ H. R y b u s, op. cit., p. 142.

¹³¹ Ibidem.

¹³² Ibidem, p. 168.

We also know about the cardinal's stay in Kraków on November 21, 1501, presumably for the coronation of his brother Aleksander, which was initially planned for November 28, but was only carried out on December 12.¹³³

Since the annotations are written in the past tense, considering the cited dates, they could be made after November 21, 1501 at the earliest and most probably after the cardinal's death on March 14, 1503. It is possible that on the cardinal's death *Almanach* returned to the hands of its author who, after reflecting on the prognostics, inscribed a sentence from Ovid (*Tristia* 5, 8, 15) on page 50: "With faltering strides does changeable fortune wander."

It is worth noting that the handwriting of the reviewer, a hardly legible and profusely abbreviated cursive, brings to mind the autographs of Miechowita, which we know from his last will (BJ, MS 5572) and an inscription to *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis* (Jagiellonian University Archives, MS 33, p. 73), so it is conceivable that the astrologer and the reviewer are one and the same person: Maciej Karpiga.¹³⁴

¹³³ D. J a c h, op. cit., p. 73; M. A. J a n i c k i, *Datowanie płyty nagrobnej Filipa Kallimacha*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" XLI, 2003, p. 31. Aleksander's coronation was probably postponed in order for it to come in the best possible time as ascertained by a katarchic coronation horoscope (BJ, MS 3227, p. 10), which bears the date of December 11, 1501, 21 hours 31 minutes, so – due to counting the start of the day from 6 p.m. – it already was December 12. There are also two preserved annual horoscopes of the coronation (MS 3227, pp. 10–11), dated 12 XII 1502 and 12 XII 1503. The horoscopes are linked with Marcin Biem or Bernard Wapowski.

¹³⁴ Other autographs of Miechowita: Last Will BJ, MS 5572, p. 9, 15 and MS 1968, ff. 13rv, 69r–135v, 138v–141r, IIIv.

Almanach pro Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, 1501. Jagiellonian Library, MS 8, pp. 1–50.

Deciphering of the Latin text: Ryszard Tatarzyński. Translation into Polish: Anna Kozłowska. Annotations: Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot.

Editorial format: Latin texts and original markings are done in italics, graphic symbols of the planets, signs of the zodiac and the Nodes of the Moon are given in words. Explanations are enclosed in square brackets.

Twenty five leaves that constitute the manuscript bear two different filigrees.¹ The covers were strengthened with wastepaper. Binding in maroon leather tooling with a strickle ornament and five types of blind and gilded impressions, restored in Robert Jahody workshop in 1923. The covers with centerpieces and double border: outer border decorated repeatedly with an impressed ornament in form of wreath, coats of arms with a crownless eagle in four corners; inner border decorated with a palmette motif. Centerpiece filled with a stripe consisting of repeated three rows of diamonds with fleur-de-lis. At the top of the front cover, the words: *Almanach pro Rev[erendissimo] Do[mi]no] Cardinali*; in the four corners of the centerpiece, letter *A* (Almanac); centrally at the top, letters *AI*; at the bottom, *JL* (Joannes Lithuanus, bookbinder who worked for cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk). At the top of the centerpiece on the back cover, letters:

I b
G o a d

The letter on the front and back cover separated with a decorative motif.²

¹ The filigrees: a ring dissected with a rod with a star atop (pp. 1, 5, 7, 15, 17, 19, 25; F. P i e - k o s i ń s k i, *Średniowieczne znaki wodne, wiek XIV*, Kraków 1893, no. 743), five-pointed open crown, three of the points culminating in trefoils (pp. 33, 39, 43, 47; C. M. B r i q u e t, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, II, Genève 1907, no. 4790, Eichstädt, Brandenburg 1493).

² M. K o w a l c z y k ó w n a, *Makulatura z okładek rękopisu BJ Nr 8*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XVII, 1966, p. 10. The following wastepaper was recovered in the course of conservation: manuscript *Antigamrata Frovinusa* with a commentary (4 leaves), musical manuscript *Pieśń nad pieśniami*, 1st half of the 15th cent. (2 leaves), file 8a. Incunable fragments: *Brewiarz krakowski*, published by Jan Haller, printed by Jerzy Stuchs, Nuremberg (?) 1498 (28 leaves, St. Dr. 3358), tableaux from Jan Herolt, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis cum promptuario exemplorum*, Lyon, printed with Maciej Huss in 1489 or 1490, Vergil, *Aeneid* with a commentary of Servius Grammaticus (2 leaves) annotated in the margins by a student of Kraków Academy ca. 1487 (file 8a). Scriblé print *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, Koln 1470–1480 (BJ, Gab. ryc. I. 21329 Cim. 12); B. M a l i k ó w n a, *Nieznana ry-cina śrutowa z wieku XV w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XIX, 1969, pp. 25–33). A. L e w i c k a - K a m i ń s k a, BJ, MS Przyb. 69/80; K. L. [J e l o n e k - L i t e -

Page 1, title page, consists of a leaf that was subsequently glued to the paper. It is decorated with coats of arms made in gouache, cut short at the bottom and right, and tattered on the left (cf. color plates, fig. 1).

In the middle of the page, a coat of arms crowned with a red cardinal's hat over an archbishop's cross painted in gold. On the shield, a silver crownless eagle in red background, tongue and claws painted in gold (the coat of arms of cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk). Two further coats of arms to the sides. The shield on the right (heraldically): a red bend in silver background, which is the Kotwicz coat of arms (of Mikołaj Krzycki, Canon of Kraków, treasurer of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk); an annotation in the margin [*K*]o³thv³ycz.³ The shield on the left (heraldically): a silver letter W in red field, which is the Abdank coat of arms (of Jan Konarski, a subsequent bishop of Kraków). The background of shields and the bend filled with arabesque motifs. The vertical rod of the archbishop's cross elongated below the shield and connected with the third, unresolved coat of arms in the shape of a silver lily in blue (azure) field decorated with a diagonal checker pattern, given centrally at the bottom. Above this coat of arms, letters *M.N.C b.c* and below the coat of arms, letter *A*, cut at the bottom. The letters – inscribed in green and red alternately, separated with the vertical cross rod – refer to Mikołaj Krzycki of the Kotwicz coat of arms, the Canon of Kraków, treasurer of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, and sponsor of *Almanach* (*Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach*).

The manuscript contains: *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (pp. 4–27),⁴ explanation of marks pertaining to the time of bloodlettings, baths, and administering medicines, as well as tables showing the principles of *melothesia*, that is attribution of the signs of the zodiac to specific body parts (p. 28). Next there come cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's horoscopes: his natal chart with the date of 28 [of April] 1468 (p. 29, color plates, fig. 2) and an annual chart with the date of 28 [of April] 1501 (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3) plus twelve monthly prognostics (pp. 35–46).

Since *Almanach* concerns the year 1501 and Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was born on April 28, this is the starting date for his personal year, therefore the prognostic with the date of January 5 was defined as the tenth (p. 35) of the previous year, and successive ones dated February 2, March 2, and March 30 were defined eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth (pp. 36, 37, 38). The prognostic with the date of May 26

wkowa] M. Kr. [Krynicka], *Buchbider JL*, [in:] *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*, eds. F. Stollot, G. Stangler, Schallaburg 1986, pp. 502–504.

³ The letter “K” written in pencil on the paper the title page was glued to.

⁴ *The Astrological Tables* are made after the Alfonsine Tables, but adjusted to the longitude of Krakow; the canons for these tables were created in mid-15th century by Andrzej Grzymała and Piotr Gaszowiec (M. Markowski, *Ist Gerhard Hoefmans von Hamont der Verfasser der astronomischen Tafel für Prag*, “Acta Mediaevalia” 13, 2000, pp. 267–269).

[1501] bears the number two (p. 39) because the first monthly prognostic is the same as the annual chart (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3). The dates of subsequent monthly prognostics are every 28 days on average. This division is also mirrored in the signs of the zodiac put at the top of the following prognostics' pages. Since April 28 corresponds to Taurus, the prognostics with earlier dates (Jan 5, Feb 2, March 2, March 30) are marked with Aries and the signs of the respective months (Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries). The prognostics that concern the time after April 28 (May 26, June 24, Jul 21, Aug 18, Sep 15, Oct 13, Nov 11) are marked with Taurus and the signs of the respective months (Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius). The natal and annual charts are nocturnal, while monthly prognostics have daytime hours.⁵

Page 47 is empty; a transcription of astrological tables for an unspecified year was started on page 48 but left unfinished, and the page 49 has rubrics for such tables. The whole manuscript closes with an excerpt from Ovid's *Tristia* 5, 8, 15 (p. 50).

The charts are of the type e,⁶ but are inscribed in a circle.⁷ The annual chart (p. 31) is circular in shape and formed after the method of division in six great circles. It reflects a standard method of delineating a chart, attributed to an Arab astrologer of the 10th century Alhabitus (Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi) in the Middle Ages.⁸

Almanach was authored by an astrologer, probably Maciej Karpiga, called Miechowita, who hired a scribe. Moreover the almanac was later perused by a person that might be called a reviewer, and this person was in all probability the author himself, that is Maciej Karpiga.

The scribe copied astrological tables for 1501 and took meticulous care to render the charts supplied by the astrologer in colored inks: green, red, gold, and silver, while the text of the prognostics was written in black. Titles in the charts' central squares are done in minuscule in red while letters that mean day, hour, and minute are in green. In accordance with the tradition, degrees of the signs of the zodiac in individual houses are given in black on the top line of the diagram, while the planets, signs of the zodiac, the Nodes of the Moon, and the Part of Fortune are inscribed in red and green inside respective houses. In the annual chart (cf. color plates, fig. 3), the scribe introduced gold in the title and in planets' symbols (the Sun, Jupiter, Mars). For the Moon, silver was utilized. The scribe made errors at places and mixed up graphic markings of the signs of the zodiac (p. 29, color plates, fig 2). When he put a wrong mark in the chart, rather than crossing it off, he would write the proper one above or beside it (pp. 35, 36). Moreover, he simplified notation

⁵ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, p. 386: diurnal and nocturnal horoscopes.

⁶ J. D. North, *Horoscopes and History*, London 1986, pp. 4–5, fig. 3.

⁷ So-called squaring the circle. A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 285.

⁸ J. D. North, op. cit., p. 4, fig. 3, p. 46, maintains this method was far more ancient.

by putting only degrees next to the planets without specifying the sign of the zodiac, which was to be deduced from the sign ascribed to the given house (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3).

The reviewer, possibly identical with the author of *Almanach Maciej Karpiga*, made (only partially legible) remarks in the margins and in the charts (pp. 35–43) with the use of black and red, he added the word *[K]othvȳcz* under the coat of arms on the title page (fig. 1), and made corrections to *The Astrological Tables*. Moreover, he started to transcribe astrological tables, presumably for the year 1502, on page 48, prepared rubrics on the following page, and inscribed an excerpt from Ovid on page 50.

[page] 28

Minucionis tempus balnei et farmacie hoc pacto breviter invenire. In latere numeri si punctum unum ostenderis, convenientem eo die minucionem, balneum aut farmaciam esse scias, si vero duo puncta – meliorem, si tria – electam contendes. Hoc tamen in minucione considerandum erit, ne fiat ex ea parte corporis, quam partem respicit signum hoc, in quo Luna percurrit, etas similiter hominis ex tali Lune conformanda erit. Quod autem membrum aliquod signum respiciat tabella inferior ostendit.

This is the method to quickly ascertain the time of bloodletting, bath, and medication. If there is a single dot next to the number, be sure to know it is a convenient time for bloodletting, bath, and medication. If there are double dots there, the day is better; if triple, it is most surely excellent. When letting blood, care should be taken not to do so in this part of the body that corresponds to the sign which the Moon is currently crossing; furthermore the man's age has to be in agreement with the Moon in this respect. The table below shows which part of the body belongs to which sign.

<i>Caput</i> [Head] <i>in</i>	Aries	<i>Renes</i> [Kidneys] <i>in</i>	Libra
<i>Cervix</i> [Neck] <i>in</i>	Taurus	<i>Genitalia</i> [Genitals] <i>in</i>	Scorpio
<i>Humeri</i> [Shoulders] <i>in</i>	Gemini	<i>Femora</i> [Hips] <i>in</i>	Sagittarius
<i>Cor</i> [Heart] <i>in</i>	Cancer	<i>Genicula</i> [Knees] <i>in</i>	Capricorn
<i>Pectus: Sco[rpio]</i> ⁹ [Chest: <i>Scorpio</i>] <i>in</i>	Leo	<i>Tibie</i> [Calves] <i>in</i>	Aquarius
<i>Venter</i> [Belly] <i>in</i>	Virgo	<i>Pedes</i> [Feet] <i>in</i>	Pisces

⁹ The scribe made a mistake and wished to correct it by writing the sign of the zodiac, however he made another mistake here since according to *melothesia* chest is attributed to Cancer instead of Scorpio.

I wished to forgo, My Illustrious Prince and Most Revered Lord, the duty of this writing. Since my fragile mind is aware it cannot conceive of itself of any such thing which may be deemed worthy of Your Most Illustrious Eminence. And there is more to it, Most Revered Lordship. It is that Julius Firmicus, the utmost expert in the art of the stars in our age, forbids scrutinizing the fates of the great princes as he says, in a chapter *What Kind of Life a Mathematician Should Live*, these fates are guided by the judgement of the Highest God,¹³ and he claims it is the only kind of people that are not subject to the course of the stars and that the stars have no power to influence their fates. Besides, this matter is explained in sundry and most elaborate ways by Esculapius¹⁴ and Petosiris,¹⁵ who were bestowed with the secrets of this knowledge by Mercury, a singularly powerful deity.

[page] 30

Quod utique non alio respectu aut animi proposito eos voluisse ex eorum monimentis colligimus, nisi ut posteritatem ab hiis depromendis retraherent, nec incongrue advertabant etenim esse in ea re difficultatem summam, quam omnes geneatici [in marg.: genethliaci] semper tamquam Scillam et horrendum scopulum declinabant, licet id non ignorarent, quod hec tota mundi inferioris substancia necessitate cuiusdam legis gubernetur divinibus illis semperque incorruptibilibus superiorum corporibus, quorum nos spiritum semper haurire licet, ut Plotino atque Porphirio placet. Non auderem itaque Reverendissime domine transgredi instituta maiorum meorum. Quia tamen id in me est, quod non aliud die noctuque agito, ne id negligam, quod studio meo pro Reverendissima] d[ominacione] vestra effici possit, quo fit ut eas lucubraciunculas, que vires meas aliquantisper excedere videntur, vestre illustrissime dominacioni presentare decrevi, quas benigne recipi oro. Michi vero, quem assidui itineris diversitas sollicitat, si quid indigestum Reverendisima dominacio vestra musa etenim nondum stabili, dicta offenderit, veniam dabit.

From their writings we have gathered at least that much they wished this for no other reason or intention than in order to dissuade the posterity from extricating these [pieces of information] and they unanimously stated that there was a great difficulty in this matter which all horoscope-casting astrologers have always striven to avoid as though it were an awe-inspiring Scylla, although they were not ignorant of the fact that all the substance of the inferior world was governed with the necessary law of destiny by those divine, eternal, and incorruptible celestial bodies whose spirit we are always at liberty to breathe, as Plotinus¹⁶ and Porphyry¹⁷ teach us. Therefore, My Most Revered

¹³ Julius Firmicus Maternus, author of *Matheseos libri VIII*, ca. AD 335.

¹⁴ Aesculapius, the god of medical arts, constellation Ophiuchus, erroneously equaled with Hermes Trismegistos and the teachings gathered in *Corpus Hermeticum* probably.

¹⁵ A priest of Pharaoh Nechepsos, Egyptian astrologer of the 2nd century BC. (J. D. North, op. cit., p. 90).

¹⁶ Plotinus, a Neoplatonic philosopher (ca. 204–269).

¹⁷ Porphyry, a Neoplatonic philosopher and astrologer (ca. 232–305).

Lord, I would never have the audacity to transgress the admonitions of my predecessors. Since, however, I have it in me day and night to consider no thing other than never to neglect anything I might contribute for My Most Reverend Eminence from my studies, I decided to present these modest reflections to you, Most Illustrious Eminence, notwithstanding they seem to exceed my capacities, and request they be generously accepted. And may it be forgiven me, troubled as I am with difficulties of going this road, should an unbecoming thing come to be an offence to Your Most Reverend Eminence for I am subject to an ever changing influence of the Muse.

[page 31]

Anno do[mini] 1501 currente
Year of the Lord 1501, current
Revolucio geniture d[omi]ni re[vere]ndissimi cardinalis
Annual horoscope¹⁸ of the Most Reverend Cardinal

d[ay] h[our] m[inute] z[second]
28.¹⁹ 23 52 52

- I. 26 [degrees of] Leo
- II. 16 [degrees of] Virgo. Moon, waning, 20 [degrees of] Virgo²⁰
- III. 9 [degrees of] Libra
- IV. 15 [degrees of] Scorpio
- V. 27 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- VI. 2 [degrees of] Aquarius
- VII. 26 [degrees of] Aquarius. Mars 15 [degrees of] Pisces²¹ [in the margin]
Occid[ua]lis [Descending]²²
- VIII. 16 [degrees of] Pisces
- IX. 9 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 20 [degree of Aries]²³
Venus 20 [degrees of Aries]²⁴

¹⁸ Phot. 3. S ł o w a k o w i c z, *Prognostyk albo przestroga z obrotów niebieskich względem przypadków wszelakich, któremi niebo zagraża nam na 1644 przestępny*, Kraków, p. 5, uses Polish „rewolucja roczna” (annual revolution); i d e m, *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na rok 1669*, print. Balcer Smieszkowic, Kraków, p. 2 uses the word „rewolucja” (revolution).

¹⁹ April.

²⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, pp. 10: 4, 42 of Virgo.

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 10: 14, 45 of Pisces.

²² This point signifies parting with life, that is death. The area between the 12th and 7th house (clockwise) symbolizes death. See A. B o u c h é - L e c l e r q, op. cit., pp. 413, 426, 448.

²³ The sign of the zodiac was not specified. *The Astrological Tables*, pp. 10: 20, 40 of Aries.

²⁴ The sign of the zodiac was not specified. *Ibidem*, pp. 10: 13, 6 of Aries.

- X. 5 [degrees of] Taurus. Mercury 1 [degree of] Gemini²⁵
 Saturn 1 [degree of] Gemini²⁶
 Sun, the North node 17 [degrees of Taurus]²⁷
- XI. 27 [degrees of] Gemini
- XII. 2 [degrees of] Leo. *Oriens Rectum* [True East]

Saturn *divisor* [master of time]²⁹

*Alkorodon*²⁸ [*Alcochoden*]
Venus cum Iove domina anni
 [Venus with Jupiter
 the mistress of the year]³⁰

Profectio [primary progression]³¹

directio [direction]³²

<i>Ab asce[ndente]</i>	27,22	<i>Taur[um]</i> ³³	<i>Ab asce[ndente]</i>	21	<i>Virginis</i>
<i>A Sole</i>	17,7 ³⁴	<i>Aqua[rium]</i>	<i>A Sole</i>	17	<i>Gemin[orum]</i>
<i>A parte for[tune]</i>	16,30	<i>Leonem</i>	<i>A part[e] for[tune]</i>	13	<i>Sagitt[arii]</i>
<i>A Luna</i>	16,12	<i>Taurum</i>	<i>A Luna</i>	4	<i>Libre</i>

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 10: 1, 21 of Gemini.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 10: 1, 15 of Gemini.

²⁷ The sign of the zodiac was not specified. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 10: the Sun at 18, 11 of Taurus, the North node in 19, 30 of Taurus.

²⁸ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. Or *Cochoden*, *Apheta*, *Dator Vitae*, *Dominus vitae*, *Dominator*, *Gubernator vitae*, *Hyleg*, *Propagator* (A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 407, f.n. 2, p. 411, f.n. 1), *Almuten*, the giver of life, the most influential planet in the horoscope, which determines an estimated number of years of life. Since Venus and Jupiter are inscribed below, one should assume these planets are the most influential in monthly prognostics for 1501. See L. Fleming-Mitchell, *The Language of Astrology*, London 1977, p. 9; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Wieszczba astrologiczna przy narodzeniu Jakuba Sobieskiego Królewicza*, Kraków 2017, p. 111.

²⁹ *Chronocrator* (Greek), Saturn rules for 30 months: *Matheseos* [...] 2, 27, 1. In Old Polish the name is "Pan doroczny" (annual Master), "doroczny Gubernator" (annual Governor), "Gubernator rewolucji rocznej" (Governor of the annual revolution) (S. Słowakowicz, *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na 1644 [...]*, p. 5; *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na rok 1669*, pp. 2–3).

³⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 11, Jupiter-Venus conjunction marked.

³¹ It shows positions of the planets for the time after the birth of a given person, counting one day as one year (L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 72). In 1501, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was 33 years of age and he was born on April 28, 1468 (the natal chart, p. 29), therefore the table shows the arrangement of the planets for May 31, 1468 (April 28 + 33 days = May 31).

³² It determines the West-East direction (A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 418, f.n. 2). The method of moving the position of the planets in the natal chart by the number of degrees that equals the number of years of age of the client, while accounting for the fact each sign has 30 degrees.

³³ In cod. *Taurus*.

³⁴ Corrected by the scribe in gold.

<i>A Saturno</i>	23,50 ³⁵	<i>Capric[cornum]</i>	<i>A Saturno</i>	25	<i>Scorp[ionis]</i>
<i>A Iove</i>	0,3	<i>Arietem</i>	<i>A Iove</i>	29	<i>Cancri[i]</i>
<i>A Marte</i>	0,4	<i>Arietem</i>	<i>A Marte</i>	29	<i>Cancri</i>
<i>A Venere</i>	12,46	<i>Pisces</i>	<i>A Venere</i>	13	<i>Cancri</i>
<i>A Mercur[io]</i>	0,8	<i>Pisces</i>	<i>A Mercur[io]</i>	5	<i>Cancri [i]</i>

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Ne quicquam ad sortem vel opinionem [adscr. supra: in; del.: hiis] sequentibus me quis scripsisse arbitretur et rationes horum, que scribentur annotare libuit. Itaque Oroscopo revolucionis huius et geniture vestre Illustrissime dominacionis unum et idem signum est, cuius gubernator Sol cum signo, ad quod venit profectio, in decima constitutus. [in marg.: Rasis 63 verbo] Annus quoque ad locum Solis applicat. Hec et alia laudent famam et autoritatis amplitudinem denotant. Hali Habenragel, capitulo nono, parte quinta. Planeta, cum venerit, adsummet locum, renovat significata illius domus. Unde quadam singulari consumataque eminencia dignitateque vestram Illustrissimam dominacionem astra hoc anno sequenti relucere debere testantur et quod ratione I[llustrissime] d[ominacionis] vestre bonum (cui preest) terre advenire deberet. Venus, domina anni, Iovi associata in domo nona, melioracionem in bonis ecclesiasticis per v[estram] I[llustrissimam] d[ominacionem] fieri debere significat. [in marg. ...] Cuius prelati et subditi v[estres] I[llustrissime] d[ominacionis] nonnumquam rebellare aut quocumque modo contradicere videbuntur. Quod in Augusto et in Octobre signanter suspicetur eadem Venus cum Iove trina radiacione domum vite intuentur. Per id sanitatem custodient et bonam dispositionem largientur. Itinera similiter non pauca, leta et proficua peraget R[everendissima] d[ominacio] vestra. Venus omnino ad naturam suam mores I[llustrissime] d[ominacionis] vestre declinabit et quia ad Saturni locum radice devenit ea ratione turbaciuncule alique adesse potuerit in equis et hiis, que signantur (?significantur) per sextam, damnum percipiet. Fures similiter et homines senes damna aliqua afferre poterint.

I took the liberty to enunciate the reasons inducing me to it so as nobody should think that any part of what follows was written as chance would have it or was opinionated. Now, then, the horoscopes of the current anniversary and of the birth itself of Your Most Reverend Eminence have the same sign³⁶ that is governed by the Sun in the house X

³⁵ Corrected by the scribe in gold.

³⁶ The natal horoscope of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house I *Vita*, 27, 22 of Leo; the annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house I *Vita*, 26 of Leo.

whose sign³⁷ is being entered by the primary progression.³⁸ [in the margin: Rasi³⁹ in 63rd word]. The year also approaches the position of the Sun.⁴⁰ These and other circumstances favor fame and authority according to what Hali Habenragel⁴¹ says in chapter nine, part five. When the planet [Sun] comes there, it will take the place in possession and renew the proper sense of this house.⁴² For this reason the stars testify that in the subsequent year, Your Most Illustrious Eminence should come to shine with a particular and perfect splendor and that the land under your governance should be blessed with benefits on the part of Your Most Illustrious Eminence.⁴³ Venus, the mistress of the year,⁴⁴ associated with Jupiter in the house IX⁴⁵ should signify a betterment with respect to ecclesiastical goods for the cause of Your Most Reverend Eminence.⁴⁶ [an illegible annotation in the margin] The Church whose prelates and subjects of Your Most Illustrious Eminence will be at times rebellious and may be contradictory in a certain mode. It is highly probable that the same Venus together with Jupiter will influence the house of life⁴⁷ through a triple radiation⁴⁸ in August and October. Thanks to this they will protect the health and lend a comfortable disposition. Likewise Your Most Illus-

³⁷ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the Sun in the house X *Honores*, at 17 degrees of Taurus. The natal horoscope of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the Sun in the house X *Honores*, at 17 degrees of Taurus.

³⁸ Table, p. 31, the Ascendant at 27, 22 of Taurus.

³⁹ Abū Barkr Muhammed ibn Zakariya al-Razi, Persian physician, died ca. 925 roku (G. S a l i b a, *Teorie planetarne w astronomii arabskiej po XI wieku*, in *Historia nauki arabskiej*, vol. 1: *Astronomia teoretyczna i stosowana*, eds. R. R a s h e d, R. M o r e l o n, Warsaw 2000, p. 840).

⁴⁰ Table, p. 31: Primary progression for the year 27, 33 of Taurus.

⁴¹ Abū l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi l-Rijâ or Haly Abenragel, an Arab astrologer who died after 1037, author of *Liber in iudiciis astrorum*.

⁴² The house X *Honores* denotes: “kingdoms, fame, elevation, mastery, military matters, valor, aggrandizement, reign, praise, public esteem, magnificence” (E. Ś n i e ż y Ń s k a - S t o l o t, *Generale iudicium Władysława II zwanego Warneńczykiem*, “Biuletyn Biblioteka Jagiellońskiej” XLI, 2011, the Latin text deciphered by R. T a t a r z y Ń s k i and translated into Polish by A. K o z ł o w s k a, p. 38; later referred to as *Generale iudicium*).

⁴³ The Part of Fortune added in *The Astrological Tables*, p. 11 in the reviewer’s hand.

⁴⁴ Venus with Jupiter is the mistress of the year 1501 (p. 31).

⁴⁵ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: in the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries, Venus at 20 degrees of Aries.

⁴⁶ The house IX *Peregrinationes* denotes: “law, God’s wisdom, astronomy, manual trade, legations, long travels, service to the Church” (*Generale iusicium*, p. 37).

⁴⁷ “House of life” *Matheseos* [...] 2, XIV, 3. The house I *Vita* concerns “bodies, life, baths, medicines necessary for life, secret matters, [personal] bonds, exercise, work, health, new attire, and all that is permanent in life” (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35).

⁴⁸ Trine, or a distance of 120 degrees between two planets; the monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: a trine of Jupiter and Venus. S. Ś ł o w a k o w i c z (*Prognostyk albo przestroga* [...] 1669, p. 7) uses the Polish term “promień życzliwy” (benevolent ray).

trious Grace will do quasi numerous peregrinations, felicitous⁴⁹ and advantageous. Venus will fully bend the habits of Your Most Illustrious Eminence to its nature and on the cause of its reaching the position of Saturn in the horoscope,⁵⁰ there may befall certain perturbations concerning horses and losses in matters pertaining to the house VI.⁵¹ Likewise thieves and aged people may be the cause of some damage.⁵²

[page 33]

Luna in secunda domo ex amicis acquisitis lucra et substancia augmentum[!] promitteret. Sed quoniam Martis opposito infortunatur radio, distractio eiusdem vel necessitate aliqua repentina cogente, distribolio [in marg.: bucio] eiusdem subsequetur. Ea ipsa Lune irradiacio ex Octava forte in diebus Iunii perturbationem animi aliquam efficiet ex parte itineris longi aut legacionis, vel eorum, que significantur per nonam domum. Iupiter in nona felicitatem in bonis ec[c]lesiasticis promittit et consecucionem eorundem. Et quoniam venit ad locum Saturni eruntque domus Iovis secunda et decima, postea posito quasi ascendente Capricorno 3^a et 12^a domus, Iovis signa erunt, secundum supputationem Hali Habenragel. Erit itaque fortuna in adquisicione substancie, honoris. Ex brevibus similiter itineribus, et ex parte inimicorum aliq[ue] fortune advenient. Mars in bonis, que post mortem amicorum venire deberent, damnum et decepcionem minatur. [in marg.: in bonis post mortem] Ab aquis cavendum erit vestre i[llustrissime] dominacioni ea etenim Martis per diametram radiacio ex piscibus est. Saturnus cum Mercurio in decima ingenii profunditatem dabit et intellectus acuitatem denotat. Ex parte hominis magne condicionis, item racione regni et dominii perplexitas et turbacio aderit. [in marg.: racione regni perplexitas] Et quia Venus domina anni istius gubernat domum decimam, diminuet ad malum et immutabit in finem bonum, quoniam hii, qui aliquid contrarii agere.

Due to the Moon in the house II, advantages and a growth of wealth through the cause of acquired friends may be expected.⁵³ Since it sustains, however, an unfavorable in-

⁴⁹ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 33: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries, Venus at 20 degrees of Aries.

⁵⁰ *Radix* = horoscope (L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 75). The natal horoscope for April 28, 1468, p. 29: in the house VI *Valetudo* – Aquarius, where Saturn has its domicile. The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: in the house VI – Taurus, where Venus has its diurnal domicile.

⁵¹ The house VI *Valetudo* concerns “horses, beasts of draught, diseases, loss of slaves, old women, rejection, injustice” (*Generale iudicium*, p. 36). Venus is associated with the diseases that come from the loins and genitals, which is a reference to the French disease the cardinal supposedly suffered from.

⁵² The house VI *Valetudo*.

⁵³ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: in the house II *Lucrum*, the Moon, growing, at 20 degrees of Virgo. The house II *Lucrum* concerns: “sale, purchase, profit, wealth, rents, food, estates, servants, reigning, receiving” (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35).

fluence of the opposing Mars,⁵⁴ this wealth will endure disruption or division due to a sudden circumstance. This same opposition of the Moon⁵⁵ from the house VIII in June⁵⁶ can create a certain inner unrest related to a longer voyage or legation or other matters specific to the house IX.⁵⁷ Jupiter in the house IX signifies successes with ecclesiastical goods and acquiring thereof.⁵⁸ And since [Jupiter?] has reached the position of Saturn⁵⁹ and will be placed in the house II⁶⁰ and the house X,⁶¹ while afterwards Capricorn will come nearly at the Ascendant,⁶² it is then that the houses III and XII⁶³ will be Jupiter's according to the calculations of Hali Habenragel. Therefore, good fortune will follow in regard to acquiring wealth and honors. A fortune of sorts will also result from short journeys and from the part of enemies.⁶⁴ Mars threatens with a loss and deception with respect of goods after the death of friends.⁶⁵ [in the margin: in goods after death] Your Most Illustrious Eminence should beware

⁵⁴ Opposition, or a distance of 180 degrees between planets. Opposition of the Moon and Mars, monthly prognostics: May 26, 1501, p. 39 and June 24, 1501, p. 40. S ł o w a k o w i c z (*Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] 1644*, p. 7) uses the Latin term *radio opposito* (opposing ray). Both remarks about the Moon-Mars opposition were inscribed by the reviewer.

⁵⁵ Opposition (distance of 180 degrees) of the Moon and Mars, monthly prognostics: May 26, 1501, p. 39 and June 24, 1501, p. 40.

⁵⁶ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house VIII *mors* denotes: "fear, death, inheritance, killing, poison, [things] causing death" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 37).

⁵⁷ The house IX *Peregrinationes*.

⁵⁸ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries.

⁵⁹ The natal horoscope for April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house VIII *Mors*, Saturn at 1 degree of Aries. The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries.

⁶⁰ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house II *Lucrum*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries.

⁶¹ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Jupiter at 13 degrees of Aries.

⁶² The monthly prognostics 1501: February 2 (p. 36) and July 21 (p. 41): the house I *Vita*, 11 degrees of Capricorn; 22 degrees of Capricorn.

⁶³ The monthly prognostics 1501: July 21 (p. 41) and December 8 (p. 46): the house III *Fratres*, Jupiter at 4 degrees of Taurus and 26 degrees of Aries. The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501 (p. 37): the house XII *Inimici*, Jupiter at 7 degrees of Aries.

⁶⁴ The house III *Fratres* concerns: "brothers, sisters, blood-relatives, in-laws, short voyages, justice, gentleness, patience, ingeniousness, legation, dispute" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35). The house XII *Inimici* denotes: "banditries, intrigue, hatred, exertions, enmity, misery of pain, violence of prisons" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 38).

⁶⁵ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: in the house VII, Mars at 14 degrees of Pisces. The house denotes: "married couple, nuptials, adversities, [court] proceedings, arguments, wars [...] overt enmities, purchase of arms" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 37).

of water because of diametrical radiation⁶⁶ of Mars in the sign of Pisces.⁶⁷ Saturn with Mercury in the house X⁶⁸ will lend profound ability and signify acute intellect. Besides, there will come a complication and confusion in the affairs of the kingdom and reign from a man of high standing. [in the margin: confusion in the affairs of the kingdom] And since Venus, the mistress of this year,⁶⁹ rules the house X,⁷⁰ it will mitigate the ills and make for the things to come to a fortuitous end for those who would counteract

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voluerint, humiliabunt se tandem vestre illustrissime dominacioni et postea associabit se hominibus letis et solaciosis, in odoriferis et delectabilibus rebus oblectabitur vestra i[llustrissima] dominacio. Quantum vero ad corporis valitudinem hec pauca recensere libuit. Divisio gradus asscendentis venit ad terminum Saturni et idem intuetur quarto radio signum divisionis in revolucione. Infirmetas non tamen periculosa ex causa frigida et habundancia flegmatis humoribusque crudis imminebit in Iunio et in fine Octobris; ab illa cavendum erit. [in marg.: in Iunio bis dominus disgraciam pretensit flegmatis]⁷¹ Hec scripsi non terrendi gracia vestra[m] illustrissimam dominacionem, sed ut hiis monita caucior fiat.⁷² Multum etenim malum Ptolomeus clarissimus in quinta proposicione prohiberi posse contendit, cum illud previsum fuerit. Hec singula particularius in mensium elucidacione annotabuntur. [in marg. ...]

will subdue to Your Most Illustrious Eminence, and Your Most Illustrious Eminence will come to associate afterwards with gleeful and consoling people and will find delight in things fragrant and pleasurable.⁷³ And henceforth I would like to write a few

⁶⁶ Opposition, or a distance of 180 degrees between two planets. The opposition of Mars and the Moon in monthly prognostics of May 26, 1501, p. 39; June 24, 1501, p. 40; November 11, 1501, p. 45.

⁶⁷ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Mars at 14 degrees of Pisces. Pisces is a sign of the element water (*The Beginning of Wisdom. An Astrological Treatise by Abraham ibn Ezra*, eds. R. Levy, F. Cantera, Paris 1939, p. 185).

⁶⁸ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the tenth house *Honores*, Saturn and Mercury at 1 degree of Gemini.

⁶⁹ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31.

⁷⁰ The natal horoscope for April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house X *Honores*, Venus at 12 degrees of Gemini. The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Venus at 15 degrees of Pisces.

⁷¹ H. Rybus, *Królewicz kardynał Fryderyk Jagiellończyk jako biskup krakowski i arcybiskup gnieźnieński*, "Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica" II, 1937, p. 195, f.n. 6 decipherers: *in Iunio bis dominus disgraciam procurit*.

⁷² Ibidem, p. 195, f.n. 6 decipherers the ending of the sentence: ... *monita caucior sit*.

⁷³ Thanks to Venus that corresponds to love, pleasure, and perfume in a horoscope. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 199.

words in regard to the state of bodily health. The division of the Ascendant degree approaches the term of Saturn⁷⁴ and will be looking with the fourth ray⁷⁵ on the master of time in the annual horoscope.⁷⁶ A not very serious infirmity from a cold cause and an abundance of phlegm⁷⁷ as well as raw humors will threaten in June⁷⁸ and at the end of October⁷⁹ and this should be taken heed of. [in the margin: in June, His Lordship experienced phlegmatic indisposition twice] I have not written this to scare Your Most Reverend Eminence, but so as to be the more cautious on account of this forewarning. The eminent Ptolemy asserts in the fifth sentence that many a mishap may be prevented when it is foreseen. All this will be elaborated in more detail in monthly explanations. [in the margin: ...]

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Aries

Capricorn

Inicium decimi anni precedentis

Januarii

The beginning [of the] tenth [prognostic]:⁸⁰ for January the previous year

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
5	14	42

⁷⁴ *Terminus* or *finis* (Gr. *horion*), duration of influence: *Matheseos...* 2, VI, 11–12: degrees of a sign of the zodiac outside the planet’s own house where the influence of the planet is strongest. Saturn rules from 23 to 26 degrees of Capricorn. The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41, the house I 11 degrees of Capricorn.

⁷⁵ Square, or a distance of 90 degrees between planets. The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: Saturn is square to the Moon. S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... 1644*, p. 4) uses the Polish term “kwadratowy” (rectangle).

⁷⁶ *Signum divisionis* is denoted by Saturn (*divisor*), or the master of time, according to the annual horoscope (p. 31).

⁷⁷ Saturn is a cold and wet planet and according to Ptolemy, it is ascribed to phlegm out of the four humors in the human body. See H. M. Carey, *Medieval Latin Astrology and the Cycles of Life: William English and English Medicine In Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.5.26*, in *Astro-medicine, Astrology and Medicine, East and West*, eds. A. Akasoy, Ch. Burnett, R. Yoeli-Tlalim, Firenze 2008, p. 46; *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 203, Abraham ibn Ezra associates phlegm with the Moon. The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the Moon in opposition to Mars, which is an arid and hot planet. S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na 1644 [...]*, p. 9) uses the Latin term *calida morbi*.

⁷⁸ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40; the house I 27 degrees of Scorpio, which is one of three water element signs.

⁷⁹ The monthly prognostic of October 13, 1501, p. 44; the house VI *Valetudo* 7 degrees of Aquarius, being the sign where Saturn has its nocturnal domicile.

⁸⁰ The word “prognostyk” [prognostic] was used in the Old Polish (S. Słowa kowicz, *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] 1644; Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] 1669*) or alternatively “osądzenie” (judgment), “przejrzenie” (review), “rozsąd” (consideration), and “przestroga” (forewarning).

Sun square [corrected] in transit with Jupiter⁸¹

- I. 18 [degrees of] Scorpio. Venus 8 [degrees of] Sagittarius⁸²
- II. 14 [degrees of] Sagittarius. Mars 19 [degrees of] Sagittarius⁸³
- III. 22 [degrees of] Capricorn, Sun 25 [degrees of] Capricorn⁸⁴
Mercury 8 [degrees of] Aquarius⁸⁵
- IV. 6 [degrees of] Pisces. Jupiter 25 [degrees of] Pisces⁸⁶
- V. 6 [degrees of] Aries
- VI. 28 [degrees of] Aries
- VII. 18 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 25 [degrees of] Taurus⁸⁷
Saturn 1 [degree of] Gemini⁸⁸
- VIII. 15 [degrees of] Gemini
- IX. 22 [degrees of] Cancer. Moon, growing, 12 [degrees of] Leo
- X. 6 [degrees of] Virgo
- XI. 6 [degrees of] Virgo⁸⁹ Libra
- XII. 28 [degrees of] Libra

Mensis iste in omnibus fere bonus arguitur. Venus in ascendente letum et honestum finem omnium inceptorum pretendit, sanitatemque custodiet, quam Solis adversa radiacio in signum profectionis annue perturbare aliquantisper poterit, in dentibusque vel in parte aliqua vicina capiti dolor advenire poterit. [in marg: fuit] Mars in secunda distractionem seu distributionem substancie, Mercurius cum Sole in tercia in consiliis dandis acuitatem intellectus tribuent. Forte tunc reverendissima dominacio vestra aliqua itinera brevia faciet pro dandis et audiendis eisdem. Iupiter in quarta felicitatem omnium bonorum conferre creditur ex eisdemque utilitates aliquas faciet. Saturnus in domo septima propter nonnullos felices successus invidiam aliquorum hominum forte senum presignat.

⁸¹ The sign of the transit done in black in the scribe's hand. In *The Astrological Tables*, p. 5 a transit of the Sun over Jupiter is noted, besides a trine of the Moon and Venus and an opposition of the Moon and Mercury.

⁸² *The Astrological Tables*, p. 4: 8, 2 of Sagittarius.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 19, 33 of Sagittarius.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 25, 7 of Capricorn.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 8, 51 of Aquarius.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 25, 19 of Pisces.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 25, 29 of Pisces.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 0, 7 of Gemini.

⁸⁹ The sign inscribed by mistake and corrected by inscribing the sign of Libra next to it in the scribe's hand.

This is a month of good predictions almost in all matters. Venus at the Ascendant⁹⁰ bestows a fortuitous and honest end of all endeavors, it will protect the health which may be perturbed by adverse radiation of the Sun⁹¹ towards the primary progression for the year's sign.⁹² There may arise a condition of the teeth or in a part neighboring with the head.⁹³ [in the margin: there was] Mars in the house II⁹⁴ threatens with a disruption or division of wealth. Mercury with the Sun in the house III⁹⁵ will sharpen the intellect in providing advice. It is possible that Your Most Illustrious Eminence will undertake nearby journeys⁹⁶ of sorts in order to provide these or hear them at this time. Jupiter in the house IV is deemed to bring success in all good things and henceforth it is the cause of certain advantages. Saturn in the house VII⁹⁷ foretells envy of some people, possibly of old age, because of some fortuitous results.

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Aquarius

Inicium undecimi in febru[ari]o

The beginning [of the] eleventh [prognostic] in February

d h m

2 16 59

[illegible text]⁹⁸

I. 11 [degrees of] Capricorn. Sun 23 [degrees of] Aquarius⁹⁹

II. 25 [degrees of] Aquarius. Jupiter 1 [degree of] Aries¹⁰⁰

Mercury 3 [degrees of] Pisces¹⁰¹

⁹⁰ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house I *Vita*, Venus at 8 degrees of Sagittarius.

⁹¹ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: an opposition (distance of 180 degrees) of the Sun (the house III, 25 degrees of Capricorn) and Moon (the house IX, 12 degrees of Leo).

⁹² The sign of the year, or the sign the mistress of the year, which is Venus at 12, 46 of Pisces, table p. 31.

⁹³ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house VI *Valetudo*, 28 degrees of Aries. According to melosthesia, Aries is associated with the head (p. 28; *Matheseos*... 1, XXIV, 1).

⁹⁴ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house II *Lucrum*, Mars at 19 degrees of Sagittarius.

⁹⁵ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house III *Fratres*, the Sun at 25 degrees of Capricorn, Mercury at 8 degrees of Aquarius.

⁹⁶ The house III *Fratres* concerns, i.a., short travels (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35).

⁹⁷ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Saturn in 1 degree of Gemini. The house VII denotes, i.a., court proceedings (*Generale iudicium*, p. 37).

⁹⁸ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 7: February 2, 21 hours 55 minutes: opposition of the Sun and Moon.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 6: 23, 24 of Aquarius.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 6: 0, 48 of Aries.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 6: 3, 54 of Pisces.

- III. 15 [degrees of] Gemini
 IV. 13 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 24 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁰²
 Saturn 1 [degree of] Gemini¹⁰³
 V. 1 [degree of] Gemini
 VI. 27 [degrees of] Gemini
 VII. 11 [degrees of] Cancer. Moon, waning, 18 [degrees of] Leo¹⁰⁴
 VIII. 25 [degrees of] Leo
 IX. 15 [degrees of] Libra
 X. 13 [degrees of] Scorpio. The South node 24 [degrees of] Scorpio
 XI. 26 [degrees of] Capricorn. 1 [degree of] Sagittarius¹⁰⁵
 XII. 25 [degrees of] Aquarius. Sagittarius¹⁰⁶ Venus 9 [degrees]
 Mars 10 [degrees of] Capricorn¹⁰⁷

Sol in ascendente laudabilem et gloriosum statum per hunc mensem decrevit, quia Iupiter cum Mercurio et utroque signo profectionis est in domo substantie, res familiares et thesaurus accumulabitur. Omniaque negocia pro voluntate disponentur. Mars licet aliquos inimicos occultos et callidos suggerere videatur, Venus tamen ei associata furentes animos illorum demitigare suspicetur. Et quoniam Mars dominus est decime domus, ratione domini alicuius, aut regni id esse deberet. Profectio gradus ascendentis in terciam a fratre litteras aut conventum cum eodem. Quod vero ad corporis dispositionem attinet, Sol Lunam diametra radiacione aspicit et deinde ad quadraturam Saturni applicat a maliciosis humoribus corpus Reverendissime dominacionis v[est]re non omnino reddet securum. [in marg.: Pyothrkowie convenerant]

The Sun in the Ascendant¹⁰⁸ secures a glorious and laudable state in this month because Jupiter with Mercury and the two signs of the primary progression are in the house of wealth,¹⁰⁹ therefore family possessions and riches will be augmented and all matters will go as planned. Although Mars seems to push certain clandestine and

¹⁰² Ibidem, p. 6: 24, 0 of Taurus.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, p. 6: 0, 0 of Taurus.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, p. 6: 13, 27 of Leo.

¹⁰⁵ A correction added in the scribe's hand.

¹⁰⁶ A correction added in the scribe's hand.

¹⁰⁷ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 6: 9, 6 of Capricorn.

¹⁰⁸ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house I *Vita*, the Sun at 23 degrees of Aquarius.

¹⁰⁹ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house II *Lucrum*: Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries, Mercury at 3 degrees of Pisces. The primary progression, table p. 31: Jupiter 0, 3 of Aries, Mercury 0, 8 of Pisces.

fierce enemies, it may be supposed that Venus,¹¹⁰ which is close to it, will sooth their raging souls. And on account of Mars being the master of the house X,¹¹¹ it should be an issue of some reign or kingdom. The degree of the Ascendant reaching out towards the house III¹¹² denotes a correspondence from the brother or conference with him. As regards the bodily disposition, the Sun is positioned in an aspect of diagonal radiation with the Moon¹¹³ and it also approaches a square to Saturn,¹¹⁴ which will result in the fact that the body of Your Most Illustrious Eminence will not be entirely immune to morbid humors.¹¹⁵ [in the margin: they met in Piotrków]

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Pisces

Inicium duodecimi in marc[io]

The beginning [of the] twelfth [prognostic] in March

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
2	19	17

Saturn trine Mars

Moon opposition Mercury¹¹⁶

- I. 22 [degrees of] Aries. The South node 22 [degrees of] Taurus¹¹⁷
Jupiter I [degree of] Gemini¹¹⁸
- II. 4 [degrees of] Gemini
- III. 25 [degrees of] Gemini
- IV. 10 [degrees of] Cancer
- V. 26 [degrees of] Cancer

¹¹⁰ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house XII *Inimici*: Venus at 9 degrees of Capricorn, Mars at 10 degrees of Capricorn.

¹¹¹ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house X *Honores* starts at 13 degrees of Scorpio, where Mars has its nocturnal domicile, therefore Mars is the master of the house X. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 177.

¹¹² The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house I *Vita*, 11 degrees of Capricorn; the house III *Fratres*, 15 degrees of Taurus.

¹¹³ *The Astrological Tables*: the Moon in opposition to (180 degrees apart from) the Sun.

¹¹⁴ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house I *Vita*, the Sun at 23 degrees of Aquarius; the house IV *Parentes*, Saturn at 1 degree of Gemini – the planets for a square, that is they are 90 degrees apart.

¹¹⁵ The Moon, being a cold and wet planet, is associated with phlegm. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 202. Alchabitius also associates phlegm with Saturn. See H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 46.

¹¹⁶ The aspects consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 8: 22, 31 of Taurus.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 8: 1, 19 of Gemini.

- VI. 25 [degrees of] Leo. Moon, waning, 27 [degrees of] Leo¹¹⁹
 VII. 22 [degrees of] Libra. The North node 22 [degrees of]
 The North node [inscribed for the second time, crossed off]¹²⁰
 VIII. 4 [degrees of] Sagittarius
 IX. 25 [degrees of] Sagittarius
 X. 10 [degrees of] Capricorn
 XI. 26 [degrees of] Capricorn. Mercury 23 [degrees of] Aquarius¹²¹
 Venus 11 [degrees of] Aquarius¹²²
 Mars 1 [degree of] Aquarius¹²³
 XII. 25 [degrees of] Aquarius. Sun 21 [degrees of] Pisces¹²⁴
 Jupiter 7 [degrees of] Aries¹²⁵

Dominus ascendens in undecima domo cum Marte et Mercurio facient cogitare reverendissimam dominacionem vestram de rebus regni, in quibus consulendis acuitatem ingenii conserent. Amicos ea ipsa planetarum in loco predicto residencia tutorum, qui maiores esse videntur inter spirituales, aliquis contravenire tum Reverendissime dominacioni vestre intendet propter Iovem in duodecima signum projectionale mensurum recte in duodecimam devolutum. [in marg. tempore convencionis in Pyotrzkow] Super idem attestatur Luna in sexta discurrens opposito Mercurii illustrata et ex Leone populares aliquas oblocuciones movebit. Eadem Luna vestram R[everendissimam] dominacionem non omnino liberam a perturbacione sanitatis faciet. Tota etenim humani corporis substancia ad istius numinis pertinet potestatem.

The master of the Ascendant¹²⁶ conjointly with Mars and Mercury in the house XI¹²⁷ will make Your Most Reverend Eminence contemplate matters of the kingdom, fa-

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 8: 22, 19 of Leo.

¹²⁰ The inscription and crossing off in the scribe's hand. No sign of the zodiac at the 22 degrees. Since the North node in the house I is at 22 of Taurus, the South node in the house VII, 180 degrees apart, should be at 22 degrees of Scorpio.

¹²¹ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 8: 23, 56 of Aquarius.

¹²² Ibidem, p. 8: 11, 59 of Aquarius.

¹²³ Ibidem, p. 8: 1, 22 of Aquarius.

¹²⁴ Ibidem, p. 8: 21, 34 of Pisces.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, p. 8: 7, 61 of Aries.

¹²⁶ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house I 22 degrees of Aries, the sign that is the diurnal domicile of Mars. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 197.

¹²⁷ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house XI *Amici*, Mercury at 23 degrees of Aquarius, Mars at 1 degree of Aquarius. The house XI denotes: "acquired friends, benefactors, assistants, good hopes for successful transactions [concerning one's estate], king's taxes, king's dues, joy" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 38).

cilitating the counsel with acute mind.¹²⁸ [in the margin: during the Piotrków conference] The same distribution of the planets, which are safely in their own houses, will bring more friends,¹²⁹ who seem to be notable persons of the clergy. At this time, someone will intend to contradict Your Most Illustrious Eminence on account of Jupiter in the house XII;¹³⁰ the monthly opening sign¹³¹ refers directly to the house XII.¹³² This same is evidenced by the house VI Moon,¹³³ which, being in escape from the opposing Mercury¹³⁴ and from Leo,¹³⁵ will raise some reservations on the part of the people. The said Moon will not leave Your Most Reverend Eminence entirely free of health issues.¹³⁶ For the whole bodily substance of man is subjected to the rule of this deity.¹³⁷

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Aries

Inicium tredecimi in marcio

The beginning [of the] thirteenth [prognostic] in March

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
30	21	35

Saturn square Moon¹³⁸

- I. 9 [degrees of] Cancer
- II. 1 [degree of] Leo
- III. 17 [degrees of] Leo. Moon, growing, 8 [degrees of] Virgo
- IV. 10 [degrees of] Virgo
- V. 16 [degrees of] Libra. The South node 21 [degrees of] Scorpio

¹²⁸ Mercury, patron of philosophers, scholars, etc. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 200.

¹²⁹ The house XI *Amici*.

¹³⁰ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house XII *Inimici*. Jupiter at 7 degrees of Aries.

¹³¹ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: Pisces.

¹³² The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house XII *Inimici*, Sun at 21 degrees of Pisces.

¹³³ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house VI *Valetudo*, waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo.

¹³⁴ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: Moon and Mercury in opposition (180 degrees apart).

¹³⁵ “in escape [...] from Leo,” in the house VI *Valetudo*, waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo, which means it decreases as the degrees of Leo increase.

¹³⁶ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house VI *Valetudo*, waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo.

¹³⁷ Lunar medicine. See H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., pp. 46–47.

¹³⁸ The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 9.

- VI. 5 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- VII. 9 [degrees of] Capricorn
- VIII. 1 [degree of] Aquarius
- IX. 17 [degrees of] Aquarius. Mar 22 [degrees of] Aquarius
- X. 10 [degrees of] Pisces. Jupiter 13 [degrees of] Aries
Mercury 7 [degrees of] Aries
Venus 15 [degrees of] Pisces
- XI. 16 [degrees of] Aries. The North node 21 [degrees of] Taurus
Sun 19 [degrees of] Aries
Saturn 3 [degrees of] Gemini
- XII. 5 [degrees of] Gemini

Jupiter cum Venere decimam possidentes famam bonam et statum gloriosum denotant. Sol in undecima ab amicis acquisitis hominibusque status magni comoda nonnulla pollicetur. Luna in tercia itinera brevia et fructuosa faciet, cuius loci dominus cum signo protectionis in decima, honorem ex illis sequis annunciat. Mars in nona longorum itinerum infortunatus equitatis. Signum ascendens radicis secundam et terciam occupans domus: fratris conventum cum causa substancie tam (tum?) causa subditorum.¹³⁹ [in marg.: in Lanczicza convenerant dominus cum rege] Luna crescens per quartum Saturno se iungit aspectum et hec ipsa est domina oroscopi, cogitatus aliquos et involucionem quandam animi decrevit. Tunc forte aliquid aget Reverendissima dominacio vestra de bellicis est enim significacio cicli, quod pro eo tempore hostis veniet, in regnum. Ex parte senum turbaciuncula adesse poterit: id causa significacionum octave et none domorum etc.

Jupiter with Venus residing in the house X¹⁴⁰ signify good fame and a glorious state. The Sun in the house XI allows for expecting some advantages from acquired friends¹⁴¹ and people of the high estate. The Moon in the house III¹⁴² will furnish brief and fruitful journeys, the ruler of which place conjointly with the opening sign¹⁴³ in the house X¹⁴⁴ augurs an arrival of honors as a result. Mars in the house IX means

¹³⁹ The text added in the scribe's hand.

¹⁴⁰ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Jupiter at 13 degrees of Aries, Venus at 15 Degrees of Pisces.

¹⁴¹ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house XI *Amici*, Sun in 19 degrees of Aries.

¹⁴² The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house III *Fratres*, Moon at 8 degrees of Virgo, that sign that is ruled by Mercury.

¹⁴³ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the opening sign Aries.

¹⁴⁴ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Mercury at 7 degrees of Aries.

a misfortunate horse ride during a long-lasting voyage.¹⁴⁵ The rising sign,¹⁴⁶ which is occupied by the house II and III:¹⁴⁷ a conference with the brother on matters related to the wealth, and then to a request of subjects.¹⁴⁸ [in the margin: His Lordship met with the king in Łęczycą]. The growing Moon¹⁴⁹ connects with Saturn by the fourth aspect¹⁵⁰ and is the master of the horoscope,¹⁵¹ which causes a gradual disappearance of certain thoughts and spiritual reflections. At this time, Your Most Reverend Eminence may be preoccupied with war concerns since the significance of this cycle denotes an entrance of an enemy into the Kingdom. There may come a slight trouble from aged men, this being on account of the houses VIII and IX.¹⁵²

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Taurus

Gemini

Inicium secundi mensis in maijo

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] second month in May

d h m
26 2 9

Moon opposition Mars¹⁵³

Mars square Mercury¹⁵⁴

- I. 10 [degrees of] Libra
- II. 3 [degrees of] Scorpio. The South node 18 [degrees of] Scorpio
- III. 3 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- IV. 14 [degrees of] Capricorn
- V. 21 [degrees of] Aquarius. Sun¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Mars at 22 degrees of Aquarius.

¹⁴⁶ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31.

¹⁴⁷ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house I, 26 degrees of Leo. The sign of Leo appears in the house II (1 degree) and house III (17 degrees) of the monthly prognostic of March 10, 1501, p. 38.

¹⁴⁸ The house II *Lucrum*, the house III *Fratres*.

¹⁴⁹ The growing Moon from 45 to 90 degrees. See L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁵⁰ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: a square (distance of 90 degrees) between Saturn and Moon. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house I, 9 degrees of Cancer. The Moon has a diurnal and nocturnal domicile in Cancer and so it is the master of the chart.

¹⁵² The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house VIII *Morse*, 1 degree of Aquarius; the house IX *Peregrinationes*, 17 degrees of Aquarius: Saturn has its domicile in Aquarius.

¹⁵³ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 12: Sun 13, 52 of Gemini.

cause of it. The Moon under an oblique radiation of Mars¹⁶⁷ in the twelve house¹⁶⁸ produces ailments of the head,¹⁶⁹ stomach pains and unfriendliness of certain people.¹⁷⁰ It also signifies a disappointment of sorts, which will come to be justified later. Venus in the house VIII¹⁷¹ in the sign of the progression for the year¹⁷² signifies a wealth after somebody's death.¹⁷³ Saturn in the house IX¹⁷⁴ signifies austerity towards religious transgressors.¹⁷⁵ The presence of Mars in the house VI¹⁷⁶ testifies to an inflammation and pain in the head;¹⁷⁷ there may also occur another injury of the body. [in the margin: in the head or leg]

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Taurus

Cancer

Inicium tercii Mensis in Junio

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] third month in June

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
24	4	26

Moon opposition Mars¹⁷⁸

- I. 27 [degrees of] Scorpio
- II. 23 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- III. 4 [degrees of] Aquarius

¹⁶⁷ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: Moon opposition (180 degrees apart from) Mars. Ibidem, p. 13.

¹⁶⁸ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house XII *Inimici*, Moon, waming, at 1 degree of Libra.

¹⁶⁹ In the house VI *Valetudo*, Mars is at 5 degrees of Aries, which is associated with the head. Table, p. 28.

¹⁷⁰ The twelve house *Inimici*, i.a., "misery of pain." Libra, table p. 28, corresponds to kidneys; according to *Matheseos*... 2, XXIV, 1: entrails, moreover the lower part of the belly, navel, hips, groins, buttocks (H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 45).

¹⁷¹ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house VIII *Mors*, Venus at 24 degrees of Taurus.

¹⁷² Table p. 31, the primary progression for the year: 27, 33 of Taurus.

¹⁷³ The house VIII *Mors* concerns, i.a., inheritance.

¹⁷⁴ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Saturn at 11 degrees of Gemini.

¹⁷⁵ The house IX *Peregrinationes* concerns, i.a., the service to the Church.

¹⁷⁶ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house VI *Valetudo*, Mars at 5 degrees of Aries.

¹⁷⁷ The house VI *Valetudo* concerns, i.a., diseases. According to *melothesia*, Aries rules the head (table, p. 28), and Mars, being an arid and fiery planet, produces fever. See H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁷⁸ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 15.

- IV. 17 [degrees of] Pisces
 V. 15 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 1 [degree of] Taurus¹⁷⁹
 Mars 26 [degrees of] Aries¹⁸⁰
 VI. 6 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 16 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁸¹
 VII. 27 [degrees of] Taurus. Mercury 22 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁸²
 Venus 23 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁸³
 Saturn 14 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁸⁴
 VIII. 23 [degrees of] Gemini. Sun 11 [degrees of] Cancer¹⁸⁵
 IX. 4 [degrees of] Leo
 X. 17 [degrees of] Virgo
 XI. 15 [degrees of] Libra. Moon, waning, 21 [degrees of] Libra¹⁸⁶
 XII. 6 [degrees of] Scorpio. The South node 16 [degrees of] Scorpio

Mensis iste satis fortunatus esse speratur. Luna in II^a domo spem favet bonam, amicos multiplicabit. Sol veniet hoc mense ad locum proprium unde singulare quoddam et honestum pollicetur. Iupiter cum Marte domum quintam occupantes legacion[es] tum venturas presignant, alique tamen erunt false aut ab inimicis. Saturnus in octava quandam turbaciunculam ingerere minatur et curam aut substancie aut fratris causa.

This month may be quite fortuitous. The Moon in the house XI allows for good expectations, will multiply friends.¹⁸⁷ The Sun will come to its own location in this month,¹⁸⁸ which heralds an extraordinary and noble occurrence. Jupiter with Mars residing in the house V¹⁸⁹ predict an arrival of ambassadors, however some of them will be false or coming from foes.¹⁹⁰ Saturn in the house VIII¹⁹¹ threatens

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 14: 1, 51 of Taurus.

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 14: 26, 1 of Taurus.

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 14: 16, 29 of Taurus.

¹⁸² Ibidem, p. 14: 23, 40 of Gemini.

¹⁸³ Ibidem, p. 14: 0, 33 of Cancer.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, p. 14: 14, 52 of Gemini.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 14: 11, 28 of Cancer.

¹⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 14: 19, 18 of Libra.

¹⁸⁷ The house XI *Amici*.

¹⁸⁸ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house VIII *Mors*, Sun at 11 degrees of Cancer, therefore close to the summer solstice (0 degrees of Cancer. L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 85).

¹⁸⁹ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house V *Filii*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Taurus, Mars at 26 degrees of Aries.

¹⁹⁰ The house V *Filii* denotes: "joy, gleefulness, bliss, rents, borrowed properties of children, women's apparel, accord with them" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 36).

¹⁹¹ A mistake, it is the house VII instead of the eighth. The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Saturn at 14 degrees of Gemini.

with a minor confusion, trouble, and worry on account of the wealth or the brother.¹⁹²

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Taurus

Leo

Inicium quarti mensis in iulio

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] fourth month in July

d h m

21 6 43

Sun square Mars¹⁹³

- I. 22 [degrees of] Capricorn
- II. 12 [degrees of] Pisces
- III. 28 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 4 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁹⁴
Mars 13 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁹⁵
The North node 13 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁹⁶
- IV. 23 [degrees of] Taurus
- V. 9 [degrees of] Gemini. Saturn 17 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁹⁷
- VI. 26 [degrees of] Gemini
- VII. 22 [degrees of] Cancer. Sun 7 [degrees of] Leo¹⁹⁸
Venus 2 [degrees of] Leo¹⁹⁹
Mercury 29 [degrees of] Cancer²⁰⁰
- VIII. 12 [degrees of] Virgo. Moon, waning, 19 [degrees of] Libra²⁰¹
- IX. 28 [degrees of] Libra. The South node 15 [degrees of] Scorpio
- X. 23 [degrees of] Scorpio
- XI. 9 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- XII. 26 [degrees of] Sagittarius

¹⁹² The interpretation pertains to the house VII *Nuptiae*, which concerns, i.a., court proceedings and disputes.

¹⁹³ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 17, do not note a square of Sun and Mars, only a trine of Moon and Saturn.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 4, 16 of Taurus.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 13, 19 of Taurus.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 15, 3 of Taurus.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 17, 59 of Gemini.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 8, 8 of Leo.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 2, 27 of Leo.

²⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 1, 15 of Leo.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 14, 17 of Libra.

Mars cum Iove veniet ad locum, in quo erant tempore Geniture. De hoc, quod Iulius Firmicus in Nativitatibus dicit et hic quadrate accomodari possunt. Unde gubernationem et auctoritatem in populo singularem, aut in[?] uibuscumque publicis administrationibus se ingeret eo mense eruditissima dominatio vestra. [in marg.: Eo mense post obitum regis ...] Sol, dominus vite, in septima domo in signo profectionis, quem Mars ex altero signo profectionis minaci radiacione aspicit indisposicionem aliquam ex causa calida insinuat, iuvat eandem significacionem effectus eclipsacionis anni precedentis in hunc mensem devolutus. Dominus primi orbis in quinta potestatis tribuet insignia. Idem propter deliberacionem aliquam legacionum nonnullarum tardam expeditonem denotat.

Mars and Jupiter will arrive at a place they were at in the natal horoscope.²⁰² From what Julius Firmicus says in *Nativitatibus*, even so they [Mars and Sun] may be squared.²⁰³ Therefore, in this place, Your Most Learned Eminence will be particularly involved in governing and counselling the people or in certain public matters. [in the margin: In this month after the king's death...] The Sun, master of life, in the house VII in the opening sign,²⁰⁴ being in an aspect of menacing radiation of Mars²⁰⁵ in another sign²⁰⁶ of the primary progression,²⁰⁷ suggests an indisposition caused by heat,²⁰⁸ which is further supported by the effect of the previous year's eclipse²⁰⁹ that touches this month. The master of the first circle²¹⁰ in the house V²¹¹ will assign the insignia of authority. The same signifies a belated voyage due to a council of certain ambassadors.

²⁰² The natal chart of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house XI *Amici*, Mar and Jupiter at 29 degrees of Gemini. The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house XI *Amici*, Jupiter at 4 degrees of Taurus, Mars at 9 degrees of Gemini.

²⁰³ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: Sun square (90 degrees apart from) Mars. The astrologer added the Sun-Mars square based on *Nativitates* by Julius Firmicus.

²⁰⁴ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Sun at 7 degrees of Leo. Leo is the sign of the month.

²⁰⁵ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: Sun square (90 degrees apart from) Mars.

²⁰⁶ The second sign of the zodiac: Taurus. The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: the house III *Fratres*, Mars at 13 degrees of Taurus.

²⁰⁷ The primary progression for the year: 27, 22 of Taurus, table p. 31.

²⁰⁸ Mars, an arid and hot planet, producing fever.

²⁰⁹ S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 7) foresees storms as a consequence of solar eclipse.

²¹⁰ The master of the first circle, or the first planetary sphere, counting from outside: Saturn.

²¹¹ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: the house V *Filii*, Saturn at 17 degrees of Gemini.

Inicium quinti mensis in aug[usto]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] fifth month in August

d h m
18 9 0

Jupiter trine Venus²¹⁴

- I. 12 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 13 [degrees of] Taurus²¹⁵
Mars 28 [degrees of] Taurus²¹⁶
- II. 16 [degrees of] Gemini. Saturn 20 [degrees of] Gemini²¹⁷
- III. 5 [degrees of] Cancer
- IV. 20 [degrees of] Cancer
- V. 8 [degrees of] Leo. Venus 6 [degrees of] Virgo.²¹⁸
Sun 4 [degrees of] Virgo²¹⁹
- VI. 14 [degrees of] Virgo. Moon, waning, 1 [degree of] Scorpio²²⁰
Mercury 19 [degrees of] Virgo²²¹
- VII. 12 [degrees of] Scorpio
- VIII. 16 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- IX. 5 [degrees of] Capricorn
- X. 20 [degrees of] Capricorn
- XI. 8 [degrees of] Aquarius
- XII. 14 [degrees of] Pisces. Jupiter 5 [degrees of] Taurus

Dominus tercii globi in angulo vite et idem angulus signo profectionis annue occupatur; minaretur quendam humorum in collum aut partes vicinas descensum, nisi Iovis benignum sidus illud presencia sua mitigaret et, quoniam trina radiacione Venerem dominant asscendentis et Solem in quinta, discurrentes intuetur relaciones et nuncios intra amicos Reverendissime dominacioni vestre et dominacionem vestram afferet propter Saturnum in secunda racione rei pecuniarie turbatim cogitatus adesse poterint.

²¹² The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²¹³ The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²¹⁴ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 19 do not note a trine of Moon and Saturn.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 13, 31 of Taurus.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 29, 33 of Taurus.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 20, 18 of Gemini.

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 5, 50 of Virgo.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 4, 5 of Virgo.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 23, 43 of Virgo.

²²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 19, 2 of Virgo.

The ruler of the third globe²²² in the corner of life²²³ and the same corner occupied by the sign of the progression for the year²²⁴ could threaten with amassing humors in the neck²²⁵ or neighboring parts of the body if not for the benign star of Jupiter that soothes this by its presence and since [Jupiter] dominates, through its triple radiation,²²⁶ Venus in the Ascendant²²⁷ and the Sun in the house V,²²⁸ there will be divergent tidings and opinions among the friends of Your Most Reverend Eminence and on account of Saturn in the house II,²²⁹ Your Most Venerable Eminence will be disturbed by frequent thoughts of pecuniary matters.

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Taurus²³⁰

Libra²³¹

Inicium sexti mensis in sep[tembre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] sixth month in September

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
15 ²³²	11	17

Moon opposition Jupiter²³³

- I. 16 [degrees of] Cancer
- II. 7 [degrees of] Leo
- III. 26 [degrees of] Leo
- IV. 20 [degrees of] Virgo. Sun 1 [degree of] Libra²³⁴

²²² The ruler of the third globe, or the third planetary sphere, counting from outside: Mars.

²²³ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house I *Vita*, Mars at 28 degrees of Taurus. Firmicus Maternus uses the expression *domus vitae* (*Matheseos...* 2, XIV, 3), which is followed by S. S ł o w a k o w i c z, *Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 9.

²²⁴ The primary progression for the year: 27, 33 of Taurus, table p. 31.

²²⁵ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house I *Vita* concerns, i.a., health. According to the principles of *melothesia*, Taurus rules the neck in man (p. 28; *Matheseos...* 2, XXIV, 1).

²²⁶ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: a trine (distance of 120 degrees between planets) of Jupiter and Venus.

²²⁷ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house I *Vita*, 12 degrees of Taurus, which is the sign Venus has its domicile at.

²²⁸ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house V *Filii*, Sun at 4 degrees of Virgo.

²²⁹ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house II *Lucrum*, Saturn at 20 degrees of Gemini.

²³⁰ Added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²³¹ Added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²³² Initially the date of 16; the digit 5 put in black over the 6 in the reviewer's hand.

²³³ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 21, note the Moon-Jupiter opposition on September 15, 1501.

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 20: 1, 26 of Libra.

thew.²⁴⁴ Mars and Jupiter, residing in the same house they were in on the day of birth,²⁴⁵ will multiply friends who will support Your Most Reverend Eminence in carrying out certain difficult endeavors. However, the retrograde motion²⁴⁶ of Jupiter will reveal their inconstancy and some of those who appeared to be allies will possibly wish to withdraw. There will come certain minor worries on the 24th or 25th of September. Also the date of October 6 uncertain [added above: will be]. The remaining days should be more felicitous. Venus²⁴⁷ promises glory and will secure grace of many. On October 3 or 4 you will receive, Most Reverend Father, some donations or there will occur something equally extraordinary. [in the margin: ...] The Moon signifies multiple envoys, false as usual.²⁴⁸ Most Reverend Father will receive these legations as befits them.

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Taurus²⁴⁹

Scorpio²⁵⁰

Inicium septimi mensis in octo[bre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] seventh month in October

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
13	13	34

Moon conjunct Venus²⁵¹

- I. 1 [degree of] Virgo
- II. 23 [degrees of] Virgo. Mercury 16 [degrees of] Libra²⁵²
- III. 18 [degrees of] Libra. Sun 29 [degrees of] Libra²⁵³

²⁴⁴ Saint Matthew's day: September 21.

²⁴⁵ The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house XI *Amici*, Jupiter at 4 degrees of Taurus, Mars at 9 degrees of Gemini. The natal chart of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house XI *Amici*, Mar and Jupiter at 29 degrees of Gemini.

²⁴⁶ Retrograde motion: a planet appears to move backward through the zodiac in the geocentric system. See L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 76. S. Słowakowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 5) uses a Latin term *retrogradus*. In the charts, retrograde Jupiter is noted in the monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501 (p. 46) in the house III, therefore the astrologer refers to events that are to occur at the end of the year.

²⁴⁷ The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house IV *Parentes*, Venus at 11 degrees of Libra.

²⁴⁸ The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house V *Filii*, Moon, waning, at 8 degrees of Scorpio.

²⁴⁹ The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²⁵⁰ The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²⁵¹ The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 23.

²⁵² *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 16, 1 of Libra.

²⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 22: 28, 18 of Libra.

Moon, growing, 21 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁵⁴
 Venus 16 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁵⁵

- IV. 24 [degrees of] Scorpio
 V. 5 [degrees of] Caricorn
 VI. 7 [degrees of] Aquarius
 VII. 1 [degree of] Pisces
 VIII. 23 [degrees of] Pisces
 IX. 18 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 1 [degree of] Taurus²⁵⁶
 Jupiter [added in red]²⁵⁷
 The North node 10 [degrees of] Taurus²⁵⁸
 X. 24 [degrees of] Taurus. Saturn 21 [degrees of] Gemini²⁵⁹
 Jupiter [added in red]²⁶⁰
 Mars 11 [degrees of] Gemini²⁶¹
 XI. 5 [degrees of] Cancer
 XII. 7 [degrees of] Leo

Hic mensis non omnino felix. Circa rem familiarem [del.: sollicita] colligendam, sollicita erit R[everendissima] d[ominacio] vestra. Dominus anni in tercia cum signo protectionis mensurne fratris congressum promittit. Somnia multa et falsa advenient. Prelati aliqui et subditi spirituales in aliquo contradicere volent R[everendissime] P[aternitati] vestre. [in marg.: ... Cracoviam].²⁶² De divinis et eclisiasticis[!] intro mittet se P[aternitas] vestra Reverendissima hoc mense plus quam aliis temporibus.

This month not entirely felicitous. Your Most Reverend Eminence will be taking care of certain family affairs. The mistress of the year²⁶³ in the house III together with the opening sign of the month²⁶⁴ promises a conference with the brother. There will be many false dreams. Some of the superiors and inferiors in clergy will wish to contradict you,

²⁵⁴ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 12, 49 of Scorpio.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 22: 17, 43 of Scorpio.

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 22: 1, 6 of Taurus.

²⁵⁷ Added by the reviewer.

²⁵⁸ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 10, 36 of Taurus.

²⁵⁹ Added by the reviewer. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 21, 3 of Gemini.

²⁶⁰ Added by the reviewer.

²⁶¹ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: Jupiter 11, 48 of Gemini.

²⁶² L. A. B i r k e n m a j e r (*Mikołaj Kopernik*, vol. 1: *Studia nad pracami Kopernika oraz materialy biograficzne*, Kraków 1900, pp. 667–668) deciphered this annotation as *Mukoc* and regarded it to be the signature of Mikołaj Mikosz.

²⁶³ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: Venus.

²⁶⁴ The opening sign of the month: Scorpio. The monthly prognostic of October 13, 1501, p. 44: the house III *Fratres*, Venus at 16 degrees of Scorpio.

Most Revered Father. [in the margin: . . . to Krakow etc.]. In this month, you will, Most Revered Father, tend to divine and ecclesiastical matters more than at any other time.²⁶⁵

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Taurus²⁶⁶

Sagittarius²⁶⁷

Inicium octavi mensis in novem[bre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] eighth month in November

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
11	15	51

Luna in opp[osi]ta Martis²⁶⁸

Moon in opposition to Mars

Luna combusta²⁶⁹

Combust Moon

- I. 17 [degrees of] Libra
- II. 11 [degrees of] Scorpio. Mercury 16 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁷⁰
Sun 28 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁷¹
- III. Moon, growing, 12 [degrees of] Sagittarius.²⁷²
Venus 22 [degrees of] Sagittarius²⁷³
- IV. 22 [degrees of] Capricorn
- V. 28 [degrees of] Aquarius
- VI. 25 [degrees of] Pisces
- VII. 17 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 27 [degrees of] Aries²⁷⁴

²⁶⁵ The house IX, Jupiter at 1 degree of Taurus.

²⁶⁶ The sign added in the reviewer's hand.

²⁶⁷ The sign added in the reviewer's hand.

²⁶⁸ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 25, note an opposition Moon and Mars on November 10, 1501.

²⁶⁹ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. *Ibidem*, p. 25, note a conjunction of Sun and Moon on November 10, 1501. S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 9) introduces a Polish equivalent of conjunction: „złączenie” (joining). A „combust” planet is the one that approaches the closest to the Sun. This happens between 15 degrees of Libra and 15 degrees of Capricorn. In the Ascendant, there appears 17 degrees of Libra. A distance between the Sun and a given planet up to 8.5 degrees (S. Page, *Richard Trewhythian and the Uses of Astrology in Late Medieval England*, “Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” LXIV, 2001, p. 199, f.n. 32) or 3 degrees (L. Fleming-Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 24) was accepted.

²⁷⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 24: 16, 28 of Scorpio.

²⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 29, 38 of Scorpio.

²⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 24: 4, 50 of Sagittarius.

²⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 22, 52 of Sagittarius.

²⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 27, 42 of Aries.

- Jupiter [added in red]²⁷⁵
 The North node 9 [degrees of] Taurus²⁷⁶
- VIII. 11 [degrees of] Taurus. Mars 4 [degrees of] Gemini²⁷⁷
 Saturn? [added in red]²⁷⁸
- IX. 12 [degrees of] Gemini. Jupiter [added in red]²⁷⁹
 Saturn 19 [degrees of] Gemini²⁸⁰
- X. 22 [degrees of] Cancer
 XI. 28 [degrees of] Leo
 XII. 25 [degrees of] Virgo

[in marg.: ...]

Ab undecima die odium et malignacionem aliquorum spiritualium, quos forte tum mulctabit R[everendissima] P[aternitas] vestra, habebit et contra ecclesiam aut religionem facientes aliquid tentabit. [in marg.: ...] Ab adversa valitudine cavendum erit Reverendissime dominacioni vestre, eoque Mars ex octava Lunam minari radiatione inficit. Lune combustio ad idem facit. Brevia itinera erunt non omnino prospera. Sol cum Mercurio substancie et thesauri accumulacionem pollicentur.

[in the margin: ...]

Beginning with the eleventh day, you will sustain, Most Reverend Father, hatred and malignance on the part of certain clergymen who will act against the Church or religion and who you will be striving to punish and possibly will punish then. [in the margin: ...] Your Most Reverend Eminence should be cautious to avoid ill health and this that Mars radiating from the house VIII²⁸¹ renders the Moon harmful,²⁸² while the combustion of the Moon²⁸³ has the same effect. Short journeys will not be all prosperous.²⁸⁴ The Sun²⁸⁵ with Mercury predict a growth of wealth and riches.

²⁷⁵ The reviewer's hand.

²⁷⁶ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 24: 9, 4 of Taurus.

²⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 4, 24 of Gemini.

²⁷⁸ The reviewer's hand.

²⁷⁹ The reviewer's hand.

²⁸⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 24: 19, 18 of Gemini.

²⁸¹ The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: the house VIII *Mors*, Mars at 4 degrees of Gemini.

²⁸² The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: Moon and Mars in opposition (10 degrees apart). Health dangers of the Moon concern the stomach, belly, and the left side of the body.

²⁸³ The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: for combust Moon, see f.n. 194.

²⁸⁴ The house III *Fratres* concerns, i.a., short travels.

²⁸⁵ The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: the house II *Lucrum*, Sun at 28 degrees of Scorpio.

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Inicium noni mensis in de[cembre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] ninth month in December

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
8	18	8

*Luna fluit ad oppositum Saturni*²⁸⁶

Moon flows towards an opposition with Saturn

Jupiter trine Sun

Jupiter square Venus²⁸⁷

- I. 28 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- II. 5 [degrees of] Pisces
- III. 25 [degrees of] Pisces. *Retr[ogradatio ?]* 20²⁸⁸
Jupiter 26 [degrees of] Aries²⁸⁹
- IV. 29 [degrees of] Aries. The North node 7 [degrees of] Taurus²⁹⁰
- V. 19 [degrees of] Taurus. Mars 26 [degrees of] Taurus.²⁹¹
- VI. 6 [degrees of] Gemini. Jupiter²⁹² Saturn 27 [degrees of] Gemini²⁹³
- VII. 28 [degrees of] Gemini. Mercury 2 [degrees of] Virgo²⁹⁴
- VIII. 5 [degrees of] Virgo. Venus 26 [degrees of] Virgo²⁹⁵
- IX. 29 [degrees of] Virgo
- X. 29 [degrees of] Libra
- XI. 19 [degrees of] Scorpio
- XII. 6 [degrees of] Sagittarius. Moon, growing, 10 [degrees of] Sagittarius²⁹⁶
Sun 26 [degrees of] Sagittarius²⁹⁷

²⁸⁶ Added in red in the reviewer's hand. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 27, note Moon-Saturn opposition and a transit of Moon and Venus on December 7, 1501.

²⁸⁷ The aspects consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 27.

²⁸⁸ Added in red in the reviewer's hand. Retrogradation: according to the geocentric system, a planet moves back across the zodiac. There is no mention of sign or planet at 20 degrees, but it may be assumed to concern the retrograde motion of Jupiter.

²⁸⁹ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 26: 26, 17 of Aries.

²⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 7, 39 of Taurus.

²⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 26, 16 of Taurus.

²⁹² Added in red in the reviewer's hand.

²⁹³ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 26: Saturn 17, 1 of Gemini.

²⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 3, 52 of Virgo.

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 26, 37 of Virgo.

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 0, 36 of Sagittarius.

²⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 26, 13 of Sagittarius.

Mars nuncios falsos afferet et legaciones subdolas. Saturnus perturbare quantulumcunque corpus poterit.

Mars will bring false envoys as well as insidious legations.²⁹⁸ To a small extent, Saturn may disturb the bodily state.²⁹⁹

[page] 50

*Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat.*³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ The monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501, p. 46: the house V *Filii*, Mar at 26 degrees of Taurus.

²⁹⁹ The monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501, p. 46: the house VI *Valetudo*, Saturn at 27 degrees of Gemini. The reviewer added Jupiter without specifying the sign of the zodiac where the planet resides so it may be surmised it means a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn at 27 degrees of Gemini and therefore Saturn's influence is small. H. Rybus (p. 195, f.n. 6) erroneously puts at November on page 45.

³⁰⁰ "With faltering strides does changeable fortune wander," Ovid, *Tristia* 5, 8, 15. The excerpt identified by A. Kozłowska, H. Rybus (op. cit., p. 195, f.n. 6) deciphers this fragment in a different way: *Fastibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat.*

A comparison of the natal horoscopes of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk in MS 3225, p. 7 and MS 8, p. 29

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Nativitas 1468 in aprili</i> <i>Tempore inequato</i> [nonequatorial time] 27 [day] 23 [hours] 58 [minutes] 58 [seconds] <i>Equato</i> [equator] 27 [day] 23 [hours] 59 [minutes] 8 [seconds] <i>Omnes planete directi</i> [all planets in the direct movement along the zodiac]¹</p> <p>(BJ MS 3225, p. 7)</p> <p>I. 27 [degrees] 22 [minutes] of Leo. The North node 27 [degrees] 46 [minutes] of Leo II. 18 [degrees] of Virgo III. 12 [degrees] of Libra. Part of Fortune 16 [degrees] of Scorpio. Azmeth [star] 16 [degrees] 40 [minutes] of Libra IV. 16 [degrees] 51 [minutes] of Scorpio. Cor scor[pionis][Antares α Sco] V. 2 [degrees] 40 [minutes] of Sagittarius VI. 29 [degrees] of Sagittarius VII. 3 [degrees] of Aquarius VIII. 27 [degrees] 22 [minutes] of Aquarius</p> <p>IX. 18 [degrees] of Pisces X. 12 [degrees] of Aries. Saturn 23 [degrees] 50 [minutes] of Aries</p> <p>XI. 16 [degrees] 51 [minutes] of Taurus. Sun 17 [degrees] 7 [minutes] of Taurus. Mercury 0 [degrees] 10 [minutes] of Gemini. Venus 12 [degrees] 46 [minutes] of Gemini. Aldebaran [α Tau] 2 [degrees] 40 [minutes] of Gemini XII. 29 [degrees] of Gemini. Jupiter 29 [degrees] 51 [minutes] of Gemini Mars 29 [degrees] 50 [minutes] of Gemini</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Genitura Reverendissime</i> <i>D[ominacionis] Vestre</i> <i>Anno Domini 1468</i> <i>d h m</i> 28² [day] 23 [hours] 58 [minute]</p> <p>(BJ MS 8, p. 29)</p> <p>I. 27 [degrees] 22 [minutes] of Leo</p> <p>II. 18 [degrees] of Virgo III. 12 [degrees] of Libra. Part of Fortune 12 [degrees] of Scorpio</p> <p>IV. 16 [degrees] of Taurus [mistake, Scorpio] V. 29 [degrees] of Sagittarius VI. 3 [degrees] of Aquarius VII. 27 [degrees] of Aquarius VIII. 18 [degrees] of Pisces. Saturn 1 [degree] of Aries IX. 12 [degrees] of Aries X. 16 [degrees] of Taurus. Sun 17 [degrees] of Taurus, Mercury 1 [degree] of Gemini, Venus 12 [degrees] of Gemini XI. 29 [degrees] of Gemini. Mars, Jupiter 29 [degrees] of Gemini</p> <p>XII. 3 [degrees] of Leo. Moon, waning, 6 [degrees] of Leo</p>
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Translated by Dariusz Rossowski

¹ The direction from Pisces to Aries. *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos*, transl. F. E. Robbins, London 1980, p. XXV, III, 3, p. 239.

² April.

SUMMARY

Almanach (BJ, MS 8) consists of a title page (Fig. 1), the *Astrological tables for the year 1501*, two horoscopes for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, i.e. the birth chart from 1568 (Fig. 2) and the anniversary chart (Fig. 3), which was cast on the day when the Sun marked the Cardinal's 33rd birthday in 1501, twelve monthly predictions for that year and an interpretation of those charts. In the final part of the *Astrological tables*, the years are not marked (p. 48) and the work closes (p. 50) with a quotation from Ovid's poem (*Tristia* 5, 8, 15). The article concerning that part of the *Almanach* which contains the horoscopes and prognostics for Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk (pp. 28–46), is supplemented by two annexes. The first of these contains the whole text of *Almanach*, deciphered by Ryszard Tatarzyński and translated into Polish by Anna Kozłowska, annotated by Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot.

Almanach was written by several people, the most notable of whom was the author of the charts and prognostics, probably identical with Maciej Karpiga, also called Miechowita, an astrologer, physician, historian and geographer, and an eight-time rector of the University of Kraków. In all probability, he hired a scribe who copied the *Astrological tables for the year 1501*, the charts, and the whole text. It was also him that, some time after the manuscript was completed, wrote down his own observations on its margins as well as on the *Astrological tables* and on the charts.

The text of *Almanach* reveals the workshop of a medieval astrologer who interpreted charts in accordance with the order of the horoscopic houses (I *Vita*, II *Lucrum*, III *Fratres*, IV *Parentes*, V *Filii*, VI *Valetudo*, VII *Nuptiae*, VIII *Mors*, IX *Peregrinationes*, X *Honores*, XI *Amici*, XII *Inimici*). He also used astrolabium. His work is based on *Matheseos libri VIII*, written by the 4th-century Christian astrologer from Sicily, Julius Firmicus Maternus, and published in print in Venice in 1497, and, like its prototype, involves mythological characters such as Esculap (i.e. Asklepios), the patron god of physicians, and Mercury (i.e. Hermes Trismegistos) as well as historical figures such as the Egyptian priest Petosiris and the Neoplatonic philosophers Plotinus and Porphyrius. He also quotes Abenragl (Abū l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Abi l-Rijā), an Arabic astrologer who died after 1037, and whose work entitled *Liber de iudiciis stellarum* was translated in the 15th century into vernacular languages. In the marginal notes, however, he mentions Rasi (Abū Barkr Muhammed ibn Zakariya al-Razi), a Persian physician and alchemist who died in 925, and his work entitled *Liber ad Almansorem*, which was translated into Latin by Gerardus of Cremona.

During the process of binding, the following elements were glued to the title page of the *Almanach*: a folio with the coat of arms of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk (i.e. the crownless Eagle of the Jagiellons below a cardinal's hat and an archbishop cross, against the background of a shield) and shields with the Kotwicz and Abdank coats of arms together with a third one, so far unidentified, in the form of a heraldic lily, with the letters *M.N.C b.c A.* next to it. The Kotwicz coat of arms belonged to the Kraków Canon and Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's treasurer Mikołaj Krzycki, while the Abdank to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's chamberlain, Jan Konarski, who later became the bishop of Kraków.

The letters *M.N.C b.c A.* can be read as *Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach* and may also refer to Mikołaj Krzycki, if we assume that the *Almanach* was written at his bidding. However, Karpiga assures that he has undertaken this work out of his own initiative.

KEYWORDS:

Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Galenus, horoscope, Joannes Lithuanus, bookbinder, Maciej Karpiga, Maciej Miechowita, Mikołaj Krzycki, French disease, forecast

ALMANACH PRO REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO CARDINALI
 FRYDERYKA JAGIELLOŃCZYKA –
 HISTORYCZNE ŹRÓDŁO WARSZTATU ASTROLOGA

STRESZCZENIE

Almanach (BJ, rkps 8) składa się ze strony tytułowej (fot. 1), Tablic astrologicznych na rok 1501, dwóch horoskopów Fryderyka Jagiellończyka, urodzinowego z roku 1468 (fot. 2) i rocznicowego (fot. 3), to znaczy postawionego w chwili wejścia Słońca w datę 33 urodzin w roku 1501, dwunastu prognostyków miesięcznych na ten rok oraz tekstu będącego interpretacją tych wykresów. Na końcu zaczęto wpisywać Tablice astrologiczne bez oznaczenia roku (s. 48), a całość zamyka (s. 50) cytat z utworu Owidiusza (Tristia 5, 8, 15). Obecne opracowanie dotyczy części Almanachu (s. 28–46), zawierającej horoskopy i prognostyki kardynała Fryderyka Jagiellończyka. Artykuł uzupełniony jest dwoma aneksami. Aneks I zawiera cały tekst Almanachu, odczytany przez Ryszarda Tatarzyńskiego i przełożony na język polski przez Annę Kozłowską, z przypisami opracowanymi przez Ewę Śnieżyńską-Stolot. Przy wykonywaniu Almanachu pracowało kilka osób, wśród których najważniejszy był autor wykresów horoskopowych i prognostyków, można go identyfikować z Maciejem Karpigą zwanym Miechowitą, astrologiem i lekarzem, historiografem i geografem, a także ośmiokrotnym rektorem uniwersytetu krakowskiego. On zapewne zatrudnił skrybę, który przepisał Tablice astrologiczne na rok 1501, wykresy horoskopowe i cały tekst. On także jakiś czas po powstaniu rękopisu wpisywał swoje uwagi na marginesach rękopisu, a także w Tablice astrologiczne i wykresy horoskopowe. Tekst Almanachu odsłania warsztat średniowiecznego astrologa, który interpretował wykresy horoskopowe zgodnie z charakterem domów horoskopowych (I Vita, II Lucrum, III Fratres, IV Parentes, V Filii, VI Valetudo, VII Nuptiae, VIII Mors, IX Peregrinationes, X Honores, XI Amici, XII Inimici) i posługiwał się astrolabium. Opierał się na żyjącym w wieku IV sycylijskim astrologu i chrześcijaninie, Juliuszu Firmicucie Maternusie i jego dziele *Matheseos libri VIII*, wydany drukiem w Wenecji w roku 1497, a także wspomnianych w tym dziele postaciach mitologicznych, jak Eskulap, czyli Asklepios, bóg lekarzy i Merkury, czyli Hermes Trismegistos, oraz postaciach historycznych, jak egipski kapłan Petoris i filozofowie późnoplatońscy Plotyn i Porfiriusz. Odwoływał się także do Abenragła (Abū l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi l-Rijā) astrologa arabskiego zmarłego po 1037 roku, którego dzieło *Liber in iudiciis stellarum* było tłumaczone w wieku XV na języki wernakularne. W dopiskach na marginesach powołał się natomiast do Rasiego (Abū Barkr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi), perskiego lekarza i alchemika, zmarłego około 925 roku, autora *Liber ad Almansorem* przełożonego na łacinę przez Gerarda z Kremony. W czasie wykonywania oprawy Almanachu na kartę tytułową naklejono wtórnie kartę z herbem Fryderyka Jagiellończyka (Orzeł Jagielloński bez korony pod kapeluszem kardynalskim i krzyż arcybi-

skupi w tle tarczy herbowej) oraz tarcze z herbami Kotwicz, Abdank i niezidentyfikowany, w postaci lilii heraldycznej, koło którego dopisano litery M.N.C.b.c.A. Herb Kotwicz należał do Mikołaja Krzyckiego, kanonika krakowskiego i podskarbiego Fryderyka Jagiellończyka, Abdank do Jana Konarskiego, marszałka dworu Fryderyka Jagiellończyka, późniejszego biskupa krakowskiego. Dopisane litery M.N.C.b.c.A można odczytać jako: Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach i odnieść także do Mikołaja Krzyckiego, uznawszy go za domniemanego inicjatora wykonania Almanach, chociaż Karpiga pisze, że podjął się pracy z własnej inicjatywy.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Galen, horoskop, Joannes Lithuanus, introligator, Maciej Karpiga, Maciej Miechowita, Mikołaj Krzycki, morbus Gallicus, prognostyk



Fig. 1. *Almanach Pro Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali* for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk for the year 1501. Jagiellonian Library, MS 8, p. 1 – title page bearing coats of arms of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Kotwicz, Abdank and an unresolved one with added letters: M.N.C b.c A (Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach).

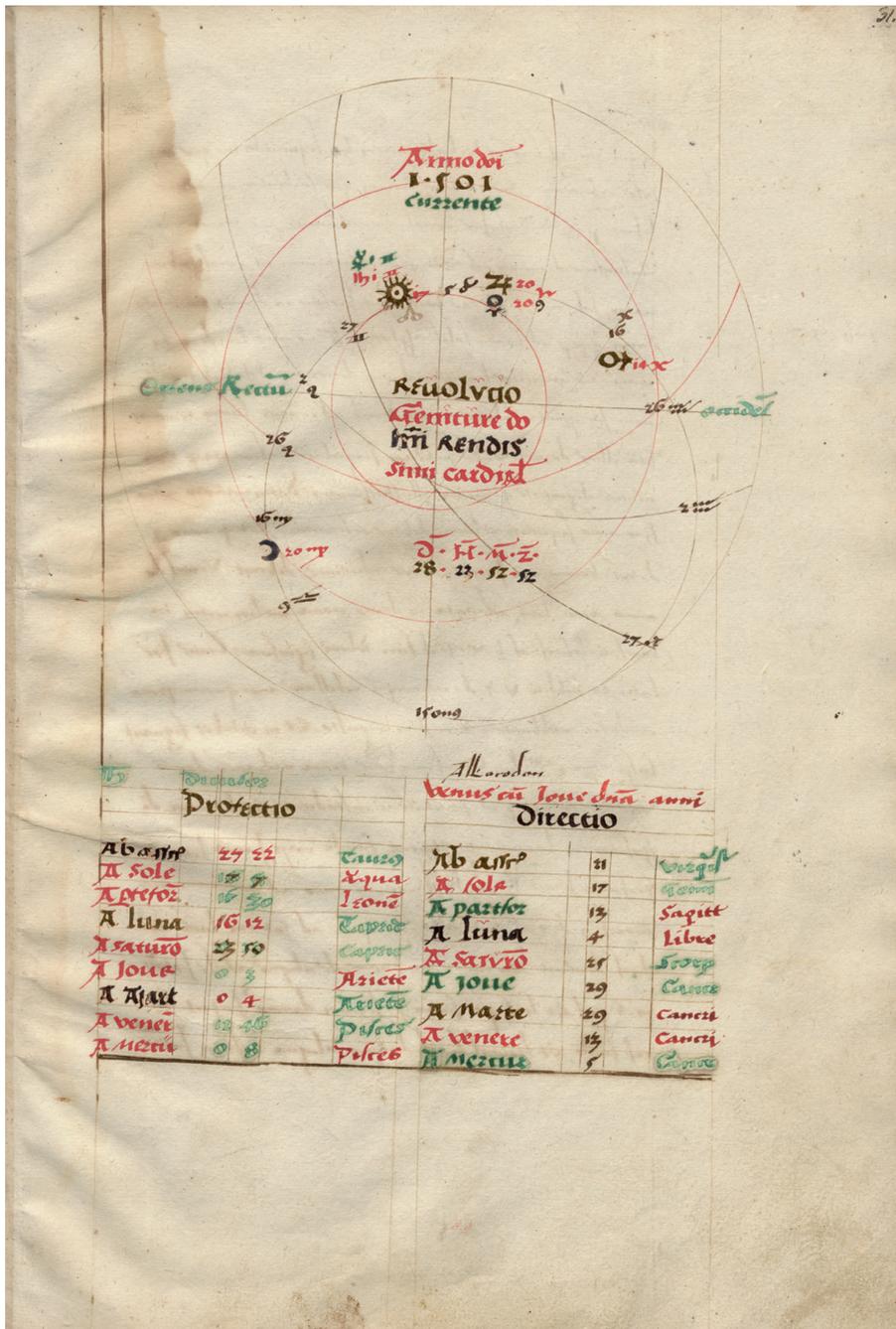


Fig. 3. The annual chart of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, April 28, 1501.
Almanach Pro Reverendissimo ..., p. 31.

PIOTR HORDYŃSKI

DOI: 10.26106/NVCS-KW54

THE COLLECTION OF JAN PONĘTOWSKI.
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DESCRIPTION
OF ITS CONTENTS

There are two things that can be said regarding the collections gathered by Jan Ponętowski (c. 1530–1598), the abbot of Hradište in the city of Olomouc in Moravia between 1577 and 1587. First, this had been one of the most valuable Polish art collections in the 16th century. Second, it probably won't ever be possible to explore the whole assortment, as a significant part of it had been scattered. It was often mentioned only in passing, with two more detailed descriptions by Leszek Hajdukiewicz and Tadeusz Chrzanowski,¹ while some other publications referenced just its fragments.² Kazimierz Piekarski had been gathering materials in order to create a monograph of Ponętowski collection, however they were destroyed during the Second World War. In later times, Leszek Hajdukiewicz announced a presentation of the collection contents, however it never came into being. Also Anna

¹ L. Hajdukiewicz, *Jan Ponętowski, opat hradyjski, bibliofil, miłośnik sztuki. Materiały do życiorysu*, "Roczniki Biblioteczne" 14, 1970, pp. 485–529; T. Chrzanowski, *Uwagi o intelektualistach-kolekcjonerach w Polsce na przełomie renesansu i baroku*, [in:] *Mecenas, kolekcjoner, odbiorca. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Katowice, listopad 1981*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 121–145.

² Z. Ameisenowa, *Dwa nieznanne polskie znaki książkowe z XVI wieku*, Kraków 1947; A. Lewicka-Kamińska, *Nieznanne ekslibrisy polskie XVI wieku w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 1974; J. Samek, *Pastorał i mitra z daru opata Jana Ponętowskiego w zbiorach Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, "Opuscula Musealia" 5, 1991, pp. 87–92; P. Hordyński, *Grafika włoskiej proveniencji z kolekcji Jana Ponętowskiego w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, [in:] *Amicissima. Studia Magdalenae Piwocka oblata*, Kraków 2010, pp. 217–221, 661–671; P. Hordyński, *Pochody ceremonialne Habsburgów. Trzy rolki akwafortowe z XVI w. z kolekcji Jana Ponętowskiego w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, [in:] *Tendit in ardua virtus. Studia oferowane profesorowi Kazimierzowi Kuczmanowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, ed. J. Ziętkiewicz-Kotz, Kraków 2017, pp. 109–119.

Lewicka-Kamińska began such work in the past, preparing redraws of bindings and notes with their descriptions, some accompanied by information regarding the contents of the books.³

A precise, scientific study of this collection shall require an analysis encompassing several fields: graphics, history of books and their binding, handicraft. A first step to complete such work would be an attempt to create a list of the existing part of the assortment, as well as the known facts and assumptions regarding the lost contents. Nowadays, the information regarding the collection can be inferred from the objects themselves, located in the collections of graphics, old prints and manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library and other institutions, as well as written records, especially a list of books and works of art gifted to the Kraków University, prepared by Jan Ponętowski himself, dated May 11th 1592.

It is known that not the whole Hradište collection was brought to Poland. Some of it remained, as 3 books that had been a part of it were found in the Chapter Library in Strängnäs in Sweden – stolen by the Swedes in 1642 from Moravia. Notes present on 2 of these books confirm that those books had been gifted to the monastery by Ponętowski.⁴

The record of Ponętowski's donation stored in the Archive of the Jagiellonian University contains 5 written pages.⁵ Five items (from *Libellus* [...] to *Turcicus imperator* [...]) had been written on page 4 with probably an unsure, shaking hand. The record is not very precise, the descriptions are often very general, sometimes making the identification of objects difficult or even completely impossible. Some items are presented collectively, while others – individually. The list contains 109 items, with only a quarter possible to identify as currently residing in the Jagiellonian Library. It is generally ordered into thematic groups. First one and a half pages contain a list of various works of art: tapestries, paintings, etching rolls and scant individual graphics, as well as liturgical paraments. The remainder (starting with *libri conscripti*) encompasses books, including incunables and bound volumes of graphics, some medieval manuscripts (described as parchment books), ending with legal volumes gifted to Collegium Iurisconsultorum. Books and bound volumes with graphic are mixed together, descriptions of some books are not detailed – in some cases they are limited to the author or an abridged title. However, in case of some items it's possible to guess the omitted titles or authors of even those works that have not been preserved in the Jagiellonian Library. The list lacks several items currently in the possession of the Jagiellonian Library, bearing Ponętowski's own-

³ Jagiellonian Library (BJ), MS Przyb. 223/80.

⁴ E. Barwiński, L. Birkenmajer, L. Łoś, *Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w Szwecji*, Kraków 1914, pp. 123–124.

⁵ Regestrum rerum donatarum Sacro Collegio Cracoviensi per Reverendissimum Dominum Ioan-nem Ponethowsky [...] anno domini 1592, shelfmark 16330.

ership marks.⁶ This means that the May 1592 donation to Krakow Academy was definitely not the only one.

Two significant sets of works of art that open the list, probably constituting the most valuable part of the collection, did not make it to our times. They were composed of Dutch tapestries described as “tapecie [...] virides Flandricae,” 14 of them (of various sizes) – and 26 Flemish paintings on canvas, as well as 7 less defined paintings on board. Liturgical paraments, collected probably not as utility items but as handicraft works, are also missing. Those comprised, among others, a chasuble, altar cloths, maniples, bursas for corporals (a red one and a white one with pearls), cloths for covering chalices and a French crosier. The Museum of the Jagiellonian University is in possession of another crosier and a mitre (both embroidered).

The medieval manuscripts (5 in 7 volumes), described as *libri pergamenei* in the handwritten record, survived to our times almost without losses in the manuscript collection of the Jagiellonian Library. They are all Czech illuminated manuscripts, with one being especially interesting as it contains some partially unfinished miniatures.⁷ These manuscripts are the only surviving medieval artworks in the Ponętowski collection.

Preserved incunables and 16th century books (20 of them) probably constitute only a fraction of a larger library. Books included in various collections or known to us only by their titles concern mostly religion and history, with some examples of emblem collections and legal works, even mathematics. There is an especially large number of richly illustrated books, with several of them, mostly the ones marked with “Albumy” reference, being in fact collections of prints.

The majority of the books are bound in valuable, artistic bindings, mostly from the 1580s, with almost all of them commissioned by the collection’s owner. Especially interesting are ten fabric bindings made of red velvet or green silk, some of them decorated with embroidery, silver thread, pearl and corals. They were made probably in Bohemia or Moravia, just as the embroidered crosier and mitre belonging the Jagiellonian University Museum. Other bindings were made of leather, richly decorated with mostly gold embossings: several types of Ponętowski’s supralibros or plaques. Most of them are figural plaques, with two types – the Holy Trinity and David being the most common (present on 11 bindings) and occurring in pairs (one on the front cover, the other on the back cover). Other plaques occur only once, while some bindings are decorated with ornamental plaques. Almost all leather bindings were also made in Bohemia or Moravia and are quite homogenous: decorated with stamps

⁶ MS 1462, Cim. 5693, Cim. 5746–5747, Cim. 5748–5749, Cim. 5875, Cim. 6024, Theol. 9687, additionally volumes with prints 150, 151, 154, 209 (as well as folder 155 stolen by German occupants) are also missing from the folder list, 2 V Alb., 1008–1009 III Alb.

⁷ Z. A m e i s e n o w a, *Rękopisy i pierwodruki iluminowane Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Wrocław 1958, pp. 89–92.

(plant motifs, candelabras, chains, lines) or knurls (personifications of virtues, heads on medallions etc.), with most of them present on several different volumes. Only three bindings: Cim. 5693 and prints folders 153 and 209 come from Kraków, according to A. Lewicka-Kamińska.⁸ Block cutouts of several books are covered in ornaments or gilding.

The best-preserved and known part of the collection are graphics – over 900 prints from the 16th century in 9 bound volumes (the tenth was stolen by the German occupants during the Second World War), as well as 3 etching rolls depicting coronation and funeral processions of the Habsburg emperors. These rolls used to be around 12 meters long, nowadays only one is glued to canvas, while two others were preserved as series of loose prints, without any base. Additional few hundred prints are present in the richly illustrated books in the old books collections, as well as so-called albums in the graphic collections. Several other valuable prints have been placed on the endpapers of books by the collector. Over four fifths of the graphics contain Dutch art, with Italian art being the second most represented, followed by some examples of German and French works. The vast majority of graphics are metalcuts (woodcuts are rare, except for book illustrations). Most of them were created in Ponętowski's lifetime, the collector also frequently bought new prints from older plates. Sparse prints come from the first half of 16th century, while medieval art is not represented at all. Religious themes dominate, with a large number of allegories pertaining to faith, morality and cosmic order. One can also find historical and political motives, along with portraits, as well as over a 100 drawings of Rome's monuments. The list also contains Ortelius' atlas and two maps, that have not been preserved; several maps are included with prints in bound volumes.

Jan Ponętowski took great care to preserve his memory. His brief work *Krotki Rzeczy Polskich Seymowych [...] komentarz [...]*, published in 1569,⁹ contains two embossings of the author's crest, with his initials on the outline, as well as a poem dedicated to this crest. The collector's virtues are depicted on a silver, gold-plated medal with his bust and 1582 date,¹⁰ while *Gniazdo cnoty* by Bartosz Paprocki shows an imaginative woodcut portrait of the abbot, as well as his genealogy. Additionally, Ponętowski always attempted to draw attention to himself as the owner. His crest decorates the crosier kept by the Jagiellonian University Museum, and his supralibros (4 known types) appear on the bindings of numerous books and albums. They are usually displayed in pairs, with one on the upper, and the other one on the lower

⁸ *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, vol. 1, Kraków 1966, p. 164.

⁹ The Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków, Cim. 507.

¹⁰ Kept in the Hutten-Czapski Museum in Kraków; described by E. R a c z y ń s k i (*Gabinet medalów polskich*, Berlin 1845, vol. 1, no. 55c), J. S. B a n d t k i e (*Historia Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 1821, p. 52) and E. H u t t e n - C z a p s k i (*Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises*, vol. 2, St. Petersburg–Paris 1872, pp. 243–244).

cover: most frequently with the quartered field (Leszczyc, Odrowąż, Lis and Poraj coats of arms) – type I and II according to K. Piekarski,¹¹ sometimes with singular coats of arms (Leszczyc or Odrowąż) – type III and IV; the fifth supralibros with Leszczyc coat of arms occurred only once (on the Cim. 8326 binding). The coat of arms supralibros can be also found on one of the embroidered fabric covers (Cim. D). Several leather bindings contain embossed inscriptions with the name and title of the owner – in Gothic script in the case of medieval manuscripts. Some volumes contain his bookplates: with an empty field (used several times) and 2 others – one with Leszczyc coat of arms and puttos, the other with two coats of arms and volcano, used once. The 1592 donation list is decorated with a large, elaborate wafer seal depicting crests bearing Leszczyc and Odrowąż coats of arms, held by dragons, with a bust of an angel, a mitre and a hat above the crests, as well as 1584 date. The outer ring contains the name and the title of the collection's owner, naturally.

Nowadays, Ponętowski's collection is a very valuable set of graphics, illustrated books and artistic binding of the 16th century. The value of the library, preserved only in fragments, is harder to estimate. Leszek Hajdukiewicz doubted Ponętowski's scholarly activities,¹² however the subject matters of quite a large number of books and prints can indicate his interest in history, especially recent political events.

One can easily notice that while composing the inventory of his donation, Ponętowski often emphasized the quality of material and workmanship, adding appropriate expressions: *pulchre scripti, eleganter depictae, articiose factus, mirabiliter compaginatus, sub veluto rubeo, sub viridi veluto, cum auro, cum argento, cum margaritis*, as well as pointing out the appearance of illustrations: *cum imaginibus, cum iconibus*. There can be no doubt that the value and rarity of objects was highly regarded by him; his collection included a crosier with a rare, fabric decoration, as well as bindings decorated with pearls, an illustration volume combined with a backgammon board, and several illustrations printed on yellow silk.

Such a search for uniqueness was completely in line with the zeitgeist – Ponętowski's stay in Moravia coincided with the rule of Rudolf II, a great patron of arts and connoisseur of peculiarities. One cannot deny the good taste of the collector. He was interested in Dutch paintings and tapestries, and in the preserved part of the collection, there are no low quality works, such as popular leaflet prints. The artistic culture of the collector is also evidenced in the fact that his name and other inscriptions on the bindings of medieval manuscripts were embossed in Gothic script.

One can definitely say that Ponętowski was influenced by his aesthetic needs, curiosity about the world, owner's pride and love of splendor. The question remains, which motivation was the most important one?

¹¹ K. Piekarski, *Superekslibrisy polskie od XV do XVIII wieku*, Kraków 1929, tableau 19–22.

¹² L. Hajdukiewicz, op. cit., pp. 396, 524–525.

The goal of this publication is to make the most complete record possible of the collection's preserved objects, as well as to present available information regarding the lost part.

The list below contains identifiable objects from Ponętowski's collection preserved in the Jagiellonian Library (in the sequence of reference numbers) and other institutions. Bound graphic folders are presented as units. Round parentheses contain prints and drawings affixed to books and bound folders by the owner. Sparse drawings and graphics not placed in bound tomes are presented separately. A detailed description of the whole graphic collection should become a topic of another, more extensive publication.

Below the list one can find the inventory from 1592, written by Jan Ponętowski himself. In the case of the preserved objects, current reference numbers have been listed, in the case of the lost objects, there are supplements and explanations of the entries (where possible and necessary) – sometimes rather self-evident, but others should be treated as assumptions.

THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

MANUSCRIPTS

MS 284, vol. 1–2, *Biblia Latina* by Albert of Sternberk, Bohemia, between 1371 and 1378

MS 1307/1, *Malogranatum*, Liber I–II, Bohemia 1402

MS 1307/2, *Malogranatum*, Liber III, Bohemia 1402

MS 1308, Fridericus de Sternberg, *Explicationes Psalmorum seu glossa super Psalterium*, Olomouc, around 1400

MS 1462, *Missale*, Bohemia, before 1345

MS 1558, *Pontificale*, Bohemia, around 1400

OLD BOOKS

Inc. 1354–1355 – Prints bound together: *Platina Bartholomaeus, Vitae Pontificum romanorum*, Nurembergae, A. Koberger 1481 (Inc. 1354); *Lupoldus Bebenburgensis, Germanorum veterum principium zelus et fervor in christianam religionem*, Basel, J. Bergmann, 1497 (Inc. 1355). Originally 3 other incunables were bound in the volume, currently in separate bindings from the 19th century: Inc. 2551, *Trithemius Joannes, De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basel, J. Amerbach, 1494; Inc. 2518, *Reuchlin Joannes, De verbo mirifico*, Basel, J. Amerbach, 1494; Inc. 2579, *Margarita Decretalium*, Basel, N. Kessler, no data available.

Inc. 1849, Piccolomini Aeneas Sylvius, *Epistolae familiares*, Norimbergae, A. Koberger, 1481

Cim. A[?], Haechtanus Laurentius [Laurent van Haecht Goidsenhoven], *Mikrokosmos. Parvus mundus*, Antwerpen, Gerardus de Tadecius, 1579, [illustrations by Gerard de Jode]

Favoli Hugo, *De deis gentium imagines*, Antwerpen 1581 [illustrations by Philips Galle]

Cim. B, Leisentritt Johann, *Christianae et piaae preces ex orthodoxae et catholicae ecclesiae [...]*, Bautzen Ex officina [...] Nicolai Wolrab, 1555

Cim. C, *Breviarium Romanum, Venetiis, cura [...]* luceantonii Junta [...] impressum, 1524

Cim. D, *Breviarium Romanum ex Decreto Sacro sancti Concilii Tridentini, Venetiis, apud Iuntas [Luc' Antonio II Giunta]*, 1580

Cim. 5746–5747, *Vortzeichnus und zzeugung des hochlobwürdigen heilighumbs der Stiffkirchen der heiligen Sanct Moritz und Marien Magdalenen zu Halle [...]*, Halle, [Wolfgang Stöckel], 1520 (on the back of the title page – copperplate by A. Dürer: Albertus Elector Brandenburgensis¹³)

Dye zaigung des hochlobwürdigen Hailighumbs der Stiffkirchen aller Hailigen zu wittenburg, Wittenberg, [J. Gronenberg], 1509, contains woodcuts by L. Cranach: The grand series of Wittenberg reliquaries – copperplate by L. Cranach on the title page: Frederick the Wise and Johann the Steadfast¹⁴

Cim. 5748–5749, *Neun und neuntzig Schöne ausserlese Lieder, allen züchtigen Jungfrauen zum Newen Jar Gedruckt*, 1586

Negker Jost de, *Todtentanz durch alle Standt der Menschen*, Wien 1579, contains 40 woodcuts – copies as per Hans Holbein; backgammon board, caches for pieces and cards, notebook

Cim. 5750, *Missale Romanum, Venezia*, 1516, contains numerous colored woodcuts. Front endpaper: an illustration on yellow silk: an allegory illustrating the Book of Proverbs 4.23, dated 1580, similar to print shelfmark BJ I. 9060; back endpaper: *Typus ecclesiae catholicae*, a print on silk, similar to print shelfmark BJ I. 9041

Cim. 5875, Amman Jost, *Gynaeceum sive Theatrum mulierum*, Francoforti, 1586, woodcuts slightly colored

Cim. 6024, *Manuale parochorum [...]* pro provincial Salisburgiensi, Ingolstadii, Ex Officina [...] Davidis Sartorii, 1582

Cim. 8326, Paprocki Bartosz, *Gniazdo cnoty*, Kraków, z Drukarniey Andrzeia Piotrkowczyka, 1578

¹³ F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*, vol. 7, p. 91, no. 100.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, vol. 6, p. 3, no. 96.

Cim. 8416, Cassaneus Bartholomaeus [Chasseneux Barthelemy de], *Catalogus Gloriam Mundi, Francoforti, Impressum Apud Georgium Corvinum, 1579*, contains 12 illustrations by Jost Amman

Cim. 8417, *Pontificale Romanum, Venezia [...], Apud Iuntas, 1572*, contains numerous musical notations and woodcuts

Cim. 8426, *Missale Parisiense, Parisijs, 1550*, on the endpapers: a portrait of Gregory XIII, copperplate colored and seven sacraments – a print on yellow silk

Geogr. 1107, *Volaterranus Raphael [Maffei Raffaele], Commentariorum urbanorum octo et triginta libri, Lugduni, 1552*

Theol. 9687, *Röckler Andreas, De statu animarum in altero saeculo, Ingolstadii, Ex Officina Weissenhorniana [Wolfgang Ecler], 1581*

932773 II Mag. St. Dr., *Regiomontanus [Müller Joannes], Tabulae directionum, Venetiis, 1524*

GRAPHICS

Folder 149, I. 9036–9126, *Typus ecclesi[a]e catholic[a]e*, on the endpaper: woodcut from *Humani Corporis Fabrica Epitome* by Andrea Vesalius – a nude of a man holding a skull

Folder 150, I. 9127–9180, *Theatrum legis divinae*, on the endpapers: gouaches – two pigeons, great crested grebe

Folder 151, I. 9181–9203 [untitled]

Folder 152, I. 9208–9423, *Theatrum vit[a]e human[a]e*

Folder 153, I. 9424–9558, *Liber divina[e] sapientiae*

Folder 154, I. 9559–9630 [*Mythologico-Theologicae imagicunciulae*]

Folder 155, missing since the Second World War [I. 9631–9680]

Folder 209, I. 13295–13324, *Vita austera religiosorum*

Folder 210, I. 13325–13505, *Speculum christianae professionis* – after I. 13505 a gouache: Orsini coat of arms

Folder 211, I. 13506–13628, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae [...]*

I. 14704, *La trio[n]phante galera [...] che porto la nova [...] della gran vittoria [...]*, In *Venecia In Frezaria par cesaro vicelli [Vecellio]*, woodcut colored (affixed 407–410 IV Alb.)

I. 23893, *Nikolaus Hogenberg [inventor and etchings]*, [Procession of pope Clement VII and emperor Charles V in Bologna after coronation, 24th February 1530], *Divo et invicto imperatori Carolo V [...]*, etchings, 1530.¹⁵ Originally a roll glued to canvas, currently 2 loose engraved dedication cards with texts and illustrations 1–38

¹⁵ Copies of this and two other rolls probably come from 1570s or 1580s.

I. 23894, Wolfgangus Meyerpeck [etchings], Hans Mayr and Joachim Sorg [*inventor*], Parentalia Divo ferdinando Caesari Augusto [...] persoluta Viennae Anno Domini 1565 VIII Idus Augusti, Augustae Vindellicorum [...], 1566. A roll glued to canvas, printed text in 6 columns: “Lectori atque inspectori,” signature: Bartholomaeus Hannewald, colored etchings, title page, *castrum doloris* and funeral procession: illustrations 1–30 (no illustration 31)

I. 23895, Joannes and Lucas Duetecum [etchings], Hieronimus Cock [*inventor*], Amplissimo hoc apparatu et pulchro ordine Pompa funebris [...] Carolo V Rom. Imp. [...] 1559, etchings. Originally a roll glued to canvas, currently illustrations [1]–34 loose (no title page)

1 V Alb., Jacques Tortorel, Jean Perrissin, Der erste Tail [...] gedencwirdiger historien vom Krierg, Mord und Aufruereen welche sich [...] in francreich zugetragen [...], Lyon, 1570, copperplates and woodcuts

Affixed: on the back of p. 39 an Italian etching – battle of Marcomot near Moncontour, 3rd October 1569; [p. 43] – printed text (Michael Prudeker, Carmen de humilitate), dedicated to J. Ponętowski; [p. 45] – Tabula Complectens Totam Belgicam, Flandriam, Brabantiam (a map of the Netherlands)

2 V Alb., Francesco Terzi, Gaspare Oselli, Austriae gentis imagines, Innsbruck, 1553–1573

407–410 IV Alb., Bellvm Tvneti Flandricu[m] Gallicv[m]qvè

407 IV Alb., Kurtze erzeichniss wie Keyser Carolus der V in Africa Dem Konig von Thunis, so von dem Barbarossen vertrieben mit kriegsrustu[n]g zur hulffe komt [...]

408 and 409 IV Alb., [wars with Spaniards and Dutch wars of religion]

410 IV Alb., [French wars of religion]

887 III Alb., Onofrio Panvinio, Accuratae effigies pontificum maximorum numero XXVIII ab Anno Christi MCCCLXXVIII [...], Getruckt [...] durch Nernhart Jobin, Argentorati, 1573

1008–1009 III Alb. bound together:

Pieter Baltens, Les genealogies et anciennes descentes des Forestiers et comtes de Flandre [...], Andre Bax, Antverpia, 1581

Michael Vosmer, Principes Hollandiae & Zelandiae Domini Frisiae, Christophorus Plantinus Philippo Gallaeo, Antverpia, 1578

DRAWINGS

IR 1961, A design of J. Ponętowski’s headstone with a kneeling figure, bistre, pen (from folder 149)

IR 1974, A design of J. Ponętowski’s headstone with a standing figure, bistre, pen (from folder 149)

THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

A crosier and mitre decorated with embroidery

STRÄNGNÄS CHAPTER LIBRARY

Johann Gritsch, Quadragesimale, Argentorati, 1484

Bernardus Clarevallendus, Opera, Lugduni, 1520

Wilhelmus Paraldus, Summa de virtutibus, Colonia, 1479

INVENTORY OF PONĘTOWSKI'S DONATION OF 1592

Regestrum rerum donatarum Sacro Collegio Cracouien[si] Per R[evere]ndūm
Dominum Ioannem Ponethowsky Abbatem Gradicensē Prothonottarium Apostoli-
cum vndecima Die Mensis Maii A[n]no D[omi]ni 1592

Tapeciae magnae ac minores virides Flandricae quatuordecim¹⁶

Imagines pulchro flandrico opera depicto[!] in tela omnes magn[a]e, viginti sex

In tabulis vero imagines eleganter depictae sunt septem

Imagines vero parui artificiose illuminati cum tabula Insignii mei nouem & Hen-
rici Regis effigies decima

Insigniorum Caesaris Papae ac Regis Tabula Ingressus solennis Caroli Quin-
ti Imperatoris Bononiam ad coronationem caesaris cum celebri Magestatis[!]
Pompa

Caesaris Ferdinandi Funeris Pompa I. 23893

Caesaris Caroli solemnes ex[s]equiae I. 23894

Insignia Caesaris

Imagines Tipus excussae

Electio Caesaris per sacri Imperii Principes Electoris

Aquilla biceps cum insignijs

Tipus Christianorum Principum et Antiquaru[m] monarchiaru[m]

Delinentio[!] naturae humanae

Genelogia Austriaca

Mappa Bohemiae Regni

Genelogia saxonie Ducis

Fiserunk Altaris pulchra illuminatura in Pargameno depictus ac artificiose factus

Cassula Rubea cum aurea cruce

¹⁶ Probably verdure tapestries, i.e. tapestries depicting landscapes with vegetation, sometimes also animals.

Alba cum stola, manipulari ac Homerali
 Infula cum baculo pastorali in the Jagiellonian University Museum.
 Agnus DEI¹⁷
 Custodiae, Rubea et Alba cum margaretis
 Sudarium ad Altare cum auro pulchre factum
 Sudarium supra calicem
 Perae duae cum cistula
 Cingulus ex serico ad Albam pulchro opere
 Puluinaria duo ad Altare¹⁸
 Baculus Francicus cum argento et gladiolo¹⁹
 Antiquitates in parua teca cum effigiae meae
 Sigillum magnum Caesaris
 Mappa altaris cum serico

LIBRI CONSCRIPTI

Volateranus Geogr. 1107
 Sermones de Sanctis
 Sermones Ioannis Fabri
 Cathalogus Sanctorum Martirum²⁰
 Canones et Decreta Sacri Concilij Tridentini
 De Sacra Eucharistia liber
 Assertio Catholica²¹
 Flagellum Hereticorum²²
 Decreta Ecclesiae Christi
 De statu animarum liber
 Methodius
 Opera Ioannis Sambuci²³
 De vitis et sectis omnium Hereticorum²⁴

¹⁷ Probably a medallion depicting Christ as the Lamb. Such medallions were originally made of wax, later also using durable, precious materials – “rather medals in the form of Agnus Dei” (*Encyklopedia kościelna*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1873, p. 79).

¹⁸ Small pillows placed on altars as pads for books, usually made of silk or other valuable materials, decorated with cross-stitch.

¹⁹ Probably a Limousin crosier with a stylized gladiolus flower in the curvature.

²⁰ Pierre M o r s e l i n, *Martyrologium sive sanctorum martyrum catalogus*.

²¹ Pedro d e S o t o, *Assertio catholica fidei circa articulos confessionis*.

²² Probably: Nicolas J a c q u i e r, *Flagellum haereticorum fascinarorium*, Frankfurt am Main, 1581.

²³ Janos Zsamboki.

²⁴ Gabriel d e P r é a u, *De vitis, sectis et dogmatibus omnium haereticorum*.

Aeneas Siluius, liber eius cum argento	Inc. 1849
Speculum Christianae professionis cum imaginibus	Prints folder 210
Missale Romanum in quarto sub veluto rubeo	
Habitus variarum gentium libri tres in folio cum imaginibus ²⁵	
Legenda Sanctorum	
Vitae Sanctorum Patrum cum imaginibus	
Gloria mundi cum Iconibus	Cim. 8416
Pontificale Romanum	Cim. 8417
Theatrum vitae humanae	Prints folder 152
Directorium in Bibliam auream in viridi opere	
Theatrum Sacerdotum cum Iconibus	
Paulus Iouius cum imaginibus sub veluto rubeo ²⁶	
Acta Apostolorum cum Iconibus	
Cathalogus Pontificum sub aureo filo	Inc. 1354–1355
Cronica Franciae cum Iconibus sub aureo filo	1 V Alb.
Acta Diuinarum nuptiarum sub aureo filo	
Theatrum Ciuitatum liber secundus	
Theatrum Ciuitatum liber Tertius ²⁷	
Liber Deuotus imaginum	
Effigies Pontificum Romanorum in octauo	887 III Alb.
Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae	Prints folder 211
Tipus Ecclesiae Catholicae	Prints folder 149
Missale Francicum sub rubeo veluto	Cim. 8426
Missale Romanum sub veluto rubeo cum auro	Cim. 5750
Spectacula Anthverpie[nsia] ac Arcus Triumphales ²⁸	
Philosophia naturalis	
Virtutes Poloticae[!] cum imaginibus	
Bellum Tuneti cum imaginibus	407–410 IV Alb.
Simbola Italica cum insignijs et Iconibus	
Insignia Polonica	
Castellorum ciuitatum ac Regum imagines in quarto liber	
Equitum imagines liber in quarto	
Theatrum orbis Terrarum sub veluto rubeo ac deaurato argento ²⁹	

²⁵ Jean Jacques B o i s s a r d, *Habitus variorum orbis gentium*.

²⁶ Paolo G i o v i o, perhaps *Elogi degli uomini illustri*?

²⁷ Georg B r a u n, Frans H o g e n b e r g, *Civitates orbis terrarum*.

²⁸ Probably: Schrijver Cornelius [G r a p h e u s], *De seer vonderlijcke [...] triumphelijcke incom-
pst [...] in de stadt van Antwerpen. Anno 1549*.

²⁹ Abraham O r t e l i u s, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.

Paruis mundus cum imaginibus liber sub rubeo veluto cum margaritis ³⁰	Cim. A?
Breuiarium antiquum Romanum sub viridi veluto cum auro et margeritis	Cim. C
Breuiarium recens sub viridi veluto cum auro	Cim. D
Praecationes Lesentricij sub veluto viridi cum margaritis ac auro	Cim. B
Liber Divinae Sapientiae	Prints folder 153
Hierarchia caelestis ³¹	
Libellus in sedecimo Martilogij imagines cum pictura	
Liber in folio in Mathematicis	
Liber in quarto mirabiliter compaginatus	
Libellus in quarto legacioru[m]	
Liber Historiae Dubrawij ³²	
Bomfinius[!] ³³	
Mappa parua impressa	
Turcicus imperator vt in templu[m] proficiscitur	

LIBRI PERGAMENEI

Liber Malo granati, Liber Primus	MS 1307/1
Malo granati Liber secundus et Tertius	MS 1307/2

³⁰ This entry is puzzling. The *parvus mundus* title means “microcosm,” the presence of illustrations, colour of the binding and usage of pearls bring the association with Cimelium A (i.e. Laurentius Haechtanus [Laurent van Haecht Goïdsehoven], *Mikrokosmos. Parvus mundus*, Antwerpen, Gerardus de Tadecius, 1579), known as the donation of Anna Jagiellon. What is more, Jacek Przybylski wrote in *Indiculus variorum monumentorum, codicum et librorum* (MS BJ 918, leaf 10r): “Liber emblematum, quo olim Antonius[!] Ponętowski, Abbas Gradicensis, Bibliothecae Academiae Benefactor, utebatur sub titulo: Mikrokosmos sive Parvus Mundus in 4 unionibus ornatus” (Przybylski consistently attributed the name Antoni to Ponętowski). The title and mention of pearls leave no doubts here. It’s hard to see such similarities as accidental. One can assume that this fact was noted by A. Lewicka-Kamińska, who noted this binding in the collection of drawings and hand-written notes concerning the Ponętowski collection bindings (MS Przyb. 223/80), as well as T. Chrzanowski, who wrote “it’s possible that [...] the connoisseur and bibliophile Jan Ponętowski interceded in the creation of this binding” (op. cit., p. 142). At the same time, in the hand-written inventory of bindings from the beginning of the 19th century, preserved in the graphic collection, one can read: “Ein von der poln. Königin Anna in Jahre 1582 gesticker (und von derselben am. 27. 4. 1584 der Bibliothek geschenker) Einband.” The book lacks Ponętowski’s ownership marks, and its binding bear the queen’s initials. One has to note, however, that some elements of the *Mikrokosmos* binding decorations are similar to the crosier kept in the Jagiellonian University Museum. It’s also puzzling that the eagle on Cim. A lacks the crown, in contrast to other Polish eagles from the Jagiellon era. The history of this binding still hides many secrets. The problem is that it’s never been studied in detail – even in the 1980s it was sometimes listed as a prayer book.

³¹ Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De coelesti hierarchia*.

³² Jan Dubrawius, *Historia regni Boemiae*.

³³ Probably Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*.

Explicationes Psalmorum	MS 1308
Evangelia et Epistola	
Liber Primus simonis de Cassia	
Liber secundus simonis de Cassia ³⁴	
Pontificale	MS 1558
Biblia Sacra noui et veteris testamenti duo libri pulchre scripti	MS 284

LIBRI IURIS PRUDENTIAE TAM Ciuilis et canonici Pontificij ac Caesarei quos donauit Collegio Iurisconsultoru[m]
 Digestum vetus Pandectarum in Folio
 Inforciatum Pandectarum Iuris ciuilis
 Digestum nouum Pandectarum
 Codices Diui Iustiniani
 Volumen complectens nouellas
 Constitutionum Diui Iustiniani liber
 Decretum Diui Graciani Iuris Canonici
 Decretales Gregorii in folio
 Sextus Decretalium liber Aegidij Perini in folio
 Vocabularius in octauo³⁵

Translated by Jacek Smycz

SUMMARY

Jan Ponętowski (ca. 1530–1598), abbot of Hradište (Moravia) from 1577 to 1587, was a collector who managed to bring together one of the most valuable Polish art collections of his time. Of this collection, about 900 prints bound in volumes, a number of books illustrated with engravings and woodcuts, as well as three rolls of etchings are now held by the Jagiellonian Library. All of these are sixteenth-century prints, made for the most part using metal techniques. Four fifths of them come from the Netherlands and the rest from Italy. Part of Ponętowski's library has also survived, including several manuscripts and incunables. Some of these books have extremely fine artistic bindings made of materials such as silk or velvet and adorned with pearls and coral, while others – made of leather – are

³⁴ The Jagiellonian Library is in possession of a Bohemian manuscript: Simon Fidati de Cassia, *Enarrationes evangelicae Veritatis*, vol. 1 (MS 1654) and vol. 2 (MS 1653). Both volumes lack ownership marks and their bindings are unadorned, making it impossible to identify their provenance.

³⁵ Below the text: donor's seal and signature: Ioannes Ponethowski, Abbas Gradicensis, / Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae Prothonottarius, Manu sua p[ro]p[ri]a [subscript]t[us].

mostly decorated with plaques. Most of the bindings come from Bohemia. Unfortunately, a large part of Ponętowski's collection – including fabrics, paintings on canvas and on wooden boards, as well as most of the church paraments – has not survived. Additionally, most of the library has been dispersed. Ponętowski, who strongly wished to be remembered by future generations, used several supralibros and bookplates.

He also liked to highlight the beauty and costly nature of the artworks in his possession. The subjects which prevail among Ponętowski's etchings are religion and history, the latter concerning recent events. It is also evident that the abbot was very fond of allegories. His artistic taste is unquestionable, as no poor quality works can be found in his collection.

The aim of this publication is to make a complete list of both the preserved and the lost items from Ponętowski's collection. The article contains a list of objects held by the Jagiellonian Library (according to the shelf marks). It also mentions several items that are to be found in other locations as well as the list of Ponętowski's donation to the University of Kraków (written by the donator in 1592). The present list is not a detailed one. Certain objects are mentioned collectively – some in a very brief manner. Where possible and where necessary, the author has added appropriate explanations (which in some cases are only hypothetical). These mostly concern the entries on lost objects.

KEYWORDS:

Jan Ponętowski, abbot, Hradište, collection, donation, Jagiellonian Library

KOLEKCJA JANA PONĘTOWSKIEGO. WSTĘP DO OPISU ZAWARTOŚCI

STRESZCZENIE

Jan Ponętowski (ok. 1530–1598) w latach 1577–1587, opat w Hradište na Morawach, zgromadził jedną z najcenniejszych polskich kolekcji sztuki swego czasu. W Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej zachował się zbiór około 900 grafik w oprawnych tomach, ponadto książki ilustrowane rycinami i 3 akwafortowe rolki. Jest to grafika z XVI wieku, niemal wyłącznie w technikach metalowych, w 4/5 pochodzenia niderlandzkiego, w drugiej kolejności włoskiego. Zachowała się też część biblioteki, w tym kilka rękopisów średniowiecznych i inkunabułów. Zwracają uwagę cenne oprawy artystyczne między innymi z aksamitu i jedwabiu, zdobione perłami lub koralami, zaś inne, skórzane, zdobione są najczęściej plakietami. Większość opraw

powstała w Czechach. Znaczna część kolekcji, w tym tkaniny, obrazy na płótnie lub desce i większość paramentów liturgicznych nie dochowała się do naszych czasów, również większość biblioteki uległa rozproszeniu. Ponętowski dbał bardzo o upamiętnienie swej osoby, używał kilku superekslibrisów i ekslibrisów, lubił podkreślać drogocенność i urodę posiadanych dzieł. W kolekcji grafiki przeważa tematyka religijna i historyczna, zwykle dotycząca nieodległej przeszłości i widoczne jest upodobanie do alegorii. Nie można odmówić Ponętowskiemu smaku artystycznego: nie spotyka się w zbiorze dzieł o niskiej jakości. Celem publikacji jest ustalenie listy zachowanych obiektów z kolekcji i dostępnych informacji o obiektach zaginionych. Artykuł zawiera zestawienie obiektów przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej (w porządku sygnatur), wspomniano też o kilku znajdujących się w innych miejscach. Uwzględniono też spis daru Ponętowskiego dla krakowskiego uniwersytetu sporządzony przez ofiarodawcę w 1592 roku. Spis nie jest precyzyjny: pewne obiekty traktuje tylko zbiorczo, niektóre bardzo skrótowo. Tam gdzie było to możliwe i potrzebne dodano uzupełnienia lub objaśnienia – niekiedy tylko hipotetyczne – zapisów dotyczących przeważnie obiektów, które się nie zachowały.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Jan Ponętowski, opat, Hradište, kolekcja, dar, Biblioteka Jagiellońska

Præcationes Leontij sub veluto viridi cum
marparis ac auro

Liber Divina sapientia

Hierarchia caelestis

Libellus in sedecim a cartylajj magnis cum
pictura.

Liber in folio in Mathematicis

Liber in quarto mirabiliter compo matris

Libellus in quarto legationis

Liber Historia Sabranij

Somnium

Annae parva impressa

Turcius interpretator ut in Templo

proficiscitur

LIBRI PARGAMINÆI

Liber Malopranati, Liber Irmis

Malopranati Liber secundus et Tertius

Explicationes Psalmorum

Evangelia et Epistola

Liber Irmis omnis de Cassia

Liber secundus omnis de Cassia

Pontificale

Biblia Sacramenti veteris testamenti

duo libri pulchre scripti

LIBRI IURIS PRVDENTIA TAM
Civilis et Canonici Pontificij ac Casarej
Quos donavit Collegio Iurisconsultoru

Digestum vetus Pandectarum in folio

Infortiatum Pandectarum Iuris Civilis

Digestum nouum Pandectarum

Codices Dni Iustiniani

Volume complexens nouellas

Constitutionum Dni Iustiniani Liber

Decretum Dni Gratiani Iuris Canonici

Decretales Gregorij in folio

Sextus Decretalium Liber Epistolarum Perini in folio

ocabularis in octavo



Ioannes Ps. Studiensis
Sanctæ sedis ac, Erathorottarius,
Manu sua pp̄a p̄t̄

Fig. 1. The inventory of Jan Ponętowski's donation.

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DOI: 10.26106/KXT0-DF92

MELCHIOR NERING'S BINDINGS OF THREE PRINTS
FROM THE PRIVATE LIBRARY
OF THE ABBOTT OF TRZEMESZNO,
WOJCIECH MIELIŃSKI¹

The former book collection of Wojciech Mieliński, of Wczele coat of arms, abbot of Trzemeszno (d. 1621), like the book collections of many other Polish church dignitaries, has been significantly dispersed over the centuries. What remains of it can be found, among others, in the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (several works),² in the Archdiocesan Archives of Gniezno (13 volumes)³ and also in the library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences,⁴ University Library in Poznań⁵

¹ The text was written as part of the grant “Inventory of the resource of the Cathedral Library in Gniezno,” financed by the National Programme for the Development of Humanities of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (No. 11H 12 0179 81), supervised by Piotr Pokora, PhD (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań).

² See J. K o w a l c z y k, *Jak czytał Witruwiusza Wojciech Mieliński opat z Trzemeszna. Uwagi o jego księgozbiórze*, [in:] *Muzeum i twórca. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury ku czci prof. dr. Stanisława Lorentza*, ed. K. M i c h a ł o w s k i, Warszawa 1969, p. 357.

³ The following abbreviations are used in the text: AAG – Archdiocesan Archives of Gniezno; PTPN – Library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences; BR in Poznań – Raczyński Library in Poznań; BJ – Jagiellonian Library; AAG, BK 3; BK 219; BK 314; BK 861; BK 988; BK 1172; BK 1520; BK 1522; BK 1535; BK 1634; BK 1682; BK 3445; BK 9965.

⁴ See [online] <https://ptpn.locloud.pl/items/browse?collection=3> [accessed on: June 17, 2020], PTPN 20612. I; 22984. I; see: [online] <https://ptpn.locloud.pl/search?query=20612.+1%3B+22984.+1%3B> [accessed on: June 17, 2020].

⁵ University Library in Poznań, SD 2339 I; SD 41614 I. The author would like to thank Jakub Łukaszewski, MA (University Library in Poznań) for the information about these works.

and the Raczyński Library in Poznań⁶ (two volumes each). The remains of the once-rich collection have not been the subject of extensive research so far. Some comments regarding the Kórnik copies can be found in the article by Jerzy Kowalczyk,⁷ which was then used by the biographer of the Trzemeszno Abbot – Włodzimierz Dworzaczek.⁸

The love of books with beautifully decorated bindings was not a rarity in the Mieliński family. For example, Wojciech's father – Krzysztof (d. around 1606), a Kalisz pantler, had in his collection a Venetian print from 1554, which was bound two years later in an unidentified Poznań bindery.⁹ The upper cover of this volume, marked with the owner's superexlibris, bears a decoration in the then fashionable Aldine type.¹⁰ The uncle of Wojciech – Aleksander (d. 1584), Abbot of Trzemeszno (from 1557) and a bishop nominee for the Wenden (Livonian) diocese, could also boast a rich library.¹¹ Recent studies have revealed that the priest was an owner of books whose covers fit into various decoration formulas characteristic of the 16th century. In addition to works typical for the bookbinding of Greater Poland, modelled on German Renaissance ones, he also owned architectural and Aldine-Grolierian bindings.¹² The passion for books of Wojciech's second uncle – Erasmus (d. 1579), the canon of Gniezno, Kraków, Poznań and Kruszwica, is evidenced by an impressive superexlibris, which was marked with the binding of his Venetian print from 1569.¹³ It is

⁶ BR in Poznań, II.M.c.13; III.J.a.6. The author would like to thank Arkadiusz Wagner, PhD (Mikołaj Kopernik University in Toruń) and Dorota Gołębowska, MA (Raczyński Library in Poznań) for the information about these volumes.

⁷ J. K o w a l c z y k, op. cit., pp. 357–363.

⁸ W. D w o r z a c z e k, *Mieliński (Mieleński) Wojciech h. Wczele*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 20, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, p. 778.

⁹ PTPN 20612. I; see [online] <https://ptpn.locloud.pl/items/show/4618> [accessed on: June 17, 2020]. The book then was included in Wojciech's collection. On his father's life and activities, see W. D w o r z a c z e k, op. cit., pp. 775–776.

¹⁰ See A. W a g n e r, *Oprawy ksiąg Andrzeja Opalińskiego*, [in:] *Księgozbiór wielkopolskiego magnata. Andrzej Opaliński (1540–1593)*, ed. i d e m, Poznań 2011, p. 153; i d e m, *Introligatorstwo poznańskie XVI wieku jako historyczno-artystyczna «terra incognita»*, [in:] *Sztuka w Wielkopolsce*, eds. M. B ł a s z c z y ń s k a, B. G ó r e c k a, M. G ó r e c k i, A. P a r a d o w s k a, Poznań 2013, p. 73; i d e m, *Włoskie wpływy w polskim introligatorstwie XV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Tegumentologia polska dzisiaj*, ed. i d e m, Toruń 2015, p. 98.

¹¹ See W. D w o r z a c z e k, op. cit., pp. 774–775; see also J. K o w a l c z y k, op. cit., p. 358.

¹² M. M u r a s z k o, *Oprawy trzech ksiąg opata trzemeszeńskiego Aleksandra Mielińskiego*, [in:] *Introligatorzy i ich klienci*, ed. A. W a g n e r, Toruń 2017, pp. 109–124. It is worth mentioning that at least one volume belonging to Aleksander's collection was then incorporated into Wojciech's library (BR in Poznań, II.Mc13).

¹³ AAG, BK 1198; see P. P o k o r a, M. M u r a s z k o, *Skarby drukarstwa i introligatorstwa ze zbiorów dawnej Biblioteki Katedralnej w Gnieźnie. Katalog wystawy w Bibliotece Raczyńskich, Poznań 5–30 maja 2015*, Poznań–Gniezno 2015, pp. 22–23; A. W a g n e r, *Superekslibris polski. Studium o kulturze bibliofilskiej i sztuce od średniowiecza do połowy XVII wieku*, Toruń 2016, p. 224. On Erazm

not surprising, then, that Wojciech's collection also contains valuable volumes with richly decorated bindings. It is worth mentioning that Mieliński's foreign studies must have had an impact on shaping his attitude towards books – initially probably at one of German universities, then in Italy.¹⁴

As it has already been noted, at least 13 volumes from the discussed collection of Trzemeszno Abbot are currently kept in the AAG collections.¹⁵ Six of them were re-bound in the 18th and 19th centuries,¹⁶ while the others have preserved their original binding, which was made in the second half of the 16th and the early 17th centuries.¹⁷ It seems that most of the bindings were made in Greater Poland binderies. Three of these books were bound most probably in the workshop of Melchior Nering in Poznań (d. 1587).¹⁸ These works, which are the subject of this study, can belong to a group of several of currently known bindings which are attributed to Nering.¹⁹ Thus, Wojciech Mieliński became another customer of the above mentioned workshop known by name. It is worth mentioning that among others, book lovers such as Erazm Gliczner (d. 1603), Benedykt Herbest (d. 1598), Andrzej Opaliński (d. 1593) and the already mentioned Aleksander Mieliński²⁰ used this workshop to buy books.

The three bindings shown below were made of bevelled beech boards, which were coated with brown leather and fitted with brass and leather fasteners. The books were sewn into three (two double and single) or four (double) bands, their spines were marked with spike lines, creating compartments devoid of decoration. All volumes have headbands embroidered with cream and brown thread.

The first of the bindings covers the Cologne print *Deprobatis sanctorum historis* (vol. 1) from 1570.²¹ Its title page includes an ownership entry, which indicates

Mieliński, see J. K o r y t k o w s k i, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitalnej gnieźnieńskiej od roku 1000 aż do dni naszych. Podług źródeł archiwalnych*, vol. 2, Gniezno 1883, pp. 618–619.

¹⁴ See J. K o w a l c z y k, op. cit., p. 358.

¹⁵ It is possible that further inventory work carried out in the AAG collections will allow the identification of subsequent books that used to belong to Wojciech Mieliński's library.

¹⁶ AAG, BK 219; BK 988; BK 1520; BK 1535; BK 1634; BK 9965.

¹⁷ AAG, BK 3; BK 314; BK 861; BK 1172; BK 1522; BK 1682; BK 3445.

¹⁸ AAG, BK 3; BK 1522; BK 1682. On the life and activities of Melchior Nering, see for example *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 4: *Pomorze*, ed. A. K a w e c k a - G r y c z o w a, K. K o r o t a j o w a, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1962, pp. 272–291; Z. S k o r u p s k a, *Nering Melchior*, [in:] *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej*, ed. I. T r e i c h e l, Warszawa–Łódź 1972, pp. 622–624; J. S ó j k a, *Nering Melchior*, [in:] *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, eds. A. G ą s i o r o w s k i, J. T o p o l s k i, Warszawa–Poznań 1981, p. 509; M. K r u p a, *Nering Melchior*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 13, Lublin 2009, coll. 930–931.

¹⁹ A. Wagner, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁰ Ibidem, pp. 155–162; M. M u r a s z k o, Wybrane oprawy starodruków ze zbiorów dawnej biblioteki klasztornej cystersów w Wągrowcu [in print]; i d e m, *Oprawy trzech ksiąg...*

²¹ AAG, BK 1522 (former shelfmark E 158).



Fig. 1. Old-print binding from 1570 (upper cover), Melchior Nering, Poznań, AAG, photo Mikołaj Macioszek.

that the book belongs to the library of the Trzemeszno Abbot: “Albert[i] Mielinski Abbat[is] Tremesn[ensis].”²² The decoration of the upper (fig. 1) and lower cover was based on an uniformly laid out frame composition, almost entirely tooled in blind using a spike, two rolls, and lettering stamps. The outer frame of each cover has a roll impression containing four biblical scenes (Annunciation, Baptism in Jordan, Resurrection, Crucifixion) which are separated by frames with inscriptions (VIRGO MARI[a] // DEI MATER, HIC EST FILI // VS MEVS DI[lectus], MORS ERO // MORS TVAO [!], ECCE AGNVS // DEI QVI TOL[lit peccata mundi]) and a floral decoration. The in-

²² Ownership entries in the three volumes in question, in which Wojciech already appears as an abbot, must have been made at the earliest in 1583/1584, and therefore, as it turns out, at least a few years after the binding was made. It is possible that Melchior Nering made these works for someone else (for example, the above-mentioned Aleksander Mielński), and Wojciech incorporated them into his collection at a later time. It should be emphasized that the books were not provided with provenance notes that could indicate the book owners before Wojciech.

ner frame was decorated with a roll with personifications of four virtues: FIDES [Faith], PACIEN[tia] [Patience], CHARI[tas] [Love], SPES [Hope]. The surface between the figures is filled with frames including captions and an arabesque ornament. In the case of the upper cover, above and below the upper inner border of the frame, a gilded inscription was embossed: DE PROBATIS SAN // [c]TORVVM SVRI. Rectangular centerpieces (each in four borders) were decorated with two vertical roll lines, which were embossed with the above tool with the images of the four virtues.

In the literature on the subject, this work is connected with the studio of Melchior Nering.²³ Such attribution is confirmed by a closer analysis of the decoration of its covers. It seems that the above roll with four biblical scenes was also used to decorate the volume binding originally belonging to the collection of Erazm Gliczner, which Arkadiusz Wagner attributes to the workshop of the bookbinder.²⁴ It is also worth adding that the impressions of this tool are also present on the binding of the book that was owned by Aleksander Mielniński, which is probably connected with the period of Poznań activity of Nering.²⁵

The second binding covers a valuable Basel print *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* from 1555.²⁶ The ownership of Wojciech is indicated by one of the provenance notes on the title page: “Albertus [!] Mielinski Abbat[is] Trem[esnensis].” The composition of the upper cover of the binding (fig. 2), almost entirely rolled in blind, is based on the outer frame, which was made using a spike and roll with figural decoration. It consists of images of the Risen Christ and St. John the Evangelist with four frames, in which identification inscriptions (SALVA[tor], IOHA[nnes]) and biblical quotes (DATA E//ST MIC[hi!] Omnis potestas], ECCE AG//NVS DE[i]) are placed.²⁷ An arabesque fills the surface between the figures and frames. Rolled straps, integrated into the inner frame of the upper cover, depict two medallions with busts of Ovid (OVIDIVS) and Cicero (M[arcus] T[ullius] CICE-RO) and coat of arms shields with an eagle and crossed keys (the so-called small coat of arms of Poznań) which are separated by a floral decoration. Above and be-

²³ See Z. M o c a r s k i, *Książka w Toruniu do roku 1793. Zarys dziejów*, Toruń 1934, p. 36, f.n. 167.

²⁴ See *Informator o zbiorach i działalności Wojewódzkiej Biblioteki Publicznej Książnicy Kopernikańskiej w Toruniu*, eds. L. P l u t a, T. S z y m o r o w s k a, K. W y s z o m i r s k a, Toruń 2008, pp. 47, 50; A. W a g n e r, op. cit., p. 159, f.n. 30. It is worth adding that also Anna Lewicka-Kamińska connects the discussed roll (including biblical scenes) with Melchior Nering. As it can be seen from her pencil copies, it was used both in the Poznań and Toruń period of the craftsman's activity; see Jagiellonian Library (BJ), MS Przyb. 115/80; MS Przyb. 118/80. Przyb. 115/80; Przyb. 118/80.

²⁵ AAG, BK 5932; M. M u r a s z k o, *Oprawy trzech ksiąg...*

²⁶ AAG, BK 1682.

²⁷ It is worth noting that the copies of the binding cover preserved in the legacy of Anna Lewicka-Kamińska indicate that this roll was also taken by Melchior Nering to Toruń; BJ, Przyb. 118/80; see A. W a g n e r, op. cit., p. 159 and f.n. 28; see also E. L a u c e v i c i u s, *XV–XVIII a. knyg jrisimai Lietuvos bibliotekose*, Vilnius 1976, no. 323.

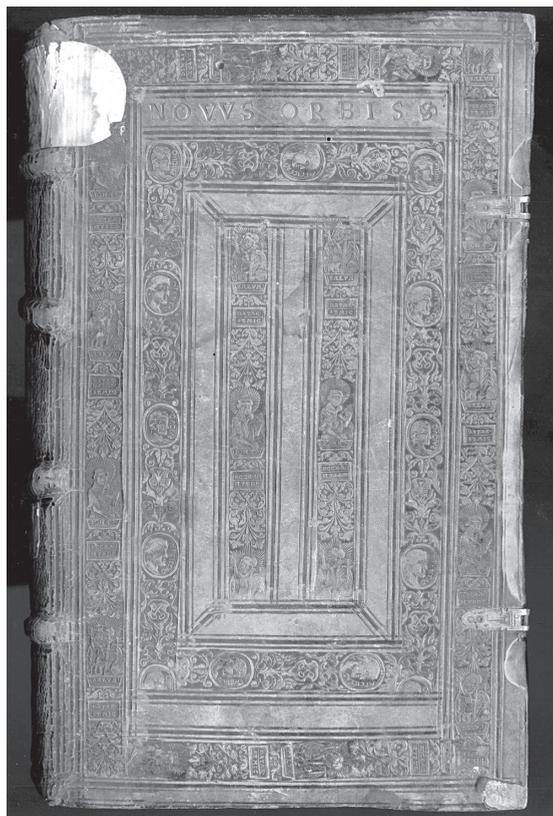


Fig. 2. Old-print binding from 1555 (upper cover), Melchior Nering, Poznań, AAG, photo Mikołaj Macioszek.

low the frame, there are horizontal borders. In the upper one there is a gilded abbreviation for the title of the bound print: NOVVS ORBIS.²⁸ The centerpiece, surrounded by four borders, is decorated with two vertical roll stripes, which were pressed with a tool depicting Christ and St. John the Evangelist. An additional vertical border runs through the very centre of the piece. The volume's lower cover was decorated in an almost identical manner.

The use of rolls with representations of Christ and St. John, Ovid and Cicero indicates that the work was probably made in the studio of Melchior Nering. Impressions of this tool with the images of the Saviour and the Evangelist appear on the frame prepared for Benedykt Herbest in 1564.²⁹ They are accompanied with stripes of decoration, which were made with the “Neringian” roll with the four Bible scenes

²⁸ The line ends with two overlapping impressions of the letter “S.”

²⁹ AAG, BK 1599; M. Muraśzko, *Wybrane oprawy starodruków...*

mentioned above. The interior of the centerpiece of the upper cover of the binding is decorated with a rectangular plaque representing the Resurrection. The imprint of this plaque, as well as impressions of the rolls with images of Christ and St. John the Evangelist, Ovid and Cicero are on the binding of a Paris print from 1562, which also used to belong to the collection of Benedict Herbst.³⁰



Fig. 3. Old-print binding from 1570 (upper cover), Melchior Nering, Poznań, AAG, photo Michał Muraszko.

The last of the bindings belongs to an Antwerp print *Officium missae* from 1570.³¹ On the title page, there is a provenance entry indicating the belonging of the book to the Wojciech Mielniński library: “Albert[i] Mielinskij Abb[atis] Tremesnen[sis].” The decoration of the upper cover of the binding (fig. 3) is tooled in gold. It consists of two concentric, double, linear spike frames. In the upper zone of the cover, there is an ab-

³⁰ AAG, BK 1547.

³¹ AAG, BK 3.

abbreviation of the title of the bound print: OFFICIVM MIS[sae]. The centre of the mirror is decorated with a rectangular plaque with a scene of the temptation of Adam and Eve, below which there is a frame with a biblical quote: INOBEDIENOIA[!] VNI[us]. The whole is completed by six stamp impressions with a floral motif. Decorations of the lower cover of the binding are tooled in blind. They are based on a frame decorated with a roll with four bust medallions, separated by an arabesque (fig. 4).³² Three vertical stripes with a braided ornament are incorporated into the rectangular centerpiece.

The creation of this bookbinding work in the workshop of Melchior Nering is indicated by impressions of the roll with bust medallions. Decorations made with this tool are also found on the above-mentioned Poznań binding of the book that belonged to Aleksander Mieliński.³³

Capturing the moment of creation of the above-mentioned bindings presents some difficulties. Wojciech Mieliński lived and kept his book collection in Poznań.³⁴ Therefore, it seems that it is mainly in this city one should look for bookbinders whose services he used. The activity of Melchior Nering can be divided into three periods – when he worked in Poznań (1559–1579), Grodzisk (1579–1581), and Toruń (1581–1587). It is known that he used certain tools both at the beginning and at the end of his bookbinding activity. It is assumed in the literature that the binding of the Cologne print from 1570 discussed above was made in Toruń in 1568–1578/1579.³⁵ The second of the works presented here was probably also created in Poznań, covering the Basel print from 1555. The above conclusion is supported by the paper of Poznań origin (marked with a filigree depicting a coat of arms with an eagle and crossed keys) which the flyleaves of the volume were made of.³⁶ It is worth mentioning that Melchior Nering's Toruń prints were mainly pressed on paper of local provenance.³⁷ When he left Poznań at the end of the 1570s, he undoubtedly associated with the reformist community. Therefore, the question arises whether Wojciech Mieliński (from 1584 an abbot in Trzemeszno) would continue to use the services of

³² This knurl and plaque with the temptation of Adam and Eve were also used to decorate the binding of Cologne prints from 1573 – the volume was purchased in 1575 in Toruń (AAG, BK 81).

³³ AAG, BK 5932; M. M u r a s z k o, *Oprawy trzech ksiąg...*

³⁴ See J. K o w a l c z y k, op. cit., p. 358.

³⁵ AAG, BK 1522 (former shelfmark E 158); Z. M o c a r s k i, op. cit., p. 36, f.n. 167.

³⁶ See the drawings of similar filigrees: C. M. B r i q u e t, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu 'en 1600*, vol. 1, Geneve 1907, no. 1154; *Papiernie w Polsce XVI wieku. Works of Franciszek Piekosiński, Jan Ptaśnik, and Kazimierz Piekarski. Republished and supplemented by Włodzimierz Budka*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1971, no. 247; See also J. S i n i a r s k a - C z a p l i c k a, *Filigrany papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI do połowy XVIII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1969, pp. 17–18.

³⁷ J. S i n i a r s k a - C z a p l i c k a, *Papier druków oficyn gdańskich i toruńskich XVI i XVII w.*, "Roczniki Biblioteczne" 18, 1974, book 1–2, p. 279, chart 2.



Fig. 4. Roll impression on 1570 old print binding (lower cover),
Melchior Nering, Poznań, AAG, photo by Michał Muraszko.

a craftsman associated with such circles. Examining all the preserved binding of the priest's books would perhaps help to solve this issue.

In conclusion, it should be assumed that the three bindings presented above were made at the end of the 1570s at the latest in Melchior Nering's workshop in Poznań. It is worth noting that the compositions of the upper and lower cover of two of them, consisting of concentric frames with rolled decoration and empty borders, resemble patterns pop-

ular in the German Renaissance bookbinding.³⁸ Such a compositional pattern was, moreover, typical of works executed during the Poznań period of our craftsman's activity.³⁹

Translated by Anna Sekułowicz

SUMMARY

This article describes the bindings of three 16th century prints that used to belong to the rich collection of Wojciech Mieliński, who was the Abbot of Trzemeszno and who died in 1621. The decoration of these bindings indicates that they most probably came from Melchior Nering's bookbinding workshop while this craftsman was still connected with Poznań. The three volumes in question are currently kept in the Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno.

KEYWORDS:

Wojciech Mieliński, Trzemeszno, Melchior Nering, Poznań, bookbinding, tegumentology

NERINGOWSKIE OPRAWY TRZECH DRUKÓW Z KSIĘGOZBIORU OPATA TRZEMESZEŃSKIEGO WOJCIECHA MIELIŃSKIEGO

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia trzy oprawy, które zabezpieczają szesnastowieczne druki należące niegdyś do bogatej kolekcji opata trzemeszeńskiego Wojciecha Mielińskiego (zm. 1621). Jak się okazuje, zostały one sporządzone najprawdopodobniej w introligatorni Melchiora Neringa, w okresie, gdy rzemieślnik ten był jeszcze związany z Poznaniem. Na wymienioną atrybucję przedstawianych dzieł wskazuje dekoracja ich okładek. Trzy omawiane woluminy przechowywane są obecnie w zbiorach Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Gnieźnie.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Wojciech Mieliński, Trzemeszno, Melchior Nering, Poznań, introligatorstwo, tegumentologia

³⁸ See K. Piekar ski, *Książka w Polsce XV i XVI wieku*, [in:] *Kultura staropolska*, Kraków 1932, p. 366; M. Krynicka, *Oprawy książkowe z herbami ostatnich Jagiellonów w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, "Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie" 12, 1980, pp. 33–34; see also A. W ag n e r, *Wolumin z księgozbioru Mikołaja Korycińskiego z rękopiśmiennym fragmentem tekstu Filipa Melanchtona*, "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce" 58, 2014, pp. 130–132.

³⁹ See A. W ag n e r, op. cit., pp. 159–161.

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UNKNOWN BOOKS OF KING SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS IN THE CONGREGATION OF THE MISSION LIBRARY IN STRADOM

Polish libraries still contain many treasures waiting to be discovered. This is especially true in the case of church libraries – less researched and less popular among scholars due to a more difficult access. Numerous cases, however, show the true value of research conducted in such collections. This article is a result of the work conducted in the library of the Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul in Stradom, Kraków.

The Stradom house is the only location of this community in Poland that has not been suppressed despite the historical turmoil. For 300 years its library has been gathering works serving mostly the clerics of the Stradom congregation, but also available to the wider audience. Mentions of the missionary priests' collection can be found in the compilations focused on the congregation history in Poland, such as the text by Father Franciszek Bączkowicz¹ (1911), or Stanisław Rospond² (1986). One can also find several library science master theses³ dedicated to the history and characteristics of the collection. The most extensive, although still quite general study of the library's history can be found in the text by Katarzyna

¹ F. Bączkowicz, *Z dziejów domu Stradomskiego*, "Rocznik Obydwóch Zgromadzeń," 1st quarter, Kraków 1911.

² S. Rospond, *Dzieje misjonarzy stradomskich*, "Meteor" 1986.

³ L. Moskał, *Druki polskojęzyczne z XVII wieku w Bibliotece Księży Misjonarzy na Stradomiu*, Kraków 1997 (typescript); J. Malik, *Druki polskojęzyczne I poł. XVIII wieku w Bibliotece Księży Misjonarzy na Stradomiu w Krakowie*, Kraków 1997 (typescript); A. Sewc, *Druki w języku polskim w Bibliotece Zgromadzenia Księży Misjonarzy na Stradomiu*, Kraków 1998 (typescript); all these works are available in the Stradom Archives or the library of the Pedagogical University of Kraków.

Mituś-Nowak.⁴ Several interesting facts regarding the library are also noted in the *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* catalogue, edited by Izabella Rejduch-Samkova and Jan Samek,⁵ as well as an article by Father Wacław Umiński CM.⁶

The collection of old prints in the Stradom library is very uneven, as it is composed of several smaller collections, gathered gradually due to dissolutions and donations, supplemented naturally by purchases. The initial collection, created probably by the first missionaries working in the Wawel cathedral in 1682–1685, was complemented by books from the library of the Monastery of Discalced Carmelites at the St. Michael and St. Joseph church in Kraków, dissolved in 1797. In 1801, due to the regulation of the ruling Austrian authorities, three seminaries in Kraków – Castle Seminary, Academic Seminary and Stradom Seminary – were combined into one, headquartered at the congregation house. This enriched the library with the books of the *Domus Congr[egationis] Miss[ionis] in Arce* provenance, nowadays constituting a large part of the collection. In 1864⁷ the library grew thanks to the books from the collection of the dissolved house of the St. Cross Church in Warsaw, and after the Second World War – from libraries of the Lvov houses.⁸ In the following years, the collection was supplemented by prints from Tarnow, Zakopane and the missionary house in Kleparz, Kraków.⁹

While gathering materials for my master thesis devoted to bindings of old prints in the Stradom library, I came across two books that used to be a part of the collection of king Sigismund Augustus – one of the most interesting Polish Renaissance libraries. This collection has been a subject of studies for a long time. There are works devoted to it¹⁰ by Edmund Majkowski, Stanisław Lisowski, Kazimierz Hartleb, Henryk Barycz et al., but it was Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa who finally created an extensive monograph of the library of the last Jagiellon king.¹¹ Based on earlier works, as well as her own stud-

⁴ K. Mituś-Nowak, *Biblioteka Księży Misjonarzy na Stradomiu w Krakowie*, “Fides. Biuletyn Bibliotek Kościelnych” 1/2, 2003.

⁵ *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, eds. I. Rejduch-Samkova, J. Samek, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 5: *Kazimierz i Stradom*, Warszawa 1994.

⁶ W. Umiński, *Z działalności biblioteki stradomskiej. Biblioteka dawniej i dziś*, “Informator” 2004/2005, no. 24.

⁷ 1864 is the date determined by Father Umiński, while the Sameks place this event in 1865, see W. Umiński, op. cit., p. [33]; *Katalog zabytków sztuki...*, p. 60.

⁸ See *Katalog zabytków sztuki...*, pp. 59–60.

⁹ See W. Umiński, op. cit., p. 33.

¹⁰ Among others: E. Majkowski, *Materiały do dziejów biblioteki Zygmunta Augusta*, Poznań 1928; S. Lisowski, *Do dziejów biblioteki Zygmunta Augusta*, [in:] *Studnia nad książką poświęconę pamięci K. Piekarskiego*, Wrocław 1951; K. Hartleb, *Dzieje spuścizny królewskiej*, Lviv 1929; idem, *Biblioteka Zygmunta Augusta. Studium z dziejów kultury królewskiego dworu*, Lwów 1929; H. Barycz, *Dookoła biblioteki Zygmunta Augusta*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 1, 1933.

¹¹ A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona. Pomnik kultury renesansowej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1988.

ies and queries in Polish and foreign libraries, she created a catalogue of the preserved books as well as of the books that were lost but described in reliable inventories. Complicated history of the collection, especially its significant dispersion, made it impossible to catalogue all items constituting the royal library – a fact well known to the author.

This article presents two books that were not described in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue. I hope that this small supplement will contribute to the goal of enlarging and preserving, at least in writing, the remaining royal library.

The moment when Sigismund Augustus started his collection is hard to define. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa saw the beginning of the royal library in the prints that the prince already possessed in Kraków, as well as his “school readings.” The rich inventory of the Lithuanian court, which Sigismund Augustus got in authority of in 1543, let him implement his broad plan regarding culture. Significant means were allocated to purchasing books required by the ruler, his physicians, as well as priests staying at the court. The expansion of the library was not due solely to just by practical reasons, however – the Renaissance fashion of bibliophilia and collecting, propped up by family traditions, also had an impact on the young ruler.¹²

We have knowledge of earlier acquisitions of objects into the library of Sigismund Augustus,¹³ however the young king began a systematic creation of a “palace library” in 1547.¹⁴ The first caretakers of the library were Jan Koźmińczyk in Vilnius (1547–1548), as well as Andrzej Trzeciecki (the Older) in Kraków (few months in 1547) followed by his descendant, Andrzej Trzeciecki (the Younger, 1548–1552). Then, the custody of the library passed to a nobleman from the court of Barbara Radziwiłł – her chancellor Stanisław Koszowski, who joined the royal court as a librarian after the queen's death. Among others, he initiated an inventory of legal works in the library. After his death in 1559, the position of the librarian was awarded to Łukasz Górnicki, who quickly gained the king's approval. During his tenure, the library was moved from Vilnius to Tykocin and he remained its custodian until the king's death.

The royal library contained books on a variety of topics – such as legal, theological, and historical works, as well as literature, etc. In her catalogue of the last Jagiellon's library, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa also lists tomes concerning medicine and pharmacology¹⁵ (97 books). Both discovered books contain medical texts, too.

The first one, marked with the *supralibros* of Sigismund Augustus, is an *adligat* (shelfmark 100-II-P2) containing three texts: the first one is *Consilia medicinalia et varia morborum genera* by Benedictus Victorius,¹⁶ printed in Venice in 1556, the sec-

¹² Ibidem, p. 27.

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 29–32.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 32.

¹⁵ Ibidem, pp. 585–682.

¹⁶ A. Kawecka-Gryczowa notes the presence of two other medical works of this author in the royal library: *Commentaria in Hippocratis Aphorismos* [...], Venetiis 1556 and *Liber de pleuritide ad Galeni et Hippocratis scopum* [...] editus, Venetiis 1536.

ond one is *De curandis morbis* [...] by Guillelmus de Varignana (no place and year of publication, the last page contains a signet of Henricpetri printers of Basel – a hand emerging from a cloud strikes a rock with Thor's hammer, striking fire), while the third one is *De aegritudinibus infantium tractatus* by Leonello Vittori, published in Venice in 1557. All prints (8° format, binding dimensions 117/153 mm)¹⁷ were bound according to a design created in 1547¹⁸ – brown leather on a plank, pressed with gold (on the front and back board), with blind embossing on the frames. The book block, 75 mm thick, was formed using five raised bands, with covers clipped with brass brackets. The back board contains the traditional ownership formula, pressed in majuscules: SIGISMVNDI AVGVSTI REGIS POLONIAE MONVMENTVM ANNO 1560.

The supralibros on the cover of *Consilia medicinalia* [...], adapted to smaller formats, was catalogued by A. Kawecka-Gryczowa as supralibros Ia¹⁹ (fig. 1), while the roll tool used on the cover received the number 19²⁰ (fig. 2). The spine of the book was decorated with a pattern consisting of small rhombuses. The print was probably bound in Vilnius.



Fig. 1. The supralibros of Sigismund Augustus (shelfmark 100-II-P2; Kawecka-Gryczowa no. Ia).

According to A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, since 1557 all books were bound in the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where stamps Ia and Ib appeared, imitating the Kraków supralibros I. Stamp Ib is supposed to be a copy of stamp Ia, created after the original was lost or destroyed.

¹⁷ In both cases I indicate the dimensions of the binding.

¹⁸ First books were bound by the royal bookbinder Dawid, using plaques representing the royal coat of arms, created by engravers Killian (smaller formats) and Jan (larger formats), see A. K a w e c k a - G r y c z o w a, op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁹ Ibidem, fig. 26.

²⁰ Ibidem, fig. 52.



Fig. 2. The ornamental roll (shelfmark 100-II-P2; Kawecka-Gryczowa no. 19).

The title page contains handwritten notes (fig. 3). One of them – *Datus est mi[hi]* [...] *Sylvestro Roguski per Serenissimam Reginam Poloniae Annam 1586* – shows that the print belonged to the library of Sylwester Roguski, an astronomer, mathematician and physician of Sigismund Augustus and, for nearly a quarter of a century, Anna Jagiellon. He was brought up in a burgher family in Pomerania (Świecie). He studied at the Kraków Academy and obtained a doctor's degree in medicine from the University of Padua. After returning from Italy, he gave up his scholarly career and devoted himself to practice. Roguski was trusted by the queen, a fact proven by numerous benefits received from her. As a (self-proclaimed) inheritor of a part of Sigismund Augustus' library, she gave Roguski several medical books from the late king's collection.²¹

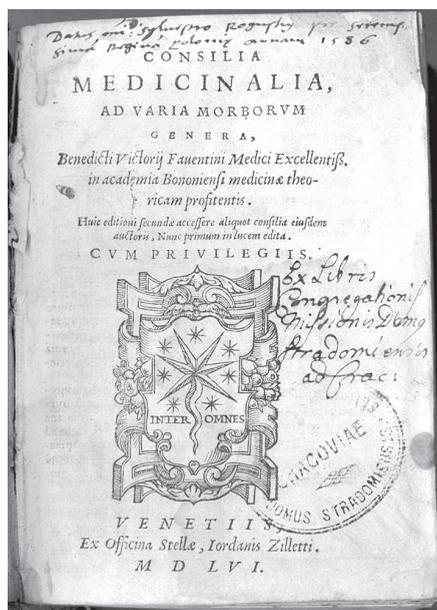


Fig. 3. Title page with Sylwester Roguski's ownership note (shelfmark 100-II-P1).

²¹ At the number 623 in the A. Kawecka-Gryczowa catalog, there is a description of a volume bearing Sylwester Roguski's note to the effect that he received another medical book from the queen in this year.

The other, more recent note shows the book's affiliation with the Stradom missionary library: *Ex Libris Congregationis Missionis Domus Stradomiensis ad Crac [oviam]*; the title page also bears an oval stamp with the text [CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS] DOMUS STRADOMIENSIS CRACOVIAE.

I was not able to answer one of the most interesting questions: how did this book make it to the missionary library? Another book gifted in 1586 to Roguski by Anna Jagiellon – a several-volume text *De medica materia septem sermons* by Niccolò Faluccci, published in Venice in 1531–1533 – can be found in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue (number 623). Apart from Koszutki's provenance note, it contains another one confirming it to be a part of Kraków's Capuchins library, followed by a note of its purchase by Karol Estreicher. Roguski died before 17th June 1602 and Capuchins arrived in Kraków in the final years of the 18th century – it's difficult to say anything about the history of the book in the period of over two hundred years. Probably it was connected with clergymen, who were most interested in creating a library in the new congregation house. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue also contains prints of the Warsaw missionaries' provenance – perhaps this is how the book made to Stradom.



Fig.4. The supralibros of Sigismund Augustus (shelfmark 29-III-B; Kawecka-Gryczowa no. II).

The other print of Sigismund, shelfmark 29-III-B,²² is also a convolute. It's an interesting combination of an accedit and another work, together creating an adligat. The first one contains the following prints: Hildegardis S., *Physica*; Oribasius, *De simplicibus libri quinque*; Theodorus Phisicus, *Dieta, docens quibusnam salubriter*

²² This binding became of interest to the authors of *Katalog zabytków sztuki*, see *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce...*, pp. 61–62. Reference III-B in the missionary library is given to the particularly valuable works. Many of them, including the subject volume, are kept in a vault.

utendum vel abstinendum, and Esculapius, *Liber unus de morborum, infirmitatum, passionumque corporis humani caussis, descriptionibus et cura*, Argentorati 1533. Attached to them is *Medicamentorum opus, in sections quadraginta octo digestum* [...] by Myrepsus Nicolaus Alexandrinus, Basileae 1549.

The book block's binding dimensions are 332/212 mm (block thickness 45 mm). The binding was made in the traditional royal library style – a plank covered with brown leather, boards are clipped with two brackets and five raised bands are visible on the spine. The book underwent renovation leading to replacement of the whole spine leather, however the front and back boards remain in a very good shape. The front board is embossed with majuscule texts: HILDEGARDIS PHYSICA on the head, ET NICOLAI in the empty field below, MYREPSI in the field above the tail and ANTIDOTARIUM on the tail. The back board contains the ownership formula and binding date: SIGISMUNDI AVGUSTI REGIS POLONIAE MONVMENTVM 1552.

The supralibros present on this print was marked as II²³ in the A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue (fig. 4). Three roll tools were used to decorate the binding. The first roll, made in 1542, contains Greek mythological heroes, with their names written: HECTOR, HELENA, 1542, ENEAS, PENELONIA (Kawecka-Gryczowa adds ACHILLES, which is not visible on the Stradom binding) – no. 6²⁴ in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's work (fig. 5a and b). The second roll shows Christ in scenes described in the New Testament with fragments of biblical texts: EGO SUM PASTOR BONUS (John 10.11 and 10.14: *Ego sum pastor bonus* – “I am the good shepherd”),²⁵ CAPERE CRUCEM (bearing the cross), SVR ET VALE (Mark 2.11: *tibi dico, surge, tolle grabattum tuum et vade in domum tuam* or Luke 5.24: *tibi dico surge, tolle, lectum tuum et vade in domum* – “I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go into thine house”) – marked with number 11²⁶ by A. Kawecka-Gryczowa (fig. 6). The third roll depicts scenes from the Old Testament: Abraham's sacrifice, Israelis' idolatry (the golden calf), Moses accepting the Law on stone tablets and Jacob's dream, accompanied by inscriptions: SCALA IACOB, PRO LEGIS, IDOLATRIA, II ISAAC – marked as number 13²⁷ in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue (fig. 7). This binding was made in the workshop of one of the royal bookbinder in Kraków: Jerzy Moeller.²⁸

²³ A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, op. cit., fig. 27. Majkowski's numbering was not changed.

²⁴ Ibidem, fig. 37.

²⁵ All biblical quotes come from King James Bible, [online] <http://www.lambfold.org.uk/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderfiles/kjvbible.pdf>, [accessed on: May 28, 2020].

²⁶ A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, op. cit., fig. 45.

²⁷ Ibidem, fig. 46. Majkowski's numbering was not changed.

²⁸ The workshop of Dawid and Jerzy Moeller was identified by Kazimierz Piekarski. Krynicka claims that Dawid and Jerzy Moeller were bounding royal books in the same period – 1547–1555, using the same stamps I and II, but different rolls. In the second half of the 16th century, Dawid's workshop became a property of Moeller, who continued his predecessor's work, using the additional tools.



5a.

5b.

6.

7.

Fig. 5. Ornamental roll tool (shelfmark 29-III-B; Kawecka-Gryczowa no. 6).
 Fig. 6. Ornamental roll tool (shelfmark 29-III-B; Kawecka-Gryczowa no. 11).
 Fig. 7. Ornamental roll tool (shelfmark 29-III-B; Kawecka-Gryczowa no. 13).

The Kraków missionary library was not the only one in contact with the royal books. The Basel print *ΓΕΩΠΟΝΙΚΑ (Geoponika)* of 1539 (A. K.-G. no. 696) contains the provenance of the Warsaw missionary house, situated by the St. Cross church (*Ex libris Congregationis Mission[is] Domus Varsaviensis ad S. Crucem 1813*).

The title page of the discovered print contains a provenance note: *Istius libri est possesor Hier[onymus] Poz[naniensis] Chir[urgus] Sere[nissi]mae Reginae Poloniae Annae Jagielloniae* (fig. 8).

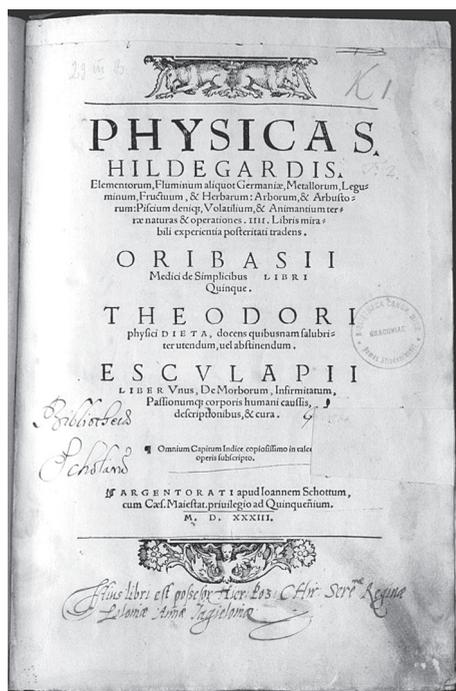


Fig. 8. The title page with the provenance of Hieronim of Poznań (shelfmark 29-III-B).

This was not the only print given to the mentioned Hieronim by Anna Jagiellon. A similar provenience can be found on the books catalogued by A. Kawecka-Gryczowa. Hieronymus received, among others, Antonius Brasavolus, *De medicamentis tam simplicibus quam compositis catharticiis* printed in 1555 (A. K.-G. no. 605), *Das New gross Distillier Buch* by Walther Hermann Ryff, Frankfurt-am-Main 1545 (A. K.-G. no. 662), and Sextus Platonicus, *De medicina animalium, bestiarium, pecorum et avium* of 1539 (A. K.-G. no. 669).²⁹

²⁹ As well as other prints described in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue (A. K.-G.), nos. 589, 604, 606, 610, 636, 675.

Additionally, this title page of this print contained at least two other provenences in handwriting: one, almost completely deleted (cut out), was placed on the very top of the title page, and another one, with a preserved fragment under the titles of the books comprising the accedit that reads *Bibliothecae Scholari[um]*.

Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa mentions numerous medical books collected by the king,³⁰ probably for the use of his physicians. It is known that the king often suffered ill health, including cough, hence he could have taken some of the books helpful in treatment to Warsaw, where had been staying permanently since 1570. It's not a secret that a significant number of his books concerning these subjects were carried away to Sweden.

Although in his last will Sigmund Augustus gifted his whole collection to the Jesuit college in Vilnius (with the exception of liturgical books, gifted to St. Anne's church), the executor of his will – his sister – took some liberties with the books, with only some of them making their way to the Jesuits. The friars were not happy with a condition placed in the royal will – in return for the collection they were supposed to send a preacher to St. Anne's church every Sunday and holiday. Vice-provincial Franciszek Sunyer asked provincial Laurentius Maggio to obtain a consent to drop the condition from queen Anna, with the papal legate mediating. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa assumed that the Jesuit college rector Stanisław Warszawicki obtained the queen's consent, and in return the parties agreed to split the collection. The college did not offer any medicine classes, hence it wasn't interested in books concerning medicine and they stayed with the king's sister.³¹ The queen began treating the part of the collection that was not transferred to the Jesuits as her property, generously gifting books³² to her physicians, solicitors, and clergymen, including Jan Cochler-Barski, Adam Branwicki, Hieronim of Poznań, and Sylwester Roguski.³³

The small find described herein gives a broader knowledge of the famous library of king Sigismund Augustus, as well as a hope for additional interesting finds to be made in old collections, encouraging us to put further efforts in order to examine libraries, which are testaments to the intellectual culture of the days of yore.

Translated by Jacek Smycz

³⁰ See. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, op. cit., pp. 76–77.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 71.

³² Ibidem, p. 77.

³³ Ibidem, pp. 77–78.

SUMMARY

In the Congregation of the Mission Library in Stradom, Kraków, two books have been found that used to belong to the famous library of the Polish king, Sigismund Augustus. The monograph on the King's collection written by Alodia-Kawecka-Gryczowa contains a catalogue of all the books belonging to it that have been discovered so far. This article, however, extends Kawecka-Gryczowa's catalogue by the addition of two books that have remained unknown until now. After the king's death, part of his book collection went to the Jesuit college in Vilnius while the rest remained with queen Anna Jagiellon, who was her brother's will executor. Both of the newly found volumes are medical prints which queen Anna gave as gifts to her doctors, Sylwester Roguski and Hieronim of Poznań. Like other volumes belonging to the Sigismund Augustus collection, the books are bound in wood boards covered in brown leather, with the king's supralibros on the upper cover and the ownership formula SIGISMUNDI AVGUSTI REGIS POLONIAE MOVMENTVM on the lower part of the cover.

KEYWORDS:

Sigismund Augustus' library, early printed books, monastery libraries, bookbinding, supralibros

NIEZNANE KSIĄŻKI KRÓLA ZYGMUNTA AUGUSTA
W BIBLIOTECE ZGROMADZENIA KSIĘŻY MISJONARZY
NA STRADOMIU

STRESZCZENIE

W Bibliotece Księży Misjonarzy na Stradomiu w Krakowie odnaleziono dwie książki należące niegdyś do słynnej biblioteki polskiego króla Zygmunta Augusta. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa stworzyła monografię królewskiej księżnicy, w której zawarła katalog wszystkich odnalezionych dotąd dzieł; niniejszy artykuł uzupełnia go o dwie nieznane dotąd pozycje. Po śmierci króla jego biblioteka uległa rozproszeniu. Część książek trafiła do kolegium jezuitów w Wilnie, część testatorka, Anna Jagiellonka, zachowała dla siebie. Obywa odnalezione woluminy to druki medyczne, które Anna ofiarowała swoim lekarzom – Sylwestrowi Roguskiemu i Hieronimowi z Poznania. Książki oprawione zostały w sposób charakterystyczny dla biblioteki Zygmunta Augusta w brązową skórę na desce, z wybitym na górnej okładzinie królewskim supereklibrisem i formułą własnościową SIGISMUNDI AVGUSTI REGIS POLONIAE MONVMENTVM na okładzinie dolnej.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

biblioteka Zygmunta Augusta, oprawy książkowe, stare druki, biblioteki klasztorne, intraligatorstwo



Fig. 9. Part of supralibros of Sigismundus August (inscription on the lower cover), bookbinder Jerzy Moeller, Kraków 1560 (ref. 100-II-P2).

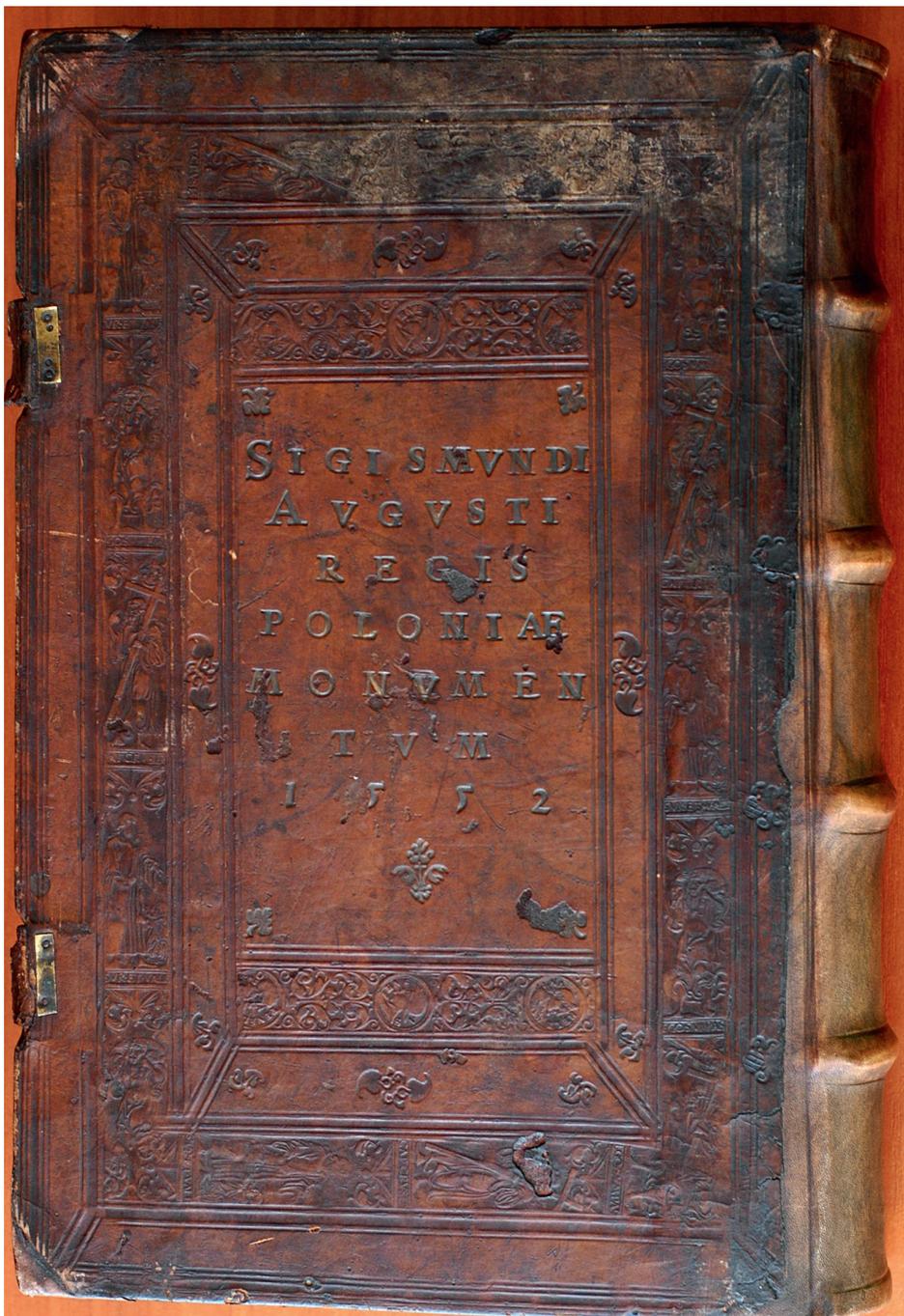


Fig. 10. Part of supralibros of Sigismundus August (inscription on the lower cover), bookbinder Jerzy Moeller, Kraków 1552 (ref. 29-III-B).

KRZYSZTOF R. PROKOP

DOI: 10.26106/VTJ4-WT66

STANISŁAW WOJEŃSKI'S WAY TO THE EPISCOPAL MITRE.
THE ADVENTUROUS CHURCH CAREER
OF THE SON OF THE RECTOR OF THE CRACOW ACADEMY

The manuscript collection of the Jagiellonian Library holds to this day “an excellently illuminated manuscript presenting the Wojeński family along with their genealogical tree” (Z. Pietrzyk)¹ under the title *Flamma rediviva e bustis et cineribus atavorum erumpens, olim factis, nunc exemplis Woienskiorum a Brzezie domum colustrans, ex veterum historiis, antiquis documentis, imperatorum, regum, principum privilegiis excitata anno salutis 1651* (Jagiellonian Library, MS 1890).² Its description reads: “A paper codex from 1651, in royal quatro, 3 unnumbered pages, 66 and 27 empty at the end. On the second unnumbered page: ‘Stanislaus, archidiaconus Pilecensis, Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis secretarius, Vladislao, decano Klecensi, Alexandro, Joanni et Ludovico a Brzezie Woienskiis, fratribus, salutem;’ on page 4: ‘Familiae origo;’ page 5 ‘Familiae in Regnum Poloniae adventus.’ A bust of Zadora, an ancestor of Wojeńskis on page 4v, Wojeńskis’ coat of arms on page 11r and a genealogical table on page 66r, ornately gilded and hand-painted; moreover, each page gilt-edged, each initial and chapter title gilded.”³ For anyone familiar with the realities of Old Polish society, this kind of relic is not surprising, as it was then common to boast one’s ancestors, to present magnificence of one’s own family and to preserve the details about them for posteriority. In this particular case, we have a somewhat

¹ Z. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1400–2000*, Kraków 2000, p. 174.

² W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 1: *Wstęp • Rękopisy 1–1875*, Kraków 1877–1881, p. 451, no. 1890.

³ *Ibidem* (1890. FF V 6), where also the note: “On the frame with another hand «Joannis Zaiączkovic, m.p.»” See also reproduction in: Z. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego...*, p. 174, and below note 13.

different situation, since the aforementioned manuscript was made not with an intention of preserving someone's imposing line of descent for posterity, but to attest a fictitious genealogy of the man (and his kinship) who initiated its creation.

As a matter of fact, his intention brought about more than this document. Ten years later, in 1661, there was prepared another manuscript, very closely related to the previous one, titled *Genealogia familiae Woiensciorum*, which was described as "a manuscript *in folio* [with] 17 parchment charters, 14 paper ones, containing documents on Wojeński's family. In the first part, on the parchment charters, [there is] the original document [*sic*] of the King Sigismund III, in which there are incorporated as transsumpts documents concerning Wojeński's family issued by the King Stephen Báthory, the Emperor Ferdinand, Wenceslaus, Duke of Cieszyn, Władysław Jagiełło, and a document in Czech by Casimir Jagiellon. On one inside charter, there is the quartered shield of Wojeński's coat of arms and, on the reverse, tournament contests between two knights – both pictures painted in colour. Next, a long document transcribed from the Royal Register of the king John Casimir under the title: 'Genealogia avitae nobilitatis familiae generosorum Woienskiorum a Brzezie de armis Płomień seu Zadora, iuxta deductionem in comitiis generalibus Regni Varsaviensibus Sabbatho ante Dominicam Rogationum proxima anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo primo, coram Sacra Regia Maiestate et omnibus Regni ordinibus factam per reverendum Stanislaum Woienski, archidiaconum Pilecensem, Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis secretarium, ex remissione venerabilis capituli ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis.'⁴ Talking about this historical document in the past tense is due to the fact that – according to the information obtained by the author from the Cracow Cathedral Chapter Archives at Wawel, where that manuscript used to be preserved – it is now regarded as permanently lost, since it has not been found in the place in which it was supposed to be.

Apart from the above, which is otherwise troublesome for a researcher doing a query, the fact of the existence of two (or actually at least three, as we will find later) such closely related documents may raise a legitimate question of the context of their execution, which is in part indicated by the descriptions cited above. The researcher is even more intrigued if one considers that the result of actions taken by the clergyman mentioned here, aiming at proving a noble origin of his ancestors, were not confined to the mentioned manuscripts, but included also a number of falsified documents (forgeries), which were prepared and planted into the Crown Archive just

⁴ I. P o l k o w s k i, *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej*, vol. 1: *Kodexa rękopiśmienne 1–228*, Kraków 1884, p. 152 no. 211 (note at the end there: "Numer porządkowy 73"). With the mention in the quoted above title on the origin of the nobility completed during the Diet of 1661 ("deductio [nobilitatis] in comitiis generalibus Regni Varsaviensibus [...] anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo primo, coram Sacra Regia Maiestate et omnibus Regni ordinibus [...] ex remissione venerabilis capituli ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis") corresponds the presented further testimony by Bishop Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbmski (as an eyewitness) in Wojeński's information process.

at the time of inspection of this important public collection commissioned to him by the order of the Diet. Moreover, while engaging in this disgraceful activity, he was already an episcopal nominee, designated to oversee one of the dioceses in the Polish-Lithuanian-Russian lands, and thus a senator in spe of the Commonwealth of the Both Nations.⁵ All these facts taken together do incline us to look closer at the vicissitudes of life and particularly the ecclesiastical career of so controversial a figure, considered one of the close associates of King John III Sobieski in the first half of his reign. He is therefore a clergyman undoubtedly worth of a critical biography – which would be all the more interesting, since also the father of Stanisław Wojeński (which is our object of interest here) was truly a prominent person as one of the rectors of the Cracow Academy. Actually some facts from the *curricula vitae* of both the father or and the son used to be mixed up in literature.⁶

For obvious reasons, the present text does not aspire to fill up this gap in historiography and the intention of the author is merely to introduce into scholarly circulation a major collection of sources particularly related to the crucial moment in Wojeński's ecclesiastical career,⁷ which was his promotion to the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski and a three-year long time lapse that passed between submitting a relevant supplication by the King (14th February 1677) and the moment when the Pope issued the appropriate nomination (19th February 1680), the reasons for which have not been properly accounted for in literature to date. Moreover, the author of the present study

⁵ Zygmunt Lasocki, whose study on falsifications in the Crown Archives will be referred to here more than once, wrote in the conclusion of his reflections: "It was common in the times of the panegyrist – and even more recent ones – to beautify the history of families and the family tree. Falsification of documents in order to satisfy the vanity of the nobility often happened. There have also been cases of false oaths and professional witnesses in proving noble genealogy [...], but for a clerical dignitary to be an almost professional forger of documents and perjurer it is probably only one infamous exception." (Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny" 9, 1930, p. 192).

⁶ See below footnote 19.

⁷ Generally on his biography, see L. Ł ę t o w s k i, *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich*, vol. 4, Kraków 1853, pp. 235–236; K. R. P r o k o p, *Biskupi kamienieccy od średniowiecza do współczesności. Szkice biograficzne*, Biały Dunajec–Ostróg 2007, pp. 224–237; i d e m, *Staropolskie sylwetki piłkarskie (XIV–XIX w.). Wybitne postaci wpisane w dzieje dawnej Piłicy*, Piłica 2013, pp. 169–178; W. R o s o w s k i, *Wojeński Stanisław biskup, ur. ok. 1613 w Krakowie, zm. 1685 w Warszawie*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 20, Lublin 2014, col. 847–848; K. R. P r o k o p, *Rzymskokatolicki biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach ruskich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów (do czasów I wojny światowej): Baków • Chełm (Krasnystaw) • Halicz • Kamieniec Podolski • Kijów • Lwów • Luck • Przemyśl • Żytomierz*, Warszawa–Drohiczyń 2014, pp. 428–430; i d e m, *Vademecum chronologiczno-bibliograficzne do badań nad hierarchią kościoła w Polsce i na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 2018, pp. 64 no. 498, 262 no. 35, 347, 487, 507, 614. Also: Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, pp. 179–180, 187nn.

was also inclined to believe that the main reason for the aforementioned delay in the positive consideration of the case in the Eternal City was the fact that the Polish royal court's efforts to fill the bishopric in Kamieniec Podolski at the time when Podole was under Turkish occupation were looked upon with reserve in the Roman Curia since any new bishop was doomed to the role of an exile deprived of both the capability of exercising jurisdiction on the territory canonically entrusted to him and the regular revenue brought by it (indispensable for keeping a life level worthy of this high dignity, to which Rome attached great importance).⁸ A query performed in the Vatican Archives allowed to determine that although the circumstances mentioned above could also be of some significance, in this particular case apparently the objections to the actual person of the King's candidate to the mitre turned out to be an essential (if not fundamental) obstacle, as among the accusations against him, there were also those of fabrication of his own pedigree and using forgeries in order to ascend to a rank within the Church. Thus the testimonies referred to below are directly related to the content of both the manuscripts mentioned at the beginning – the one from the Jagiellonian Library (preserved) and the other from the Wawel Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter (probably irretrievably lost).⁹ However, before the materials collected during the query in Rome are cited, it is advisable first to briefly present the earlier life path of the titular Bishop of Kamieniec Podolski, who ruled this diocese in 1680–1685.

The date and place of birth of the protagonist of the present study are not certain, but he was presumably born in the 1610s (around 1613) in the royal capital city of Cracow. According to the pedigrees mentioned above, which he prepared in his own capacity and took many efforts to promote, the family of the later Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec Podolski supposedly descended from the former nobility of Brzezina and constituted a branch of the same house to which the Lanckorońskis also belonged.¹⁰ As Stanisław Cynarski, the monographer of the family, writes in this context, “the antiquization of the Lanckorońskis genealogy was performed by Stanisław Wojeński, a canon from Cracow, the royal secretary and owner of estate near Włodzisław [*property of the Lanckoroński family*]. He knew well Wespazjan Lanckoroński [*the former Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec Podolski in*

⁸ K. R. P r o k o p, *Biskupi kamieniecy...*, pp. 232–233; i d e m, *Staropolskie sylwetki pilickie...*, pp. 175–176; i d e m, *Rzymskokatolicki biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach ruskich...*, p. 429.

⁹ See also: *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu*, vol. 2: *Rękopisy 7326–11930*, ed. coll., Wrocław 1949, p. 466, no. 11909/III.

¹⁰ See S. C y n a r s k i, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich z Brzezina od XIV do XVIII wieku. Sprawy kariery urzędniczej i awansu majątkowego*, Warszawa–Kraków 1996. Cf. also T. L e n c z e w s k i, *Rus-soccy herbu Zadora. Zarys monografii rodu*, Warszawa 2005.

1670–1676]¹¹ and testified as a witness in the consistory trial in 1669 in connection with his appointment to the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski.¹² [In fact] Wojeński was behind a myth about the Lanckoroński family originating from ancient Gaul, [as] in a *Flamma rediviva*, written in 1651, he stated that the Zador family descends from a governor of [Roman] Gaul, [which] information was adopted by Polish heraldists: Okolski, Niesiecki, and others.”¹³ In another place of his monograph, Cynarski points to one year later as the moment of the creation of the manuscript (1652),¹⁴ which was the subject of his study, yet in his description of this fictitious genealogy of the Lanckorońskis and Wojeńskis he probably relied not so much on the source itself as on its extensive summary by Zygmunt Lasocki, overlooking certain facts important for the entire situation. For the latter scholar did not draw from the manuscript preserved currently in the collection of the Jagiellonian Library (which otherwise was known to him), but from a less ornamented related document from 1652 of a much richer narrative content, whose further fate and present whereabouts are not known to

¹¹ For W. L a n c k o r o ń s k i's biography, who will be mentioned here more than once: A. P r z y - b o ś, *Lanckoroński Wespazjan herbu Zadora (ok. 1612–1677), biskup kamieniecki*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 16, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1971, pp. 455–457; S. C y n a r s k i, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich...*, according to the index; K. R. P r o k o p, *Biskupi kamienieccy...*, pp. 209–224; i d e m, *Rzymskokatolicycy biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach ruskich...*, pp. 231–234.

¹² The contacts between the two clergymen are also, in a way, suggested by the testimonies in the source edition: *Causae Polonae coram Sacra Romana Rota XV–XVII saec.*, ed. C. B u k o w s k a - G o r g o n i, Roma 1995, pp. 430–432, 435–436 (see also pp. 485–486, 489, 492). Also Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, p. 187 (“Certain obligations of Wespazjan Lanckoroński, later Bishop of Kamieniec, towards Stanisław Wojeński are indicated by the fact that his brother Władysław applied for the Kamieniec canonry. Wojeński writes about it [himself] in his genealogy book”).

¹³ S. C y n a r s k i, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich...*, p. 12. Ibidem, on pp. 27–28, the quoted author notes that “Stanisław Wojeński in his work *Flamma rediviva* included not only the genealogy of the Wojeński family, but also a likeness of the legendary ancestor of the Zadoras and the colourful coat of arms of the Lanckoroński family. The drawing shows the shield of the coat of arms divided into five fields. In the first and fourth field, red in colour, there is a crowned golden eagle. In the second and third field, blue in colour, there is a golden lion's head, facing to the right, which is aflame. In the fifth box, also blue, there is a crowned golden lion with a sword in its right paw. Wojeński was probably also the author of the Lanckoroński motto: *Flammans pro recto*. This is attested to by the work's entire argument and the title *Flamma rediviva* itself [...]” Zadora's drawing, included in Wojeński's work, was accepted and published in documents and iconography in the second half of the 17th century” (more ibidem, pp. 236–237: “The seventeenth-century panegyric and heraldic literature took over Wojeński's argument about the ancient beginning of the Zadoras,” and p. 241: “[The Lanckoroński family] had the motto *Flammans pro recto*. It is rather certain that the author of this motto was Stanisław Wojeński”).

¹⁴ S. C y n a r s k i, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich...*, p. 32 (“Wojeński undoubtedly contributed to the dissemination and consolidation of the view of the French origin of the family [Lanckoroński because] he developed the Lanckorońskis' genealogy under the Latin title *Flamma rediviva* in 1652”).

the writer of these words, so it could be cited here only to the extent it was used by Lasocki.¹⁵

“I have laid my hands on a manuscript entitled *Genealogia domu Ichm[ościów] Panów Woienskich ex lib[ris] g[enerosi] Stanislai Rozanka, vicecap[itanei] c[astrensis] Cracovien[sis], roku 1652 zebrana, do której familii referuje się respective dom Ichm[ościów] Panów Lanckorońskich jako principalis ramus te genealogii tudzież Ichm[ościów] Panów Russockich, Chrzęstowskich etc., wszystkich de stemmate Zadora sive Płomieńczyk*. Until recently, this manuscript was kept in great reverence with one of the Zadora families, as a testimony of the ancient origin and great splendour of their descent. It has also a Latin title: *Flamma rediviva e bustis et cineribus atavorum erumpens, olim factis, nunc exemplis Woienskiorum a Brzezie domum colustrans, ex veterum historiis, antiquis documentis imperatorum, regum, principum privilegiis excitata, anno Domini MDCLII*, under which it was actually known to Niesiecki. The whole paper on the Wojeńskis family – except for some details concerning the most recent generation – as well as the oldest mentions about the Lanckoroński family in *Korona polska* – are based on this manuscript,” states Zygmunt Lasocki, further on pointing out that as it follows from the dedication made to his brothers, “the author of the manuscript was the Cracow canon Stanisław Wojeński, Secretary of His Royal Majesty, [who] besides extensive references to his ancestors, supported by multiple documents (there are forty of them in total), writes about himself as well, but not too much. [...] Apart from this Father Wojeński’s manuscript dated 1652, but actually extending at least to 1672, there is another one in the Jagiellonian Library, to which Dr. K[arol] Piotrowicz drew my attention. However, this earlier manuscript (dated 1651), much more ornate than the aforementioned one and including images of ancestors [...], is much more limited in content. The oldest document cited in it [...] dates back only to 1251, [while] the beautifully prepared family tree begins only with Stefan, the castellan of Wojnicz in 1300 (from this point on the same documents are cited that are to be found in the later manuscript of Father Wojeński, while it includes [in addition] a document concerning the Kaczycki family, which was not in in the latter).”¹⁶ However, the fictitious Lanckorońskis’ and Wojeńskis’ genealogy, recounted by Cynarski, that was inspired by Stanisław Wojeński dates back to the 11th century, and thus the alleged privileges from before mid-13th century, which were essential in claiming noble origins, could not in fact be taken from the manuscript preserved

¹⁵ Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcia Koronnego*, pp. 177–192.

¹⁶ As above., pp. 178–180 (as for this single “additional” forgery, “this is a transcript of Sigismund August’s diploma from 1557, containing a transumpt of Bolesław V the Chaste’s privilege from 1252 for Świętosław of Kaczyce and stating the ancient origin of the family of Stanisław Kaczycki – the mother’s grandfather of Father Wojeński – for whom it was issued”). Cf. *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S.J. powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów i dowodów urzędowych*, vol. 9, publ. J. N. B o b r o w i c z, Leipzig 1842 [reprinted: Warszawa 1989], pp. 388–391.

in the Jagiellonian Library, the only one used as a source in the aforementioned monograph of the nobility from Brzezie according to its author.¹⁷

As he states, in his made-up genealogy, the later bishop of Kamieniec Podolski “tried to prove that the Lanckorońskis arrived to Poland from Brittany in the 11th century and that [also] the Wojeńskis originated from the Lanckoronskis’ house of the Zadora coat of arms. [...] Around 1060, a French knight named Zadora supposedly came to Poland and was endowed by the king with a tract of land near Cracow. Zadora established there a village called Bresse after his family estate in France, which was later polonized as Brzezie. [...] Zadora’s grandson was presumably Walter, son of Idzi, and Bishop of Wrocław from the first half of the 12th century. During the reign of Casimir the Great, there allegedly lived two eminent members of the family, brothers Zbigniew and Stanisław, [who] were rewarded for their faithful service by the King of Rome – according to the narrative of Wojeński – in 1355 [...] with countship as well as a golden eagle added to their coat of arms. Wojeński quoted this document *in extenso* in his pedigree; it can also be found in the castle records, into which it was entered in 1646 by Wespazjan Lanckoroński, the then rector of the Bobrowniki parish, and Przedbór of Brzezie. Wojeński asserts that beginning from Zbigniew’s sons, the Zador line ramified into two branches. The progenitor of the first (better known) one was to be Zbigniew [*junior*] – his descendants lived in Lesser Poland, [while] the descendants of Stanisław, called Weneta (Venetian), became the Wojeński family, who repeatedly changed their place of residence. They stayed abroad for a long time, hence the relatively poor knowledge of their whereabouts in Poland. Wojeński’s further argument is based on multiple documents from the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, which are included in the aforementioned manuscript, [however these] documents, used by Wojeński, turned out to be mere forgeries.”¹⁸ Already Walerian Nekanda Trepka (1584/1585–1640), the author of the once famous work *Liber generationis plebeanorum* (in historiography it came to be known under its more popular,

¹⁷ S. C y n a r s k i, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich...*, pp. 245, 248–249 (especially note 3 on p. 249).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 32–33. Cf. more detailed: Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, pp. 178–179. See also *Katalog dokumentów pergaminowych ze zbiorów Tomasa Niewodniczańskiego w Biturgu*, J. T o m a s z e w i c z, M. Z d a n e k, ed. W. B u k o w s k i, Kraków 2004, p. 27, no. 57 (alleged document dated Książ, 12th November 1437, where “Bartosz, judge, and Piotr, deputy judge of the Cracow land tribunal, attest that Mikołaj Wojeński, son of Andrzej, treasurer, sold the village of Lipno to Stanisław Lubomirski, son of Jakub, for 300 marks and two horses, armor, military wagon and six oxen. [It is] a modern fake”). As examples of dissemination of that fictitious genealogy of the Wojeński family in the literature of the subject, one can cite, for example: *Tomasza Święckiego historyczne pamiątki znamienitych rodzin i osób dawnej Polski*, vol. 2, published by J. B a r t o s z e w i c z, Warszawa 1859 [reprint: Warszawa 1983], pp. 310–311; *Polska encyklopedia szlachecka*, vol. 12, Warszawa 1938 [reprint: Warszawa 1994], p. 186 (“Wojeński [cf. Lanckoroński, Paszkowski, Rusocki, Włodzisławski], Zadora coat of arms. Of this family: Jan, castellan of Biecz 1413; Stefan, castellan of Wojnicz 1379; Stanisław, bishop 1677, †1685”).

blunt name *Liber chamorum*)*, who traced among his contemporaries descendants of burghers and plebeians that got elevated into nobility in various ways, had no shadow of a doubt concerning the future Bishop's ancestry, stating about his father Maciej as follows: "His name was Woniański, [though] others called him Wojnicki (sometimes Woiński), [and he came] from Kościan, a town in Greater Poland, a cobbler's son. After studying in Cracow for a couple of years, he took a hunchbacked woman as his wife, a daughter of a burgher named Kaczycki, and had several sons with her. After the marriage, his father-in-law sent him to Italy to learn for a doctor. He became a doctor of medicine in Cracow in anno 1637" (this is actually the date of the doctorate of the later Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec).¹⁹

Stanisław Wojeński's father Maciej, referred to in the above quotation, who most often undersigned as Woniański (presumably from the village of Woniańce *vel* Woniaść near Kościan), but sometimes also as Woniański, Woniański, Woiński, or just Wojeński, actually came from Kościan burghers. He was thus a native of Greater Poland, who went to Cracow to study and in the summer semester of 1608 matriculated at the Faculty of Liberated Arts. In the relevant entry, he was referred to as "Matthias Alberti Voinski Costensis dioecesis Posnaniensis."²⁰ This Albert (Adalbert) was replaced by his grandson with Andrzej, supposedly a royal colonel (*colonellus regius*),²¹ in his genealogy. As early as March 1610, Maciej Wojeński graduated as a mas-

* A sarcastic title with a made-up Latin word adapted from Polish. An English equivalent might read: "Liber commonorum" or "The Book of Commoners" (editorial footnote).

¹⁹ W. N e k a n d a T r e p k a, *Liber generationis plebeanorum* ("Liber chamorum"), publ. W. D w o r z a c z e k, J. B a r t y ś, Z. K u c h o w i c z, vol. 1, Wrocław 1963, p. 617, no. 2322; vol. 2, Wrocław 1963, p. 212, no. 2322. Also Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, pp. 184 (note 12) and 188–189 (there is another example of the confusion of facts relating in turn to the academic education of M. Woniański and S. Wojeński, as well as a quote from J. Majer's work on the professors of the Faculty of Medicine of the Cracow Academy, where concerning the surname the father of the later bishop we have: "Written in various ways, as Woiński, Woniański, Woniański – so many that one cannot even be sure what his actual name was, because even if we can see Woniański in his own writings, there again in the handwritten genealogy of his family the surname Wojeński appears").

²⁰ *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 4: *Ab anno 1607 ad annum 1642*, ed. J. Z a t h e y, Cracoviae 1950, p. 6.

²¹ Zygmunt Lasocki, perceptive in his analyses and aptly exposing the falsifications contained in the fictitious genealogy of the Wojeński family, at that point apparently trusted the very arguments he criticised, believing that this was indeed the name of the paternal grandfather of the later Bishop of Kamieniec Podolski (which is contradicted by the quoted entry in the Cracow Academy registry). He notes: "His grandfather, Andrzej Wojeński, is referred to in a number of documents [in the manuscript *Flamma rediviva*] – including the marriage act concluded on 21st November 1582 in Kościan between 'generosus Andreas Venetius Woienski, Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis rothmagister, et Justina a Brzezno.' The veracity of the act is confirmed not only by a public notary present at the ceremony, but – quite incredibly – even by the Primate [Stanisław] Karnkowski! There is also a transcript of a document by Władysław IV of

ter of liberated arts and doctor of philosophy, after which he began lecturing at his maternal faculty as a *docent extraneus*. This shows his abilities as well as resourcefulness, which he demonstrated also at later stages of his academic career, eventually reaching the office of the University's Rector (and earlier a post of deputy chancellor). Soon he also started studying medicine and already in April 1610 he had an exam for the first degree, and in March 1613 for the second degree after which – to complete his education – he briefly went for the Apennine Peninsula. His destination was Padua, where he was entered into the Polish Nation's registry between 16 October and 15 December 1613, and a couple of months later, on 14 February 1614, graduated as a doctor of medicine and shortly thereafter return to Poland.²²

Still before his departure abroad, Maciej Wojeński (or Woniejski) married Ewa Kaczycka, daughter of Stanisław, whose surname was changed in the line of nobility of his son after he joined the Wawel Cathedral Chapter to Kacicka (and assigned to the Trąby [Horns] coat of arms). She gave her husband two sons, the elder of them was the future bishop (so he got his Christian name after his mother's father), and the younger was Władysław, the latter in his adult years joined the clergy too, coming to the dignity of the dean (or archdeacon) of Kielce.²³ Maciej's three other children, Jan, Aleksander and Ludwik Wojeński, were presumably born of his second wife, Aleksandra Barbara Ochocka. Although one can find an opinion in the literature that his second marriage remained childless, we think that the well-informed Kasper Niesiecki, the author of the armorial *Korona polska*, was right. As a Jesuit, he probably knew personally the youngest of the half-brothers of Bishop Stanisław

14th February 1643, in which the King states that the Crown Metric files contain a record of moving of Wawendorff estate in the district of Parnawa by Jerzy Fahrensbeck 'generoso Andree Woienski de Brzezie,' quoting a transumpt of a document by King Sigismund III of 31st January 1588 concerning this transaction. There is no trace of such an item in the Register of the Polish Crown from 1588, which has been very well preserved, while the Register from 1643 misses a certain number of pages, as the entries start as late as 14th March 1643. Apparently the pages which allegedly contained the document of Władysław IV concerning this transaction by Andrzej Wojeński were lost in some way. The royal secretary, Father [Stanisław] Wojeński, may have known something about it."

²² For the biography of Maciej Woneski vel Woniejski see, i.a., J. L a c h s, *Kronika lekarzy krakowskich XVII w.*, Poznań 1929, pp. 41–42; *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 33, ed. S. E s t r e i c h e r, Kraków 1939, pp. 328–329 (also p. 206); *Historia nauki polskiej*, ed. B. S u c h o d o l s k i, vol. 6: *Dokumentacja bio-bibliograficzna*, ed. L. H a j d u k i e w i c z, Wrocław–Warszawa–Gdańsk–Kraków 1974, pp. 763–764 ("Woniejski [Wojniejski] Maciej (ca. 1590–1648), son of Wojciech from Kościan, apparently took his surname from the village of Wonesiec [Woniejsć] near Kościan. He was supposed to have come from a noble family, but in fact was ennobled only in 1633"); Z. P i e t r z y k, *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego...*, p. 174. Also W. W i s ł o c k i, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 1, pp. 827–828, no. 3886.

²³ See *Klerycy z ziem polskich, litewskich i pruskich święceni w Rzymie (XVI – pocz. XX w.)*, ed. S. J u j e c z k a, Wrocław 2018, p. 81, no. 237 (Ladislaus Wojeński, Dean of Kielce).

Wojeński, Ludwik, born on 8 January 1634 (his parents' marriage used to be erroneously dated around 1640), who also joined the Society of Jesus and after holding high functions in the order, died in 1707 in Lublin. The aforementioned Aleksander Wojeński, born on 24 February 1628 in Cracow, was also counted among the spiritual sons of St. Ignatius Loyola, and died probably on 21st February 1661 in Gdów, where Stanisław was a rector (curate), which we will deal with later.²⁴ Aleksandra Barbara Ochocka presumably had a daughter Konstancja, who also entered the path of consecrated life and became a Bernardine nun in Cracow, assuming the monastic name of Salomea (later her example was emulated by Aleksandra Wojeńska, of monastic name Ludwika, born in 1680, daughter of Jan and Anna Mikołajczowska, thus a niece of Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec).²⁵

After Maciej Worieski's return from Padua to Cracow, the city with which he remained bound until the end of his life, his career gathered momentum. In April of 1615, he was given a chair of anatomy at the faculty of medicine of the Cracow Academy, and in 1618 was additionally appointed as a physician of the Piotr of Poznań foundation. Quite unusual, however, was the nomination in 1619 of this relatively little-known professor as deputy chancellor of *Almae Matris Cracoviensis* by Bishop of Cracow Marcin Szyszkowski. Maciej Wojeński became famous in 1622, when combining medical knowledge with organisational talents during the plague raging in the city, he was able to prevent it from spreading, and then to quench the threat altogether. No wonder, therefore, that he was later elected mayor of Cracow, while being the city's councillor from 1619. All these promotions, however, did not satisfy his ambitions, so he sought ennoblement for himself and his descendants, in which he succeeded in 1633, when during the coronation ceremonies of Władysław IV in Cracow on 6 February, he was dubbed a so-called golden knight, which was tantamount to acceptance to the knightly estate²⁶ (he was then given the coat of arms of Płomień [Flame], the same as the

²⁴ L. Grzebień, *Słownik jezuitów polskich 1564–1990*, vol. 12, Kraków 1993 (typescript), p. 108 (Aleksander Wojeński “joined [the Society of Jesus] on July 24, 1649 in Rome, [and] most probably came to Poland in 1659. He died on February 21, 1661 in Gdów or on 12 or 14 of March, 1661 in Cracow”); *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, ed. L. Grzebień, Kraków 1996 [2004²], p. 753.

²⁵ M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej*, vol. 2: *Polska Centralna i Południowa*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 217–218 (also p. 210 [Rozalia Wońska] and p. 248 [Justyna Wońska]).

²⁶ See J. M. Mićha, *Nobilitacje cudzoziemców: Gabriela Bekesza i Franciszka Wesseliniego*, “Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego” 8, 19 (2008), p. 82 (ibid. note 56): “The title of ‘the gold knight’ (*equus auratus*) was considered a substitute of ennoblement, [nonetheless] T. Szulc is of the opinion that if the golden knighthood was not conferred together with ennoblement, it did not grant nobility rights to the recipient.” The study cited here: T. Szulc, «*Equus auratus*» w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Iuridica” 38, 1988, pp. 59–97 (p. 79): “Wojeński, Cracow

coat of arms of Zadora of Brzezie nobility – but dignified even more by adding a royal sword).

Although the ennoblement was earned by more than twenty years of service at the Cracow Academy and certified by a diploma of 10 February 1633,²⁷ it did not have the confirmation of the Diet, which was considered essential for its legitimacy, and hence it was questioned by Wojciech Drachowski in 1638; nevertheless Maciej Wojeński managed to get through this troublesome situation.²⁸ In the following year,

councilor” – with reference solely to *Liber generationis plebeanorum* by W. N e k a n d a T r e p k a [see above note 19]).

²⁷ Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, pp. 183–184: „On account of the timeless merits of one of the members of the Cracow Academy, Maciej Wojeński, who had diligently performed his scholarly pursuits for over twenty years, on the third day after the coronation (Feb 7, 1633) of [king] Władysław IV, was conferred knighthood by the king and simultaneously – on royal authority – was together with all his progeny included in the nobility of the Kingdom of Poland. At the same time, the king declared that from a letter of Emperor Ferdinand II, Maciej Wojeński was known to him to be a nobleman of the Holy Roman Empire. [...] The king granted him permission to use the crest he was using in the Empire, exalting it with an addition of the royal sword; eventually, he announced he called him Plomenius Wojeński” (hereafter, there goes a remark: “this diploma of nobility [...] was referred to by M. Wojeński when Wojciech Drachowski accused him of a lack of nobility. [...] The dispute reached the king, who stated that on his coronation he had granted the nobility privilege to Maciej Wojeński and accepted him to the knightly estate, which had been done based on the rights of his Royal Majesty and of the long-standing customs of the Kingdom connected with the act of coronation. [Therefore] Drachowski was sentenced according to the laws of the Kingdom [however] from a legal point of view, it is uncertain whether the verdict was justified. In accordance with the 1601 constitution, the king was not in power to grant nobility without the consent of the Diet, while a customary right of ennoblement in the event of coronation was not mentioned there at all”). Also *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec. Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.*, publ. B. T r e l i Ń s k a, Lublin 2001, pp. 290–291, no. 723 (“Maciej Wojeński, Cracow burgher, came from Pszczyna [*sic*], and his family originates from Germany, where it was granted nobility by emperor Ferdinand II. The change of the surname to Plomienius Wojeński – Cracow, February 10, 1633”).

²⁸ See previous footnote. Also Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, p. 183: “In the Cracow land register [in the year 1647], there is a note with the heading *Woienski manifestatur*, [where] Maciej Wojeński states that on the third day after the coronation of His Majesty the King and with no action of his own, he was summoned by His Majesty’s *motu proprio* for the accolade and further that on the power of His Majesty *motu proprio* he was issued the privilege which he was obliged to accept with due respect. [...] Lest this privilege, however, cause any misconception regarding his ancient noble descent, he enters hereby this protestation and concurrent declaration of his ancient nobility affirmed by documents and his lineage. Somewhat unclear wording of the document made it evident that a bizarre error might have occurred resulting in the owner of so eminent descent being granted nobility by the then king Władysław IV, soon after the coronation, against his own will; at the time Maciej Wojeński humbly accepted this grace from the king and protested against the ennoblement only fourteen years later.”

1639, he was elected the rector of the Cracow University and he held this post for the next three semesters – until the autumn 1640.²⁹

Such an extraordinary biography of the father of the later Bishop proves that he was able to win trust and favour of high-ranking people, as he was supported by King Władysław IV or Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski. He was also to have particularly close contacts and good relations with the clergy, which could have led to as many as four of his five sons choosing to serve God in the future. Maciej Wojeński died in Cracow on 13th September 1648, obtaining the dignity of burgrave of Myślenice by the end of his life. During sixty years of his life he accrued a considerable fortune, which included, among others, three tenement houses in the royal capital city (two in the Main Square and one in Floriańska Street) and villages Minoga, Nowa Wieś, Rzezuśnia, and Skalka. Owing to their father's prudence, the start of his children into adult life was greatly facilitated (nonetheless only one of his sons, Jan, married and had children, while the others, as already mentioned, became clergymen), although he did not leave all of the accumulated money to their disposal, having established e.g. a scholarship foundation for medical students in Cracow.³⁰

Being the eldest of the siblings, Stanisław turned out to continue in many ways the path set out by his father. He also studied at the Faculty of Liberated Arts in the Cracow Academy, where he matriculated still in his teen years in the winter semester of 1629 (“Stanislaus Matthiae Woyniesky, doctoris medicinae et consulis Cracoviensis, procancellarii Academiae, filius”).³¹ Anyway, it was probably in Cracow that he spent his childhood and youth and was to have closest bonds with this city through the rest of his life, although he got his education not only in the capital of the Kingdom of Poland, but also in the countries of the Reich and Bologna, where it was him and not his parent to obtain his doctorate in 1637; contrary to his father, he also dropped the surname Woneski *vel* Wojnieski (which forms appeared still in matriculation registry) in favour of Wojeński. The later bishop's church career and the people to drive his ascent have not been properly uncovered yet,³² but a number of important details can be found

²⁹ Z. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego...*, p. 174; *Poczet sołtysów, wójtów, burmistrzów i prezydentów miasta Krakowa (1228–2010)*, ed. B. Kasprzyk, Kraków 2010, s. 580, no. 472 (B. Kasprzyk).

³⁰ J. Michalewicz, M. Michalewiczowa, *Fundationes pecuniariae Universitatis Jagellonicae in saeculis XV–XVIII*, Kraków 1999, pp. 436–437, no. 785 (the fund for poor students of medicine).

³¹ *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 4, p. 126 (“A.D. MDCXXIX, commutatione hiberna, in rectoratu quarto reverendi domini Danielis Sigonii Leloviensis”).

³² Cf. Z. Lasocki, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, p. 179–180: “It is not known where and when he was born. We do know, however, that he completed his studies at the university in Cracow and at various universities in Germany, stayed at the emperor's court, and subsequently studied

in the files of Stanisław Wojeński's information process for the dignity of Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec, which will be discussed further on. Probably in 1645 (or maybe already in 1642), he became an archdeacon of Pilica (thus a prelate of that collegiate chapter), while in 1649 he was granted the title of (proto)notary apostolic (at the time, it did not give its holder the right to use a mitre and some other pontificals as it is the case today) and in the same year he was delegated by Bishop Ordinary of Cracow Piotr Gembicki to perform an inspection of the Pilica archdeaconry. Probably thanks to the support of queen Maria Ludwika Gonzaga, the wife of Władysław IV and John II Casimir, he became one of royal secretaries and was entrusted with various diplomatic missions, in which – on top of his innate skills – his command of foreign languages was of great help. He was particularly involved in the French affairs (also after the death of the queen in 1667), which also became apparent during the interregnum of 1668–1669, when he actively supported Prince of Condé's efforts to get the Polish throne. Wojeński was even to be entrusted with a responsible mission of going secretly to Hungary (this country is yet to appear many a time in this paper) in order to meet the French candidate for ruling the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and then securely bring him *incognito* through the lands of the Habsburgs to Poland. That political commitment would after years be raised against the clergyman by those who opposed his promotion to the episcopate (see below).

Wojeński had encountered serious adversities already earlier in his ecclesiastical career when he strived to be admitted into the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, customarily referred to as *seminarium episcoporum*, as in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries there were many representatives of the episcopate of the Commonwealth of Both Nations among its members. The then archdeacon of Pilica also wished to belong to this body, but (despite he received an appropriate presentation from the king) it was pointed out at the subsequent sessions of the Chapter – on 24th and 31st July 1660 – that accepting this candidate was not possible due to difficulties in proving his noble origin.³³ Only

in Bologna. He was ordained priest in Rome. Having returned home, he was a king's secretary and was entrusted with a mission to the Prince of Condé in France by John II Casimir. He was of service to magnates, especially the Lubomirskis. For instance, as a substitute for the house of Lubomirski, he went to Frankfurt where the election of the emperor was taking place.” In the context of this information, it is worth noting that the father of the later Bishop of Kamieniec, Maciej Worieski, was the author of the commemorative print *Panegyrycus funebris super Joachimo Lubomirski, Dobicicensi capitaneo (Bibliografia polska, vol. 33, pp. 328–329)*, published in 1610 in Cracow.

³³ Cf. Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbca Koronnego*, p. 180: “Having received the king's designation and an institution from the Cracow bishop, S. Wojeński came to take up the canonry, bringing witnesses for the demonstration of his nobility [...] however, was not accepted. Notwithstanding numerous documents attesting to the ancient descent and eminency of the Wojeński family, the chapter was very meticulous in verifying the demonstration [and] rejected the witnesses presented by S. Wojeński: one of them, Mokrski, on account that he was not kin but merely a brother-in-law of Wojeński; another – Bębnowski – for he was not a land-owner; witnesses from the part of the paternal

when after more than a year the aforementioned manuscript of *Genealogia familiae Woïensciorum*,³⁴ based on forgeries, was presented to the Diet of Warsaw in May 1661 along with a special document issued by King John II Casimir (surely it was just in these circumstances that the manuscript got into the Cracow Chapter Archives), the summoned witnesses testified under oath before the canons from the Wawel Chapter, confirming the knightly descent of Stanisław Wojeński; finally, on August 20, 1661, he was accepted to the canonry *fundi Rzemienicyce*,³⁵ while the details concerning his descent were written down into the Chapter's register as follows: "Perillustris et admodum reverendus dominus Stanislaus Woinski ex nobilibus parentibus, videlicet patre Matthia Woinski de Brzezie ex palatinatu et districtu Cracoviensi, armorum Płomiencyk, matre vero Eva Kaciczka ex palatinatu et districtu Cracoviensi, armorum Trąby, avia paterna Justina Brzezinska ex terra Dobrzynensi, armorum Kroże, avia materna Catharina Molendzionka, palatinatus Cracoviensis, armorum Griff, procedit existatque oriundus."³⁶ As Łętowski wrote in *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich*: "he joined our chapter in 1661, having it difficult to prove

and maternal grandmothers, Brzeziński and Andrzej Molenda, were not accepted for the testimony either" (ibidem, p. 189, the author points out that the Molendas were "burghers of Myślenice who started to play noblemen in the first half of the 17th century").

³⁴ See above footnote 4.

³⁵ On this also Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, pp. 180–182: "Stanisław Wojeński umieścił w swoim rękopisie odpisy dokumentów dotyczących swojego procesu z kapitułą krakowską i wyvodu szlachectwa przed sądem sejmowym. Proces zakończył się zupełnym jego zwycięstwem, uznaniem jego pochodzenia od ośmiu pokoleń znakomitych i zasłużonych przodków, wreszcie kapitulacją kapituły, która go do grona swojego przyjęła. [...] Król trzymał oczywiście [w sprawie] stronę swojego sekretarza, używanego do tajnych zleceń, nadto zapewne urażony był nieuwzględnieniem swojej prezeny przez kapitułę. [Zarazem] Wojeński cieszył się protekcją możnych panów, jak Lubomirscy i Lanckorońscy – zwłaszcza ci [ostatni] byli związani z nim wspólnym interesem [mowa o fałszerstwie genealogii Zadorów], a przegraniem sprawy przez księdza Wojeńskiego i zakwestionowaniem dokumentów, którymi się wywodził, byłiby skompromitowani. [...] Po przegranej procesie kapituła zrezygnowała tedy z dalszej walki i dopuściła świadków do przysięgi, [a] był między nimi krewny Wojeńskiego po matce Molenda [i] jakiś kleryk mniejszych święceń Stocki, [którzy] po zaprzysiężeniu stwierdzili, że ojciec Stanisława był herbu Zadora, matka – Ewa Kaczycka – herbu Trąby, babka ojczysta – Justyna Brzezińska – herbu Kroje, babka macierzysta – Katarzyna Molendzianka – herbu Gryf."

³⁶ Archives of the Metropolitan Chapter of Cracow, AAct 15, ff. 379r–380v (dated 20th August, 1661: "Receptio illustrissimi et admodum reverendi domini Stanislai Woinski, archidiaconi Pilcensis, ad canonicatum fundi Rzemienicyce"); cf. ibidem, ff. 336v–337v i 338r–v (24th and 31st July 1660, respectively, where one can find more about difficulties for Wojeński to prove his nobility, who was then unable to provide the requested documents or to present suitable witnesses to the Chapter, as he had only two of them instead of required four, hence the reception was postponed "ad pleniorem numerum testum," i.e. when the requirement in the Chapter statutes to bring four witnesses to make a proper case is fulfilled). Published in: *Wypisy źródłowe do biografii polskich biskupów i opatów z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów oraz niewoli narodowej doby zaborów (XVI–XIX w.)*, part 4, ed. K. R. P r o k o p, "Archiwa,

noble descent on his father side, [but] the Lanckorońskis helped him with his genealogy by considering [themselves] to be of the same kin as the Wojeńskis.³⁷ However, this “act of getting his way” was to bear grave consequences in the future, because it would never be forgotten by his confraters from the chapter.

Having well remembered this humiliating experience, when a dozen or so years later he was appointed to a deputation of the Diet for making inspection of the documents held in the Crown Treasury Archive, being already the king’s nominee for bishopry, Wojeński abused public trust of his function to plant a few counterfeit privileges, supposedly coming from the 11th to 15th centuries, into this central archival collection of the Kingdom of Poland in order to provide evidence for the fictitious origin of the alleged ancestors of the shepherd of the Kamieniec Podolski diocese (1678/1679). These forgeries were then duly listed in the Crown Treasury’s official inventory of 1682, which was produced by the Diet’s deputation, and only later researchers exposed clearly that they are outright mystification and its perpetrator could be readily guessed.³⁸ In consequence, the name of Stanisław Wojeński appeared on

Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne” 85 (2006), p. 371. See B. S. K u m o r, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. 1, Kraków 1998, p. 660, no. 14 (see also *ibidem*, vol. 4, Kraków 2002, p. 70, no. 2).

³⁷ L. Ł ę t o w s k i, *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich*, vol. 4, p. 236 (*ibidem* the information that Stanisław Wojeński was supposedly a son of “Maciej, burgrave of Myślenice, of Zadora coat of arms, and Ewa Kaczycka, the last heiress from this line”). Following this falsified genealogy, in respect to the Wojeńskis the 19th century author also stated that “they [were] of the same house as the Lanckorońskis. Stanisław, employed at the times of Casimir the Great as an envoy to Venetians with a legation about the Hungarian king, came to be called *Venetius* for the merits earned in this mission. *Venetius* transformed in time into *Weneta*, and [eventually] Wojeński” (Łętowski probably took this etymology from the manuscript *Genealogia familiae Wojeńsciorum*). See also above footnotes 13 and 14.

³⁸ See above footnote 15. Also *Volumina legum. Prawa, konstytucje y przywileie Krolestwa Polskiego, Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego y wszystkich prowincyi należących*, vol. 5: *Ab anno 1669 ad annum 1697*, Sankt Petersburg 1860 [reprinted: Warszawa 1980], p. 284, no. 103 (*Konstytucje seymu grodzińskiego za Jana III roku 1678. Rewizya xiąg i przywileiow w Skarbcu Krakowskim będących*): “At the Cracow session of the coronation Diet, with the consent of all the estates, a constitution *titulo* ‘The Revision of the Crown Treasury’ was adopted wherein [the fact was observed that] the commissars appointed to verify the privileges located in the Cracow Treasury had not brought their endeavor *ad effectum*, therefore, with the consent of all the estates, on the power of the said constitution, we appoint the following for the verification the privileges: from the Senate, reverend father Stanisław Woinski, designated for the bishop of Kamieniec; noble Paweł Stokowski, castellan of Oświęcim; *ex equestri ordine* born duke Karol Czartoryski of Klewań, Cracow chamberlain, and Marcin Dembicki, Sandomierz chamberlain; Jan Lipski, *starosta* [administrator] of Sandecz and Czchów; Marcin Ustrzycki of Unichów, pantler of Zakroczym; Stanisław Tagoborski, pocillator of Nowogród; [and] Piotr Oraczowski, who having all come to Cracow *pro die* 18. in the month of August *anno* 1679, will deliver, on the public cost, all the said records and privileges from the Treasury where they are kept to the vaults of the Warsaw castle as a most secure location and will verify and inventory them, for the efforts and troubles of which Lord High Treasurer of the Crown will devise a salary for the said commissars from the reg-

the pages of historical studies in not too favourable a light and he would be rather harshly judged by scholars. However, they were not the first to feel obliged to reveal to third parties the controversial activities of this clergyman, whose ethical choices can be seen at the least as ambiguous.

During the reign of King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, his career did not advance, which was probably due to the fact that the later Bishop of Kamieniec joined the political camp supporting the French candidate to the Polish throne. *A contrario* under the rule of pro-French King Jan III Sobieski, who – what is more – knew from his youth (he studied with his brother at the Cracow Academy) Maciej Wonieski vel Wojeński, a professor, deputy chancellor and rector of Almae Matris, the father of Stanisław, opened up before the already about sixty-year-old Pilica archdeacon and cathedral canon of Cracow, who in the meantime also became the provost of Międzyrzecz and the curate in Otwinów (earlier he possessed a parish in Gdów, of which we will write later), a chance to step up still higher in the clerical hierarchy. When in July or August 1676 the former Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec Podolski Wespazjan Lanckoroński, well known to Wojeński, died in exile in Warsaw (after Podolia was occupied by the Turks in 1672), to whose kin – apparently with his permission³⁹ – he once attributed himself, having made up Lanckoroński's and Wojeński's common ancestor, Jan III Sobieski, just crowned as a monarch, designated the son of the former rector of the Cracow Academy as a new bishop of Kamieniec Podolski, issuing the relevant royal supplication on 14th February 1677 (by the way, more than nine months later, on 27 November 1677, in a letter from Andrzej Trzebicki, the Shepherd of the Diocese of Cracow, Wojeński is mentioned as “nuper a serenissimo rege nominatus ad Ecclesiam Camenecensem episcopus”), on which basis the then (1675–1681) apostolic nuncio to the Commonwealth of Both Nations, titular Archbishop of Corinth (later Latin patriarch of Jerusalem and eventually cardinal) Francis (Francesco) Martelli, started the candidate's information process already on 22nd February that year in order to be able to dispatch the relevant documentation to Rome, where a binding decision in this case was to be made.⁴⁰

The files of this process preserved in the Vatican Archives in the “Archivio Concistoriale” ensemble (the series “Processus Consistorialis”)⁴¹ have been well

ular revenues. The eminent commissars are required to execute a report to the Crown Treasury as well as presenting the inventory of the privileges.” Cf. Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbca Koronnego*, p. 189ff.

³⁹ See also *ibidem*, pp. 186–187 (also above footnote 12).

⁴⁰ See *Acta nuntiaturae Poloniae*, vol. 1: *De fontibus eorumque investigatione et editionibus • Instructio ad editionem • Nuntiorum series chronologica*, ed. H. D. W o j t y s k a, Romae 1990, pp. 275–276.

⁴¹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereinafter: ASV], Archivio Concistoriale, Processus Consistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 98r–125v (*Processus super vita, moribus, doctrina et idoneitate perillustris et admodum reverendi domini, domini Stanislawi Woienski, canonici ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis, ad*

known for long and also microfilmed, thus they can be readily studied by scholars in Poland.⁴² However, to date, little attention has been paid to a manuscript consisting of 25 loose charters (50 unnumbered pages) – 27 by 20 centimeters in size – entitled *Summarium processus coram illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino nuntio apostolico in Regno Poloniae fabricati super statu Ecclesiae Camenecensis et qualitatibus reverendissimi nominati*, included (in the Vatican Archives) in the ensemble “Segreteria di Stato.” (“Polonia” series).⁴³ While on the one hand, it comprises the same documents as the “Processus Consistorialis” series (excluding those relating to the condition of the Diocese of Kamieniec Podolski, but concerning the nominee only), on the other hand, it contains other documents which are not in that series. This summary was prepared for the Sacred Consistorial Congregation (Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis) in Rome in connection with the obstacles that could prevent entrusting Stanisław Wojeński with the bishop’s dignity along with jurisdiction over the Diocese of Kamieniec, which became known already during the information process in 1677, hindering its positive completion for the next three years. Such a long delay in granting the papal commission obviously had a detrimental effect not only for the candidate to the mitre himself, but also for the Polish monarch, who put forward this candidacy and presented it to the Holy See in his own name, hence its rejection would have been a glaring slight for the sovereign of the Commonwealth of Both Nations. This is reflected in the preserved in the same ensemble and series original letter of the then Bishop Ordinary of Łuck Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbbski (*nota bene* one of the witnesses testifying in the information process of S. Wojeński), dated Lvov, 23rd June 1678, concerning the issue of considerable delay in confirming the candidate by the successor of St. Peter.⁴⁴ It was probably addressed (there is no clear indication in the source) to the then Cardinal-Protector of the Polish Crown in the Roman Curia Pietro Vidoni (a former nuncio to the Commonwealth of Poland in 1652–1660). Only by looking at the content of all these documents together, we can better discern (although certainly in a way that is far

supplicationem serenissimi regis Poloniae ad ecclesiam cathedralem Camenecensem promovendi) – assigned to the year 1680 (although the process was actually carried out in 1677, the date of the papal commission is decisive).

⁴² *Polskie procesy informacyjne przed prowizjami biskupów i opatów w seriach «Processus Consistoriales» i «Processus Datariae» Archiwum Watykańskiego (1588–1906)*, comp. W. Cichosz, H. Fokciński, U. Głowacka-Maksymiuk, M. Pukianiec, E. Reczek, K. Sadowska and T. Zdziech (*Katalog mikrofilmów i zapisów cyfrowych. Wykaz Papieskiego Instytutu Studiów Kościelnych w Rzymie i Punktu Konsultacyjnego w Warszawie*), Warszawa 2015, p. 38, no. 213. See also *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, vol. 3: *A pontificatu Clementis PP. IX (1667) usque ad pontificatum Benedicti PP. XIII (1730)*, ed. R. Ritzler, P. Sefrin, Patavii 1952, p. 138.

⁴³ ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6 [no page numbers].

⁴⁴ *Ibidem* (fascicule *Memoriali, biglietti e carte diverse 1674–1688*).

from gaining a complete comprehension of the matter) what led to such a long vacancy at the bishopry in Kamieniec Podolski, which lasted from the summer of 1676 until the early spring of 1680. As has already been mentioned, these testimonies allow us to extract quite a lot of previously unknown information concerning Stanisław Wojeński's *curriculum vitae*, in which there are still many significant gaps.

Due to vastness of the source material that needs to be taken into account, it is difficult to go fully through it in the scope of this study, which is of a contributory nature to some extent. Therefore the writer of these words decided to take an indirect approach, weaving pieces of information taken from these documents into the further narrative, while some texts constituting coherent wholes, whose summary (or paraphrase) would only distract the reader, are provided in the form of an annex to this paper which references them when appropriate. It certainly is some inconvenience for the user that in order to learn the sources, they have to interrupt reading the main text and "jump" to the source appendix at the end. However, including extensive quotations in Latin in the main text would not be (in our opinion) too convenient a solution, either, hence the decision to adopt this particular way of presenting the collected material. But one can reasonably hope (concluding *per analogiam*) that within a relevant volume concerning the diplomatic mission of the papal nuncio Martelli (to appear at an undefined, at least for the time being, future date) within the scope of the source series *Acta nuntiaturae Poloniae*, planned for dozens (if not hundreds) of volumes, the documentation of the information process of Stanisław Wojeński will be duly included (also in the form of an annex) so the users will have a comprehensive picture of the relevant sources. However, since it is impossible to predict when and if at all this material will be edited within the scope of the *Acta nuntiaturae Poloniae series* (the publishers of the nunciature files provide files from information processes for the bishoprics selected at their own discretion only as *exemplum* and not as an obligatory element of editing the documents relating to the activity of a particular nuncio), therefore the present publication does not seem to constitute an unjustified anticipation of the expected future achievements of the source editing in Poland, for the modern standards anyway far from satisfactory.

As mentioned above, following a presentation from King Jan III Sobieski issued in the monarch's chancery on Sunday [*sic*] 14th February 1677, containing the candidate's designation (as perceived by the Roman Curia, while the Polish side considered such an act to be actually an appointment)⁴⁵ for the bishop's see in Kamieniec Podolski, on Monday, February 22nd of the same year, the nuncio Francesco Martelli began the information process "super vita, moribus, doctrina et idoneitate domini Stanislai Woienski, canonici Cracoviensis, ac super statu Ecclesiae Camenecensis tam ante quam post deditionem factam Turcis," which was in his due competence as

⁴⁵ Por. B. Szadły, *Prawo patronatu w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych. Podstawy i struktura*, Lublin 2003, pp. 35–40.

a representative of the successor of St. Peter in the country. Unusual and probably not too common in such trials was the fact that right on its first day, a clergyman entitled to this kind of motions appeared before the nuncio (who by then already customarily resided in Warsaw as a royal residence) and requested from Archbishop Martelli abandoning the proceedings involving examination of the candidate's eligibility for episcopal dignity on the grounds that "dominus canonicus Woienski est irregularis propter multa enormia et gravissima crimina ab ipso perpetrata."⁴⁶ While *de facto* the very objecting to the monarch's nomination (designation) seems somewhat intriguing, it is downright astonishing that it occurred merely a week after it was made official – exactly (as mentioned above) on the day that the information process in the Warsaw nunciature began. So one can readily presume that the actions taken were supported by powerful and influential figures belonging to the top political elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who were intimately familiar with what was going on at the royal court, as in such short a time they were aware of expediting of the monarch's document, as well as of the precise date when Archbishop Martelli intended to proceed with the candidacy.

From the content of the protest that the canon of Wiślica Stanisław Sadowski, acting as "instigator fiscalis curiae episcopi Cracoviensis," submitted to the nunciature and requested to be included in the files of the trial, it is clear that it was brought forward to "nomine illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini episcopi sive eiusdem curiae," i.e. Bishop Ordinary of Cracow Andrzej Trzebicki, whose position in ecclesiastical and political life can well account for the precise (as well as immediate) knowledge about the King's appointment to one of the bishoprics of the Commonwealth and the information process about to begin (anyway, there were probably more people wishing to squash the candidature – starting with the clerics close to the monarch, who hoped that the Kamieniec mitre would be conferred one of them). In justification of his protest, the instigator of Wojeński's denunciation put forward accusations against the candidate for the bishop's dignity in five paragraphs of different length, of which probably just the last one (i.e. the fifth) indicates the actual reason behind the objection to the nomination in certain circles – namely, that in his earlier efforts to enter the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, the nominee "finxit se esse nobilem testesque a se inductos peierare fecit, qui contrarium certo scientes, iurarunt ipsum ex nobilibus [parentibus] esse progenitum." And now this «cobbler's grandson» (to paraphrase the way that Walerian Nekanda Trepka referred to his parent) was about to rise to even higher prominence and become a member of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Both Nations as the Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec.⁴⁷

Undoubtedly aware of the fact that – in the light of the Church law – non-noble origin was no canonical obstacle to claiming the bishop's dignity, and from the per-

⁴⁶ Cf. *Appendix I.1.*

⁴⁷ See above footnote 19.

spective of the Roman Curia, an accusation against Wojeński that he has burger roots would certainly not be considered as a disqualifying feature (in contrast to inciting witnesses to give false testimonies and resorting to deception, which was the main focus of the document), the earlier paragraph of the “complaint” indicated a much more significant circumstance that the candidate for the mitre “non est devotus, nam observatus fuit per multos tempus officium Divinum, videlicet horas canonicas, non recitasse, qua de re monitus [fuit] ab illustrissimo domino loci ordinario,” which was clearly undesirable in someone to become one of the “apostolic successors.” On the other hand, the opponents of Wojeński’s appointment were probably aware that such a charge would be difficult to prove during the process because many a clergyman from the royal entourage (and not only) would be more than ready to testify that the nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski can be considered an exemplary and zealous priest, and declarations of this kind were actually to be found later in the files of the process. For this reason, in the second and third paragraphs of the canon Sadowski’s protest, the candidate for the mitre was presented as a troublemaker involved in acts of the anti-imperial opposition in Hungary, which aimed at deposing the Habsburgs from their rule over the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen and seeking help from the Turks.⁴⁸

Acting to the detriment of the Habsburg dynasty, which vitally supported the Papacy at the time – and moreover to an advantage of the Ottoman Empire (perceived at that time as a fundamental threat to the Old Continent) – was surely a cause for concern in the Roman Curia because it was not in the interest of the Holy See to nominate a bishop who would be seen as *persona non grata* at the imperial court, all the more so to a bishopric which territory remained under Turkish rule. When making such an allegation against Stanisław Wojeński, the authors of the “complaint” had in mind specifically the anti-Habsburg conspiracy in 1664–1671 of the palatine Francis (Ferenc) Wesselényi in the aftermath of the successful war with Turkey in 1663–1664, which opened the door to further offensive actions attempting to liberate the rest of the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen from the Ottoman yoke. “Meanwhile, instead of unleashing an offensive, the Viennese court rushed to make peace with the Turks at Vasvár (1664), [which] triggered a new wave of bitterness among the Hungarian nobility [as] the conduct of the Viennese court was widely regarded as a treason. In this atmosphere, some of the Hungarian gentlefolk tried to seek support in Turkey [...]. ‘The whole Christian world,’ wrote the palatine Wesselényi, ‘will be surprised that we are breaking away from our crowned King and making our master our greatest enemy, but there is no other way. [...] The so-called Wesselényi conspiracy has not reached [however] any wider scale, nor put into action any forces capable of putting up a fight, [but] has limited itself to a few magnates with adventurous plans, such as abduction and imprisonment of Emperor

⁴⁸ See *Appendix I.1*.

Leopold I. Thus, after the leader of the conspiracy, the palatine Francis Wesselényi, died, its other members [...] were unable to control the situation and, for fear of triggering peasant revolts, did not take any decisive action. [...] Wesselényi's conspiracy became [nevertheless] a convenient pretext for Emperor Leopold I establishing absolutism in Hungary' (W. Felczak).⁴⁹

The name Wesselényi also appears in the first paragraph of the protest, where the most serious accusation in terms of substance against the candidate for the mitre was made (taking into account that it was brought to the very forefront of those “*multa enormia et gravissima crimina*” which canon Stanisław Wojeński was supposed to have committed), namely the alleged necromancy (*negromantia*), which was incriminating for a clergyman. Considering that the term is rather rarely used today and some changes in its meaning could be observed in the course of the centuries, we should not limit ourselves to mentioning the suspicion of this kind of misconduct (if it is not too delicate a term in this context), but it seems right to elaborate on it; all the more so because the documentation of Wojeński's trial for the bishopric does not provide enough information to account for the guilt imputed to the later Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec Podolski. As the author of a recent paper “«*Nekromancja*» w historii języka polskiego” notes: “even though the lexeme evoked has its roots far back in antiquity, it was confirmed surprisingly late in the Polish language, [because] only in Linde's *Słownik* [języka polskiego], [where it means] ‘to evoke souls from the other world.’ Necromancy was explained in an almost identical way in *Słownik wileński* (‘evoking spirits of the dead’), but this lexicon gave also the terms for necromancy practitioners, i.e. ‘nekroman’ and ‘necromantes.’ The first of these lexemes had a general meaning, since it referred to most people practicing magic, so the followers of both black and white magic as well as fortune-tellers, [while] the second word (*nekromantes*) [...] characterized ‘a person who through the black or white magic methods predicts a close death to someone along with its kind and precise day’” (Z. Krótki),⁵⁰ which could have been indeed the meaning of the accusations made against Stanisław Wojeński.

⁴⁹ W. Felczak, *Historia Węgier*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1983², pp. 150–151 (also p. 160). See also *A History of Hungary*, ed. E. Pámlényi, London–Wellingborough 1975, pp. 166, 171; *Slovenské dejiny od úsvitu po súčasnosť*, Bratislava 2015, pp. 167–170 (subchapt. *Krátká vojna z Osmanskou ríšou a sprisahanie palatína Vešeléného* – by I. Mrva); I. Mrva, *Politické dejiny Spiša v kontexte strednej Európy (1526–1711)*, [in:] *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 2: *Dejiny Spiša od roku 1526 do roku 1918*, ed. M. Homza, S. A. Sroka, Bratislava 2016, pp. 181–189 (subchapt. *Sprisahanie magiánov* [ibidem, p. 182, fig. 90 – a portrait of F. Wesselényi]). Also L. Kościelek, *Historia Słowacji*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 198nn; *Chronológia dejín Slovenska a Slovákov*, ed. V. Dangl, V. Bystrický, Bratislava 2014, p. 212 (under the date 23rd March 1667); and literature indicated in footnote 91.

⁵⁰ Z. Krótki, «*Nekromancja*» w historii języka polskiego, “*Studia Językoznawcze. Synchroniczne i Diachroniczne Aspekty Badań Polszczyzny*” 15 (2016), pp. 185–186 [the entire article on pp. 183–194]; ibidem further remark that “*nekromantes* were associated with both white and black magic, however the lexeme indicated exclusively a person who foretells the end of life, a fortuneteller or a magician.”

Significantly enough, the quoted author stresses – after the earlier literature – that “a necromancer should be an ardent Catholic, ‘as otherwise he will undoubtedly bring doom upon himself’” (how then does this relate to the accusation articulated in one of the subsequent paragraphs of the “complaint” that the clergyman in question is not pious enough and neglects God’s service?), supplying also a quote from literature that “every educated mind has delved into astrological research – a merchant or cardinal, a condottiere or a monk has often sought consolation in the prophecies of a necromancer,” in which a necromancer can also mean an astrologer.⁵¹ Notwithstanding that this aspect of meaning should also be taken into account in the accusation made against Wojeński, it does not change the fact that in the first place “the analyzed word [i.e. necromancy] undoubtedly characterized the entire, sometimes complicated, magical ritual, serving to gain knowledge through the souls of the deceased about what will happen in future, [while] evoking spirits for any other purposes does not fall within the scope of this analysis.”⁵² Then Z. Krótki notes that although “the very word *necromancy* indeed did not appear in the Polish lexical resources of the old and middle epoch, [but] actually the term *nigromancja* was used, [...] where *nigro* was ‘black’ and *mancja* ‘divination.’ Although nigromancy could be expected to denote evil predictions or black magic, already in Michał of Wrocław calendar from 1494, a quotation [...] was confirmed in which that word means ‘evoking spirits.’ Only a century later, necromancy became a taboo subject, [and] the reason behind this was probably the liquidation of the school of magic functioning in Cracow at the end of the 16th century” (further on there is a remark that “by the end of the Renaissance epoch, the school was closed down and its practitioners were repressed and tortured”).⁵³ The author concludes that “the necromancy described (and forbidden) in Scripture [as] a special kind of divination was practiced in Old Poland in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries” and understood basically as “talking to the souls of the deceased, [however] in the case of magic sometimes it is not possible to draw a strict line between individual rituals. Necromancy should therefore be treated as a kind of introduction, a prelude to white or (more often) black magic.”⁵⁴ This was undoubtedly meant by those who for-

⁵¹ Ibidem, pp. 184 and 186.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 184. Ibidem, p. 190: “In the Middle Ages, the most frequent and popular term for evoking spirits was *nigromancja*.”

⁵³ Ibidem, pp. 186–187. Ibidem, p. 192: “In the 16th century, when a Cracow school of magic was established and started to attract Latin-speaking scholars from all over Europe, Latin *nigromantia* got adopted. Initially, the word was connected only with the academic idiom of the time. After the dissolution of the classified faculty of magic at the Cracow Academy, nigromancy has not been noted, it has become taboo.” See also R. Bugaj, *Nauki tajemne w Polsce w dobie odrodzenia*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1986. Moreover, M. Waryniewicz, *Szkoła magii w Krakowie*, “Lud” n.s. 6, 26, 1927, pp. 69–70.

⁵⁴ Z. Krótki, «*Nekromancja*» w historii języka polskiego, p. 192. Cf. ibidem also a quotation from the work of ex-Jesuit Stanisław Poklatacki *Pogrom. Czarnoksiężskie błędy, latawców zdrady*

mulated the accusation against Wojeński for this type of practice, which could constitute an introduction *vel* a prelude (if to follow the above quotation) to other forms of the Church's completely forbidden practice of magical arts.⁵⁵

Coming back to our main topic, in the conclusion he made in his protest drawn into the files of the Warsaw nunciature, Sadowski demanded in the name of his principal (i.e. Bishop of Cracow) that the Nuncio F. Martelli “ex his rationibus” gave up “a conficiendo processu donec canonicus Woienski purgaverit se a tot obiectis sibi enormibus et gravissimis criminibus in iudicio illustrissimi domini loci ordinarii,” in which situation the diplomatic representative of the Holy See in the Commonwealth of Both Nations was not able to proceed to the next stages of investigating eligibility of the candidate for the mitre and recognizing the current state of the vacant diocese of Kamieniec Podolski, but deferred this case to Rome. In effect, it took half a year before, on 22nd August 1677 (i.e. after exactly six months), the titular Archbishop of Corinth got the opportunity to take another step in such a complicated matter by publishing a decree of the Consistorial Congregation in Rome of 16th July that year, issued “ad supplicationem domini Woienski, ad Camenecensem Ecclesiam promovendi,” by which it was nevertheless authorised to carry out an appropriate information process “super statu Ecclesiae Camenecensi et super qualitatibus eiusdem domini promovendi,” but at the same time setting a thirty-day deadline for “nomine illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini episcopi Cracoviensis sive eiusdem curiae” instigator Sadowski “ad deducendum coram dominatione sua illustrissima et reverendissima, tamquam apostolico delegato, quidquid habet contra ipsum dominum promovendum.”⁵⁶ Thus the apostolic delegate Martelli, designated

i alchimickie falsze (from 1595), where we read: “Nigromants have the audacity to present as a real thing that they resurrect the dead – singularly those who lived wantonly and lasciviously in their age or died a sudden death. However, nigromants cannot resurrect the dead as much as by virtue of confused senses they construct short-standing grotesques with their transient and false illusion. For had God admitted the fiend to the like power, then he would have allowed – if not in all entirety, at least in part – to employ the nigromantic science and to attest to the respectfulness thereof.”

⁵⁵ See i.a. B. Cz y ż e w s k i, *Nekromancja w wypowiedziach Kościoła od XIII wieku*, [in:] *Orygenes, Eustacjusz z Antiochii i Grzegorz z Nysy o wywoływaniu duchów*, ed. L. Nieściora, Kraków 2016, pp. 59–70; P. Wy g r a l a k, *Nekromancja w ocenie starożytnego Kościoła*, [in:] *Orygenes, Eustacjusz z Antiochii i Grzegorz z Nysy o wywoływaniu duchów*, ed. L. Nieściora, Kraków 2016, pp. 41–58. Also: *Religia. Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 7, ed. T. G a d a c z, B. M i l e r s k i, Warszawa 2003, pp. 244–245 [also in: *Religie świata. Encyklopedia PWN (wierzenia – bogowie – święte księgi)*, Warszawa 2006, p. 583]; A. Z w o l i Ń s k i, *Wywoływanie duchów*, Radom 2007; i d e m, *Astrologia, wróżby, jasnowiedzenie i wywoływanie duchów*, Kraków 2008; S. Z a l e w s k i, *Obecność i działanie złych duchów podczas seansów spirytystycznych*, “*Studia Płockie*” 41 (2013), pp. 101–117. Cf. also R. K i e c k h e f e r, *Forbidden Rites. A Necromancer's Manual of Fifteenth Century*, State College [Pennsylvania] 1997; D. O g d e n, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, Oxford 2001.

⁵⁶ See *Appendix I.2*.

to this matter, was to acquaint himself with hard evidence of guilt (and not only accusations), the delivery of which was expected from the aforesaid canon of Wiślica acting on behalf of the Bishop Ordinary of Cracow. However, it did not reach the Warsaw nunciature within the appointed period of time and therefore Wojeński appeared before the nuncio in person, requesting immediate commencing of regular proceedings. Indeed on the same day the Archbishop of Corinth accepted the testimony of the first two witnesses in the trial (about which we will talk later).

In the further part of the files handed over later by the Nuncio to the Eternal City, there is a document which refers to the chronologically earlier events that took place between 22nd August and 27th September 1677 and were directly related to the facts presented so far. After all, if the aforesaid decree of the Consistorial Congregation of 17th July that year was to have the desired effect and at the same time all was to be in accordance with the legally defined procedures, it had to be presented to the other party, i.e. to the person accusing Stanisław Wojeński of “gravissima crimina ab ipso perpetrata.” As we learn then, Marcin Leliński, a cleric (*clericus*) from the Diocese of Włocławek, who was given this task, searched for the canon Stanisław Sadowski in Cracow for three consecutive days from 15th September 1677 in order to hand over the relevant document (and to have this fact endorsed on a copy of the decree), but he was not let by the guards into the residence of the Bishops of Cracow, where the local consistory (*curia*) also had its seat, and as a consequence he was unable to accomplish the delivery, although he showed so much determination in performing his mission as to go to Wawrzeńczyce near Cracow, where the bishop’s manor house was located, “sed nec ibi dabatur ulla possibilitas intimandae citationis.”⁵⁷

Looking a bit ahead in relating the events, it should be stated that the nunciature did not limit themselves to one-off attempt to hand over the decree of the Consistorial Congregation to the other side, which is quite understandable because with no doubt it was expected at the Roman Curia that a thorough discernment would be made in the matter to what extent the accusations against the king’s nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski are truthful, which could have been very difficult without the cooperation of those people who had put Wojeński into arraignment (or suspicion). Therefore, in another attempt to deliver the decree, Augustyn Watkiewicz *vel* Watkiewicz from the presbytery of the Gniezno archdiocese (this time not a *clericus*, but a priest) arrived in the diocese of Cracow in the late October 1677. Undoubtedly having beforehand gained a deeper insight into the matter, he went to Wiślica as the residence (*solitae residentiae*) of the instigator Stanisław Sadowski, and there in the first place left a copy of the decree “penes familia in domus eius” (and on the hands of the household members of the canon, who apparently was absent), and then paid a visit to the officiality of Wiślica, where, having presented the decree to the notary Krzysztof Marzewski (“notarius actorum cancellariae officialatus Vislicensis”), he

⁵⁷ See Appendix I.4.

was given a bad treatment – including short-term imprisonment – which caused a formal protest on the part of Watkiewicz, who made an appropriate note on this incident both on the original and on all copies of the decree of the Consistorial Congregation, so this note was duly included in the batch of documents of the information process carried out in the nunciature.⁵⁸

The process, as it was mentioned above, actually began on Monday, 27th September 1677, and first testimonies were given by two witnesses: the pantler of the Crown and the general governor of Cracow Jan Wielopolski (soon to be appointed Deputy Chancellor, and then Chancellor of the Crown) and general Franciszek (Francis) Andrault De Buy, the governor of Tczew. It does not seem reasonable to summarize here in detail everything that the testifying persons had to say about the candidate to the mitre during the verification proceedings; all the more so because the questions asked according to a uniform questionnaire usually received very similar answers. Nevertheless, it is worth to pay more attention to how the testimonies of witnesses bore on the issues related to the aforementioned accusation brought by instigator Sadowski. They were asked both about the descent of the candidate to the mitre (which corresponds to the fifth paragraph of the “complaint”), as well as about his piety and zeal in the service of the Church (fourth paragraph), whereas information relevant to the charges formulated in the second and third paragraphs (active support for the anti-Habsburg opposition in Hungary) appeared in the testimonies only in an indirect form while indicating various fields of activity or responsible missions Wojeński was entrusted with by his powerful principals. And the accusation of necromancy was not confirmed in the testimonies by a single word because on the one hand, the interrogations were carried out according to a fixed questionnaire (as mentioned above) which could not be supplemented *ad hoc* with additional questions for the purpose of a particular verification, while among the standard ones, for obvious reasons, there was no mention of a commitment to black magic (as it could in no way be presumed that a candidate for bishop’s dignity could engage in procedures so much in variance with the teaching of the Church),⁵⁹ and on the other hand, all but one witnesses (as it turned out) were favourably disposed to Wojeński, so even if they had heard about such accusations, they remained silent on the subject.

The first testimoner Jan Wielopolski (“dapifer Regni, capitaneus Cracoviensis, aetatis suae annorum 43”),⁶⁰ who got acquainted with the candidate to the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski a quarter of a century earlier (“cognosco a 23.

⁵⁸ Ibidem.

⁵⁹ Listing of questionnaire questions in: ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, k. 99r–100r.

⁶⁰ *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego...*, vol. 9, pp. 300–301; W. D w o r z a c z e k, *Genealogia*, cz. [2]: *Tablice*, Warszawa 1959, tabl. 153; *Urządnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*,

circiter annis perillustrem dominum Stanislaum Woienski, canonicum Cracoviensem, cum simus ex eodem Palatinatu”), stated on his descent only that satisfying the existing requirements in this respect was best demonstrated by the fact of his membership in the Cracow Cathedral Chapter (“scio natum esse ex legitimo matrimonio et honestis et catholicis parentibus, cum enim sit canonicus Cracoviensis, necessario debuit praecedere admissionem ipsius ad canonicatum probatio super dictis qualitatibus”). Nor did the pantler of the Crown in any way put in doubt the exemplary fulfilment of clerical obligations by the candidate (“scio ipsum esse frequentem in functionibus sui canonicatus Cracoviensis; item fuisse visitator archidiaconatus Pilcensis deputatum ab illustrissimo bonae memoriae [Petro] Gembicki, tunc episcopo Cracoviensi”), confirming also his education (“vidi testimonium Universitatis Bononiensis, in qua idem dominus canonicus promotus est ad doctoratum in utroque iure, quod testimonium puto datum esse anno 1637”) and the ecclesiastical benefices he got hold of (“quod sciam tria habere beneficia, videlicet canonicatum Cracoviensem, praeposituram Miedzyrzecensem et ecclesiam parochialem Otvinoviensem, et scio habere dispensationem apostolicam super pluralitate”).⁶¹

Testifying the same day as Wielopolski, General Franciszek Andrault De Buy (“capitaneus Derszaviensis”), who was also 43 years old (“aetatis suae annorum 43”)⁶² and had known Stanisław Wojeński for over two decades, namely from their joint stay at the court of the Grand Marshal (earlier Court Marshal) of the Crown Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski (“iam ab annis 20 et ultra cognosco dominum canonicum Woienski, cum ipse tunc temporis esset apud illustrissimum excellentissimum dominum marescalcum Lubomirscium tamquam hospes et amicus, et ego militabam apud excellentiam suam”), in a similar vein referred to the fact that the clergyman belonged among the canons of Wawel Cathedral as an argument in the matter of his descent, but further pointed to the important circumstance that he had possessions in the Cracow province, having inherited estate from his mother (“cum idem dominus canonicus sit possessionatus in Palatinatu Cracoviensi et habeat bona dotalia reverendissimae matris, est argumentum, quod natus sit ex legitimo matrimonio et honestis parentibus, et multo magis cum sit canonicus Cracoviensis, cum ad canonicatum non introducatur nisi praevio rigoroso examine”). Similarly, when mentioning Wojeński’s doctorate in Bologna, he succinctly stated about his moral values and conduct:

ed. A. Gąsiorowski, vol. 10: *Urządnicy centralni i nadworniki Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, Kórnik 1992, according to index.

⁶¹ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Consistorialis, vol. 79, k. 100v–101v (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

⁶² *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego...*, vol. 2, publ. J. N. Bobrowicz, Leipzig 1839 [reprinted: Warszawa 1989], p. 30; A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1899, p. 37; *Polska encyklopedia szlachecka*, p. 4, Warszawa 1936 [reprinted: Warszawa 1994], p. 101.

“Vidi ipsum semper ab omnibus aestimatum, neque unquam agnovi ipsum in vita aut moribus excessum.”⁶³

An even more significant position in the public life of the then Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was held by the third witness testifying before the apostolic nuncio in the verification of Wojeński, as on Friday, 8th October 1677, the Grand Marshal of the Crown Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski (“princeps Sacri Romani Imperii, magnus Regni marescalcus”) appeared before the papal envoy in charge of the information process (“princeps Sacri Romani Imperii, magnus Regni marescalcus”)⁶⁴ and stated at the beginning: “Cognosco dominum promovendum ab ipsis inneuntibus annis, cum dominus ipsius pater esset familiaris domini avi et domini parentis mei eratque vir clarus et doctrina conspicuus.” Thus in a way he paid tribute to the memory of the deceased almost three decades earlier Maciej Wonieski *vel* Woiński, whose connections with the former generations of the Lubomirski family (we are talking about Stanisław, the province governor of Cracow in 1638–1649 and his son Jerzy Sebastian, the grand marshal and field hetman of the Crown) consisted probably in medical services, which were always highly valued at the magnate’s court, and on this basis we are entitled to conclude that Lubomirski must have known the Christian name (and surname) of the father of the nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski. It is therefore significant that concerning the matter of his descent, the Grand Marshal of the Crown limited his testimony in the nunciature to a concise statement: “natus fuerit ex legitimo matrimonio atque honestis et catholicis parentibus,” thus not mentioning the name and especially the profession of Maciej Wonieski, while the word *familiaris* had a neutral overtone and did not determine the social status of a person so defined, the term *medicus* might raise suspicion of non-noble origin (although was not a decisive factor yet). In the conclusion of his speech during the information process, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski said about the king’s nominee: “Existimo dominum promovendum esse idoneum ad bene regendum ecclesiam cathedralem, dum – ut supra dixi – pollet iis omnibus qualitatibus doctrinae, pietatis et prudentiae, quae in episcopo requiruntur.”⁶⁵

The day before, on 7th October 1677, the testimony in the nunciature was given by Tomasz Karol Wojewódka, “subdiaconus ex Palatinatu Podoliae,” who focused

⁶³ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, k. 101v–102v (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

⁶⁴ *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego...*, vol. 6, publ. J. N. B o b r o w i c z, Leipzig 1841 [reprinted: Warszawa 1989], pp. 162–163; W. D w o r z a c z e k, *Genealogia*, part [2], tabl. 143; K. M a t w i j o w s k i, W. R o s z k o w s k a, *Lubomirski Stanisław Herakliusz herbu Szreniawa (ok. 1642–1702), marszałek wielki koronny, pisarz polityczny, poeta, prozaik, dramatopisarz*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 18, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973, pp. 45–50; *Urządnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej...*, vol. 10, according to index.

⁶⁵ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 106v–107v (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

only on the state of the vacant Kamieniec Podolski diocese and not on the clergyman promoted to the pastoral office in it, hence it was omitted from the manuscript *Summarium processus coram illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino nuntio apostolico in Regno Poloniae fabricati super statu Ecclesiae Camenecensis et qualitatibus reverendissimi nominati*, as well as similar testimonies of Andrzej Świącicki (“custos Camenecensis”) given on 16th October and Krzysztof Stroynowski (“canonicus Camenecensis, praepositus Dąbrowicensis”) testifying on 21st October that year, all of whom were asked only about the situation of the bishopric without a shepherd in Podolia occupied by the Turks.⁶⁶ Unlike Wielopolski and De Buy, all those three clerics, as well as Crown Marshal Lubomirski, did not give their testimony in the permanent seat (*solita residentia*) of the nuncio or any of the ordinary offices of the Warsaw nunciature because in the meantime a serious plague broke out in Warsaw and its suburbs, which forced moving further procedural activities “off to the country.” Not only because of this, however, the process, atypical from its very beginning (after all, it began with a formal protest against its very initiation), was also in the further stages more complex than it was normally the case with most of the candidates for the mitre. In fact, “ad assumendas pleniore et uberiores informationes super vita, moribus et idoneitate domini promovendi” on 28th September 1677 the Nuncio Martelli subdelegated “in personam illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Joannis Małachowski, episcopi Culmensis,” commissioning him to inquire further witnesses.⁶⁷

It was undoubtedly a matter of obtaining the most complete possible picture of the issue by the Roman Curia before making the final decision on filling the vacant bishopric in Kamieniec Podolski, while fully investigating the accusations made against Stanisław Wojeński. However, the subdelegation resulted no less importantly from the fact that the nuncio himself was simply not in position to question on the spot all the witnesses who were to be called to testify in the course of Wojeński’s verification. Although we do not know in detail the mechanism behind subpoenaing those and not other witnesses, there can be no doubt that before starting the verifi-

⁶⁶ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, f. 105r–106v (the testimony of Wojewódka, who with regard to the circumstances of passing of the previous Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec Podolski, Wespazjan Lanckoroński, stated: “Vacat sine dubio Ecclesia Camenecensi a quindecim circiter mensibus [*i.e. more or less from July 1676*], a quibus mortuus est illustrissimus dominus Lanckoronski, apud quem etiam tempore mortis fui”), 107v–109v (the testimony of Świącicki, who said on the same subject: “Vacat ecclesia cathedralis Camenecensis per obitum illustrissimi domini Vespasiani Lanckoronski, qui secutus mense Augusti anno 1676 in civitate Varsaviensi, quod est cuique notorium”), 109v–110v (the testimony of Stroynowski, who confirmed the fact that Bishop Lanckoroński died in Warsaw).

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 110r (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.): “Subdelegatio facta ab illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino nuntio apostolico die 28. Septembris 1677 in personam illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Joannis Malac[h]ovski, episcopi Culmensis et Pomesaniae, ad assumendas pleniore et uberiores informationes super vita, moribus et idoneitate domini promovendi.”

cation, the nunciature had already a clear idea of who could (and should) be called upon to testify in this case. It is symptomatic that all those who confirmed personal merits and qualifications to take on such a considerable responsibility by the King's candidate for the mitre were people who were closely related to the monarch and his policy and could not be expected to testify against the nominee of John III Sobieski. Moreover, the Lubomirskis and Wielopolskis were families which, as Z. Lasocki pointed out, were supposed to gain (in terms of splendour of their descent) from the historical falsifications made by the later Bishop of Kamieniec Podolski, hence we can speak of a kind of "community of interests."⁶⁸ In any case, at the end of February 1677, when the verification began, nothing seemed to impede accepting the testimonies of all planned witnesses on the spot in the Warsaw nunciature, but the unexpected six-month delay caused by S. Sadowski's aforementioned protest submitted to the files of the nunciature and then waiting for the decision of the Roman Consistorial Congregation as to how to proceed in this case brought further difficulties. In connection with his Baltic policy, on 21st May 1677 King John III Sobieski together with a number of dignitaries and a part of his court, left the Wilanów residence and set off along the Vistula River to Danzig, where he was to stay for an exceptionally long period of six and a half months (from 1st August 1677 to 14th February 1678). He was accompanied by the senators appointed to reside with the monarch as well as other representatives of the political elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth involved in international politics, among them church dignitaries who were expected to testify in the verification.⁶⁹

Parallel to the activities carried out by the apostolic nuncio, within a single day, namely on Saturday, 9th October 1677, the Bishop Ordinary of Culmsee Małachowski, who was authorized by him to take such steps, interrogated four witnesses: two bishops and two abbots (one of whom was actually a so-called commandant abbot, or *de facto* an administrator of the abbey), i.e. people highly positioned in the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy, whose testimony was supposed to give

⁶⁸ Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, p. 191 ("The counterfeited documents, planted in the Crown Treasury Archives, were not intended to bring material benefits this time, as was the case with the demonstration of the nobility of Wojeński, but merely to satisfy his own vanity and presumably the vanity of his protectors. The Lubomirskis, whom he had long rendered many services, were keen to demonstrate their ancestors of the 11th and 12th centuries on senate positions, whereas actually it was not earlier than at the turn of the 16th century that this family of undoubtedly ancient nobility began to accumulate wealth thanks to salt mines and climb to higher dignities. And it was even more important for the Wielkopolskis to obliterate the traces of their descent from Cracow patricians, the Bochnars").

⁶⁹ I. a. A. S i e r a k o w s k i, *Pobył Jana III Sobieskiego w Prusach Królewskich w latach 1677 i 1678*, Toruń 1912; Z. W ó j c i k, *Jan Sobieski 1629–1696*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 239–240; C. S k o n k a, *Jan III Sobieski na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, Warszawa 1985 (esp. pp. 8–22); *Historia Gdańska*, vol. 3 part 1: 1655–1793, ed. E. C i e ś l a k, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 154–170.

greater substance to the matter in the eyes of Roman curialists. Thus, fulfilling the mission entrusted to them, “*illustrissimus et reverendissimus dominus episcopus Culmensis et Pomesaniae, commissarius illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini nuntii apostolici, volens ad ulteriorem executionem delegationis in personam suam per illustrissimum et reverendissimum dominum nuntium apostolicum factae devenire, mandavit vocari illustrissimos et reverendissimos dominos, dominum Stanislaum Dąbski, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia episcopum Luceoriensem et Brestensem, dominum Stanislaum Świącicki, episcopum Chelmensis, ac perillustres et reverendissimos dominos Alexandrum Wolff, nominatum episcopum Livoniensem, abbatem Pelplinensem, et Joannem Witwicki, abbatem Plocensem, infulatum Olycensem, Gnesnensem canonicum, cancellariae Regni minoris regentem,*” all of whom had undoubtedly been notified earlier about the date of giving testimony, since they all “as one” arrived on time.⁷⁰

As the first of the four, testified Bishop Ordinary of Łuck (Luceoria) Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbski,⁷¹ whose answer to the question for how long he had known Wojeński deserves well to be quoted here, as it contains interesting (in the context discussed) information: “*Cognosco perillustrem et reverendissimum dominum Stanislaus Woienski, canonicum Cracoviensem, ad Ecclesiam Camenecensem promovendum, ab annis quindecim, quando deducebat nobilitatem in comitiis Regni Poloniae publice et fui eo tempore praesens.*”⁷² Although this is where the theme of proving himself to be of noble origin by the present nominee for the bishopric was raised, Dąbski limited himself to a schematic statement on his genealogy: “*Natus est ex honestis parentibus et legitimo matrimonio; parentes eius erant catholici.*” In the point concerning the priesthood of Wojeński, on the other hand, there is a piece of information which to some extent explains why the Bishop Ordinary of Łuck was called at all as a witness in this process, as we can read in the relevant fragment of the process files: “*Est presbiter a multis annis, quia in mea dioecesi Luceoriensi habet praeposituram Medzirzecensem et in dioecesi Cracoviensi habet alia beneficia, quae uti presbiter possidet*” (further on, there is a mention of a doctorate obtained in Bologna). As well as the other witnesses testifying before and after him, Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbski positively assessed the qualifications of the king’s nominee to take over the rule in the diocese envisaged for him without raising any objections to his moral attitude.⁷³

⁷⁰ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 110v–111r (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

⁷¹ The latest biographical entry of this hierarch in: K. R. P r o k o p, *Rzymskokatolicki biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach ruskich...*, pp. 136–140.

⁷² See above footnote 4.

⁷³ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 112r–v (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

The second person giving testimony in Danzig before Jan Małachowski was Bishop Ordinary of Chełm (of Latin rite) Stanisław Jacek Świącicki,⁷⁴ whose statement on the circumstances in which he met S. Wojeński also deserves to be quoted: “Novi ab annis 20. et amplius perillustrem dominum, dominum Stanislaus Woienski, canonicum Cracoviensem, ad Ecclesiam Camenecensem promovendum, quando apud Sacram Caesaream Maiestatem fuit residens [missus] a serenissimo Joanne Casimiro, rege Poloniae.” The nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski was therefore by no means an unknown person at the Habsburg court, since he was still on a diplomatic mission there under John II Casimir, which is worth bearing in mind in the context of accusations of conspiring against the Emperor. In turn, in the matter of the descent of the Cracow canon, Świącicki spoke in an extremely reticent manner, without going into details and referring to the public knowledge (“non est dubitandum quod sit natus ex legitimo matrimonio et ex catholicis parentibus, quia de hoc est publica fama et nullus aliter dicere poterit”), and similarly concluding only from indirect premises that he was a priest who had been ordained many years ago (“scio quod est presbiter ab annis triginta et duobus, nam id patet tam ex dispensatione Innocentii X, quam ex commissione illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Petri Gembicki, episcopi Cracoviensi, qua illi commiserat visitationem archidiaconatus Pilecensis cum facultatibus amplis in dioecesi Cracoviensi”). He was also familiar with the fact that Wojeński had a doctorate in both civil and canon law (“promotus ad doctoratum in utroque iure in Academia Bononiensi”), as well as his ecclesiastical posts to date, in which context he stated: “Scio illum fuisse archidiaconum Pilecensem, ecclesias parochiales habuisse, et ad praesens canonicatum Cracoviensem et praeposituram Międzyrzecensem habere et varias commissiones ab illustrissimis et reverendissimis dominis episcopis Cracoviensibus, insuper et officium iudicis in Judiciali Tribunale Regni Poloniae, et electione venerabili capituli Cracoviensis tum illustrissimorum dominorum Petri Gembicki et Andreae Trzebicki, episcoporum Cracoviensium, ab illis varias commissiones demandatas tam ad praesidendum electionibus abbatum, quam et ad comitia seu dietas Palatinatus Cracoviensis” (and further about the three benefices it in his possession: “canonicatus Cracoviensis, praepositura Międzyrzecensis, ecclesia parochialis Otfinoviensis”). In assessing the personal characteristics of the candidate to the mitre as well as his ability to perform responsible tasks, the Bishop of Chełm once again referred to the fact that Wojeński had been entrusted with diplomatic missions (“certum est quod sit vir gravis, prudens et in rebus gerendis praestans, et legationes fungebatur a serenissimo Joanne Casimiro, rege Poloniae, ad

⁷⁴ See K. R. P r o k o p, *Rzymskokatolicy biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach ruskich...*, pp. 381–385; i d e m, *Biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach litewskich i białoruskich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów (do czasów I wojny światowej): Wilno • Żmudź • Inflanty • Smoleńsk • Mohylów • Mińsk • Wigry • Sejny (Augustów) • Janów Podlaski*, Warszawa–Drohiczyń 2015, pp. 244–247.

Sacram Caesaream Maiestatem et ad serenissimum principem Condeum in Galliam;” this presumably refers to the efforts to ensure the succession of the Polish throne after John II Casimir to the representative of the French ruling dynasty), as well as stressed his very good opinion concerning his personal conduct, stating: “De nullo unquam scandalo aut vitio eius scio, imo scio quod nullum scandalum commisserit, sed bene semper vixit et secundum suam vocationem semper processerit.” Thus, in a way he denied the accusations contained in the protest made by the instigator Sadowski, also formulating the final conclusion consistent with the above: “Maximi existimo esse utilem ad ecclesiam cathedralem Camenecensem.”⁷⁵

The third witness whose testimony was accepted on 9th October 1677 by Bishop Jan Małachowski was the abbot of Pelplin (and at the same time the king’s nominee for the Livonian bishopric, for which, however, he never received a papal commission) Aleksander Wolff zu Ludinghausen, also a close associate of John III Sobieski.⁷⁶ At the King’s court, he has the opportunity to enter into closer relations with Stanisław Wojeński, whom he had already known before (“novi et nosco perillustrem et reverendissimum dominum Stanislaus Woienski [...] ab annis viginti et amplius, adhuc ante bellum Suecicorum, sed modo melius novi a coronatione Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis Poloniae”). It is also from the monarch that he supposedly learned about the life path of the candidate to the mitre, important in the context of the process questionnaire. Particularly worth mentioning here seems to be a fragment concerning the controversial subject of Wojeński’s genealogy, about which A. Wolff zu Ludinghausen testified: “Audiavi a Sacra Regia Maiestate, quod sit natus in dioecesi Cracoviensi. Similiter audiavi a Sacra Regia Maiestate, quod sit natus ex legitimo matrimonio, ex catholicis parentibus, quia Sacra Regia Maiestas novi illius parentes et dixit esse et fuisse parentes eius bonos, sed praecipuae parentem eius fuisse hominem doctissimum et prudentissimum.” Bearing in mind that Maciej Worieski (Woiniski), not mentioned here by name, died in 1648, the information that he was known to Jan Sobieski and respected by him must refer to the time when the future monarch was studying (together with his brother Marek Sobieski) at the Cracow Academy (he studied there in 1642/1643–1645/1646),⁷⁷ while the father of the later bishop of Kamieniec Podol-

⁷⁵ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 112v–113v (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

⁷⁶ *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego...*, vol. 9, pp. 397–398; S. Kujot, *Opactwo pelplińskie*, Pelplin 1875, pp. 270–280, no. 32 (where on p. 276–279 about the sojourn of King John III Sobieski in Danzig, Pomerania); R. Frydrychowicz, *Geschichte der Cistercienserabtei Pelplin und ihre Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler*, Düsseldorf 1905, according to index (esp. pp. 107–108, no. 32). Moreover J. K. Dachnowski, *Herbarz szlachty Prus Królewskich z XVII wieku*, publ. Z. Penteł, Kórnik 1995, pp. 244–246; *Urządnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej...*, vol. 10, p. 37 (no. 104), 214.

⁷⁷ See H. Barycz, *Lata szkolne Marka i Jana Sobieskich w Krakowie*, Kraków 1939; K. Targosz, *Jana Sobieskiego nauki i peregrynacje*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1985.

ski was the vice-chancellor (and in 1639–1640 also the rector) of the Academy.⁷⁸ Aleksander Wolff was also familiar with the fact that Stanisław Wojeński earned his doctor's degree in Bologna, which took place forty years earlier (i.e. in 1637), and stated that he had been ordained a priest: “Scio ipsum esse in sacris ordinibus constitutum et vidi pluries celebrantem sacrae missae sacrificia decantantem imo ille me ad ecclesiam Żółkwiensem introduxit” (for the testimonier used to hold a provost's office in Żółkiew, obtained from Sobieskis' patronage).⁷⁹

The last witness giving testimony in Danzig, Jan Stanisław Witwicki (a future member of the episcopate of the Commonwealth of Both Nations), “abbatiae Plocensis administrator seu commendatarius perpetuus, praepositus infulatus Olycensis, Gnesnensis [et] Varsaviensis canonicus, regens cancellariae Regni minoris” (thus a person associated with the monarch and his environment as closely as possible at that time),⁸⁰ who had known the nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski for over a quarter of a century (“novi ante 25. annos perillustrem et reverendissimum dominum Stanislaus Woienski”), in the matter of his genealogy also resorted to indirect evidence, referring to the fact that the clergyman belonged to the Cracow Cathedral Chapter (“non est dubitandum quod sit natus ex catholicis et honestis parentibus, quia non susciperetur ad ecclesiam cathedrallem Cracoviensem nisi esset ex legitimis parentibus natus, et est in ecclesia cathedrali Cracoviensi canonicus”). He also mentioned a former mission of Wojeński “ad principem Condeum in Galliam” as well as said that “in electione regis Michaelis et in electione serenissimi moderni regis Poloniae secretarium fuisse, et reverendissimi domini Andreae Trzebicki, episcopi Cracoviensis, qui de tempore electionis serenissimi regis, subsecuta morte illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Casimiri Floriani ducis Czartoryski, archiepiscopi Gnesnensis, vice archiepiscopales gerebat, secretarius fuisse,” thus pointing out the responsible functions that the present candidate for the mitre had been entrusted with in the past (he did not fail to mention his Bologna doctorate either). All of this was accompanied by a concise and unequivocal conclusion of Witwicki's testimony: “Puto esse dignissimum ad ecclesiam cathedrallem Camenecensem,”⁸¹ which, in this or similar wording, is repeated in the statements of all the seven witnesses testifying “super qualitatibus domini promovendi” (ten witnesses testified in total, however, three of them were asked only about the affairs of the Diocese of Kamieniec Podolski, and

⁷⁸ See above footnote 22.

⁷⁹ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 113v–114v (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

⁸⁰ Recently: K. R. P r o k o p, *Rzymskokatolicy biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach ruskich...*, pp. 423–424. Also: *Kapituła kolegiacka w Olyce 1919–1940. Materiały*, comp. M. Dębowska, Kraków n.d., p. 27.

⁸¹ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 114v–115v (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

not about the person of the king's nominee). "Quibus omnibus et singulis peractis, illustrissimus et reverendissimus dominus episcopus Culmensis et Pomesaniae, ab illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino nuntio deputatus, pro finali suae delegationis executione praesentem procuracionem cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis et insertis [...] clausum et obsigillatum ad illustrissimum et reverendissimum dominum nuntium apostolicum remitti mandavit" – as it was noted at the end of the part of the process files that resulted from the proceedings conducted in Danzig under the aforementioned subdelegation.

The next stage of the information process took place again before the apostolic nuncio – already in his permanent residence (due the end of the plague) – on 3rd November 1677, when before the diplomatic representative of the Holy See in the Commonwealth of the Both Nations "comparavit nobilis dominus Marcianus Czarkowski, vice et nomine perillustris et admodum reverendi Stanislai Woienski [...], et a magis magisque docendum de requisitis et idoneitate sui domini principalis produxit novem documenta publica," namely: 1) the diploma of Doctor of Both Laws ("privilegium doctoratus in utroque iure datum Bononiae, 24. Septembris 1637"); 2) the document conferring the dignity of apostolic (proto)notary ("privilegium prothonotariatus apostolici, datum Romae 22. Octobris 1649"); 3) the papal commission for the post of archdeacon of Pilica ("bullae apostolicae Innocentii PP. X super archidiaconatu Pilecensi, datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1645, octavo Kalendas Martii, pontificatus anno primo"); 4) *facultates* given to Wojeński by the Bishop Ordinary *loci* for an inspection of the Pilica archdeaconry ("facultates archidiaconi Pilecensis et deputatio domini Woienski, tunc archidiacono, facta per illustrissimum et reverendissimum Petrum Gembicki, tunc episcopum Cracoviensem, ad visitandum praefatum archidiaconatum Pilecensem, datum Cracoviae, 14. mensis Junii anno Domini 1649"); 5) the Bishop's delegation with authorization to assist in the election of the coadjutor of the abbot of Wąchock ("commissio facta per modernum illustrissimum episcopum Cracoviensem [i.e. by A. Trzebicki] in persona domini Woienski pro assistendo electioni coadiutoris abbatiae Wąchocensis, datum Cracoviae, die 10. Junii 1667"); 6) the analogous delegation with authorization to assist in the election of the new abbot of Jędrzejów ("alias commissio facta per eundem modernum episcopum Cracoviensem in personam domini Woienski pro assistendo electioni abbatis Andreoviensis [...], datum Bodzentini, die 14. Januarii 1672"); 7) a letter from the Cracow Cathedral Chapter related to the election of Wojeński as its deputy to the Crown Tribunal ("litterae capituli Cracoviensis ad dominum Woienski, concanonicum, deputy iudicem in Tribunale Regni Lublinski, datum Cracoviae, die 15. Julii anno 1667"); 8) the delegation from the same chapter to represent it by the present nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski in the General Diet ("commissio nomine capituli Cracoviensis in persona domini Woienski, ut tamquam nuntius capitularis et totius cleri dioecesani intersit generalibus Regni comitis [...], datum Cracoviae, 2. Januarii 1677"); 9) a bequest made by Stanisław Wo-

jeński to the benefit of the Wawel Cathedral in Cracow with the intention of getting conducted there appropriate anniversary services after his death (“*inscriptio facta per dominum Woienski ad favorem capituli sui Cracoviensis in summa florenorum trium milium pro anniversario post mortem, de anno 1666*”).⁸²

On the same day, 3rd November 1677, the same Marcján Czarkowski appearing before the nuncio (“*proprio nomine illustrissimi domini Stanislai Wojenski*”) on “*pro dicto domino Woienski, ad cathedralem ecclesiam Camenecensem promovendo, contra reverendum dominum Stanislaum Sadowski, instigatorem curiae episcopalis Cracoviensis,*” reiterated the fact that the thirty-day period had already passed (“*dicto termino 30. dierum elapso*”) given to the instigator Sadowski “*ad deducendum coram dominatione sua illustrissima et reverendissima quidquid habet adversus dictum illustrissimum promovendum,*” by which deadline the expected incriminating evidence had not reached the nunciature.⁸³

This circumstance, however, does not mean that the other party thus considered themselves to lose the case and refrained from any further actions aimed at preventing Wojeński from being granted a papal commission for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski. Seeing that in spite of the submitted accusation, a formal information process was duly carried out and the selection of witnesses guaranteed a successful outcome for the king’s candidate from the examination of his moral values or his eligibility to take on so prominent a church post, his opponents – having the opportunity to do so – decided to counteract the promotion of Stanisław Wojeński to the bishopric by taking steps directly in Rome. As we also read in the final part of the process files under the date of 6th November 1677, once again “*coram illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino nuntio apostolico comparavit idem nobilis dominus Martianus Czarkowski, proprio nomine quo supra, et alias omni et attenta dilatione praefata per dominationem suam illustrissimam decretate cum valde intersit domini principalis sui, ne intra talem moram versetur in discrimine eiusdem existimatis contra quem instigatoris fiscalis Cracoviensis quasdam assertas informationes clanculum*

⁸² ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, f. 116r–v [transcript of doctor diploma], 118r [apostolic protonotary office], 118v–119r [dignity of archdeacon of Pilica], 119r [inspection of archdeaconry of Pilica], 119v–120r [election of the abbot-coadjutor in Wąchock], 120r [election of the abbot in Jędrzejów], 120v–122v [documents related to the Cracow Cathedral Chapter and the Wawel Cathedral] (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.). Cf. *Deputaci Trybunału Koronnego 1578–1794. Spis*, vol. 3: 1661–1700, comp. L. A. W i e r z b i c k i, Warszawa 2017, p. 69 (also p. 98), where the deputy of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter to the Crown Tribunal in 1667 is erroneously identified as Stanisław Łubiński.

⁸³ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Conistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 122v–123v (ibidem, under the same date 3rd November 1677: “*pro parte instigatoris fiscalis tribunalis praesentis nuntiaturae apostolicae fuit facta instantia, ut sibi reservaretur iura et actiones contra reverendum dominum Christophorum Marzewski, actuarium Wislicensem, pro assertis contumeliis ac violentiis illatis reverendo domino Augusto Watkiewicz, presbitero dioecesis Gnesnensis et executori citationis supra productae*”).

assumptas iam Romam transmississe iactavit. Ideo pro aliqua praeventiva instructione Sacrae Congregationis et ad omnem meliorem finem et effectum, petiit et instituit processum fabricatum claudi et sigillari clausumque ac sigillatum, ut moris est, sibi decerni et extradi omnis.” Accordingly, on the very day of 6th November of that year, the files containing the testimonies of witnesses and the other documents mentioned above were closed and notarized in order to be forwarded to the Eternal City for further action.⁸⁴

As already stated, the issue of the nomination encountered understandable in this situation obstacles in the Roman Curia and the next two years (i.e. 1678 and 1679) did not bring the anticipated papal commission for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski for Stanisław Wojeński, despite various efforts still being made on his behalf. It is evidenced by the aforementioned letter, dated Lwów, 23rd June 1678, from Archbishop Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbski, who had just testified in the information process, probably addressed to the cardinal-protector of the Kingdom of Poland Pietro Vidoni, where it was stated explicitly that “dominus episcopus Cracoviensis promotioni canonici [Wojeński] in Sacra Congregatione Consistorialis opposuit,” which was known to the king John III Sobieski and his closest officials. The author of the letter bluntly described the accusations made against Wojeński as calumnies and vilification of a man by all measures estimable, of great merit for the Church and the state and referred in many places to the recently conducted information process, whose result should speak for itself, while the group of witnesses to confirm the accusation raised serious doubts because they were exclusively “ex familiaribus et obligatis domini episcopi Cracoviensis.” However, perhaps inspired by the royal court, although apparently of private nature, Dąbski’s letter not only expressed an outrage over the situation that the monarch’s authority behind the nomination could be effectively counteracted by people of dubious reputation (“hoc Regia Maiestas summe apprehendit, praeferrī fidei suae regiae vilissimorum hominum falsa testimonia”), which was detrimental to the sovereign’s majesty (“Sua Maiestas Regia magno dolore conquaeratur de autoritate et reputatione sua in Urbe laesa”), but also contained unambiguous warnings to the helmsmen of the Holy Catholic Church. It was pointed out that if through such a show of disrespect, they put off the King who had just recently ascended to the throne, they would not be able to count on his favourable involvement in matters important for Catholicism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (and not only there), while there were a number of “tinderboxes” bringing about actual damages to the Church (also with regard to the Diocese of Kamieniec Podolski, since “cum contributio publica in praeteritis comitiis pro exulibus ex Podolia sancita, omisso episcopo et illius diaecesis clero, inter solos dividatur incolas sae-

⁸⁴ ASV, Archivio Consistoriale, Processus Consistorialis, vol. 79, ff. 124v–125r (also in: ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, b.p.).

culares”).⁸⁵ Such words could then be read in the Eternal City as an almost explicit threat that if Wojeński’s candidature for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski were rejected, John III Sobieski would not fail to retaliate against the Holy See by initiating actions that Rome would probably prefer to avoid.⁸⁶

Unable to take a firm step, the Roman Consistorial Congregation postponed its final decision and in consequence, for a long time there was neither confirmation of Stanisław Wojeński to the bishopric nor definitive rejection of his candidacy by the successor of St. Peter. At the same time further materials were collected in an effort to more completely understand the matter, which resulted in preparing *Summarium processus coram illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino nuntio apostolico in Regno Poloniae fabricati super statu Ecclesiae Camenecensis et qualitatibus reverendissimi nominati* for the use of the Congregation. It contained not only, as the title would indicate, the documentation of the information process carried out in 1677 by the nuncio Martelli (while excluding the testimonies about the state of the Kamieniec Podolski diocese as they did not concern the person of S. Wojeński), which was the first part of the summary (*nota bene* incomparably more extensive than the other two parts), but also additional testimonies of relevance to the entire issue. All of them related to – to put it in a relatively delicate manner – the relationship between Stanisław Wojeński and the aforementioned Hungarian family of Wesselényi, which is not too surprising, since the family, involved in the antiimperial opposition in Hungary, appeared in the first two (out of five) paragraphs of the instigator Sadowski’s accusation as well as was referred to in the third paragraph of the “complaint.” It mentioned namely “Dominus Viselinus, palatinus Ungariae,” who Wojeński “induxit persuasionibus suis ad rebellionem contra Caesaream Maiestatem,” and when it came to light, “bona illius omnia confiscata [sunt] et uxor in sequestrum accepta, in quo fortassis hucusque detinetur,” which pained much the sons of the palatin who were not named (the above quote actually refers not to their mother but stepmother). Moreover, it is precisely “a domino Veselenio” that the nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski was accused of necromancy, all of which, taken together, raises a justified question how that unfortunate acquaintance of the clergyman with Francis (Ferenc) Wesselényi, the palatine of Hungary in 1655–1657, had come about.

A total of four documents included in the form of transcripts in the second (three documents) and third part (one document) of the *Summary*, drawn up for the use of the Roman Consistorial Congregation, which dealt, among others, with epis-

⁸⁵ Cf. J. Stoliński, *Egzulanci podolscy (1672–1699). Znaczenie uchodźców z Podola w życiu politycznym Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 1994. See also *Akta sejmiku podolskiego «in hostico» 1672–1698*, publ. J. Stoliński, Kraków 2002 (where – as it can be concluded from the index – Bishop Stanisław Wojeński is not mentioned at all).

⁸⁶ See *Appendix III*.

copal appointments, allow for a partial explanation. In the first one, dated 23rd March 1677 in Cracow and addressed to “illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Stanislao comiti [*sic*] a Brzezie Woienski, episcopo Camenecensi, Varsaviae,” the sender, undersigned as “Ladislaus Wesseleni, comes in Muran,” is responding to Wojeński’s letter of unknown content of 4th March, provoked by the mentioned in the first paragraph of the instigator Sadowski’s “complaint” allegation of practising necromancy, which is what the Hungarian magnate supposedly accused the present nominee for the bishopry in Kamieniec Podolski before Andrzej Trzebicki, Bishop Ordinary of Cracow. In his letter, Władysław (Laszlo) Wesselényi denies this, presenting the circumstances in which this kind of misunderstanding (or intentional misrepresentation of facts) had occurred. The same applies to the issue of Stanisław Wojeński’s alleged fomenting the anti-Habsburg opposition in Hungary, in which context there can be found an interesting detail connected with the later bishop of Kamieniec Podolski: “tempore Svetici belli habitabat in Murani.” Thus, we are talking about the period of the so-called Swedish Deluge (1655/1656),⁸⁷ when in the later years of the Wesselényi conspiracy, there was no longer any opportunity for direct contacts between the Hungarian palatine and the later nominee for the bishopric in Kamieniec Podolski.⁸⁸

Before attempting to organize the information obtained from this source and supplementing it with what is known from the literature, one should first consider the remaining documents from the *Summary*. It contains a letter from Bishop Trzebicki to Wojeński of 26th January 1672 and a transcript of the settlement of 13th May of the same year concluded “per mediationem illustrissimi principis et reverendissimi domini episcopi Cracoviensis.” This is *Concordia inter dominum Vesseleni et dominum Woienski* (in the relevant transcript “ex Polonico in Latinum transposita”), signed by both Stanisław Wojeński and Władysław (Laszlo) Wesselényi (“comes in Muran”), together with – as witnesses – Paweł Stokowski (“castellanus Osviecimensis”), Kazimierz Waxman (“canonicus Cracoviensis”), Stanisław Rozrażewski (“custos Cracoviensis”), and Franciszek Jordan (“capitaneus Dobczicensis”). The dispute and the subsequent agreement was related to Wojeński’s possession of the parish in Gdów and concerned the income generated by that parish. As he wrote in his declaration, “Vladislaus Wesseleni, comes in Muran, [...] facta est die hodierna concordia per mediationem illustrissimi principis domini episcopi Cracoviensis atque per illustrissimum et magnificum dominum castellanum Osviecimensem, magnificos dominum custodem Cracoviensem, dominum canonicum Waxman, dominum capitaneum Dobczicensem, mutuos ad hanc concordiam

⁸⁷ Cf. Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbca Koronnego*, p. 180 (“During the Swedish invasion, [Stanisław Wojeński] took refuge in Hungary where he was of service to Polish exiles, [thanks to which] after the end of the war with Swedes, he was designated by the king for the Cracow canonry in 1660”).

⁸⁸ See *Appendix II*.

amicos,” on the basis of which (as stated further by the Hungarian magnate) “dominus canonicus Woienski quietavit me ex omnibus praetensionibus de quibus insertatae mihi erant actiones, etsi hucusque secundum adinventionem amicabilem his praetensionibus ob brevitatem temporis satisfieri non poterat. Ideo promitto hoc dicto canonico verbo nobili, quod eaque desiecta sunt aedificia ad scholam Gdovensem pertinentia prout et horreum cantoris restituere et reedificare iubeo quamprimum in moderno meo reditu ad Gdov.”⁸⁹

And next: “Recentes obventiones et obligationes ad ecclesiam Gdoviensem redere et restituere, et in posterum secundum contractum illa exolvere iubeo Pascuae pecullibus plebanilibus, et subditorum ac ministrorum ecclesiae non impendiam, sed ita libera manebunt prout ante fuerant. Debita pro legitibus et aliis rebus secundum regestrorum a me domino Stochi [*Paulus de Stok Stokowski, castellanus Osviecimensis*] datum solvere iubebo, et servitoribus, qui ex domo plebanali abrepti sunt, servitium continuare ad novem annum permittam, super quo manu propria me subscribo.”⁹⁰ The last document in the *Summary* (as *numerus tertius*) is also related to the case of the parish of Gdów and entitled *Sententia episcopi Cracoviensis ad favorem reverendissimi nominati* (it is obvious that in a source from 1672 Wojeński could not possibly appear as a “[Kamieniec] nominee”), which was a decree of the Bishop Ordinary of Cracow dated, Cracow, 1st June 1672 (“decretum illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini episcopi Cracoviensis anno millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo secundo, die vero Mercurii prima Junii, Cracoviae”), referring to the aforementioned settlement between the canon Wojeński, parish priest in Gdów (“Stanislaus a Brzezio Woienski, canonicus Cracoviensis, parochus in Gdow”), and Władysław (László) Wesselényi, whose title deed to the Gdów estate has not been anywhere articulated *expressis verbis* here.⁹¹ It is worth noting at this point that in the letter of Trzebicki to Wojeński of 26th January 1672, that Hungarian magnate is referred to as the “haereticus,” which could suggest that he belonged to the dissenters (Protestants), which would give the accusations of his attitude towards the affairs of the parish church in Gdów a comprehensible context, however in fact Wesselényi’s father, although originating from a Protestant family, converted to Catholicism in his youth, so it would be at least unexpected (though not impossible) for his descendants to take the side of the Reformation again.

The repeatedly mentioned here father was Franciszek (Ferenc) Wesselényi (son of Stefan and Katarzyna Derssfa), who lived in 1605–1667 and from the 1620s onwards took part in battles against the Turks. His war experience also included battles against the Tartars on the territory of the Commonwealth of Both Nations

⁸⁹ ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, n.d.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, n.d. (descriptive date: “Datum in castro Cracoviensi die Lunae post festum Gloriosae Dei Ascensionis anno 1672”).

⁹¹ ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, n.d.

(during the reign of Ladislaus IV Vasa) during which he supposedly commanded an auxiliary Hungarian unit. Thanks to his military talents, he managed to climb to the top of the social ladder, obtaining the title of count in 1646 (with the predicate of Wesselényi de Hadad), and a decade later (1655) receiving a nomination from Emperor Ferdinand III for the Palatine (*supremus capitaneus partium Regni Hungariae superiorum*) of the Crown of St. Stephen. He was also given the Order of the Golden Fleece by King Philip IV of Spain in 1662. In 1629, he married Zofia Bośniak (Bosnyák) from a military family, who gave him two sons, Adam (1630–1656) and Władysław (Laszlo), born in 1633 (thus about two decades younger than S. Wojeński). Their uncle and brother of Franciszek (Ferenc) was Mikołaj (Miklós) Wesselényi (1608–1666). Not only did he convert to Catholicism as Franciszek, but chose the clerical estate by joining the Jesuit Order (he later held the office of rector of the college in Bratislava and superior in Košice), under whose influence both brothers changed their confession (they also had three sisters). After becoming a widower, Wesselényi married Maria Szèchy (1610–1679) in 1644, who brought him in her dowry the Murań castle (Muráň *vel* Muránsky hrad) in Slovakia (at that time known as the Upper Hungary and belonging to the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen), situated in the area of Murań Karst (Muránská Plánina) on the top of Mount Cigánka (935 m.a.m.s.l.) and constituting the central point of a large estate (the so-called “Murań State”), once owned by Stefan Zapolya and acquired in 1612 by Thomas (Tamás) Szèchy, whose granddaughter was Maria (Mária). It was then inherited by his younger son (the elder one died while his father was still alive, *nota bene* he was buried “in Murán”), also calling himself “comes in Muran” and known to us from his feuds with Stanisław Wojeński, first a parson in Gdów and then a nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec.⁹²

The participation of Franciszek (Ferenc) Wesselényi in fights against the Tartars within the borders of the Commonwealth under Władysław IV, finding shelter by Wojeński at the Hungarian magnate’s castle in Murań (1655/1656) during the turmoil of the Swedish “Deluge,” and finally the disputes over the right of patronage over the cure in Gdów and the duties resulting therefrom – all this makes one suspect some “common element” linking those apparently unrelated facts. This “keystone” seems to be just the Gdów property, constituting a part of the estate owned within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian state by the Wesselényis, whose

⁹² For the genealogy of the Wesselényis (as well as biographies of the most eminent members of the family) i.a.: F. D e á k, *A Wesselényi család őseiről*, Budapest 1878; *Új Magyar lexikon*, vol. 6, Budapest 1962, p. 735; *Magyar életrajzi lexikon*, vol. 2, Budapest 1969, pp. 1042–1043; *Slovenský biografický slovník (od roku 833 do roku 1990)*, vol. 6, Martin 1994, p. 271; *Historia Scephusii*, vol. 2, according to index (esp. p. 740). Also *Encyklopédia slovenska*, vol. 3, Bratislava 1979, p. 639; vol. 5, Bratislava, pp. 471–472; *The Encyclopedia of Slovakia and the Slovaks. A Concise Encyclopedia*, Bratislava 2006, pp. 453, 738; and below footnote 94.

presence on the lands of the Commonwealth of Both Nations dates back to the reign of their countryman, King Stephen Báthory. Among the monarch's collaborators was – raised by him to the dignity of Transylvanian baron on 3rd April 1582 – Franciszek (Ferenc) Wesselényi (the elder),⁹³ who at the end of the 16th century owned (among other estates) the preserved to this day castle in Dębno (near Brzesko).⁹⁴ Endowed with the Polish peerage at the Diet in 1590,⁹⁵ baron Wesselényi appears

⁹³ In some publications he is referred to as the secretary of Stephen Báthory, but the studies on the Secretary Office of the monarch have actually no mention of F. Wesselényi (see esp. L. K i e n i e - w i c z, *Sekretariat Stefana Batorego. Zbiorowość i kariery sekretarzy królewskich*, [in:] *Spoleczeństwo staropolskie. Studia i szkice*, vol. 4, ed. A. I z y d o r c z y k, A. W y c z a Ń s k i, Warszawa 1986, pp. 66–67 [the whole paper – pp. 33–69]; cf. i d e m, *Senat za Stefana Batorego*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 150, 178, 198, 238, 270, 282).

⁹⁴ L. L u c h t e r - K r u p i ń s k a, *Zamek w Dębnie*, Kraków 1985, p. 6 (“The castle was in possession of the Dębiński family until 1583. In this year, it was sold to the *starost* [*capitaneus*] of Lanckorona, Ferenc Wesselini (Wesselényi), of Hungarian origin, secretary [*sic*] and courtier of king Stefan Batory. On the order of the new owner, the old seat of the Odrowąż family of Dębno was turned into a Renaissance family residence (1586). It became a cultural center associated with the circle of Hungarian courtiers of king Batory. In 1589–1591, it hosted the greatest poet of the Hungarian Renaissance Bálint Balassi. It was actually in Dębno that the artist created his most charming love poems, dedicated to the fair wife of his host Anna [Sárkánydy (de Sarcandy)]. In 1608, Stefan i Paweł [Wesselényi], the sons of Ferenc, transferred the village to Jan Fraksztyn due to their heavy debts”). Cf. *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1881 [reprinted: Warszawa 1986], p. 21 (“around the year 1580, Dębno together with adjacent villages was bought by king Stefan Batory's favorite, a Hungarian, Ferenc Wesselény, *starost* of Lanckorona; later, Dębno was transferred to the dukes Ostrogski”). See also below footnote 96 and *Katalog dokumentów pergaminowych ze zbiorów Tomasa Niewodniczańskiego...*, pp. 178–179, no. 354–356.

⁹⁵ *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae...*, p. 231, no. 527 (“Franciszek Wesselini of Transylvania. Naturalized (Warsaw, April 7, 1590, at a Diet session) for the military achievement in the battles at Gdańsk, Połock, Wielkie Łuki and Psków during the reign of Stefan Batory [...]. On the basis of this document, a confirmation of the *indygenat* [naturalization] for Paweł Wesselini in 1609 [...] and for Paweł and Stefan Wesselini in 1612”); J. M i c h t a, *Nobilitacje cudzoziemców: Gabriela Bekesza i Franciszka Wesselinięgo*, pp. 75–98 (ibidem, pp. 88–93 – *Aneks źródłowy nr 2*: “Sigimund III, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, grants Polish nobility (*indygenat*) to Franciszek Wesselini of Hadad, *starost* [*capitaneus*] of Lanckorona, Siemno and Miel, senator of Transylvania”). Also J. S z y - m a ń s k i, *Herbarz rycerstwa polskiego z XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2001, p. 160. Cf. H. S t u p n i c k i, *Herbarz polski i imionospis zasłużonych w Polsce ludzi wszystkich stanów i czasów*, vol. 3, Lwów 1862, p. 173 (“Weseleni – the coat of arms of this family name [...] was brought to Poland by Franciszek Wesselini, who came from Hungary with king Stefan Batory, and by the king's grace was granted the post of *starost* of Lanckorona; †1587”); *Polska encyklopedia szlachecka*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1935 [reprinted: Warszawa 1994], p. 333 (“Wesselini, of his own coat of arms. A family of counts from Hungary, naturalized in Poland in the 16th century”); vol. 12, p. 110 (“Wesselini [Weseleni, Veselini], a Hungarian family of counts, naturalized in Poland in 1576. [*sic*]”).

also in the history of Gdów at that time, which long ago was pointed out in Waclaw Urban's interesting contribution *Wieś a plebania, czyli notatnik plebana z Gdowa z lat 1597–1604* (Village and parish, or the notebook of the Gdów curate of 1597–1604), where we read that Anna Sárkányi-Wesselényi, at the time claiming to be the owner of the Gdów estate, “belonged to a noble Hungarian family that was close to our monarch Stefan Batory and functioned at the border of Reformation and Catholicism; she was the wife of the treasurer Ferenc and the mother of István (Stefan), [while] the Wesselényis took over Gdów and the surrounding area after the Hungarian family Bekiesz;”⁹⁶ Stefan (István) Wesselényi mentioned in the quotation is in fact identical to Stefan, the father of the palatine Franciszek (Ferenc) and grandfather of Władysław (Laszlo), the successive owners of the local estates.⁹⁷

The modest-sized source used here, i.e. the notebook of the curate of Gdów (from around 1595 to before 1607) Jan Dębochowski (of Pabianice origin), which provides “a remarkable insight into the mechanism of collecting tithes” according to its publisher,⁹⁸ captures also the probable reasons of the aforementioned later frictions between Władysław (Laszlo) Wesselényi (owner of Gdów) and Stanisław Wojeński (parish priest in Gdów), caused by the failure of the former to fulfill its obligations as the protector of the local parish church.⁹⁹ It turns out that in this

⁹⁶ W. Urban, *Wieś a plebania, czyli notatnik plebana z Gdowa z lat 1597–1604*, “Przegląd Historyczny” 83, 1, 1992, pp. 93–94; also *ibidem* footnote 4 (the hole paper on pp. 93–104). See also: *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego...*, vol. 2, pp. 532–533; A. Pawiński, *Polska w XVI wieku pod względem statystycznym*, vol. 4 – *Małopolska (Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 15), Warszawa 1886, pp. 61–62; *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego*, vol. 1: 1572–1620, publ. S. Kutrzeba, Kraków 1932, p. 111 (7th–10th November 1584).

⁹⁷ See above footnotes 91 and 94. Also L. Zarewicz, *Lanckorona – monografia historyczna (według źródeł archiwalnych)*, Kraków 1885, p. 43 (“Kasper Bekiesz left his wife Anna de Sarcandy and two adolescent sons”), p. 45 (“A few years after the death of her husband, Anna Bekieszowa married Franciszek Wesselény de Hadat, a high servant of Stefan Batory, who from the beginning of January 1583 signs as the *starost* [*capitaneus*] of Lanckorona, and later, during the Reign of Sigimund III, is granted *indygenat* [naturalization] at the general session of the Diet in Warsaw on April 7, 1580”), pp. 46–47 (“In 1583, Wesselény bought two estates in Poland: Krzywaczka in the Cracow province [...], and Dębno with a brick castle [...]. In his full title, he signed: «Franciscus Wesselény in Hadath et in Dębno liber baro ac haeres, Mieteliensis et Siemnensis capitaneus». [...] Notwithstanding Franciszek Wesselény signed [also] as the *starost* of Lanckorona, the actual grantee of the tenure was his wife Anna de Sarcandy, [who] eventually transferred this crown land to Mikołaj Zebrzydowski in 1590”).

⁹⁸ W. Urban, *Wieś a plebania...*, p. 94 (*ibidem* further it is stated that “searches performed in the Archbishopric Archives in Cracow depict the internal situation of the parish and the rich Parish Archive in Gdów shows it in its entirety, therefore, it would be both workable and advisable to make a monograph of the Gdów Parish from the end of the Middle Ages to the 20th century”).

⁹⁹ Cf. B. Szady, *Prawo patronatu w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych...*, p. 89nn. Also S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin 2004 (esp. pp. 96–100).

matter he followed in the footsteps of his great-grandmother Anna Sárkándy-Wesselényi, whom Dębochowski mentions many times in this notebook – starting with the information at the very beginning about the income of the parish priest (“proventus ecclesiae Gdoviensis”). It states that as far as tithing is concerned: “Jejmość Pani Anna Zarkandi Wezelinowa [*sic*] żadnym sposobem nie kazała wytykać i poddanym zakazała, aby nie dawali wytykać, i musiałem pieniądze z nich brać. [Sama zaś] Wezelinowa Zarkandi i pieniędzmi nie chciała płacić. [Wprawdzie] z folwarku gdowskiego, z folwarku grzybowskiego, z folwarku stadnickiego, z folwarku kędzierskiego obiecowwała ze mną się zgodzić i mnie płacić, ale potem nic nie dała.”¹⁰⁰

Similar notes appear repeatedly in further parts of the notebook of the curate, who noted as for the year 1601 in reference to Gdów itself (“villa Gdow”): “ze dwora i z ról dworskich nie wziąłem nic w tym roku, bo nie chciała nic dać Jejmość Pani Wesselinowa,” which was also the case with the villages of Stadniki (“nie wziąłem nic i w tym roku, bo Jejmość Anna Zarkandi Wesselinowa nie chciała nic dać, a na ostatek kazała się pozywać”) and Kedzierzynek (“nie wziąłem nici w tym roku, bo Jejmość Pani Anna Zarkandi Wesselinowa nie chciała nic dać”)¹⁰¹ and it would not change in the following years (1602: “In villa Stadnicki [...] nie wziąłem nic w tym roku od Jejmości Paniej Anny Zarkandi Wesselinowej”).¹⁰² It was not until 1604 that things changed in a way, as apparently Dębochowski appealed to a higher instance (to which he was indeed “urged” by the owner herself), as there is an entry in his notepad that “na ten czas o te dziesięciny przed ichmości pany deputaty sprawej [jednak] nie było, [a to] dlatego, iż pryncypała nie było do tej sprawy, a zwłaszcza Jejmość Pani Anny Zarkandy Wesselinowej, bo umarła przed tą sprawą 23. Aprilis in hoc anno.”¹⁰³ The new owner of the Gdów estate was her aforementioned son, and Dębochowski noted in reference to him in the same year 1604 that “in hoc anno Jegomość Stefan Wesselin, odjeżdżając do Węgier, rozkazał panu Łososińskiemu, aby mi dał owsa ósm kop i z rolę, którą siano na dwór na przedewsiu, [bowiem] na tym miejscu był quondam plebański chmielnik.”¹⁰⁴

The above circumstance did by no means end the conflict between the parsonage and the manor in Gdów, since while Jan Dębochowski’s notes terminated in 1604 when Anna Sárkándy Wesselényi died and her inheritance was taken over by her son Stefan (István) – probably a Protestant (since in turn his sons, Francis

¹⁰⁰ W. Urban, *Wieś a plebania...*, p. 95.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 99–100.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 101.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem* (where in footnote 2 it is also stated that “Dębochowski sued [Anna] Wesselényi for the parish lands in 1604,” and “the date of death of A[nna] Wesselényi was not known to the Hungarian historiography”).

and Nicholas, converted to Catholicism, and also Urban mentions that the members of the Wesselényi family “functioned at the border of Reformation and Catholicism”¹⁰⁵ – at the very end of this manuscript, there are several short annotations made, later in a different hand, the first of which is: “Nota bene. Possessio durabat perceptio nis decimarum ab anno 1597 ad annum 1666.”¹⁰⁶ The publisher in his commentary limited himself to the remark that “the little diary of Father Dębochowski was read critically and supplemented by some parish priest from Gdów around 1666 (hand II),”¹⁰⁷ without making any attempt to determine identity of the clergyman who – apparently encountering difficulties of similar nature that were once experienced by the parson of Gdów at the turn of the 16th century – made the relevant entry most probably in 1666. Although the date of Stanisław Wojeński’s installation at the parsonage in Gdów is not known to the writer of these words (it would probably be possible to find it by browsing the files of the Cracow episcopal consistory from that time), there can be no doubt that in 1672, the year in which he reached the aforementioned agreement with Władysław (László) Wesselényi, he must already have resided in the parish for some time. Since – as it is clear from Wesselényi’s letter of 23rd March 1677 – the later bishop of Kamieniec Podolski “tempore Svetici belli habitabat in Murani,” it can be well assumed that he found refuge in Slovakia (Upper Hungary) with the Hungarian magnates during the Swedish “Deluge” precisely because he was known to them as the parson in the Gdów estate. In the wartime circumstances, when the Commonwealth was being ruined by the Swedish troops operating on its territory, uninhibitedly robbing church property and even exterminating the Catholic clergy, the dispute over tithing and the failure to fulfil the obligations arising from the custody over the parish church in Gdów, which had been going on for years, appeared less important and presumably did not disturb Wojeński during his stay in Murań. Afterwards, however, when the political situation had stabilised, it became a hot issue again, as indicated by both the note from 1666 and in particular the settlement of 1672.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Remarkable in this context is the information provided by Ludwik Zarewicz that Stefan Wesselényi’s father and grandfather of palatine Franciszek and Jesuit Mikołaj, Franciszek (Ferenc) senior, was buried in the Franciscan church in Cracow, apparently due to the efforts of his aforementioned spouse (L. Zarewicz, *Lanckorona – monografia historyczna...*, pp 46–47: “He died on July 16, 1594 at forty years of age, [and] was buried in the church of the Franciscan fathers in Cracow, where the widow Anna de Sarcandy [Sárkánydy] placed a tomb for him. He left two sons of her: Stefan and Paweł, and three daughters: Anna, Elżbieta and Barbara”).

¹⁰⁶ W. Urban, *Wieś a plebania...*, p. 104.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁸ In his editorial preface, Waclaw Urban stated that “it is unknown how this source [i.e. the notes of Gdów parson Jan Dębochowski] made it to the archives of the city of Cracow” (*ibidem*, p. 94). The

The documentation concerning the relationship between the Wesselényis and Stanisław Wojeński, including explanations on the issue of supposed involvement of the Cracow canon in the anti-imperial conspiracy in Hungary or the alleged practice of necromancy, was delivered in the form of transcripts to the Roman Curia and taken into account in deciding whether to include the controversial clergyman among the Catholic Episcopate. However, neither it nor the letters of recommendation (such as one issued in June 1678 by Bishop Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbski) “overpowered” the counteraction to Wojeński’s nomination that was undertaken on behalf of Bishop Ordinary of Cracow Andrzej Trzebicki, who was entitled to speak in the matter since the unfortunate candidate for the mitre was, after all, the canon of the Cathedral Chapter in his diocese (and earlier also the archdeacon of Pilica and the parish priest of Gdów), hence the opinion of this hierarch could not be ignored in the Eternal City. Thus only Trzebicki’s demise on 28th December 1679 made a breakthrough in the case – all the more so because King Jan III Sobieski appointed to the vacant see of St. Stanislaus (Cracow) no one else but Jan Małachowski, the former Bishop Ordinary of Culmsee, who empowered by the nuncio’s delegation conducted a significant part of the information process of the candidate for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski, and therefore was well aware of the complexities of the case, personally probably not finding sufficient reasons to oppose the nomination. Only then, under the changed circumstances, could the decision of the Roman Consistorial Congregation signed by four cardinals of the Curia (and dated 22nd March [*sic*] 1680) be placed in the relevant process documents from more than two years ago: “Ex deductis in hoc processu credo Stanislaum videri dignum qui Ecclesiae Camenecensis in episcopum praeficiatur et pastorem.” On this basis, Pope Innocent X finally granted a commission for the bishopric in Kamieniec Podolski to Stanisław Wojeński, who was probably consecrated in Warsaw on Sunday, 26th May 1680.¹⁰⁹ In the light of the sources identified so far, the names of three consecrators through whose ministry this clergyman re-

fact that this relic piece got into the hands of Wojeński (as it was lent credence to above) may make it easier to find out when and how it was taken from Gdów to reappear later in the royal capital city of Cracow.

¹⁰⁹ He informed the Cardinal-Protector of Poland in the Roman Curia about the finalized bishop’s ordination in a letter dated Warsaw, 28th May 1680 (“reitero humillimas gratias meas eminentiae vestrae pro singulari eius benevolentia, gratia et protectione, qua mediante terminatum est iam negotium meum et consecratio personae meae in episcopum Camenecensem peracta”), which is also a supplication containing the following request: “Supplico eminentiae vestrae velit me autoritate sua fulciri, quatenus retentio ecclesiae parochiali Otvinovicensi mihi a Sua Sanctitate clementer concedatur. Cum hoc habeam beneficium de aliquo reditu quo sustentari possim, in praesenti episcopatus mei statu, sufficienter de sacerdotibus vicariis ecclesiae haec provisum est, nec per talem retentionem quidquam detrimenti passura” (ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, vol. Additamenta 6, n.d.).

ceived “the fullness of the priesthood” are not known, but it seems highly likely that his main consecrator could have been designated the new Bishop Ordinary of Cracow, Jan Małachowski (the papal approval of the translation was not obtained by him until 12th May 1681), and the function of co-consecrators was performed by two hierarchs who had previously been called as witnesses in the information process, i.e. Bishop Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbski from Łuck and Stanisław Jacek Święcicki from Chełm.¹¹⁰

After waiting for so long and having experienced so many humiliations, but on the other hand, himself taking actions that were ethically at least doubtful (if not reprehensible), at the age of nearly seventy presumably (but surely still full of vitality, since a couple of years later he took part in the 1684 campaign of King John III Sobieski in Moldavia, from which he left an account that was published in print),¹¹¹ Wojeński was granted a bishop’s dignity, which back in the beginning of his ecclesiastical career could have seemed to him to be an unattainable goal. However, this did not mean that now all those who had previously opposed his elevation to the bishopric gave up and peacefully accepted their defeat, even though their names are now mostly long lost in oblivion. Certainly among them were some of Stanisław Wojeński’s confraters from the Cracow Cathedral Chapter,¹¹² although as early as in 1666 he established (with his own person in mind) anniversary services in the Wawel Cathedral, probably aiming to find in future eternal rest in the vaults of this respectable temple, as provided for the chapter statutes. However, eventually he was buried under the floor of the Camaldolese hermitage church in Bielany near Cracow, where to this day the grave of this hierarch is indicated by a marble plate with an appropriate coat of arms and engraved inscription – omitting (which is very meaningful in the context described above) the surname of the deceased – which reads: “Meriti constantia parati honores et vita laudabilis probatique mores Stanislai praesulis eximia virtus eo tecta lapide quiescunt hic intus.” On 10th March 1685 at the Wawel Cathedral, only an exequy for the peace of the soul of Stanisław Wojeński (who died on 21st February 1685 in Warsaw) took place, during which a sermon (published later as *Infula Camenecensis, parentali innexa cupresso, in dolentissimo obitu illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini, domini Stanislai a Brzezie Woienski, episcopi Camenecensis [...], ad sacram exequialium suffragiorum memoriam in ecclesia cathedrali Cracoviensi ritu lugubri famae post-*

¹¹⁰ As regards the criteria for the selection of the principal consecrator and co-consecrators, see also: K. R. P r o k o p, *Sakry i sukcesja święceń biskupich episkopatu Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w XIX i XX wieku (na tle wcześniejszych okresów dziejowych)*, Lublin 2012, passim.

¹¹¹ *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 33, comp. S. E s t r e i c h e r, Kraków 1939, p. 207.

¹¹² About its make-up at that time: K. R. P r o k o p, *Herby kanoników krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w księdze “Acta actorum capituli cathedralis Cracoviensis” z lat 1671–1684*, “Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego” n.s. 7, 18 (2005), pp. 123–136.

humae [...] exhibita) was delivered by Andrzej Rudolf Margowski, a famous preacher at the time.¹¹³

* * *

Many times quoted here Zygmunt Lasocki wrote a few dozen years ago: “for Maciej Wojeński [*recte* Wonieski], a professor of the Cracow Academy and a doctor of medicine, a man of science and business (he made a considerable fortune and acquired several villages), the noble descent was not as indispensible as for his son, to whom it opened the door to his further career. [...] There actually existed a noble family of Wojeński (of Półkozic coat-of-arms), mentioned by Okolski – in the province of Podlasie near Bielsk Podlaski, there was a village of Wojeńcze inhabited by petty nobility [of the same name]¹¹⁴ – if, however, Father [Stanisław] Wojeński had originated from this family, he would not have had to resort to forgery and taking a false oath to prove his ancient nobility in order to ascend to the Cracow canonry, for which his father’s fresh (and moreover questionable) ennoblement was not enough. [...] His pursuit obviously required many years of studies, practices, measures and efforts, but it gave him – apart from a long line of ancestors – also true benefits: the Cracow canonry, the abbey of Lubin, and after a time the bishop’s mitre and a seat in the Senate [*in fact, he became the commendatory abbot of Lubin already as Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec Podolski*].¹¹⁵ Yet Wojeński’s dream of founding a family, for which he had already fabricated numerous and excellent ancestors, did not come true. In his genealogy book, he recalls with regret that the children of his only married brother Jan, to whom all [other] brothers transferred their property, died young and there remained just one descendant – Franciszek Antoni, the only hope of the family, “in quo omnis spes domus continetur.” It is him, of course, that Father Wojeński had in mind when he called on the younger generation of the Wojeńskis to emulate the virtues of their progenitors, as they themselves followed in the footsteps of their ancestors – “prouit nos antenatorum nostrorum, ita vos nostras in agendo imitemini virtutes”

¹¹³ *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 22, comp. K. E s t r e i c h e r, Kraków 1908, pp. 157. Also *Liber mortuorum monasterii Lubinensis Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, publ. W. K ę t r z y ń s k i, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 5, Lwów 1888, pp. 602, 612; L. Z a r e w i c z, *Zakon kamedulów – jego fundacje i dziejowe wspomnienia w Polsce i na Litwie*, Kraków 1871, p. 27. Cf. *Tomasza Święckiego historyczne pamiątki znamienitych rodzin...*, vol. 2, p. 311 (“Buried in Bielany near Warsaw [*sic*] in the Camaldolese church, he detailed the origin and progeny of his house in a book [*sic*] entitled *Flamma rediviva*, where he gathered ancient privileges and evidences from land registers”).

¹¹⁴ Cf. J. C i e c h a n o w i c z, *Rody rycerskie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, vol. 5, Rzeszów 2001, p. 385. Also *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego...*, vol. 9, p. 391.

¹¹⁵ *Acta nuntiatorum Poloniae*, vol. 34: *Opitius Pallavicini (1680–1688)*, part 1: *10 VIII 1680 – 29 III 1681*, ed. M. D o m i n - J a č o v, Romae 1995, pp. 240–241, no. 212 (1st March 1681).

(it seems, however, that Franciszek Antoni did not live to see a more mature age either, because Niesiecki, who knows all the details about the Wojeńskis, does not mention anything about him, [so that] after the death of youngest brother of Stanisław – Ludwik, also a clergyman – in 1707, nothing more can be heard about the Wojeński family).¹¹⁶ Although the final remark below seems to be removed from scholarly objectivity, if *virtutes* that were given by Stanisław Wojeński to subsequent generations of his family as exemplary were to coincide with those with which he distinguished himself on his own path in life, striving *per fas et nefas* to achieve the desired eminence, then it can be seen as a bitter irony (and at the same time a historical justice) that only 22 years after the death of that Bishop Ordinary of Kamieniec Podolski, the history of the «Flammans» – the Wojeński family – came to an end.

Translated by Marek Krośniak

¹¹⁶ Z. L a s o c k i, *O falsyfikatach w Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego*, pp. 187, 191–192 (see also p. 180: “The last document contained in the aforementioned manuscript [of 1652] is a 1670 donation by Wojeński of parts of the villages Minoga, Skalka and Nowa Wieś he was entitled to by inheritance to the younger brother of Jan Wojeński of Brzezcie, burgrave of the Cracow castle. This brother – the only married man in the family – had several children, who died in tender age, however, so only one son was left alive”).

❧ APPENDIX ❧

SUMMARIUM PROCESSUS CORAM ILLUSTRISSIMO ET REVERENDISSIMO
DOMINO NUNTIO APOSTOLICO IN REGNO POLONIAE FABRICATI SUPER STATU
ECCLESIAE CAMENECENSIS ET QUALITATIBUS REVERENDISSIMI NOMINATI

I.

Processus super vita, moribus, doctrina et idoneitate domini Stanislai Woienski, canonici Cracoviensis, ac super statu Ecclesiae Camenecensis tam ante quam post deditionem factam Turcis, fabricatus coram illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Francisco Martello, archiepiscopo Corinthiensi et in Regno Poloniae nuntio apostolico.

1.

Die 22. Februarii 1677. Coram illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Francisco Martello, Dei et Apostolica Sedis gratia archiepiscopo Corinthiensi, [...] nuntio apostolico, comparuit reverendus dominus Stanislaus Sadowski, instigator fiscalis curiae episcopi Cracoviensis, et nomine illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini episcopi sive eiusdem curiae produxit puncta quedam contra perillustrem et admodum reverendum dominum Stanislaum Woienski, canonicum Cracoviensem, contenta in folio per se comparentem subscripto, petens penes acta apostolicae nuntiaturae admitti et inseri, et fieri ac decerni, prout in eo quod est tenor sequentis, videlicet illustrissimus dominus nuntius apostolicus non potest procedere ad conficiendum processum in favorem domini Stanislai Woienski, canonici cathedralis Cracoviensis, ad effectum obtinendi Romae expeditionem sacrarum litterarum ad episcopatum Camenecensem iuxta nominationem serenissimi regis. Idque quia praefatus dominus canonicus Woienski est irregularis propter multa enormia et gravissima crimina ab ipso perpetrata.

Primum est quia negromantiam exercuit characteribusque negromanticis usus est prout hac de re accusatus fuit a domino Veselenio, quia etiam praefatis ipsius characteris negromanticis misit illustrissimo domino loci ordinario Cracoviensi, petens, cum pro tam enormi delicto puniri, quare citatus est nuper idem canonicus Woienski a fiscali curiae praedicti illustrissimi domini loci ordinarii ad videndum praedictum crimen ipsi obiectum probari, et penas, quas pro illo meruit, in eum decerni causaque haec pendet in iudicio eiusdem illustrissimi domini loci ordinarii ad reditum ipsius ex praesentibus comitis Cracoviam.

Secundum. Quia aliquos insignes in Ungaria personas, et praesertim quendam dominum Viselinum, palatinum Ungariae, induxit persuasionibus suis ad rebellionem contra Caesaream Maiestatem, prout hac de re filii praedicti domini palatini dolens conquesti sunt coram illustrissimo domino loci ordinario Cracoviensi, quando iam praedictum crimen perduellionis patris illorum copertum fuit bonaque illius omnia

confiscata et uxor in sequestrum accepta, in quo fortassis hucusque detinetur. Et hoc quoque crimine probando et deducendo ipsi idem canonicus Woienski citatus est ad illustrissimum dominum loci ordinarium Cracoviensem ab ipsius curiae fiscali.

Tertium. Quia anno 1674 idem canonicus Woienski contra praescriptum sacrum canonum negotiis saecularibus se immiscens, quendam Acachiam Gallum expediverat in Ungariam ad confirmandos ibi rebeliis haereticos, ut in suo nefario proposito contram Caesaream Maiestatem perseverarent, eundemque postea Acachiam reducem ex Ungaria fovebat secreto per aliquot septimanas in villa sua prope Cracoviam, consilia cum eo communicans de modo procurandi et dandi succursus eisdem rebelibus contra Caesaream Maiestatem. Evadere quando privatim per litteras monitus fuit ab illustrissimo domino loci ordinario Cracoviensi, ut ab eiusmodi machinationibus desisteret, respondit se nihil cum praefato Acachia practicasse, sed pro antiqua amicitia sua, quam cum illo habuit, concessisse ipsi locum substinendi ad tempus in praedio villae suae ad capiendum salubriorem aerem in eius infirmitatem. Quod quidem responsum ipsius non erat consonum veritati, nam sunt etiam nunc testes fide digni, qui eundem Acachiam noctu saepissime ex praedicta villa clandestine venientem Cracoviam ad eundem canonicum Woienski viderunt. Ex quo clandestino et frequentio illorum congressu, tam ex aliis coniecturis, firmiter praesumitur ea machinatos fuisse, quae his praemissa sunt.

Quartum. Quia non est devotus, nam observatus fuit per multos tempus officium Divinum, videlicet horas canonicas, non recitasse, qua de re monitus ab illustrissimo domino loci ordinario, nescitur si eas nunc recitat.

Quintum. Quia idem dominus Woienski ambiens canonicatum in ecclesia cathedrali Cracoviensi (cui secundum bullam Leonis X praeter quinque doctores non possunt esse canonici nisi nobiles cogiturque canonicus ad capitulum admittendus inducere testes, qui iurent eum notum esse ex patre, avo et avia tam paterna quam materna nobilibus), finxit se esse nobilem testesque a se inductos peierare fecit, qui contrarium certo scientes, iurarunt ipsum ex nobilibus patre, avo et avia tam paterna quam materna esse progenitum.

Ex his itaque rationibus rogo illustrissimum dominum nuntium apostolicum, ut a conficiendo praefato processu supersedeat, donec idem canonicus Woienski purgaverit se a tot obiectis sibi enormibus et gravissimis criminibus in iudicio illustrissimi domini loci ordinarii. Ego Stanislaus Sadowski, instigator, illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini episcopi Cracoviensis seu illius curiae nomine, quo supra, produxi. Die 22. Februarii 1677 productum in cancellaria nuntiaturae apostolicae pro domino instigatore illustrissimi domini episcopi Cracoviensis.

2.

Die 22. Augusti 1677. Pro perillustri et reverendissimo domino Stanislao Woienski etc. contra reverendum dominum Stanislaum Sadowski, instigatorem fiscalem curiae episcopalis Cracoviensis. Coram praefato illustrissimo et reverendissi-

mo domino Francisco Martello, nuntio apostolico, comparatum fuit et expositum, qualiter Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis sub die 16. Julii presentis anni 1677 ad supplicationem praedicti domini Woienski, ad Camenecensem Ecclesiam promovendi, decrevit committendum esse dominationi suae illustrissimae et reverendissimae, ut conficiat de more processum informativum super statu Ecclesiae Camenecensi et super qualitatibus eiusdem domini promovendi, cum praefixione termini triginta dierum promotori fiscali ad deducendum coram dominatione sua illustrissima et reverendissima, tamquam apostolico delegato, quidquid habet contra ipsum dominum promovendum.

3.

Die 27. Septembris 1677. Coram eodem illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino nuntio personaliter comparavit in palatio residentiae dominationis suae illustrissimae Varsaviae perillustris et reverendissimus dominus Stanislaus Woienski, canonicus Cracoviensis, et inhaerendo decreto Sacrae Congregationis Consistorialis datum die 16. Julii praesentis anni 1677 et alias pro sui parte et ad suam instantiam apud acta praesentia cancellariae nuntiaturae apostolicae originaliter producto, petiit et instetit praefatae dominationem suam illustrissimam et reverendissimam in eiusdem decreti executionem fieri inquisitionem super vita, doctrina et idoneitate aliisque requisitis ipsius comparentis ad ecclesiam cathedralem Camenecensem ex gratia sanctissimi domini nostri papae eiusque Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae et ad petitionem serenissimi et potentissimi Poloniae regis promovendi.

4.

Anno Domini 1677. Ego Martinus Lelinski, clericus dioecesis Vladislaviensis, [...] expeditus fui Gedano Cracoviam, ubi die 15. Septembris et per tres dies continue sequentes quaesivi reverendum dominum Stanislaum Sadovski, canonicum Vislicensem, promotorem fiscalem episcopatus Cracoviensis, ut ei praesentem citationem intimarem et copias eius relinquerem, sed cum me ad palatium episcopalem guardiae intrare impedirent, nulla ratione illuc ingredi nec dominum fiscalem citare potui. Monente postea illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino episcopo Cracoviensi, secutus sum aulam eius Wawrzyncyce [=Wawrzeńczyce] usque, sed nec ibi dabatur mihi ulla possibilitas intimandae citationis huius, in cuius rei fidem haec manu propria super authentica citatione et eius veris copiis annotavi.

Anno Domini 1677, die 24. Octobris. Ego Augustinus Watkiewicz, praesbiter archidioecesis Gnesnensis, accessi domum solitae residentiae in Wislica reverendi Stanislai Sadowski, canonici Vislicensis, promotoris fiscalis episcopatus Cracoviensis, ibique copias citationis praesentis paenes familia in domus eius reliqui. Eadem die accessi ibidem in Wislica cancellariam officialatus Vislicensis et reverendo Christophoro Marzewski, notario actorum cancellariae, eadem citationem intimavi [jest intimavit], sed ille contumeliose me tractavit et sub custodiam per

unam quasi horam posuit et detinuit, quousque ex oppido rediisset, quo acceptis a me copiis citationis praesentis iratus abiverat [jest abiuerat], et in continenti ibidem semper hac contumelia mihi ab illo illata coram adstantibus personis protestatus sum, in cuius rei testimonium haec super authentica citatione et eius veriis copiis annotavi.

II.

*Letter, dated Cracow, 23 March 1677,
Count Władysław (Laszlo) Wesselényi to the canon of Cracow,
Stanisław Wojeński, a nominee for the bishopric of Kamieniec Podolski*

Ex litteris illustrissimae dominationis vestrae, quarta Martii ad me datis, cum summa amaritudine mea percepi quomodo sua celsitudo dominus episcopus Cracoviensis causam illam pro qua me illustrissima dominatio vestra citaverat ad eundem dominum episcopum iterum postquam eam iudicasset restaurare velit in dishonorem vestrae illatis. Utinam mortuus fuisset antequam illa ex ore meo prodierunt per malam aliorum me instigantium informationem volens his me defendere contra actionem illustrissimae dominationis vestrae me intentatam negromantiam nunquam exercuit nec characteres mihi dedit, sed ille character, quem ego coram sua celsitudine episcopali praesentavi, erat figuram septem planetarum exprimens de hocque fueram sinistre informatus esse negromanticum, sed viso illo dominus episcopus ipse mihi dixit hunc characterem esse nugas, suasitque et potius reconciliationem illustrissimae dominationis omnibus modis quererem quam ipso domino episcopo mediante post latum decretum ab illustrissima dominatione obtinui, nec de parente meo quidquam dixi, imo inter discursum de rebus Hungaricis dixi ipsi, quod quando illustrissima dominatio in Murani tempore Svetici belli habitabat saepius hoc suadebat, ne unquam domini Ungari se subiiciant sub protectionem Turcicam, quin: quomodo potuisset piae memoriae parentem meum incitare in aliquod malum, cum sedecem forse annis eundem non vidit, sed et ante hos motus Hungaricos aliquot annis iam fuerat mortuus, et neque quidquam scivi in rebellionem parentis, qui suam fidelitatem erga Sacratissimam Maiestatem toti mundo palam demonstravit. [...] Humillimus et obsequissimus servus Ladislaus Wesseleni.

III.

*Letter, dated Lwów, 23rd June 1678,
Bishop of Luck Stanisław Kazimierz Dąmbski
(presumably) to Cardinal-Protector of the Polish Kingdom in the Roman Curia,
Pietro Vidoni*

Eminentissime et reverendissime domine et patrone colendissime!

Veneror omni cultu hanc eminentiae vestrae erga me gratiam, quod et benignum meis testimonis pro domino canonico Woienski assensum probuerit, et illa Sanctissimo Domino Nostro referre fuerit dignata. Non mihi fuit favoris in iis commendationibus, aut alicuius politici respectus ratio, sed iniustitiam, calumnias et traductiones manifestas, pati non licuit, et praecipue cum hoc sit aperto scandalo et damno, quod vir non vulgaris ac Ecclesiae Dei summe utilis arceatur a Senatu, et praesertim tempore, cum de Ecclesia Camenecensi statuendum sit, circa dislimitationem Podoliae, quae imminet: Turcis in singulis oppidis unam pro Catholicis reliquentibus ecclesiam. Sed cum et aurum, argentum et alia suppellex ecclesiarum dioecesis Camenecensis hinc inde per Poloniam dispersim habita, omni hora perditur et a conservatoribus dilapidatur. Cum contributio publica in praeteritis comitiis pro exulibus ex Podolia sancita, omisso episcopo et illius diaecesis clero, inter solos dividatur incolas saeculares. Habuit Regia Maiestas copias processus, quem dominus episcopus Cracoviensis promotioni canonici [Woienski] in Sacra Congregatione Consistorialis opposuit, evidenterque observavit ipsos testes fateri, se informationes scripto, quomodo deponi contra canonicum [Woienski] debeant habuisse. Nullus in eo processu testis [est] [urwana karta], nisi ex familiaribus et obligatis domini episcopi, usque ad octavum [testem], qui magister culinae eius est. Et hoc Regia Maiestas summe apprehendit, praeferrī fidei suae regiae vilissimorum hominum falsa testimonia. Nunquam enim haec toti genti Polonae de canonico [Woienski] persuaderi possunt, quae tam impudenter et obiiciuntur, quod et nonnulli testes palam iam revocant, ac se nunquam contra canonicum [Woienski] deposuisse asserunt. Nec mirum cum ipse dominus episcopus scrutator et eius fiscalis notarius processus fuerit. Hinc est quod Sua Maiestas Regia magno dolore conquaeratur de authoritate et reputatione sua in Urbe laesa, et ac si nihil unquam ex respectu eius et commendationibus agatur. Languescit ipsius regius animus exinde in defensione cleri, qui inaudita vilipendia iam patitur; ut bene notum eminentiae vestrae est de clero diaecesis Posnaniensis integre cum episcopo, ex Regno banito et proscripto a Iudicibus Maioris Poloniae. De confederatione nobilitatis in Palatinatu Sandomiriensi contra dominum episcopum Cracoviensem, vix in effectum non deducta. De aliquot in personas ecclesiasticas in diversis palatinatibus commissis homicidiis, quod ante hac in Polonia vix auditum fuerat. De ecclesia Patrum Carmelitarum Gedani furore haereticorum dirruta et Sacra

Synaxi ac reliquiis sanctorum eiectis profanatis. Haec omnia pessima principia sunt, et sola ac unica protectione regia arceri possunt.

Paratus fuit canonicus [Woienski] iuxta decretum Sanctae Congregationis respondere fiscali episcopi Cracoviensis de obiecta, sed cum fiscalis in termino non comparuit, illustrissimus et reverendissimus dominus nuntius [apostolicus] iustificationem canonici in contumaciam non admittit, secretam sibi asserit in eo commissam ab Urbe inquisitionem. Quod quidem non in regio solum sed in totius Senatus animo summam parit perplexitatem, ac si non vitia canonici [Woienski], sed aliquae externorum factiones, in eo praeseferantur. Ego quidem concludere id apud me non audeo, sed quod non debeam ea eminentiae vestrae insinuare, et fides et religio desiderant, vereor enim exinde consequentias. Verum haec omnia altissimo subsint eminentiae vestrae iudicio mihi eam scribendi confidentiam, summa eminentiae vestrae erga me aperuit gratia. Maiestatem Divinam supplex oro, dignetur vestram eminentiam ad multos annos Sacro Sanctae Ecclesiae domus eius, et meae protectioni conservare. Datum Leopoli, 23. Junii anno Domini 1678. Devotissimus et obligatissimus servitor Stanislaus, episcopus Luceoriensis.

SUMMARY

Stanisław Wojeński – who was Bishop of Kamieniec in 1680–1685 – was the author of a printed account of the Polish-Turkish wars of 1684 and was one of the distinctive (albeit forgotten) figures of the Church and political life during the reign of King Jan III Sobieski. He was the son of the Rector of the Cracow Academy and received his education in Poland, Germany and Italy. Since the reign of King Jan II Kazimierz, he was active not only as a diplomat, but also as a Canon of the Cracow Cathedral and as the Archdeacon of the Collegiate Chapter in Pilica. In 1677, he was nominated Bishop of Kamieniec Podolski, which at that time was under the Turkish jurisdiction. However, it was not until three years later that his nomination received papal approval, the delay being due not only to the geopolitical situation of the Diocese of Kamieniec, which had temporarily been lost to the Turks by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also to the fact that Wojeński had been accused – first before the Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw and later in the Roman Curia itself – of necromancy, lack of personal piety, involvement in the anti-imperial opposition in Hungary (i.e. in today's Slovakia, which at that time belonged to the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen) and of having falsified his own descent (which was not in fact noble) in order to qualify for a senior Church dignitary. Of all these accusations, the last at least was true, as Wojeński's ancestors had actually been burghers in Kościan in Greater Poland. Because – on the one hand – the charges were made by Andrzej Trzebicki, who was Bishop Ordinary of Cracow, while – on the other hand – the Royal Court (including King Jan III Sobieski himself) showed intransigence in supporting the candidacy, it was a long time before a decision was eventually made in Rome (and then only after the death of Bishop Trzebicki in 1679). This article presents the most important aspects of Wojeński-

ki's case – which was atypical as far as the filling of episcopal vacancies in the seventeenth century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was concerned – with the aid of sources from the Vatican Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano), which have hitherto not been analysed in this particular context.

KEYWORDS:

biography of Stanisław Wojeński (ca. 1613–1680); Catholic episcopate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century; information processes for bishops; Polonica in the Vatican Archives

STANISŁAWA WOJEŃSKIEGO DROGA DO BISKUPIEJ INFUŁY. PERYPETIE KOŚCIELNEJ KARIERY SYNA REKTORA AKADEMII KRAKOWSKIEJ

STRESZCZENIE

Do wyróżniających, choć dziś już zapomnianych postaci życia kościelnego i politycznego doby panowania króla Jana III Sobieskiego, zaliczyć należy biskupa kamienieckiego z lat 1680–1685 Stanisława Wojeńskiego, autora drukowanej relacji z walk polsko-tureckich w roku 1684. Syn rektora Akademii Krakowskiej, wykształcony w Polsce, Rzeszy i Italii, już od czasów króla Jana II Kazimierza zaangażowany w działalność dyplomatyczną, kanonik katedry krakowskiej i archidiakon kapituły kolegiackiej w Pilicy, nominację ze strony monarchy na pozostającą wtedy pod panowaniem tureckim stolicę biskupią w Kamieńcu Podolskim uzyskał jeszcze w początkach roku 1677, wszakże na otrzymanie papieskiego zatwierdzenia musiał oczekiwać aż trzy lata. Zaważyła na tym nie tylko ówczesna sytuacja geopolityczna diecezji kamienieckiej, której terytorium zostało przejściowo utracone przez Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów, ale również względy natury personalnej. Został on bowiem oskarżony przed nuncjuszem apostolskim w Warszawie, a następnie także bezpośrednio w Kurii Rzymskiej, o nekromancję, brak osobistej pobożności, zaangażowanie w antycesarską opozycję na Węgrzech (zarazem też wchodzącej ówczesnie w skład ziem Korony św. Stefana dzisiejszej Słowacji), wreszcie też o dokonane z premedytacją zafalszowanie własnego rodowodu, w rzeczywistości nieszlacheckiego, celem zapewnienia sobie otwartej drogi do osiągnięcia wysokich godności kościelnych, spośród których to zarzutów przynajmniej ów ostatni odpowiadał prawdzie (przodkowie S. Wojeńskiego byli bowiem mieszczanami w Kościanie w Wielkopolsce). Ponieważ z jednej strony czynnikiem sprawczym wysunięcia owych oskarżeń był ordynariusz krakowski Andrzej Trzebicki, z drugiej wszakże dwór monarszy (na czele z samym królem Janem III Sobieskim) okazał nieustępliwość i nie zaniechał forsowania odnośnej kandydatury, w Rzymie długo zwlekano z podjęciem ostatecznej decyzji – do momentu, kiedy zmarł wyżej wspomniany biskup Krakowa (1679). Niniejszy artykuł ukazuje najważniejsze odsłony tej nietypowej, gdy chodzi o obsadzanie stolic biskupich w XVII-wiecznym państwie polsko-litewskim,

sprawy, spożytkowując niewykorzystane dotychczas pod tym kątem materiały z Archiwum Watykańskiego (Archivio Segreto Vaticano).

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Stanisław Wojeński (ok. 1613–1680) – biografia, episkopat katolicki Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów – XVII wiek, procesy informacyjne na biskupstwa, polonica w Archiwum Watykańskim

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DOI: 10.26106/T53J-KE06

LIBRI PROMOTIONUM ET DILIGENTIARUM
FROM THE DONATION OF FATHER
GRZEGORZ JAN ZDZIEWOJSKI OF ŁASK (1609–CA. 1685)
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

In this text, we would like to continue the topic of the donations of Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski of Łask (1609–1685?) to the Jagiellonian Library, mentioned during the study of his biography and surviving legacy.¹ This input shall be by its nature something of a reconnaissance only, as a detailed description of this issue would exceed the scope of the texts in this volume (although it deserves the effort!). However, disregarding it entirely would be an unsubstantiated sin of silence and omission. Hence, we present the modest effects of the research *in statu nascendi* that in the future will surely lead to publication of a book.

Ingens Lasciadum gloria ZDZIEWOI,
Diuo Pontifici Vote GREGORIO;
Cuius nomen, Olympo
Adplaudente Tibi inditum est.
Coeli quandoquidem summa benignitas,
Te Mysten superis inservit Choris,
Ad tractanda Tonantis
Te mysteria et extulit [...] ²

¹ J. R o d a k, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku. Człowiek – dzieło – recepcja. Studium biograficzne*, Katowice 2010, p. 8; see also i d e m, *Zdziewoianica w zbiorach rękopisów*, [in:] i d e m, *Tolle lege. Ze studiów nad dawną księżką*, Katowice 2013, pp. 9–40.

² H. A. z G r a n o w a S i e n i a w s k i, *Ode Tricolos Tetrastrophos. Nomine Almae Matris Academiae Cracoviensis Ad M. Gregorium Zdziewojski*, [in:] *STEFANION Studii Philosfici [...] sub auspicijs Stanislai Ossędowski [...]*, Cracoviae 1638, f. A2r.

Dum labor egregius, sertum tibi nectit; et coronam
 In fronte virtus lauream reponit.
 Post tot sudores, Comites Tibi Fama dum triumphos,
 Curru triumphali vehitq[ue] honores.
 Candide ZDZIEWOYSKI, fidissime Theseu, o meus, quem
 Aetna mage imis ardeo medullis.
 Obuius amplexans tua brachia, dulcis o amice,
 Tuis Trophaeis, laurea[ue] laetus.
 Tota Parnasso, tota Tibi Palladis caterua,
 Adplaudo ludens laeta metra plectris [...]
 Musis, Ecclesiae, Patriae quoq[ue] perge, perge faelix,
 Terris Olympo: perge promereri [...]³

These short fragments of panegyrics, written by a student Hieronim Adam Sieniawski,⁴ and a professor of Nowodworski Schools⁵ Stanisław Ossędowski,⁶ were created for the solemn awarding of the doctor's degree to Grzegorz Jan Zdziewowski of Łask.

For the modern reader, living in circumstances dramatically different from the Baroque reality, the invoked fragments of the panegyrics may sound exaggerated, even alien. Still, the authors praising the homeland of the addressee, Łask, and the Kraków University were typical representatives of their age, writing in line with the university apology trend in poetry.⁷

The vividness of panegyrics' language makes them especially close to visual art and crafts. Panegyrics often served as a supplement (a motto or a lemma) to paintings, artistic decorations and statues. Hence, quite rightly, the art of the era is sometimes called *pictapoesis*.⁸ The value of panegyrics, although denied by many scholars,⁹

³ S. Ossędowski, *Ode DicolosDistrophos*, [in:] *STEFANION...*, f. B4v.

⁴ See M. Nagielski, *Sieniawski Adam Hieronim z Granowa h. Leliwa*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* [hereinafter: PSB], vol. 37, pp. 102–105; see also K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 8, Leipzig 1841, pp. 349–350.

⁵ See H. Barycz, *Historia szkół Nowodworskich od założenia do reformy H. Kollątaja*, Kraków 1988; see also K. Targosz, *Teatr Szkół Nowodworskich w Krakowie w XVII w.*, "Pamiętnik Teatralny" 25, 1976, pp. 21–46.

⁶ See W. Baczowska, *Ossędowski (Ossędowski, Ossendowski) Stanisław*, [in:] PSB, vol. 24, p. 386; J. Rодаk, *Stanisława Ossędowskiego „Laury dla Zdziewowskich”*, Kraków 2013, pp. 13–21.

⁷ See E. J. Głębička, *Akademia Krakowska a twórczość panegiryczna w XVII w.*, [in:] *Literatura i instytucje w dawnej Polsce*, ed. H. Dziechcińska, Warszawa 1994, pp. 48–57.

⁸ E. Chojecka, *Dekoracja malarska ksiąg promontiorum i diligentiarum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Kraków 1965, p. 6.

⁹ See L. Łukasiewicz, *Rys dziejów piśmiennictwa polskiego*, Poznań 1860, p. 231; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w latach 1549–1632*, [in:] *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. Lepszy, Kraków 1965, p. 255.

lies in their connection to visual arts and their inspiring influence over many painters, illustrators and engravers. This can be seen for example in the painting decorations used for embellishment of university books between the end of 16th and the 18th century.¹⁰ They are known to a small group scholars miniatures from the so called *libri promotionum* and *libri diligentiarum*. The first category of books contains lists of persons promoted to academic degrees. They are yearly summaries of – as we would call them today – a statistical nature. Currently they constitute an invaluable source of knowledge regarding the teaching process itself, as well as the educational career of persons undertaking studies at the Alma Mater in the Old Polish era.¹¹ The second category of books, the *diligence books*, comprises detailed lists of lectures and lecturers, as well as the conducted disputes.

Six promotion and lecture books have survived in the vast archives of the University and the Jagiellonian Library, having withstood the test of time, as well as fires that plagued these institutions in the past. These books concern only one of the four faculties of the old University, i.e. the Faculty of Liberal Arts, also abbreviated to *Artium*, *Facultas Artium*, *Artistarum* or *Philosophiae*. The decision to create books used to log lectures and disputes was made at the Faculty of Liberal Arts as early as 1487. At the same time, they were supposed to contain information about the diligent and negligent students, hence their name: *Libri diligentiarum et negligentiarum*.¹² Earlier than these *diligence books*, the Faculty created *libri promotionum* containing lists of students who received academic degrees after completing their course of study. These promotion books were created relatively early, in 1402, and were in use until

¹⁰ See A. K a r b o w i a k, *Ilustracje polskie z życia uniwersytetu XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 1887. One should note that the scholar was interested mainly in the details of the social life visible in the illustrations, such as scholars' lifestyle, promotion ceremonies, solemn disputes etc.

¹¹ Another type of sources helpful in the studies of the educational career on academies and universities of Europe are university metrics, so-called matriculation books, unfortunately lacking the art decorations, see D. Ż o ł ą d ź - S t r z e l c z y k, *Peregrinatio academica. Studia młodzieży polskiej z Korony i Litwy na akademiach i uniwersytetach niemieckich w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Poznań 1996, pp. 15–20. As to Kraków's University books, one should note that besides the *promotionum* and *diligentiarum* books, miniature decorations can be also found in *Metrica contubernii philosophorum* (1559–1783), belonging to the philosophers' dormitory (Jagiellonian University Archives, hereinafter: AUJ, MS 95, see W. W i s ł o c k i, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 2: *Rękopisy 1876–4176. Index*, Kraków 1877–1881, p. 827, item 3885/950, as well as a bulky tome used since the 16th century to log the university visitors (*Quarta pars metricae incorporatum Universitatis Cracoviensis Principium*, Jagiellonian Library, hereinafter: BJ, MS 1795; see W. W i s ł o c k i, *Katalog rękopisów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 1: *Wstęp. Rękopisy 1–1875*, Kraków 1877–1881, p. 429, item 1795).

¹² W. W i s ł o c k i, *O wydawnictwie Liber diligentiarum krakowskiego fakultetu filozoficznego z lat 1487–1563*, „Pamiętnik Wydziału Filozoficznego i Filozoficzno-Historycznego Akademii Umiejętności” VI, 1886, p. 3.

1782.¹³ Initially, they were written on parchment, until the 16th century, when this expensive writing material was changed to a cheaper one: paper.¹⁴ The painted ornament of the books comes from the late Renaissance and Baroque. It constitutes an important decoration of the surviving books.

DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF THE BOOKS. DONATION HISTORY

From the perspective of chronology, *libri promotionum* and *libri diligentiarum* can be divided into two groups. The first one contains three tomes, with records from the second half of the 16th century up to the middle of the 17th century. The other three volumes are their continuation and contain records from the second half of the 17th century up to the middle of the 18th century. The current study contains only the description of the books from the donation of Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski, who funded as many as five of the six surviving books.¹⁵ They are – according to the criteria adopted – the Zdziewoiana,¹⁶ a representative and the most valuable part of all manuscripts and prints donated by the author of *Dakrysis patriae* to the Jagiellonian Library. It is worth noting that the donor was famous not only due to his bibliophilia,¹⁷ but also was an unquestioned authority in the academic circles and was considered an erudite, as evidenced by a note next to his name in *Księga promocji* published by Józef Muczkowski that reads: [...] *vir nobilis ingenio, moribus, liberalitate in literas et literatos*.¹⁸

One may wonder how an “ordinary” (in the opinion of the later generations of critics) vicar of Pisarzowice and prebendary of the St. Cross church in Kęty, living in a small provincial town far from Kraków, managed to become a permanent part of the Alma Mater history as a founder of metrics books, an important part of the university life? At first, it may seem preposterous, even irrational, however in the Baroque world surprising things were the ones gaining recognition and applause. Still –

¹³ See *Wstęp*, [in:] *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. J. M u c z k o w s k i, Cracoviae 1849, s. 7–19.

¹⁴ See E. C h o j e c k a, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁵ Ewa Chojecka incorrectly believes that Zdziewojski donation contained only three books (with the following references: MS 90, 91 and 91½, see E. C h o j e c k a, op. cit., p. 12). Ownership marks present in the books deny such a claim. The provenance of all five Zdziewojski donations is not a subject of significant doubt or objections.

¹⁶ See J. R o d a k, *Zdziewoianica w zbiorach kęckich*, [in:] *idem, Tolle lege...*, pp. 9–40.

¹⁷ See E. C h w a l e w i k, *Exlibrisy polskie szesnastego i siedemnastego wieku*, Wrocław 1955, pp. 81–83; H. R y b u s, *Biblioteka kolegiaty łaskiej*, Łódź 1939, pp. 10–11.

¹⁸ *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. J. M u c z k o w s k i, Cracoviae 1849, p. 307 [emphasis – J.R.].

as the history of the Łask preacher and founder shows – not everyone could gain even a regular recognition. Well? *Sic transit gloria mundi* – one could say. However, by connecting the facts important to his biography with the Academy history, it's possible to find an explanation and an answer to the question at the *crux interpretum*. Without going into biographical details, one should start with a recap of the facts of life of the Łask preacher relevant to understanding the discussed issues. In his youth, in line with the habits popular among the nobility, he got his education in facilities connected to Kraków University.¹⁹ Those were the parish school in Kurzelów (1619–1621),²⁰ followed by a school in Sieradz (1621–1623).²¹ An unwritten custom was for all the students of the schools in the care of the Alma Mater to continue their education at the University.²² The same happened in the case of Zdziewojski. After completing his European tour with the company of Stefan Lazar,²³ a liegeman of Gabriel Bethlen,²⁴

¹⁹ See L. Hajdukiewicz, *Podstawy ideowe i organizacyjne kolonii akademickich Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego (1588–1773). Stan badań – problematyka – postulaty*, “Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy” VI, no. 2 (20), 1963, pp. 137–199; W. Grzelecki, *Szkoły-kolonie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego 1588–1773. Problematyka kształcenia i wychowania*, Wrocław 1986.

²⁰ The Kurzelów parish school offered a relatively high level of education, as evidenced by the fact that among its 17th century alumni there were persons who later became professors of the Kraków Academy, such as Jan Brożek, Paweł Kwaśniewicz, Paweł Herka, and Jakub Najmanowicz. In 1651, Jan Brożek created a foundation charter, entrusting the school directly into the care of the Collegium Maius, which meant a formal transformation of the school into the Alma Mater academic colony. See also W. Grzelecki, op. cit., p. 33.

²¹ See L. Hajdukiewicz, op. cit., p. 155; Father M. Różański, *Szkoły parafialne w XVI–XVIII wieku. W archidjakonacie uniejowskim*, Łódź 2003, pp. 84–88.

²² L. Hajdukiewicz, op. cit., p. 179. The scholar emphasises that “[...] a significant role in recruitment of the academic youth was played by the unwritten, yet diligently obeyed custom of continuing their education in Kraków.”

²³ Jan Matejko placed Stefan Lazar in his *Bathory at Pskov* painting (1872). He can be seen behind the prominent commanders, hetman Jan Zamojski and Samuel Zborowski. Behind the tent's pole, one can see the archbishop Jan Dymitr Solikowski of the Bończa coat of arms, the royal secretary (see PSB, vol. 40, pp. 282–289), Stefan Lazar far behind him and, further in the background, a group consisting of Ernest Weyher, the organizer and commander of Pomerelia, Mikołaj Urowiecki– noble infantry commander, Wieloch and Zygmunt Rożen. It's difficult to unambiguously equate the figure from Matejko's painting with the person referred to by the aforementioned Stanisław Osędowski in his poem *Philakai Zdziewoianae Domus* (Kraków 1639). There are no more details regarding this person; quoted after M. Rezer, [online] http://www.interklasa.pl/portal/index/strony?mainSP=subjectpages&mainSRV=historia&method=1864713100&page=subpage&article_id=321283&page_id=20387 [accessed on: April 25, 2014]; see also M. Szukiewicz, *Objaśnienia obrazów i głównych postaci teki arcydzieła mistrza Jana Matejki*, Kraków 1939, p. 26.

²⁴ Gábor Bethlen /Gabriel Bethlen/ (1580 – 15.11.1629) – Prince of Transylvania (1613–1629) and King of Hungary (1620–1621). Pursuant to the peace accords with the king of Hungary Ferdinand II (1621), as a compensation for renouncing the title of the king of Hungary, Bethlen received the land

he returned to the country and immediately matriculated at the Kraków Academy (1628).²⁵ At almost the same time, during the 1626/1627 winter semester, the ranks of students were strengthened by Marcin Słonkowiec,²⁶ later a professor and provisor of Collegium Maius.²⁷ The life paths of the two students from the Gniezno diocese crossed and stayed close for a long time, as it turned out. In *Liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis [...] ab anno 1561 ad annum 1655*²⁸ one can find a note that in 1638, during the tenure of Paweł Herka (*decanatu secundo M. Pauli Hercii Curzeloviensis [...]*), after passing all the exams and a public dispute, the degrees of master of liberal arts and doctor of philosophy were awarded to two students belonging to the same class, (*prima classis[!]*): Gregor[ius] Zdziewojski a Lasco presb[byter] and Mart[inus] Słonkowiec[!] who, similarly to Zdziewojski, earned a favorable opinion: *vir rectus et doctus*.²⁹ It is then impossible to deny that Zdziewojski and Słonkowiec were classmates. Looking at their later history, one can see that they returned to Poland from abroad in the same year: 1654. In Italy, in line with the academic tradition,³⁰ they continued their studies at renowned universities: Słonkowiec in Padua,³¹ Zdziewojski at the La Sapienza in Rome.³² It's quite probable then that it was the example of a fellow student or perhaps even his encouragement that led Zdziewojski to leave his

adjacent to Transylvania (seven Hungarian counties, nowadays the eastern part of Slovakia), the city of Košice, as well as Opole and Racibórz Duchies (1622–1625), part of the imperial Silesia.

²⁵ The widely circulated date of the beginning of Zdziewojski's studies at the Academy – 1628 – is inconsistent with the records of the matriculation books, where he is listed in the year 1627, see *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 4: (1607–1642), eds. G. Z a t h e y, H. B a r y c z, Kraków 1950, p. 111. The author raises this issue publicly for the first time since the start of his studies in 1997! The matriculation text of 1627, spring semester, states: Gregorius Jacobi Zdziewojski d[e] Gnesn[o] gr[ossos] 4. For the author, this is definitely the *crux interpretum* and a future challenge! Zdziewojski himself indicated in the printed texts that he began his studies in Krakow only in 1628, see *Series vitae et annorum*, [in:] S. O s ę d o w s k i, *Philakai Zdziewoianae Domus*, Cracoviae 1639, no f.; J. R o d a k, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku. Człowiek–dzieło–recepca. Studium biograficzne*, Katowice 2010, p. 37, containing a photoprint reproduction of *Series vitae et annorum*.

²⁶ *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 4, p. 106.

²⁷ See W. B a c z k o w s k a, *Słonkowiec Marcin*, [in:] PSB, vol. 39, pp. 27–28.

²⁸ Reprint *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. J. M u c z k o w s k i, Cracoviae 1849, pp. 200–328; see W. W i s ł o c k i, *Katalog rękopisów...*, vol. 1, p. 94, item 252, EE II 10.

²⁹ *Statuta nec non liber promotionum...*, pp. 306–307.

³⁰ See A. P r z y b o ś, *Akademia Krakowska w drugiej połowie w. XVII*, [in:] *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. L e p s z y, Kraków 196, p. 312.

³¹ W. B a c z k o w s k a, *Słonkowiec Marcin...*, p. 28.

³² J. R o d a k, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku...*, p. 138–142; i d e m, *Schola et ambona. Z dziejów kaznodziejstwa i duszpasterstwa parafialnego w kościele pisarzowickim (do roku 1680)*, Bielsko-Biała 2012, pp. 143–144.

stable life of the Pisarzowice vicar and follow the beaten track *ad Limina Apostolorum*. Soon after their return home the country experienced a tumultuous period – Sweden began the conquest and occupation of the Polish territory. This caused a halt in the proceedings of the rector’s court in the last days of August 1655,³³ followed by a suspension of University lectures in the middle of September.³⁴ In largely unknown circumstances, directly before the beginning of the siege of Kraków, Słonkovic received keys to the Collegium Maius library from the provisor Joachim Speroniusz, who was fleeing the city, and became the guardian of the college book collection until June 16th 1656.³⁵ As one of the few professors who stayed in Kraków, he and Marcin Radymiński of Sambor (1602–1664) heroically led the students in fighting a fire that engulfed the buildings of Collegium Maius and Collegium Vladislavianum during the defense of the city in the night of 25–26 September 1655.³⁶ The losses of the library were not significant,³⁷ but *promotionum* and *diligentiarum* books may have been damaged to some extent, leading to a necessity of exchanging them for new ones. This fact may be confirmed by the records placed in the promotion book published by J. Muczkowski to the effect that during the tenure of dean M. Słonkovic, efforts were made in order to reactivate the University, as evidenced also by the new books prepared by Zdziewojski.³⁸ It is very probable that thanks to M. Słonkovic Zdrojewski was commissioned with substituting new university metrics to replace the old, destroyed ones (perhaps it was a personal offer of Słonkovic, due to their long friendship).³⁹ The ac-

³³ H. B a r y c z, *Alma Mater Jagellonica. Szkice i studia z przeszłości Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*, Kraków 1958, p. 226.

³⁴ A. P r z y b o ś, op. cit., p. 348.

³⁵ After Krakow had been occupied by Swedish forces, Słonkovic was forced to hand a number of books over to Swedish officers (he kept a record of them); see W. K o n c z y ń s k a, *Zarys historii Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 1923, p. 78.

³⁶ J. M u c z k o w s k i, *Obrona Krakowa przeciw Szwedom w r. 1655*, (addendum to “Czas” XI, 1858, pp. 443–447); see also H. B a r y c z, *Alma Mater...*, p. 228; A. P r z y b o ś, op. cit., p. 349.

³⁷ A. P r z y b o ś, op. cit., p. 351.

³⁸ In *Statuta nec non liber promotionum...* we read, among others: *Decanatus Martini Słonkovic*. Anno Domini Millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, post eliberatam a praesidio suetico urbem, congregates professoribus, electus in decanum, pro hiberna commutatione, Exc. D. M. Martinus Słonkovic, Collega maior, ratione ordinis, decanatuque feliciter absoluto, inscripturus in metricam nomina et cognomina nouem adolescentum, prima laurea in suo decanatu exornatorum, dum se pro felici inchoatione professionis theologicae, ad quam, decanatum agens, erat assumptus, parat, quotidianis vigiliis fatigatus, incendio ex cereo exorto, suffocates est; **ubi etiam metrica inscribendorum laborum ac promotionum conflagrauit**. Qua re, ne memoria pereat promotorum, inclyta Facultas philosophica per aestiuae commutationis decanum eosdem, inscribi curavit ac praecepit, qui in ipso vestibule libri, **de novo per Adm. Rndum Zdziewojski comparati** [...] collocati sunt [...], pp. 327–328.

³⁹ The hypothesis of Ewa Chojecka, who stated that “in 1645 and 1646 Zdziewojski himself initiated the attempts to fund new *promotionum* and *diligentiarum* books for the faculty he had once studied

ademic community knew of his love of books, as well as his generosity, which used widely by, it might be said, everyone: poor students,⁴⁰ old and infirm,⁴¹ craftsmen⁴² or even affluent burghers and nobility.⁴³ It is worth noting that Zdziewojski maintained

at” (see op. cit., p. 14), does not seem convincing. Undeniably the direct cause was the fire that had destroyed the old university metrics.

⁴⁰ Scholarships funded by Zdziewojski for students, as well as his teaching experience, could become a subject of a separate pedagogical treatise. For now, let’s just recall a few examples already known in the source literature. In 1646 Zdziewojski, at that time the vicar of Pisarzowice (1643–1653), donated a sum of 500 Polish zlotys, placed in the village of Ostrowiec in Sandomierz voivodeship, to Witeliusz, the provisor of Nowodworski Schools. The interest on this sum, 35 Polish zlotys, was allocated for purchase of paper for the poorest students of this institution (25 Polish zlotys). The rest – for other goals stated in the donation. See AUJ, MS 19: *Acta actorum causarum sententiarum decretorum officii rectoratus studii generalis Almae Academiae Cracoviensis 1642–1661*, pp. 224, 240; see also AUJ, MS 111: *Metrica Novodvorsciana continens foundationem, donationem, ordinationem Bartolomei Nowodworski [...] (1617)*, pp. 21–26; AUJ, MS 34: *Inscriptionum pro parte Universitatis compendium ab anno 1580 ad annum 1733*, p. 211; AUJ, MS 35, pp. 702–713; AUJ, MS 115: *Borcana pro tractantibus studia in Akademia Cracoviensi a diversis Fundatoribus ordinatae... 1724*, p. 97. Additionally, in the same 1646, Zdziewojski made a second donation, to the Pauper Dormitory (also called Jagiellonian Dormitory) at Wiślna street, for the sum of 200 Polish zlotys insured by the Jaroszowska townhouse in Kraków. Its yearly revenue (14 Polish zlotys) was to be directed to boarding of the Dormitory’s students (10 Polish zlotys); AUJ, MS 81: *Visitatio Collegi Minoris Universitatis Cracoviensis... 1766*, p. 65 (year 1641 recorded by mistake); AUJ, MS 76: *Liber privilegiorum magistrorum et collegiatorum minoris domus artistarum super censibus eondumque eis assignatis...*, p. 383, item 6; AUJ, MS 104: *Regestrum preceptorum et expensorum contubernii jagelloniani... anno 1720*, pp. 194–195; AUJ, MS 111: *Metrica Novodvorsciana continens foundationem, donationem, ordinationem Bartolomei Nowodworski [...] (1617)*, pp. 27–30; see also H. B a r y c z, *Historia Szkół Nowodworskich...*, pp. 190–191.

Information regarding Zdziewojski’s donations towards poor children of Kęty was conveyed by Grzegorz Hieronim Piechowicz, his successor as the vicar of Pisarzowice (1653–1659), who noted in *Księga inwentarzowa kościoła parafialnego* (so-called Pisarzowice inventory) that the interest on a 100 Polish zlotys loan to Kęty burghers, Jacenty Jaworski and his wife Anna, in the amount of 7 Polish zlotys per year, should be allocated for clothing for the poorest children learning at the parish school (nota bene, an academic colony of the Alma Mater); see J. R o d a k, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku...*, passim.

⁴¹ See H. R y b u s, *Biblioteka kolegiaty łaskiej...*, p. 4; J. R o d a k, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku...*, pp. 129–137.

⁴² J. R o d a k, *Zdziewoianica w zbiorach kęckich*, [in:] i d e m, *Tolle lege...*, pp. 9–40.

⁴³ See *Zapisy fundacyjne W. ks. G. J. Zdziewojskiego z Łasku*, [in:] *Księga cechu piekarskiego*, in A. Kłosiński Museum of Kęty, shelfmark MS H 696. Records made by Grzegorz Zdziewojski himself show that the twenty four donations made by him in 1651 totaled 2,200 Polish zlotys, the price of 220 cows or 110 fattened oxen. In 1654 this sum was supplemented by 700 Polish zlotys for Aleksander Starowiejski, the owner of Stara Wieś in the Oświęcim area; *ibidem*, pp. 136–138 – pagination according to a later numbering. One should also note that Zdziewojski made copies of the donations ref-

contacts with the Academy after his graduation in 1638 through the whole period of pastoral service in parishes of the Oświęcim deanery, which shows the attention and perhaps nostalgia of the former student and briefly a professor of poetics of the Alma Mater.⁴⁴ This is confirmed by the university documents, where Zdziewojski is described as “*Academiae [...] vir amantissimus*.”⁴⁵ Therefore, he was a true man of the Renaissance, and the material legacy of his life and work surviving to these days, diminished as it is by the passage of time, constitutes a clear evidence of this. Let’s get back *ad rem*, though, and remind his donations to the today’s generation:

Codex diligentiarum of 1654–1656 (BJ, MS 220).⁴⁶ We shall devote more space and attention to this volume in this text as an introduction to a larger publication. This tome is a manuscript containing 193 paper sheets, numbered, with five last ones remaining blank. Its block’s format is an elongated rectangle of dimensions similar to *in folio* (2°) – 31 x 18 cm to be exact. The sheets show visible burn marks and numerous defects caused by another fire in the history of the library, which broke out on July 27th 1719 in Collegium Iuristarum in Grodzka street in Kraków. This fire destroyed *Album studiosorum* (metrics) of 1642–1719, as well as resolution books from this era, while the promotion book (*Liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis*) – according to the Alma Mater’s monographer – suffered a significant damage resulting in gaps.⁴⁷ The paper that notes were made on is decorated with a filigree of four concentric circles with a cross in the center, topped with a crown – unidentified, but certainly originating from one of the local paper mills.⁴⁸ A significant detail is worth noting here: Zdziewojski also recorded his sermons of 1640–1655,⁴⁹ which are still in manuscript today, on paper with watermarks of various provenance.⁵⁰

erenced above and placed them in the Oświęcim municipal files, however these were destroyed during the last war (1945).

⁴⁴ J. R o d a k, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku...*, p. 138; R. L e s z c z y ń s k i, *G. J. Zdziewojski – poeta, mecenas i bibliofil z Łasku*, Łask 1986, p. 3.

⁴⁵ *Index censuum seu proventuum Ecclesiae S. Annae Cracov[iensis]*, p. 68 (nota bene, funded by Zdziewojski), AUJ, MS 196.

⁴⁶ W. W i s ł o c k i, *Katalog rękopisów...*, vol. 1, p. 82, item 220, EE II 9.

⁴⁷ A. P r z y b o ś, op. cit., p. 309. More details are to be found in a further part of the study: “Year-books, written by the University historians in 1657–1666, were also lost. Only fragments of the rector files of 1618–1642 and 1695–1720 have remained. *Liber diligentiarum* of the Faculty of Philosophy, as well as historiographic works of Marcin Radyński, Stanisław Temberski and Józef Biezanowski, forming the basis for this era, have survived” (ibidem, p. 309).

⁴⁸ See K. B a d e c k i, *Znaki wodne w księgach archiwum miasta Lwowa 1382–1600*, Lwów 1928; H. S z w e j k o w s k a, *Książka drukowana XV–XVIII wieku. Zarys historyczny*, Warszawa 1975.

⁴⁹ J. R o d a k, *Schola et ambona...*, p. 145.

⁵⁰ For more information see F. P i e k o s i ń s k i, *Średniowieczne znaki wodne zebrane z rękopisów przechowywanych w archiwach i bibliotekach polskich, głównie krakowskich. Wiek XIV i XV*, Kraków 1893–1896.

The title page contains an inscription: *Cod[ex] Diligentiar[um] et Ne[gli]gentiar[um] philosoph[icae] facultatis in Ac[ade]mia/ Crac[oviensi] profess[so]rum; Metri/ ca vulgo a/ pellatu[...]*. At the bottom of the page: *Bonorum lab[orum]/ gloriosus f[ructus]/ eo facile impediuntur labor et [...]/ atque honos speratur. Livi[us]*. (phot. 1). The binding of the manuscript is made of leather, repaired and refilled by Jan Wyzga in 1933, according to a note made on the endpaper. The middle of the front and back endsheets are the only remaining parts of the original binding. They contain embossed ownership marks, i.e. the supralibros of dean Szymon Waclawski. Around them there appear carved initials – personal inscriptions: M. S. W. A. Z. D. F. P. C. AE. A. D. 1670, as well as the following inscription on the spine: [...] a. 1670 [...] per M. Simonem a Zychlin Waclawki [...] protunc philosophicae facultatis decanum.⁵¹ On the inner side of the top endpaper, there is a paper insert from the 17th century with a note in ink: *Ambust[us] quod in Liber iste cad[um] est in libro/ que[m] Zdziewoisci[us] dedit Facultati Theo[logiae] ad inscribenda[m]... et ordo lauera promotor[um] fol. 1* (phot. 2). The note, as well as the preserved initials of Waclawski, prove that the tome has been saved from a fire twice: first in 1658, then in 1719. It is hard to determine today the degree of damage caused by each conflagration. The conservatory efforts made in 1670 and 1933 left us no knowledge in the matter.

Liber promotionum of 1569–1655 (BJ, MS 252).⁵² This manuscript contains 155 sheets of paper, signed on one side, with 25 final sheets blank. Sheets 5–9 in the initial part also remain blank. The volume is *in folio* (28 x 21 cm), while the paper used in it is decorated with a double lily filigree – a signet of the Krakow's Boner paper mill.⁵³ The vast majority of sheets has significant gaps due to defects caused by charring in the lower part. The gaps, as in the case of the previous books, were reinforced and filled in the course of renovation. The binding is made of leather, renovated by Jan Wyzga in 1935, as indicated by a note on the endpaper. Some parts of the old binding were saved during the conservation, including fragments of the spine and endsheets. An explanation of the reason of the book destruction can be found in a handwritten note from the era (an insert on the inner side of the binding), containing a legible inscription: *Idem videre est in libro Diligentiaru[m] adhuc[...] Causa ambusti istiq[ue] libri An[no] 1657⁵⁴ mai 7 Noctu ignefere fatalis vide in Libro Zdziewoisci[us], quem dedit ad inscribenda[m] promotor[um], fol. 1a.*⁵⁵

⁵¹ W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów...*, vol. 1, p. 82.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 94, item 252, EE II 10.

⁵³ K. B ad e c k i, op. cit., pp. 15–16, item 43. On page 15 one can find the following fragment: “On a stylized shield two lilies (one upturned, the other downturned), intertwined – Polish Gozdawa coat of arms.”

⁵⁴ Erroneous year, should read 1658, as this was the year of the fire and death of Marcin Słonkowiec.

⁵⁵ See footnote 52.

This constitutes a crucial evidence that the volume originates from the Zdziewojski donation and was destroyed in the fire that broke out in the apartment of Marcin Słonkowiec in the night of 7th/8th May 1658. This mishap led to destruction of the whole Słonkowiec's private library, including the whole print run of the translated Persius, a grammar of Hebrew language, as well as a translation of Juvenalis' satires, ready for print. Additionally, a significant number of books borrowed from Jan Brożek and the philosophers dormitory was also lost, including the promotion book of interest to us.⁵⁶ Marcin Słonkowiec himself perished in the fire and was buried on May 11th. The significantly burned book was partially renovated in 1670 by Szymon Waclawski, the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, who ordered the bookbinder to emboss a supralibros with his initials (**M**[magister] **S**[imon] **W**[aclawski] **A** **Z**[ychlin] **D**[ecanus] **E**[t] **P**[rofessor] **C**[ommutacione] **AE**[stiva] **A**[nno] **D**[omini] 1670) on the binding. After finding such initials on the top binding, Ewa Chojecka, who was quoted above, erroneously assumed that the book came from Waclawski's donation, not Zdziewojski's.

Liber promotionum of 1657–1782 (AUJ, MS 91½).⁵⁷ This folio volume, more extensive than the previous ones, contains 410 sheets of paper, with double pagination, of which 241 sheets remain blank. At the end, it contains Zdziewojski's panegyrics, as well as poems dedicated to him by Kraków scholars, printed *in quarto* (4°).⁵⁸ The outside shape of the volume, also close to *in folio* format, is rectangular, with dimensions of 31.5 x 20 cm. The edges of sheets still contain visible signs of gilding, revealing the donor's care of the aesthetics of the volume, typical for bibliophilic editions. The title page is printed, with an edging decorated with moresque and contains a following donation inscription: Hunc librum comparavit et / donavit: P[ater] Gregorius Ioannes Zdziewojski / a Lasco, / Concionator Ordinarius Oświęcimen[sis]. / In Ecclesia B[eatae] Mariae Virg[inis] Artium Magister et Philosophiae Doctor / Notarius et Sacra Auctoritate Apostolica Publicus, In pignus amoris Anno a Christo domino / Incarnato, 1640.⁵⁹ Below the inscription, there is Zdziewojski's coat of arms – Prus III, as well as a handwritten insert in the lower part of the inscription: **Postea Anno 1654 in Sapientia Romana creatus S**[anctae] **T**[heologiae] **D**[octor]. One the back of the title page there is a literary-figurative composition, containing an invo-

⁵⁶ See W. B a c z k o w s k a, *Słonkowiec Marcin...*, p. 28.

⁵⁷ W. W i s ł o c k i, *Katalog rękopisów...*, vol. 2, p. 826, item 3881.

⁵⁸ See J. R o d a k, *Parerga Zdziewoiana*, [in:] i d e m, *Tolle lege...*, pp. 55–86.

⁵⁹ Similar or identical donation sheets can be found in other books donated by Zdziewojski to various institutions and facilities, with year **1640** present on all of them. This would mean that he ordered a larger number of such donation sheets that year from a friendly printer (Cezary? Bertutowicz?) in order to place them in every donated book at a later time. In *Zdziewoiana* preserved in Kęty, the donation sheets contain handwritten corrections next to the printed date, changing 1640 to 1644, for example. Those corrections were usually made by the donor himself; see phot. 3 in *Zdziewoianica w zbiorach kęckich*, [in:] J. R o d a k, *Tolle lege...*

cation praising St. John Cantius, as well as an oval wood block stamp depicting the patron of the University in a prayer position. The outer ring of the stamp contains an inscription: “D[ominu]s Ioannes Cantius Polonus S[anctae] T[heologiae] D[oc]tor in Acad[emia] Crac[oviensi] Prof[essor] A[nno] D[omi]ni 1422.” On the second sheet, there is an additional printed title: *Metrica philosophicae Fac[ultatis] / ab Anno D[omi]ni 1658 / candidatorum utriusque laurea, in / artibus et Philosophia diversis tem[poribus] promotorum*. Text on the following sheet begins with: “In nomine d[omi]ni, Amen, Anno d[omi]ni 1657 [...]” The binding is made of brown leather and comes from the 17th century. The top binding nowadays contains only traces of a metal-stamped oval medallion of St. John Cantius, a repetition of the wood block depiction from the title page. The spine of the binding contains an embossed inscription: “Metric[a] prom[otionum] / pro utriqu[e] / gradu facul[tatis] / phi[losophi]c[ae] Acad[emiae] Cra[coviensis] / anno d[omi]ni / 1756 / reparata per M. P. F. P. D. C. I.” On the back of the half-title page, there is an 18th century ink inscription: “Nomina magna vides libro hoc contenta virorum, Veste Decanus quem contegit arte nova / Anno Domini 1756-to / Die 13 Januarii.”

Liber diligentiarum of 1658–1779, (AUJ, MS 91).⁶⁰ This is a manuscript on paper, of rectangular shape and 31.5 x 21 cm dimensions, containing 328 sheets, of which 108 remain blank. Sheets are decorated with failigree depicting a plume (Lubicz coat of arms?), difficult to identify without further, in-depth study. There is no title page. The binding of the volume is made of leather, with an edging ornament modeled on Renaissance prints (17th century). The spine of the binding is newer (renovated). The top binding contains a following inscription: “Metrica Laborum V[irorum] Baccal[aureorum] in Al[ma] Acad[emia] Comp[arata] a P[at]re Grego[ri]o Ioa[nne] Zdziewojski a Łasko [...]” In the center of the top binding, there is an embossed oval plaque depicting, among others, a figure of the Academy’s patron: Blessed John Cantius. Among other inscriptions in the oval, in the lower left field one can find a text describing the figure: “Beatus Ioannes Cantius Polonus S[anctae] T[heologiae] D[oc]tor in Acad[emia] Crac[oviensi] Prof[essor] A[nno] D[omi]ni 1422.” The lower binding contains an embossed supralibros depicting, as usual, Zdziewojski’s coat of Arms – Prus III, surrounded by the donor’s initials: “G[regorius] Z[dziewojski] AŁ[asco] S[anctae] t[heologiae] D[oc]tor.” The outer ring bears a motto: Frustra vivit, qui nemini prodest.⁶¹

Liber diligentiarum of 1659–1777, (AUJ, MS 90).⁶² The condition of this tome leaves much to be desired. The folio volume’s leather binding with ownership marks identical as in the case of the book above (MS 91) is worn. It’s a manuscript on paper, of rectangular shape and 31.5 x 21 cm dimensions, containing 300 sheets with num-

⁶⁰ W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów...*, vol. 2, p. 826, item 3880.

⁶¹ ‘He who helps no one lives without purpose.’ [This inscription is to be found above the entrance to St. Martin’s church in Grodzka street in Kraków].

⁶² W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów...*, vol. 2, p. 826, item 3879.

bering on both sides – three of them remain blank. Paper used in this book contains, similarly to manuscript 91, an unidentified filigree in the shape of a plume with Lubicz coat of arms[?]. The printed title page, identical with manuscript 91½, contains an additional handwritten note among the donation inscription: “Sacrae Theologiae Doctor Praepositus Eccl[esi]ae S[ancti] Nicolai,⁶³ Parochus Piszarzowicensis.” The front side of the following sheet contains another handwritten text: “Metrica Philosophicae Faculta / tis pro Inscibendis / Excell[entissimorum] D[ominorum] Magistrorum eius / dem Facultatis laboribus. Comparata / Anno Domini 1658.” The back of the protective sheet contains a glued insert from a later time, with an ink inscription: Nr 90 / Metrica Philosophicae Facultatis et labores ab anno 1650 ad annum 1777.

STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MINIATURES. CONTENTS AND ICONOGRAPHY OF ORNAMENTS

The *promotionum* and *diligentiarum* books are folio manuscripts. They contain handwritten text, in cursive, written in black ink supplemented with red, gold or silver in some title inscriptions (initiating new semesters). Decorators often gave the title inscriptions an ornamental form by placing initials in them. The layout of the volumes is clear and ordered – by semester. Each of the semester segments is a closed composition. The order of records in the promotion book is as follows: it starts with a date and the name of then-current dean and promoter, followed by the characteristics of the type of promotion: prima or secunda laurea, meaning a bachelor or master promotion.⁶⁴ These are followed by the names of the promotees. *Libri diligentiarum* contain records with a slightly different structure. Lists of lectures are placed in a table, with lecture names in columns and times of day in the rows. What’s interesting, each section contains the name of the lecturer, as well as the lecture’s title.⁶⁵ On the other

⁶³ This is a reference to St. Nicholas’ church, along with an asylum for the poor, in Oświęcim. Zdziewojski was its provost till 1653; for more details, see J. R o d a k, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku...*, pp. 129–137.

⁶⁴ One should add here that at the Faculty of Artium receiving a master’s degree was synonymous with philosophy doctorate, i.e. M. A. = Ph. D, used interchangeably. Often these titles were used together, as in the case of Zdziewojski, who used “artium magister et philosophiae doctor” in his signatures (in the donation records, the following inscriptions were used: A. M. Ph. D.).

⁶⁵ As the University monographer indicates: “In the 17th century, the organizational structure of Kraków Academy had no significant changes, just as the process of studies and lectures. The list of lectures of the *Artium* Faculty was still ruled by Aristotle and his commenters” – (Aristotle’s philosophy was taught in Kraków using mainly the Scotist method. Thomas Aquinas’ teaching method was proliferated only by Jesuits in the later times. Both methods were already antiquated in the 16th century, however they continued to be used even in the 17th century, see W. W i s ł o c k i, *O wydawnictwie...*, p. 8). – “The surviving catalogue of philosophy lectures (*lectionum*) from the 17th cen-

hand, disputes, obligatory for all the students,⁶⁶ are listed according to classes and colleges where they took place (phot. 3, 7–10).

In the promotion book, the authors of records had tried to fit all the text on one page, as to make it possible to encase it later in a uniform ornament, creating a border around the text. A completely different layout was used in *libri diligentiarum*, containing much more extensive records. They take up at least two full pages. This made it impossible to create border decorations similar to the ones in the promotion book. Due to these space constraints, as well as the specific layout of inscriptions, art decorations in *libri diligentiarum* are usually concentrated (although not always) in the upper part of a sheet, the customary place for preambles. Seldom encountered signatures of art decorations' authors can be traced in most cases to the names of Artistarum Faculty students, leading to the conclusion that university students⁶⁷ themselves, not professional painters, were authors of these decorations. This text shall not describe in detail the issues related to initial deco-

ture contains a detailed list, with small changes, of lectures known from the medieval syllabus: lectures regarding Aristotle in both semesters, followed by Albertus Magnus' philosophy, dialectics of Johannes Cesarius, Linacrus' grammar, perspective of John of Canterbury, arithmetic of John of Murs, works of Cicero, physics of Carpentarius, geography of Peter Apian, as well as arithmetic of Jan Brożek, dialectics of Jakub Górski, and others. This is confirmed by *Liber diligentiarum* (A. P r z y b o ś, op. cit., p. 316). [One should note that the interpretation of the works of the authors listed were still conducted in the traditional, scholastic method; (for additional information regarding the lectures, see *Statuta nec non liber promotionum...*, pp. CLXIII–CLXV: *Catalogus lectionum philosophicarum*)].

⁶⁶ Regarding the disputes, see *Statuta nec non liber promotionum...*, pp. CLVIII–CLIX: *De disputatione ordinaria* (1603).

⁶⁷ Among the numerous signatures of authors-students of Faculty, one can identify: *Liber diligentiarum*, MS 220: f. 151v: Matthias Walowski fecit (1638); f. 152r: Matthias Walowski art[ium] bacc[alaurus] (1639); f. 157r: Vivat D[ominus] pictor Nicolaus Leze, [below:] Nicolaus Lezenski (1642); f. 157v: Nicolaus Grzebiński (1642); f. 158v: Grzebiński (1642); f. 160r: Nicolaus Grzebiński (1643); f. 162r: Johannes... (1644); f. 167r–v: Stephanus Dutkiewicz pinxit (1647) – twice; f. 183v: Pinxit Gostomiowski (1654) et al.

Grzegorz Gostomiowski and Mateusz Walowski were promoted in 1638, during the tenure of dean Joachim Speroniusz, promoted to bachelor of arts and philosophy degree, they belonged to two different classes: Gostomiowski – *Prima classis*; Walowski – *Secunda classis* (J. M u c z k o w s k i, op. cit., p. 308). Later, in 1642, Gostomiowski earned the degree of master of liberal arts (J. M u c z k o w s k i, op. cit., p. 313). In the same 1642, Mikołaj Grzebiński obtained his first academic degree, followed by the second promotion in 1648 (J. M u c z k o w s k i, op. cit., pp. 314, 321). The degree of bachelor of arts and philosophy was also awarded to Stefan Dutkiewicz, during the tenure of dean Jan Racki, in 1655 (J. M u c z k o w s k i, op. cit., p. 326). It's difficult to identify Mikołaj Lezeński (1642). A certain Mikołaj Lezeński, son of Grzegorz, began his studies in 1632, but it's impossible to determine if this is the same person, see *Album studiosorum...*, vol. 4: (1607–1642), eds. G. Z a t h e y, H. B a r y c z, Kraków 1950, p. 141.

rations, lettering styles or ornament patterns of *promotionum* and *diligentiarum* books. This topic has already been dealt with and is known in the academic history thanks to a pioneering study regarding the *Zdziewoiana*⁶⁸ in the collection of the Jagiellonian University.⁶⁹ As a result, the topic of Grzegorz Zdziewojski and his donation returns after almost half of a century in a new perspective, in line with the *non nova, sed novae* maxim.

As E. Chojecka, the pioneer of the *Zdziewoiana* studies, rightly notes, “the moment of establishment of new Faculty books in the middle of the 17th century thanks to Grzegorz Zdziewojski donation became a turning point in university books painting. [...]”⁷⁰ When analyzing the format of the new faculty books, one immediately notices that it was enlarged compared with the previous ones, giving the illuminators space for much more elaborate decorations. Around that age, a new type of full-page illustrations in promotion books was established. Records were reduced to an addition, written in small letters in tiny spaces within the picture.

Decorations of the *diligentiarum* books evolved in a direction completely different than in promotion books, introducing artistic solutions containing small, allegorical, figurative scenes. A prototype of these concepts – without a doubt innovative for their era – can be found in printed emblem collections.⁷¹ Thus, we shall use *Codex diligentiarum et negligentiarum philosophicae facultatis [...]* (BJ, MS 220) to take a closer look at some decorations in that volume.

Despite a modest repertoire of formal means, the allegorical miniatures included in the book contain a broad iconographic program, rooted in two sources. The first is related to academic literary output, specifically the material included in speeches and panegyrics written by both professors and students of the Alma Mater.⁷² They constituted an inexhaustible source of comparisons, picturesque metaphors, as well as topics that miniaturists translated into the language of painted (iconographic) decorations. The other source can be found in natural sciences taught at the Artistarum Faculty: astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and music (phot. 14).⁷³ For us, due to its

⁶⁸ The “*Zdziewoiana*” term is being introduced thanks to this publication, as a scientific experiment, see J. R o d a k, *Zdziewoianica w zbiorach kęckich*, [in:] i d e m, *Tolle lege...*, pp. 9–40.

⁶⁹ See E. C h o j e c k a, op. cit., pp. 14–46.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 33. One should note once again that Zdziewojski funded five [!], not three volumes, as the author claims in the later part of her argument [!].

⁷¹ For more information, see J. P e l c, *Obraz – słowo – znak. Studium o emblematyce w literaturze staropolskiej*, Wrocław 1973, pp. 9–19, 27–73, et passim; P. B u c h w a l d - P e l c o w a, *Na pograniczu emblematów i stemmatów*, [in:] *Słowo i obraz. Materiały Sympozjum Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce PAN, Nieborów 1977*, ed. A. M o r a w i Ń s k a, Warszawa 1982, pp. 73–95.

⁷² See E. J. G ł ę b i c k a, *Akademia Krakowska a twórczość panegiryczna...*, pp. 48–57.

⁷³ This might be demonstrated by surviving Zdziewojski’s handwritten notes from lectures he attended at the Kraków Academy in 1637–1638 (phot. 12), currently residing at the Ossolineum in Wrocław; see *Rękopisy Biblioteki Gwalberta Pawlikowskiego* (Ossolineum Library, MS 85, p. 11, et passim).

literary merits, the first source, i.e. translations of literature into art, in line with Horace's *ut pictura poesis maxim*,⁷⁴ remains the most important one.

In the studies regarding Baroque literature, panegyric works (as mentioned earlier) were treated as marginal during the 19th and 20th century. Scholars denied them not only place in their literary history of books, but also any value or literary qualities.⁷⁵ Fortunately, beginning from the 1980s, single voices from the older generation⁷⁶ led to a fundamental change of the approach of the younger generation of scholars to commemorative works and a revalorization of panegyrics.⁷⁷ Based on Jan Białostocki,⁷⁸ Ewa Chojecka notes that panegyrics are especially interesting in the context of visual arts: "In the Baroque, we can observe a phenomenon of penetration of literary imagery into painting. This is justified by the premises of the era's program, stating the unification of painting and literature in line with the *ut pictura poesis maxim*." Chojecka adds: "This led to creation of a broad allegory area – emblematics."⁷⁹

LITERARY-PANEGYRIC TOPICS

While analyzing the issue, one should not forget the ideology of Sarmatism, prevalent in the historiography of the Baroque era in Poland.⁸⁰ This allows under-

⁷⁴ See J. Pełc, "Ut pictura poesis erit," [in:] *Obraz – słowo – znak...*, pp. 16–19; reprinted as "Ut pictura poesis erit." *Między teorią a praktyką twórców*, [in:] *Słowo i obraz. Materiały Sympozjum Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce PAN, Nieborów 1977*, ed. A. Morawińska, Warszawa 1982, pp. 49–72.

⁷⁵ See M. Wiszniewski, *Historia literatury polskiej*, vol. 7, Kraków 1845, p. 504 (here the author speaks with undisguised irony, writing sarcastically about panegyrics of Polish genealogists, that "[...] they veiled and twisted the truth, apparently having to sing praise and crawl even more than the court historians of Louis XIV"); L. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 231, 243; W. Urbaniak, op. cit., p. 255.

⁷⁶ W. Bruchnański, *Panegiryk*, [in:] *Dzieła literatury pięknej w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1918, pp. 198–208; S. Dąbrowski, *O panegiryku*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" 3, 1965, pp. 101–110; idem, *Z problematyki panegiryku. Szkice*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" 3, 1968, pp. 43–55.

⁷⁷ T. Bieńkowski, *Panegiryk a życie literackie w Polsce XVI i XVII w.*, [in:] *Z dziejów życia literackiego w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1980, pp. 183–196; J. W. Zawisza, *O społecznych funkcjach panegirycznych druków ulotnych*, "Roczniki Biblioteczne" 21, 3–4, 1977, Warszawa 1979, pp. 879–905; E. Głębińska, op. cit., pp. 48–57; H. Dziechcińska, *Kultura literacka w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 8–26.

⁷⁸ J. Białostocki, *Idee i obrazy: teoria, poezja i sztuka. O tradycji i inwencji w teorii sztuki i ikonografii*, Poznań 1961, pp. 30–31, *Prace Komisji Sztuki Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*, VI, no. 3.

⁷⁹ E. Chojecka, op. cit., p. 47.

⁸⁰ The phenomenon of the influence of the Sarmatism ideology, classical mythology and ancient literature on Polish panegyric illustrations had been described extensively and in great detail by Jadwiga Bednarska, see J. Bednarska, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji panegirycznej pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*,

standing of objectives and inspirations of the panegyrists and visual artists, who used the themes of Antique, where the nobles sought their roots, in the implementation of their intentions.⁸¹ This in turn gave the authors of the ideological programs of drawings a reason to constantly reach for samples from history, literature and mythology of the ancient world.⁸² Allegory became a method that let them implement their intentions with aplomb. It allowed the import and “hiring” of mythological gods in the art programs of Baroque Sarmatism⁸³ so that they could fulfill various related functions by personifying virtues and misdeeds. As noted by the scholars of the subject, the iconographic personifications and emblems were not made up, but found in the works of classical authors – this was supposed to guarantee their objectivity and scholarliness.⁸⁴ There is no doubt that emblematics played an important role in the process of Christianization of the world of Antique gods. It allowed the figures of pagan deities to be adapted and introduced directly into scenes depicting ideas related to Christianity.⁸⁵ Thus, the allegory of triumph of the truth in the art of the era could be shown both by the figure of resurrected Christ and a portrait of Minerva, the pagan goddess of wisdom (phot. 4).⁸⁶ One should re-

vol. 1: *Motywy i tematy antyczne w polskiej panegirycznej ilustracji książkowej. Studium z zakresu ikonografii sztuki nowożytnej*, Katowice 1994, pp. 34–27, 89–103, 124–129.

⁸¹ One should mention here the remarks of Tadeusz Ulewicz, who when describing the issues related to “Baroque Sarmatism,” gives examples of “Antique-Roman origins” claimed by the ruling class. For example, the Lubomirski family claimed that their lineage originated from Roman Drusus, while Korwin of Ślepowron coat of arms family – from Roman Corvinus, see i d e m, *Iter romano-italicum polonorum, czyli o związkach umysłowo-kulturalnych Polski z Włochami w wiekach średnich i renesansie*, Kraków 1999, p. 285.

⁸² See J. B e d n a r s k a, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji panegirycznej pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, vol. 2: *Problematyka stylistyczno-formalna polskiej panegirycznej ilustracji książkowej*, Katowice 2005, p. 103.

⁸³ The topic of Sarmatism ideology was also described by J. Pelc, who noted various, conflicting concepts of Sarmatism. Gradually, the noble, narrow version became the most widespread. “[...] For tactical reasons [...] it was maintained also by magnates, despite the fact they claimed their origins in ancient Rome, not Sarmatia. The ideologists of Sarmatism from among the petty nobility also gravitated towards the traditions of the republican Rome, however they supplemented the Sarmatian genealogy with a more important to a lot of them biblical one;” (see *Na początku był Porębowicz – 100 lat badań literatury w Polsce*, “Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka” I, 1994, p. 21; see also M. K a r p o w i c z, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu*, Warszawa 1970.

⁸⁴ J. P e l c, *Obraz – słowo – znak...*, p. 34.

⁸⁵ J. Bednarska points out that: “In the art of the day one can find numerous examples of treating both topics taken from pagan mythology and content related to Christianity equivalently, thanks to filtering them through allegory,” see J. B e d n a r s k a, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, p. 103.

⁸⁶ Extensive information regarding various types of allegories is related by U. Eco in chapter 6 (*Symbol i alegoria. Alegoryzm uniwersalny*) of the book *Sztuka i piękno w średniowieczu* (transl. M. O l s z e w s k i, M. Z a b ł o c k a, Kraków 1994, pp. 84–118, especially p. 109) [English: chapter 5

member that personified allegories became widely known in the beginning of the 17th century with the publication of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, first published with illustrations in 1603. This treatise, belonging to an intersection of literature and art, was designed as an encyclopedic manual of iconography and contains personifications of virtues, misdeeds, sciences, abstracts, and other elements, with descriptions of their attributes and appearance.⁸⁷ In the 17th and 18th centuries Ripa's work was an indispensable source of patterns and ideas, however not the only one.⁸⁸ The *diligence* book of interest to us contains few examples of a direct transposition of patterns from Ripa's manual. The authors of miniatures were willing to transform patterns and adapt them freely to their adopted artistic program. Based on this, the scholars note the tendency of the Kraków society only to take an inspiration from foreign sources and create its own art of allegory.⁸⁹ This is noticeable especially in the example of the described earlier allegory of wisdom (fig. 4). This personification merges several ideas in the person of goddess Minerva. Minerva, already present in the Etruscan mythology (supposedly originating from goddess Menfra),⁹⁰ was quite often likened to her Greek counterpart, Athena – the goddess of wisdom and war (waged for the right and just cause), as well as a patron of the arts, including *artes liberales*, in the care of the Muses. In the Antique art, Athena was depicted in a long chiton and helmet, armed with a shield and a spear.⁹¹ Her chest was adorned with the aegis with the head of Gorgon. In the personification analyzed by us, we can see a very loose reference to the models known in that era. One can even see a composition-formal transposition. The goddess is depicted in an Antique-like

(*Symbol and Allegory*) of the book *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (transl. H. Bredin, New Haven–London 2002, pp. 52–65, especially p. 61)].

⁸⁷ C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Roma 1603. The first edition of Ripa's work, *Iconologia overo Descriptione dell'Imagini universalicavate dall'antichità et da altriluoghi [...] Opera non meno utile, che necessaria à Poeti Pittori et Scultori [...]* was published without sketches in 1593 in Rome. Only the third edition, published in 1603, was expanded and enhanced with numerous drawings, and followed by many further editions – in 1611, 1613, 1618, 1628, 1630, and later. Ripa's manual was also known in Poland, and in the first half of the 18th century large fragments were translated by Benedykt Chmielowski (*Figurae emblematicae*, 1733; *idem, Nowe Ateny albo Akademia wszelkiej sciencji pełna*, vol. 1, Lwów 1745, pp. 818–876); the first full Polish translation was published only recently, in 1998 (*Ikonomia*, transl. I. Kania, Kraków 1998); see also E. Pafsky, *Ikonomia i ikonologia*, [in:] *Studia z historii sztuki*, transl. K. Kamińska, Warszawa 1971, pp. 11–32.

⁸⁸ Another work readily used by Krakow decorators was the manual *Mundus symbolicus* by Filippo Picinelli (II, Coloniae 1687, first edition 1635), as well as a much older book by Alciatus (see A. Alciati, *Emblematum liber*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1531).

⁸⁹ E. Chojcka, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁹⁰ See M. Jaczynowska, *Religie świata rzymskiego*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 31, 33, 35, 130, 133–134.

⁹¹ See *Mitologie świata*, vol. 6: *Starożytni Rzymianie*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 34–35.

armor,⁹² covering the upper part of her body (torso). One can easily see a characteristic motif of knight's armor, the so-called pteriges.⁹³ This was a row of leather belts, used at the joint of breastplate and pauldron as a protection for the upper part of the arms. This motif became a favorite accent and element of the "gear" of various mythological figures seen in the panegyric drawings.⁹⁴ The author of this drawing decided to bring up a Polish flavor, armoring Minerva in a karacena.⁹⁵ Scholars of the topic rightly see the origins of this variant of armor in the scale mail of the ancient Romans, so-called *lorica squamata*.⁹⁶ The author of the allegory emphasized an element characteristic for Roman armament: slung over the left shoulder, hanging military coat in red, so-called paludamentum. In the Roman legions, such a coat was a sign of distinction and dignity, with only the commander allowed to wear it. Hence, the figure of Minerva can be treated as close to the depiction of human figures in the *all'antica* style. An important element of the armament visible on the goddess' head is a helmet,⁹⁷ in this case transformed. A helmet of a Roman legionnaire was adorned with a crest of long black or red feathers. In the analyzed case the crest, although maintaining the colors, was transformed into something resembling an inverted, elongated kuczma,⁹⁸ *nota bene* of Turkish origin, constituting a clear reference to Sarmatian culture that drew heavily from the culture of

⁹² See E. Chojcka, *O tematach i formach antykizujących w grafice polskiej XVI wieku*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" XXXII (1), 1970, pp. 19, 24, 26, 29.

⁹³ See Z. Żygulski, *Broń starożytna. Grecja, Rzym, Galia, Germania*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 100, 132.

⁹⁴ J. Bednarska, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, p. 105.

⁹⁵ Karacena – a flexible armor made of leather with sewn-on metal scales. Polish nobility used karacenas up to the 18th century, see *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, vol. 15, ed. H. Zgólkowa, Poznań 1998, p. 379. As Z. Żygulski notes, a scale mail (*lorica squamata*) was one of the oldest types of metal armors used by Romans. It was invented as early as the 17th century BC and used by various nations, including Greeks, Scythians, and Sarmatians: "[...] the scale mail often depicted in the Renaissance and Baroque art in order to denote Roman heroes was recreated in Sarmatian Poland as karacena, used by kings, hetmans, and high-ranking officers of heavy armored cavalry and hussars;" see Z. Żygulski, op. cit., Warszawa 1998, pp. 134, 136–137.

⁹⁶ Z. Żygulski, op. cit., pp. 137–140; see also M. D. Kossowski, *Tradycje antyku w wilanowskiej Porta Triumphalis czasów Jana III*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" LVII, 1995, p. 57.

⁹⁷ Detailed information regarding different types of Roman helmets can be found in the work of Z. Żygulski (op. cit., pp. 119–134, fig. 117–141).

⁹⁸ Kuczma – a felt hat resembling Janissary headgear, see Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1972, p. 114. Additional information regarding Old Polish clothing, see W. Łozicki, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach*, Kraków 1958, pp. 101–126; M. Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów*, Wrocław 1962, passim; Z. Żygulski, *Kostiumologia*, Kraków 1972, passim; W. Czaplinski, J. Długosz, *Życie codzienne magnaterii polskiej w XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1982 (see chapter 11: „Splendory i ubiory”), pp. 105–112; A. Drążkowska, *Odzież grobowa w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2008, pp. 178–185.

the Orient.⁹⁹ On the top of the kuczma [?], one can see something imitating extremely delicate, frayed feathers. Also military footwear is an inherent element of an antique style armor and it appears in nearly all figures on panegyric drawings. Romans called these shoes *caligae*.¹⁰⁰ They were a type of sandals, made of a thick sole, heavily hobbled with studs, with straps tied to the leg below the knees. The author of the allegory gave Minerva's footwear a more Sarmatian twist, invoking high-legged boots worn by the noblewomen of the era.¹⁰¹ Exposed toes, as in classical sandals, seem to be the only "vestige" of Roman *caligae*.

Following the findings of Aba Warburg,¹⁰² Jadwiga Bednarska points out that "the characteristic accessories of some pagan gods [...] should include a motif of parted robes, revealing one of the legs of the figure, as documented by numerous, antique works of art [...]. It's symptomatic that the motif of parted robes that reveal a leg became popular among the authors of panegyric illustrations, depicting various personifications and mythological gods."¹⁰³ As we can see, the author illustrating Zdziewjoski's donation used that motif in the allegorical figure of Minerva, who, along with a karacena, is clad in a long robe, resembling a Roman tunic.¹⁰⁴ This leads to an assumption that he was well-versed in the works of Renaissance masters,¹⁰⁵ yet treated them mainly as a source of artistic inspiration, without following them faithfully.

⁹⁹ It is worthwhile to quote here the conclusions of J. Tazbir, who characterized the problem of Sarmatism in the following way: "[...] being cut off from the Western civilization, we were somehow forced to adopt Sarmatism, a local variant of Baroque, created as a symbiosis of the material civilization shaped under Asian influence with a political ideology based on nobles' democracy (called "Golden Liberty" in the day). Sarmatism merged these into one, not without internal contradictions; Eastern clothing with borrowings from Roman republican traditions," see *Rzeczypospolita w XVII wieku*, [in:] *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki (Kraków, grudzień 1993)*, Warszawa 1994, p. 39.

¹⁰⁰ The word *caliga*, *-ae* is the source of the name of Roman emperor Caligula (12–41, emperor since 37), who was given this nickname, meaning Little Shoe, by soldiers of his father.

¹⁰¹ See A. D r ą ż k o w s k a, *Historia obuwia na ziemiach polskich od IX do końca XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2011 (see *Wiek XVII: Obuwie wysokie*), pp. 209–217.

¹⁰² See A. W a r b u r g, *Über Imprese Amorose auf dem Frühesten Florentinischen Kupferstichen*, [in:] *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1932, p. 337.

¹⁰³ J. B e d n a r s k a, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, p. 104.

¹⁰⁴ Tunic – in ancient Rome, an undergarment in a form of a relatively long shirt, usually short-sleeved, made of light woolen fabric, in the case of women worn under a stole. Women's tunic was long, more narrow and loose, see *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, vol. 43, ed. H. Z g ó ł k o w a, Poznań 2003, p. 343.

¹⁰⁵ This motif can be seen for example in the works of Donatello, proving the miniature's author thoroughly studied the art of Antique. The motif was described in detail by J. Bednarska, see J. B e d n a r s k a, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, p. 123, f.n. 12.



Fig. 1. The allegory of wisdom
(*Codex diligentiarum*).



Fig. 2. C. Ripa – Wisdom.

The goddess is shown on a top of an incline (a hill or a mountain), thus reducing the landscape to minimum, essentially removing it. Landscapes were not an important part of the ideological program accompanying the creation of this illustration. Minerva stands on something resembling a green, scantily “clad” island. She seems detached from the world around her. This is an important message for the reader and we shall come back to it later. Two aspects seem to attract the reader’s attention the most in the depiction of the goddess. The first one is the color sensitivity of the allegory’s author, who used a relatively rich palette to decorate the robes and armor. The second one is a primitive, in fact, rendering of the proportions of the body, evident in its masculinization. Minerva was treated too literally as the patron of weaponry, which led to her losing her subtle femininity. Thus, her depiction is far from the Antique ideal, characterized by lightness and agility. Instead, she resembles a Roman legionary in female clothing, although on the other hand the aesthetics of Baroque valued full-rounded bodies, Peter P. Rubens being an excellent example.

Let’s try to take a closer look at the ideological program of this allegory. As we pointed out before, the domain of Minerva was war, hence the presence of an Antique style armor and other elements of knightly armaments in her depiction. Still, in this composition we can see a transposition of her most important accessories – shield and spear.¹⁰⁶ The author of the allegory gave the goddess completely different, “un-

¹⁰⁶ Minerva used to be depicted as the goddess of war with various accessories interchangeably. There are images of her with a sword (symbol of war) and an olive branch (symbol of peace) (see J. T y - p o t i u s, *Symbola Divina et Humana [...]*, vol. 1, Pragae 1601, p. 57, reproduced in J. B e d n a r s k a, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, fig. 94 (at the end of the book) – here also the motif of parted

knightly” attributes. With both arms in a position resembling crucifixion, she holds a quill in her right hand. There is a burning candle in her left hand. There are no doubts that the author used C. Ripa’s manual as an inspiration, but one should add that he did not copy the Italian master, who cited a common opinion regarding depictions of wisdom: “the Ancients used images of Minerva with an olive tree to express Wisdom in line with their idea of it.”¹⁰⁷ This allegory shows how different themes build up in one picture. The author departed from Ripa’s model that showed the allegory of wisdom as a personified maiden, standing “in the dark of night, in a blue robe, holding a burning lamp full of oil in her right hand and a book in her left hand,”¹⁰⁸ shaped after the Antique patterns. Yet he took the idea of attributes from his predecessor, retaining his freedom of expression. He did not copy them, but equipped the goddess with their substitutes: a quill instead of a book and a candle instead of an oil lamp. This decision was based on the ideological program. Traditionally, the book was supposed to envisage the Bible – wisdom granted to humanity by God. The burning lamp is the light of human mind.¹⁰⁹ In the miniature analyzed Minerva is shown as an allegory of wisdom, yet not in Ripa’s understanding – as a depiction of quality of human intellect. This is indicated by the attribute held in the right hand – a quill. A quill is, not only in the author’s interpretation, a tool of creative activity (the attribute of poets), but also an instrument of learning – acquiring scientific, academic knowledge. Such message is strengthened by an emblem – a bull’s head, placed by the author above that right arm of the goddess. In this context the bull is a symbol of diligence and patience, traits that should characterize a person acquiring knowledge. In heraldry, a bull’s head represents rational strength¹¹⁰ that – in the author’s message – should characterize every person who decides to tread the difficult path of science, requiring strength and dedication. The symbol of Luke the Evangelist bears one more message, though: a bull also represents numbness resulting from accepting false knowledge. That’s why the author completes his narration by placing a rooster on the other side, above the left hand of the goddess. A rooster symbolizes vigilance and readiness to put up a fight.¹¹¹ Already the Church Fathers had honored the bird as a symbol of heavenly power, as demonstrated in the hymn by St. Ambrose:

robes(!)), as well as with a shield and sword (symbols of fighting in a just and right war) (see J. Szor-nel, *Panspermia peripateticae messis [...]*, W. Gedelius, Kalisz 1624, reproduced in J. Bednarska, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, fig. 163 (at the end of the book) – here also the motif of parted robes).

¹⁰⁷ C. Ripa, *Ikonologia*, transl. I. Kania, Kraków 1998, p. 267.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem, p. 268.

¹¹⁰ W. Kopałński, *Słownik symboli*, Warszawa 1991, p. 39 (a detailed interpretation of the symbol on pages 37–39).

¹¹¹ Ibidem, pp. 150–151.

O let us then like men arise;
 the cock rebukes our slumbering eyes,
 bestirs who still in sleep would lie,
 and shames who would their Lord deny.
 New hope his clarion note awakes,
 sickness the feeble frame forsakes,
 the robber sheathes his lawless sword,
 faith to fallen is restored.¹¹²

Should we translate the meaning of emblems used in the miniature into the language of religious concepts, Minerva gains a new visage. She becomes an allegory of Christian faith, as the rooster symbolizes Catholicism in contrast to the Protestant fox.¹¹³ One should remember that in the period when the decoration was created, the Catholic church was in a crisis and its echoes could be heard also in the Alma Mater and its society.¹¹⁴ As a part of Counter-Reformation, hierarchs of the church undertook various activities related to religious, cultural and social life. Those included Bishop Jakub Zadzik sending Father Zdziewojski first to the capital and then to other parishes in the former Duchy of Oświęcim¹¹⁵ where the dissenting spirit engulfed wide circles of both nobility and peasantry.¹¹⁶ Hence, the allegory gains a deeper meaning in the context of the donor and his experience. In a way, it exemplifies his

¹¹² St. A m b r o s e, *Maker of all, eternal King*, transl. W. J. C o p e l a n d, [online] https://hymnary.org/text/creator_eternal_of_earth_and_of_heaven#instances [accessed on: April 06, 2020]. It is worth noting that this hymn was a subject of St. Augustine's deliberations after the death of his mother and brought him relief, see St. A u g u s t i n e, *Confessions*, transl. A. C. O u t l e r, Dallas 1955, p. 123.

¹¹³ W. K o p a l i ń s k i, op. cit., p. 151.

¹¹⁴ See A. P r z y b o ś, op. cit., p. 312, et passim; see also H. B a r y c z, *Alma Mater...*, ch. *W orbicie wielkiego konfliktu*, pp. 134–169.

¹¹⁵ See J. R o d a k, *Jan Grzegorz Zdziewojski – kaznodzieja i poeta*, “Pallas Silesia” III/1–2, 1999, pp. 77–78; i d e m, *Wilamowice i heretycy. Przyczynek do biografii ks. Jana Grzegorza Zdziewojskiego z Łasku (1609–1685)*, “Staropolskie teksty i konteksty. Studia” 5, 2004, p. 23, et passim; i d e m, *O herezji w Wilamowicach, kacerskiej praktyce i niepokornym plebanie*, [in:] *Pogranicza Galicji. Studia*, Bielsko-Biała 2005, p. 56, et passim; i d e m, *Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku...*, pp. 83–90, et passim; i d e m, *Kalwiński epizod w dziejach wilamowskiej parafii i jej proboszcza*, [in:] *Liber amicorum professoris Ioannis Malicki*, Katowice 2011, pp. 24–41, et passim; i d e m, *Żydzi, heretycy i schizmatycy, czyli reformacyjne i kontrreformacyjne epizody w Księstwie Oświęcimskim i ich odzwierciedlenie w kazaniach pisarzowickich Grzegorza Zdziewojskiego*, [in:] *Zaczytani. Tom jubileuszowy dla Profesor Anny Węgrzyniak*, eds. M. B e r n a c k i et al., Bielsko-Biała, pp. 51–52, et passim.

¹¹⁶ For more information, see J. R o d a k, *Schola et ambona...*, [ch. 4: *Zewnętrzne dzieje Pisarzowic. Reformacja i kontrreformacja na ziemiach dawnego Księstwa Oświęcimskiego w II poł. XVI i I poł. XVII wieku*, pp. 87–129]; W. U r b a n, *Reformacja wśród chłopów w Oświęcimskim*, “Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce” II, 1957, pp. 151–157; i d e m, *Chłopi wobec reformacji w Małopolsce w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Kraków 1959.

credo et vitae, with the words of St. Ambrose's hymn sounding as beating his own breast:

Lo! e'en the very Church's Rock
melts at the crowing of the cock.
O let us then like men arise;¹¹⁷

A burning candle, symbolizing the light of human mind, completes the message. It is the mind, properly shaped by science, that becomes a signpost for man's life, allowing him to make correct decisions. The rooster placed nearby implies that these relate to religious vigilance. Man must constantly be on guard not to become deceived by false teachings, "heresy" against the Catholic Church. The heraldic symbolism of the rooster also points to religious fervor and readiness to fight in the defense of the faith.¹¹⁸ In this context, the motif of parted robes used by the miniature's author becomes valid and more understandable. The exposed leg of the goddess symbolizes temptation of human flesh, leading people away from what is great and important – from God himself. Stepping forward symbolizes movement, progress, but progress may mean transition in one of the two directions: a rise or fall of a human in his actions. This emphasizes the vertical dimension of existence, frequently exhibited in Baroque metaphysical poetry. In the drawing, this verticalism is shown in the placement of Minerva herself, as she stands on a summit alone. However, the interpretation of the image seems obvious: the goddess reached the summit and the intended purpose, which means completing studies for those who undertake them. Hence, from the perspective of the "elevation," she looks proudly and confidently forward, armed with an invincible weapon – knowledge.

The goddess is shown in a similar form in a miniature from 1689, standing on an island surrounded by the sea, with a laurel wreath in her hand, ready to crown all *legitime certantes* (honest competitors) that manage to reach her despite all adversities.¹¹⁹ This topic is close to the allegory of a ship heading to port – its intended destination. Minerva had also been shown in the same context in a drawing by Dutch artist P. Thiery.¹²⁰ The goddess stands at the foot of a steep mountain, pointing to a narrow path leading to its summit, where personifications of all seven virtues – equivalents of seven liberal arts taught at the Kraków Academy – reside. The illustration includes elements of content identical to the miniature analyzed here: there is a summit (mountains, elevations?) with an implied "difficult path leading to it – to

¹¹⁷ St. Ambrose, *Maker of all, eternal King...*

¹¹⁸ W. Kopański, *Słownik symboli*, p. 151.

¹¹⁹ See *Liber diligentiarum* (BJ, MS 90, p. 125).

¹²⁰ See E. Panofsky, *Herkules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst*, "Studien der Bibliothek Warburg" XVIII, 1930, pp. 113–114, tabl. IX, fig. 60, quoted after: E. Chojcka, *Dekoracja malarska ksiąg promotionum i diligentiarum...*, p. 62.

the objective.” However, while Minerva’s role in Thiery’s drawing is limited to showing the way of virtue, in the miniature analyzed here Minerva becomes the goal itself, as well as the center of illustration’s composition. The spatial composition used by the author of the allegory also plays an important role. The illustration is placed in the lower part of the record concerning disputes and takes up more than half of the page. This definitely provided better conditions and opportunities for allegorical expression, used well by the artist. In other cases, as mentioned before, one can see limited decorations in upper parts of pages, above the writing. In an obvious way, it defined the spacial distribution “from the top down.”

Now, the last element of the decoration – the lemma. In line with the convention of the era, the illustration is accompanied by a maxim, called the lemma: IN LABORE PRO PATRIA, IN VIGILANT[IA] PRO RELIGIONE (Efforts for the homeland, vigilance for the religion). The maxim is gnomic, however it also gains the characteristic of motto that should guide the life of an educated man: efforts lead to multiplication of good (one’s own and public); vigilance allows avoiding mistakes (i.e. false teaching – heresy). The inscription glorifies science, with the goddess again performing the function of Knowledge personified. Minerva definitely possesses a martial nature, which in juxtaposition with her non-martial attributes invites to a detailed analysis of the depiction.

This original composition constitutes an apotheosis of all features personified by the goddess. The miniature merges elements from various sources and traditions, creating a polysemantic allegory. Minerva becomes a personification of various virtues: wisdom, diligence, patience, scholarship, vigilance, dedication, and caution. At the same time, the illustration bears another message: a caution against numbness, submission to lewd temptations and infidelity (religious dissidence), encouraging the viewer to conclude that we have to bear the consequences of our actions. The results of labor are prosperity and wealth, of science – knowledge, and the consequence of deviation from faith is the sin of heresy – the most severe one in the rhetorical arsenal of persuasion of the Łask preacher.¹²¹

The thoughtful ideological program of the illustration, referring to mythology, Antique literature and Renaissance studies (J. Typotius, C. Ripa), is indicative of not just the artistic craft, but also the culture and erudition of the author, an artist aware of his craft. It befits to reference here a panegyric devoted to Zdziewojski where Minerva is depicted as a personification of wisdom. An exemplification of this can be found in a short poem by Stanisław Osędowski, where the poet, reconstructing the path of Zdziewojski’s education, writes:

¹²¹ See *Dominica in albis [1646]*, [in:] Handwritten collection of Pisarzowice sermons (Archiwum Parafialne w Pisarzowicach, no shelfmark, no f.). Regarding this sermon – see J. R o d a k, *Żydzi, herecyty i schizmatycy, czyli reformacyjne i kontrreformacyjne epizody w Księstwie Oświęcimskim i ich odzwierciedlenie w kazaniach pisarzowickich Grzegorza Zdziewojskiego...*, pp. 55–56; idem, *Schola et ambona...*, pp. 257–275.

Ac primo Lascipertractat prima Mineruae,
Corporis in parua mole elementa sui.¹²²

[First in Lask the basic rules of Minerva
He diligently learns without any effort]

When characterizing gods “hired” in art decorations of the diligence book analyzed, one cannot omit the Roman favorite: Mercury (phot. 5). In an analysis of the figure of Mercury, it’s worth reminding that this messenger of the gods was usually depicted as a young man, scantily clad in a robe in the Antique art. Considered equivalent to his Greek prototype, Hermes, he took over his attributes: *talaria* (wings attached to sandals), *petasus* (a hat with a motif of wings) and *caduceus*. The staff of Mercury, *caduceus*, is related to a story probably also picked up from the Greeks. Two serpents were wrapped around this winged staff, considered a symbol of commerce and trade. The legend says that it was created when prophet Tiresias, having encountered two copulating serpents, tried separating them with his staff that he used to lean on during travels. To his amazement, he suddenly turned into a woman. He lived as a woman for next seven years, then encountered copulating snakes again and repeated the behavior that led to his transformation. That allowed him to return to his original self. Eventually the staff went to Apollo, who in turn gifted in to Mercury.¹²³

Such depiction of the Olympian messenger dominated also in the Renaissance art, with some exceptions; one such example is a drawing in Luca Contile’s compendium of 1574, where the god is shown in an armor (fig. 3).¹²⁴ It is interesting what the author of the allegory wanted to express by showing a personification of the favorite god of the Roman people. The identification of his role, similar to the one shown on the miniature analyzed, can be found in the texts of a French emblemist Jean Baudoin. He presents a juxtaposition of two deities: Fortuna and Mercury. According to Baudoin, Fortuna represents the uncertainty of fate. Mercury is her opposite, representing human skills that can always be relied upon. This is why the people of antiquity valued the dexterity, ingenuity and craftsmanship skills of this god, who quickly became the patron of merchants, traders¹²⁵ and crafts-

¹²² S. O s ę d o w s k i, *Philakai Zdziewoianae Domus* [...], Kraków 1639, no f. (verses 223–224); see also J. R o d a k, *Stanisława Osędowskiego „Laurycy dla Zdziewojskich,”* Kraków 2013, pp. 108–109.

¹²³ See *Mitologie świata*, vol. 6: *Starożytni Rzymianie...*, pp. 62–63.

¹²⁴ L. C o n t i l e, *Ragionamento [...] Sopra La Proprieta delle Imprese con le Particolari de Gli Academici affidati et con le Interpretationi et Croniche [...]*, in Pavia l’Anno 1574, Appresso Girolamo Bartoli (the reverse of sheet 69), quoted after J. B e d n a r s k a, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, p. 131, footnote 91.

¹²⁵ The name ‘Mercury’ comes from the Latin word *merx* (*mers*), *-cis*, meaning both ‘goods for sale’ and ‘commercial activities’ themselves.

men. He was also considered the inventor of all arts. Talking about Mercury, the author also calls him the patron of scholars, supplying an interpretation close to the program of our miniature, where the god also personifies an allegory of a sage. Similar description of Mercury can be found in the works of emblemist Valerian, who writes: “Mercurius orationis vim interpretandique virtutem et eloquentiam significant.”¹²⁶ A role of the patron of science and scholars was already attributed to Mercury in Medieval texts. This tradition was formulated and initiated at the beginning of that age by Martianus Capella¹²⁷ in his treatise *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, also referenced by Humanism of the late 15th and early 16th century, when Conrad Celtes (alias Pickel) and his circle of Antique culture and literature lovers, associated in literary societies, so-called sodalities,¹²⁸ praised Mercury as the father of all intellectual activities. Hence, thanks to the humanists of Kraków, as well as Martianus Capella, the interpretation of Mercury as a god of orators and intellectuals was reinforced in Poland. Based on astrological texts (see phot. 14), the humanists assumed additionally that the power of this heavenly messenger boosted the telluric element similarly to the forces exhibited by the planets Jupiter and Venus. The latter also symbolized the power of labor, meaning also all intellectual and artistic activities and efforts.

The miniature referenced here is one of the examples of images diverging from the canons found in the iconography of the Antique and Modern eras. It's not an isolated case, though, as we mentioned before and shall mention later. The god on the illustration is presented *in actione*. We can see him as he moves, taking a step and watering an olive tree, fueling it with a generous stream of water from a pitcher. The author of the allegory also included a fragment of a realistic landscape in the miniature. In the background, one can see vegetation and trees, shown in perspective. The vivid green envisages a vibrant garden. Still, the central part of the illustration is occupied by Mercury and an olive tree, endowed with its own symbolism. One can notice that this is another example of transposition of an attribute borrowed from Minerva.¹²⁹ Let's take a closer look at the elements depicted in the miniature one by one and try to reconstruct the ideological

¹²⁶ J. P. Valerian, *Hieroglyphica*, P. Frellon, Lyon, 1626, p. 625, quoted after E. Chojcka, *Dekoracja malarska ksiąg promotionum i diligentiarum...*, p. 49.

¹²⁷ Martianus Minneus Felix Capella, a writer born in Africa, living in the 5th century AD; author of a popular treatise serving as an encyclopedic textbook, *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, where, around 400 AD, he made a division of seven liberal arts into two categories, *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy). This division was applied practically till the end of the 18th century.

¹²⁸ See J. Pełc, *Literatura renesansu w Polsce*, Warszawa 1994, p. 50; J. Ziomek, *Renesans*, Warszawa 1995, p. 79.

¹²⁹ See C. Ripa, op. cit., p. 267; *Mitologie świata*, vol. 6: *Starożytni Rzymianie...*, p. 35.

program of the illustration. The central figure of the allegory, Mercury, is wearing a short robe, which hints to another of his attributes: youth. It's difficult to identify the robe, as the author suggested an Antique style, short men's chiton,¹³⁰ yet added some elements of the native karacena, not studded with plates, but accentuated by a paludamentum, i.e. a red cloak seen earlier on Minerva, that might be a chlaina.¹³¹ Looking closely at the illustration, we notice a hint of it: an orange-yellow belt, freely draped on the hips. In contrast, the robe is dark turquoise and the cloak is red. The head of the god is adorned with *petasus* in the color of the robe. In his left hand, he is carrying his favorite attribute, *caduceus*. On his feet, we can see boots with a distinctive, native accent (high-legged), with *talaria* attached. Mercury, in a gallant pose, is walking forward proudly and confidently. This is a clear sign for interpretation, as the illustration analyzed contains three themes. The first one is the olive tree, growing in a beautiful vessel, placed separately in front of the vegetation. The second one is the elegiac couplet placed below the miniature: "Intererit multum, quis nostros irriget hortos / Ac mens nostra Dei, qua foveatur ope,"¹³² as well as the lemma: "Eget arbos unde rige[t]."¹³³ The third and last one is Mercurio, the personification of a scholar. As the scholars of the subject note, combining content and artistic themes taken from various sources and building them up on one canvas is an invention of the local university iconography that had a unique tendency to bring them together and transform.¹³⁴ Indeed, should we attempt to take a detailed look at printed illustrations of the era, we shall find a confirmation of this. Looking at the previously mentioned compendium of Luca Contile,¹³⁵ available in the Jagiellonian Library and probably known to the author of the illustration, we can see that a figure with an image of Mercury shown on the reverse of sheet 69 became a direct source of inspiration and transposition here (fig. 3).¹³⁶ Still, the author of the illustration in *Codex diligentiarum* did not copy the drawing, and instead used it as a model for expressing his own ideological program.

¹³⁰ See K. K u m a n i e c k i, *Historia kultury starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu*, Warszawa 1987, p. 90.

¹³¹ Ibidem.

¹³² One that waters our garden shall benefit much, furthermore let our mind be supported by this divine assistance.

¹³³ A tree requires water to live just as a student requires knowledge.

¹³⁴ E. C h o j e c k a, *Dekoracja malarska ksiąg promotionum i diligentiarum...*, p. 50. In a later part of the text, the scholar situates such productions on the verge of entertainment and a dialogue with a viewer: "One can get the impression that it was a kind of an intellectual play, broadly cultivated in a passionate competition of ever newer and newer combinations and comparisons" (p. 50).

¹³⁵ L. C o n t i l e, op. cit.

¹³⁶ A reproduction can be found also in: J. B e d n a r s k a, *Z dziejów polskiej ilustracji...*, vol. 2, fig. 233.



Fig. 3. An impression with a depiction of Mercury from L. Contile's *Ragionamento [...] delle imprese [...]*, 1574, f. 69v (BJ, shelfmark 224985 IV).

At a glance, one can notice visible differences between the drawing and our illustration, pointing to a liberal “utilization” of the original. The author of the drawing showed a rocky, barren landscape without any vegetation. On this background, we can see an olive tree in a vessel, watered by Mercury. The tree is an element of transposition of an attribute taken from Minerva. Among the barren landscape it becomes a symbol of wisdom, referencing the Old Testament *Poem of Wisdom* by Jewish sage Ecclesiasticus: “[...] as a fine olive in the plain, as a plane tree, I have grown tall.”¹³⁷ The author of the miniature changed not only the elements of the landscape, but also the layout itself: Mercury is situated on the right side of the tree, while in the illustration he is shown on the left. Additionally, in the miniature the god is depicted *in actione*, while the illustration is static. Let’s not forget the last important element of the transposition: vegetation, lacking in the illustration, while in the miniature it serves as a notion of a garden, a symbol of upbringing via a conscious action, including education. In this context, a garden is also a symbol of order and culture – brought by science.¹³⁸ In order to fully understand the scene depicted in the miniature, one needs to note the location of the scene: above the record of the class schedule. This explains the intention of the author, as

¹³⁷ Eccli., XXIV, 19, see *Biblia w przekładzie księdza Jakuba Wujka z 1599 r.*, “B” type transcription of the original text from the 16th century and foreword by Father J. Frankowski, Warszawa 2000, p. 1398, [online] https://www.catholic.org/bible/book.php?id=28&bible_chapter=24 [accessed on: December 10, 2019].

¹³⁸ See W. Kopański, *Słownik symboli*, p. 271.

well as his ideological program: Mercury in motion depicts progress in education and diligence. Staying in the garden, presumably the Academy, leads to gaining knowledge shown as an olive tree. Mercury himself is not as much a personification of a scholar as of a source of knowledge for others – the stream of water is a symbol of knowledge passed by the Alma Mater’s professors to students, who blossom *in hortulo Academiae*. All three themes combine to form a complex allegory, with a clear message and program: in the “Academy garden” everyone (*Codex diligentiarum*) can satiate the hunger of knowledge. With perseverance, a person shall grow like an exuberant olive tree. This gives the ability to walk confidently through life, gaining numerous dignities and honors, which is depicted by *caduceus*, the attribute of authority.

The miniature is not an especially original composition, however it shows how Kraków’s authors of art decorations transformed popular motifs of the Antique, filtered through the Humanist thought of the Renaissance, as well as created their own images and ideological programs that functioned as an artistic complement of the content of university metrics records.

When discussing allegories related to the life of the Kraków University, it seems reasonable to recall one more interesting, albeit popular motif used in promotion and *diligentiarum* books, as well as panegyric texts: *Fons Sapientiae* (phot. 5). The allegory of a well and a fountain occupies a special place in the tradition of *Alma Mater*. In the foundation act of 1364, king Casimir the Great stated as follows: *fiatque ibi fons doctrinarum irriguus, de cuius plenitudine hauriant universi literalibus cupientes inbui documentis*,¹³⁹ describing the academy being created. Later on, the motif of the well can be found, among others, in Sebastian Petrycy of Pilzno (1554–1626), who ended his expedition to Moscow (1606), where he accompanied voivode Jerzy Mniszech,¹⁴⁰ with a year and a half in prison. These events led to the creation of a collection of poems published in 1609 as *Horatius Flaccus w trudach więzienia moskiewskiego na utulenie żalów [...] w lyryckich pieśniach zawarty*. Despite the title, this was not a collection of translations, but paraphrases and adaptation of Horatian themes, written in captivity. Among these texts, there is a very loose paraphrase of Horace’s *O fons Bandusiae splendidior*

¹³⁹ S. K r z y ż a n o w s k i, *Poselstwo Kazimierza Wielkiego do Awinionu i pierwsze uniwersyteckie przywileje*, “Rocznik Krakowski” IV, 1900, ed. S. K r z y ż a n o w s k i, Kraków 1900, p. 60.

¹⁴⁰ Mniszech Jerzy (around 1548–1613) – voivode of Sandomierz since 1590. In 1604 he supported False Dmitry I, who, in return for assistance in gaining the throne of Moscow, had promised to marry his daughter Maryna. Leading a troop of 4 thousand soldiers he lent his armed support to Dmitry in his fight for power in Russia. After Dmitry’s death Mniszech was imprisoned by the Russians, along with his daughter and his personal physician Sebastian Petrycy. In 1608 he supported another pretender to Russian throne, False Dmitry II, persuading Maryna to identify him as her late husband. In 1611 he was condemned by Sejm for his actions prejudicial to the state.

vitro ode (III, 13), titled *Studnia kolegiacka*.¹⁴¹ It contains, among others, the following verses:

Śliczna Akademiej w budownym Krakowie
 Studnio, kto kiedy chwały twe wypowie?
 Tyś naprzód od Jagiełła króla założona,
 W domu mądrości środkiem położona [...]
 Ty spracowane ludzie przyjemnym ochładzasz
 Zimnem i młodzi przeźrzanym dogadzasz
 Strumieniem, którego źródło chociaż cembra grodzi,
 Po wszytkiej Polsce wszędzie się rozchodzi,
 Bo którzy stamtąd wodę, ucząc się, czerpają,
 Wziętej godności u ludzi dostają [...]
 Którzykolwiek do picia z ciebie napój mają,
 W każdym nieszczęściu ciężkości nie znają [...]¹⁴²

Beautiful Academy in Kraków of stone,
 The well, who shall sing your glories?
 Founded by Jagiełło the king,
 Central place in the house of wisdom you take [...]
 Toiling people you cool with a pleasant
 Cold, pleasing the sweating youths
 With a stream bound by a casing,
 Yet spreading through Poland whole,
 As who takes the water there, studying,
 Receives praise from others around [...]
 Whoever drinks your beverage
 Shall know no hardship in any trouble [...]

As we can see, in his poem of praise to the Academy, the author glorifies the well decorating the courtyard of Collegium Maius, where – as he claims – students thirsty for knowledge drink the “water of science.” This water becomes not just a source of knowledge, but also “praise from others” and an assistance “in any trouble.” In the miniature from 1641, one can see a fountain with a lemma *Irrigat et fructificat* (Irrigates and bears fruit), expressing the main meaning of the allegory: the fountain (implicitly, the Academy) provides the “water of life,” here symbolical-

¹⁴¹ This is a free variation of ode III, 13 (*O fons Bandusiae splendidior vitro*), addressed to the well of Kraków’s Academy, using only a few phrases taken from the original, such as verse 5 *jak naczynie szklane* (“as a glass vessel”), “more splendid than glass” in the original; verse 6 *godna, by słodkie z nią było mieszane wino* (“worthy of mixing with a sweet wine”) – “appropriate for sweet wine” (tomorrow you will be present) in the original; verse 13 matches verse 9 of the original; verse 15 matches more or less verses 11–12 of the original (although they mention bulls); verses 13 and 27–28 match verses 13–14 of the original.

¹⁴² S. Petrycy, *Studnia kolegiacka*, [in:] H. Oracy, *Wybór poezji*, ed. J. Krókowski, Biblioteka Narodowa, series II, no. 25, Kraków 1973, p. 338.

ly the knowledge, as well as bears fruit, satisfying all vital needs of the thirsty. Around the fountain, the illustrator placed flowers, watered by it. This seems like a clear allusion to the words of Sebastian Petrycy, who wrote in the poem referenced above:

Nie kwiatki ani trawą masz być ozdobiona,
Ale ofiarą uroczystą czczona [...] ¹⁴³

Neither flowers nor grass shall decorate you,
But worship of a solemn offering [...]

Here the flowers are a symbol of the well-tended *hortulus Academiae*, nourished by the “water of life” from the fountain. This *hortulus* is the academic community that draws generously from the source – *Alma Mater*. The ideological program of the illustration, more modest than in the case of the ones described previously, is completed by its layout. The miniature is located on the page above a record regarding disputes, and the first fruit borne by *Fons Sapientiae* should be the passed exam – a public dispute. Hence, the message of the illustration’s author is clear and intelligible: only those who systematically draw knowledge from the source (the Academy) can bloom like a fertile garden sustained by the “water of life,” i.e. knowledge, leading to satisfaction, honors, dignity, and respect later in their lives.

The theme of the symbolic water source (as a fountain watering fields of flowers) appears in another Zdziewojski’s donation, the aforementioned promotion book for year 1642, ¹⁴⁴ where it’s called the Castalian Spring. ¹⁴⁵ This expression is a reference to a phrase in Osędowski’s panegyric, *Philakai Zdziewoianaes Domus* (1639), where the professor of rhetoric, describing *via educandi* of Grzegorz Zdziewojski, called *Alma Mater* the *limina Castalidum*:

Sponte sua puppus nullo cogente Magistro,
Sacra petit laetus limina Castalidum. ¹⁴⁶

[Of his own will, not forced by any tutor,
He took the path to sacred Castalian thresholds].

In the discussed miniature from the promotion book, the water springs from a tall goblet decorated with university maces, falling into a rectangular pond. The

¹⁴³ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁴ See footnote 52.

¹⁴⁵ BJ, MS 252, p. 235, miniature signed by Mikołaj Leżeński. Reproduction: E. Chojcka, *Decoracja malarska ksiąg promotionum i deligentiarum...*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁶ S. Osędowski, *Philakai Zdziewoianaes Domus* [...], Kraków 1639, no f. [verses 221–222]; see also J. Ródak, *Stanisława Osędowskiego „Laury dla Zdziewojskich,”* Kraków 2013, pp. 108–109.

ideological program of this allegory is much more complex than in the case of illustration described earlier. People make use of the blessings of the university well gain access to various honors – their symbols can be seen in two open crates situated in the background on an arcaded wall.¹⁴⁷ Above the crates, one can see a gathering of saints adoring the Holy Trinity. It's one of the favorite themes of the academic paintings due to its multifaceted symbolism.¹⁴⁸ It is worth mentioning that the source of this miniature is the motif of the well of life, originating in ancient times. Already in the 4th century AD St. Ambrose (who died in 397) likened a well to Christ himself, using an expression *fons sapientiae et gratiae spiritualis*. Later on, at the end of the Middle Ages, the theme of a well gained popularity especially in the North of Europe, as can be seen in the *Ghent Altar piece* by brothers van Eyck and Claus Sluter's well in Dijon.¹⁴⁹ The emblem with a depiction of a well also originates in the late Gothic tradition. Based on the findings of Evelyn Underhill, Ewa Chojecka emphasizes that "it's not a matter of chance that it was first introduced by Dutch emblematisers." Further, the scholar argues that: "in 1584, de Montenay creates an emblem with Christ on a fountain which humans drink the water of life from, while Adriaen Collaert introduces a picture of St. Thomas Aquinas standing on the top of a fountain, a source of 'water of thomistic wisdom' for his students. This is already close to the Kraków's Academy well. It may have been actually inspired by Dutch illustrations."¹⁵⁰ Regardless of the perception direction, something else seems important: artistic decoration of the books from Grzegorz Zdźewojski's donation is a valuable example of interaction as well as artistic and technical dependence of Kraków's painters on the Antique art and its legacy filtered through Renaissance Humanism and additionally enhanced by the tradition of Medieval Christianity.

When discussing Christian accents, one should also mention, at least in passing, an interesting example of merging religious themes with elements of the Sarmatian culture in an allegorical message of one painting. This can be seen in the case of a miniature placed on one of the dispute pages. This illustration depicts St. Christopher

¹⁴⁷ The titular inscription of the allegory is as follows: *Castalium sileat turgescens Graecia fontem / Cernitur in Lechico, fons ex Helicone, Trione*. There's also an inscription on a crate containing mitres and crosiers (depicting Church honors): "O quibus Ecclesiam, fons irrigat iste trophaeis;" and on a crate with panoplies, helmets and swords: "O quantos Patriae germinat ille viros."

¹⁴⁸ All preserved paintings from the Zdźewojski donation, showing Blessed John Cantius (patron of the Alma Mater) and the donor, depict the Holy Trinity, adored by both scholars; for more information, see J. R o d a k, *Epitafium – legenda – chronografia. Rzecz o „Dziejopisie żywieckim” A. Komonickiego i legendzie ks. Grzegorza Zdźewojskiego*, "Świat i Słowo" 1, 16, 2011, pp. 221–232.

¹⁴⁹ See D. E. R o g g e n, *De „Fons Vitae” van KlassSluter te Dijon*, "Revue Bege d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art" V, 1935, quoted after E. C h o j e c k a, *Dekoracja malarska ksiąg promotionum i diligentiarum...*, p. 78.

¹⁵⁰ E. C h o j e c k a, *Dekoracja malarska ksiąg promotionum i diligentiarum...*, p. 79.

holding Infant Jesus in his arms (phot. 6). It's worth mentioning that the cult of this saint thrived already in the 5th–6th centuries, but the ancient hagiographic writings, confirming the authenticity of this figure, went missing during the Muslim raids on Asia Minor in the 7th and 8th centuries. Various versions of St. Christopher's legend circulated in the Western tradition during the Middle Ages. According to the Eastern version, he was supposed to be a wild giant from a cynocephalic (dog-headed) tribe, willing to serve the strongest creature. First, he had taken service with a ruler, but noticed that the ruler was afraid of Satan and so he started serving Satan. However, seeing that Satan is afraid of Christ, he became Christ's servant, receiving baptism and gaining a human shape and ability to speak. Then, per a hermit's advice, he devoted himself to carrying pilgrims through the Jordan river. When carrying Infant Christ, whom he did not recognize, he got from Him the announcement of his imminent martyrdom.¹⁵¹ In the Syrian version of this legend, after carrying the Infant Jesus, Christopher uttered significant words: "Child, you put me in a great danger. I never carried such a weight before." The child answered: "Do not be astonished, for you have just carried the whole world along with its sins."¹⁵²

St. Christopher is present in the iconography of both Eastern and Western Christianity and is shown as a martyr, as a warrior, as a man of the cynocephalic tribe or a giant carrying Infant Jesus on his shoulders. The figure is accompanied by a pilgrim's staff or stick, a leafy tree and water that he is crossing. In the early Medieval and Eastern art, this patron of pilgrims is depicted as a young man (mural from the 10th century, S. Maria Antiqua in Rome; mural from around 1070, Tokale Kilise in Göreme); as a warrior (fresco from 11th–12th century, S. Maria in Sylvis in Sesto a Reghena, Ruthenian icon from the 16th century, Historical Museum in Moscow) or a martyr (fresco from the 13th century, S. Maria Assunta in Muggia Vecchica). In the Western art, starting from the 12th century, one can find compositions-ideograms inspired by the translation of the name from Greek: *christoforos* – 'carrier of Christ,' showing a holy old man in a long robe who carries Infant Jesus (raising his hand in blessing) in his arms or on his shoulders. Starting from the 14th century, the ideological and spatial composition of the figure becomes more complex: the saint is a hermit carrying a torch (a familiar symbol of human mind, such as in the drawing of A. Dürer from 1521¹⁵³), or a bearer (as shown for example in a sculpture from around 1470 in the Cologne ca-

¹⁵¹ In this narration, one can see a clear reference to sparse historic traces related to the figure of St. Christopher. According to them, the saint was probably born in the early 3rd century in Asia Minor and died as a martyr around 250 in Samon (Lycia), during persecutions of Christians by emperor Decius, see Krzysztof, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 10, Lublin 2004, p. 3.

¹⁵² W. K o p a l i ń s k i, *Słownik mitów i tradycji kultury*, Warszawa 1993, p. 553.

¹⁵³ See K. P i w o c k i, *Dzieje sztuki w zarysie*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1977, p. 149. One should add that teachings of Dürer were used by Hans Bandung aka Grien (died in Strasbourg in 1545), author of copperplate *St. Christopher*.

thedral).¹⁵⁴ In the Polish art, depictions of St. Christopher already appear in the Middle Ages, in the form of murals. The saint is usually shown as an old man with Infant Jesus on his arm. Naturally, one can find some deviations from the most popular depiction in the Polish tradition, such as a sculpture from 1542 created by the most prominent student of Veit Stoss, Paul of Levoča. The artist depicted St. Christopher in an armor.¹⁵⁵

The miniature of interest to us approaches this topic in a conventional manner, however one can see that the author introduced some elements of the Sarmatian flavor. The saint is depicted as a giant with a blossoming tree in his right hand and Infant Jesus on his arm. In the right hand, Infant Jesus holds a globe with a cross, while his left hand rests comfortably on the giant's head. The Infant is not looking at the person waiting on the shore, instead directing his gaze – as well as the viewer's attention – to the maxim placed below the illustration: “Ne nimis inquiras sublimia facta tonantis, / Non qui vult, sed quem vult De[us], ille sapit” (So as you do not seek the elevated deeds of the thunderer too hard; not the one willing, but the one willed by God shall receive wisdom). These words are *explicite* the gist of the ideological program of the allegory. A human can wait, as the figure on the shore, but the choice belongs to God. Jesus chose St. Christopher as his servant. In the same way, he chooses people for various services so they may fulfill their life missions as well as they can. The figure on the shore, its arms outstretched in waiting, depicts openness to God. This openness is completed by a rosary, an element of Sarmatian religiousness and Marian devotion. The vivid imagination of the author shows the originality of his craft and expression skills. A partial lemma placed on the external edge of the page (due to a burning) also constitutes an important part of the allegory: [...] *qua nihil prorsus capit* – ‘as not embracing anything fully.’ The lemma expresses the notion of limited human cognitive skills: only by persistently serving God, a man can reach the shore and his intended goal – exactly as St. Christopher, depicted just before reaching the dry land. For a student beginning the hardships of education, its load is the equivalent of the meaning of the saint's name – *christoforos*. Hence, every person serving Christ by learning continuously carries the load of their destiny as St. Christopher. The reward is the awareness of fulfilling God's will as well as the knowledge that brings various opportunities in life.

The topic of the miniature, definitely based on the Syrian legend as well as Western and national art traditions and enriched with elements of Sarmatian religiousness, proves that the author, similarly to his predecessors, did not limit himself to imitation, but freely transformed popular motifs and depictions. Thanks to this, he became a part of the Kraków's miniature art school, while university metrics funded by Zdziewoj-ski remain an important and significant element of it.

¹⁵⁴ Scenes from the life of St. Christopher in the Western art show mainly his martyrdom, extended in 13th–14th century with legends of a man carrying Christ, creating series of miniatures (as in the famous *Legendarium* from the 14th century, currently in Morgan Library in New York).

¹⁵⁵ See *Krzysztof...*, p. 5.

After a centuries-long sin of failing to study the accomplishments and legacy of Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski of Łask, we should pay our debt of gratitude to this eminent son of the Łask area and repeat after St. Augustine: “it is God’s will that commands me to do no other thing but open a book and read...” The bibliography of works and publications from the last fifteen years – in the author’s opinion – should allow at least a partial understanding of the phenomenon of this unjustly forgotten man – priest, preacher, poet, bibliophile, donator, patron and constructor of temples, who left a permanent mark of his life and work to the later generations in line with the maxim: *Frustra vivit, qui nemini prodest.*

Translated by Jacek Smycz

SUMMARY

The collections of the Jagiellonian Library contain valuable, lavishly painted manuscripts, commissioned in the middle of the 17th century by father Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski of Łask (1609 – around 1685), an extraordinary person unjustly forgotten by the subsequent generations. He was one of the luminaries of his time. The lower classes of the Kraków society appreciated him above all for his oratory skills. He was known as an excellent preacher who gave his sermons in the churches of St. Mary and St. John. He supported students and provided them with scholarships. He was also concerned about the future of the University, to which he donated capital funds. The little known *Libri promotionum* and *Libri diligentiarum* are the most significant of his donations surviving to our times.

KEYWORDS:

Zdziewojski Grzegorz Jan z Łasku, Jagiellonian University, Polish illuminated manuscripts, bibliophilia, patronage, classical culture, Polish panegyric poetry

KSIĘGI *PROMOTIONUM* I *DILIGENTIARUM* Z DONATYWY KS. GRZEGORZA JANA ZDZIEWOJSKIEGO Z ŁASKU (1609–OK. 1685) W ZBIORACH BIBLIOTEKI I UNIWERSYTETU JAGIELLOŃSKIEGO

STRESZCZENIE

W zbiorach Biblioteki i Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego zachowały się bogato zdobione dekoracjami malarskimi cenne księgi rękopiśmienne. W połowie XVII wieku ufundował je ks. Grzegorz Jan Zdziewojski z Łasku (1609–ok. 1685) – postać wyjątkowa, niesłusznie zapomniana przez kolejne pokolenia. Należał on do świątłych umysłów epoki. Wśród plebejskich warstw Krakowa ceniono przede wszystkim jego talent krasomówczy. Uchodził

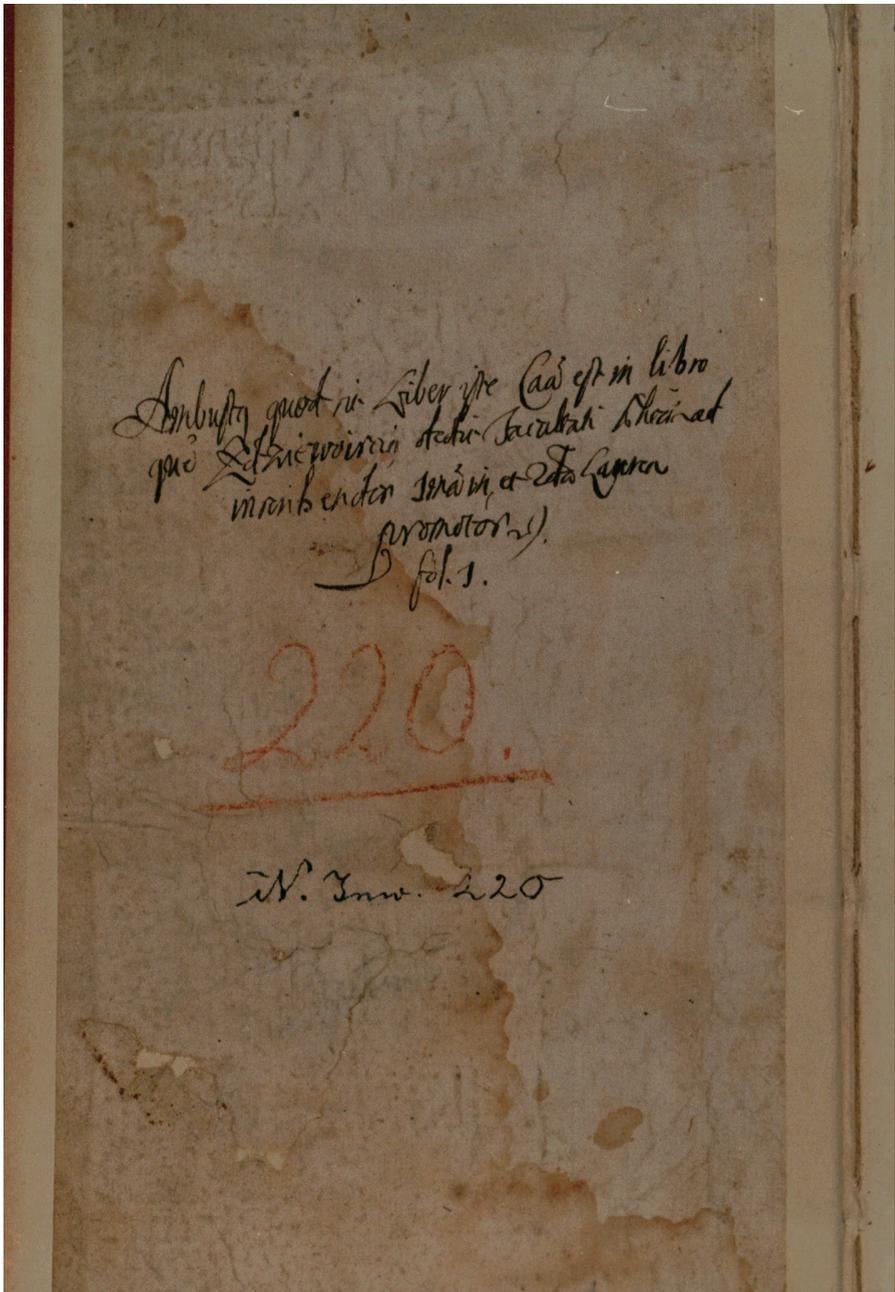
za znakomitego kaznodzieję, głoszącego kazania w kościele Mariackim, jak i u św. Jana. Wspierał materialnie uczącą się młodzież, dla której fundował stypendia. Łożył przy tym koszt na ubranie i wyżywienie najuboższych studentów. Wykazywał także żywą troskę o los Alma Mater zapisując na jej rzecz fundacje kapitałowe. Najcenniejszą darowizną, jaka pozostała po nim do dziś, są mało znane *Libri promotionum* i *Libri diligentiarum*.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

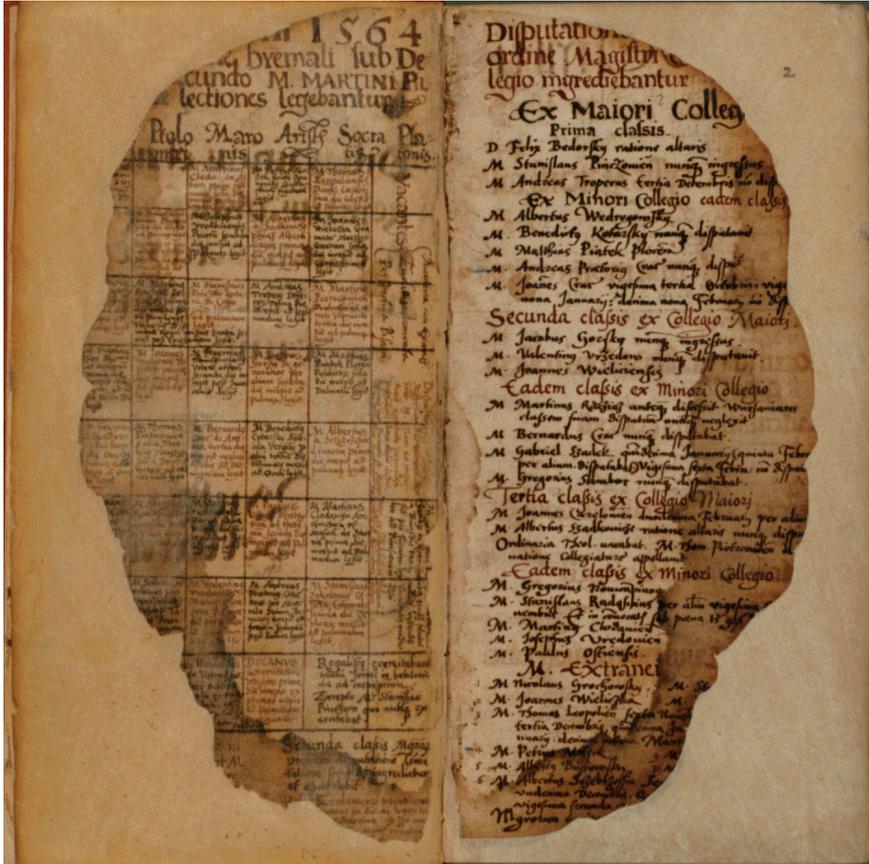
Zdziewojcki Grzegorz Jan z Łasku, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, rękopisy iluminowane polskie, bibliofilstwo, mecenas, kultura klasyczna, panegiryk polski



Photography 1. The title page of *Liber diligentiarum*. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



Photography 2. The insert of the upper binding of *Liber diligentiarum*, along with the donation inscription. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



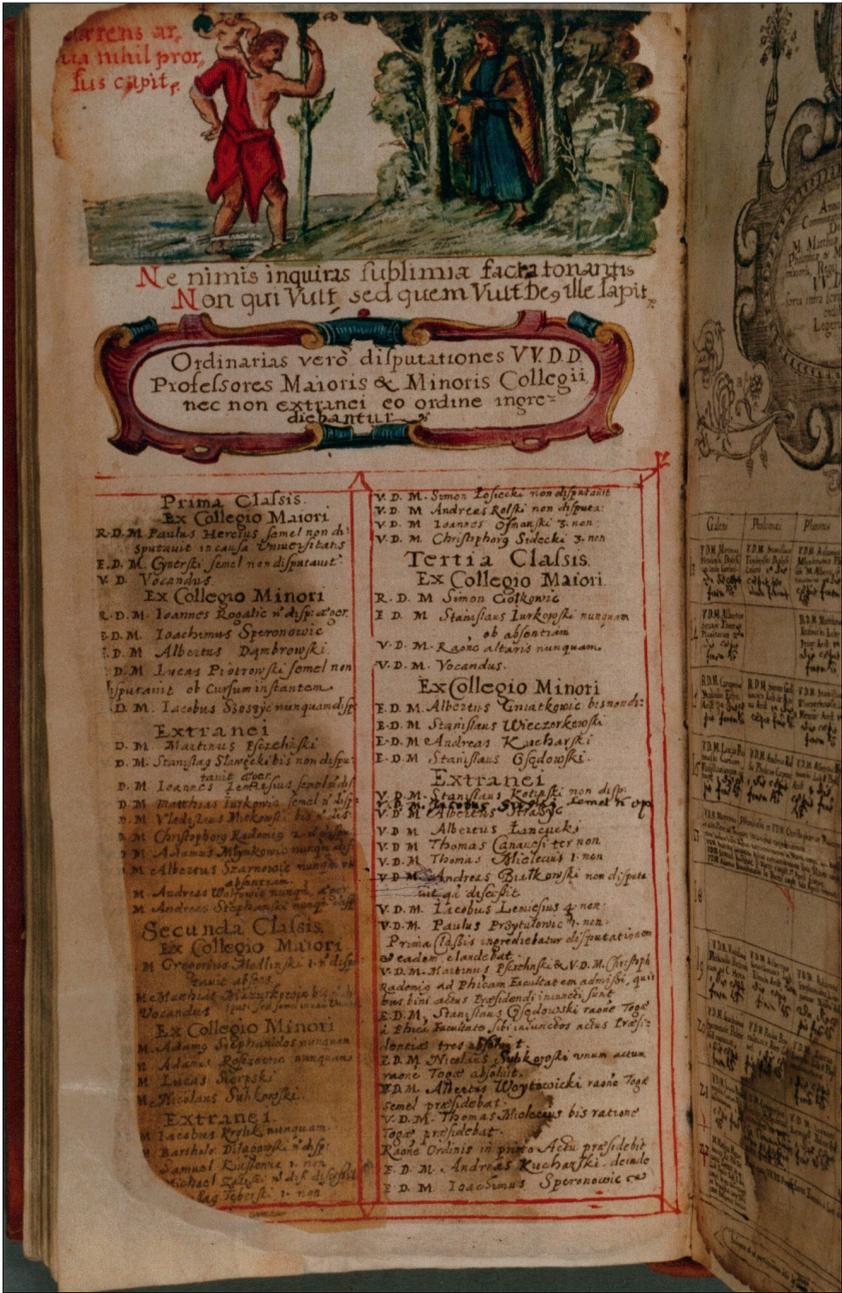
Photography 3. Pages of *Liber diligentiarum* with the first record of classes and disputes, year 1564. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



Photography 4. Pages of *Liber diligentiarum*. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



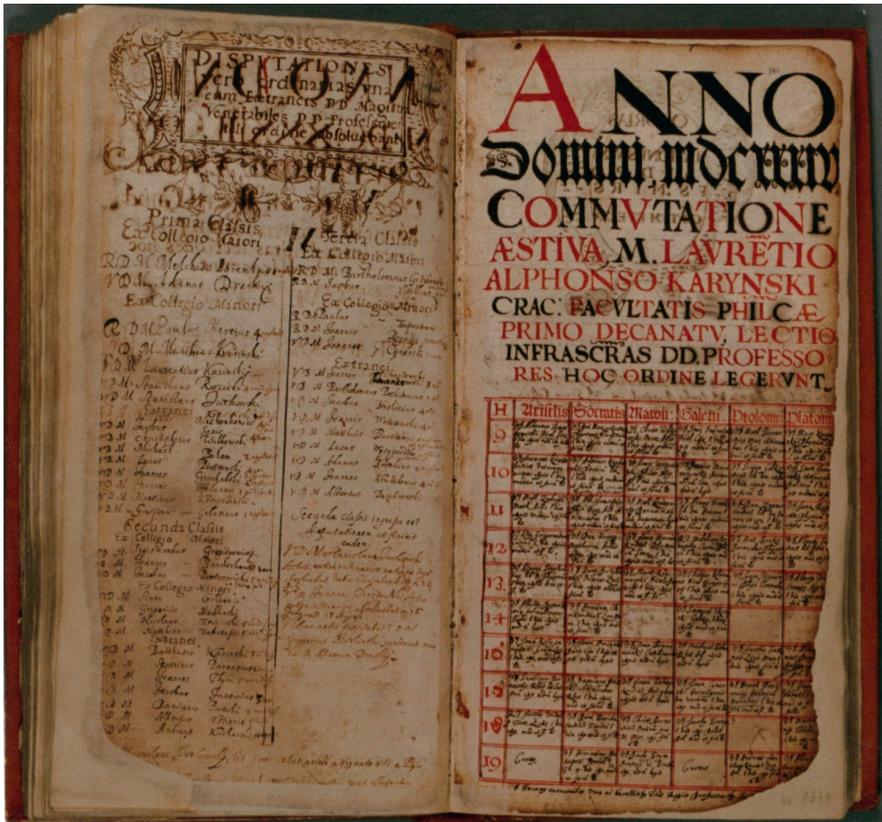
Photography 5. Pages of *Liber diligentiarum*. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



Photography 6. Pages of *Liber diligentiarum*. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



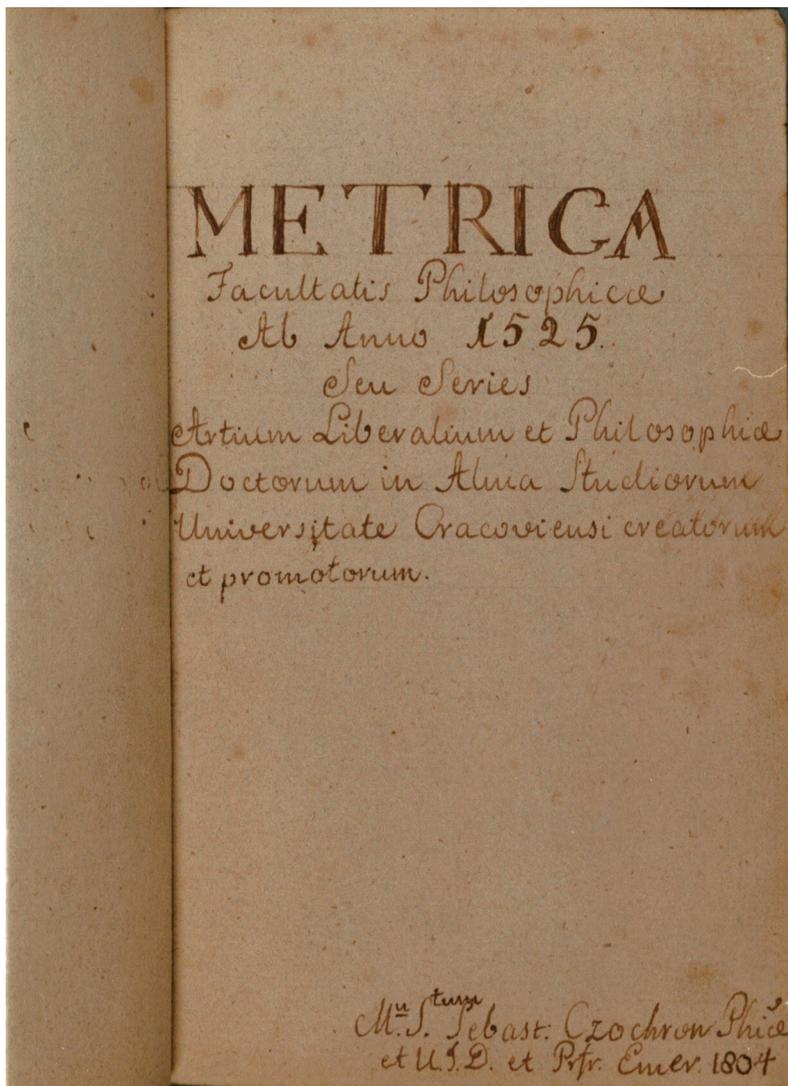
Photography 7. Pages of *Liber diligentiarum*. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



Photography 8. Pages of *Liber diligentiarum*. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



Photography 9. Pages of *Liber diligentiarum*. Jagiellonian Library, MS 220.



Photography 11. The pretitle page of the manuscript by Father Sebastian Czochron, *Metrica facultatis philosophicae ab a. 1525* [...]. Jagiellonian Library, MS 3316.

METRICA

Facultatis Philosophicae
Ab Anno 1657.

Seu Series
Artium Liberalium et Philosophiae
Baccalaureorum diversis tempori-
bus in Universitate Studiorum
Cracoviensi creatorum, ex Libro
per M. Gregorium Idziowoycki
à Lasko, Phil. M. S. D. Preposi-
tum S. Nicolai, Parochum Pi-
sarzoviensem comparato

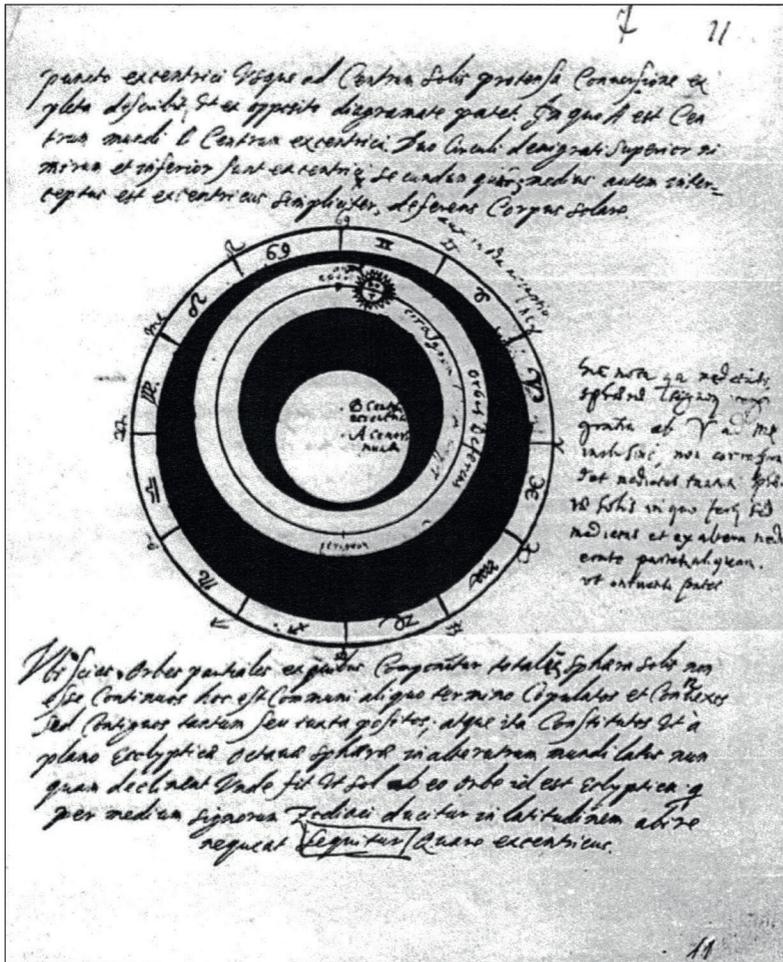
Deprompta.

Per M. Sebastianum Czochron

Anno 1894.

Manu scriptum Sebast: Czochron
Consulis Posnaniensis filii M. S. D.
Can. Cathedr. Smoleni Prepositi
Libericarius Univ. Argem. Membri.

Photography 12. The title page of the manuscript by Father Sebastian Czochron, *Metrica facultatis philosophicae ab a. 1657* [...]. Jagiellonian Library, MS 3316.



Photography 14. The page containing notes of Father G. J. Zdziewojski from astronomy lectures, 1637–1638. Ossolineum Library, MS 85, p. 11.

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THE STATE OF PRESERVATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS DONATED TO THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY BY THE HOUSE OF SANGUSZKO

Collections that used to belong to aristocratic families often have the character of national heritage and unique scientific material. They usually also have tremendous material value – some of them are almost priceless and are rightly counted among the treasures of the Polish nation. Family libraries were and continue to be private libraries, owned by one family who allocates funds for maintaining and multiplying their collection. These libraries were often combined with museum archives and collections; besides books published after World War II, they used to include Polish and foreign literary heritage: manuscripts, incunabula and other prints. The collection of the Sanguszko Dukes is an example of such a library resource.

The Polish family of duke Lubartowicz-Sanguszko was in the possession of Tarnów and several family residences, among others, Biały Kowel, Lubartów, Sławuta, Gumniska, and Podhorce.¹ The history of the Sanguszko book collection dates back to the 17th century when Szymon Samuel Sanguszko founded a small library in the residence in Biały Kowel (now in Belarus). The collection, which got dispersed in time, was rebuilt and developed by Klementyna Sanguszkowa, who lived in 1780–1852. Contributing to its significant multiplication, she initiated the history of the library and archive of the Sanguszko Dukes. The fate of this collection was very turbulent, as it was described in detail by Jolanta Marszałska.²

¹ K. Bańburski, *Początki rodu XX. Sanguszków i kształtowanie tej ich magnackiej fortuny*, [in:] *Sanguszkowie. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. i d e m, Tarnów 1989.

² J. Marszałska, *Biblioteka i archiwum Sanguszków. Zarys dziejów*, Tarnów 2000.

The Sanguszko Library largely survived World War II, but it ceased to exist as a whole after 1945 as a result of significant dispersion and division. It was handed over to the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (1337 volumes of old prints, 33 manuscripts, one incunabulum), the Silesian Library in Katowice received 850 volumes, and the Tarnów Municipal Public Library obtained 513 volumes of old prints, about 2500 volumes of 19th and 20th century prints, 64 maps and atlases, 253 volumes of music (including 77 musical manuscripts), 68 manuscripts and 76 other documents referred to as *varia*. A large part of the archival documents of the House of Sanguszko is now located in the Wawel archives and only a small part is kept in Tarnów.³

In 2000, the Jagiellonian Library was approached by an attorney representing duke Paweł Sanguszko and his wife duchess Klaudia and presented the request of his principals to create a list of the books from the collection from their former family library, as well as to draft a deposit agreement with the Library. During negotiations which went on until the year 2002, the director of the Jagiellonian Library at the time, prof. Krzysztof Zamorski, emphasized that the Jagiellonian Library had preserved this collection for many years and treated it as the highest national cultural asset. The result of these negotiations was the signing of a donation act and a deposit agreement with the Sanguszkos. As a donation, the Jagiellonian Library received a total of 1837 volumes, which were already in its collection and came from Gumniska. The deposit agreement covered a period of five years with the option of its termination by the Sanguszkos. Pursuant to the negotiated provisions, the Jagiellonian Library undertook to carry out conservation of the books handed over to them and to keep owners informed on every case of making them available. Together with the book collection, manuscripts belonging to the House of Sanguszko were also handed over: some as a gift, some as a deposit.⁴

Among the manuscripts that were donated to the Jagiellonian Library, there are 13 bound notebooks and 7 folders with loose cards, a total of 19 inventory units (1 notebook and 1 folder have a common reference number). Fifteen of them come from the 19th century but there are also original manuscripts from the late 16th century⁵ as well as from the 17th and 18th centuries. All manuscripts found their way to the shelves of the Jagiellonian Library in 1956 and they were donated to the Library in

³ Ibidem, pp. 151–153.

⁴ Z. Pietrzyk, *Książęcy gest. Sprawy zbiorów zabezpieczonych po drugiej wojnie światowej w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, [in:] *Własność a dobra kultury*, eds. G. Czubek, P. Kosiewski, Warszawa 2006, pp. 109–111.

⁵ E.g. *Annalium rerum Polonicarum ex Joanne Longino summarie collectorum liber*. Compendium of *Roczniki* by Jan Długosz, created at the end of the 16th century, originating from the library in Gumniska (leather binding with gold-plated stampings and the inscription: *Annalium Rer. Polon. Ioanne Longino*, Jagiellonian Library [hereinafter: BJ], MS Przyb. 82/56).

2002. The thematic scope of the manuscripts is broad – there are poems and plays, historical accounts, student notes and a diary, as well as book registers (collections in Lubartów, Gumniska, Podhorce, and Lubomirski Castle).

When working with manuscripts, the degree of legibility of the handwriting is a very important parameter (especially for those dealing with manuscripts for the first time). Reading some of the manuscripts donated by the House of Sanguszko can be difficult for researchers who have only infrequent contact with manuscripts. Difficulties may be caused, above all, by the language (where it is other than Polish), faded ink, small letters, partial damage to the text, blurred or skewed outlines of letters, as well as letters being too tightly inscribed, which causes illegibility. The author found the following three manuscripts most difficult to read: *Lectures of Roman law*, recorded in 1854–1855, *Archives and Library of the Podhorecki Castle [...]* and *Diary of Aniela, née Bnińska [...]*.

The analysis of the library cards of the discussed items shows that the manuscript containing memories of Aniela née Bnińska was microfilmed by the Department of Microfilming of the National Library in October 1981, the manuscript containing accounts from Poland of the Venetian MP Pietro Duodo was fully scanned in September 2015 as an additional material under the project “Romanesque manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library,” and a 16th-century manuscript constituting a compendium of *Roczniki* by Jan Długosz was shown on the Polish Television program (filmed in July 2002). Some manuscripts are still waiting for interested researchers – no user has read them yet (e.g. *Forteca duchowna Królestwa Polskiego [...]* or the above-mentioned manuscript with the account of MP Pietro Duodo), while the most often read manuscript is *Satyry* by Rev. Franciszek Zabłocki.

The condition of the studied manuscripts was evaluated by descriptive method. The description was made according to the following parameters: bibliographic data (title, shelfmark, period of creation), type of binding (hard, soft, missing) and type of paper (hand-made, machine-made), damage to the binding (dirt, defects, deformation, damage to the connection of the block with the binding, and other), paper (dirt, yellowing, holes, stains, and other) and manuscript block (if it was bound in the form of a codex or only stapled), ink features (colour, presence of ink pits, ink fading), as well as general observations about the state of the binding, paper or the whole manuscript.

To summarize descriptive data and transform it into easier-to-use figures, a 5-point scale of assessing the condition of the item was used:

1. Plus-good condition: no noticeable damage, possibly very slight damage not affecting the use of the manuscript;
2. Good condition: one or two noticeable large areas of damage, the rest – slight damage not affecting the use of the manuscript;
3. Minus good condition: three or four noticeable damage areas that are obvious but do not affect the use of the manuscript;

4. Average condition: a set of noticeable damage areas to a medium or large extent, limiting the use of the manuscript which, in the event of making it available to readers, might lead to the deterioration of its condition;
5. Minus average condition: damage areas significantly limiting the use of the manuscript and indicating the need to stop its availability and subject the manuscript to conservation procedures.

This scale can be extended down by further degrees (for example, bad and very bad condition), but none of the examined manuscripts is in a poor condition.

From the characteristics and general remarks on the state of preservation, it seems that in the case of 6 out of 19 manuscripts the binding is missing, 11 are in hardback (stable linings and binding material), and 2 are in softback (paper). In addition, all loose materials were placed in acid-free folders, and some binders were covered with thick acid-free paper. Most of the manuscripts come from the 19th century, when mass production of paper from wood pulp began, and such paper occurs in more than half of the manuscripts (11). Moreover, the handmade paper of the manuscript *Elenchus librorum celsissimi principis Josephi Sanguszko [...]* has a filigree, and the paper of the manuscript *Litania o św. Piotrze Apostole* [Litany on st. Peter Apostle] [...] is decorated with a monogram of the Jeziorna paper mill. For the manuscript of *Wykłady prawa rzymskiego w latach 1854–1855* [Lectures of Roman Law in the years 1854–1855], the condition of the ink was not assessed because the notes were made in pencil. Between the pages of the manuscript *Śmierć Abła. Trajedyja w trzech aktach [...]* [Death of Abel. Tragedy in three acts], there was a large collection of dried plants, which is now stored in an envelope attached to the manuscript.

The most common damages to manuscript bindings are of the area where the block connects to the binding (5 cases) or old repairs of the binding which have become ineffective (3 cases). In addition, there was foxing and stains of lining paper, back defects, and defects resulting from insect feeding. The condition of the manuscript block was evaluated only in the case of stable sewing of pages, with significant loosening in 4 cases, and mechanical damage in 3 cases. Sewing damage has resulted in loose cards in bound manuscripts (4 cases).

The paper of the manuscripts is characterized by varying degrees of yellowness: from slightly yellowed to significantly yellowed (17 cases in total). Yellowing also applies to handmade paper, primarily due to various physical and chemical factors and the effects of light. Yellowing of wood pulp paper is mainly caused by its acidification, which is also associated with its fragility (3 cases). The Sanguszko manuscripts also show different levels of soiling (11 cases); 3 items are stained with visible stains, and 2 items have streaking stains. In addition, when assessing the condition of paper in individual cases, defects and deformations of page surface, foxing spots, jagged edges, mechanical damage, former repairs (filling the defects with tissue paper), defects resulting from insect feeding and the remains of the feeding were noted.

Ink pitting on paper as well as cases of ink fading are a common problem found in manuscripts. In the studied collection, large and medium-scale ink pitting was noted (the ink penetrating the card almost completely and clearly visible on the reverse side) in 6 cases; in 7 it occurs to a small degree. The ink has significantly faded in 5 items.

According to the data obtained during the assessment of the condition of Sanguszko manuscripts donated to the Jagiellonian Library, they were assigned categories of conservation status according to the scale adopted above and presented in the table below.

No.	Description of the title from the catalogue card	Shelf-mark	Period of creation	Number of pages	Condition
1	Kompendium Roczników Jana Długosza Compedium of the Annals by Jan Długosz	Przyb. 82/56	The end of the 16 th century	81	minus average
2	Relacje z Polski posła weneckiego Pietro Duodo (1598) i nuncjusza apostolskiego Girolamo Lippomano (1575) Accounts from Poland of the Venetian envoy Pietro Duodo (1598) and Girolamo Lipmano (1575)	Przyb. 83/56	Copies from the 19 th century	104	plus good
3	Piotr Hyacynt Pruszczy, <i>Forteca duchowna Królestwa Polskiego [...]</i>	Przyb. 84/56	Manuscript copy of print from 1662	279	average
4	Satyry Franciszka Księdza Zabłockiego Satires of Rev. Franciszek Zabłocki	Przyb. 85/56	19 th century	82	average
5	Śmierć Abła. Trajedyia w trzech Aktach wierszem napisana po Francusku przez P. Le Gouve, z Poematu Niemieckiego p. Gesnera a przełożona na Język Polski przez P.A. Dmuszewskiego roku 1803-go Death of Abel. Tragedy in Three Acts	Przyb. 86/56	19 th century	40	average
6	Jan III ^{ci} pod Żurawnem. Wspominek dramatyczny z lat ubiegłych w 3 ^{ch} aktach napisał wierszem Wład[ysław] Lud[wik] Anczyc John III rd in Żurawno. Dramatised memoirs in verse by Wład[ysław] Lud[wik] Anczyc	Przyb. 87/56	1857	64	good

7	<p>Wyrok śmierci przez zagłodzenie wydany przez X. Dunajewskiego Biskupa krakowskiego w dniu 4 sierpnia, w poniedziałek, r. 1879, w drugim miesiącu jego biskupstwa, na Wojciecha Eljasza [historia sporu W. Eljasza z prof. Władysławem Łuszczkiewiczem]</p> <p>The story of disagreement between Wojciesz Eljasz and prof. Władysław Łuszczkiewicz</p>	Przyb. 88/56	Autograph, 19 th century	42	average
8	<p>Elenchus librorum Celsissimi Principis Josephi Sanguszko Mareschalici Magni M.D.L., qui In Bibliotheca Lubartovienensi visuntur, collectus anno 1775 Per Marianum Cajetanum Kadłubiski, Protonotarium Apostolicum, Canonicum Cathedralem Livoniae</p>	Przyb. 89/56	18 th century	129	average
9	<p>Spis książek Biblioteki Gumniskiej</p> <p>Book inventory of Gumnisko Library</p>	Przyb. 90/56	1893	73	good
10	J.U. Niemcewicz, Zofia Zamoyska, Paryż 1837	Przyb. 93/56	Copy of the print from the 19 th century	16	minus good
11	<p>Regestr Xiąg roznych w Bibliotece Lubomskiej Będących spisany Dnia 7 aprilis Roku 1724; Rejestr ksiąg przy stronie od komina złożonych w Bibliotece Zamku Lubomlskiego na Gorze d. 28 Marca 1724 A[nn]° spisany; Regestr Roznych Manuscriptow</p> <p>Inventory of books from Luboml library from March 28, 1724</p>	Przyb. 98/56	18 th century	12	minus average
12	<p>Spis książek biblioteki Sanguszków w Podhorcach</p> <p>Inventory of books from Podhorce library of Sanguszkos</p>	Przyb. 99/56	Beginning of the 19 th century	29	average
13	<p>Archiwum i Biblioteka zamku Podhoreckiego spisane R[oku] P[zańskiego] 1879, [od] dnia 8^o Listopada, przez burgrabiego Antoniego Kryczyńskiego</p> <p>Archives and Library of the Podhorecki Castle, written on November 8, 1879 by the burgrave Antoni Kryczyński</p>	Przyb. 100/56	19 th century	345	minus average

14	Wiersze satyryczne na sejm galicyjski z 1837 roku Satirical poems for the seym of Galicia, 1837	Przyb. 101/56	19 th century	12	average
15	Maciej Galasiewicz, <i>Pożegnanie teatru polskiego</i>	Przyb. 102/56	19 th century	9	minus good
16	Aleksander Ładnowski, <i>Rzecz Pospolita Babińska. Komedia Narodowa w 3th Aktach</i> oryginalnie napisana przez A. Ł.	Przyb. 103/56	1853	40	minus average
17	Droit Romain Mr Machelmel – wykłady prawa rzymskiego notowane w latach 1854–1855 Lectures on Roman law noted in 1854–1855	Przyb. 106/56	19 th century	150	good
18	Litania o S[w]. Piotrze Apostole z modlitwami przez Jędrzeja Benedykta Kłagiewicza Biskupa Wileńskiego Litany on St. Peter Apostle with prayers by Jędrzej Benedykt Kłagiewicz, the Vilnius Bishop	Przyb. 121/56	19 th century	16	average
19	Pamiętnik Anieli z Bnińskich, wdowy po generale Hilarym Łodzian Baranowskim Memoirs of Aniela née Binińska, the widow of General Hilary Łodzian Baranowski	9148 I ⁶	1868–1869	190	good

Summing up the presented data, it should be stated that the classification of 19 items within individual categories is as follows:

- category 1 (plus good): 1 manuscript;
- category 2 (good): 4 manuscripts;
- category 3 (minus good): 2 manuscripts;
- category 4 (average): 8 manuscripts;
- category 5 (minus average): 4 manuscripts.

7 manuscripts out of the entire collection are in a generally good condition, allowing access and use, and 4 manuscripts require scheduled maintenance.

It is also worth recalling that under the contract with the Sanguszko family, the Jagiellonian Library keeps a deposit⁷ of 12 manuscripts, which may also be of interest to researchers of various disciplines:

⁶ The shelfmark on the catalogue card is Przyb.122/56.

⁷ BJ, MSS Przyb. 91–92/56, Przyb. 94–97/56, Przyb. 104–105/56, Przyb. 107/56, Przyb. 118–120/56.

No.	Description of the title from the catalogue card	Shelf-mark
1.	Elegant Extracts in Poetry. Wybór wierszy angielskich z XIX wieku Elegant Extracts in Poetry. A selection of 19 th century English poems	Przyb. 91/56
2.	Wielce interesowne dla każdego gospodarza wiejskiego i ekonomisty tłumaczenie o nawozie rolnym z Piotra Jauffreta. Tłumaczenie z języka niemieckiego przez J. Nowakowskiego w 1853 roku, z dedykacją autora dla ks. Sanguszki Wielce interesowne dla każdego gospodarza wiejskiego i ekonomisty tłumaczenie o nawozie rolnym z Piotra Jauffreta. Translation from German by J. Nowakowski in 1853 roku, with an inscription to duke Sanguszko. (A translation of the work by Pierre Jauffret on agricultural fertilisers, most interesting to each rural farmer and economist)	Przyb. 92/56
3.	Dziennik Pawła Sanguszki z lat 1846–1851 (przeważnie dziennik podróży do Niemiec, Belgii, Francji, Anglii) The diary of Paweł Sanguszko from the years 1846–1851 (mainly from his travels to Germany, Belgium, France and England)	Przyb. 94/56
4.	Dalszy ciąg dziennika Eustachego Sanguszki z lat 1853–1859 The continuation of the diary of Eustachy Sanguszko from the years 1853–1859	Przyb. 95/56
5.	Dziennik Heleny Sanguszko z lat 1848–1849. Journal d’Helene Sanguszko, Paris 1848 The diary of Helena Sanguszko from the years 1848–1849. Journal d’Helene Sanguszko, Paris 1848	Przyb. 96/56
6.	Geografia krajów polskich ułożona w r. 1862 Geography of the Polish lands composed in 1862	Przyb. 97/56
7.	Podręcznik szkolny w języku francuskim do nauczania różnych dziedzin wiedzy (czas powstania: XIX wiek) School textbook in different subjects, in French (written in the 19 th century)	Przyb. 104/56
8.	Connaissance[!] de la mythologie (czas powstania: XIX wiek) Connaissance[!] de la mythologie (written in the 19 th century)	Przyb. 105/56
9.	Lea Lodge, zeszyt szkolny w języku włoskim z 1838 roku Lea Lodge, school copy book in Italian from 1838	Przyb. 107/56

10.	Książka postępu w naukach i zachowania się dla Pawełka. Gumniska 1844 i 1845 – Świadectwa postępu w naukach Pawła Sanguszki Book of educational progress and behaviour of Pawełek, Gumniska 1844 and 1845 – Certificates of education of Paweł Sanguszko	Przyb. 118/56
11.	Katechizm w pytaniach i odpowiedziach. Catéchisme ou abrégé de la foi (czas powstania: XIX wiek) Catechism – questions and answers. Catechisme ou abrege de la foi (from the 19 th century)	Przyb. 119/56
12.	Nauki chrześcijańskie. Katechizm dla dzieci w pytaniach i odpowiedziach. Podręcznik [należący do Sanguszków] z XIX wieku Christian teachings. Catechism for children, questions and answers. School book [belonging to the Sanguszkos] from the 19th century	Przyb. 120/56

Translated by Anna Sekułowicz

SUMMARY

The book collection of the House of Sanguszko – which is one of the most famous Polish noble families, having a distinguished record of service to the Polish State – is one of Poland's national cultural treasures. Their private library and archive have had a very turbulent history. After World War II the collection was dispersed and some of it found its way to the Jagiellonian Library. It was not until 2002, however, that part of the collection (including manuscripts, incunabula and other old prints) formally became the property of the Library following the signing of an agreement between the Library and the Sanguszko family.

The Jagiellonian Library has accepted the donation of nineteen inventory units of manuscripts, whose state of preservation has been analysed using the descriptive method. This article presents bibliographical information concerning each of these manuscripts, i.e. the kind of binding (if any) and paper, the kind and degree of damage to the binding, paper and the body of the manuscript, as well as the characteristics of the ink. All the manuscripts have been divided into five categories, according to their state of preservation. A general evaluation of their condition has shown that seven of the manuscripts can be made available to readers, while four require restoration and conservation.

KEYWORDS:

the House of Sanguszko, manuscripts, evaluation of the state of preservation, private libraries, family libraries

STAN ZACHOWANIA RĘKOPISÓW PODAROWANYCH BIBLIOTECIE JAGIELLOŃSKIEJ PRZEZ KSIĄŻĄT SANGUSZKÓW

STRESZCZENIE

Zbiory rodziny Sanguszków stanowią narodowe dobro kultury. Polski magnacki ród książąt Lubartowiczów-Sanguszków jest jednym z najbardziej znanych i zasłużonych dla polskiej kultury rodów. Losy biblioteki i archiwum książąt Sanguszków były bardzo burzliwe. Po II wojnie światowej zbiory uległy rozproszeniu – część z nich trafiła do Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Dopiero na mocy umowy z 2002 roku pomiędzy Biblioteką Jagiellońską a rodziną Sanguszków część zbiorów (w tym rękopisy, inkunabuły i inne druki) stała się własnością Biblioteki. Biblioteka Jagiellońska przyjęła w darze 19 jednostek inwentarzowych rękopisów, których stan zachowania został zbadany metodą opisową. W artykule przedstawiono dane bibliograficzne rękopisów, typ oprawy (gdy istnieje), papieru, rodzaj i stopień uszkodzeń opraw, papieru i bloku rękopisu, a także cechy atramentu. Według stanu zachowania rękopisy zostały podzielone na 5 kategorii. Z ogólnej oceny stanu zachowania wynika, że 7 rękopisów jest w stanie umożliwiającym ich udostępnianie i użytkowanie, natomiast 4 rękopisy wymagają planowych działań konserwatorskich.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Sanguszkowie, rękopisy, ocena stanu zachowania, biblioteki prywatne, biblioteki rodowe

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A PRESENT FROM BELOW THE EQUATOR.
A SNIPPET FROM THE MANUSCRIPT
OF ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT'S
JOURNAL FROM HIS TRIP TO AMERICA.
FROM THE COLLECTION OF RADOWITZ

Prussian Lieutenant General Joseph Maria von Radowitz (1795–1853) bequeathed one of the most important and extensive 19th century collections of autographs. Among nearly 13 thousand of items, there are manuscripts of ca. 5500 people who represent all areas of science and culture in the span of four centuries.¹ The Radowitz Collection – part of the autograph collection from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin² – contains a significant group of manuscripts related to Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859).³ This is where a largely unknown fragment of a hand-

¹ H. D ö h n, *Die Sammlung Autographa der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Autographenkatalog* (CD-ROM), Berlin 2005, p. 13.

² On the transfer of the Radowitz Collection to the then Royal Library in Berlin in 1864 see Ch. W. H ü b n e r - T r a m s, *Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen Preussischen General-Lieutenant J. von Radowitz hinterlassenen Autographen-Sammlung*, Berlin 1864, vol. 1–3.

³ On the history of collections from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin held in Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (so-called „Berlinka”) see i.a. Z. P i e t r z y k, *Zbiory z byleż Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, “Alma Mater” 100, 2008, pp. 15–19, [online] <http://www2.almamater.uj.edu.pl/100/03.pdf> [accessed on: February 22, 2017].

written travel diary⁴ of a scientific expedition Humboldt made together with Aimé Bonpland to the American tropics in 1799–1804 is to be found.

A long time after his return from this expedition, Humboldt seems to have cut out this fragment from the travel diary and supplemented it with lengthy explanations on the margins. It is not clear how this manuscript ended up in the Radowitz Collection. Most likely, it was a gift from Humboldt himself since the preserved correspondence implies Radowitz used to receive numerous valuable autographs from Humboldt, i.a. letters directed to him from such eminent figures as François Arago, Jean Baptiste Boussingault, Michael Faraday, François-René de Chateaubriand, Carl Friedrich Gauß, William Herschel, and many others. One finds a letter from Heinrich Heine there, too, which Humboldt calls a *curiosum*.⁵

General Radowitz was a type of a private autograph collector that only appeared in the 19th century. Owing to his efforts and the efforts of the like individuals, it is the case today that libraries and literary archives possess many items that give evidence of that time. Obviously such collectors followed their own passions. Radowitz was among the very first to venture a theoretical reflection on his connoisseurship. In a book⁶ of 1852, he revealed that in expanding his collection he was driven by the form of the handwriting rather than the content of the items. He believed the form of the handwriting allowed one to infer the author's character.

The Radowitz collection was divided into sections (one of them being devoted to scientists), but it was not preserved in this manner eventually. In line with the 19th century archive practice, it was divided and included in a general Autograph Collection of the Royal Library in Berlin. During WWII, the collection along with other valuable possessions of the Library, renamed Prussian State Library, was evacuated from Berlin to Silesia. The evacuation included two other collections containing numerous Humboldt manuscripts, e.i. the extensive Karol August Varnhagen Collection and the so-called Alexander von Humboldt Legacy, which contains manuscripts of finished works and materials for them and which is the second biggest collection of Humboldt's records after the *Cosmos collectanea* kept in the State Library in Berlin. Recently, the Humboldt Legacy has been cataloged, digitalized, and made avail-

⁴ The first one to draw attention to this snippet in the Jagiellonian Library was Margot Faak in her notes to the edition of excerpts from the American expedition travelogues. See M. Faak, *Alexander von Humboldt – Reise auf dem Rio Magdalena, durch die Anden und Mexiko*, teil II: *Übersetzung, Anmerkung und Register*, Berlin 2003, p. 312. Besides, Ulrike Leitner points to this snippet in U. Leitner, *Alexander von Humboldt. Estancia en España y viaje americano*, eds. M. Cuesta Domingo, S. Rebok, Madrid 2008, pp. 163–176.

⁵ Kraków, Jagiellonian Library (BJ), two letters of A. von Humboldt to J. M. von Radowitz (one of 30.01.1850 and the other undated) from the Autograph Collection of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin, Humboldt Alexander von (accession numbers: Radowitz 6270 and 6273).

⁶ J. M. Radowitz, *Die Autographen-Sammlungen*, Berlin 1852.

able online owing to a mutual project of the State Library in Berlin and the Jagiellonian Library.⁷ The Varnhagen Collection, even more culturally significant as it is, awaits a detailed catalog now. The travel diary snippet that is being discussed here lets us infer the kind of precious discoveries to be made in the Autograph Collection.

The item is a manuscript *Sobre algunos puntos interesantes para la Navegacion, o extracto de las observaciones de longitud deducida de Eclipses del Sol y de la Luna de Satellites de Jupiter, distancias lunares y Chronometros en los annos de 1799–1803* written in Spanish.⁸ Originally it was a part of an exceptionally neat manuscript (presumably prepared for publication) in a notebook where Humboldt wrote his South and Central America expedition travelogue. It was only towards the end of his life that he ordered the individual notebooks in which he used to write his observations during the travel, to be bound. They were acquired in this form by Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz Foundation in 2013 and were subsequently examined, digitalized and made available online for the public.⁹ Since Humboldt paginated his diaries, we can accurately tell where the snippet comes from. It contains the pages 71–84 of the Fascicle VIII, which bears the title *Voyage de Lima à Guayaquil*.¹⁰ The content pertains to a presentation and discussion of diverse systems of determining geographical co-ordinates, chiefly longitude, of several central points in South and Central America and in the Greater Antilles.

At the beginning, Humboldt described older textual and cartographic sources that dealt with determining longitude of particular points – typical for the way the location of places in the New World was ascertained – and afterwards he made a critical comparison among them. At the same time he obviously discussed his own methods of determining longitude and gave advice on the instruments he utilized in his observations. The manuscript mentions two such instruments. One is “Chronometro n. 27 de Louis Berthoud,” which he received from Charles de Bordy prior to departure, and the other is a Peter Dollond telescope, which is otherwise hinted to as originating from “Observatoire de Marseille,” where Guillaume de Saint-Jacques de Silvabelle used it to do his “grand travail sur les eclipses des satellites de Jupiter.”¹¹ As regards measurement methods, the title clarifies, that in addition to the chronometric method Humboldt resorted primarily to observations of the eclipses of Jupiter moons.

⁷ See [online] <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication?id=374508&from=&dirids=1&tab=1&lp=1&QI> [accessed on: February 15, 2017] and <http://humboldt.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de> [accessed on: February 13, 2017].

⁸ BJ, Autograph Collection from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin, Humboldt Alexander von (accession number: Radowitz 6258).

⁹ See [online] <http://humboldt.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/> [accessed on: February 12, 2017].

¹⁰ See [online] <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001527B00000000> [accessed on: February 14, 2017].

¹¹ Berlin, State Library IIIA, Nachl. Alexander von Humboldt, box 2, file 4, No. 11, f. 1v.

More details of the origin and history of the snippet is to be gleaned from margin notes made in French, which – judging by the color of the ink and the style of handwriting – were added much later. At the top right corner of the first page Humboldt wrote:

J'ai composé ce Mémoire à Lima dans l'idée de l'envoyer par Dⁿ Thomas Ugarte à Mr Espinosa à Madrid. Je n'ai pas pu profiter de la Frégate la Rufina et je l'ai rédigé dans la Navigation de Guayaquil à Acapulco au Sud de l'Equateur. Je l'ai refondu et envoyé enfin par Mr. Dⁿ Manuel Espinosa du Mexique à Madrid.

According to this remark, Humboldt intended to send the manuscript from South America to José Espinosa y Tello (1763–1815), then the head of the Depósito Hidrográfico in Madrid. Humboldt met this former participant of the scientific expedition of Alessandro Malaspina to the Pacific in Madrid in 1799, shortly before setting out for South America. He was presented with a catalog of geographical coordinates of different places in the New World by him, which Humboldt acknowledged in an asterisked footnote on the margin of the first page. Humboldt's own measurements and calculations diverged by far from Espinosa's data and the maps of the Depósito Hidrográfico.¹² Naturally, he wanted to break the news of the latest longitudinal data to Espinosa and thus bring about creation of more accurate maps of the New World. One may also surmise that he wished to demonstrate the accuracy of his own measurements.

Humboldt was unable to dispatch the manuscript from South America, however. As a result, he had a chance to make corrections during the voyage to New Spain while still in the Southern hemisphere, as he explicitly wrote. After arriving in Mexico City, he supplemented the last page with the longitudinal data of this place, which were determined on the basis of astronomical observations. He wrote about it to Jean-Baptiste Joseph Delambre on July 29, 1803 and added that Espinosa's data used for the latest maps of Depósito Hidrográfico were 2 degrees off.¹³

The manuscript was never sent to Espinosa to Madrid. Humboldt made a new summary in Mexico, which was subsequently dispatched to José Espinosa by the courtesy of his brother Manuel. This manuscript has also been preserved and is currently kept in the Archives of the Marine Museum (Archivo del Museo Naval) in Madrid.¹⁴ Interestingly, it is not a Humboldt autograph; it was written by the hand of his travel-

¹² U. L e i t n e r, *Alexander von Humboldt – Von Mexiko-Stadt nach Veracruz. Tagebuch*, Berlin 2005, p. 19.

¹³ Letter from A. von Humboldt to J. B. J. Delambre, México 29.07.1803, [in:] U. M o h e i t, *Alexander von Humboldt – Briefe aus Amerika 1799–1804*, Berlin 1993, p. 244.

¹⁴ Madrid, Archivo del Museo Naval 0101 Ms. 0096. A transcript of the document see U. M o h e i t, op. cit., pp. 253–259. Moheit believes the document was addressed to José Espinosa's brother Manuel.

ling companion Aimé Bonpland.¹⁵ Museo Naval possesses two further Humboldt's letters to José Espinosa where he also mentioned new findings about longitudes. The last letter was written on April 25, 1804 from Havana and explained reasons why he had written many times about the same findings. As it was only very erratically that he was receiving replies to his letters during the expedition, he did not know whether his collections and correspondence had actually reached Europe. He said:

Depuis mon départ d'Europe en 1799 j'ai osé Vous adresser plusieurs lettres en Vous communiquant des observations de Longitudes, surtout des Satellites de Jupiter et des distances lunaires que je pensais Vous être intéressantes même après la récolte que Vous avez faites Vous même sur les Lieux [...]. Peut-être que ces lettres ont eu la sort de tant d'autres que j'ai adressé à Madrid et à Paris et qu'elles ne Vous sont pas parvenues.¹⁶

Since Humboldt had no way of being certain he would return to Europe alive, he repeated the same findings time and again in different letters of the same content. Thus he was increasing the probability of his efforts not being made in vain even in case of a personal misfortune to him.

The manuscript that is the focus of this paper came to Europe from the expedition together with Bonpland, Humboldt, specimen collections, and journals on August 3, 1804 and was kept among various notes from the travel. Some remarks on the margins and cross-references on further pages of the travelogue show that these notes were further elaborated on and utilized. In fact, later publications contain advice on the use of the longitudinal data given in the manuscript and information on the instruments and measurement methods Humboldt described. It appears that one of the first such publications was not to be a work by Humboldt himself but of his colleague Jabbo Oltmanns (1783–1833), who organized almost all astronomical-geographical measurements of Humboldt and obviously got the original notes from him. In his 1806 treatise *Über die geographische Lage von Mexico und Acapulco*,¹⁷ Oltmanns said Humboldt determined the longitude of Mexico City by three observations of the Jupiter moons through a telescope of “300 magnitude.”¹⁸ Barring Hum-

¹⁵ Humboldt availed himself of Bonpland's assistance in making copies of other texts as well. The manuscript *Essai sur la géographie des plantes*, authored by Humboldt and kept in Musée Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris now, is a copy made in Bonpland's hand with corrections and additions in Humboldt's hand. See B. S a v o y, D. B l a n k e n s t e i n, *Les frères Humboldt, l'Europe de l'Esprit*, Paris 2014, p. 135.

¹⁶ Letter from A. von Humboldt to J. B. J. Delambre, Mexico, 29.07.1803, [in:] U. M o h e i t, op. cit., p. 286.

¹⁷ J. O l t m a n n s, *Über die geographische Lage von Mexico und Acapulco; nach den von Herrn von Humboldt im Königreiche Neu-Spanien angestellten astronomischen Beobachtungen*, [in:] *Monatliche Correspondenz zur Beförderung der Erd- und Himmels-Kunde*, pub. F. X. Zach, November 1806, pp. 461–472.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 465.

boldt describing a slightly different magnitude to be gained by a Dollond telescope on the last page of his manuscript, the data given by Oltmann are in keeping with those given by Humboldt. The longitude figures from this manuscript are repeated also in “geographical introductions” to *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne* and *Essai politique sur l’île de Cuba*,¹⁹ which were published later.

But notwithstanding the later uses of the manuscript in publications, one may wonder why Humboldt made a gift of this particular fragment to an autograph collection of a befriended connoisseur. Today it is impossible to find out when and where this happened, but the fact of extracting the snippet and supplementing it with a commentary by Humboldt proves he regarded it as worthy leaving to posterity. It is evident, therefore, that Humboldt was aware of the importance of his legacy and took care to have the evidence of his work and research in the form of autographs preserved for future generations. The content of the remarks on the margins let us surmise, moreover, that Humboldt did not want to stop at drawing attention of the future readers to the scientific value of the document. The way he narrated the circumstances the manuscript had been made in links the document to an important period of his own life and a specific place; these details turned this particular autograph into a perfect gift for Radowitz, who cherished the history and context of documents even more than their scientific significance. It is also imaginable that Humboldt was driven by another motivation, too, as was the case when he was sending numerous letters of almost identical content. Since paper is a material of a limited durability, prone to loss or destruction, he may have regarded dividing up the manuscript and distributing it in parts as the most sensible way of securing his legacy for posterity.

Translated by Dariusz Rossowski

SUMMARY

The collection of autographs of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin – now held by the Jagiellonian Library – contains a valuable autograph of Alexander Humboldt – fragment from Humboldt’s travel diary entitled *Sobre algunos puntos interesantes para la Navegación, o extracto de las observaciones de longitud deducida de Eclipses del Sol y de la Luna de Satellites de Jupiter, distancias lunares y Chronometros en los annos de 1799–1803*.

¹⁹ In both cases, we find these data in a discussion of geographical issues in *Analyse Raisonnée de L’Atlas de la Nouvelle-Espagne* and *Analyse Raisonnée de la Carte de l’île de Cuba*. Similarly to the manuscript snippet that is presented here, Humboldt examined and compared geographical co-ordinates of the New World obtained by his predecessors with his own findings. See A. von Humboldt, *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. 1, Paris 1811, pp. 28–41 and *Essai politique sur l’île de Cuba*, vol. 1, Paris 1826, pp. VII–XXXVI.

The Humboldt's manuscript travel diary was acquired by the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz Foundation in Berlin from a private owner in 2013. The part which is discussed in the present article (pp. 71–84) was cut out of Fascicle VIII of the notebook in the nineteenth century – most probably by Humboldt himself – after which it was annotated and given as a present to General Radowitz, who was a collector of autographs. It eventually found its way to the Royal Library in Berlin together with Radowitz's entire collection.

KEYWORDS:

Aleksander von Humboldt, travel diary, America

PREZENT SPOD RÓWNIKA. WYCINEK Z RĘKOPISU DZIENNIKA PODRÓŻY ALEKSANDRA VON HUMBOLDTA DO AMERYKI. ZE ZBIORU RADOWITZA

STRESZCZENIE

W Zbiorze Autografów z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie, przechowywanym w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej, znajduje się cenny autograf Aleksandra Humboldta *Sobre algunos puntos interesantes para la Navegación, o extracto de las observaciones de longitud deducida de Eclipses del Sol y de la Luna de Satellites de Jupiter, distancias lunares y Chronometros en los annos de 1799–1803*. Fragment ten pochodzi z rękopiśmiennego dziennika podróży Humboldta. Rękopis samego dziennika pozyskała Fundacja Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz w Berlinie z rąk prywatnych w 2013 roku, natomiast omawiany w artykule fragment (s. 71–84) został wycięty w XIX wieku z zeszytu nr VIII dziennika najprawdopodobniej przez samego Humboldta, opatrzony komentarzem i ofiarowany kolekcjonerowi autografów gen. Radowitzowi, po czym razem z całym Zbiorem Radowitza trafił do Biblioteki Królewskiej w Berlinie.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Aleksander von Humboldt, dziennik podróży, Ameryka

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DOI: 10.26106/QTPM-GX70

THE MANUSCRIPT LEGACY OF ZOFIA STRYJEŃSKA (1891–1976) IN THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

[...] It is hard to imagine a greater popularity than Stryjeńska enjoyed in Poland in the 1920s and 1930s. Acting out and speaking out as her nerve and tastes dictated, she unexpectedly turned out to be a perfect match for the likings of a certain circle of the Polish intelligentsia, and her works became a favorite decorative motif in many interiors [...]. The success did not calm a jittery unrest that drove the artist's output. The last years before the second world war saw a certain inflation of Stryjeńska on the Polish market. Possessed by an agility demon, engulfed by constant fever and pursuit of earnings, she stopped ambitious experiments and responded to the public demand by repeating herself in diverse modes of return to the same motifs and subjects.

Over the years and despite the success, she did not change her outwardly projected image. Youthfully slim and always on the move, with a shock of curly hair over her forehead, a mischievous, penetrating look and a deep voice, she never lost an aptitude for wild antics, sharp retorts, and artistic-bohemian disorderly life, which solidified her legend over time [...].¹

* * *

Zofia Stryjeńska,² a Polish painter, one of the best known representatives of Art Déco – who due to the subjects and originality of her work was called the princess of Polish painting, enchantress, Slavic fairy – came down to be remembered mostly for her achievements in applied arts.

¹ H. Mortkowicz-Olczakowa, *Pod znakiem kłoska*, Warszawa 1962, pp. 176–179.

² Biographical details are based on: J. Laskowicka, *Zofia Stryjeńska*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 44, Warszawa–Kraków 2006–2007, pp. 502–505; *Zofia Stryjeńska. Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie*, ed. Ś. Lenartowicz, Kraków 2008. The above comprise the latest bibliographical data pertaining to the life and work of Zofia Stryjeńska.

She was born on May 13, 1891 in the family of a Kraków glover Franiszek Grzymała-Lubański and Anna née Skrzyńska. She attended the Maria Niedzielska School of Fine Arts for Women and considered taking up a career as an artist. "I have moved past the period of amateur level," she would write in her journal after several years. This prompted her to employ an unheard-of strategy: in 1911, she started to study in Fine Arts Academy in Munich under the false name of Tadeusz Grzymała and dressed in man's clothes as the Academy accepted only males. On return to Kraków in 1912, she met an art critic Jerzy Warchałowski, who published the first enthusiastic reviews of her work. Owing to him, Miss Lubańska became a recognized member of the Kraków artistic environment before WWI as well as an instant social phenomenon. This is the time when she created illustration cycles *Polish Christmas Carols* (1913), *Canticles* (1913), and *Polish Female Figures in National Costumes* (1914), among others.

In 1916, Zofia Lubańska married an architect, sculptor and graphic artist Karol Stryjeński. They had three children: Magdalena (later Jaques-Dalcroze), born in 1918, and twins Jan (Kantuś) and Jacek, born in 1922. In 1918, Zofia Stryjeńska joined the Kraków Workshops group, where she designed tapestries, theatre and ballet sets and costumes, and toys. The following years were a period of immense activity and professional success. Since 1922, she belonged to the Association of Polish Artists "Rhythm," participated in many exhibitions as well as in Polish art expositions in Venice and Paris. There appeared her lithography cycles, like *Slavic Deities* (1918, 1922), illustrations to books by K. Przerwa-Tetmajer, I. Krasicki, J. Lechoń, sonnets by P. Ronsard as well as fairy tales and collections of nursery rhymes for children. 1925 saw the apex of her artistic success when she designed the Polish pavilion for the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris. Growing family conflicts (her husband got her hospitalized in a mental institution in Batowice near Kraków in 1927) led to the breakup of the marriage. Her successive relationship with an actor Artur Socha resulted in a divorce as well.

In the following years she made polychromies on the façades of buildings in the Old Town Marketplace in Warsaw. Portfolios of her illustrations *The Circle of the Polish Piasts* (1929), Kochanowski's *Threnodies* (1930), and *The Music of Podhale* by Stanisław Mierzyński were published. In 1932, her individual exhibition was held in the Municipal Industrial Museum in Lwów, where over 100 works were displayed. In the same year, she published tableaus of *Folk Costumes*, *Famous Poles* and *Polish Kings*. In 1934, she finished costumes for *Harnasie* ballet by Karol Szmanowski as well as her own stage projects: *Korowaj* ballet and *Resurrection: The Easter Song* mystery. In 1935, she displayed her works in the Institute of Art Propaganda. The exhibition attracted a broad interest as well as scandalized the public when a bailiff sequestered the pictures because of her debts. Her financial situation improved in the second half of the 1930s, due to government commissions, among others.

During the second world war Stryjeńska stayed with her mother, sister and children in Kraków. She earned her living by making commissioned pictures and portraits, designing postcards and advertisements, putting together a puppet theatre. After the war, she moved to Switzerland and travelled extensively between Geneva, Paris, and Brussels to earn money by her artistic endeavors: she painted commissioned pictures, designed postcards, and strove for reeditions of her previous publications. In Poland, while no word was spoken about her current artistic activity, her designs were exploited commercially on postcards, chocolate boxes, calendars. In 1962, she moved for a permanent stay in Geneva, where her children and their families lived. She died there on February 28, 1976.

* * *

Manuscripts of Stryjeńska are a rarity nowadays. The directory of Manuscript collections held in libraries and museums in Poland mentions only her letters in the Kornel Makuszyński Museum in Zakopane.³ Suffice it to say that in 2014 there was only one autograph of Stryjeńska in the MS collection of the Jagiellonian Library: her shelfmark.⁴ In that year, the Library bought another autograph of hers on an auction: a 1954 letter of Stryjeńska to an unknown recipient (possibly Mieczysław Pozdziejew) about a placement of her graphic works in the Pozdziejew Museum.⁵ The more delighted we are therefore to have acquired so precious a collection as personal papers of Zofia Stryjeńska. The Jagiellonian Library was honored and happy to receive the legacy of Stryjeńska's manuscripts in 2014 as a gift from her descendants in Switzerland: Martine Sokolowski-Jaques-Dalcroze (daughter of Magdalena), Łukasz (son of Jacek), Barbara and Wanda Stryjeński (daughters of Jan), and Zofia Stryjeńska (daughter-in-law, wife of Jan).

The legacy consists of 57 units.⁶ It starts with personal documents, such as a copy of birth certificate, documents related to the studies in Munich (receipt of the payments by Tadeusz Grzymała, student of Fine Art Academy in Munich, and a list of professors who offered classes in the Academy), as well as various membership cards (of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw, among others), passport, diploma of the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation Award in New York from 1972.⁷ Another volume⁸ contains records pertaining to Stryjeńska's life in Geneva

³ *Zbiory rękopisów w bibliotekach i muzeach w Polsce*, ed. D. K a m o l o w a, Warszawa 2014, p. 548.

⁴ Kraków, Jagiellonian Library (BJ), MS Przyb. 101/82 – autographs from the collection of Piotr Stachiewicz and Anna and Michał Siedlecki.

⁵ BJ, MS Przyb. 555/14.

⁶ BJ, MSS Przyb. 108–164/15.

⁷ BJ, MS Przyb. 108/15.

⁸ BJ, MS Przyb. 109/15.

from 1964 through 1976, chiefly bills and letters. Personal notes are supplemented with her journal,⁹ sketchbooks,¹⁰ biographical materials like CVs, lists of more important paintings and publications, printed exhibition catalogues, a leaflet of her painting studio where children portraits were commissioned.¹¹

The next part of the legacy – 19 units¹² altogether – is an exceptionally treasured document: a memoir of Stryjeńska entitled *The Almost Daily Bread*. The text, which covers time up to 1956, is mostly autobiographical along with some typescripts and typescript copies with corrections in her hand while the part *Bratowice* consists of press cuttings. Of special interest due to its form is a fragment of a day-to-day journal from the first months of 1939 where notes were made on calendar leaves.¹³ Considerable bits of the memoir, related to the postwar years in particular, were supplemented by the author with collages, letters, and photographs. Owing to Jan Stryjeński, the son of Zofia, the memoir has been published.¹⁴

The items pertaining to her artistic work are ordered chronologically. They begin with original postcards of the *Nativity Play* and *Christmas Carols* series (10 pieces) which were designed during WWI for the Supreme National Committee.¹⁵ Next there is printed matter in Stryjeńska's graphical layout together with her handwritten notes: a copy of *Rzeczy Piękne (Fine Objects)* monthly from 1919¹⁶ and a volume of fairy tales *Srocza kaszkę warzyła*¹⁷ as well as press cuttings, photographs and fragments of the Polish pavilion catalogue for the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris in 1925.¹⁸

Outstanding in the collection is *Korowaj. Balet, czyli wieniec obrzędów w III odsłonach ułożony i dekorowany przez Z. Stryjeńską 1927 (Korowaj: Ballet or a Wreath of Rites in Three Scenes, Arranged and Embellished by Z. Stryjeńska, 1927)* – an autograph of the stage script with sketches of costumes and sets (8 pictures),¹⁹ disposition of dancing groups (44 sketches),²⁰ and designs of stage sets and costumes in color (19 pieces).²¹

⁹ BJ, MS Przyb. 110/15.

¹⁰ BJ, MS Przyb. 132/15.

¹¹ BJ, MS Przyb. 130/15.

¹² BJ, MSS Przyb. 111–29/15.

¹³ BJ, MS Przyb. 116/15.

¹⁴ Z. S t r y j e Ń s k a, *Chleb prawie że powszedni*, ed., introduction, notes, and index M. G r o Ń s k a, vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1995.

¹⁵ BJ, MS Przyb. 133/15.

¹⁶ BJ, MS Przyb. 134/15.

¹⁷ BJ, MS Przyb. 139/15.

¹⁸ BJ, MS Przyb. 135/15.

¹⁹ BJ, MS Przyb. 136/15.

²⁰ BJ, MS Przyb. 137/15.

²¹ BJ, MS Przyb. 138/15.

Individual catalog numbers are given to diverse items, mainly scripts and notes to other works by Stryjeńska: *Resurrection. The Easter Song. A Religious Play in Six Scenes*,²² *Deities or Slavic Symbols*,²³ *The Sounds of Colors. A Synthesis*,²⁴ scripts of fairy tales for a puppet theatre: *A Tale of Two Brothers Okpila and Biedzila*, *A Tale of the Sleeping Beauty*, *The Fern Flower (An Apotheosis of the Autumn)*,²⁵ in addition to materials for the portfolios *Polish Folk Costumes* and *Polish Folk Dances*²⁶ as well as *The Polish Pantheon*.²⁷

These are followed by further printed matter: *Światowiec nowoczesny czy zasady dobrego wychowania (A Modern Man of the World or the Rules of Good Manners)*, a book published in Paris in 1948 under the penname of prof. Hillar,²⁸ as well as portfolios of images of famous Poles *The Polish Pantheon*, published in Paris in 1954,²⁹ and *The Polish Dances* after the drawings by Zofia Stryjeńska from 1929³⁰ and *The Polish Rites* after her drawings of 1931,³¹ both published in Poland in 1979.

The part of the legacy connected with Stryjeńska's creative output is completed by a portfolio of photos of her works of art that were taken in the 1990s.³² Further units contain press cuttings related to Stryjeńska, which are often accompanied by her curt comments about the quality of reproductions.³³ Successive albums of cuttings were arranged by Stryjeńska herself: *Recenzje (Reviews) 1917–1930*,³⁴ *Cztery pory roku w życiu ludu polskiego (Four Seasons in the Life of Polish Peasants) 1929–1930*,³⁵ *Radio Philips 1931* (press cuttings related mainly to the exhibition of Zofia Stryjeńska and Henryk Kuna in the Phillips Co. showroom in Warsaw in 1931),³⁶ and *Lwów 1932* (an album devoted to her individual exhibition there).³⁷

The letters of the artist from the years 1925–1972 constitute another precious part of the legacy.³⁸ Most of the 350 letters to Stryjeńska deal with professional mat-

²² BJ, MS Przyb. 140/15.

²³ BJ, MS Przyb. 141/15.

²⁴ BJ, MS Przyb. 142/15.

²⁵ BJ, MS Przyb. 143/15.

²⁶ BJ, MS Przyb. 148/15.

²⁷ BJ, MS Przyb. 147/15.

²⁸ BJ, MS Przyb. 144/15.

²⁹ BJ, MSS Przyb. 146–47/15.

³⁰ BJ, MS Przyb. 149/15.

³¹ BJ, MS Przyb. 150/15.

³² BJ, MS Przyb. 151/15.

³³ BJ, MSS Przyb. 152–57/15.

³⁴ BJ, MS Przyb. 152/15.

³⁵ BJ, MS Przyb. 153/15.

³⁶ BJ, MS Przyb. 154/15.

³⁷ BJ, MS Przyb. 155/15.

³⁸ The correspondence of Z. Stryjeńska (BJ, MSS Przyb. 158–60/15), “Letters to and from Her Children” (BJ, MS Przyb. 161/15), and letters of Zofia Stryjeńska (BJ, MS Przyb. 162/15).

ters; those before WWII focus on details of participation in exhibitions or designing stage sets and costumes for theatre performances (e.g. letters from the Polish Embassy in Paris and National Opera in Warsaw about costumes to *Harnasie* by Karol Szymanowski) while those after the war concern mostly commissions.

The correspondence with the family, mainly postwar, is also extensive. It comprises letters from her children and sisters (Janina Braun, Stefania Dygat, and Maria Maksysio-wa) and includes Zofia Stryjeńska's responses as well (ca. 50 letters). Among those letters, valuable autographs are to be found, i.a. from Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski, Jadwiga and Józef Beck, Achilles Breza, Ignacy Daszyński, Arkady Fiedler, Henryk Kuna, Jan Lechoń, Witold Małcużyński, Juliusz Osterwa, Waclaw Sieroszewski, Antoni Słonimski, Artur Swinarski, Arnold Szyfman, Jerzy Warchałowski, Zofia and Tadeusz Żeleński.

Finally, there are family documents: Franciszek Lubański's memoir of 1894–1922 (two notebooks),³⁹ family photographs (ca. 40 items),⁴⁰ and a collection of materials pertaining to Stryjeńska's relatives.⁴¹

* * *

After being sorted out and recorded in the accession register of the Jagiellonian Library Manuscript Section, the legacy was displayed in an exhibition *Stryjeńska. A Portrait Made of Words*, which was held from November 19 through December 18, 2015 in the Library. Subsequently, the Library received another packet from the descendants which contained: a student card of the Fine Arts Academy for Tadeusz Grzymała (1911/1912), letters to the daughter, press cuttings (i.a. Stryjeńska's obituaries from 1976), and a printed catalog of the Paris exposition (1925)⁴² as well as some of the papers of Jacek Stryjeński (1922–1961), including his curriculum vitae, obituary, cuttings and photographs pertaining to his artistic career, a catalog of the 1968 exhibition, letters of Nina Żółtowska and Halina Kenar of 1958 related to Antoni Kenar.⁴³

Moreover, Zofia Stryjeńska's nephew Łukasz Lubański, who lives in Denmark, presented the Library with a letter from Zofia to her brother Tadeusz Lubański⁴⁴ along with personal documents of Tadeusz Lubański from the period 1899–1932, mainly school certificates, inclusive of certificates of apprenticeship and work as a glover.⁴⁵

Translated by Dariusz Rossowski

³⁹ BJ, MS Przyb. 163/15.

⁴⁰ BJ, MS Przyb. 131/15.

⁴¹ BJ, MS Przyb. 164/15: items such as documents and press cuttings related to the Lubański, Skrzyński, and Stryjeński families.

⁴² BJ, MS Przyb. 34/16.

⁴³ BJ, MS Przyb. 35/16.

⁴⁴ BJ, MS Przyb. 217/15.

⁴⁵ BJ, MS Przyb. 39/16.

SUMMARY

Zofia Stryjeńska was one of the most famous Polish Art Déco painters. Known mainly for her work in the applied arts, she was very popular in Poland before World War II. In 1945, she left her homeland to live abroad. It was only in 2014 that some of her manuscripts – which had been preserved by Stryjeńska's closest family in Switzerland – were donated to the Jagiellonian Library. This donation consists of 57 units (BJ, MSS Przyb. 108–164/15) and includes Stryjeńska's personal papers, her memoirs, fragments of her various works (inter alia, her sketchbook, the manuscript of a scenario for the ballet *Korowaj* and sketches of the costumes for that ballet), her correspondence, press cuttings (mainly reviews and reproductions of Stryjeńska's works) and family notes and documents. The legacy of Zofia Stryjeńska was displayed at an exhibition entitled *Stryjeńska. A Portrait Made of Words* which was held at the Jagiellonian Library from 19th November to 18th December 2015. Stryjeńska's nephew and her other heirs subsequently donated further items to the Library, which enriched the collection (shelfmarks: MSS Przyb. 217/05, 34–36/16, 39/16).

KEYWORDS:

Zofia Stryjeńska, manuscript legacy

SPUŚCIZNA RĘKOPIŚMIENNA
ZOFII STRYJEŃSKIEJ (1891–1976)

STRESZCZENIE

Zofia Stryjeńska – polska malarka, jedna z najbardziej znanych przedstawicielek art déco. Popularna przed II wojną światową artystka, kojarzona przede wszystkim ze sztuką użytkową, okres po 1945 roku spędziła na obczyźnie. Zachowany w Szwajcarii, w rękach najbliższej rodziny, fragment jej spuścizny rękopiśmiennej został przekazany Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej przez spadkobierców w 2014 roku. Składająca się z 57 jednostek spuścizna (BJ, sygn. rkps Przyb. 108–164/15) obejmuje: dokumenty osobiste, pamiętnik, fragmenty twórczości (ze szkicownikiem, autografem scenariusza baletu *Korowaj* oraz ze szkicami kostiumów do niego), korespondencję i listy, wycinki prasowe (przede wszystkim z recenzjami i reprodukcjami jej dzieł), materiały rodzinne. Spuścizna Zofii Stryjeńskiej została zaprezentowana na wystawie *Stryjeńska. Portret ze słów*, zorganizowanej w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w dniach 19 XI–18 XII 2015 roku. Już po jej zakończeniu Biblioteka otrzymała od spadkobierców Stryjeńskiej oraz od jej bratanka materiały uzupełniające spuściznę (sygn. rkps Przyb. 217/05, 34–36/16, 39/16).

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Zofia Stryjeńska, spuścizna rękopiśmienna

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DOI: 10.26106/MBBZ-NC39

ANTONI SZCZEPAN BROSZ (1910–1978) – BIBLIOPHILE, COLLECTOR, AND TRANSLATOR

2015 marked the thirty-fifth anniversary of the transfer of the collection of bookplates accumulated over a period of about forty years by Antoni Brosz, a Kraków bibliophile, collector, and expert on bookplates, to the Jagiellonian Library. Thanks to this donation of December 10, 1980, the Kraków library joined the group of institutions owning the largest collection of bookplates in Poland.¹ Nineteen years later, on December 14, 1999, family archival material was transferred.² The acquisitions, noted under the Jagiellonian Library (BJ) shelfmarks MSS. Przyb. 223–254, can be divided into several groups: personal documents (including identification cards and diaries, Przyb. 223–231/05); family materials (relating to his wife, parents, and family members, Przyb. 232–235/05); his work as a translator and author (including trans-

¹ The author expresses special thanks to Kasper Świerzowski for archival materials and valuable information related to Antoni Brosz.

The largest collections currently in Poland can be found in The Ossolineum (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich) in Wrocław, about 60,000 items (*Zbiory Gabinetu Grafiki – Ossolineum*, [online] <https://ossolineum.pl/index.php/muzea/muzeum-ksiazat-lubomirskich/gabinety/zbiory-gabinetu-grafiki/#ekslibrisy> [accessed on: June 24, 2020]; the University Library in Toruń, more than 50,000 items (*Graficzne – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu*, [online] <https://www.bu.umk.pl/graficzne> [accessed on: June 24, 2020]; the National Library in Warsaw, more than 46,000 items (*Biblioteka Narodowa – Zbiory ikonograficzne*, [online] <https://bn.org.pl/o-nas/zbiory-bn/zbiory/zbiory-ikonograficzne> [accessed on: June 24, 2020]; and the Raczyński Library in Poznań, about 37,000 items (*Biblioteka Raczyńskich in Poznań – Dział Zbiorów Specjalnych*, [online] http://www.bracz.edu.pl/?option=com_content&task=view&id=44&itemid=45 [accessed on: June 24, 2020]).

² Jadwiga Brosz is given as the donor.

lations, notes, and texts, Przyb. 236–246/05, 253–254/05); materials related to bookplates (Przyb. 247–248/05); and correspondence, including three volumes of correspondence of Antoni and one of Jadwiga³ (among other topics, a group of letters related to his passion for bookplates, Przyb. 249–252/05).

Antoni Szczepan Brosz was born on December 25, 1910, in Nienadowa, then in the Polish province of Lwów. He died on December 26, 1978, in Kraków. He was buried on January 3, 1979, in Kraków's Rakowicki Cemetery. He was the son of Adam (June 14, 1861 – October 4, 1911, the son of Franciszek and Elżbieta Wesela) and Krystyna Dusberger (September 12,⁴ 1875 – April 24, 1956, the daughter of Franciszek and Katarzyna Dratwiak).⁵ On August 31, 1939, he married Maria Wiesława Wróblewska, the daughter of Kazimierz and Włodzimiera Bam.

On July 5, 1947, in Kraków he married again, to Jadwiga Berta Petecka (March 11, 1904 – July 6, 1994), the daughter of Otton Alojzy Axmann and Jadwiga Jaworska, the widow of Mieczysław Petecki (May 30, 1901 – September 22, 1942),⁶ a captain in the Polish Army and lieutenant in the 21st Field Artillery Regiment. The son of the first marriage of J. Petecka, a piano teacher in the State Music School in Kraków,⁷ was Bohdan Antoni Petecki, a journalist and author of science fiction novels.⁸ Brosz died without children and did not leave behind any heirs. The executors of his unwritten will were his widow Jadwiga and Kasper Świerzowski,⁹ a close friend of many years.

³ The wife of A. Brosz used two names at the time: Petecka-Brosz, which can be seen on her gravestone (Petecka after her first husband). She sometimes used only her second name for correspondence. Both names are used in this text, in accordance with their use in individual documents.

⁴ Two different dates of birth can be found in the archives, September 12, 1875, according to the abstract from the death certificate, Jagiellonian Library (BJ), Special Collection Department, Manuscripts Section; BJ, MS Przyb. 223/05, and September 15, 1875, according to the act of marriage, BJ, MS Przyb. 232/05.

⁵ BJ, MS Przyb. 232/05.

⁶ A letter dated October 6, 1942, from the German Red Cross, part of the family archival material donated by J. Brosz, indicates that Mieczysław Petecki died in KL in Friedhof Woldenberg (Dobiegów) on September 22, 1942, at 5:00 am, of tuberculosis and heart problems. A letter from the Information Bureau of PCK from January 1, 1944, also part of the gift from J. Brosz (nr 13 704), confirms the death in the camp. BJ, MS Przyb. 235/05.

⁷ The school is currently known as the Ogólnokształcąca Szkoła Muzyczna I stopnia im. I. J. Paderewskiego, ul. Basztowa 8.

⁸ Bohdan Antoni Petecki (July 5, 1931 – November 23, 2011), also Ian Artur Bernard, pseudonym; writer, author of stories, translator from English; journalist of Katowice TV and Polish Radio and the weekly *Panorama*; member of the Union of Polish Writers; awarded the Knight's Cross and Officer of the Order of Polonia Restituta. See *Kto jest kim w województwie katowickim '93*, Katowice 1994, p. 246.

⁹ Kasper Świerzowski (December 13, 1942–), bibliophile and collector, active in bibliophilic circles, member of many groups, including the Society of Friends of the Book and the Kraków Circle of Lovers of Bookplates, friend of Antoni Brosz and, with the widow of Brosz, executor of his oral will.

Antoni Brosz attended State Gymnasium No. II in Przemyśl (1922/1923–1926/1927) and State Gymnasium No. I in Sambor (1927/1928–1930/1931). On his high school leaving certificate (known as the *duża matura*), from April 21, 1931 (nr II 2845/31),¹⁰ he received an average grade of 3.8, very good grades in religion and Polish, and satisfactory grades in Latin, Greek, and physics. He received similar final grades in other subjects: good in conduct, modern history, the study of Poland, and physical education; satisfactory in mathematics, German, natural sciences, and introduction to philosophy. In 1931, he entered the Department of Medicine at the University of Warsaw (album number 36 990, matriculation October 13th), with which the Medical Officer Cadet School [Szkola Podchorążych Sanitarnych] cooperated. However, in spite of his mother's requests and efforts,¹¹ he dropped out. On January 19, 1932, he left the Medical Officer Cadet School at his own request.¹² In this same year, he became a student of the Department of Philosophy at Jagiellonian University in the area of philology. Among the materials preserved as his legacy, there are records from his exams for the master degree in philosophy and his student identity card (*Książeczka legitymacyjna studenta*, L. 2160) from the academic years 1932/1933 to 1937/1938 and from 1946/1947 (reactivation after the war). For example: "from Old Church Slavonic descriptive grammar /for the second time/ as part of the exam for the master degree of philosophy in the area of Polish philology, a satisfactory result" (December 14, 1934); "in the political and cultural history of Poland as part of the master of philosophy degree in the area of philology, a satisfactory result" (March 22, 1935); "in the general knowledge of Slavs and their languages and writings as part of the exam for the master of philosophy degree in the area of Slavic philology, a very good result" (June 18, 1935); and "in the field of descriptive grammar of contemporary Polish as part of the master of philosophy degree in the area of Polish philology, a satisfactory result" (June 21, 1935).¹³ After the war, he continued his education in the Department of Humanities of the Jagiellonian University, in the Slavics section, choosing Slavic literatures as his major (reactivated in the 1946–1947 academic year). He studied until 1950. He also attended lectures of the Polish PEN Club, a Polish translation study (identification card number 181).¹⁴

During World War II, after the September campaign, Brosz was interned in Hungary, where he belonged to the Antifascist Front of Slavs in Hungary in 1944–1945. His internment status is confirmed by a certificate of stay in an internment camp for

¹⁰ Shelfmark MS: BJ, Przyb. 223/05.

¹¹ Letter of K. Broszowa to A. Brosz, January 12, 1931 (BJ, MS Przyb. 223/05).

¹² January 20, 1932, letter of Captain Dr. W. Borkowski, commander of the First School Battalion of the Medical Officer Cadet School to the secretariat of the University of Warsaw (BJ, MS Przyb. 223/05).

¹³ BJ, MS Przyb. 223/05.

¹⁴ BJ, MS Przyb. 225/05.

Polish soldiers in the city of Sárvár,¹⁵ which he reached on September 20, 1939, after crossing the border with the division at Przełęcz Tucholska,¹⁶ and by a letter of the Temporary Polish Committee in Hungary, dated February 28, 1945.¹⁷ After arriving in Budapest in 1942, he worked as a proofreader for a newspaper for refugees, “*Więści Polskie*” [Polish News],¹⁸ and then as an apprentice for Atheneum, a graphics firm. He was also a translator and administrator for the Polish Repatriation Committee.

In his professional life, Brosz fulfilled different functions and practiced several professions. Before the war, because of a lack of money, he was forced to take employment with the Polish State Railways, where he passed several exams: on May 30, 1938, as an assistant in motor and commercial service with a section on trade tariffs (satisfactory result); on January 10, 1939, as an assistant in motor and administration (satisfactory result); and on March 1, 1939, for the position of telegraph operator in full range (satisfactory result).¹⁹ After the war, he started to work in Księgarnia i Wydawnictwo, Skład Nut Teodora Gieszczykiewicza [the Teodor Gieszczykiewicz Bookstore, Publishing House, and Music Store]²⁰ in the position of technical editor (1946–1948), which led him to join the Union of Professional Trade and Office Workers of the Republic, Kraków Section. From 1948 to 1951, he was employed as an editor for the Polish Radio Broadcasting Committee, from which he was, however, laid off due to “the dissolution of the Editorial Boards of Irregular Periodicals.” From 1952 to 1953, he worked in Instytut Wydawniczy “*Nasza Księgarnia*” [Publishing Institute “Our Bookstore”]. As a translator and editor, he worked with ZAiKS [Polish Society of Authors and Composers, 1954]; the publishing house of Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich [the Ossolineum], translating poetic works of Jan

¹⁵ He was next in camps in Nagykanizsa and Kiscenk and also in the penal colony in Komárno.

¹⁶ BJ, MS Przyb. 223/05.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ See K. K o w a l s k a, “*Więści Polskie*” na Węgrzech w latach 1939–1944, Warszawa 2007; K. W o ź n i a k o w s k i, *Budapeszteńskie “Więści Polskie” (1939–1944): główny periodyk polskiego wojennego uchodźstwa Węgrzech. Część 1: Czas rozruchu – redakcja Jana Ulatowskiego (listopad–grudzień 1939)*, “Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 17, 1, 2014, pp. 45–71, and idem, *Budapeszteńskie “Więści Polskie” (1939–1944): główny periodyk polskiego wojennego uchodźstwa na Węgrzech. Część 2: Czas poszukiwań – redakcja Józefa Winiewiczza (styczeń – czerwiec 1940)*, “Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 17, 2, 2014, pp. 5–30.

¹⁹ BJ, MS Przyb. 223/05.

²⁰ Teodor Gieszczykiewicz (1855–1937), cofounder and co-owner of a book publishing firm which became his property in 1930. He specialized above all in musical printing (classical and sacred music). During World War II, the store served as a secondhand bookshop; after the war the firm developed its publishing activity, and, as of 1952, operated exclusively as a musical bookstore and music shop. Until it closed in 1960, it functioned under its old name, mainly as a bookstore and secondhand music store. See *Gieszczykiewicz Teodor*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, ed. A. B i r k e n m a j e r et al., Wrocław 1971, col. 793.

Kollár for a volume of his selected writings (1954); Spółdzielnia Wydawniczo-Oświatowa “Czytelnik” [“Reader” Publishing and Educational Cooperative], for which he translated a work of Oskar Mališ, published as *Słońce już wyjrzało* (1951); Państwowy Instytut Sztuki [State Institute of Art], as technical editor of the journal “Muzyka” (1954, issues 1–2, 3–4, 5–6 under M. Harley, ed.); Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza “Książka i Wiedza” [“Books and Knowledge” Publishing Cooperative, 1950]; Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza [the People’s Publishing Cooperative], translating a work of Josef Horak as *Lasy milczą* (1950); “Prasa” Robotnicza Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza [“Press” Workers Publishing Cooperative, 1951]; Wydawnictwo Śląsk [Śląsk Publishing], another translation of Josef Horak, as *Lasy milczą* (1975); Polish-Czech Friendship Society, 1950; Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe [State Scientific Publishing, 1954–1976]; Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne [Polish Music Publishing]; Polskie Radio Kraków [Polish Radio Kraków], editing and translation; and with the editorial boards of *Odra* (1947), “Kuźnia” [Smithy, 1949]; and “Życie Słowiańskie” [Slavic Life], for which he translated stories of Narov and a bibliography of this writer (1951); “Płomyček” [Little Flame, 1952]; and “Ruch Słowiański” [Slavic Movement]. He concluded his professional work in 1976.

As a writer, translator, author of reviews, articles, and notes,²¹ A. Brosz often used pseudonyms, usually in the form of acronyms. Publishing in “Gazeta Literacka” (Literary Gazette) from 1932 to 1933, he used *Anbr* i *Anbr*; in the journal “Zet” from 1934 to 1935, he appeared as *an.br.*, *anbr*, *anbr.*, *Anbr*, *Anbr.*; in “Kamienie” in 1937 as *antbr.*; in 1948 in “Dziennik Literacki” (Literary Daily) he signed himself as *a.b.*, but in “Znak” (Sign) as *A.B.* He also used the abbreviations *An.Br.*, *~antbr~*, *Antbr*, *-Antbr-*, *Antbr-*, and *Czantor*.²²

He specialized in translation of poetry and prose from Hungarian but also from Slavic languages, especially Czech, Serbian, and Bulgarian.²³ He participated actively in the creation of a translators’ section of the Kraków group of the Union of Polish Writers, which he led from 1951 to 1954. He was also active in promoting Slavic literature, working, among other, in the Provincial Division of the Slavic Committee in Kraków, where he held the position of secretary and also gave talks, such as on March 9, 1948, *On Contemporary Slavic Literature*, and on June 1, 1948, on *Nikola Vaptsarov, a poet of the proletariat*.

²¹ *Bibliografia literatur zachodnio- i południowosłowiańskich*, ed. M. B a s a j, Wrocław 1984, lists 62 texts.

²² *Słownik pseudonimów pisarzy polskich*, ed. E. J a n k o w s k i, Wrocław 1994, pp. 1, 8, 10, 136, 138, 150.

²³ *Węgierska mozaika*, Budapest 1943; J. H o r a k, *Lasy milczą*, Warszawa 1949; O. M a l i s, *Słońce już wyjrzało*, Warszawa 1951; I. K e s z i, *Nie kończąca się melodia: powieść o Wagnerze*, Kraków 1958; I. U n d z i e w, *Bohater spod znaku lwa*, Warszawa 1960; and J. B o k a y, *Cyganeria i motyle: powieść o Puccinim*, Kraków 1971, appeared in his translation.

Antoni Brosz was an active member of many groups and organizations. During the time of his studies, he belonged to the Temporary Circle of Medics of the Students' Self-Help Association (member number 2585, 1931–1932); the Slavic Academic Society (1933–1934); and *Matica Slovenská* (membership card number 25.271, 1935). After the war, he cooperated with the Hungarian Antifascist Front of Slavs in Mad'arsk "Sloboda" (membership card number 5032, 1945), and he was a member of the Polish-Russian Friendship Society (membership card number A Nr 65528 and 2, 1953, 1955); the Polish-Yugoslav Friendship Society (membership card number 9, 1946); *Matica Slovenská v Turčianskom Sv. Martine* (membership card number 120.470, 1948); and the Polish Tourism and Sightseeing Society in Kraków (membership card number 001240, 1953). He was active in the already mentioned Union of Polish Writers (membership card number 81) and the Society of the Friends of the National Museum in Krakow, and a member of the Section of Book Lovers (membership card number 28, 1976–1977). He was a member of the Kraków section of the Polish Union of Philatelists (membership card number 288011, 1974), and he also belonged to the Union of Professional Workers in Books, Press, and the Radio (membership card numbers KR 0021866 and 08481 [from 1950], 1949–1972).²⁴

He received several distinctions for his activities in the area of culture. In 1949, he received the Award of the Ministry of Culture and Art for translation.²⁵ On April 24, 1971, the Presidium of the National Council of the City of Kraków awarded Antoni Brosz with the Silver Medal "for work in society for the city of Kraków" (certificate number 2255). In 1975 he received two distinctions: the Distinguished Culture Activist medal (from the Polish People's Republic Ministry of Culture and Art, certificate number 13841) and the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta (Resolution of State Council, December 17, 1975, certificate number 3038–75–4).²⁶

But among so many activities, the most valuable for the collector were probably those associated with bookplates, such as his activities in the Danish Exlibris Selskab (Bookplate Society) and the Spolek Sběratelů a Přátel Exlibris v Praze [Association of Collectors and Friends of Bookplates in Prague], as well as the Circle of Bookplate Lovers in Kraków,²⁷ of which he was a co-founder. On the Board, for which Brosz was selected to serve as President, were Kasper Świerzowski (secretary) and Henryk Kozłowski, Mieczysław Rokosz, and Tyrsus Wenhryno-

²⁴ BJ, MS Przyb. 224/05.

²⁵ BJ, MS Przyb. 250/05.

²⁶ BJ, MS Przyb. 226/05.

²⁷ It must be noted that this was not the first organization of its type in Kraków; a Circle of Bookplate Lovers functioned as part of the structure of the Society of Book Lovers from 1924 to 1939. See B. Szornel-Dąbrowska, [in:] *Towarzystwo Miłośników Książki w Krakowie 1922–1939*, Kraków 2001, pp. 48–54.

wicz.²⁸ On the occasion of the establishment of the Circle (November 25, 1971), which belonged to the structure of the Kraków Section of the Society of Friends of the Book, the first brochure, “Kuryer Wszędziebylski Iednego dnia całą Polskę z ciekawą wieścią obchodzący od Koła Miłośników Exlibrisu w Krakowie” [the One-Day Everywhere Courier for all of Poland with interesting news from the Circle of Bookplate Lovers in Kraków] was published.²⁹ One of the issues, published in 1979, was devoted in its entirety to the memory of A. Brosz, with the title changed from “interesting news” to “sad news.”³⁰ In addition to the brief recollections of K., the issue included eight copies of bookplates designed by Brosz himself, Teodor Cywa, Janina Jelska, Jacek Kajtoch, Jan Lohmann, and also for Jerzy Napieracz, Maria Skalicka, and Tyrsus Wenhryniewicz. It is estimated that he made about thirty bookplates using a collage technique.³¹ Among the designs he described, there are plates such as the following: “motifs from old prints I; Don Quixote by Mróz on a stamp; an antique art nouveau frame for Anna Siwek; a folk motif for H. Urbańczyk; *Salutations africaines* [African greetings]; a mail coach; a Kraków theme (a film from the Union); a bird for Ferenc; the roses of Wyspiański; a pharmaceutical theme for Krystyna; a sign of the Zodiac for himself; a royal bookplate series; a series of vignettes from a template; and a phillumenist-philatelist series (related to match-boxes and post stamps).”³² In 1974, the group published a brochure, *Ekslibrisy kolażowe Antoniego Brosza* [The Collage Bookplates of Antoni Brosz]. The brochure also served as a pf³³ card and included plates for Barbara Gajda, himself, two by Jacek Kajtoch, and Wojciech Kawiński. In addition to the bookplates, he also designed at least fifty holiday cards and graphics in this technique, utilising motifs from famous examples of paintings, for example, from Paul Gauguin, Peter Breugel, Jan Vermeer, and Pablo Picasso.

Antoni Brosz died the day after his sixty-eighth birthday after a long and grave illness. There appeared at least seven press obituaries and notices of the death of the bibliophile, in which his family, friends, and colleagues bid him farewell.³⁴ Recollections of the collector were published in foreign bookplate journals since Brosz was

²⁸ *Powstało Koło Miłośników Exlibrisu*, „Dziennik Polski” 185, 1972, p. 6; *Koło Miłośników Exlibrisu w Krakowie*, „Profile. Kwartalnik Rzeszowski” 3, 1972, p. 61.

²⁹ Subsequent numbers appeared from 1972 to 1980 and from 1982 to 1983.

³⁰ “Kuryer Wszędziebylski Iednego dnia całą Polskę ze smutną wieścią obchodzący od Koła Miłośników Exlibrisu w Krakowie wyprawiony roku 1979,” Kraków 1979.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

³² BJ, MSS Przyb. 229/05, 247/05.

³³ Pf, French, *pour féliciter* (for happiness, good fortune), traditional small New Year’s cards.

³⁴ “Dziennik Polski” 1978, 295, p. 11 (wife with family); 1979, 1, p. 4 (Union of Polish Writers in Kraków, friends), no. 3, p. 5 (Administration, POP PZPR [the Communist party cell in PWN] and Rada Zakładowa PWN [PWN Works Council] and friends), 5, p. 4; “Życie Literackie” 2, 1979, p. 15; “Przekrój” 1979, 1762, p. 3.

known and appreciated as a bibliophile and collector abroad. In his text, Jerzy Drużycki stressed the great loss to the world of bibliophiles of the owner of one of the largest and most interesting collections of bookplates and related literature in Poland.³⁵ The author pictured Brosz as a person who was always smiling and friendly, sharing his knowledge and experience with bookplates with other collectors.³⁶

* * *

The beginning of Brosz's collection goes back to 1938. As he said himself, he accumulated his collection through "buying, getting, exchanging, stealing..."³⁷ He began forming the main part of the collection in the late 1950s.³⁸

Brosz described his passion for collecting bookplates most clearly in an interview in "Dziennik Polski" [Polish Daily].³⁹ In response to a question which bookplates from his immense collection had the most significance for him, Brosz stated, "Those which I do not have yet."⁴⁰ In this same text, we also find the following description of his collection:

In the depths of the drawers of a huge black cabinet in an apartment in Topolowa Street, there is a genuine private art gallery: more than eight thousand items⁴¹ categorized according to different sections and series. Almost everything in this field from Poland – from the earliest times to the present day. [...] There is also a second cabinet. It houses a library on the topic, about 300 volumes.⁴²

In an interview several years earlier in *Gazeta Krakowska* [Kraków Gazette], Brosz explained that the first step to collecting bookplates by him was his love for beautiful books:

Several rare bibliophile prints, some commemorative graphics, and so it began. In a well-done bookplate, I see the irresistible beauty of the small print. Often they are unusual masterpieces, full of artistry and finesse [...] small sizes give the artist unlimited potential to develop their own ideas, to awaken the imagination, and to force them to grasp what we call the synthesis of art.⁴³

³⁵ J. Drużycki, *Antoni Brosz 1910–1978: En polsk storsamler*, "Nordisk Exlibris Tidsskrift," Hæfte 133, 31. Årgang, 1979, Nr. 1, pp. 74–75.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

³⁷ D. Jakubięc, *Eklibrisy*, „Dziennik Polski” 153, 1975, p. 4.

³⁸ *Literatura eklibrisowa i wydawnictwa bibliofilskie: aukcja dubletów z księgozbioru Antoniego Brosza*, ed. K. Świerzowski, Kraków 1979.

³⁹ D. Jakubięc, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ Marian Jan Wojciechowski also notes this quantity in his synthetic publication *Eklibris: godło bibliofila*, Wrocław 1978, p. 212.

⁴² D. Jakubięc, *op. cit.*

⁴³ J. Bąk, *Eklibris uczy i bawi*, „Gazeta Krakowska” XX, 1968, 112 (6289), p. 5.

In this same interview, Brosz raised the issue of a Polish journal on bookplates – there was none in publication at the time – and, though 47 years have passed since then, and in spite of several efforts to start and maintain such a journal on the market, it is still true that at present there is no such publication.⁴⁴

As already mentioned, Antoni Brosz belonged to several organizations of bookplate artists and enthusiasts. His undoubtedly numerous contacts with fellow enthusiasts allowed him not only to participate in activities related to bookplates, but also to actively create his collection. He conducted extensive correspondence with both Polish and foreign collectors (for example, in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, West Germany, East Germany, Sweden, Hungary, and the Soviet Union),⁴⁵ attesting to a certain type of understanding between collectors of bookplates.⁴⁶

An unusual example of the passion for bookplates is a notebook that contains an index of correspondence, both incoming and outgoing, from 1962 to 1963.⁴⁷ The list includes 42 names and addresses as well as a table next to each of the names with the following information: date; received (for example, a letter, the number of bookplates, or catalog); sent (again, a letter, the number of bookplates, catalog, or also names, certainly of the artists whose work came in the package). People Brosz corresponded with include, among other, the following (listed in the order they are presented in the notebook): Paul Ambur (Tallinn); Lou Asperslag (Belgium); Christian Blaesbjerg (Denmark); Ruben Bedrosow (Yerevan); Mieczysław Bieleń (Poland); Albert Collart (Brussels); Zbigniew Dolatowski (Poland); Włodzimierz Egiersdorff (Poland); Hans Winkler (Germany); Gerard Gaudaen (Belgium); Alfons Goethals (Belgium); Helmer Fogedgaard (Denmark); Manuel Garcia de la Cruz (Portugal); Wadim Frołow (Russia); Hanns Heeren (Germany); Wojciech Jakubowski (Poland); Mirko Kairl (Czechia); Johnny Køhler (Denmark); Norbert Lippóczy (Poland); Gianni Mantero (Italy); Jocelyn Mercier (France); Irina Kozłowa (Russian); Enrique de Navarra (Spain); Paul Pfister (France); Henry Schjaerven (Norway); Tadeusz Solski (Poland); Karl Sedlaer (Brno); Istvan Rethy (Hungary); Paul Marchandise (Belgium); Peteris Upitis (Latvia); Zygmunt Waśniewski (Poland); Seweryn Knape (Poland); Maciej Putowski (Poland); Andor Semsey (Hungary); Semen Gieorgijewicz Ivienskij (Russia); Feliks Wagner (Poland); Antoine Rousseau (France); Jan Kruszyński (Poland); and Przemysław Michałowski (Poland). For example, during this period he received 84 bookplates from H. Heeren and sent him 35; he received wishes, a letter, and 16 bookplates from N. Lippóczy, and he sent him wishes, a letter, and 18 bookplates; two letters and 63 bookplates from M. Putowski, replying to him with two letters but only 60 plates.

⁴⁴ On journals dedicated to bookplates, see A. Fluda-Krokos, *Ex Bibliotheca: Magazyn Grafików i Kolekcjonerów Ekslibrisów (1999–2009)*, “Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej” 16, 1, 2013, pp. 131–155.

⁴⁵ BJ, MSS Przyb. 249–252/02.

⁴⁶ J. Bąk, op. cit.

⁴⁷ BJ, MS Przyb. 249/05.

During the period covered in the index to the correspondence, Brosz received about 1,375 bookplates and sent out 1,392 of his own.

The collection, developed so passionately, had its unfortunate moments. In August 1975, 32 historical marks, from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, were stolen from the apartment of the collector. Among them were bookplates of Daniel Chodowiecki (*ipse fecit*, etching, 1777); Czartoryski (copperplate engraving, eighteenth century); Radziwiłł in Nieśwież (Jan Marcin Weis, copperplate engraving, eighteenth century); Henryk Hutten Czapski (lithograph, late nineteenth century); Ludwik Lanckoroński (etching, early nineteenth century); Henryk Lubomirski (copperplate engraving, around 1810–1820); Przeździecki (Agry, steel engraving, turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century); and Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (two copperplate engravings from 1804 and 1815).⁴⁸

From a May 15, 1983 letter of Jadwiga Petecka-Brosz to Michał Hilchen, the President of the Society of the Friends of the Book in Warsaw, we learn that A. Brosz gathered around 1,000 publications related to the history and theory of bookplates; about 20,000 Polish and foreign bookplates (from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries); and about 200 items related to Władysław Orkan.⁴⁹

M. Hilchen led an auction of duplicates of books and bookplates from the Brosz collection in Kraków at the “Convivum” club in Collegium Novum. Świerzowski prepared the collection for sale and also edited a catalog of over 200 items.⁵⁰ The items were divided into the following categories: I. Folios and albums with bookplates (nos. 1–22); II. Catalogs of exhibits and folios (nos. 23–117); III. Printed matter (nos. 118–166); IV. Journals (nos. 167–200). Almost sixty percent of the items on offer were sold.⁵¹ The income from the auction was earmarked for the account of the Citizens’ Committee for the Saving of the Monuments of Kraków.⁵² Part of the collection, purchased by the Antykwariat Naukowy [Academic Bookshop] in Toruń, went to the Nicolaus Copernicus University Library:⁵³ the first set of materials: 55 items, journals and graphics, on November 4, 1981,⁵⁴ and the second set: 700 book-

⁴⁸ BJ, MS Przyb. 248/05.

⁴⁹ Letter of J. Petecka-Brosz to M. Hilchen, May 15, 1983 (from the collection of the author; all materials designated as from the author come from K. Świerzowski).

⁵⁰ *Bibliofiliska biesiada i aukcja ekslibrisów*, “Echo Krakowa: Pismo Popołudniowe” 280 (10545), 1979, p. 3; *Bibliofiliska feta*, “Gazeta Południowa” 7 (9818), 1980, p. [5].

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² Letter of the Board of the Kraków branch of the Association of Friends of Books to K. Świerzowski, April 1, 1986, p. 2 (from the collection of the author).

⁵³ Information from March 24, 2015 from Andrzej Mycio, Director, Special Collections, University Library in Toruń.

⁵⁴ University Library in Toruń, *Księga Akcesji Działu Gromadzenia*, shelfmark 1/363, accession number K 2612/81.

plates and 41 postcards, on October 2, 1986.⁵⁵ Reprints of the unarranged duplicates went to Toruń.

In 1999, the Exlibris Gallery in Kraków,⁵⁶ founded and run by Andrzej Znamirowski,⁵⁷ received the remaining collection of bookplates from K. Świerzowski. Most of these, however, were zinc plate copies of (undescribed) plates⁵⁸ that Brosz duplicated for exchange and publishing purposes. The Gallery made an exhibit *Ekslibrisy ze zbioru Antoniego Brosza* [Bookplates from the Collection of Antoni Brosz] from January 13th to February 28th, 2001.⁵⁹

Brosz's collection was also commemorated in poetry. A poem *Miedzioryt w zbiorach ekslibrisów Antoniego Brosza* [A Copperplate Engraving in the Bookplate Collections of Antoni Brosz] by Jan Lohmann was published in the volume *Nasz dom* [Our Home].⁶⁰ The poem was dedicated to the plate of Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski:

The Great Library of the Republic
Andreas Stanislaus Kostka In Zalusie Załuski
A trace of him like of a hare in the wet snow
EX LIBRIS.⁶¹

The passion of the collector, of the bookplate enthusiast, was not limited, however, to the acquisition of new items and the building of a collection or the activities of Kraków Circle of Lovers of Bookplates. In addition to these activities, Brosz also presented his collection in exhibits. Parts of his collection could be seen in many places, including in the exhibit *Wystawa ekslibris grafików krakowskich (1945–1976) ze zbiorów Antoniego Brosza* [Kraków Bookplates from the Collection of Antoni Brosz, 1945–1976] (May–June 1977) at the Municipal Public Library of Kraków or the exhibit *Wystawa ekslibrisów pracowników książki polskiej: wystawa ze zbiorów Antoniego Brosza* [Bookplates of Workers of the Polish Book: From the Collection of Antoni Brosz] (June 1978) at the Kraków Printing and Book-

⁵⁵ University Library in Toruń, *Księga Akcesji Działu Gromadzenia*, shelfmark 18/1, accession number K 2507/86.

⁵⁶ “Ex Libris: Co? Gdzie? Kiedy?” 14, 1999, p. 3.

⁵⁷ Andrzej Znamirowski (November 10, 1944 – October 15, 2015), Kraków bibliophile and collector, founder and director of the Exlibris Gallery in Kraków, editor and publisher of several journals devoted to bookplates and related topics.

⁵⁸ Information from A. Znamirowski, March 24, 2015.

⁵⁹ “Ex Libris: Co? Gdzie? Kiedy?” 24, 2000, p. 2.

⁶⁰ J. L o h m a n n, *Miedzioryty w zbiorach ekslibrisów Antoniego Brosza*, [in:] *Nasz dom*, Kraków 1982, p. 169.

⁶¹ Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski (December 2, 1695 – December 16, 1758) used at least 3 bookplates. See A. F l u d a - K r o k o s, *Ekslibrisy braci Załuskich*, “Konspekt” 4, 49, 2013, pp. 78–83.

selling Schools.⁶² The collector also intended to issue a folio of bookplates and brief bibliophilic publications dedicated to the topic. From his extensive plans, he carried out, to name a few, publications devoted to the plates by the artists Edward Grabowski,⁶³ Adam Młodzianowski,⁶⁴ Franciszek Walczowski,⁶⁵ Jerzy Bandura,⁶⁶ Gustaw Schmagier,⁶⁷ and Jan Stańda.⁶⁸ On the occasion of the Tenth International Bookplate Congress, which took place in Kraków in 1964, next to the folder on E. Grabowski, there also appeared an occasional print edited by Brosz to be circulated among the participants of the Congress.⁶⁹ Among the unrealized projects he hoped to complete were publications devoted to the work of Zbigniew Dolatowski (two proposals: 25 bookplates with an introduction as well as signs of the Zodiac in his bookplates, with 12 prints from the original blocks with the introduction); Tadeusz Przyrkowski (12 color bookplates, and an introduction in the form of letters from the author, chalk photography with a signature, and a list of bookplates created by Przyrkowski); Kazimierz Wiszniewski (list of bookplates, photograph of the author, list of bookplates, 10 original prints); Jerzy Napieracz (25 bookplates, introduction by Maciej Gutowski, list of bookplates created by the artist, and 25 original prints); Anatol Kałaszni-kow (Polish motifs, 10 dual color prints from blocks); Alina Kalczyńska (folio, introduction of Brosz to *Pawlikowska polskiego ekslibrisu* [Pawlikowska of the Polish Bookplate], original prints from blocks in [unspecified] quantity), Soviet graphics [exhibit catalog, introduction, list of bookplates, 20 drawings from zinc plates, 5 original prints from block]; and Andrzej Bortowski (introduction, 15 marks from prints). Brosz had also other projects in mind: Kraków in bookplates (introduction, thematic bibliography, twelve original prints from blocks); juvenile bookplate graphics (with his own introduction and 30 plates, some from bookplates and some from linocut tiles). He was quite advanced in the work on several of these proposals; for example, he had prepared introductions (on juvenile bookplates, among others) or lists of plates (with views of Kraków, among others).

⁶² *Wystawa ekslibrisów pracowników książki polskiej: wystawa ze zbiorów Antoniego Brosza*, Kraków 1978.

⁶³ E. G r a b o w s k i, *Ekslibrys Szkół Tysiąclecia*, introduction by A. B r o s z, Kraków 1964. One hundred copies printed for the Tenth International Bookplate Congress in Kraków.

⁶⁴ *Temperamenty: Adam Młodzianowski, Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz*, introduction by B. J a k u b o w s k a, Kraków 1967; A. M ł o d z i a n o w s k i, *Świątki ekslibrisowe*, Kraków 1967.

⁶⁵ F. W a l c z o w s k i, *Księgoznaki Franciszka Walczowskiego*, ed. A. B r o s z, Kraków 1973.

⁶⁶ *J. Bandura: ekslibrisy drzeworytowe wykonane w latach 1943–1947*, published by A. B r o s z, Kraków 1973.

⁶⁷ *Ekslibrisy Gustawa Schmagera*, Kraków 1975.

⁶⁸ J. S t a n d a, *Ekslibris*, Kraków 1967.

⁶⁹ *Cette publication a été éditée en l'honneur des membres du XE Congrès International de l'Ex-libris a Cracovie par les cercle des amateurs de l'ex-libris en Pologne*, ed. A. B r o s z, Kraków 1964.

The Circle of Bookplate Lovers, which he led, also planned to publish bibliophile folios titled *Ekslibrisy członków KME w Krakowie* [Bookplates of the Members of the Circle of Bookplate Lovers in Kraków], intended to be a short description of the interests of each of the members together with a copy of a bookplate of their choice (105 prints of the design were required to be delivered). In connection with this project, members of the Circle received a questionnaire in 1974, covering 7 points. In addition to the basic information (given name, surname, address, profession), members were also asked to respond to questions about owning a collection of bookplates, thematic collections, their own bookplates, their bibliophilic interests, and other topics. Unfortunately, the portfolio was never published.

* * *

According to Brosz's will, almost the entire collection of bookplates gathered by him, together with the cabinet in which they were stored, was transferred to the Jagiellonian Library in December 1980. In the records confirming the receipt of the donation to the library's collection from this month, the gift of J. Brosz is noted as 15,880 items under number 35, transferred to the Graphics Division.⁷⁰ As the collection developed, the collector also gathered related literature. However, despite the announcement in the auction catalog, the duplicates⁷¹ did not end up in the Jagiellonian Library.

The collection was accompanied by a list of its content consistent with the order in which Brosz collected and stored the materials. Several thousand items were divided into Polish bookplates – among these divisions were the oldest according to age, name, and subject (11 groups) and the rest in alphabetical order according to authors (198 names); subjects (including both Polish and foreign bookplates, 45 groups); and foreign (according to country, 30; and then further divided by the names of the artists, 145). Certainly, the most valuable were historical bookplates from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, a group which included 435 items, two of them from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, twenty from the eighteenth century, ninety from the nineteenth century, and 42 defined as “unidentified old.” Among the oldest were heraldic signs, 75 items; typographic, 71 items; Radziwiłł, 35 items; Potocki, 65 items; Mniszech and Lubomirski, 15 items; Schaffgotsch, 5 items; and 15 items by the artist Kajetan Wincenty Kielisiński. Among Polish artists, the most represented in the collection are the works of Jan Hass-Agopsowicz, 164 items; Andrzej Bortowski, 120 items; Ireneusz Chmurzyński, 106 items; Zbigniew Dolatowski, 466 items; Jerzy Drużycki, 156 items; Edward Grabowski, 154 items; Wojciech Jakubowski, 184 items; Zbigniew Józwick, 124 items; Andrzej Kamiński, 183 items; Czesław Kelma, 120 items; Adam Młodzianowski, 181 items; Tadeusz Przytkowski,

⁷⁰ Jagiellonian University Archives, shelfmark 815: *Dary – załączniki do rejestru przybytków 1980*, December 1980, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Literatura ekslibrisowa...*, p. 2.

147 items; Janusz Tłomakowski, 143 items; Tyrsus Wenhrynowicz, 181 items; Kazimierz Wiszniewski, 292 items; Krystyna Wróblewska, 110 items; and Tadeusz Żurowski, 106 items. In those grouped by theme, one can identify the largest as those of public libraries, 224 items; medical, 106 items; foreign erotica, 157 items; and those related to Don Quixote, a favorite of Brosz, 250 items. Among the almost 6,000 bookplates created by foreign artists, the most numerous are the works of the Max Kislinger (Austria), 172 items; Gerard Gaudaen (Belgium), 140 items; Herbert Otto (Germany), 150 items; Emil Kotrba (Czechoslovakia), 137 items; Jaroslav Vodrážka (Czechoslovakia), 160 items; Antal Fery (Hungary), 119 items; Aszot Mamadžanian (Armenian), 163 items; Anatol Kałasznikow (Soviet Union), 112 items; Konstantin Kozłowski (Soviet Union), 155 items; unidentified foreign: Soviet, 258 items; Estonian, 161 items; and Lithuanian, 135 items. Among them, there are many made specifically for Brosz: by Jan Hass-Agopsowicz (P1, 1960); Ruban Bedrossov (X2, 1962); Peteris Upitis (X2, 1962); Jerzy Napieracz (X3, 1963); Wojciech Jakubowski (C2,⁷² 1963); Stefania Dretler-Flin (X2, 1966); Anatol Kałasznikow (X2, 1967); Krystyna Wróblewska (X2, 1968); Wojciech Łuczak (X2, 1969); Eduard Dias Ferreira (P7, 1974); and Janusz Karwacki (C2, 1974). In the most known and popular publications related to bookplates (next to the publications by Marian Wojciechowski),⁷³ Maria Grońska (1920–January 27, 2015) noted the presence of the collection in the holdings of the Jagiellonian Library.⁷⁴

Along with the donation, Jadwiga Brosz included a letter to the director of the Jagiellonian Library making two requests: for the maintenance of the collection in its entirety in its current order (with possible additions to the collection in the form of acquisitions from other collectors) and marking the reverse of each bookplate with a stamp: The Collection of Antoni Brosz. She also expressed the hope for a special exhibition of parts of the collection and she indicated that an assistance of K. Świerzowski, who had dedicated much time to ordering of the collection and to the listing of its contents, would be helpful.⁷⁵ In response, Professor Stanisław Grzeszczuk, the then director of the Jagiellonian Library, expressed the institution's thanks for the priceless gift, at the same time assuring the donor that her requests would be carried out with all due diligence.⁷⁶ Accordingly, selections from the collection were presented and made accessible as exhibitions, for example, from November 1986 to March 1987 in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, in the Herzog August Biblio-

⁷² These are international designations of specific graphic techniques: P1, zincotype (cynkotypia kreskowa); X2, woodcut; X3, linocut; C2, copperplate; P7, offset.

⁷³ M. J. W o j c i e c h o w s k i, op. cit.

⁷⁴ M. G r o ń s k a, *Eklibrisy: wiadomości zebrane dla kolekcjonerów*, Warszawa 1992, p. 60.

⁷⁵ Letter of J. Brosz to the administration of Jagiellonian Library, December 10, 1980 (from the collection of the author).

⁷⁶ Letter of S. Grzeszczuk to J. Brosz, January 13, 1981 (from the collection of the author).

thek. It resulted in a catalog, *Exlibris Biblioteka Jagiellońska: Polnische Bücherzeichen aus den Sammlungen der Jagiellonischen Bibliothek in Krakau* [Jagiellonian Library Bookplates: Polish Bookplates from the Collection of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków].⁷⁷ The catalog included descriptions of 675 plates on exhibit, from almost 180 artists (with the exception of the bookplates in which it was not possible to identify the artist). The introduction by Piotr Hordyński mentions the provenance of three collections of bookplates (numbering 20,000 items); among the collections mentioned is that of A. Brosz.⁷⁸ Less than three years later, the same exhibition, slightly changed and corrected, was presented in the Jagiellonian Library and the guide⁷⁹ that accompanied the exhibition noted that the Brosz gift comprised 75% of the contemporary bookplates in the collection.⁸⁰

Upon making the gift to the Jagiellonian Library, Jadwiga Brosz also wrote to Professor Mieczysław Hess, the rector of Jagiellonian University. The letter included with the gift mentioned brief information about her husband and outlined the characteristics of the collection. Jadwiga Brosz mentioned, in the form of a request, that she would be grateful if information about the gift would appear in the press, writing the following: “[I make such a request] in light of the memory of my husband and in the interest in the whereabouts of this collection on the part of bookplate enthusiasts in Kraków and throughout Poland.”⁸¹ Her request was granted. A notice about the gift appeared in “*Dziennik Polski*”: “The Jagiellonian Library was enriched yesterday by one of the richest and most valuable collections of bookplates in Poland. Jadwiga Brosz, in accordance with the will of her husband, who died two years ago, transferred the collection to the library.”⁸² A notice also appeared in “*Przekrój*”: “The Jagiellonian Library acquired a collection of bookplates that is one of the most complete and valuable in Poland.”⁸³ Considering that Brosz dated his collection from 1938 and that he died forty years later, both magazines wrote mistakenly about the collection that it had been accumulated over a period of forty-five years.

⁷⁷ *Exlibris Biblioteka Jagiellonska. Polnische Bucherzeichen aus den Sammlungen der Jagiellonischen Bibliothek in Krakau. [Ausstellung im Malerbuchkabinett d. Bibliotheca Augusta vom 1. November 1986–1. Marz 1987]*, Ausstellung und Katalogberab. von P. H o r d y ń s k i, J. P i r o ż y ń s k i, Wolfenbüttel 1986.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*; see P. H o r d y ń s k i, *Sechs Jahuhunderte polnischer Exlibris aus den Sammlungen der Jagiellonischen Bibliothek*, p. 9.

⁷⁹ *Polski ekslibris od XVI do XX stulecia w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Informator o wystawie, Kraków 16 marca – 27 kwietnia 1989*, ed. P. H o r d y ń s k i, Kraków 1989.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

⁸¹ Letter of J. Brosz to M. Hess, December 10, 1980, p. 2 (from the collection of the author).

⁸² *Zbiór exlibrisów przekazano Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, “*Dziennik Polski*” 1980, 275, p. 6.

⁸³ “*Przekrój*” 1981, 1865, p. 8.

Professor Mieczysław Hess, the rector of the Jagiellonian University, sent J. Brosz a letter of thanks dated January 8, 1981:

It is difficult to overestimate the value of the collection of bookplates accumulated by your husband Antoni Brosz. This collection of almost sixteen thousand bookplates comprises one of the richest gifts ever to come to the Jagiellonian Library. The collection is a comprehensive documentation of the work of Polish bookplate artists and of global trends in miniature graphics. Because of your husband's extensive work and because of your gracious donation, the Jagiellonian Library can be the proud owner of one of the greatest collections of bookplates in the country.⁸⁴

K. Świerzowski also received a letter of thanks for his "selfless effort in organizing and inventorying the collection of Antoni Brosz, donated to the Jagiellonian University by Jadwiga Brosz."⁸⁵

The Jagiellonian Library was not the only institution to receive bookplates from Antoni Brosz. He transferred 48 plates to the collection of the National Museum in Kraków on October 31, 1961. The donation was listed in the book of accession records under the number 692/61 and the shelfmark: III-ryc. 5012 to III-ryc. 5057, III-ryc. 5078.⁸⁶ In the collections of the museum, there are 67 plates from Brosz,⁸⁷ among them works of Jerzy Bandura (1), Włodzimierz Borkowski (1), Czesław Borowczyk (1), Zbigniew Dolatowski (5), Jan Hass-Agopsowicz (14), Stanisław Jakubowski (3), Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz (2), Janina Kamińska (2), Stanisław Kuglin (1), Jan Kurkiewicz (1), Wiktor Zbigniew Langner (3), Kazimierz Lichocki (1), Adam Młodzianowski (3), Jerzy Napieracz (3), Stefan Pajączkowski (8), Tadeusz Przyppkowski (2), Stanisław Raczyński (2), Gustaw Schmager (6), Józef Stempniak (2), Jan Marcin Szancer (1), Stanisław Toepfer (1), Jerzy Werner (1), Kazimierz Wiszniewski (1), Krystyna Wróblewska (1), and Stanisław Henryka Zgaiński (1).

As a translator and expert on Slavic literature, Brosz gathered numerous prints and press clippings on related issues. In 1973, he transferred "documents, letters, and press clippings" to the library of the Institute of Russian Philology of the Jagiellonian University.⁸⁸ Less than a year after his death, his widow transferred materials to the Institute of Russian Philology, where they were received as "a priceless gift of a well-

⁸⁴ Letter of M. Hess to J. Brosz, January 8, 1981 (from the collection of the author).

⁸⁵ Letter of M. Hess to K. Świerzowski, January 8, 1981 (from the collection of the author).

⁸⁶ Letter of Zbigniew Bocheński (director of the National Museum in Kraków) to A. Brosz, November 18, 1961 (from the collection of the author).

⁸⁷ Information from March 20, 2015, list compiled by Katarzyna Podnieśnińska, an employee of the National Museum in Kraków.

⁸⁸ Letter of Ryszard Łużny (Director, Institute of Russian Philology of the Jagiellonian University) to A. Brosz, June 29, 1973 (BJ, MS Przyb. 250/05).

known bibliophile and translator of Slavic literature.”⁸⁹ She also donated materials to the library of the Institute of Polish Philology; a letter from December 10, 1979, confirms the “receipt of 79 press clippings from the interwar period related to the history of Polish literature.”⁹⁰ Reproductions of pictures of Polish writers were also transferred to the Municipal Public Library in Stary Sącz.⁹¹

* * *

Second to his passion for collecting bookplates was collecting “Orkaniana,” that is, materials connected to Władysław Orkan, an artist of the Młoda Polska [Young Poland]⁹² period, with whom he was fascinated and became friendly before the artist’s death. As a result of this friendship, there arose his collection of Orkaniana, which, after Brosz’s death, was transferred by his widow and K. Świerzowski⁹³ to “Orkanówki,” the Museum of Władysław Orkan in Poręba Wielka. Brosz expressed his willingness to transfer the materials several times during his life. The inventory of the gift from July 15, 1980⁹⁴ includes a list of 102 materials grouped in the following categories: I. Publications of the work of W. Orkan, 38 items; II. Studies, 46 items; III. Press clippings, 125 items; IV. Pictures and reproductions, 118 items; V. Printed ephemera, seven items; VI. Other materials, six items (notes and typed and handwritten manuscripts); VII. Correspondence to Władysław Orkan, 4 items; and VIII. Autographs of Władysław Orkan, 5 items and an additional 3 items. The transfer of the collection to the local government in Niedźwiedź, designated for the Museum of Władysław Orkan in his family home near Pustka in Poręba Wielka, occurred on July 15, 1981.⁹⁵

* * *

The collection of bookplates gathered over around forty years by A. Brosz is an unusual example of bibliophilic passion. Of special interest is the type of graphic art, a minuscule size with a maximum amount of a quality content in a visual motif. Taking into consideration the chronological period of the plates,

⁸⁹ Letter of Władysław Piotrowski (Director, Institute of Russian Philology of the Jagiellonian University to J. Brosz, December 10, 1979 (from the collection of the author).

⁹⁰ Letter of Roman Jaskuła (director of the Library of the Institute of Polish Philology of Jagiellonian University), December 10, 1979 (from the collection of the author).

⁹¹ Letter of Antoni Wnęk (director of the Municipal Public Library in Stary Sącz) to J. Brosz, July 19, 1980 (BJ, MS Przyb. 252/05).

⁹² Władysław Orkan (November 27, 1875 – May 14, 1930), Young Poland writer known for his love of the mountains and villages in Poland.

⁹³ K. Świerzowski, *Mało znane orkaniana w zbiorach Antoniego Brosza*, “Podhalanka, Pismo Związku Podhalan” 1985, 1, 11, pp. 6–9.

⁹⁴ From the collection of the author.

⁹⁵ Letter of J. Brosz to Urząd Gmina in Niedźwiedź, July 15, 1981 (from the collection of the author).

from the sixteenth century to modern times, it is possible to conclude that in nearly 16,000 items Brosz encompassed the history of the bookplate (especially Polish bookplates), from, roughly, the beginning of their use on the Polish lands⁹⁶ until the 1980s. Among the collector's many activities (translating, editing, exhibiting, publishing, his membership in various associations, correspondence, etc.), it was his work with the provenance of bookplates that allowed him to be remembered in history as a book lover and creator of the collection of bookplates belonging to the Jagiellonian Library.

Translated by Sean Martin

SUMMARY

This article presents the person of Antoni Brosz (1910–1978), a bibliophile and collector from Kraków, who was also a translator of Slavic languages. Over a period of about 40 years, he compiled a collection of bookplates containing about 20,000 items (including duplicates). In accordance with his will, nearly 16,000 items (including about 10,000 Polish and 6,000 foreign plates) were donated to the Jagiellonian Library at the end of 1980. In 1999, the collector's archival materials (including personal documents, letters as well as working notes) were also consigned to the Library. Antoni Brosz was the co-founder of the postwar Circle of Bookplate Lovers, which formed part of the Book Lovers Society. He participated actively in the Circle's work and maintained contacts with numerous Polish and foreign collectors. He also collected "Orkaniana," materials related to the work of the Young Poland artist Władysław Orkan.

KEYWORDS:

Antoni Brosz, bookplate, collection, donation, translator

ANTONI SZCZEPAN BROSZ (1910–1978) – BIBLIOFIL, KOLEKCJONER, TŁUMACZ

STRESZCZENIE

W artykule przedstawiono postać Antoniego Brosza (1910–1978) – krakowskiego bibliofila i kolekcjonera, tłumacza z języków słowiańskich. Przez około 40 lat zgromadził on zbiór ekslibrisów liczący około 20 000 znaków (wraz z dubletami). Zgodnie z jego ostatnią

⁹⁶ The oldest Polish bookplate, belonging to the bishop Maciej Drzewicki (February 22, 1467 – August 22, 1535), dates to 1516.

wolą niespełna 16 000 jednostek (około 10 000 znaków polskich, około 6000 znaków zagranicznych) zostało przekazanych do zasobów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod koniec 1980 roku, a w 1999 roku do zasobów tych trafiły również materiały archiwalne (między innymi dokumenty osobiste, korespondencja, notatki warsztatowe). Antoni Brosz był współzałożycielem powojennego Koła Miłośników Ekslibrisu, działającego w strukturach Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Książki, aktywnie uczestniczył w jego działalności, a także utrzymywał liczne kontakty z kolekcjonerami polskimi i zagranicznymi. Gromadził także orkaniana – materiały związane z Władysławem Orkanem.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Antoni Brosz, ekslibris, kolekcja, dar, tłumacz

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DOI: 10.26106/MJD0-W624

FROM “READING MACHINE” TO “EVENT SPACE.” THE BUILDING OF THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY IN THE VIEWS OF ITS DESIGNERS

It is assumed that the construction of a new library building is an event occurring no more than once per one generation of librarians.¹ In the case of the Jagiellonian Library, each stage of its construction occurred in the lifetime of a successive generation, since it took more than 70 years from laying the foundation stone for the building at Mickiewicz Avenue until its new part at Oleandry Street was opened. Thus, three generations of librarians worked in this building, observing and participating in three stages of its extension. A few historical periods have passed, and with them came huge socio-economic, political, technological, and cultural changes. Views on the role and functions of libraries changed during this time, followed by changes in principles of library construction. In the 1920s and 1930s, the function of the library building was primarily focused on protecting its collections² – it was characterized by a three-fold arrangement, the principle of non-intersection of pathways of books, librarians and readers, as well as the principle of organic expansion, while the library’s functions were expressed in the building itself. In the following decades, modu-

¹ E. Kobińska-Maciuszko, *Współczesne budynki biblioteczne w pracach LIBER Architecture Group*, „EBIB” 2001, vol. 4 (22), [online] <http://www.ebib.pl/2001/22/kobierska.html> [accessed on: June 23, 2020].

² However, at that time, the need to emphasize the process of accessing books and adapting the library’s activities to the needs of a particular community, including various categories of readers, began to be recognized, Z. Gaca-Dąbrowska, *Bibliotekarstwa II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 95–96.

lar construction began to be developed, based on a grid of columns and on a uniform square module, where every non-load-bearing element may be changed. In the 1970s, Harry Faulkner Brown formulated 10 principles for the design of academic library buildings, which were subsequently revised by Andrew McDonald. These principles are well known among librarians and they have been quoted repeatedly in works on constructing libraries, and increasingly used in practice in Poland since the 1990s.³

Architects building and extending the Jagiellonian Library, commonly called “Jagiellonka,” were representatives of the then-prevalent trends and styles, but they lived and operated in times distant from each other. The shape of the building is a derivative of their ideological or artistic programmes, and the author believes that it is interesting to present the views of these architects on the library – both on the building and on its role and functioning as an institution. It will also help, to some extent, to understand how the building in its present form was created.

This article is based on the published statements of Waclaw Krzyżanowski, who initiated the construction, and Romuald Loegler, who completed it. In addition, it also takes into account opinions and comments of co-participants or observers of these events, i.e. librarians, in particular the library’s directors and architects assessing the completed projects. The middle stage of extension, which was the work of Jerzy Wierzbicki, is not included here because this investment, which was an enlargement of the reading room and offices, did not affect the outer appearance of the library, as it practically merged into the original building. Financial constraints and urban planning requirements meant that this project, of modest size, did not provide for any major changes except for the superstructure and extension of the building towards the west.

The building designed by Krzyżanowski is now considered one of the flagship edifices of its time and has gained a modern continuation in the design of R. Loegler. This text will also tackle the relationship between these two parts of the Jagiellonian Library, primarily of an aesthetic and functional nature. It is also worthwhile to consider the future scenarios for organising the work of the building in the face of changes taking place under the influence of information technologies, which for more than 20 years have had the greatest impact on the functioning of libraries, as well as the changing needs of their users.

The paper will not dwell on the history of the subsequent stages of the Library’s construction. Interested readers can find extensive information on the above subject in the “Przegląd Biblioteczny” (The Library Review) and in “Biuletyn Biblioteki Ja-

³ According to the above, a library building should be flexible, compact, accessible, extendible, varied, organized, comfortable, providing appropriate environmental conditions and microclimate, secure, and economic. H. Faulkner-Brown, *Some thoughts in design of major library building*, [in:] *Intelligent Library Buildings: Proceedings of the tenth seminar of the IFLA Section on Library Buildings and Equipments. The City Library of the Hague (Netherlands), 24 August 1997 to 29 August 1997*, [online] <http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s20/rep/intlib1.pdf> [accessed on: June 23, 2020].

giellońskiej” (The Jagiellonian Library Bulletin). One should only mention the article by Aleksander Birkenmajer, the author of highly esteemed texts on library construction, who presented plans to build the Jagiellonian Library in 1929.⁴ Piotr Hordyński also wrote about how the design of the Library was created,⁵ while Jan Baumgart treated the issue of the construction and extension of the Jagiellonka as a starting point for reflection on building libraries in general.⁶ The last stage of the extension is presented in detail by Krzysztof Zamorski.⁷ Interesting information about transferring the library collections to the new building and the functioning of the library during World War II can be found in the memoirs of its director Edward Kuntze.⁸

It is worth mentioning, however, that the need to move library collections from the historic but rather cramped rooms of Collegium Maius arose already in the 19th century. Fryderyk Papee noticed that these rooms were more suitable for a museum than for a library. The building of the Nowodworski Collegium, which was gradually taken over by the library, did not improve the situation much. However, it was only the collapse of one of the book storage rooms in 1927, the so-called “stuba communis,” that alerted the public opinion and mobilized university authorities to take action. Considering the new building, various locations were taken into account – initially the new library was meant to be situated within the Planty, then at Jabłonowskich (now Sikorskiego) Square, then at the intersection of the streets Wolska (now Piłsudskiego), Wenecja, and Mickiewicza. However, the area turned out to be too small for the needs of the library, and the location at 22 Mickiewicz Avenue was finally chosen.⁹

In the competition for the library design announced in 1928, Waclaw Krzyżanowski was a double winner. As it turned out after opening the envelopes with the names of the architects participating in the competition, it were his designs which received the first and the second prize.¹⁰ What is interesting is that out of 17 applica-

⁴ A. B i r k e n m a j e r, *Plany nowego gmachu Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie*, „Przegląd Biblioteczny” III, 1929, vol. 2, pp. 122–138; i d e m, *Nowoczesne budownictwo biblioteczne*, [in:] *Konkurs architektoniczny na projekt nowego gmachu Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 1929; A. B i r k e n m a j e r, W. S k o c z y ł a s, *Budownictwo i wyposażenie bibliotek: materiały do nauki bibliotekarstwa*, Wrocław 1958.

⁵ P. H o r d y ń s k i, *Jak powstał Waclawa Krzyżanowskiego projekt gmachu Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, czyli architekt między modernizmem, tradycją i urzędnikami*, „Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” L/LI, 2000/2001, pp. 159–171.

⁶ J. B a u m g a r t, *Zagadnienia budownictwa bibliotecznego na przykładzie Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, „Przegląd Biblioteczny” XXXIV, 1966, vol. 1/2, pp. 16–37.

⁷ K. Z a m o r s k i, *Rozbudowa Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Problemy zmian funkcjonalnych*, „Przegląd Biblioteczny” LXVII, 1999, vol. 1/2, pp. 31–44.

⁸ E. K u n t z e, *Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką w okresie od 1 września 1939 do 18 stycznia 1945 r.*, [prepared for print by S. G r z e s z c z u k], „Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XXV, 1975, pp. 5–57.

⁹ J. B a u m g a r t, op. cit., pp. 22–24.

¹⁰ From the editorial note to: W. K r z y ż a n o w s k i, *Architekt o bibliotece*, Warszawa 1983, p. [7].

tions, only 5 qualified for the competition, the rest was rejected because they did not meet the requirements.¹¹

Krzyżanowski drew attention to the fact that what had remained to that day were many beautiful examples of historical architecture but few good library buildings. He believed that a library building, intended to perform a specific function, should be readily recognizable from the outside. He considered rich ornamentation unnecessary. In his eyes, overloading the building with paintings and sculptures was not only a nuisance to librarians and readers, but also negatively impacted the proper functioning of the entire library. Just like individual elements in the engine, he believed that in a library everything has its appropriate place, and the building design must take these principles into account. Disruption of such a structure makes it difficult or even impossible for the library to work properly. Krzyżanowski advocated the use of strict logic of movement in the interior and the body of the building – the logic of a machine.¹² It was an approach characteristic for modernism, in which aesthetic aspects were dominated by thinking about the functional properties of the building and its symbiotic communication with the user.¹³ According to Krzyżanowski, the library produced knowledge, forming human minds, and was also a storehouse of this knowledge. In his vision of the library, therefore, the body of the building was to be dominated by a tall storage room for books, whose form or style did not refer to the past, as there had been no such storage areas in the past. The second, compact part of the building was to consist of rooms for readers and librarians, and the third one of the offices of the management and administration. The whole was to be influenced by the rhythm of the book collection, which the architect had to adapt to. The only means of expression for the architect were the vertical and horizontal planes, or wide or narrow apertures allowing, or protecting against, sunlight, the variety of materials and their colours, as well as the quality of workmanship with inclinations towards monumentalism. He saw the design and construction of a library as a sublime task and compared it to the work of ancient Greeks.

According to Krzyżanowski, it was also necessary to consider the future by making a design that would take into account a possibility of a further extension of the building.¹⁴ This is precisely the Jagiellonian Library which he built. It should be noted, however, that in his designs, which were changed and limited during the construction process by officials of numerous ministries and other offices involved in the construction, he was not so economical in means of artistic expression. The building designed by Krzyżanowski was not to be completely devoid of ornaments, sculptures and decorations, although they were present only in the offices and the reading room area. The book storage room was

¹¹ J. Baumgart, op. cit., p. 25.

¹² W. Krzyżanowski, *Architekt o bibliotece*, Warszawa 1983, p. [4].

¹³ T. Kruszeński, *Przestrzenie biblioteki. O symbolicznej, fizycznej i społecznej obecności instytucji*, Toruń 2012, p. 118.

¹⁴ W. Krzyżanowski, op. cit., p. [4].

a completely modern and even innovative building, made of metal, while the rest of the library was made of stone and rather traditional. In front of the facade, there were ten pilasters in a semi-circular arrangement, crowned with allegorical statues. A statue was also to be found in the niche near the stairs from the entrance hall. The architect also included plant decorations, the Library emblem on the portal, and crystal decorations¹⁵ of the door and ceiling panels in the lobby. Financial considerations and the demands of officials resulted in giving up further decorative elements during the construction process.¹⁶ Today, the aesthetic response of the viewer is mainly influenced by the materials that were used: yellow sandstone and red granite in the facade, alabasters and marble in the hall and on the stairs, and oak furniture.¹⁷ This building is considered to be the most outstanding monumental work of Kraków architecture of the interwar period, and its construction was one of the most prestigious investments of the city in the 1930s.¹⁸

It should be noted that the milieu of Kraków architects in the 1930s were dominated by the graduates of the Kraków school from the first quarter of a century, and this environment was characterized by a certain self-sufficiency, isolation and conservatism. That is why “moderate modernism” dominated, which sought a reconciliation with the tradition and historical context of Kraków. Thus, there was a desire for moderation in the development of functional architecture, a tendency for stylization, and in larger projects – modern monumentalism.¹⁹ Proven, repeatable spatial and functional models were used as a method to maximize the efficiency of building functions. Simple rhythms give the impression of balancing the body of buildings and their stability, and the buildings themselves do not make a strong impression because what is most important is inside.²⁰

Krzyżanowski left also sketches of plans for further extension of the building, which was to occupy the entire plot, obtaining a pentagonal shape with a block of the main reading room hidden in the middle.²¹ The building which he had erected was calculated to house 1,900,000 volumes, and after extension according to the plan, it would gain space for 4,000,000 additional volumes. However, this concept was not pursued due to new urban assumptions, aiming at the preservation of the green belt on the perimeter of the plot.²² As mentioned above, in the 1960s the Library was

¹⁵ A decoration composed of geometric, mainly triangular elements was called “crystal” or “crystallic” in Polish, P. H o r d y ń s k i, op. cit., p. 163.

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 163–166.

¹⁷ E. Z a m o r s k a - P r z y ł u c k a, *Pochwała starej Jagiellonki*, „Architektura i Biznes” 2001, vol. 10, p. 20.

¹⁸ M. F a b i a ń s k i, J. P u r c h l a, *Historia architektury Krakowa w zarysie*, Kraków 2001, p. 78.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 89.

²⁰ T. K r u s z e w s k i, op. cit., p. 113.

²¹ P. H o r d y ń s k i, op. cit., p. 162.

²² J. B a u m g a r t, *Założenia...*, p. 29.

extended to include rooms for readers and librarians, without increasing the storage space. Already in the 1970s, preparations for the next extension began. In the 1970s and 80s, a competition was announced twice, and each time it was won by Romuald Loegler. At first, the extension was opposed by the Communist party authorities, but the second project was implemented in the late 1990s.²³

Bearing in mind the modernist shape of the Library, Romuald Loegler extended it in a harmonized manner in the spirit of the late 20th century architecture.²⁴ The extension was completed in 2001, and the building assumed the shape of the letter H. The part connecting the parallel buildings is a block containing the main reading room surrounded by passageways and catalogue rooms on the one side, and librarians' offices on the other side. The expansion significantly enlarged the storage space and offices for librarians as well as it increased the number of reading rooms. The Library has also gained a modern conference room and an exhibition room. The capacity of the newly created storage areas was estimated at the time to be sufficient for 20 to 25 years basing on contemporary data when the number of added books and magazines was about 70,000 volumes per year.²⁵ Today, several years into the future, the inflow of new books is 30% larger so the issue of storage has become a burning one. In the absence of space in the current location, the solution will probably be a storage area in another part of Kraków.

When describing the current Library building, the word "dialogue" is often used: an artistic and formal dialogue between the architect and the old building and with himself.²⁶ The architect refers to the old building, translating the solutions adopted there into the modern language of architecture or transforming them in accordance with his understanding of architecture. For Loegler, Krzyżanowski's building is fascinating, if only because nothing in it has lost its functionality despite the passage of several dozen years. He admires the simplicity and boldness of the functional layout and technology, the design of the main reading room, the stone interior, all of which, despite the scarcity of resources, has produced architecture that continues to be an object of admiration. However, he criticises the location of the former loan room, as if hidden in the corner of the entrance hall, which in his opinion, depreciates a significant function of a library,²⁷ which is quite commonly regarded its basic function.

²³ K. Zamorski, op. cit., p. 33.

²⁴ M. Fabiański, J. Purchla, op. cit., p. 116.

²⁵ K. Zamorski, *Nowy gmach Jagiellonki*, „Alma Mater” 2001, vol. 34, p. 8.

²⁶ G. Stiasny, *Dialog: rozbudowa Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, „Architektura Murator” 2000, vol. 1, p. 29; M. Motak, *Rozbudowa Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie*, „Architektura i Biznes” 2001, vol. 10, p. 34.

²⁷ R. Loegler, *Użyteczne piękno architektury*, in conversation with E. Zamorska-Przyłuska, „Architektura i Biznes” 2001, vol. 10, p. 27.

When designing the extension of the Library, the architect had to take into account many limitations: the building constructed by Krzyżanowski, the small plot and its shape, trees growing on the area, and a height limitation due to the requirement of protecting the cityline.²⁸ The structure of the building was based on a module of a cube with the wall dimensions of 4.80 m. The building is characterized by transparency. Glazed external surfaces and internal walls were not only used to give the impression of lightness and spaciousness, but also to provide better lighting.

A similar material was used in the facades as in the old building, but in the new one it is used in a different way; the structure of the building is rhythmic, and the new building does not dominate over the old part. Loegler did not attach importance to colour as an aesthetic factor, except perhaps for storage areas, where the red floor is intended to make the place more lively. He wanted to reduce both the number of colours and materials to a minimum, focusing on the super quality of the materials, which eventually was not fully achieved. In his opinion, the functionality of beauty is as important as the functionality of the building itself, which should be open and spacious. He emphasized the importance of the atmosphere of the library, high standard and aesthetic quality of its fittings, which were meant to be attractive to their users.²⁹

Romuald Loegler based on a specific discipline and theory of the free form. The discipline was defined by the “aesthetic spatial module” as a measure of the value of composition and aesthetics, and also an auxiliary factor for shaping the function of the structure. The basic unit of this module was a cube. The architect was inspired by the idea that the shape or form of the building gets revealed to the creator by “finding” or “discovering.” Designing a building is therefore a way of revealing the form, giving existence to the internal order in accordance with the idea of the universal natural order. According to Loegler, the task of the architect is not only to define the shape of the building, but also to determine the sense of architectural space. The architect is responsible not only for the aesthetic values of the building, but also for the recipient’s reaction to these values. The creator of the building is equally responsible for the quality of the single object as for its relationships and connections with the environment and its surroundings. It is therefore important to understand tradition and experience in both historical and contemporary terms. Loegler believes that the canons dating back to ancient times have not lost their relevance, but the modern sense of aesthetics has changed, hence the need to use new types of forms to avoid mediocrity.³⁰

Loegler is against the model of a library as a highly formal place with rigid rules, silence and control. The library is not to be a museum, but a “home” for readers and books, a “forge of knowledge about books.” It is not intended to evoke a mood of awe or tension, but rather to be a friendly, attractive place, encouraging people to spend time

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 23.

²⁹ Ibidem, pp. 24–30.

³⁰ I d e m, *Z przestrzeni uwolniona forma*, Kraków 2001, pp. 13–21.

in also for social purposes. As a cultural institution, it is supposed to invite people to interact with books also through visual impressions. The architect treated the library as an art gallery and the book as an art object – hence, the glass walls of the warehouses on the mezzanine of the staircase and other numerous glazed spaces, as well as the unfulfilled idea of a passageway running through the entire building, connecting the old and the new entrance. Such a passageway, encouraging a passer-by to walk in, would host various exhibitions or news about events related to books, and might give the reader an insight into the inner workings of the library.³¹ It seems, however, that in order to fulfil this role, it would have to be connected to communication routes (walkways, alleys) outside and not require going up the stairs and through the entrance gates of the library. Then, people who did not intend to use the library's collections would be more likely to step in and be tempted, for example, to take a shortcut, which could result in getting an interest in books, as intended by the architect. The architect also predicted that the Library itself could be a tourist destination due to its architectural qualities.

He believed that a library is a place where a person should remain quiet, but also feel at ease. In his eyes, the rooms of the public area – the exhibition and conference room, the cafeteria – would serve this purpose,³² and this should be the part of the library which would host cultural and academic events, literary meetings and exhibitions, i.e. “event locations.” However, this is a small part of the library and moreover it is not completely informal. There is hardly any space, for example, group study nor additional social spaces at various locations in the library allowing for spontaneous meetings, rest or just reading in a comfortable place. Currently, attention is often paid to the role of the atmosphere as a factor influencing the choice of a place to study.³³ In addition, with the changing model of using the library, when the importance of access to own or external digital resources organized by the library is on the increase, the number of computer workstations or the possibility of using own mobile devices and Wi-Fi networks becomes more important than the number and type of reading rooms.

In one of his interviews, Romuald Loegler said that he had built a library for readers, not for librarians. It is difficult, however, to understand a definite refusal of the same to librarians, who in fact spend more time in the library than any reader. He emphasized that the Jagiellonian Library is particularly important because of its cultural role, also as a monument of the Jagiellonian University, increasing the prestige of the university and the whole city.³⁴ Certainly, designing and constructing libraries,

³¹ *I d e m*, *Użyteczne...*, p. 23.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 24.

³³ See eg. J. H u n t e r, A. C o x, *Learnig over tea! Studying in informal learning spaces*, “New Library World” 115, 2014, vol. 1/2, pp. 34–50 (quoted from: M. W a l e s z k o, *Studiowanie przy herbacie: o znaczeniu nieformalnych przestrzeni do nauki*, [online] <http://babin.bn.org.pl/?p=2608> [accessed on: June 23, 2020]).

³⁴ R. L o e g l e r, *Użyteczne...*, p. 30.

as also theatres, museums or churches, which are considered to be particularly prestigious architectural achievements, has a positive impact on the reputation of their creators, too.

Both parts of the Jagiellonian library, the old one and the new one, are similar in size and volume, but differ significantly from each other. The building is clearly divided into two parts. The old part is more static while the new one is dynamic. The entrance area in the old part is monumental – it consists of a series of wide steps and a slightly protruding risalit with rhythmic divisions intended to resemble book spines.³⁵ In the new part, the entrance is located in a diagonally extended pavilion as Oleandry Street does not run parallel to Mickiewicz Avenue. This gives this part of the building an impression of dynamism, which not present in the old building. The new part of the Library clearly shows the impact of modern fashion for glazing, which allows the use of light as a component of composition and is also typical for contemporary architecture.³⁶ In the old part, the amount of light is regulated by wider or narrower windows, which are tinted in the storage part to protect the collection. From the outside, one can see a similarity of colour and material of the facade as regards the stone cladding of both buildings, however, inside the new building, the colours and decor clearly differ from the old part. Loegler's building may be seen as a mirror image, and perhaps even a negative, of the old building. As the entrance from Mickiewicz Avenue is closed and the loan room is located at Oleandry Street, readers are seen in the largest numbers in the new building; in the old one, they are usually in the Main Reading Room. The current location of the entrance at Oleandry Street means that this reading room seems to be "turned backwards" as one enters it from the side of the old part of the building.

Krzyżanowski's library is a place where knowledge is stored and created, and therefore a place worthy of respect and properly decorated as such. According to Loegler, the library should not be a formal, but a friendly place, encouraging spontaneous visits, and attracting not only readers, but also tourists or even random passers-by. However, one can get the impression that the architect lacked space for implementing such goals and this problem could not have been solved even by creating a passage through the building. At the same time, the old building – due to a certain monumentality and hieraticity, warmth of its red floors,³⁷ oak furnishings and noble quality of stone walls – stands in an advantageous contrast to the cold decor of the corridors of the new part, i.e. grey walls, laminates and glazed spaces, which are covered with stone blinds from the outside and with fabric or metal blinds from the inside. The atmospheric main reading room makes a bigger impression on visitors than the new edifice, which is similar to other modern buildings.

³⁵ However, the symbolism of the exterior of the building is usually overlooked.

³⁶ T. K r u s z e w s k i, op. cit., p. 150.

³⁷ The red of the floors was mistakenly identified by one of the architects with the "book pathway," see M. M o t a k, op. cit., p. 35.

Both architects were inspired by ancient patterns, by simplicity of expression, both operated with the construction material and light. However, in the new building financial constraints did not allow the use of better quality materials, although also Krzyżanowski, as mentioned above, had to significantly reduce the scope of his project according to administrative demands. Loegler unjustly attributes these restrictions, as well as those regarding his project, to a conservatism of librarians. The archives provide evidence of the battles Krzyżanowski and librarians fought with the authorities, which is reported in the above-mentioned article by P. Hordyński.

Construction of a library requires close cooperation between architects and librarians, who must together work out optimal requirements of the design. The architect's vision may collide with the knowledge and views of librarians. However, librarians do not have to have extensive knowledge of architecture, whereas the architect should come to understand the workings of a library in order to design it well and develop creatively. Both current and expected future conditions should be taken into account. The librarians' and architect's views on the library are necessarily different, however, the reader perceives the building in yet another way.

It has already been noted in literature that when speaking about library buildings, some architects show little knowledge of the functioning of libraries and of the changes occurring in this respect, the 10 Faulkner-Brown principles included.³⁸ A case in point here is the 19th century principle, requiring separation of the pathways of the book, readers, and librarians,³⁹ characteristic of the three-fold library, which is still presented as valid. In fact, this model is becoming a thing of the past in the era of the increasingly common principle of free access. In the case of the Jagiellonka, there was not enough space to provide free access to the collections in the new building, although the possibilities of opening some storage rooms for readers were considered during its construction. Meanwhile, free access collections of numerous reading rooms are expanding, currently including approximately 70,000 volumes. Digital documents made available by libraries online are also becoming a substitute for free access.⁴⁰

One of the drawbacks of the new parts of the Jagiellonian Library is said to be the lack of space which would mirror the importance of the main reading room located in the old part. However, such opinions are uttered with no hint to the functionality of such a room, which would only serve the purpose of maintaining symmetry.⁴¹

³⁸ A. Wałczak, *Promocja bibliotek poprzez architekturę, czyli o czym pisze się na łamach czasopisma „Architektura Murator,”* „EBIB” 2009, vol. 3 (103), [online] <http://www.ebib.pl/2009/103/a.php?walczak> [accessed on: June 23, 2020].

³⁹ M. Motał, op. cit., p. 34.

⁴⁰ H. Hollender, *Tezy o architekturze bibliotek,* „EBIB” 2009, vol. 3 (103), [online] <http://www.ebib.info/2009/103/a.php?hollender> [accessed on: June 23, 2020].

⁴¹ G. Stiasny, op. cit., p. 30.

Some of the Library's rooms have changed their purpose in the past, as required by current needs. The future will also bring certain changes. It is easy to imagine that once the entire Library collection catalogue is computerized, the current extensive catalogue rooms may be used for other purposes. They can become areas of work with the library's or one's own computers, or reading rooms in a different formula, places for group or individual work or a resting area – a place to read a book or newspaper or have a coffee. The future may also bring changes which are difficult to predict and these rooms may come to be used in yet another way.

The development of information technologies affects library construction and, above all, the organization of space in a library. Rooms of different sizes are needed, which are adapted to the needs of the IT-proficient generation. The self-service trend is increasing, there are more library computers and user-owned equipment. Just like the need to include library experts with broad theoretical knowledge of the subject in the design process used to be emphasized, today it is considered important to involve computer specialists in this process.⁴²

Modernist functionalism saw the library as a “reading machine,” a learning and entertainment machine.⁴³ Today, the library is seen as a “gateway to knowledge” that provides access to remote and on-site information. However, it is to be not only a space for learning, but also a space in which various social interactions occur. The goal is to transform it into a place that readers actually like to spend time in, also their free time. The concept of “library as a meeting place” or a “third place” has also become popular.⁴⁴ In architecture, the term “library as a place of events” is used, as it is believed that designing a library not only shapes space, but also the events that happen in it.⁴⁵ Library is also called a “modern agora,”⁴⁶ i.e., a place the social life of a given community focuses around. Taking into account the above, the architect should think of the library more as an environment than a building.⁴⁷ These ideas affect the way of building and organizing the work of libraries, aiming to increase their accessibility and attractiveness. Great importance is also attached to creating an attractive

⁴² *Bibliotekarstwo*, ed. A. Tokarska, Warszawa 2013, p. 683.

⁴³ T. Kruszeński, op. cit., p. 118.

⁴⁴ The concept of “third place” was formulated by Ray Oldenburg in his book *The great goodplace: cafes, coffee shops, community centers, beauty parlors, general stores, bars, hangouts and how they get you through the day*, New York 1989, describing with this term spaces which are free from routine activities, in which personal bonds and a sense of belonging to a community are built, where new ideas are born, and which does not require spending money.

⁴⁵ J. Kabrońska, *Forma architektoniczna biblioteki przyszłości*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Gdańskiej” 580, „Architektura” XXXI, 2001, p. 10.

⁴⁶ M. Kowicki, *Współczesna agora – wybrane problemy kształtowania ośrodków usługowych dla małych społeczności lokalnych*, Kraków 2004, p. 96.

⁴⁷ E. Maciuszko, *Krótki kurs projektowania gmachu biblioteki (na przykładzie BUW)*, „Notes Wydawniczy” 1994, vol. 4, p. 38.

image of the place. The changing conditions in which the new needs of their users function require new solutions in a situation where the library is gradually losing its role as the “storage of knowledge.”⁴⁸

The Jagiellonian Library, built in the 1930s as a dignified “temple of knowledge,” in the mind of the architect who completed its extension, was to become a friendly place for meetings and events, offering space for work and rest, spacious and full of light. However, the building only creates certain opportunities, while using them to satisfy, and also awake, diverse needs of library users depends on the librarians.

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⁴⁸ A. Spaleniak, *Zmiany zachodzące w bibliotece akademickiej, czyli jak w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu realizujemy hasło „Czytelnik naszym królem” – 10 lat później*, [in:] *Unowocześnianie organizacji i metod pracy biblioteki w świetle zmieniających się potrzeb czytelników, edycja II: materiały konferencyjne Opole, 16–17 listopada 2011 r.*, eds. W. Matwiejczuki, D. Szewczyk - Kłós, Opole 2012, p. 100.

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SUMMARY

This article presents the views on library architecture represented by two architects involved in designing and constructing the Jagiellonian Library: Waclaw Krzyżanowski, who started the construction in 1931, and Waldemar Loegler, who finished the last extension of the building in 2001. For Krzyżanowski, who followed the Modernist and Functionalist ideas, a library was a place of strict organisation and respect, hence the monumentalism and stability of the part of the building he designed. Loegler's design, however, is based upon the theory of free forms, according to which a library should be a friendly and open place. In Loegler's view, more than a building, the architect designs events which take place within its walls. This article also touches upon some possible future scenarios for the building of the Jagiellonian Library with regard to the changing needs of its users, such as the necessity of building a storage area. It also presents contemporary tendencies in library architecture.

KEYWORDS:

Jagiellonian Library, library architecture, Waclaw Krzyżanowski, Loegler Romuald

OD „MASZYNY DO CZYTANIA” DO „MIEJSCA ZDARZEŃ.”
BUDYNEK BIBLIOTEKI JAGIELLOŃSKIEJ
W KONCEPCJACH JEJ ARCHITEKTÓW

STRESZCZENIE

W artykule przedstawione zostały poglądy na budownictwo biblioteczne dwóch architektów zaangażowanych w projektowanie i budowę Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej: Waclawa Krzyżanowskiego, który budowę rozpoczął w roku 1931, i Waldemara Loeglera, który w 2001 roku ostatnią rozbudowę zakończył. Dla W. Krzyżanowskiego, który tworzył w duchu modernistycznego funkcjonalizmu, biblioteka była miejscem ściśle zorganizowanym i budzącym szacunek, stąd pewien monumentalizm i statyczność zbudowanego przez niego gmachu. Projekt W. Loeglera jest oparty na teorii formy uwolnionej, a biblioteka ma być miejscem przyjaznym i otwartym. Opiera się na zasadzie mówiącej, że architekt projektuje nie tyle budynek, co zdarzenia rozgrywające się w nim. W artykule rozważane są także możliwe scenariusze przyszłości gmachu Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej wobec zmieniających się potrzeb użytkowników, takie jak potrzeba budowy magazynu składowego oraz przedstawiane są współczesne tendencje w budownictwie bibliotecznym.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Biblioteka Jagiellońska, budownictwo biblioteczne, Waclaw Krzyżanowski, Loegler Romuald

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THE SURVEY OF THE FUNCTIONING OF THE COMPUTER CATALOGUE OF THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES COLLECTIONS

In February 2014, a questionnaire survey was conducted among the users of the Computer Catalogue of the Jagiellonian University Libraries Collections (Katalog Komputerowy Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, KKZBUJ). The survey was anonymous and available online on the homepage of the Jagiellonian Library, as well as directly on the Computer Catalogue website. Publishing the survey on the website was preceded by a trial version: a hardcopy questionnaire shared with the readers in the rooms with catalogue access, as well as the Reference Reading Room. The objective of the survey was to learn the functionality of KKZBUJ by determination of the satisfaction indicator of users of the Catalogue, as well as the frequency of individual services usage. The survey area encompassed: KKZBUJ website, individual functions of KKZBUJ, as well as instructions and information for readers published on the website. Additionally, the survey measured the assessment of competences and friendliness of the Jagiellonian Library staff, mainly the Catalogue personnel.

Over 700 respondents took part in the survey, however the number of complete questionnaires, i.e. the ones with all obligatory questions answered, is 541. The analysis was conducted on the complete questionnaires only. The breakdown of respondents is as follows: students 50% (281 persons), academic staff 16% (89 persons),

postgraduate students 14% (82 persons), other Library users 10% (58 persons), librarians 10% (56 persons). In line with the user status, persons aged 24 or younger constituted 42% of the respondents, persons aged 25–35 – 34%. In total, 76% of the respondents were young people. Persons aged 36–56 constituted 20% of the respondents, while only 4% of the respondents were older than 56 years of age.

The main part of the survey encompassed multiple choice questions with a 5-stage, verbal measurement scale. The survey of user satisfaction regarding individual KKZBUJ services consisted of 15 questions. In the case of the majority of the questions, the scale had a form of verbal statements which were assigned scores 1 to 5 in the results analysis. (Very good = 5, good = 4, satisfactory = 3, unsatisfactory = 2, no opinion = 1.) The satisfaction indicators were determined by summing up the respondent scores for each service, followed by dividing the results by the number of respondents.¹

The survey of frequency of using individual KKZBUJ-related services encompassed 5 “How often?” style questions. Majority of the questions had a scale consisting of verbal statements: very often, often, rarely, very rarely, never. Results for these questions were calculated as percentages. Questions containing a definite scale were obligatory. Additionally, the survey contained 4 non-obligatory and unscaled open-ended questions, allowing the respondents to freely formulate their answers and express their opinions.

Survey results:

I. USER SATISFACTION INDICATORS

The first question concerned the assessment of the appearance of the KKZBUJ website. Answering the question “How do you rate the appearance of the Catalogue website?” 61% of respondents rated the website as not user-friendly, 23% rated it as very user-friendly, 4% of the respondents rated it as definitely not user-friendly, while 3% had no opinion.

The satisfaction indicator of the appearance of the catalogue website equaled 3.70.

The second question, “How do you rate the results of your actions while using individual functions available in KKZBUJ?” consisted of 9 sections related to various functions offered by the catalogue. These are shown below, starting from functions with the highest user satisfaction indicators:

¹ The survey was based on the PN-ISO 11620:2012 *Informacja i dokumentacja – Wskaźniki funkcjonalności bibliotek (Information and documentation – Library performance indicators)* recommendations. The standard contains descriptions and methods of calculating library performance indicators, including the (B.2.4.2) *Satysfakcja użytkowników (User Satisfaction)* parameter.

1. Online extension of borrowing time of books by the user

This service was rated the highest. The vast majority of ratings (71%) were “very good,” with 16% “good” and 3% “satisfactory.” Overall, 90% of people gave a positive rating. In the case of 2% of respondents, the rating was negative, while 8% admitted to not using that service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 4.40.

Such a good rating of the self-operated extension of the loan time is worth noticing, especially since this service has been in place only since 2012. Evidently, it provides for the user needs.

2. Searching for a particular item with known author or title

In this case, 52% of ratings were “very good,” 31% “good,” 13% “satisfactory,” so overall 96% of the users were happy with the results of such searches. 4% of the respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while less than 1% (3 persons) admitted to not using this service. This basic functionality of the Computer Catalogue is the one users are most familiar with. It, therefore, comes as no surprise that it has the lowest percentage of non-users. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 4.30.

3. Making orders for items found in the catalogue

This service also received a high rating, with 52% of “very good” ratings, 32% “good” ratings and 9% “satisfactory” ratings – 93% positive ratings overall. 4% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 3% admitted to not using this service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 4.27.

4. Using the reservation function for checked-out books

This service was rated highly. 52% of ratings were “very good,” 29% “good,” and 8% “satisfactory,” meaning 89% positive ratings overall. 4% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 7% admitted to not using this service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 4.14.

5. Navigating from the index to an individual item the user would like to check out

This service was rated “very good” by 25% of respondents, “good” by 36%, “satisfactory” by 21%. 9% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 8% admitted to not using this service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 3.62.

6. Searching for an item related to a specific topic

This service was rated “very good” by 10% of respondents, “good” by 28%, “satisfactory” by 29%. 22% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 11% stated that they hadn’t used the service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 3.05. Overall, the majority (67%) of respondents gave this function a positive rating.

7. Searching for a specific volume or issue of a periodical

This service received highly varied ratings, as follows: 14% of “very good” ratings, 26% of “good” ratings and 29% of “satisfactory” ratings, meaning 69% of positive ratings overall. Unfortunately, 12% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 26% admitted to not using this service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 2.90, one of the lowest in this survey.

8. Creating a bibliography with the Clipboard functionality

This service received a “very good” rating from 10% of respondents, “good” from 15% of respondents and “satisfactory” from 12% of respondents, meaning 37% positive ratings overall. 9% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 54% admitted to not using this service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 2.18.

9. Browsing databases using the “Media” link available in the bibliography record

This service was rated the lowest, as follows: 8% of “very good” ratings, 16% of “good” ratings and 12% of “satisfactory” ratings, meaning 36% of positive ratings overall. 6% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 58% admitted to not using this service. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 2.09.

As can be seen in the two last examples, the low satisfaction indicator can stem not only from low ratings, but also from the users’ inability to utilize a service. The last case can be explained in part by the fact that using the “Multimedia” link in the bibliography record is the newest service offered by KKZBUJ and users did not have enough time to learn it yet. Taking this into account, we can say that as an additional benefit, our survey resulted in familiarizing a significant number of our users with a previously unknown functionality of KKZBUJ.

Two subsequent questions were related to the help available to a user. In a response to “How do you rate information and help regarding KKZBUJ available on

the Jagiellonian Library website?,” 12% of respondents rated this help as “very good,” 43% as “good,” and 21% as “satisfactory.” Overall, positive ratings of the information and help available on the Jagiellonian Library website amounted to 76%. 7% of respondents gave the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 17% had no opinion in this matter. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 3.27.

In a response to “How do you rate the help related to using KKZBUJ received from the Jagiellonian Library staff?,” 30% of respondents rated this help as “very good,” 28% as “good,” and 7% as “satisfactory.” Overall, positive ratings of the help received from the Jagiellonian Library staff amounted to 65%. 4% of respondents gave the “unsatisfactory” rating, while 31% had no opinion in this matter. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 3.24. This last question shows that a significant number of people does not ask librarians for help regarding using the computer catalogue, while users that do ask for it are generally satisfied with it.

The goal of the three last questions was to get a general opinion of users regarding KKZBUJ. The first objective was to show the rating of KKZBUJ in comparison to computer catalogues of other libraries. KKZBUJ received a “very good” rating from 26% of respondents, “good” from 34% of respondents, and “satisfactory” from 17% of respondents. Overall, 76% of respondents gave KKZBUJ a positive rating in comparison to other catalogues, 3% gave it an “unsatisfactory” rating, and 14% indicated not using the computer catalogues of other libraries. The satisfaction indicator for this service was calculated without taking into account the last answer, thus it pertained only to the persons that had some experience in working with other computer catalogues. This indicator was equal to 3.93.

The objective of the second general question was to learn how users rate overall fulfillment of their needs by KKZBUJ. There were 24% of “very good” ratings, 52% of “good” ratings and 18% of “satisfactory” ratings – 94% positive ratings overall. 5% of respondents gave the service the “unsatisfactory” rating, while only 1% had no opinion on this matter. The satisfaction indicator here was 3.93.

The third general question was the last one related to user satisfaction and pertained to the level of this satisfaction regarding their last visit on the KKZBUJ website. The question “How do you rate the results of activities undertaken during your last visit on the KKZBUJ website?” received a “very good” answer from 43% of respondents, “good” from 38% of respondents, and “satisfactory” from 13% of respondents – 94% positive ratings overall. 4% of the respondents gave an “unsatisfactory” rating, and 1% had not used the computer catalogue recently. The satisfaction indicator for this service was 4.18.²

² M. B a ś, *Badanie funkcjonalności katalogu online BJ przez ustalenie wskaźnika satysfakcji użytkowników* survey has been published on the Jagiellonian Digital Library website, [online] <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/290561> [accessed on: June 25, 2020].

II. SURVEY OF THE FREQUENCY OF USING THE SERVICES OF THE COMPUTER CATALOGUE OF THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES COLLECTIONS

Subsequent questions included in the survey pertained to the frequency of using the computer catalogue, as well as individual search criteria in the catalogue. The most numerous category of KKZBUJ users turned out to be those using it a few times a week (37%), slightly lower number (32%) visited it a few times a month, while 15% declared using the catalogue once a weeks. The smallest group of users used the catalogue a few times a year (8%). 10% of respondents admitted to using KKZBUJ every day.

The next group of questions pertained to the frequency of searching KKZBUJ using a variety of indices. The compute catalogue allows users to browse indices of authors, titles, periodical titles, subject entries and shelfmarks.

In respect of searching by the index of authors, the vast majority of users (74.3%) declared using it very often, 20.4% often, 3.5% rarely, 0.7% very rarely, 1.1% never. Answers regarding utilization of title index were quite similar, with 77% of users admitting to using it very often, 18.8% often, 2.9% rarely, 0.9% very rarely, 0.4% never. Such results are quite understandable, as most of the readers usually search for a specific entry, knowing its author and/or title.

Another option for browsing the catalogue is searching by a periodical title. In this case, 27.8% of users declared using this feature very often, 21.9% often, 22.2% rarely, 13.2% very rarely, 14.9% never.

Reader preferences related to browsing the catalogue with subject entries were quite similar. It should be added that the computer catalogue offers four categories of subject indices:

- subject index – allows a concurrent search in two available indices of subjects: KABA and MeSH;
- KABA subject index – allows searching for books using the KABA subject entry language, used in the JL and Jagiellonian University institute libraries;
- MESH subject index – allows searching for books using the medicine and related sciences subject entry language, used by the Jagiellonian University Medical College Medical Library;
- subject index in English and French – allows searching in the catalogue using the English and French equivalents of KABA terminology.

20.2% of respondents declared using the first subject index very often, 26.1% often, 26.1% rarely, 14% very rarely, 13.6% never. Despite the fact that users can choose searching the subject entries using only KABA or MeSH classification, answers to subsequent questions suggest a lack of their knowledge regarding the meaning of these acronyms. Preferences expressed by the users are as follows: 1. Searching in the catalogue using KABA subject entries: 6.8% very often, 11.4% often,

18.7% rarely, 17.5% very rarely, 45.6% never. 2. Searching in the catalogue using MeSH subject entries: 3.4% very often, 4.8% often, 15.1% rarely, 19.5% very rarely, 57.2% never.

The last index of subjects, used for browsing the catalogue with English and French equivalents of KABA terminology, is a specialized tool for a small group of readers. 3.4% of the respondents declared using it very often, 6.6% often, 10.9% rarely, 21.1% very rarely, 59.7% never.

Answers to the question regarding user preferences pertaining to browsing the catalogue with shelfmarks were quite similar. Only 2.2% of the respondents declared using this feature very often, 7.5% often, 13.8% rarely, 20.8% very rarely, while 55.7% of the respondents never used it.

The third group of questions checked the frequency of using other methods of subject searches than indexes. In KKZBUJ those are:

- searching by words (allowing to find items using words that appear in selected fields of bibliographic descriptions). 17.8% of the respondents had been using this feature very often, 30.2% often, 24.5% rarely, 9.7% very rarely, 17.8% never;
- searching by words in entries (allowing to search indices using various words and phrases that may appear in any part of the title entry, subject entry or author entry). 25% of the respondents had been choosing this method very often, 32.2% – often, 21.1% rarely, 7% very rarely, 14.7% never.

As evident, both aforementioned methods are quite popular among the users, since they allow finding relevant items without the need to browse the subject index, which can get troublesome due to its formality.

Experienced users have one more method of subject search at their disposal: advanced search. Results of this search can be additionally narrowed by the use of various filters. 5.9% of the respondents had been choosing this method very often, 13.8% often, 27.9% rarely, 19.5% very rarely, 32% never.

The next group of questions regarding the method of searching for items pertaining to a relevant subject allowed for determining search strategies which were most often used by the catalogue users. Subject search by words had been chosen very often by 31.6% of the respondents, often by 35.1%, rarely by 16.6%, very rarely by 5.3%, never by 11.4%. The distribution of answers in the case of searching the catalogue by subjects turned out to be very similar. It was chosen very often by 34.4% of the respondents, often by 33.8%, rarely by 14.7%, very rarely by 5.5%, never by 11.6%. The aforementioned answers suggest that a large group of readers is able to use the quite specific language of subject entries in addition to the intuitive search by keywords.

The two other methods are much less popular among readers in this type of search. The method of merging word search with index search had been chosen very often by 7.7% of the respondents, often by 17.3%, rarely by 26.6%, very rarely by 13.8%, never by 34.6%. The numbers look similar in the case of advanced search:

4.8% of the respondents had been choosing this method very often, 12.9% often, 22.8% rarely, 21.3% very rarely, 38.2% never.

The objective of the last group of questions was to study user preferences regarding the choice of methods of searching for the more detailed information regarding the functioning of the computer catalogue. As regards asking for a direct librarian assistance, only a small minority (8.3%) declared requesting such help very often, 13.8% often, 22.4% rarely, 18.2% very rarely, while 37.3% stated that they had never asked the library staff for assistance. Such a distribution of answers may suggest a high level of competence in searching for information among the majority of users or using identical search strategies constantly. Additional information regarding the computer catalogue available in the online manuals had been searched very often by 6.4% of the respondents, often by 25.9%, rarely by 26.1%, very rarely by 16.4%, never by 25.2%. Conclusions here are similar to the ones pertaining to the previous question. Moreover, almost 30% of the respondents declaring frequent or very frequent utilization of this method of assistance may suggest that these are the users browsing the catalogue via the Internet. Naturally, in such a case, this is the most effective form of obtaining assistance.

The distribution of answers regarding the utility of *Ars Quaerendi* lectures in gaining a broader knowledge of KKZBUJ is somewhat puzzling. These lectures have been provided by the Jagiellonian Library since 2005 and encompass not just familiarizing the users with the specificity and methods of using all JL catalogues at the basic and advanced levels, but also teach the tools and search strategies regarding information for scientific needs and private interests. The vast majority (78.3%) of the users declared never using this form of assistance, 8.3% used it very rarely, 9.9% rarely, 3.1% often, and merely 0.4% very often. Perhaps this form of trainings needs additional promotion or it should be accepted that only an elite group of users has advanced needs regarding information/search.

The two last questions of this part of the survey pertained to acquiring additional information regarding the computer catalogue by email and phone. Phone seems to be the preferred option for the larger percentage of the users – 3.7% of them contacted the library by phone often or very often, with only 1.3% using email so frequently. 83% of the respondents never asked for additional help by phone, 88% by email. 6.1% of the users rarely used phone help, with 7.4% using it very rarely. In the case of email assistance, these numbers are 5.5% and 5.2%, respectively.³

³ A. Grzęda, *Badanie częstotliwości korzystania z usług Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (KKZBUJ)* survey is available on the Jagiellonian Digital Library website, [online] <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/publication/290722> [accessed on: June 25, 2020].

III. USER OPINIONS

The survey contained 4 open-ended questions. By answering them, the respondents could express their own opinions regarding KKZBUJ.

The first open-ended question was as follows: "What type of activities did you undertake during your last visit on the KKZBUJ website?" The objective was to see which functions of the catalogue are utilized by users. 485 persons answered this question, 56 surveys left it unanswered. The most frequent answer was: "searching and ordering books with known author or title." Such an answer was given by over 90% of the respondents. This confirms the findings at an earlier question regarding frequency of using individual KKZBUJ functions, where 74.3% of the respondents declared using the author index very often. The remaining 8% of the users declared using various catalogue functions of KKZBUJ during their last visit, while 2% of the respondents indicated making orders for periodicals and searching for relevant literature by subject entries.

The second open-ended question pertained to the assessment of computer catalogues of other Polish and foreign libraries used by the respondents. 341 readers answered this question. KKZBUJ was named the best catalogue by 141 respondents, while 25 persons named the catalogue of the Regional Public Library in Kraków as the best one. Fewer votes went to the National Library in Warsaw (17) and the Library of the Pedagogical University of Kraków (14). The libraries of the University of Silesia in Katowice and AGH University of Science and Technology in Kraków got 6 votes each. Foreign libraries also appeared in the answers: University of Texas at Austin, Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg in Germany, Bibliothèque nationale de France, King's College in London, British Library, as well as the libraries of universities of Berlin, Erlangen and Leipzig.

In the third question, we asked respondents to describe additional expectations and needs that KKZBUJ should satisfy. 305 respondents answered this question, with 4 persons answering "no opinion," 1 person: "it's quite OK," 5 persons: "I don't know" and 2 persons: "everything is fine." The remaining answers, although individual, make it possible to define the problems our readers face, learn their expectations and consider possible changes that would contribute to satisfying their needs. The analysis of all the answers to this open-ended question allowed us to divide them into three groups: suggestions for changes in KKZBUJ, answers stemming from insufficient knowledge regarding the catalogue functions and descriptions of difficulties the readers face while using KKZBUJ.

The first group contains suggestions of changes and improvements that the Library should introduce to KKZBUJ. Among these answers, frequent was the opinion that the catalogue "should be integrated with other search tools into a multisearch engine." In the case of KKZBUJ, this probably means an integration of all search tools offered by the Jagiellonian Library, i.e. catalogues, Jagiellonian Digi-

tal Library, databases (including the database of biographical entries and theatre iconography), and the A–Z list (a list of all periodicals the Jagiellonian University subscribes and foreign books, full-text), allowing a simultaneous search in all these tools. According to one of the respondents, the catalogue “should allow searching for entries sounding similar to the main term.” The respondents also indicated that a chat or an “Ask A Librarian” function available when displaying the KKZBUJ search results would be helpful. The KKZBUJ option “index search” lists the author index first by default; the respondents claimed that title search (as in, for example, the NUKAT catalogue) would be more convenient. They also pointed out difficulties in using the catalogue on smartphones. In this respect, a mobile version of the catalogue (i.e. website), adapted to mobile devices, such as smartphones, palmtops and tablets, would be helpful.

The largest number of suggestions were related to the contents of the catalogue, however. The majority of users stated that the catalogue should contain the whole library collection. One of the respondents claimed that the catalogue should be supplemented to contain all the entries from the hardcopy catalogues of Jagiellonian collections available in the Jagiellonian Library. Incomplete collection of the 19th and 20th century newspapers had also been pointed out. Some answers pertained to overly generic descriptions of items (subject entries), explaining that “they should be more precise,” “book descriptions are too general and superficial,” “usually nothing can be determined from the descriptions.” These opinions are probably related to the difficulties readers face when using the subject search function. Some respondents also pointed out that user session during catalogue browsing expires too quickly.

The aforementioned suggestions seem to hint to a direction of changes in the method of accessing the collections and their presentation in the library catalogues. Nowadays, readers also use the internet portals, such as Google, YouTube, internet shops and bookstores, as well as social media. Hence, they have certain expectations regarding the design and functionality of library catalogues: they should be intuitive, more akin to an internet browser, and the catalogue search method should contain context help options (i.e. information regarding documents similar to the ones being searched).

The second group contains answers stemming from insufficient knowledge regarding the construction and features of the catalogue. A significant number of users gave answers suggesting a lack of familiarity with search options. Among these answers, there is an opinion that the catalogue should sort all found publications of a specific author alphabetically, while such sorting can be set by the user on the intermediary screen, containing the list of titles. Some respondents suggested the possibility of viewing the number of people who wait for a specific copy, while this information is visible on the copy list page. One of the respondents claimed: “I’m under impression that it’s not possible to find a book in the catalogue

in case of entering a title with articles” – the catalogue manual states clearly that articles should be omitted in a title search. Some users had difficulties with searching by several criteria – this may pertain to search by keywords or merging word searches and index searches.

The third group of answers contains descriptions of difficulties the readers face while searching. The vast majority of respondents pointed out troubles searching for specific issues of periodicals. It is also difficult for the readers to check if a specific book can be borrowed. Several people stated that in some cases they learned a book cannot be borrowed only at the circulation desk. Problems with checking books out are quite frequent, however at every computer station in the Library, one can find information regarding items that cannot be borrowed. Additionally, the respondents mentioned issues with using the advanced search and keyword search, as well as difficulties with searching publication series. The survey clearly shows that the majority of the issues of the users are related to searching for periodical titles and series, as well as making orders for specific volumes of periodicals.

In the last open-ended question, respondents were asked to provide their scientific field, study major, profession, interests, and hobbies. Such information helps the Jagiellonian Library to adapt to user needs, for example by introducing additional topics to the *Ars Quaerendi* lectures. Naturally, the majority of answers regarding study majors showed the fields studied and taught at the Jagiellonian University. Answers regarding interests and hobbies pointed to literature, reading, history, architecture, tourism, film, sport and politics.

All three parts of the survey provided valuable information regarding the perception of KKZBUJ by the users, as well as the users themselves, their expectations, problems, and behaviors regarding information gathering. Determination of satisfaction indicators allowed us to see how the users view the individual features of KKZBUJ. On the one hand, the 4.18 satisfaction indicator for the last visit on the Catalogue website is satisfactory to both the users and librarians of the Jagiellonian Library. On the other hand, the analysis showed that more attention should be given to the services whose satisfaction factor was below 3, i.e. searching for a specific issue of a periodical, creating bibliography with the Clipboard feature, as well as browsing databases with the “Media” link available in the bibliography record. Additionally, learning the frequency of utilization of individual functions as well as answers to the open-ended questions made it possible to envision changes that need to be implemented in order to increase the satisfaction indicators. The analysis of the survey also helped with resolving problems stemming from the introduction of Chamo, i.e. the new KKZBUJ user interface.

The librarians of the Jagiellonian Library know very well that a visit in the Library can be quite stressful for some users. This is caused not only by the size and specificity of the collection, but also the relatively complicated rules of making use of them. Hence, we should strive to educate the readers effectively and increase their

information competences. And these are exactly the objectives of our activities like open training for the readers, library lessons, collection presentations, printed and virtual catalogue guides, direct Library staff assistance, as well as phone and email help. We are aware of the constantly growing group of readers who use the library via the Internet. Heuristic skills and search behaviours of this group has been shaped to a large extent by this medium. In order to satisfy the needs of these users and encourage them to communicate via the Internet, we should put more stress on the creation and development of interactive query forms, helping the readers to solve various problems without the need to leave their homes. Due to this, the Reference Department of the Jagiellonian Library created the "Ask A Librarian" online service. After several months of this service being active, an analysis of the number and type of reported problems confirms that the introduction of this service was a proper answer to the needs of the Jagiellonian Library users.

Translated by Jacek Smycz

SUMMARY

This article presents the results of the survey of the functioning of the Computer Catalogue of the JU Libraries Collections, conducted in February 2014 among the users of the catalogue. The survey was anonymous and available online directly from the website of the Computer Catalogue of the JU Libraries Collections.

It covered the website of the Computer Catalogue of the JU Libraries Collections, individual functions of the catalogue, as well as the information and instructions for the readers available on the website of the Jagiellonian Library and pertaining the Computer Catalogue of the JU Libraries Collections. It also included the evaluation of the competence and friendliness of the staff of the Library, mainly the Catalogue staff.

The survey resulted in calculating the rate of user satisfaction regarding the Computer Catalogue of the JU Libraries Collections as a whole, as well as its individual functions. Thanks to the statistical tool for the frequency of service utilization, it also revealed preferences of the users regarding the choice of individual services.

KEYWORDS:

Jagiellonian Library, OPAC catalogue, user satisfaction indicator, survey of functioning, library users

BADANIE FUNKCJONALNOŚCI KATALOGU KOMPUTEROWEGO ZBIORÓW BIBLIOTEK UNIwersYTETU JAGIELLOŃSKIEGO

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia wyniki badania funkcjonalności Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Podstawę artykułu stanowi analiza badania ankietowego przeprowadzonego w lutym 2014 roku wśród użytkowników Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Ankieta była anonimowa i dostępna online ze strony głównej Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej oraz bezpośrednio ze strony Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Obszar badania obejmował: stronę WWW Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, poszczególne funkcje Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, umieszczone na stronie instrukcje i informacje dla czytelników, a dotyczące Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Badania objęły również ocenę kompetencji i zyczliwości personelu Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, głównie pracowników Katalogu. Rezultatem badań jest ustalenie wskaźnika satysfakcji użytkowników z Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w całości i dla poszczególnych jego funkcji, a także ustalenie preferencji użytkowników w wyborze poszczególnych usług przez określenie częstotliwości korzystania z danej usługi.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Biblioteka Jagiellońska, katalog OPAC, wskaźnik satysfakcji, badanie funkcjonalności, użytkownicy bibliotek

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DOI: 10.26106/HE50-M723

THE ACTIVITY OF THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY IN 2017. A REPORT

By the resolution of the Senate of the Jagiellonian University of 31st May 2017, a new unit was established within the organizational structure of the Jagiellonian Library: the Cultural Events Section to be included in the Organization Department. Iwona Wawrzynek, MA was entrusted with the management of the Section as of July 1st, 2017. There were also minor changes in relation to other management positions:

- Katarzyna Kamińska, MA became the head of the Lending Services Section in the Collection Circulation and Reference Department on 1st October 2017,
- Izabela Korczyńska, MA became the head of the Graphics and Maps Section in the Special Collection Department on 1st October 2017,
- Małgorzata Krzos, MA became the head of the Music Collection Section in the Special Collection Department on 1st October 2017,
- Monika Zębala, MA became the head of the Books and Monographs Section in the Collection Processing Department on 1st October 2017.

The Board of Directors remained unchanged. Prof. Zdzisław Pietrzyk, PhD continued as the CEO of the Jagiellonian Library, while Aleksandra Cieślar, MA (Deputy Director for Administration), Krzysztof Frankowicz, MA (Deputy Director for Collections) and Krystyna Sanetra, MA (Deputy Director for Development) acted as his deputies.

STAFF

In the reporting year, the Jagiellonian Library (BJ) employed a total of 380 staff members (as of December 31, 2017), including 246 women (65%) and 134 men

(35%). 315 staff members held positions relating to the principal activity of the library (including 255 librarian positions), while 65 persons were part of the administration, maintenance, or cleaning staff. There were 8 part-time employees.

Additionally, in 2017, 7 persons worked in the Jagiellonian Library as volunteers (in the Collection Development Department, the Collection Circulation and Reference Department and the Special Collection Department), while 25 people were employed under civil law contracts (contracts of mandate and specific commissions).

Employment as of December 31, 2017*

Specification	Total	Principal activity	Administration, maintenance and cleaning staff
Number of staff members	380	315	65
Incl. full-time staff	367	307	60
Incl. female staff	246	210	36
Incl. female full-time staff	238	207	31
Total of full-time equivalents	375.25	311.50	63.75

* modified table based on a reporting form for the Statistics Poland office (k-03, section 3, item 1)

Among those in employment, there were 21 staff members with doctoral degrees (including 1 person with a post-doctorate [habilitation] degree). Several staff members continued their doctoral studies: Ekaterina Baumann, MA (at the Faculty of Management and Social Communication of the Jagiellonian University), Krzysztof Frankowicz, MA (at the Faculty of Philosophy of Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków), Izabela Korczyńska, MA (at the Faculty of History and Cultural Heritage of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow), Jakub Krzysztonek, MA (at the Faculty of History and Cultural Heritage of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków), Michał Lewicki, MA (at the Faculty of History of the Jagiellonian University), Ewa Valde-Nowak, MA (at the Faculty of Management and Social Communication of the Jagiellonian University), Barbara Żurek, MA (at the Faculty of History of the Jagiellonian University). Leszek Szafrąński, MA commenced his doctoral degree proceedings in the field of humanities in the discipline of bibliology and computer science at the Faculty of Management and Social Communication of the Jagiellonian University. Żaneta Kubic was awarded the degree of doctor of humanities in bibliology and computer science (dissertation titled: *Księgozbiór Sebastiana Sierakowskiego, rektora szkoły Głównej Krakowskiej w latach 1809–1814, w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* [Book Collection of Sebastian Sierakowski, Rector of the Main School of Kraków from

1809 to 1814, in the Collection of the Jagiellonian Library], prepared under the supervision of Prof. Zdzisław Pietrzyk, PhD). Julia Krajcarz, PhD, Jacek Partyka, PhD, Joanna Pypłacz, PhD and Wojciech Świeboda, PhD continued the work on their post-doctorate (habilitation) dissertations. Edyta Gałuszka obtained a master's degree in Library and Information Science at the Pedagogical University of Kraków. Barbara Korfel (Batko) obtained a master's degree in International Business at the Cracow University of Economics. Katarzyna Sroka obtained a master's degree in Information Management at the Faculty of Management and Social Communication at the Jagiellonian University. Justyna Mączka and Norbert Nocóń pursued their MA programmes. Marzena Napora continued her extramural MA programme in National Security at the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University. Katarzyna Guzy, MA completed her BA programme at the Institute of Information Studies at the Pedagogical University of Kraków (major: Information Architecture).

Six members of the staff completed domestic academic internships: Izabela Korczyńska, MA (in the Scientific Library of the PAAS and PAS in Kraków), Kamila Jędrusik, MA and Marta Sozańska, MA (in the main library of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków), Monika Strach, MA (in the Library of the University of Gdańsk), Katarzyna Zwiercan-Borucka, MA (in the Scientific Library of the PAAS and PAS in Kraków) and Jarosław Zoppa, MA (in the library of the Polish PAS in Gdańsk).

Besides, staff members improved their professional skills by participating in multiple training courses and presentations on a variety of subjects:

- employees of the Collection Circulation and Reference Department participated in numerous webinars, lectures and workshops, mainly concerning using and managing Oxford University Press academic journals, ProQuest and EBSCO databases, IT tools, publication search engines, bibliography, citation reports, etc.,
- employees of the Digital Resources Department participated in training courses and workshops on the education unit survey in the POL-on information system on higher education and the Polish Scholarly Bibliography (PBN) system, legal aspects of document selection for digitalization, copyright and free licenses in open science and workshops on conflict resolution and stress management,
- employees of the Project Department took an active part in training courses on the principles for the recruitment of employees at the Jagiellonian University (UJ) under civil law contracts, administrative handling of projects financed by the National Science Centre, European Research Council grants and managing the website www.blog.bj.uj.edu.pl,
- employees of the Organization Department participated in training courses on public procurement, managing the SAP system, the principles for preparing civil law contracts, calculating the VAT tax, self-promotion in social media and organization of events at the Jagiellonian University,

- employees of the Conservation Section from the Conservation Department took part in workshops on the conservation of cultural heritage objects,
- employees of the internal security service 'Jagiellonian Library Guard' took part in numerous training courses regarding fire safety, technical support for installing electronic devices and alarm systems signalling danger to the protected persons and property, new features of CCTV and the newly installed burglary and theft alarm system,
- employees of numerous departments benefitted from training courses in psychology regarding conflict resolution, effective communication, creative problem-solving techniques, as well as time management.

Seven staff members retired: Anna Bator (cleaner), Maria Łepkowska (senior cloakroom assistant), Iwona Niewiadomska, MA (custodian), Danuta Orządała (library assistant), Anna Płatek (cleaner), Stanisława Szewczyk (custodian), Maria Żurek (senior cloakroom assistant).

Employment contracts were terminated with 9 employees: Katarzyna Antos, MA (librarian), Aneta Bieda (cleaner), Bogna Górniak, MA (junior book conservator), Łukasz Mesek (certified custodian), Ewa Michałowska-Karlińska (librarian), Karol Nabiałek, PhD (librarian), Agnieszka Parzych (junior librarian), Oliwier Sadlik, MA (librarian), and Jolanta Surma (cleaner).

Five staff members (all retired) passed away: Danuta Patkaniowska, PhD (d. on 13th January, 2017) – worked in the Jagiellonian Library from 1981 to 2015 and was the head of the New Collections Subject Cataloguing Department from 2005 to 2014, as well as the head of the Subject Cataloguing Section in the Collection Processing Department from 2014 to 2015; Joanna Kopacz, MA (d. on 31st January, 2017) – worked in the Jagiellonian Library from 1967 to 2009 and was the head of the Library Loan Section from 1977 to 1990; Zofia Zabiegaj (d. in March 2017) – worked in the Jagiellonian Library in the Bindery Section from 1981 to 1995; Adam Kurzweil (d. in May 2017) – worked in the Jagiellonian Library collection stock room from 1977 to 1995; Jan Sajdera (d. on 25th August, 2017) – worked in the Jagiellonian Library from 1963 to 2003 and was the head of the Photographic-Technical Laboratory from 1972 to 2001, as well as the head of the Microfilming Section in the Conservation Department from 2001 to 2003.

GENERAL INFORMATION

In 2017, the Collection Processing Department, headed by Żaneta Kubic, PhD, received 74,939 volumes of books (11% more than in the previous year) from the Collection Development Department. This increase is mainly thanks to a donation made by the late Prof. Juliusz Bardach. 68,050 volumes of books and monographs underwent descriptive and alphabetical subject cataloguing, i.e. 2.8% more than in

2016. The number of bibliographic records entered into the computer catalogue in the reporting period increased by 8.7% and amounted to 36,033. This number does not include records in relation to the donation by Prof. J. Bardach, which were processed outside of regular working hours under separate civil-law contracts with library staff members.

As regards retrospective conversion, a decrease of about 10% was noted in comparison with the previous year. A total of 29,607 volumes underwent the process of retroconversion and 13,288 bibliographic records were made for them (a decrease by 22%). Overall, the total number of all the bibliographic records for books and monographs entered in the Computer Catalogue of the Jagiellonian Libraries Collections (KKZBUJ) amounted to 53,341 (i.e. 6.3% more than in 2016).

The Serials Section of the Collection Processing Department received 13,773 volumes of periodicals and monographic series from the Collection Development Department, which was 6,070 volumes (i.e. 78.8%) more than in 2016. The number of volumes that went through alphabetical subject cataloguing in the reporting period amounted to 14,960, i.e. 5,687 volumes more than in the previous year (61.3%). A total of 3,056 bibliographic records were entered into the computer catalogue in the Serials Section, a slight majority of which were copied from the NUKAT database. 1,881 resource records were created. The process of retro-conversion, first applied to long-overdue periodicals, was completed with respect to 12,211 volumes of serial publications, (an increase by almost 100%); 3,812 bibliographic records and 1,147 resource records were created for them and entered in the KKZBUJ. The total number of all the bibliographic records created for serials was 6,868 (43.6% more than in 2016), while the total number of the created resource records was 3,028 (11.8% more than in 2016).

In all, a total of 10,645 new authority headings were created, including 7,278 personal name headings, 1,040 corporate headings, 799 subject headings, 110 geographical name headings, 597 series titles and 821 unified titles. In addition to the above mentioned headings, the Subject Cataloguing Section created 3,249 subject heading strings, while 152 subject headings were copied from the descriptive authority file catalogue.

In 2017, the Collection Processing Department undertook the following priority tasks: books and monographs subject cataloguing, implementing the division by subject with respect to the library material so that it could be processed in accordance with the National Library Descriptors (DBN) model, arrangements concerning the future development of collection subject cataloguing, world trends in this respect and suggestions for their implementation in Poland (including testing the integration of the KABA / DBN subject headings vocabularies), finally, strengthening cooperation with the National Library regarding unified principles for descriptive and alphabetical subject cataloguing of collections.

Moreover, the department staff actively helped the systems librarian organize and manage the KKZBUJ, supervising the deletion of records from the au-

thority file catalogue and carrying out the necessary amelioration of bibliographic records.

The Computer Catalogue of the Jagiellonian Libraries Collection (KKZBUJ) – available at <https://chamo.bj.uj.edu.pl/uj/search/query?locale=pl&theme=system> – was still supported by the integrated library system VTLS / Virtua. As of December 31st, 2017, the database contained 1,464,981 titles of books and periodicals in 3,600,639 copies and 76,916 resource records of multi-volume publications, publication series, as well as periodicals in the Jagiellonian Library and institute libraries. The consistency of data and efficient search in the Jagiellonian Library catalogue is ensured by the authority file catalogue, consisting of 1,738,642 records of different types. In total, the KKZBUJ contains 6,881,178 records (as of December 31st, 2017). The computer-processed collections currently account for 42% of the total collections of the Jagiellonian Library, and for 43% of the total collections of the Jagiellonian University.

Increase of computer-processed part of the library collection in 2017

	Bibliographic records (titles)	Copy records	Resource records (volumes)	Authority file records
Records entered in 2017	116,993	264,703	4,523	98,288
by				
Jagiellonian Library	48,166	193,833	3,515	21,668
Jagiellonian University institute libraries	10,257	61,832	864	6,270
Jagiellonian University Medical Library and its institute libraries	1,619	9,038	144	2,149
incorporated from the NUKAT database	56,951	—	—	68,201

The cost of maintenance of the central Jagiellonian University catalogue in 2017 amounted to PLN 243,892.00 (including servicing and the VTLS / Virtua system upgrade license: PLN 209,783.00, as well as servicing and the ORACLE system upgrade license: PLN 34,109.00).

Staff of the Reference Services Section of the Collection Circulation and Reference Department added a total of 3,177 cards to all hard-copy card catalogues. Cards of the Basic Alphabetical Catalogue continued to be digitalized; a total of 209 cards were scanned and 348 cards were assigned numbers in the Basic Alphabetical Catalogue.

The section staff also continued updating the database of biographical notes, where 2,047 new descriptions were introduced, while 1,485 existing records were supplemented with new information. At the end of 2017, the database consisted of 45,667 records.

The department processed 962 queries from Poland and 33 from abroad, and offered 4,812 bibliographic expert consultations. In reply to 1,288 inquiries received, 1,549 letters were sent. 159 requests concerning reprographic services were also fulfilled.

As part of the 'Librarian For You' service, the department staff provided readers with 45 free individual consultations concerning the use of traditional and electronic catalogues, searching for information in Polish and foreign databases, using online resources, preparing bibliographies or carrying out bibliometric analyses.

Leaflets and guidebooks in Polish and English were updated, edited, translated, printed and distributed within the library. As in the previous year, the section staff administered the profile of the Jagiellonian Library on Facebook, where they published about 70 posts promoting various activities of the section, among others, making announcements about upcoming lectures in the *Ars Quaerendi* series or about trial access databases.

All kinds of electronic documents were stored and processed on an ongoing basis in the Digital Resources Department. In 2017, the department staff created 722 new bibliographic records (including 170 bibliographic descriptions for born-digital documents) for electronic, non-musical audio documents, films, books, and monographs, as well as serials, while 401 records were copied. In addition, 495 authority records were created, 706 subject headings were added to the bibliographic records and 3,513 subject heading strings were created. Cataloguing printed documents in the form of microform reproductions was also continued. As part of this project, 34 periodical titles and 394 books and monographs were catalogued.

The Project Department, headed by Małgorzata Mrozek-Buksa, MA, focused mainly on full administrative support of projects financed from various external sources, in particular: participating in meetings of project teams, preparing applications for extra-budgetary funding together with relevant annexes, drafting project agreements together with schedules of planned tasks and cost estimates, preparing documents necessary for substantive implementation of projects (powers of attorney, protocols of procedure arrangements, protocols of personnel selection), drafting civil law contracts for project contractors, planning the spending of funds for additional remuneration for the library staff members responsible for project tasks, planning contribution, preparing and controlling working time cards for projects implementers, coordinating the signing of annexes to contracts with staff members, placing acquisition orders or carrying out market research, preparing (annual) reports, ongoing control of the budget in the SAP system with regard to allocated funds, as well as entering into and maintaining extensive correspondence with subsidizing institutions and the Jagiellonian University administration.

Moreover, throughout the year, in order to actively promote the Jagiellonian Library, Project Department employees cooperated with the Cultural Events Section of the Organization Department, and the Jagiellonian University Centre for Communications and Marketing. Promotional activities with regard to the events organised by the Jagiellonian Library, collections held in the library and the Jagiellonian Digital Library (JBC) were conducted mainly through social media, such as:

Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/bibliotekajagiellonska/>),
 Instagram (https://www.instagram.com/jagiellonian_library/),
 Twitter (https://twitter.com/jagiellonka_uj?lang=pl).

As of December 31st, 2017, the number of people following BJ profiles was: 4,733 on Facebook, 812 on Instagram and 110 on Twitter. The cooperation previously established with the coaching section FLOW of the Association of Students of Psychology UJ was also continued. As part of the Library Week celebrated in May, BJ helped organise a series of training sessions for students (workshops on stress management and a training course on self-control *Chwyć byka za rogi* [Take the Bull by the Horns]), for librarians (workshops: *Rozwiązywanie konfliktów* [Conflict Resolution], *Techniki gryzienia problemów – czyli o twórczych rozwiązaniach* [Techniques of Tackling Problems – Creative Solutions] and *Radzenie sobie ze stresem* [Stress Management]) and for seniors (workshops on memory training). In all, 35 people took part in the workshops.

In mid-October 2017, after extensive consultations with representatives of the Jagiellonian University Portal, the Jagiellonian Library blog was launched. The main topics covered include literature, the history of books, photography, Jagiellonian Library trivia, readers' creative output. In the reporting period, three articles and ten entries from the 'Czy wiesz, że...' [Do you know that...]' series were published. Director Zdzisław Pietrzyk was the first to publish an article "*Własnymi oczyma z radością oglądamy...*" [We are happy to see with our own eyes...].

The total number of 404,912 volumes (1% more than in 2016) were added to the general collection stock room in the Stock Rooms Department – apart from new additions, this number includes readers' returns, items processed retrospectively and deposit returns. The number of new non-serial and serial publications (54,312 entities) added to the archival items storage room increased, in turn, by 11,497 (i.e. by 26.9%) in comparison with the previous year. The number of requests received by the Archival Copies Section slightly decreased (by 2.6%); it was 2,788 in the reporting year. The number of readers' requests decreased by 14,354 (4.3%) and amounted to 319,276 requests in total. Requests placed via traditional request forms accounted for approximately 5.3% (16,781) of all requests. Unfortunately, there is still a steady downward trend in the number of readers' requests for traditional collections.

All staff members of the Stock Rooms Department were involved in permanent relocating of the collection. A total of 2,221 running meters of the collection (mainly periodicals of page size I and II, as well as books and monographs of page size III) were relocated in the archival copies stock room. Due to the substantial increase of periodicals in the archival copies stock room and collections stock room, it is necessary to carry out relocation of the collection on a regular basis.

126,618 volumes and entities (an increase by 33.7% compared to 2016) were assigned call numbers by the staff of the Technical Processing Section. The number of created records also increased by 30% (110,632 barcodes were assigned). Retrospective processing of the collection was also continued – a total of 67,519 records were created as part of the routine library work (52% more than in 2016!).

In the reporting period, 442 manuscripts were processed and ameliorated in the Manuscripts Section of the Special Collection Department. Five Latin medieval manuscripts received catalogue descriptions, while 337 modern and contemporary manuscripts as well as one item of written reprographic material received accession cards. In addition, two descriptions of medieval manuscripts and 97 descriptions of modern and contemporary manuscripts were ameliorated.

As regards the library material processed during the reporting period, the legacies left by Julian Kawalec, Jan B. Ożóg, and Bolesław Faron are particularly noteworthy. Moreover, excerpts from Prof. Waclaw Twardzik's correspondence, Karol Ludwik Koniński's papers (including his *Mój pamiętnik* [My Diary], a collection of small prose forms and copies of correspondence from 1917 to 1943), and Polish translations of the lectures and anthroposophical works (from 1891 to 1925) by Rudolf Steiner were processed. The section staff was also involved in organizing and processing Wisława Szymborska's archive, the legacy of Piotr Wysocki and his family, the legacy of Prof. Stanisław Ortwiński, the legacy of Kazimierz Petelenz, and a collection of legal documents *Extrawaganty*.

A significant amount of time was devoted to handling correspondence regarding special collections. It was the Manuscripts Section staff that conducted the most extensive exchange of letters with readers (over 1,700 letters, which constitutes 57% of the correspondence of the Special Collection Department). Besides, the section staff processed 110 queries (77 from Poland and 33 from abroad) and offered a total of 1,324 answers to questions (509 concerning bibliographic information and 815 concerning subject information).

The Jagiellonian Library manuscripts were shown at 40 exhibitions and during library lessons addressed to various circles, professions and social groups; they were attended by pupils, university students, academics, members of scientific, cultural and social associations and societies, employees of domestic and foreign institutions, offices and organizations, central and local government politicians and clergy. The manuscripts were also presented at several exhibitions held outside the Jagiellonian Library, among others, at the exhibition accompanying the *III Dyktando Krakowskie*

[Kraków Spelling Test] organised in the Auditorium Maximum of the Jagiellonian University and at the exhibitions: *Pod przewodnią gwiazdą nauki* [Led by the guiding star of science] as well as *Bibliotheca Magna* in the Jagiellonian University Museum.

The staff of the Early Printed Books Section of the Special Collection Department focused primarily on processing duplicate copies from the Jagiellonian Library collection and the collections incorporated from the Jagiellonian University institute libraries, as well as the previous collections published in the Jagiellonian Digital Library. A total of 1,007 items in 1,020 volumes (59% more than in 2016!) were catalogued and 502 authority records (i.e. 29.4% less than in the previous year), 1,151 bibliographic records (27.3% less than in the previous year) and 1,357 item records (35.6% less than in 2016) were created in the KKZBUJ.

The section staff processed 79 queries (47 from Poland and 32 from abroad). A total of 672 answers to readers' requests for information were provided (431 concerning bibliographic information and 241 concerning fact information).

In the reporting year, the Early Printed Books Section organized 33 book exhibitions for individual guests and groups from Poland and abroad. Early printed books were presented at exhibitions held both inside and outside the library building (including the exhibition accompanying the Third Kraków Spelling Test organised in the Jagiellonian University Auditorium Maximum, and at the exhibitions: *Der Luther-effekt. 500 Jahre Protestantismus in den Welt* in the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, *Bibliotheca Magna* in the Jagiellonian University Museum, *Rozważny i romantyczny. W 200. rocznicę śmierci Tadeusza Kościuszki* [A Man of Sense and Sensibility. On Tadeusz Kosciuszko's 200th death anniversary] in the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, and *Mapy miasta – dziedzictwa i sacrum w przestrzeni Krakowa* [Maps of the City – Heritages and the Sacred within Kraków's Cityscape in the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków].

The Music Collection Section of the Special Collection Department continued processing music documents in the KKZBUJ. A total of 1,540 items (2.9% more than in 2016) in 1,541 volumes were catalogued and 1,259 original authority records, 1,502 bibliographic records and 1095 item records were created for them. Among the catalogued, there were 1,299 items of sheet music (1,299 volumes) and 241 documents of music life. 91 volumes of sheet music, 104 documents of music life and two audio-visual documents were added to the inventory.

In 2017, as usual, the section staff members actively participated in organizing the exhibition of music autographs accompanying the 21st Ludwig van Beethoven Easter Festival. A significant amount of time was spent handling the ongoing correspondence, processing requests for the Reprographics Section, as well as processing queries (58 queries in total, including 35 from Poland and 23 from abroad). A total of 547 answers to readers' requests for information were provided, including 175 answers concerning bibliographic information and 372 concerning fact information.

In the reporting period, 26 exhibitions of sheet music and music manuscripts stored in the Jagiellonian Library were organized. Music documents from the library collection were also displayed at the exhibition accompanying the seminar *Wokół postaci Ferdynanda Hösicka w 150. rocznicę jego urodzin* [Focus on the figure of Ferdinand Hösick on his 150th birthday] organised by the Department of Musicology of the UJ, and at the exhibition *Opera Chopina – Fryderyk w Teatrze Narodowym* [Chopin's Opera – Fryderyk at the National Theatre] in the Fryderyk Chopin Museum in Warsaw.

The staff of the Graphics and Maps Section of the Special Collection Department added 1,710 (82.5% more than in 2016) items of iconographic material from the library collection to the KKZBUJ, including 281 drawings and 472 postcards, for which 1,544 item records and 1639 bibliographic records were created. 957 descriptions of cartographic documents were also processed in the catalogue. For the processed objects, 237 authority records were created (including 226 author headings and 11 series headings).

A considerable amount of time was devoted to processing queries, which often required carrying out painstaking research and comprehensive verification in specialist literature. In the reporting year, 84 queries from Poland (including 56 queries concerning graphic collections and 28 concerning cartographic collections) and 19 queries from abroad (10 and 9, respectively) were processed. A total of 1,063 answers to readers' requests for information were provided: 575 regarding bibliographic information (including 321 for graphics collections and 254 for cartographic collections) and 500 regarding fact information (279 and 221, respectively).

The section staff organized 29 collection exhibitions for interested readers, 10 objects were presented at exhibitions held outside the Jagiellonian Library: *Mundury Stanów Galicyjskich. Wystawa w dwusetlecie ustanowienia* [Uniforms of the Provincial Parliament of Galicia. 200th Anniversary Exhibition] in the Wawel Royal Castle, *Przywrócić pamięci. 150. rocznica urodzin księcia kardynała Adama Stefana Sapiehy 1867–1951* [Bring Back to Memory. 150th birthday of Prince Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha 1867–1951] in the National Museum of the Przemyśl Region, *Kartki z podróży Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego* [Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's Notes from the Journey] in the Museum of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski in Romanów, *Pod przewodnią gwiazdą nauki* [By the Guiding Star of Science] in the Jagiellonian University Museum, and *Franciszek Wyspiański – krakowski rzeźbiarz* [Franciszek Wyspiański – a Cracovian Sculptor] in the National Museum in Kraków.

The Rare Publications and Ephemera Section of the Special Collection Department catalogued 2,131 items of rare publications, for which 121 traditional catalogue cards were created, and 20,993 documents of social life, for which 548 catalogue cards were created. 2,377 item records, 2,517 bibliographic records and 205 authority records were created.

The Ephemera collection was presented at 8 exhibitions in the Jagiellonian Library.

In the reporting period, the Conservation Section of the Conservation Department carried out conservation of the special collection as part of the 'Patrimonium' project and assisted the Binding and Preservation Section, also participating in the project.

306 works (22,725 pages in total), including 96 manuscripts, 71 volumes of early printed books, 56 items from the graphics collections, 17 cartographic items, 34 music documents, 29 items from the Ephemera section of the Special Collection Department and 3 volumes of books and manuscripts as well as periodicals from the library stock room were completely or partially restored. 98 sets of descriptive and photographic documentation of the restored items were drawn up. 1,208 reports concerning the state of the preservation of the items were stored on the Jagiellonian Digital Library server. Additionally, the bindings of 102 items (including 12 manuscripts, 36 early printed books, 7 items from the cartographic collection, 15 music documents, 2 documents from the Ephemera Section and 1 document from the Books and Monographs Section) were restored. Besides, 5 new bindings for 3 early printed books, 1 item from the cartographic collection and 1 music document, as well as protective bindings for items from the Special Collection: 13 folders, 783 document sleeves for graphic documents, manuscripts, early printed books and rare publications, as well as 96 passe-partout frames designed to protect the collection during storage and for exhibition purposes were created.

The staff of the Reprographics Section of the Conservation Department scanned a total of 1,529,892 original documents (1,517,124 scans were made as part of the implementation of the 'Patrimonium' project or for the Jagiellonian Library digital collection and for the library routine needs, while 12,768 scans were requested by readers). The scans were saved on 295 DVDs and 41 CDs. The number of scans made in 2017 is the highest in the history of the section and constitutes an over 300% increase in work efficiency compared to the previous year. To a large extent, this was possible thanks to the extra equipment purchased for the library and extra staff employed to handle it, but also thanks to the great commitment of the staff members and flexible working hours introduced to carry out so large and demanding a challenge as the 'Patrimonium' project. Moreover, the section employees made 30,560 photocopies of original documents (for readers: 5,687 copies in the A4 paper size and 6 copies in the A3 paper size; for in-house purposes: 24,329 copies in the A4 paper size and 538 copies in the A3 paper size), 1,351 digital photographs for in-house purposes, and printouts of 2,143 digital files (including 59 printouts in the A4 paper size for readers as well as for in-house purposes: 1,697 copies in the A4 paper size and 387 copies in the A3 paper size). 61 DVDs and 6 CDs were copied. In 2017, no microfilms were made from the scans as part of the routine activity of the BJ and no external orders for micro-

film reproductions were completed, which was related to a negligible number of the requests for microfilm frames and thus unprofitability of the process (only microfilm positive images were made on external entities' request). Throughout the calendar year, the section staff members were making scans and digital photographs for the exhibitions organized in the BJ and took photographs during all events taking place in the library.

The Binding and Preservation Section prepared bindings for 2,988 books and monographs, 3,111 volumes of periodicals, 808 brochures and 123 administrative books, provisional bindings for 76 books and monographs and 5,405 periodicals, as well as new bindings for 1,177 volumes of books and monographs and 18 volumes of periodicals; 39 volumes of books and monographs and 1,690 volumes of periodicals were repaired, 5,569 protective cartons were made (266 for multiple objects and 5,303 for single objects), and 395 envelopes and protective sleeves (mainly for the special collection) were provided.

The Paper Clinic continued mass conservation of the collections in the Bookkeeper III plant. 14,418 volumes of archival copies and library collections with a total weight of over 7,235 kg were deacidified. About 83% of the deacidified items came from the library own collection, while the rest came from the Museum of the History of Kielce, the Provincial Public Library in Kielce, the Cracow University of Technology Library, the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Physics, Astronomy and Applied Computer Science, the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw, the library of the Tatra National Park in Zakopane and private clients. For the implementation of the deacidification service in relation to the collections from the above-mentioned institutions, the Jagiellonian Library earned about PLN 115,500.00 (compared to 2016, the number of external institutions and customers using the deacidification service increased by nearly 44% in quantitative terms and nearly 152% in mass terms). Prior to the deacidification process, entrusted collections were often disinfected in the fumigation chamber, for which over PLN 33,000.00 was earned.

As every year, the Automation Department, headed by Katarzyna Sokołowska, MA, was responsible for the smooth functioning of the library internal computer network. The network consists of 8 servers (running the KKZBUJ system, the Jagiellonian Digital Library [JBC] system, the Jagiellonian Library domains, network infrastructure monitoring system, and the Jagiellonian University Repository), as well as 396 PCs. The basic activity of the department focused on the day-to-day maintenance of VTLS / Virtua and other software, updating the operating systems on the individual machines, fixing all types of failures, and providing general IT support. In August 2017, the Chamo OPAC software was migrated from version 2.2 to version 3.1.HF1 in 3 databases (the KKZBUJ, the database of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków, 1 test base). The department was also responsible for administering the servers and databases

of the Jagiellonian Digital Library. As part of these tasks, backups were made, the operating system and the condition of the JBC infrastructure devices were monitored. As part of the 'Patrimonium' project, the JBC service system software was modified and enriched with additional functionalities necessary for the project. At the end of 2017, IT specialists employed in the department prepared a test environment for the migration of the dLibra software to the more recent version 6.0, which was carried out by Poznań Supercomputing and Networking Center.

Moreover, the department staff members administered the system they created to operate the basic library directory and solved problems reported by users. They also ran the library website in the UJ portal (in the Polish and English language versions): the news and announcements were regularly updated, multimedia content for particular departments of the BJ was made. As part of the work carried out in the department, the staff operated the software for the Collection Development Department with regard to legal deposit copies, donations, acquisitions and exchanges, as well as the software for the binding database and the amelioration database. Besides, the Automation Department administered the Jagiellonian University Researchers' Publications Database, which was developed to create and support the Jagiellonian University Repository (RUJ) database. In cooperation with the Jagiellonian University Repository Section of the Digital Collection Department, the software for exporting data from the RUJ and for importing data into the Polish National Bibliography database was created and then modified. Besides, programming projects were also carried out, which allowed for introducing new functionalities of the Jagiellonian University Repository into the dSPACE 6.0 repository software (reading and presenting the score of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for scientific journals, exporting and importing of ministerial scoring, reporting modules: the list of doctoral students' publications, the list of publications of research institutions by the date of the introduction into the system, the list of publications of research institutions by the date of publication, a quantitative list of publications, PNB database publications, publications with ministerial scoring). Moreover, changes were introduced in the layout of the homepage blocks of content and a new template for presenting browsing and search results was developed.

COLLECTIONS

In 2017, 155,151 volumes and items of stand-alone documents were added to the Jagiellonian Library accession register (an increase by 5.3% compared to 2016), including 106,711 volumes of books, monographs and serials (an increase of 6.5%) and 48,440 items of special collections (an increase of 2.7% compared to the previ-

ous year). The de-accession register included 320 volumes with a total value of PLN 24,763.90.

In total, in the reporting period, PLN 1,710 871.00 was spent on the acquisition of scientific literature and databases (including PLN 116,824.00 from the Jagiellonian Library budget). The library inventory received 156,095 volumes and items (an increase by 18% compared to 2016) of a total value of PLN 7,983,853.93. With respect to the source of acquisition, the documents came from: legal deposit copies: 102,388 volumes and items of the value of PLN 5,555,409.05; acquisition (BJ budget and UJ funds): 1,712 volumes and items of the value of PLN 1,426,846.88; donations: 10,417 volumes and items of the value of PLN 708,916.00; exchanges: 2,189 volumes and items of the value of PLN 169,254.00; the old collection: 320 volumes and items of the value of PLN 118,820.00; the restricted collection: 15 volumes of the value of PLN 4,608.00. Documents of social life (39,054 items), being ephemera, are not valued. In addition, in 2017, 75,842 publications of a total capacity of 35,907 GB were scanned and published in the Jagiellonian Digital Library, the value of which was estimated at PLN 5,386,050.00 (assuming that the value of producing, processing and publishing of 1 GB is PLN 150.00).

The Legal Deposit Section registered an inflow of 89,090 volumes of serials and non-serials and 45,238 items of special collections. The value of the legal deposit copies received by the library amounted to PLN 5,731,209.05. In comparison with the previous year, an increase of books and monographs, as well as special collections could be observed in 2017, while the number of serials added decreased. A particularly significant increase of electronic documents was noted (by 1,623 items).

As in previous years, the section staff was extremely meticulous and successful in getting publishers to send deposit copies. In reply to the 7,774 reminders, the library received 3,481 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 1580 issues of periodicals, thus their effectiveness in this respect was about 65%.

From the funds allocated for statutory activities, PLN 1,594,047.00 was spent on acquisition of online journals and databases for the Jagiellonian Library and Jagiellonian University (i.e. PLN 494,287.00 less than in 2016). Researchers and students (including Jagiellonian University Medical College) had access to 88 databases (86 subscribed online and 2 available on-site), 63,785 titles of periodicals, and 191,215 electronic books.

In 2017, the Jagiellonian Library subscribed to 160 titles of foreign journals. As a result of the tender procedure, the ABE-IPS reseller of press was selected as a supplier. The tender for supplying Polish journals was won by Garmond Press, which was the only company to submit a tender offer. The guidelines necessary for preparing the tender were drawn up on the basis of data collected from 57 Jagiellonian University Faculties and other units. The tender list included 485 titles in 853 copies. Garmond Press agreed to deliver 381 titles, the remaining 104 titles had to be ordered by the Jagiellonian University Faculties and other units on their own, directly from

the publishers. Under this subscription, the Jagiellonian Library was to receive 41 titles of Polish journals in 43 copies in 2018.

In total, the Jagiellonian Library collected 9,572 current titles of journals in 2017, including 8,891 Polish and 681 foreign ones.

In the reporting year, the Collection Development Department purchased 1,396 volumes of books, monographs, and serials (a decrease of approximately 10.1% compared to the previous year) and 969 items of special collections (an increase of approximately 48.4% compared to the previous year) through the Acquisitions Section. Predominantly, Polish books were acquired; foreign publishers accounted for 27% of total acquisitions (mainly *polonica* and a relatively moderate number of research publications).

The exchange, which was conducted by the Jagiellonian Library with 252 foreign counterparties and 50 domestic partners during the reporting period, was also a valuable source of collection development. For the purposes of exchange and representation, 3,029 volumes were purchased for the sum of PLN 77,535.25. A total of 2,725 volumes were sent to domestic and foreign partners, while 2,231 volumes of books, monographs, and serials, as well as 76 items of special collections were received, the total cost of which was estimated at PLN 185,410.00. The analysis of the exchange costs shows that, similarly to the previous years, the exchange balance was favourable, i.e. the value of received publications exceeded the amount of expenses for the purchase by nearly PLN 108,000. The collection of the Jagiellonian Library was enriched by many valuable items, among others, from the Library of Congress in Washington (135 volumes of an estimated value of PLN 48,955.00), from the German National Library in Leipzig, from the university library in Seattle (important publications of a value of nearly PLN 7,400.00), from the National Library of France in Paris, from the university library in Dijon, from the Herder Institute in Marburg, and from the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel. Other important foreign partners in the exchange of publications include libraries of Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary, and Italy. In 2017, the cooperation with the university library in Toronto and the library of the University of Warsaw was terminated. Cooperation with Croatia, Russia, Serbia, and Ukraine deteriorated – in the reporting period, only single items were received. It should be noted that out of the total number of 252 counterparties, as many as 113 send their publications sporadically or once every two or three years. Despite these problems, the exchange has been quite balanced in recent years. It is worth noting that recently the number of titles purchased at the request of the Jagiellonian Library counterparties, who do not limit themselves to sending their own publications, but also accept orders for titles available on the book market, as well as the number of journals delivered in the electronic form (from 14 files in 2016 to 50 files in 2017), has been increasing.

In 2017, as in previous years, the Jagiellonian Library accepted donations from Poland and abroad. During the reporting period, 13,994 volumes of books, monographs and periodicals (an increase of approximately 124% compared to 2016!) together with 2,157 special collection items (of an estimated value of PLN 696,096.00) were added to the library collection. This twofold increase was primarily due to the fact the process of adding Prof. Juliusz Bardach's collection to the Jagiellonian Library collection was significantly simplified (the selection process with respect to the collection and verification of individual items in catalogues was discontinued). Among the donated objects, there were many interesting and valuable items (including 334 manuscripts, 99 early printed books, 606 items from music collections, 35 items from graphics collections, 1,026 ephemera and documents of social life, large numbers of current and antiquarian magazines of Polish communities abroad), received both from institutions and individuals. Among the donors were Prof. Aleksander Szulc (515 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 7 music collection items), the library of the closed People's University in Wierchosławice (341 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 14 volumes of ephemera), the library of the Jagiellonian University Sports Centre (269 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 1 volume of serials), Prof. Halina Wantuła (73 volumes of books and monographs, 12 volumes of serials, 6 musical collection items, 6 items from the collections of graphics, 8 ephemera), Prof. Stefan Papée (73 volumes of books and monographs, 11 volumes of serials, 3 manuscripts, and 3 maps), Adam Bujak (72 volumes of books and monographs – mostly illustrated photography and art books), Chair of Public International Law (61 items of early printed books), Prof. Mieczysław Karaś (35 volumes of books and monographs and 1 early printed book), the Jagiellonian University Institute of History of Art (25 items of early printed books), Jan Bolesław Ożóg (a large number of handwritten documents), Julian Kawalec (the legacy of manuscripts).

The collection of duplicate copies in the Collection Development Department increased by 11,188 volumes, with 8,423 volumes transferred to other libraries, and 25,049 volumes of damaged or superfluous books and periodicals transferred to wastepaper.

The collection of the Manuscripts Section of the Special Collection Department increased by a total of 337 items. 334 items from donations and 3 purchased items were added to the accession register. The more interesting acquisitions include: a vast legacy of 178 items belonging to a Cracovian poet, writer and columnist Jan Bolesław Ożóg (among them, extremely valuable manuscripts and authorised typescripts of poetry, novels, short stories and press articles, as well as 10 volumes of correspondence), part of the papers owned by a prose writer, publicist and poet Julian Kawalec (manuscripts, authorised typescripts of literary works, personal documents and photographs), the legacy of a historian of the Polish literature, critic and publi-

cist Prof. Bolesław Faron (19 volumes of correspondence from 1977 to 2016 and personal documents), part of the papers owned by Marian Konarski (including Konarski's memoirs of his activity in the resistance movement during WWII and his poem *Jacek Malczewski*). The book prepared by Tadeusz Stryjeński after his son's death, entitled *Karol Stryjeński 1887–1932*, which contains letters and artwork by Karol Stryjeński, press clippings about him and his photographs, as well as condolences sent to his father, is also worth noting.

The Early Printed Books Section of the Special Collection Department received 100 works in 117 volumes from the Collection Development Department, all of which were donations. 383 works in 375 volumes – the majority of which were received from institute libraries or retrieved from the old library collection – were added to the accession register. The most valuable early printed books acquired by the library include *Leges seu statuta ac pravia Regni Poloniae* by Jakub Przyłuski (Kraków, 1551–1553), *Historia Dahicae Saxonius Grammaticus* (Frankfurt, 1576), *Ad Incltyi Regni Poloniae Senatores... oratio* by Stanisław Pawłowski (Kraków, 1587), *Archelia albo artilleria* by Diego Ulfan (Leszno, 1643), *Monumenta Sarmatarum* by Szymon Starowolski (Kraków, 1655), *Roma subterranea novissima* by Paul Arringhi (Paris, 1659), *Der Stadt Dantzig* by George Curicken (Amsterdam-Gdańsk, 1688), *Vetera monimenta. P. 1* (Roma, 1690) and *Vetera monimenta. P. 2* (Roma, 1699) by Giovanni Ciampini, and *Ragguaglio delle solenni esequie di Federigo Augusto re di Polonia* (Roma, 1733). The total value of objects added in 2017 to the accession register of early printed books was PLN 368,850.00.

The Music Collection Section of the Special Collection Department received 3,174 items and volumes of music documents (including 19 manuscripts, 1,778 prints, 1,133 audio documents: analogue records, tapes and digital disks) as well as 244 documents of social life (posters). 1,264 copies were registered as legal deposit copies (of which 561 were prints and 703 were audio documents). 12 manuscripts, 157 prints (sheet music), 429 audio documents and 1 poster were donated, while 259 items were purchased (including 7 musical autographs, 250 prints and 2 audio documents). As part of the exchange, the library received 2 music prints. Materials from the old library collection (including 807 music prints and 243 posters) constituted a significant part of the section acquisitions (1,050 items). Among the most interesting musical material that the Music Collection acquired were autographs of two Juliusz Łuciuk's compositions purchased from the author: *Maraton* [The Marathon] (a pantomime for a prepared piano) and *Tryptyk Rzymski. Cz. 1–3 (2004–2010)* [The Roman Trilogy. P. 1–3 (2004–2010)], as well as five music autographs purchased from Jan Oberbek, including *Ballata per Chitarra* by Juliusz Łuciuk, three autographs by Zbigniew Preisner (Kowalski): *Piosenka* [The Song], *Obertas* [The Dance of Obertas] and *Pamięć* [Memory], and a piece by Stanisław Mroński *Prélude*. Among the music documents donated to the library by the Packard Human-

ities Institute were J. S. Bach's *Keyboard Sonatas in Mus. ms. Bach P 771* [Facsimile], CPhEBach The Complete Works. Series I Supplement, *Variations*, PhEBach The Complete Works. Series 1. Vol. 7 and *Sonatas from Manuscript Sources IV*, CPhEBach The Complete Works. Series 1. Vol. 6.4. Valuable works published by the Fryderyk Chopin Institute in Warsaw were acquired by the library as legal deposit copies.

The Graphics and Maps Section acquired 977 volumes and items, 93 of which were iconographic materials and 934 were cartographic documents (in 966 volumes/sheets). In 2017, as in previous years, legal deposit copies constituted the most significant source of cartographic material acquired by the library: 56 atlases (in 70 volumes), 783 maps (801 sheets) and 72 electronic documents (on CDs and DVDs). One atlas and 17 maps were donated to the library, 1 atlas was received as part of the exchange, and 4 atlases were purchased. The iconographic collection increased mainly thanks to the generosity of donors – the library received 1 drawing, 2 etchings, 4 illustrated art/photography books, 13 photographs and 23 bookplates. Among the iconographic acquisitions, the following are particularly noteworthy: a watercolour by Franciszek Turek depicting the Collegium Maius courtyard (donated to the library by Maria Birkenmajer-Hodgart), and the exhibition catalogue of Nurgül Arıkan's bookplates donated by the author. In the cartographic collection, the following deposit copies are worth mentioning: further volumes of a very popular work *Galicja na józefińskiej mapie topograficznej* [Galicia on the Josephian Topographic Map], further volumes and notebooks of *Atlas historyczny miast polskich: Mazury (Mrągowo), Małopolska (Bochnia)* [The Historical Atlas of Polish cities: Masuria (Mrągowo), Lesser Poland (Bochnia)], *Atlas ekourbanistyczny zielonej infrastruktury miasta Łodzi* [The Eco-Town Planning Atlas of the Green Infrastructure of the City of Łódź] folder 1, volume 1a, and *Atlas historyczny Polski dla niewidomych i słabowidzących* [The Historical Atlas of Poland for the Blind and Visually Impaired].

The Rare Publications and Ephemera Section acquired 39,054 items (4.9% more than in the previous year), including 239 rare prints and 38,815 social life documents (of which 38,815 items were included in the collection after being catalogued). Of these, 207 items were transferred to the Music Collection Section. The majority of the documents of social life acquired by the library were legal deposit copies (37,236 items), 1,114 items were received from donors, 696 items were purchased, while 8 items were exchanged. As usual, the largest group of section acquisitions were cultural information publications (18,161 items), as well as technical and economic publications (12,012 items). Among the rare publications that were included in the section collection in the reporting year, 81 artistic prints donated by Piotr Chodyński, as well as 107 tickets and 321 prints concerning the former Austrian Consulate General in Kraków donated by Anna Biłyk-Mydlarz, are particularly noteworthy.

**The status of the traditional collections of the Jagiellonian Library
processed and entered in the accession records**

		Increase in 2017*	As of 31 December, 2017
A.	General collection	vol.	vol.
	new books and monographs	78,419	2,757,863
	serials	30,665	1,071,879
	Total	109,084	3,829,742
B.	Special collection	items	items
	manuscripts	337	34,435
	early printed books	375	109,160
	graphic collection	43	64,775
	cartographic collection	966	61,177
	music collection	195	47,904
	standards, patent specifications	6,281	299,375
	microforms (microfilms, microfiches, photocopies)	1	181,554
	audio-visual material	1,217	30,769
	other collections	32,740	1,177,405
	Total	42,155	2,006,554
	General status of the collections A+B	151,239	5,836,296

* – excluding withdrawals

**The status of the collections of the Jagiellonian University libraries
as of 31 December 2017**

	Books and monographs (vol.)	Serials (vol.)	Special collection (vol. and items)	Total (vol. and items)
Jagiellonian Library	2,757,863	1,071,879	2,006,554	5,836,296
Institute libraries of the Jagiellonian University	1,693,608	274,941	149,562	2,118,111
Total	4,451,471	1,346,820	2,156,116	7,954,407
Percentage share of the Jagiellonian Library in the Jagiellonian University library collection	62%	79.6%	93.1%	73.4%

**Current printed journals in the Jagiellonian Library and in the institute libraries
of the Jagiellonian University**

	Number of titles of national journals	Number of titles of foreign journals	Total
Jagiellonian Library	8,891	681	9,572
Institute libraries	920	581	1,501
Total	9,811	1,262	11,073
Percentage share of the Jagiellonian Library in the Jagiellonian University library collection	90.6%	54%	86.4%

Thanks to the documents handed over by the Collection Development Department, the Digital Collection Department acquired 466 electronic books and monographs, 383 electronic serials (including 41 printed accessory documents), 578 non-musical audio documents (including 4 printed accessory documents), 398 audio-visual documents (including 19 printed accessory documents), and 3781 electronic documents in files (including 518 books and monographs, as well as 3263 serials).

A significant problem that the section staff struggle with is the constantly deteriorating quality of the stored microfilms, especially those from the 1960s and 1970s. Cracking microform carriers require gluing, and in drastic situations, new microfilm positive images need to be made; however, no microfilm was created in the reporting year due to too high costs of execution. Another problem is the deteriorating state of floppy disks and CDs from the 1990s and the early 2000s, as well as the gradual disappearance of software enabling reading data stored on these carriers from the market. In order to protect electronic resources and archive them, the section staff continued converting video cassettes, CDs, and DVDs into digital files. As a result of the efforts carried out under the project 'Activities disseminating science' (ADS), 202 videotapes were catalogued and secured. While working overtime, the section staff members secured and published 458 CDs and DVDs in the Jagiellonian Digital Library.

The status of the digital collections of the Jagiellonian Library as of 31 December 2017

Registered digital collections	28,696 items
Licensed electronic collections the Jagiellonian Library paid for access to, including:	255,0882 items
electronic books	191,215 items
electronic journals	63,785 items
databases	88
Material digitised by the Jagiellonian Library	382,394 items

Last year, the staff of the Stock Verification Section of the Conservation Department checked books and monographs assigned call numbers from 250,001 to 300,000, as well as serials assigned call numbers from 103,001 to 105,000 and from 400,001 to 415,000 all stored in the Stock Rooms Department, as well as the collection in the stock room of the Graphics and Maps Section of the Special Collection Department (maps and atlases according to the records provided by the section). The results of the stock verification were presented in 8 protocols. 589 volumes of temporarily missing copies and 12 volumes of permanently missing copies were discovered.

On the basis of printouts received from the Automation Department and fiches sent from the Stock Rooms Department, the section staff recorded and checked the missing copies. As a result of the stock verification, it was revealed that 320 volumes of books and periodicals with a total value of PLN 24,763.90 were missing. These missing copies were entered in the de-accession register in the Stock Rooms Department. In 2017, the section staff stopped the procedure for recording in the inventory the copies lost and then retrieved by entering them in the register of retrieved copies. Instead, the procedure of re-registering such library items by the Collection Department as newly acquired items was implemented. All defective copies that were transferred to the section (60 volumes) were made complete and submitted for binding.

READERSHIP AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

Compared to 2016, the number of readers registered in the Jagiellonian Library database decreased by 866 (i.e. by 3.5%); 23,546 users actively using the traditional collections were recorded, including 11,094 students of the Jagiellonian University and 1274 Jagiellonian University employees. The number of items lent also decreased significantly (by 41.5%); in total, 241,239 volumes were lent.

There was also a slight (5.6%) decrease in the number of people using reading rooms: 55,982, and the number non-circulating materials accessed by readers on-site decreased by 5.7% to 191,608 volumes and items.

However, the Jagiellonian Digital Library and the Jagiellonian University Repository attracted great interest.

Circulation of the collections available on-site took place in reading rooms and study rooms devoted to special collections (altogether 362 carrels, including 2 private rooms with carrels for the visually impaired).

The following tables show the circulation of the collections available to individual readers in the Jagiellonian Library system and the increasingly popular use of electronic collections in the reporting year.

**Circulation of the collections available to individual readers
in the Jagiellonian University library system in 2017**

	Number of recorded readers	Circulated on-site	Lent
Jagiellonian Library	23,546	191,608	241,239
Jagiellonian University institute libraries*	27,787	236,514	272,032
Total	51,333	428,122	513,271

* according to reports from institute libraries

Use of electronic collections with remote access or from a local network*

Detailed list	In total
Number of sessions	2,740,971
Number of documents downloaded	1,336,611
Number of views of publications from the Jagiellonian Digital Library	3,108,714
Number of page views of the Jagiellonian Library website	629,162

* based on a table from the reporting form for the Statistics Poland office (k-03, section 7, item 2)

The main reading room was visited by 31,305 people (an average of 111 people per day).

Compared to 2016, the number of items circulated on-site increased by 5.3% – a total of 125,064 volumes were lent from the general stock room and from the reference collection (including 102,328 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 22,736 volumes of periodicals). Loans from the reference collection constituted 23.7% of all the loan requests.

Compared to 2016, a decrease (8.8%) was noted in relation to the number of visits in the Research Reading Room, which was visited by 28 readers per day on average; in the reporting period it was used by 7,954 readers, to whom 37,423 volumes were circulated (a decrease by 19.7%). The Research Reading Room also contains 8 separate rooms which can be used for a semester or a whole year by researchers whose applications are accepted by the management of the library. In October 2017, at the request of the Jagiellonian University Disability Support Service, the ABBYY FineReader software was installed on the computers in the private rooms for the blind and visually impaired to facilitate the use of the collection.

The European Reading Room also recorded a slight decrease in the number of readers compared to the previous year (4.4%). The Reading Room was visited by a total of 3,764 readers (an average of 13 readers per day), while the number of items lent decreased by 29.3% (5,786 volumes). 658 volumes were lent from the European part of the reference collection, while 104 volumes from the Austrian part. 2,202 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 682 volumes of serials were delivered to the Reading Room from the general stock room, while 321 titles of current periodicals in 2,140 issues were delivered from the stock room of periodicals. In the Austrian library, operating as part of the European Reading Room, 110 active reading accounts were noted.

In the reporting year, the circulation desk was visited by 156,200 people (552 people per day on average), which is approximately 6% less than in the previous year. 212,160 volumes were delivered to readers from the general stock room (including 8,866 volumes for the Jagiellonian Library employees and 203,294 volumes for external readers), holds were placed on 26,593 volumes, while 2,453 items were circulated from the reference collection 'W.' A total of 241,239 volumes were lent out (including 33 volumes from the European Reading Room), which is 41.5% less (!) than in 2016. The desk staff also continued taking care of users of the 3 Jagiellonian University institute libraries of the Faculty of Philology (the library of the Institute of Romance Studies, the library of the Institute of Slavonic Studies, and the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies), temporarily transferred to the Jagiellonian Library building due to the renovation and reconstruction of the Collegium Paderevianum building.

Readers' registration in the library for the academic year 2017/2018 began on October 3, 2017. The types of library cards and their prices did not change compared to the previous year. All library cards (except for the electronic student identification 'ELS' library cards) had a purple hologram. The fees charged for issuing library cards in 2017 resulted in PLN 126,715.00.

The reminder procedure urging the readers to return overdue books was still successfully applied. As a result of the steps taken, 550 volumes were retrieved, and PLN 1,255.00 for the lost copies of books and PLN 184,024.10 for failing to return books on time was collected. In total, as a result of all kinds of replacement fees charged by the circulation desk in the reporting period, PLN 310,739.10 was received into the library budget.

The service allowing readers to activate loan renewal themselves was still very popular. The number of traditional renewal requests made in 2017 amounted to 25,049, while online renewal requests amounted to 176,443.

As of October 2017, a new price list of fees and services of the Jagiellonian Library was established; among other things, changes were introduced in relation to the use of the library collections: the fee for overdue books was increased from PLN 1 to PLN 1.50 for each whole period of five days, a fee of PLN 5 was introduced for mailing a hard-copy reminder about books not returned on time, fixed fees for destroying or damaging a book were introduced: PLN 50 for a book up to 300 pages, PLN 100 for a book over 300 pages.

Compared to 2016, readers' interest in the Interlibrary Loan Service, which allows ordering items from other libraries and institutions in Poland and abroad, decreased by 22.6%. In 2017, 233 readers submitted Interlibrary Loan requests. In the reporting period, the library received a total of 1,593 loan requests, a 5% increase compared to 2016. In 2017, the Jagiellonian Library sent 1,144 volumes of books and 189 copies of original material (microfiches, photocopies, microfilms of special collections) to 146 national institutions. 32 volumes of books and 21 copies of original material were sent to 23 foreign libraries. In total, 1,176 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 210 copies of original material were sent through the Interlibrary Loan Service to national and foreign institutions. In turn, 245 requisition forms were sent from the Jagiellonian Library, of which 201 were sent to national institutions and 44 to foreign libraries. As a result of these requests, 135 volumes, 4 copies of original material in the form of microfiches and photocopies and 58 microfilms from special collections were received from 39 Polish libraries, while 37 volumes of books and 5 copies of original material in the form of microfiches and photocopies were received from 17 foreign libraries. In total, 172 volumes of books and monographs, as well as 67 copies of original material from national and foreign institutions were received.

Staff responsible for the Interlibrary Loan Service checked 283 items in the online catalogues of Polish and foreign libraries for readers, sent 3 queries (concerning 3 items), and replied to 2 queries (concerning 7 items).

As far as the use of the Reference Reading Room is concerned, a 18.5% decrease in readership was noted. The reading room was opened for 268 days in 2017, and in that period, there were 7,484 readers' visits (including readers using the reference collection and Internet users). About 4,812 volumes were circulated in the reading

room (due to free access to shelves, these data are estimates). 2,634 volumes were included in the reference collection, while 94 volumes were withdrawn from it; currently, it has 16,529 volumes.

The collection of the Special Collection Department was available in 2 reading rooms and 2 private rooms, which were visited by a total of 3,980 readers (a 5% decrease compared to 2016). The readers accessed 14,298 volumes of documents from the special collection, from the library general stock room, and from the reference collection. In relation to the individual sections, the circulation of special collections was, as follows:

- The number of readers who used the manuscripts collection in the reporting year decreased by 4.7%. The Manuscripts Reading Room was visited by 1,861 readers, to whom a total of 5,207 items were circulated (including 3,463 manuscripts, 1,656 volumes from the reference collection, 87 volumes of books and monographs from the general stock room and 1 microfilm).

- The Early Printed Books Reading Room was visited by 948 people, who accessed a total of 3,464 volumes (a 23% decrease compared to the previous year), of which 2,514 came from the early printed books stock room, 637 from the books from the reference collection and 313 from the prints from the general stock room.

- A slight decrease (8.5%) was also noted with regard to the circulation of music documents: 193 readers' visits were noted, during which 688 volumes of music prints, 185 music manuscripts, 115 musical documents of social life, 1 microfilm, 4 prints ordered from the general stock room, and 87 volumes from the reference collection were circulated to readers. In total, in 2017, 1,076 items were circulated in the Music Collection Reading Room (34% more than in 2016).

- The objects stored by the Graphics and Maps Section of the Special Collection Department were requested by 498 readers, i.e. 5.9% less than in 2016 (352 of them accessed the graphics collection, 146 accessed the maps collection). The number of items circulated also decreased significantly (by 23.4%): a total of 6,185 items from the special collection (including 5,178 items from the graphics collection, 292 items from the maps collection and 47 digital documents) and 668 items from the reference collection (428 items from the graphics collection and 240 from the maps collection).

- With respect to the objects from the Rare Publications and Ephemera section, both the number of readers interested in rare publications and in ephemera decreased. In 2017, 381 readers requested rare publications (2.1% more than in 2016), to whom 1,214 items were circulated (an increase of 15.3% compared to the previous year), including 1,141 items from the 'Rara' collection and 73 items from the collection of the second circulation. Only 99 readers were interested in the documents of social life – 580 such items were circulated (57.5% less than in 2016!). Readers also requested 23 volumes from the section reference collection.

The collection of the Digital Resources Department was circulated in the Audiovisual Reading Room, which was visited by 1,495 readers in 2017 (a decrease by 9.2% compared to 2016). Readers were given access to approximately 744 volumes (the exact number of items circulated is difficult to estimate due to free access to shelves). The majority of readers requested microforms, as well as electronic or audiovisual documents, but the number of readers (773 people) using the JBC collections increased by 12%. This growth is most likely due to the fact that an increasing number of documents are published in the digital library, which can only be accessed on computers located in the reading room due to copyright restrictions.

In 2017, there were 49 computers at readers' disposal in the Jagiellonian Library, 47 of which had access to the Internet, while others only provided access to the online public catalogue.

Readers had access to 86 online databases the Jagiellonian Library subscribed to from all the computers within the university network and from their home computers. Two databases were only available on-site. In total, 88 databases were available: *Abbreviations Online*, *Academic Search Complete*, *ACM Digital Library*, *ACS Journals*, *Agricola*, *AIP Journals*, *APS Journals*, *Archive of Celtic-Latin Database*, *Aristoteles Latinus Database*, *Arts & Humanities Citation Index 1975–*, *Beck Online*, *Bibliographie de Civilisation Médiévale*, *BIOSIS Citation Index*, *Book Citation Index*, *Business Source Complete*, *Cambridge Journals Online*, *Central and East European Online Library (CEEOL)*, *Chemical Abstracts Plus*, *Conference Proceedings Citation Index – Science 1990–*, *Conference Proceedings Citation Index – Social Science & Humanities 1990–*, *Current Chemical Reactions*, *Current Contents Connect*, *Data Citation Index*, *Database of Latin Dictionaries*, *De Gruyter Online Journals*, *Derwent Innovations Index*, *eBook Academic Collection*, *Emerald Management Xtra*, *Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) – 2015–present*, *EMIS Polska*, *ERIC – Educational Resource Information Center*, *Essential Science Indicators*, *Europa Sacra*, *European Views of Americas (1493–1750)*, *Film & Television Literature Index with Full Text*, *GreenFILE*, *Health Source – Consumer Edition*, *Health Source – Nursing / Academic Edition*, *Historical Abstracts with Full Text*, *In Principio*, *Index Chemicus*, *International Directory of Medievalists*, *International Medieval Bibliography*, *IOP Science*, *Journal Citation Reports*, *JSTOR – The Arts and Sciences. Collections I-X*, *JSTOR – The Arts and Sciences. Collections XI*, *KCI-Korean Journal Database*, *Legal Source*, *Legalis. System Informacji Prawnej* (available on-site), *Lex Polonica* (available on-site), *Lex Omega*, *Library of Latin Texts*, *Library Information Science & Technology Abstracts*, *MasterFile Premier*, *Medline*, *MLA Directory of Periodicals*, *MLA International Bibliography*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Newspaper Source*, *Oxford Journals*, *Oxford Music Online*, *Oxford Scholarship Online – Biology*, *Oxford Scholarship Online – Classical Studies*, *Oxford Scholarship Online –*

History, Oxford Scholarship Online – Law, Oxford Scholarship Online – Philosophy, Papal Letters (Ut per Litteras Apostolicos.../Lettres Pontificales), Patrologia Latina, Polska Bibliografia Lekarska, ProQuest Central, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, Reaxys, Regional Business News, RILM Abstracts of Music Literature, RSC Journals, SAGE Premier, SciELO Citation Index, Science Direct, Scopus, Science Citation Index – Expanded 1945–, Social Sciences Citation Index with Abstracts 1956–, Springer Link, Taylor & Francis, Teacher Reference Center, Westlaw International, Wiley Online Library, Zoological Record. Information about online databases the Jagiellonian Library subscribes to is updated systematically on the library website. Last but not least, access to 63,785 electronic journals was provided through full-text databases.

In addition, 15 trial access online databases offering materials in almost all fields of research were available in 2017 (*Academic Video Online, BioOne, CRCnetBASE, InCites Benchmarking & Analytics, Karger, Nano, OMMBID, One Belt One Road Reference Source, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, RILM Music Encyclopedias, RISM Series A/II: Music Manuscripts after 1600, Royal Society Journals, Springer Material, Stahl Online i Taylor & Francis Books*). Several hundred University employees are kept informed about newly purchased (trial access) online databases on a regular basis.

In the reporting year, the BJ staff processed a total of 1,385 queries (including 1,245 queries from Poland and 140 queries from abroad) and provided 6,679 answers to requests for information (including 4,649 instances of bibliographic information and 2,030 instances of factual information).

Guided tours of the library were made for 2,819 people, including 593 foreigners from 55 countries (i.a., Algeria, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Holland, India, Ireland, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Taiwan, Tunisia, Turkey, UK, Ukraine, USA). Among them, there were 258 librarians (including 154 librarians from abroad). For many of them, special presentations of the collections were organized.

JAGIELLONIAN DIGITAL LIBRARY (JBC)

In the reporting year, the Jagiellonian Digital Library published 75,842 documents, among others, digital copies of books and monographs, serials, early printed books, manuscripts, music documents, ephemera, graphics, and maps. The number of published items was increasing systematically by month, as shown in the table below:

Month	Number of publications in JBC
January	337,624
February	339,845
March	341,368
April	341,675
May	343,021
June	347,599
July	350,267
August	353,470
September	361,836
October	378,234
November	393,867
December	409,268

In the Digital Resources Department, the project ‘Syllabuses’ was continued. The department staff scanned and published in the JBC digital copies of books for the students of the Institute of Economics, Finance and Management of the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Management and Social Communication. Within the scope of this project, 553 documents were published in the JBC as of 31st December 2017.

The statistics concerning the number and size of the files and the number of publications listed in the Jagiellonian Digital Library in the reporting year are shown in the table below:

Number of files	1,086,097
Tiff file size in GB	35,907
Size of PDF output files in GB	485
Number of published documents	75,842
Number of thumbnails made for group publications	683

In the reporting period, the section staff responded to all Polish and foreign readers’ requests, orders and queries in relation to the documents published in the

JBC on a daily basis: 27 orders for digital copies were completed and 164 queries were processed.

In 2017, the JBC resources were accessed by 261,541 readers, who visited the website 463,237 times (there were 3,108,714 page views in total). A slight decrease in the statistics compared to 2016 is due to the lack of upgrade licenses and software support for the DjVu file format, which was used in the JBC until the end of 2014, and this caused problems with opening files by users. Since 2015, the Jagiellonian Digital Library has been publishing files in the PDF format and work is underway to improve the availability of publications in the DjVu format. The users have been offered access to a browser that processes DjVu files into the JPG format in real time.

The number of readers was stable at an average of 24,632 per month. The use of the JBC resources slightly decreased during the holiday period (June–September) and fell dramatically in December due to the implementation of a new version of the software (at this time, the JBC was temporarily unavailable for users).

Detailed statistics on the number of currently available items, the number of readers using the JBC at a given time, the total number of readers since the launch of the database, a summary of the available publications, a list of the viewed items, most frequently read and highest-ranked publications, as well as the total number of websites created, the total number of searches and the total number of visitors in individual months can be tracked on an ongoing basis on the digital library website at <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/>.

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY REPOSITORY (RUJ)

The staff of the Jagiellonian University Repository section worked on enriching the dSPACE system with new functionalities related to the introduction of bibliographic data in accordance with the *Act on the Principles of Financing Science and the Regulation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education on the Information System on Science of 29 June 2015*. The system was tested on an ongoing basis in order to eliminate errors. Based on the reports submitted by individual faculties of the Jagiellonian University, bibliographic descriptions of scientific publications of the Jagiellonian University researchers from 2013 to 2016 were introduced into the repository. Each description was checked for completeness and authenticity in the databases, as well as in the library catalogues.

In the reporting year, 2 data sets were exported to the PBN (in March and July). A summary of the exported metadata with respect to individual faculties is presented in the table below.

Faculty of the Jagiellonian University	Number of descriptions exported to PBN*
Faculty of Biochemistry, Biophysics and Biotechnology	695
Faculty of Biology	1,343
Faculty of Geography and Geology	792
Faculty of Chemistry	1,593
Faculty of Philology	1,493
Faculty of Philosophy	1,603
Faculty of Physics, Astronomy and Applied Computer Science	2,095
Faculty of History	1,340
Faculty of Mathematics and Computer Science	647
Faculty of Polish Studies	1,747
Faculty of Law and Administration	2,123
Faculty of International and Political Studies	1,683
Faculty of Management and Social Communication	2,127
Małopolska Centre of Biotechnology	79
Jagiellonian Centre for Experimental Therapeutics	112

* bibliographic records of publications from 2013 to 2016 confirmed in reports submitted by UJ faculties in April and May 2017

The increase of bibliographic data in the Jagiellonian University Repository in particular months of the reporting period is presented in the following table.

Month	Number of bibliographic descriptions in RUJ	Increase by
January	34,353	1,695
February	36,598	2,245
March	36,839	241
April	37,475	636
May	38,347	872
June	39,255	908

July	39,847	592
August	40,259	412
September	41,036	777
October	41,972	936
November	42,194	222
December	43,845	1,651
Total annual increase		11,187

In 2017, 10,650 bibliographic descriptions were entered in the RUJ, and 83,945 descriptions were edited. As of 31st December 2017, 43,845 (34% more than in the previous year) of bibliographic descriptions of books, journals, journal articles and book chapters and 3,379 full-text documents were registered in the Bibliography of Publications of the Jagiellonian University Researchers. Detailed statistics on the number of stored and edited bibliographic records and the number of full-text publications entered into the Jagiellonian University Repository in 2017 are presented in the table below:

Created bibliographic descriptions	1,777
Stored bibliographic descriptions	10,650
Edited bibliographic descriptions	83,945
Phone consultations	1,984
E-mail consultations	4,697
Number of full-text publications	1,923

The number of the Jagiellonian University Repository users was increasing steadily. In the reporting period, there were 6,435 visitors per month (a slight decrease was recorded in August). In total, the resources of the RUJ were accessed by 77,220 users (54% more than in 2016), who visited the website 127,010 times (there were 1,742,868 website views in total) in 2017.

PROJECTS

In the reporting year, the Jagiellonian Library implemented several projects in the area of science popularisation, financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher

Education. The first of the implemented projects had three tasks: “Prace naukowe uczelni polskich wydane w latach 1950–1989” [Scientific publications of Polish academic institutions from 1950 to 1989] (the total cost of implementing the task in 2016–2017 was PLN 191,222.60, including co-funding: PLN 173,347.59), “Rozbudowa bazy Komputerowego Katalogu Zbiorów Bibliotek UJ – książki z lat 1950–1989 – kontynuacja” [The development of the computer database of the Computer Catalogue of the Jagiellonian University Libraries – books from 1950 to 1989 – continued] (the total cost of implementing the task in 2016–2017 was PLN 239,397.87, including co-funding: PLN 217,174.14) and “Katalog dokumentów oryginalnych elektronicznie (*born digital*) oraz analogowych dokumentów audiowizualnych i udostępniania ich w postaci cyfrowej na platformie JBC” [The catalogue of born-digital documents and analogue audio-visual documents converted into the digital form on the JBC platform] (total cost of implementing the task in 2016–2017 was PLN 27,079.75 including co-funding: PLN 24,446.19). In accordance with the binding agreement, the project was completed in the reporting year.

The task of the next project implemented as part of popularisation of science was the following: “The development of the computer database of the Computer Catalogue of the Jagiellonian University Libraries – books from 1950 to 1989 – continued” (the cost of implementing the task in 2017 – PLN 110,101.66, including co-funding: PLN 101,243.10). In accordance with the binding agreement, the implementation of the project is to be continued in 2018.

Besides, the Jagiellonian Library implemented other projects:

- “Edytorstwo muzyczne w Krakowie w latach 1850–1918” [Music editing in Kraków from 1850 to 1918] (co-funded by the National Science Centre Poland; the planned value of the project: PLN 99,554.00; costs incurred in 2017: PLN 4,485.72)

- “Orientalia Polonica. Polskie tradycje badań nad Orientem” [*Orientalia Polonica*. Polish traditions in the Oriental Studies] (the project co-funded by the National Programme of the Development of the Humanities; costs incurred in 2017: PLN 52,869.12),

- “Biblioteka Jagiellońska - opracowanie dziejów od 1775 do 1918 roku” [The Jagiellonian Library – the recorded history from 1775 to 1918] (the project co-funded by the National Programme of the Development of the Humanities; the costs incurred in 2017 covering the publication: PLN 28,123.00).

The largest of the implemented projects was carried out jointly with the National Library in Warsaw: ‘Patrimonium – the digitalization and release of Polish national heritage from the collections of the National and Jagiellonian Libraries’ (the total value of the project: PLN 98,633,924.00 including the allocation of PLN 17,160,160.00 to the Jagiellonian Library; the costs incurred in 2017: PLN 3,846,970.51). In the reporting period, 129 people were involved in the implementation of the ‘Patrimonium’ project, including 124 Jagiellonian Library staff members (i.e. 48 new staff members employed to work in the project and

76 persons delegated to perform project tasks as part of their regular work), 2 employees of the Office of Human Resources, 2 employees of the Public Procurement Office and 1 employee of the Structural Projects Financial Management.

Additionally, in the reporting year, the library staff assisted in preparing and submitting applications for funding in the following projects:

- “Straty w zasobach polskich bibliotek poniesione z powodów ideologicznych i politycznych w latach 1947–1956” [Losses in the resources of Polish libraries sustained for ideological and political reasons between 1947 and 1956] (submitted following the call for research projects announced by the National Science Centre Poland – Opus 13). Following the proposal evaluation, the project was rejected and did not receive funding;

- “Pierwsza europejska relacja z Persji i Afganistanu – krytyczna edycja i przekład *Tragica vertentis belli Persici historia* Tadeusza Judy Krusińskiego (1675–1757)” [The first European report from Persia and Afghanistan – a critical edition and translation of *Tragica vertentis belli Persici historia* by Tadeusz Juda Krusiński (1675–1757)] (within the Uniwersalia 2.2 module of the National Programme of the Development of the Humanities). The planned project value: PLN 238,256.30. The implementation period: 4 years;

- “Działalność Upowszechniająca Naukę” [Science popularisation activities] – an application submitted to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education covering 5 tasks: “Conservation, re-binding and binding of 96 volumes of medical journals of the 19th century and the early 20th century collections (until 1945),” “The collection of *polonica* from Prof. Szymon Deptuła’s book collection,” “The development of the computer database of the Computer Catalogue of the Jagiellonian University Libraries – books from 1950 to 1989 – continued,” “The catalogue of cartographic publications – geographical, topographic and geological maps” and “The catalogue of the manuscript legacy of outstanding scientists and artists.” The planned total value of the project: PLN 34,958.00;

- “Repozytorium otwartego dostępu do dorobku naukowego i dydaktycznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” [The open access repository of scientific and didactic achievements of the Jagiellonian University] (under the Operational Programme Digital Poland. Submeasure 2.3.1. Digital access to information of the public sector from administrative and scientific resources). In May, the application was positively evaluated, while the substantive assessment revealed errors in the financial analysis prepared by an external company. These errors were corrected during the autumn call for research projects. The planned project value: PLN 7,507,580.50;

- “11 listopada 1918 roku w bezpośrednich relacjach Polaków, w świadectwach prasowych oraz w dorobku uczonych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Doświadczenie odzyskania niepodległości i recepcja owego faktu historycznego na przestrzeni stulecia z perspektywy krakowskiej” [11 November 1918 in direct research of Poles, in press testimonies and in the research of the Jagiellonian Univer-

sity professors. The experience of regaining independence and the reception of this historical fact over the course of the century from the Cracovian perspective] (as part of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education programme “Szlakami Polski Niepodległej” [Polish Roads to Independence]). The planned value of the project: PLN 3,910,265.00. The implementation period: May 2018–April 2021.

In the reporting year, the Jagiellonian Library was offered an opportunity to participate in an international partnership project on the extermination of the Roma population during World War II. The International Centre for Creative Culture DROM RY, based in Finland, is the leader of the project. The project also involves partners from Croatia (Croatian Romani Union ‘Kali Sara’; Mreza Centara za Obrazovne Politike), Slovakia (Asociácia pre kultúru, vzdelávanie a komunikáciu), Iceland (Menningarmiðstöð Þingeyinga), Latvia (Biedriba Samir), Hungary (Roma Produkciós Iroda Alapítvány), Slovenia (Municipality of Ljubljana) and Finland (Kansainvälinen mustalaiskirjailijaliitto IRWA). The total project value: EUR 458,814.00 including the allocation of EUR 12,820.00 to the Jagiellonian Library.

Moreover, the Project Department supervised the implementation of the task “The Jagiellonian Library offering assistance in the teaching processes at the Jagiellonian University” (so-called “Sylabusy” [Syllabuses]). In December 2017, 558 publications were added to the Jagiellonian Digital Library collection ‘Syllabuses.’ They were materials from the Jagiellonian University Institute of Information Studies and part of the materials from the Jagiellonian University Institute of Economics, Finance and Management. Other lists of documents are systematically sent to the Reference Services Section of the Collection Circulation and Reference Department for verification. In 2017, the list of publications from the Jagiellonian University Institute of Journalism, Media and Social Communication (1005 items) and from the Jagiellonian University Institute of Culture (1035 items) was completed.

In addition, the department continued the nationwide ‘bookcrossing’ initiative. The staff members systematically selected books indicated by the Collection Development Department and entered them into the ‘bookcrossing’ system, assigning them call numbers. In total, the Project Department ‘let go’ over 1000 copies of books in the reporting period.

SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EVENTS ORGANISED BY THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

There was an abundance of various cultural and scientific events organized by the Jagiellonian Library in 2017.

On March 24th, 2017, the Project Department staff members represented the Jagiellonian Library during the Jagiellonian University Open Day held in the Auditorium Maximum building.

On May 8–13, the Jagiellonian Library celebrated the 14th nationwide Library Week under the motto “Biblioteka. Oczywiście!” [Library. Of course!] Its main goal was to emphasize the role of reading and the role of libraries in improving the quality of life and education, to enhance the professional prestige of librarians and to encourage the general public to read books. For this event, the Jagiellonian Library prepared a number of attractions for visitors, including theme tours: “Droga książki w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej – spacer z przewodnikiem” [The path of a book in the Jagiellonian Library – a guided tour] (visitors could enter the library stock rooms, the Conservation Section and Reprographics Section in the Conversation Department, the Paper Clinic and the Digital Resources Department, unavailable to readers on a regular basis), or “Jagiellonka wczoraj i dziś – spacer z przewodnikiem” [The Jagiellonian Library yesterday and today – a guided tour] (guests could visit the old and new library building). As in the previous year, the coaching section FLOW of the Association of Students of Psychology co-organised the events. All interested could take part in the workshops *On Memory Training*, *Take the Bull by the Horns – a Training Course on Self-Control*, *Techniques of Tackling Problems – Creative Solutions*, *Stress Management*, and *Conflict Resolution*.

On 18–19 May, the European Funds Open Days were celebrated. As part of the event, the Jagiellonian Library organised four trips *Conservation and Digitization of the most valuable collections of the Jagiellonian Library – a guided tour*, in which 50 visitors participated. The project received an extensive publicity in the media, including the social media: the Jagiellonian University and Jagiellonian Library websites, as well as the website <https://www.funduszeuropejskie.gov.pl>.

On 1–3 June, the Jagiellonian Library and the Jagiellonian University Institute of German Studies co-organized an international conference ‘The Collections of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin stored in the Jagiellonian Library: the state of preservation and perspectives of research.’ The conference was attended by 33 participants.

On June 3, 2017 an annual event The Night of Libraries under a motto ‘Reading moves’ was organised in the Jagiellonian Library. Prof. Aleksy Awdiejew, an artist and researcher, was a special guest of the night. This meeting was accompanied by additional attractions: a tour of the library including visits to the rooms unavailable to the reader on a daily basis, a calligraphy workshop, a field game of the escape-room type in the Jagiellonian Library garden, games for children, dance classes for children and adults. These events were attended by a total of about 250 guests.

On 23–29 October 2017, the Open Access Week under the motto “Make open and...” was organised to promote open access to scientific publications and data. As part of the event, all interested could participate in lectures on Polish open access databases and their usefulness for Polish and foreign users, repositories and digital libraries, as well as on the implementing of open access in Poland. The lectures were given by Sebastian Grudzień, PhD (*Open access a... sprawa polska* [Open access and... the

question of Poland)) and Leszek Szafranski, MA (*Otwarty dostęp w polskich repozytoriach i bibliotekach cyfrowych* [Open access in Polish repositories and digital libraries]).

On 25–26 October 2017, as part of the 2nd Małopolska Forum of Libraries, a conference entitled “Kierunek: użytkownik zintegrowany” [Direction: an integrated user] was held. The event was co-organised by the Jagiellonian Library, the Provincial Public Library in Kraków, the Jagiellonian University Institute of Information and Library Science, the Institute of Information of the Pedagogical University in Kraków, and the Board of the Polish Librarians’ Association for Małopolska. The conference participants discussed the following topics: the influence of information technology on the modern user, access to information, the library software development that should meet the changing user demands, the involvement of readers in the design of a new library of the future, new self-service tools offered to the user via the Internet. At the end of the first day of the conference, the opening ceremony of the “*Bibliotheca Magna. Biblioteka Jagiellońska na przestrzeni dziejów*” [*Bibliotheca Magna. The Jagiellonian Library throughout history*] exhibition took place in the Jagiellonian Hall of the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius. Following the vernissage, the Jagiellonian Library was granted the medal *Bibliotheca Magna-Perennisque* by the Polish Librarians’ Association for the activities contributing to the development of librarianship and readership in the Polish society. The conference was attended by 120 people.

In 2017, as part of the Jagiellonka literary salon, 11 Meet the Author events were held:

- the promotion of the book *Góry Ameryki Łacińskiej. Historia eksploracji i bibliografia* [Mountain Climbing in Latin America. History of Exploration and Bibliography] by Witold Henryk Paryski. Prof. Zdzisław Jan Ryn, a leading expert on the mountains of South America, participated in the event.

- the Meet the Author event ‘Traditions of Experimenting’ combined with the first reading of Zenon Fajfer’s poem *Zegar Bezczasowości* [Clock of Timelessness] and the promotion of Katarzyna’s Bazarnik book *Liberature: A Book-Bound Genre*. Prof. Marta Gibińska-Marzec (Institute of English Studies, Jagiellonian University) and Krzysztof Hoffmann, PhD (Department of Poetics and Literary Criticism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) participated in the debate accompanying the event. The meeting was hosted by Jakub Kornhauser, PhD (Avant-garde Research Centre, Jagiellonian University);

- the promotion of Zofia Bobowicz’s book *Paryski świat książki i jego tajemnice. Sprawozdanie z trudnej misji* [The book world of Paris and its secrets. A Report from an Impossible Mission]. Professor Marta Wyka (Department of Contemporary Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University) and Anna Łabędzka (Rennes II University) hosted the meeting;

- the meeting ‘Is It Possible to End This Game?’ combined with the promotion of Małgorzata Michel’s book *Gry uliczne a wykluczenie społeczne w przestrzeni miej-*

skiej. *Perspektywa resocjalizacyjna* [Street games and social exclusion in urban space. The perspective of re-socialisation]. The meeting was hosted by Anna Fiń, PhD (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Pedagogical University in Kraków). In addition, Marta Smagacz-Poziemska, PhD (Institute of Sociology, Jagiellonian University), Wojciech Wilczyk, a photographer and artist, Beata Sierocka and Marcin Drewniak (founders of the Centre for Prevention and Social Education PARASOL in Kraków) participated in the debate during the event;

- the promotion of the book *Zanim powstała liga. Almanach rozgrywek piłkarskich w Polsce w latach 1919–1926. Tom III: Sezon 1921* [Before the league started. The almanac of football in Poland from 1919 to 1926. Volume III: Season 1921] by Paweł Gaszyński combined with the lecture: “Piłka nożna w pierwszych latach II Rzeczypospolitej” (Football in the first years of the Second Polish Republic);

- the meeting ‘The Essence of Things and the Essence of the Japanese Literature’ combined with the promotion of the book *W kręgu Kokoro. O literackich i pozaliterackich kontekstach Sedna rzeczy Natsumego Sōsekiego* [In the circle of Kokoro. About literary and extra-literary contexts in Kokoro by Natsume Sōseki] edited by Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka, Katarzyna Sonnenberg and Aleksander Szczehla. Professor Romuald Huszcza, Bartosz Wojciechowski, PhD, and Katarzyna Sonnenberg, PhD participated in the debate accompanying the event.

- the promotion of the book *Dajakowie. Wolni ludzie z Borneo* [The Dayak. A free people from Borneo] by Patrycja Paula Gas. Professor Maria Flis (Institute of Sociology, Jagiellonian University), Simona Sienkiewicz, MA (Institute of the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University), as well as Zbigniew Janczukowicz (Jagiellonian University) participated in the debate during the event;

- the Meet the Author event combined with the promotion of the book *Deportowani z życia. Nowe głosy w narracjach literackich i ich kolonialne konteksty* [Deported from life. New voices in literary narratives and their colonial contexts] by Katarzyna Mroczkowska-Brand. Professor Jerzy Jarzębski (Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University), Professor Anna Krasnowolska (Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian University), Agnieszka Gondor-Wiercioch, PhD (Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagiellonian University), Urszula Tes, PhD (Institute of Cultural Studies, Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków) participated in the debate accompanying the event;

- the event ‘Karol Hubert Rostworowski, a Forgotten Artist’ combined with the promotion of the latest book by Maria Rostworowska *Szczery artysta. O Karolu Hubercie Rostworowskim* [An honest artist. About Karol Hubert Rostworowski]. The discussion was led by Justyna Nowicka (from the ‘Znak’ Social Publishing Institute). A string quartet concert accompanied the event;

- the promotion of the book *Zarys pedagogiki ogólnej. Rękopisy z oflagu* [An Outline of General Pedagogy. Manuscripts from the Oflag] by Andrzej Niesiołowski, edited by Janina Kostkiewicz. Prof. Stanisław Palka (Institute of Pedagogy, Ja-

giellonian University), Prof. Andrzej Ryk (Pedagogical University in Kraków), Prof. Dorota Pauluk, Dominika Jagielska, PhD, as well as Prof. Janina Kostkiewicz (Head of the Department of Higher Education and Polish Pedagogical Thought of the Institute of Pedagogy, Jagiellonian University) participated in the debate accompanying the event;

- the event ‘The Second Breath of Avant-garde’ combined with the promotion of the book by Jakub Kornhauser: *Awangarda. Strajki, zakłócenia, deformacje* [Avant-garde. Strikes, disturbances, deformations], as well as other books from the ‘Avant-garde / revisions’ publishing series. The meeting was hosted by Karolina Czerska, PhD (Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University). Prof. Jerzy Borowczyk (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), Michalina Kmieciak, PhD (Avant-garde Research Centre, Jagiellonian University), Jakub Kornhauser, PhD (Avant-garde Research Centre, Jagiellonian University) participated in the debate accompanying the event.

The average number of participants of the Jagiellonka literary salon was 35. In total, about 330 guests took part in all the events held in the Jagiellonian Library.

In cooperation with the association ‘All in UJ’ and ‘All in UJ Science,’ an expert debate *Godać czy mówić? Oto jest pytanie* on dialects in Poland was organised. The event was hosted by Prof. Kazimierz Sikora (Department of the History of Language and Dialectology of the Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University), Artur Czesak, PhD (a linguist and a lecturer at the Postgraduate School of Rhetoric of the Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University) and Agata Kwaśnicka-Janowicz, PhD (Department of the History of Language and Dialectology of the Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University).

In August 2017, the Jagiellonian Library co-organised the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) World Library and Information Congress held in Wrocław. As part of the events, the Jagiellonian Library invited to Kraków over 100 guests, representing a number of foreign institutions.

In 2017, the library held 18 thematic exhibitions. They were, in the chronological order:

- 3–31 January 2017 – *The Irish Rising* – organisers: Embassy of Ireland in Poland, Jagiellonian Library.

The board exhibition was arranged in connection with the centenary of the Easter Uprising outbreak (an armed insurrection in Dublin on 24–29, April 1916) against the British rule. The exhibition was promoted on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 10–20 January 2017 – *Między tradycją a eksperymentem: niezależna droga twórcza Juliusza Łuciuka. W 90. rocznicę urodzin* [Between the tradition and the experiment: Juliusz Łuciuk’s independent creative path. On his 90th birthday] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library; script and production: Anna Kuczyńska, Michał Lewicki, Iwona Wawrzynek; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; conservation: Conservation Section of the Conservation Department in the Jagiellonian Library.

The exhibition presented the lifelong achievement of one of Kraków's leading contemporary music composers, Juliusz Łuciuk. Chief among the exhibits were autographs, editions and recordings of the artist's works, as well as other documents and paraphernalia related to him, mainly from private collections. The exhibition was promoted by a poster, a brochure, and invitations, as well as the information posted on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 27 January – 10 February 2017 – *Stalinowski bibliocyd: Wielka czystka ideologiczna w bibliotekach polskich (1951–1953)* [Stalin's bibliocide: The great ideological purge in Polish libraries (1951–1953)] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Foundation of the Centre for Research and Documentation of the Polish Struggle for Independence; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; conservation: Conservation Section of the Conservation Department in the Jagiellonian Library; photographs and scans: Ludwik Węgiel, Reprographics Section of the Conservation Department in the Jagiellonian Library, ancillary assistance: Jan Madej, Andrzej Moskal.

The aim of the exhibition was to remind of the cultural damage suffered in Poland due to the policy of the communist authorities at the peak of the Stalinist regime, and at the same time to encourage people to read those books that were condemned to oblivion. The exhibition was promoted by a poster, a brochure, invitations and the information posted on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 15–25 February 2017 – *Zofia Bobowicz – jak to się robi w Paryżu* [Zofia Bobowicz – how to do it in Paris] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Consul General of France in Kraków, Director of the French Institute in Kraków, Austeria Publishing House; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; ancillary assistance: Grzegorz Grzyb, Jan Madej.

The exhibition presented the literary oeuvre of Zofia Bobowicz, a translator of Polish literature into French – mainly archival materials and prints from the donation the author made to the Jagiellonian Library. The exhibition was promoted by a poster, invitations, and the information posted on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 4–22 March 2017 – '*...pisać listy potrafią tylko kobiety.*' *Kultura epistolarna kobiet po 1750 roku* [...only women can write letters.' The epistolary culture of women after 1750] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Institute of German Studies; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; conservation: Conservation Section of the Conservation Department in the Jagiellonian Library; photographs and scans: Szymon Kotarski, Reprographics Section of the Conservation Department in the Jagiellonian Library; ancillary assistance: Grzegorz Grzyb, Jan Madej, Andrzej Moskal.

The exhibition presented letters written by various female intellectuals, writers and scientists from Poland, England, France, Germany and Italy, among others, Rahel Varnhagen, George Sand, Sara Austin, Mary Shelley, Josephine Bonaparte, Maria Skłodowska-Curie, Helena Modrzejewska, Maria Szymanowska, Gabriela Zapolska and Olga Boznańska. The main goal of the exhibition was to present the enormous contribution of these women to the Polish and European culture, which was also made through their correspondence. The exhibition was promoted by information

and promotional materials (a poster, a banner, invitations) and the information posted on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 11–31 March 2017 – *Rok Zamenhofa pod patronatem UNESCO – w 100. rocznicę śmierci* [Zamenhof's year under the auspices of UNESCO – on the 100th anniversary of his death] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Jagiellonian University Association of Students of Esperanto; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; conservation: Conservation Section of the Conservation Department; photographs and scans: Reprographics Section of the Conservation Department; ancillary assistance: Grzegorz Grzyb, Jan Madej, Andrzej Moskal.

The exhibition, organized in the library hall, was devoted to the work of the inventor of the international language Esperanto, Ludwik Zamenhof. Chief among the exhibits were the first Esperanto textbooks, as well as Ludwik Zamenhof's original works and translations from the 19th and early 20th century (including translations of Shakespeare, Molière, Schiller, Gogol and many others). Postcards and photographs showing monuments, streets, squares and other places from all over the world related to Ludwik Zamenhof were among other interesting items displayed at the exhibition. The exhibition was promoted by a poster and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 24 March – 7 April 2017 – *‘Wien, ah Wien’ – Dni Wiednia w Krakowie* [‘Wien, ah Wien’ – Vienna Days in Kraków] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Austrian Library; artwork: Katarzyna Starzycka; ancillary assistance: Grzegorz Grzyb, Jan Madej, Andrzej Moskal, Mariusz Paluch, Ewa Valde-Nowak.

The exhibition, organized in the library hall, was promoted by a poster and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 27 March – 14 April 2017 – *Beethoven i sztuki piękne* [Beethoven and fine arts] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, The Ludwig van Beethoven Association; curator and script's author: Michał Lewicki; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; descriptions of drawings: Beata Górecka; conservation: Conservation Section of the Conservation Department in the Jagiellonian Library; photographs and scans: Ludwik Węgiel, Reprographics Section of the Conservation Department in the Jagiellonian Library; ancillary assistance: Grzegorz Grzyb, Jan Madej, Andrzej Moskal.

The exhibition accompanied the 21st Ludwig van Beethoven Easter Festival. It presented manuscripts and music prints of outstanding composers who attained world renown over the centuries, such as Ludwig van Beethoven, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Sebastian Bach, Robert Schumann, Felix Mendelssohn, Niccolò Paganini, Stanisław Moniuszko, Karol Krupiński, Fryderyk Chopin, Juliusz Łuciuk. The exhibits were intended to point to the links between music and other arts: poetry, theatre, paintings, architecture and dance. The exhibition was promoted through a banner and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 21 April – 20 May 2017 – *Słownik kolumbianizmów* [The dictionary of colombianisms] – organisers: Embassy of Colombia in Poland, Cervantes Institute in

Kraków, Jagiellonian Library; curator and script's author: Zofia Jakubowska-Pindel; artwork: Cervantes Institute in Kraków; ancillary assistance: Mariusz Paluch, Iwona Wawrzynek.

The exhibition, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture of Colombia, Caro y Cuervo Institute in Bogotá and the Colombian Academy of Language, was one of the activities carried out as part of the Plan for the Promotion of Colombia Abroad, supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia. The exhibition, organised in the library hall, included 24 posters with 24 pages of the *Dictionary of Colombianisms*, consisting of 10,000 current and commonly used slogans and phrases of the Colombian variety of the Spanish language. The exhibition was promoted by materials contributed by the Cervantes Institute in Kraków;

- 9–26 May 2017 – *Zbiory snów nieznanych – nietypowe zbiory BJ* [The collection of unknown dreams – an unusual collection of the Jagiellonian Library] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library; curator and script's author: Katarzyna Maj, Jagoda Nowak, Iwona Wawrzynek; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; ancillary assistance: Mariusz Paluch, Iwona Wawrzynek.

The aim of the exhibition was to show a collection of unusual items stored in the Jagiellonian Library, such as various supplements to publications, films, photographs, maps, as well as extremely interesting collections of documents of social life (including People's Republic of Poland telephone books from the 1970s, a unique collection of ration coupons for food, old timetables of the Polish state railways PKP, the coach service provider PKS and the Polish airlines LOT, posters, invitations, postcards, tarot cards, runes, toys). The exhibition was promoted by a poster and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 2–30 June 2017 – *Zbiory z bylej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie przechowywane w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej – stan i perspektywy badań* – [The Collections of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin stored in the Jagiellonian Library: the state of preservation and perspectives of research] – organisers: Institute of German Studies, Jagiellonian University, Jagiellonian Library; curator and script's author: Professor Katarzyna Jaśtał, Monika Jaglarz, PhD; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; ancillary assistance: Mariusz Paluch, Iwona Wawrzynek.

Among other things, the exhibition presented medieval Italian and Greek manuscripts, beautifully illuminated *livres d'amitié*, rare autographs of the 18th and 19th century writers and scientists, as well as objects from the collection of manuscripts, xylographs and oriental prints. The exhibition was promoted by a poster and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 6–28 July 2017 – *Ogród dziwny – drzewa w miniaturach średniowiecznych* [A strange garden – trees in medieval miniatures] – organisers: Studio of Calligraphy and Illumination, Jagiellonian Library; curator and script's author: Anna Gawrońska; artwork: Studio of Calligraphy and Illumination; ancillary assistance: Mariusz Paluch, Iwona Wawrzynek, Michał Worgacz.

The exhibition presented miniatures made in medieval techniques with a common theme of a tree. The exhibition was promoted by materials provided by the curator of the exhibition;

- 12 September – 6 October 2017 – *Szaleństwo projektowania. Design frenzy* – organisers: Polish Association of Visual Artists in Kraków, Jagiellonian Library; curator and script's author: Professor Teresa Frodyma; artwork: Professor Teresa Frodyma; ancillary assistance: Mariusz Paluch, Iwona Wawrzynek, Michał Worgacz.

This exhibition, devoted to the art of designing of publications (especially books), was intended as a small compendium of knowledge about the work of former and contemporary graphic designers, editors and typographers. The presented items included works by Michał Jandor, Paweł Krzywda, Agata Korzeńska, Artur Masternak, Marek Pawłowski, Władysław Pluta, Andrzej Tomaszewski, Michalina Wawrzynek-Klasik, Katarzyna Wolny. The exhibition was promoted by materials provided by the curator of the exhibition;

- 16 October – 15 November 2017 – *Pamięci prof. Aleksandra Birkenmajera 1890–1967* [In memory of Professor Aleksander Birkenmajer 1890–1967] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library; curator and script's author: Iwona Hojda; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; ancillary assistance: Mariusz Paluch, Iwona Wawrzynek, Michał Worgacz.

The exhibition, organized on the 50th anniversary of Professor Alexander Birkenmajer's death, presented a fragment of the manuscript legacy of this versatile scholar, the director of the university library in Poznań in 1939 and from 1945 to 1947, as well as the Jagiellonian Library from 1947 on 1951, one of the world's most eminent experts in medieval manuscripts relating to astronomy, astrology, mathematics and philosophy, an outstanding expert in the history of books and an excellent librarian. The exhibition was promoted by a poster, a leaflet, invitations and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 21 November – 2 December 2017 – *Ali, szary ogier. Losy tatarskiego rumaka w 12 tablicach Alfred Kubin* [Ali, the grey stallion. The story of the Tartar steed shown on 12 boards Alfred Kubin] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Austrian Library; curator and script's author: Katarzyna Starzycka; artwork: Katarzyna Starzycka; ancillary assistance: Mariusz Paluch, Ewa Valde-Nowak.

The board exhibition, held in the library hall, was promoted by a poster and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website;

- 6–30 November 2017 – *Zabytki Krakowa* [Historical Monuments of Kraków] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Society of the Friends of the History and Monuments of Kraków; curator and script's author: Konrad Kołodziejczyk; artwork: Society of the Friends of the History and Monuments of Kraków.

The board exhibition was organised in the library hall.

- 4 December 2017 – 25 January 2018 – *Bibliotheca Magna. Biblioteka Jagiellońska na przestrzeni dziejów* [*Bibliotheca Magna*. The Jagiellonian Library throughout history] – organisers: Jagiellonian Library, Jagiellonian University Museum;

curator and script's author: Żaneta Kubic; artwork: Mariusz Paluch; organisation and ancillary assistance: Mirosław Kubic, Monika Mydel, Mariusz Paluch, Iwona Wawrzynek, Michał Worgacz.

The exhibition presented the history of the Jagiellonian Library from its beginnings till the moment the library was moved to the new building at 22 Mickiewicz Avenue. The exhibition title referred to the name of the Magna Perennisque medal that the Jagiellonian Library was granted. Due to its size, the exhibition was divided into two parts displayed in two different venues, which corresponded to the two historical locations of the library: in the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius and in the exhibition hall of the new library building. The exhibition was promoted by a catalogue, a poster, a banner, bookmarks, invitations and the information published on the Jagiellonian Library website.

In addition to the above mentioned exhibitions, the Jagiellonian Library organized 15 'Exhibitions of Novelties,' which presented 1316 volumes of new acquisitions in the library (including 1266 Polish and 50 foreign ones). Since October 2017, the exhibition of novelties is also shown on the Facebook profile of the Jagiellonian Library.

SCIENTIFIC AND PUBLISHING ACTIVITY

Major publications of the library employees in 2017 include:

- Alonso de la Fuente J.A., *From Converb to Classifier? On the Etymology of Literary Manchu nofi*, [in:] *Essays in the History of Languages and Linguistics. Dedicated to Marek Stachowski on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, eds. M. Németh, B. Podolak, M. Urban, Kraków 2017, pp. 56–80.

- Alonso de la Fuente J.A., *Imperatives in Contact. Linguistic Interactions on the Sakhalin Island*, "Studia Linguistica Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis" 2017, no. 134, pp. 305–322.

- Alonso de la Fuente J.A., *El libro de Nishán la Samán (Nišan saman-i bithe)*. Introducción, traducción y notas por José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente, Madrid 2017.

- Alonso de la Fuente J.A., *On Internal Reconstruction, Morphological Restructuration and Nominal Classes in Manchu*, "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae" 2017, no. 70, 3, pp. 347–370.

- Alonso de la Fuente J.A., *An Oroch Word-list Lost and Rediscovered: A Critical Edition of Tronson's 1859 Pseudo-Nivkh Vocabulary*, "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies" 2017, no. 80, 1, pp. 97–117.

- Alonso de la Fuente J.A., Shólem A., *El sastre embrujado*, Prólogo, traducción y notas por José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente, Madrid 2017.

- Baumann E., *Stan zachowania rękopisów подарowanych Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej przez księżąt Sanguszków*, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" LXVI, 2016 [published 2017], pp. 23–30.

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- Dąbrowska E., *Nowoczesna organizacja biblioteki akademickiej na przykładzie Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego*, “Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne” 2016, no. 106, pp. 39–54.
- Dąbrowska E., *Problem archiwizacji internetu w kontekście egzemplarza obowiązkowego. Sytuacja w Polsce i wybranych krajach europejskich*, “Biuletyn EBIB” 2017, no. 2 (172), pp. 1–11.
- Dąbrowska E., *Swoje chwalimy, cudze znamy. Działalność Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w ocenie jej dyrekcji*, [in:] *Nowe projekty, cenne inicjatywy i ciekawe przedsięwzięcia bibliotek naukowych*, eds. J. Czyrek, B. Górna, Wrocław 2016 [published 2017], pp. 97–105.
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- Gapiński B., *Maria Patyk kobieta niezwykła. Kujawska animatorka kultury i społecznik*, Gniezno 2017.
- Gapiński B., *Old Age and Tradition in Polish Villages during the Interwar Period (1918–1939)*, [in:] *Dzieciństwo i starość w ujęciu historyków*, eds. A. Obara-Pawłowska, M. Kołacz-Chmiel, Lublin 2016 [published 2017], pp. 299–312.

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SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH NATIONAL LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS

As in previous years, the Jagiellonian Library maintained close scientific relationships with many national libraries and institutions in 2017.

During the reporting period, staff members of numerous departments (i.e., Barbara Batko (Korfel), MA, from the Project Department, José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente, PhD, Wioleta Jakubas, PhD, and Żaneta Kubic, PhD from the Collection Development Department, Aneta Giza, MA, and Aleksandra Prokop-Kacprzak, MA from the Collection Circulation and Reference Department, Mirosław Kubic from the Automation Department, as well as Ewa Valde-Nowak, MA from the Organisation Department) formed the organisational committee of the Małopolska Forum of Libraries 2017 "Direction: An Integrated User," which took place on 25–26 October 2017.

Besides, staff members also cooperated in the Consultation Team for the KABA subject headings language at the NUKAT Centre, commenting problems on a daily basis. Especially Anna Pawica, MA from the Collection Processing Department took an exceptionally active part in the problem-solving discussions. Agata Pazdur-Bąk, MA participated in the projects of the National Library Descriptors Development Team. Moreover, the staff members who catalogued items in the Computer Catalogue of the Jagiellonian University Libraries did so simultaneously in NUKAT, the National Union Catalogue, co-created by 120 national libraries. The Jagiellonian Library participation in the project is, as follows:

Type of record	NUKAT (overall number of records)	Jagiellonian University (number of records created in the Jagiellonian Library)
Bibliographic records for books and monographs	3,667,846	578,487
Bibliographic records for serials	105,014	22,112
Bibliographic records: analytical	55,094	591
Authority records: bibliographic headings	2,521,667	449,706
Authority records: KABA subject headings + KABA extended subject headings	1,281,655	155,444

Many of the library staff members actively participated in the works of various national committees and institutions.

The Director of the Jagiellonian Library Prof. Zdzisław Pietrzyk continued to serve as the Vice-Chairman of the Council for National Library Resources and the Chairman of several scientific councils: The Scientific Council of the National Library in Warsaw, the Scientific Council of the Scientific Library of the PAAS and PAS in Kraków, the Program Council of the Cieszyn Library and the Scientific Council of the Library of the International Cultural Centre in Kraków. He also continued to serve as a member of the National Library Council.

Krystyna Sanetra, MA was a member of the Editorial Committee of the publishing series *Formaty, Kartoteki*.

Jerzy Grygiel, PhD continued as a member of the Unit of the Czech History and Polish-Czech relations of the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Central European Committee of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. Izabela Korczyńska, MA continued as a member of the international Council for Curators of Dutch and Flemish Art (CODART) and as a member of the Association of Art Historians – a branch in Kraków. In conformity with a long-standing tradition, the head of the Collection Development Department Żaneta Kubic, PhD continued her active involvement in the Technical Committee No. 242 for Information and Documentation of the Polish Standardization Committee. As in previous years, Leszek Szafrąński, MA participated in monthly meetings of the Senate Committee for Financing Scientific Research and International Cooperation, chaired by the Vice-Rector for Research and Structural Funds Prof. Stanisław Kistryn. During these meetings, Leszek Szafrąński discussed current issues related to the development of the Jagiellonian University Repository and the process of exporting data to the Polish Scientific Bibliography. In addition, Leszek Szafrąński was involved in

a task force for developing the model of descriptors, as well as the potential principles and possibilities of cataloguing the collections of the Jagiellonian Library and the National Library in Warsaw. Together with Ewa Harpula, MA and Justyna Wolan, MA, he was an active member of the NUKAT teams, established to develop instructions for cataloguing electronic, film and audio collections. Marek Mariusz Tytko, PhD was a member of the Unit of Pedagogical Research Methodology of the Committee of Pedagogical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Małgorzata Wielek-Konopka, MA, actively participated in the group on bibliographic standards at the NUKAT Centre. Barbara Żurek, MA, served as secretary of the board of the Kraków branch of the Polish Historical Society.

Besides, library staff members took an active part in conferences and scientific sessions:

- Marzanna Baś, MA, Elżbieta Kopyś, MA – the 4th national scientific conference “Od rękopisów po bazy danych” [From manuscripts to databases] (Warsaw, April 2017);
- Agnieszka Brzeziak, MA, Anna Grzęda, MA, Jagoda Nowak, MA, Aleksandra Prokop-Kacprzak, MA – II Warsztat Pracy Infobrokera [2nd Info-broker Workshop] (Kraków, May 2017);
- Agnieszka Brzeziak, MA, Aleksandra Cieślak, MA, Ewa Dąbrowska, MA, José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente, PhD, Małgorzata Galos, MA, Wioleta Jakubas, PhD, Barbara Korfel (Batko), MA, Żaneta Kubic, PhD, Małgorzata Mrożek-Buksa, MA, Marta Myszkal-Ziółek, MA, Jagoda Nowak, MA, Aleksandra Prokop-Kacprzak, MA, Krystyna Sanetra, MA, Marta Szafrąńska, MA, Leszek Szafrąński, MA, Katarzyna Szczepaniec, MA, Edyta Śliwińska, MA, Marek Mariusz Tytko, PhD, Ewa Valde-Nowak, MA, Małgorzata Wielek-Konopka, MA, Justyna Wolan, MA – the Małopolska Forum of Libraries 2017 conference “Kierunek: użytkownik zintegrowany” [Direction: an integrated user] (Kraków, October 2017);
- Ewa Borsuk, MA, Ewa Dąbrowska, MA – the national scientific conference “Biblioteka wczoraj i... jutro w setną rocznicę powstania stowarzyszenia bibliotekarzy Polskich (1917–2017)” [The library yesterday and... tomorrow on the hundredth anniversary of the association of Polish librarians (1917–2017)] – the paper “Książki ‘niebezpieczne’, książki zakazane: wpływ ideologicznej kontroli państwa na gromadzenie zbiorów w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w okresie PRL” [‘Dangerous’ books, prohibited books: the influence of ideological control of the state on the collection in the Jagiellonian Library during the Communist era] (Łódź, September 2017);
- Ewa Borsuk, MA, Ewa Dąbrowska, MA, Krystyna Tracz, MA – XXXV Forum Bibliotekarzy “Biblioteka dla Dydaktyki” [The 35th Librarians’ Forum “Library for Teaching”] (Chorzów, February 2017);
- Ewa Borsuk, MA, Krystyna Tracz, MA – the seminar “Archiwizacja Internetu” [Archiving the Internet] (Warsaw, March 2017);

- Barbara Bułat, MA – II Warsztat Pracy Infobrokera [The 2nd Info-broker Workshop] – the paper “Wyszukiwanie w pracy Sekcji Informacji Naukowej BJ” [Data mining in the work of the Reference Services Section] (Kraków, May 2017);
- Dariusz Bylica, MSc – conference “Optymalizacja systemu bezpieczeństwa i ochrony zbiorów w muzeach” [Optimizing the security system and protecting collections in museums] (Katowice, October 2017);
- Ewa Dąbrowska, MA – the seminar “Archiwizacja Internetu” [Archiving the Internet] – the paper “Problem archiwizacji internetu w kontekście egzemplarza obowiązkowego. Sytuacja w Polsce i wybranych krajach europejskich” [The problem of archiving the Internet in the context of the legal deposit copy. The situation in Poland and selected European countries] (Warsaw, March 2017);
- Bartłomiej Gapiński, PhD – the conference “Tradycyjne pożywienie – od codzienności do sacrum po produkt regionalny” [Traditional food: from everyday life to *sacrum* to regional product] – the paper “Chleb w życiu codziennym społeczności wiejskiej” [Bread in the daily life of the rural community] (Lublin, September 2017);
- Katarzyna Guzy, MA, Joanna Hoły, MA, Leszek Szafrąński, MA – the conference “Technologie strumieniowe w bibliotekach cyfrowych” [Streaming technologies in digital libraries] (Kraków, March 2017);
- Katarzyna Guzy, MA, Katarzyna Szczepanec, MA, Ewa Ziolo, MA – the international conference “Ekslibris: znak własnościowy – dzieło sztuki / Exlibris: a mark of ownership – a piece of art” (Kraków, November 2017);
- Joanna Hoły, MA – the conference “Biblioteka w przestrzeni edukacyjnej: IV konferencja naukowa: książki w plikach – publikowanie, udostępnianie i użytkowanie” [The library in an educational space: the 4th scientific conference: books in digital files – publishing, sharing and using] – the paper “Copyright w bibliotekach cyfrowych” [Copyright in digital libraries] (Kraków, May 2017);
- Dorota Jezierska, MA, Marta Kłosiewicz, MA, Agnieszka Rembowska, MA, Aleksandra Szalla-Kleemann, MA – the conference “Zintegrowany system zarządzania ochroną przed szkodnikami (IPM) w muzeach, bibliotekach, archiwach jako ważna część konserwacji prewencyjnej” [Integrated Pest Management System (IPM) in museums, libraries, archives as an important part of preventive conservation] (Kraków, December 2017);
- Izabela Korczyńska, MA – the international conference “CODART Twin-tig” – the paper “The Magnificent Collection of *Libri Picturati*. Examples of Flemish 16th and 17th century Paintings” (Warsaw, May 2017);
- Anna Krzak, MA, Żaneta Kubic, PhD, Aleksandra Prokop-Kacprzak, MA – Światowy kongres IFLA “Biblioteki. Solidarność. Społeczeństwo” [The IFLA World Congress “Libraries. Solidarity. Society”] (Wrocław, August 2017);
- Żaneta Kubic, PhD – the conference “Tworzenie Narodowego Zasobu Bibliotecznego” [Creating the National Library Collection] (Warsaw, October 2017);

- Michał Lewicki, MA – the conference “Wokół postaci Ferdynanda Hösic-ka w 150. rocznicę jego urodzin” [Focus on the figure of Ferdinand Hösic-ka on his 150th birthday] – the paper “Ferdynand Wilhelm Hösic-ka jako wydawca i księgarz muzyczny” [Ferdinand Wilhelm Hösic-ka as a publisher and music bookseller] (Kraków, October 2017);

- Jagoda Nowak, MA – the conference “Funkcje bibliotek – dawniej i dziś” [The functions of libraries – yesterday and today] – the paper “Jedna instytucja wiele pokoleń i perspektyw” [One institution, many generations and prospects] (Wrocław, November 2017);

- Lucyna Nowak, PhD – a national meeting of editors – the paper “Projekt badawczy: Polska myśl teologiczna i filozoficzna – Katalog średniowiecznych rękopisów łacińskich Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, tomy 12–13” [The research project: A Polish theological and philosophical thought – The catalogue of medieval Latin manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library, volumes 12–13] (Lublin, September 2017);

- Jacek Partyka, PhD – the 5th International Seminar on the Cistercian Art and Spiritual Culture – the paper “Obraz życia cystersów mogiła w kronice Sebastiana Kielczewskiego OCist ze zbiorów Biblioteki XX. Czartoryskich (Rkp. 3652)” [An image of life of the Cistercians from Mogiła in the chronicle of Sebastian Kielczewski OCist from the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Library (Ms. 3652)] (Kraków, April 2017); international conference “Zbiory z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie przechowywane w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej: stan i perspektywy badań” [Collections from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin stored in the Jagiellonian Library: the state of preservation and perspectives of research] – the paper “*Polonica* and Polish books from the collection of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin now in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków” (Kraków, June 2017);

- Professor Zdzisław Pietrzyk – the conference related to the promotion of the book *Parafia św. Michała Archaniola w Ostrowcu Świętokrzyskim 1614–2016* [St. Michael the Archangel Parish in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski 1614–2016] – the paper “Patroni parafii w Ostrowcu w okresie przedrozbiorowym” [Patrons of the parish in Ostrowiec during the pre-partition period] (Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, January 2017); library discussion session – the paper “Biblioteka Jagiellońska wczoraj, dziś i jutro” [The Jagiellonian Library yesterday, today and tomorrow] (Zielona Góra, March 2017); the conference “Reformacja w Krakowie” (XVI–XVII wiek) [The Reformation in Kraków (16th–17th century)] – the paper “Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec reformacji” [The University in Kraków in the face of the Reformation] (Kraków, May 2017); the conference “Krajobraz i dziedzictwo kulturowe Europy. Sacrum – Profanum” [The cultural landscape and heritage of Europe. Sacrum – Profanum] – the paper “Rycerski Zakon Bibliofilski z Kapitułą Orderu Białego Kruka czyli ‘Piękna Polaków zabawa’” [Society of the Knights Bibliophiles with the Chapter of the Order of Rara a Vis or ‘Poles at Joy’] (Kraków,

May 2017); conference “Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych” [Source material for the history of old Polish educational tours] – the paper “Sztambuch Kryspina Gericiusa jako przykład źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych” [Kryspin Gericius’s family book as source material for the history of old Polish educational tours] (Poznań, May 2017); the conference “Zbiory z byłej Pruskiej biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie przechowywane w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej: stan i perspektywy badań” [The Collections of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin stored in the Jagiellonian Library: the state of preservation and perspectives of research] – the paper “*Polonica* w odnalezionych w 2014 r. sztambuchach z byłej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej” [*Polonica* in the family books from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin, found in 2014 and stored in the Jagiellonian Library] (Kraków, June 2017); the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) World Library and Information Congress (Wrocław, August 2017); the conference “200 lat Ossolineum – konferencja jubileuszowa” [200 years of the Ossolineum Publishing House – an anniversary conference] – the paper “Kłopotliwy to pod każdym względem urząd bibliotekarza! Bibliotekarze między Lwowem a Krakowem (1848–1918)” [Being a librarian can be inconvenient in every way! Librarians between Lvov and Kraków (1848–1918)] (Wrocław, October 2017); conference “Reformacja w Małopolsce w starodrukach i historiografii” [Reformation in Małopolska old prints and historiography] – the paper “Wacław Urban jako historyk reformacji” [Wacław Urban as a historian of the Reformation] (Kielce, November 2017);

- Leszek Szafrąński, MA – the conference “Popularyzacja i zarządzanie dorobkiem naukowym – narzędzia, rozwiązania, oprogramowanie” [Disseminating and managing scientific achievements – tools, solutions, software] – the paper “Integracja rozproszonego systemu informacji i raportowania w uczelni na przykładzie Repozytorium Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” [Integrating the scattered information and reporting system in the university on the example of the Jagiellonian University Repository] (Warsaw, April 2017); the 26th seminar in the series “Badania naukowe. Repozytoria prac naukowych. Aspekty informatyczne, organizacyjne, prawne” [Scientific research. Repositories of scientific publications. IT, organisational and legal aspects] – the paper “Studium przypadku: Repozytorium Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego – aspekty organizacyjne i funkcjonalne” [Jagiellonian University Repository – organizational and functional aspects: a case study] (Warsaw, May 2017); the international conference “CopyCamp 2017. The Internet of copyrighted things” (Warsaw, October 2017); international conference “Wiedza – inspiracja – rozwój” [Knowledge – inspiration – development] – the paper “Tworzenie wirtualnych wystaw z wykorzystaniem zasobów cyfrowych” [Creating virtual exhibitions with the use of digital content] (Nowy Targ, October 2017); the conference as part of “Open Access Week 2017” – the paper “Otwarty dostęp

w polskich repozytoriach i bibliotekach cyfrowych” [Open access in Polish digital repositories and libraries] (Kraków, October 2017); conference “Digitalizacja – dobre praktyki tworzenia i ochrony narodowego zasobu cyfrowego w instytucjach kultury i nauki” [Digitalization: good practices for creating and protecting national digital resources in cultural and scientific institutions] – the paper “Oprogramowanie w repozytoriach instytucjonalnych” [Software in institutional repositories] (Warsaw, November 2017);

- Agnieszka Rembowska, MA, Aleksandra Szalla-Kleemann, MA – 5. Targi Konserwacji i Restauracji Zabytków oraz Ochrony, Wyposażenia Archiwów, Muzeów i Bibliotek ‘Dziedzictwo’ [the 5th Fair for Preserving and Restoring Historical Monuments, as well as Protecting and Equipping Archives, Museums and Libraries ‘Heritage’] – the paper “Sposoby ochrony cennych egzemplarzy z kolekcji zbiorów specjalnych Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. *Patrimonium*” [Methods of protecting valuable copies of the special collections of the Jagiellonian Library. ‘Patrimonium’] (Warsaw, November 2017);

- Marek M. Tytko, PhD – the 15th national scientific conference within the series “Duchowość klasztorów Polskich: Przekaz i komunikacja ‘Pomóc uchwycić sens życia: dziedzictwo ks. Waleriana Kalinki CR’” [Spirituality of Polish monasteries: the message and communication ‘To help grasp the meaning of life: the heritage of Fr. Valerian Kalinka CR’] – the paper “Głos w dyskusji nt. Waleriana Kalinki w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim” [A voice in the discussion on Walerian Kalinka at the Jagiellonian University] (Kraków, March 2017); III Seminarium Polskiej Myśli Pedagogicznej “Kierunki rozwoju myśli i praktyki pedagogicznej w Polsce lat 1939–2016” [the 3rd Seminar on Polish Pedagogical Thought “Directions of development of pedagogical thought and pedagogical practice in Poland 1939–2016”] – the paper “Fideizm w pedagogicznej koncepcji Stefana Szumana” [Fideism in Stefan Szuman’s pedagogical theory] (Kraków, April 2017); [Pierwszy] Narodowy Kongres Nauki [(The First) National Congress of Science] (Kraków, September 2017); XV Krajowy Zjazd Delegatów Stowarzyszenia Archiwistów Polskich [The 15th National Congress of Delegates of the Association of Polish Archivists] (Kielce, September 2017);

- Ewa Valde-Nowak, MA – The 4th Estreicher Conference on the 70th anniversary of the 6th restitution voyage to Germany by Karol Estreicher Jr., the greatest restitution activist in the European history (Kraków, September 2017);

- Małgorzata Wielek-Konopka, MA – the conference “Projekt e-usługa OMNIS. System zintegrowanego zarządzania zbiorami dla polskich bibliotek” [The OMNIS e-service project. An integrated collection management system for Polish libraries] (Warsaw, June 2017); the international conference “Impact of the IFLA Library Reference Model on ISBD, RDA and other bibliographic standards. A post-IFLA session” (Wrocław, August 2017).

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Furthermore, in 2017 the Jagiellonian Library continued cooperation with foreign partner libraries.

From 24th to 28th April, Ewa Borsuk, MA (head of the Acquisitions Section of the Collection Development Department) served an internship at the library of Charles University in Prague as part of the Erasmus+ Programme. During her stay, she visited the Central Library, which is not a typical library but a kind of a content support centre for faculty libraries of the university and its tasks include providing access to full-text electronic sources for the entire university community, administering the university portal, providing IT support for faculty libraries in terms of remote access to data, acquiring grants from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture, digitizing and managing the Digital Repository of Charles University in Prague, cataloguing the collections, managing the Moodle e-learning platform and implementing the Discovery system. Besides, Ms. E. Borsuk had the opportunity to get acquainted with the work of various faculty libraries. These included the library of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Knihovna Společenských Věd Tomáše Garrigua Masaryk v Jinonicích), the Scientific Information Centre of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Knihovna FSV, Středisko Vědeckých Informací), one of the 24 libraries of the Faculty of Philosophy (Knihovna Jana Palacha) and the modern inter-departmental library specialising in economic sciences: CERGE-EI Knihovna Jana Kmenty, considered the best library of its kind in Central and Eastern Europe.

From 8th to 12th May, Wioleta Jakubas, PhD and Magdalena Kaczor, MA (of the Collection Development Department), participated in a training course at the library of the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria as part of the Erasmus+ Programme. During the training, the ladies got acquainted with the work of various departments of the library – the public services department, the digital repository section, the information section, the collection section and the organisation section. They also had an opportunity to learn about the specific nature of the work of the Faculty Library of Architecture and took part in the International Staff Week. During the last day of the training, at a meeting of all local library employees, the ladies familiarized the participants with the history and activities of the Jagiellonian University and the Jagiellonian Library.

At the same time, Monika Strach, MA (of the Collection Circulation and Reference Department) completed a week-long internship at the library of the Catholic University of Ružomberok (Slovakia) as part of the Erasmus+ Programme. During her stay, she observed how the library operates and how it cooperates with the university department for assistance and support for students with health problems (Poradenské centrum).

From 22nd to 26th May, Sebastian Grudzień, PhD (of the Collection Circulation and Reference Department) served an internship at the main library of the University

of Coimbra in Portugal as part of the Erasmus+ Programme. During the training, he got acquainted with the organization of various agencies of the library and three main faculty libraries, visited the historic part of the university, the most valuable building of which is the Baroque Johannine Library, and got acquainted with the university archives' collections and their tasks. To introduce the Jagiellonian Library to the staff of the local institutions, Dr. Sebastian Grudzień prepared and gave a talk *The Jagiellonian Library. 650 years in the service of the University, Poland and the world*. Taking advantage of his stay in Portugal, Dr. Sebastian Grudzień collected several *polonica*, which enriched the Jagiellonian Library collection.

From 5th to 9th June, Marzanna Baś, MA (head of the Reference Services Section of the Collection Circulation and Reference Department) and Elizabeth Kopyś, MA (from the Collection Department) served an internship at the library of the University of Algarve in Faro (Portugal) as part of the Erasmus+ Mobility Project. During their stay, they got acquainted with the specific nature of the work in the central library (the Gambelas Campus library) and the European Documentation Centre, as well as another, dependent university library (the Penha Campus library). In their free time, they visited the innovative public library in Silves, located about 50 km from Faro.

At the same time, Monika Jaglarz, PhD and Anna Sobańska, MA (of the Manuscripts Section of the Jagiellonian Library Special Collection Department) served an internship in the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague as part of a direct exchange programme. The ladies visited the Manuscripts and Early Printed Books section. The aim of their internship was to examine foreign documents unavailable in the Jagiellonian Library but essential for completing the next volume of *Katalog Rękopisów Średniowiecznych Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* [The Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library], as well as to compare the text of *Stefan de Páleč Tractatus contra quattuor articulos Hussitarum* with the manuscripts preserved in Prague. The ladies also managed to establish contact with the Czech Academy of Sciences in order to examine incipits of one of the manuscripts in the local records. Thanks to the involvement of the staff of the Czech National Library, both ladies had an opportunity to visit the libraries of the Premonstratensian Strahov Monastery in Prague and the town of Teplá.

As part of the above-mentioned direct exchange programme, Renata Salátova, PhD from the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague visited the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków in June 2017. During her one-day visit, Dr. R. Salátova had a meeting with Dr. Andrzej Obrębski during which she discussed publishing and editorial affairs concerning both institutions.

From 18th to 24th June, Elżbieta Sidor, MA (of the Collection Processing Department) stayed in the library of St. Clement of Ohrid University in Sofia as part of the interlibrary exchange programme. During the training, she got acquainted with the structure and organization of the central university library, as well as the path of a book: book collecting, processing in the Aleph system, digitization, and finally

shelving. She also got acquainted with the book collection of the Institute of Law, Philosophy and History, as well as Theology. She visited the museums located in the library building: the museum of the history of the university, geology, palaeontology and archaeological museums, museums of the history of Sofia, 10th-century Orthodox churches, as well as the museum of icons.

At the same time, Halina Stachowska, MA (Jagiellonian Library Deputy Director) attended a training course at the scientific library in St. Petersburg as part of a direct exchange programme. During her stay, Mrs. H. Stachowska got acquainted with the structure and organization of the library and the work of the library departments responsible for the path of a book. She also had the opportunity to visit the library of the Faculty of Economics, sponsored by banking institutions, which is manifested in the impressively restored building and the library's rich collection of books.

From 19th to 23rd June, Ewa Dąbrowska, MA (head of the Collection Development Department) served an internship in the scientific library of the Ivan Franko National University of Lvov. On the first day of her stay there, she got acquainted with the structure of the university library, the information and bibliographic systems. She familiarised herself with the work and resources of the Department of Manuscripts, Early Printed Books and Rare Publications, as well as the activity of the Department of Periodicals. During the next days of her stay, she got acquainted with the history and structure of the library, the ways of collecting, processing and circulating books, as well as the principles of creating reference collections and using them effectively. She also familiarized herself with the work of the conservation department and the departmental libraries. Besides, she visited the University Library of Geological Sciences. On the last day of her stay, she got acquainted with the duties and tasks of the scientific and methodological department, especially with regard to the department responsibility for scientific libraries of the region. She also learnt about the projects and activities undertaken to promote readership and popularize the library among young people.

Likewise, Piotr Kuliszewicz, MA (of the Collection Development Department) served an internship in Lvov from 2nd to 8th July. Since he had visited the university library before, he devoted only part of the first day of his stay to remind himself how the library operated and what its organizational structure was, devoting the remaining time of the day to individual work in the Special Collection Department, where he worked with the manuscripts stored in the library collection. Having inspected the catalogue of manuscripts, he got acquainted with various documents from the Kuropatnicki collection, documents relating to the history of the so-called Samborian economy, the history of the Wieliczka salt mine from 1615 to 1774 and one portfolio of documents relating to the history of the town of Śniatyń. He also thoroughly reviewed the manuscript containing the diary of Ludwik Zarewicz from his trips to the Camaldolese Monastery in Bielany near Kraków from 1848 to 1870. He devoted the last day of his stay to sightseeing in Lvov.

From 17th to 21st July, Ewa Dąbrowska, MA and Krystyna Tracz, MA (head of the Legal Deposit Copy Section) served an internship at the library of the University of Hradec Králové in the Czech Republic as part of the Erasmus+ Programme. During their stay, the ladies visited the main library located in the modern building on the university campus, familiarised themselves with the organisation of the university library network, electronic resources and databases, and the education in the field of information literacy. They also visited the new building of the scientific library adjacent to the university campus, responsible for collecting and circulating a universal collection of scientific publications and to provide specialist services for the entire East Bohemia region. On the last day of their stay, the ladies also visited the university publishing house, operating within the library network.

From 16th to 20th October, both ladies participated in a business trip to the university library in Vilnius as part of a direct exchange programme. The first day of their internship was devoted to organizational matters, as well as visiting the library and the old campus in the centre of Vilnius. During the following days, the ladies had an opportunity to get acquainted with the tasks of the Manuscripts and Rare Publications departments, the Scientific Information Department, the Conservation Department and the User Services Department. They also visited the new library building (National Open Access Scholarly Communication and Information Centre), open 24/7. On the last day of their stay, they met with the head of the Adam Mickiewicz Museum, with whom they discussed the history and problems of this institution, as well as the organizational changes planned for the future (the Museum is to get under the management of the University Museum).

As part of the above-mentioned direct exchange programme, Mrs. Rasa Gendvilytė from the university library in Vilnius visited the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków from 6th to 10th November 2017. During her stay, Mrs. Rasa Gendvilytė got acquainted with the activities and organizational structure of the library, visited the Digital Resources Department, the Stock Rooms Department and the Conservation Section of the Conservation Department. The staff members showed her around the exhibition of the special collections, and she also visited the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius.

From 4th to 8th September, Izabela Korczyńska, MA (head of the Jagiellonian Library Graphics and Maps Section) served an internship at the university library in Salzburg as part of a direct exchange programme. During her stay, Mrs. I. Korczyńska visited the library building, got acquainted with the work of the Circulation Department, reading rooms and the Special Collections Department. She devoted part of her time to her own research, using a carrel created specifically for her.

From 9th to 13th October, Ewa Borsuk, MA served an internship at the university library in Bochum as part of a direct exchange programme. The purpose of her visit was to get acquainted with current projects implemented in the library and to analyse potential changes in the functioning of the library that may have taken place

in the last ten years. During her visit, Ms. E. Borsuk became acquainted with one of the projects implemented there which had resulted in expanding the bibliography of scientific publications of the staff of higher education schools in the Ruhr area (Hochschulbibliographie), she was introduced to open access issues, discussed the library publishing and editorial affairs, its cooperation with readers, library lessons for interested groups of readers, as well as student internships and the education of future librarians. During the last day of her stay in Bochum, she had an opportunity to participate in the International Book Fair (Buchmesse Frankfurt), which was attended by 7300 exhibitors from 102 countries (for 5 days). During this event, she got acquainted with the rich and interesting publishing offer of French, German, and Austrian companies.

From 16th to 27th October, Beata Kurek, MA (head of the Rare Publications and Ephemera Section of the Special Collection Department) stayed in the library of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil, for another year in a row helping to select and catalogue books from the legacy of Poles in exile. She also performed some ancillary tasks in the Museum.

From 1st to 13th November, Katarzyna Starzycka, MA (of the Collection Circulation and Reference Department) visited Vienna at the invitation of the Austrian Literary Association (Österreichische Gesellschaft für Literatur). During her visit, she took part in the 7th Biennale Treffen – Bibliotheken im digitalen Medienzeitalter and became acquainted with the current offer of the publishing market of the Republic of Austria.

Monika Jaglarz, PhD, Urszula Klatka, PhD and Monika Mydel, MA (from the Manuscripts Section of the Special Collection Department), as well as Małgorzata Galos, MA, Wioleta Jakubas, PhD, Joanna Jutrznia, MA and Żaneta Kubic, PhD (of the Collection Processing Department) visited the Polish Library in Paris from April to November as part of the research project of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences “Development of catalogues of the 19th-century prints published in exile and in Poland from the collections of the Polish Library in Paris and the Historical and Literary Society.”

In April, the Jagiellonian Library welcomed the staff members of the university library in Cadiz (Spain): Elena García Almozara, Lucrecia Lope Vega and Juan Caballero Ruiz, who came to Kraków to serve an internship as part of the Erasmus programme. During the five-day visit, they got acquainted with the organization and tasks of the Collection Department, the Stock Rooms Department, the Collection Development Department, the Digital Collection Department, the Collection Circulation and Reference Department, as well as the Automation Department. They also visited the Paper Clinic and the Conservation Section of the Conservation Department. Moreover, they had an opportunity to visit the library of the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Management and Social Communication. Jagiellonian Library staff members showed the guests around the exhibition of the special collections and they also visited the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius.

At the same time (25–27 April), the Jagiellonian Library welcomed Klára Marcinova, PhD and Silvia Turkiňakova from the university library of Pavol Josef Šafarik in Košice (Slovakia), who came to Kraków to complete an internship as part of the Erasmus programme. During their visit, both ladies got acquainted with the work of the Collection Department, the Stock Rooms Department, the Collection Processing Department, the Collection Circulation and Reference Department and the Digital Resources Department. They also visited the Paper Clinic, were shown around the exhibition of the library special collections and had a meeting with Dr. A. Obrębski during which they discussed the Jagiellonian Library publications. On the last day of their stay, they visited the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius.

In June, the Jagiellonian Library welcomed Jelena Jovanović from the Serbian University of Novi Sad, who during a week-long stay got acquainted with the activities of the Digital Resources Department, the Project Department, the Stock Rooms Department, the Collection Development Department, the Collection Processing Development Department, as well as the Collection Circulation and Automation Department. She expressed a lively interest in the work of the Paper Clinic. Besides, she visited the library of the Institute of Slavonic Studies and the Department of International Cooperation. She was also shown around the exhibition of the Jagiellonian Library special collections and visited the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius.

During the last week of June, the Jagiellonian Library received guests from the university library in Cologne: Annegret Fuentes-Flores and Irmgard Jordan-Schmidt. During their stay, the ladies visited the Collection Development Department, the Collection Processing Department, the Collection Circulation and Automation Department, the Stock Rooms Department, the Digital Resources Department, the Project Department and the Automation Department. They also familiarized themselves with the tasks of the Paper Clinic and were shown around the exhibition of the Jagiellonian Library special collections. On the last day of their stay, they paid a visit to the Faculty Library of the Department of Management and Social Communication and visited the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius.

In the field of international cooperation, Monika Jaglarz, PhD took part in the conference “Abschlusskonferenz des BMBF-Verbundprojekts Alexander von Humboldts amerikanische Reisetagebücher,” during which she presented a paper “Ein ungehobener Schatz? Die Berliner Sammlungen in Krakau” (Berlin, January 2017).

TEACHING

From January to May and from October to December a series of *Ars Quaerendi* open training lectures was continued, altogether covering 6 different thematic ses-

sions. The cycle consisted of 39 lectures with 352 registered participants (an increase in interest by 33% compared to the previous year). *Ars Quaerendi Plus* lectures were also very successful (which was manifested both in the number of interested Jagiellonian University units and the number of individual participants). Altogether, the lectures were attended by 18 groups (392 persons in total).

Prof. Zdzisław Pietrzyk delivered lectures for students of information and library science at the Faculty of Management and Social Communication of the Jagiellonian University within the following academic courses: *Collections of Information Resources and Book Culture in History*, *Great Libraries and their History*, *Management in librarianship and information practice*. He also conducted MA and PhD seminars. At the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University, Prof. Pietrzyk taught classes on preparing editions of late modern and modern source documents from library collections.

Ekaterina Baumann, M.A., offered classes *The Information Workshop* to first-year students of the BA programme in Information Studies (Department of Management and Social Communication of the Jagiellonian University). Ewa Valde-Nowak, MA taught classes in the *Introduction to Librarianship. Laboratory* to second-year students of the same programme of studies. Barbara Bułat, MA offered lectures to first-year students of the doctoral studies at the Faculty of History of the Jagiellonian University: *Search techniques in humanities databases*. Bartłomiej Gapiński, PhD offered a laboratory *History of old age*, as well as classes and discussion sessions *Introduction to the anthropology of religion* to fourth and fifth-year students of history specialising in historical anthropology at the Jagiellonian University. Monika Jaglarz, PhD delivered lectures as part of the academic course *An Outline of the History of a Book* for postgraduate students at the John Paul II Pontifical University in Kraków. Leszek Szafranski, MA taught classes *Digital objects and digital collections* to second-year students of the MA programme in information and library science and *Management of visual and audio information* to second-year students of the same programme of studies (Faculty of Management and Social Communication, Jagiellonian University).

Besides, staff members of many departments conducted training courses for 6 students of information and library science who served their student internships in the Jagiellonian Library.

BUILDING MAINTENANCE

For another year in a row, all tasks related to the current maintenance of the technical infrastructure of the Jagiellonian Library buildings (including the equipment and systems connected to internal transport, ventilation and air-conditioning of rooms and the fire alarm system), as well as to the maintenance of the proper condi-

tion of lighting, water, sewage and central heating systems were carried out by the technical department, headed by Janusz Mika, MSc.

In 2017, a total of 102 fan coil units were replaced in the ventilation and air-conditioning system of building no. 2. Similarly, flexible hoses for the connection of heating and chilled water, sets of three-way valves and temperature controllers were replaced. In the technical building no. 3, a new chilled water unit with a magnetic-bearing compressor and smooth regulation of cooling power was installed in place of the damaged unit; as a result the working conditions of the transformer station were significantly improved, with simultaneous reduction of electricity consumption. In the N4a air conditioning unit, the damaged two-speed motor of the supply air fan was replaced, and in the S20.4 unit, the entire damaged supply air fan was replaced.

Moreover, 247 air filters in 47 air handling units, 112 filters in fan coil units, 2 in the server room and 4 in the vault were replaced. The fan belt tensions were checked, necessary periodical corrections were made to the air handling unit operating time schedules by overwriting time points in 19 CPU controllers. The operation status of ventilation, water pressure in heating and cooling systems, operation of the central heating node, required inspections and leaktightness checks of freon systems in AG1, AG2, AG3 chilled water units and air conditioners in the vault and in the precision air conditioning cabinet of the server room were monitored on an ongoing basis. One-way valves in the circuits of pumps supplying fan coil units in the central heating exchanger and damaged sections of pipelines to the domestic hot water exchanger were also replaced.

With regard to the book transport system, daily, ongoing supervision of its operation was carried out, and the condition of trackage, railway switches, fire doors and control systems were regularly reviewed. Current repairs of trolley drive systems (replacement of running wheels and side wheels, clutch adjustments), railway switches (replacement of damaged wiring) and trackage power supplies were carried out. Repairs of control modules, replacement of relays, replacement of photodetectors and adjustment of limit switches in buffers were also performed. In the section between the Main Reading Room and the Periodicals Stock Rooms on the ground floor of the building, damaged fragments of racks and rubber profiles of bends and inruns in front of railway switches were replaced.

In the fire hydrant supply system, the hydrophore unit was replaced, ensuring the required capacity of pressure and flow of water, while additional gate valves were installed on the pipelines supplying the unit to cut off water in case replacing pressure sensors or expansion tanks was necessary.

In the main transformer station, current maintenance and control were carried out regarding the condition of switchgear and cabling. Periodic checks of the state of short-circuit and electric shock protections were also carried out in floor switchboards.

In accordance with the recommendations and remarks in the building survey protocol, the maintenance of the roofing and cleaning of the gutters were carried out.

Works related to the maintenance of the building lighting, current repairs of the power supply network, locksmith's and hydraulic repairs were also carried out.

Another grant received from the Social Committee for the Conservation of Monuments in Kraków enabled further replacement of window frames in the high part of the old building – 6 box-shaped windows on the 2nd floor of the building were replaced.

In cooperation with the INSAP company, regular quarterly maintenance and inspection of the fire alarm system was performed. All fire detectors, pushbuttons, sirens, as well as fixed fire extinguishing devices and control devices for fire doors, cranes, ventilation, smoke extraction and escape barriers were subject to inspection and maintenance on a quarterly basis. The hydrophore unit supplying hydrants in building no. 2 was also subject to inspection and maintenance. The work carried out in this area was supervised by internal security service employees.

The internal security service 'Jagiellonian Library Guard' under the supervision of Dariusz Bylica, MSc controlled the efficiency of the installed burglary, assault and access control system on a daily basis. In 2017, the access control system was installed in the Reprographics Section of the Conservation Department (Nedap Identification Systems). Together with cameras and a restricted master key system, the access control system prevents unauthorized entry to the section rooms, where valuable collections are often scanned. The completed project allows for assessing the possibility of replacing the already installed components of the intrusion, theft and access control system (by the MDI Security Systems) with the new system in the following years. In the reporting period, a preliminary valuation of the costs of modernizing the installed alarm, access control and CCTV systems was made. Initially, replacing the analogue CCTV with IPTV supported with an NVR with built-in intelligent image processing was planned, but due to very high costs, implementing such changes must constitute a separate stage of investment.

The 'master key system' project, which started in 2014, was also continued. In 2017 master key cylinder locks were installed in most doors in the Reprographics Section and in the Binding and Preservation Section of the Conservation Department. When selecting the next doors to be included in the 'master key system,' the efficiency and speed of possible evacuation is considered alongside the security of facilities. In the prepared project of modernizing security systems in the Jagiellonian Library, the use of electronic key depositories is also taken into account.

In the reporting year, the local burglary alarm system was monitored by the agency for the protection of persons and property 'Justus.' The work of the intervention group, which is to support the internal security service 'Jagiellonian Library Guard,' is flawless.

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE LIBRARIES

In 2017, the library and information system of the Jagiellonian University comprised the Jagiellonian Library, 7 faculty libraries, 1 inter-departmental library and 25 institute libraries, as well as the Jagiellonian University Medical Library with its institute libraries. The main goal of all institute libraries, as specialist units, is to collect resources appropriate for research and teaching in a given programme of study.

In 2017, the institute libraries of the Jagiellonian University enriched their collections by 19,859 volumes of books and monographs, 4,923 volumes of periodicals and 657 items of special collections. At the same time, 4,311 volumes of books and monographs were removed from the book collections of 3 faculty libraries.

Taken together, as of December 31st, 2017, all the institute libraries had a total of 2,118,111 volumes and items in their possession, including 1,693,608 volumes of books and monographs, 274,941 volumes of periodicals, and 149,562 items of special collections. The number of all current titles of periodicals was 1,597, of which 973 were Polish titles.

In the reporting year, the number of computers in possession of the Jagiellonian Library increased slightly. All the libraries were equipped with 428 computers, 257 of which were available to library users. 416 computers had access to the Internet – 251 of which were available to readers. A total of 338 computers were used for library and bibliographic tasks.

31 libraries enabled their users to access library catalogues and external databases online.

As regards the number of library users, there was a slight decrease – by 98 people (i.e. 0.3%) – compared to the previous year. In 2017, the number of registered individual users amounted to 27,787. There was also a slight decrease in the circulation of the collections in the reporting period: from 276,657 volumes lent in 2016 to 272,032 volumes lent in 2017 (down 1.7%), and from 243,262 volumes of non-circulating materials accessed on-site in 2016 to 236,514 volumes in 2017 (down 2.8%). This decrease is most likely due to the growing use of online sources by readers.

The number of employed librarians remained relatively stable – in total, there were 140 employees, including 130 working full-time (84 employees had a diploma in librarianship) in all institute and faculty libraries of the Jagiellonian University.

The number of collections processed by institute libraries and the number of records introduced to the KKZBUJ in 2017 are as follows: 10,257 bibliographic records (1% less than in 2016), 61,832 copy records (3.3% more than in the previous year) and 864 resource records (volumes; an increase by 46.7%) were created. The number of created authority records (6270) decreased by 5%.

In 2017, a considerable number of training sessions for the staff of all institute libraries were organised, providing assistance with processing books, monographs, and serials in the Virtua system. In total, 146 hours of sessions were attended by

4 people, 3 of whom, having completed the training, became certified cataloguers. As part of the instruction and supervision programme of the libraries within the university library network, 28 consultations on the spot and information through 30 telephone conversations were provided.

Translated by Dobromiła Jagieła

KEYWORDS:

collections, readership, exhibitions, Jagiellonian Library

DZIAŁALNOŚĆ BIBLIOTEKI JAGIELLOŃSKIEJ W ROKU 2017.
SPRAWOZDANIE

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

zbiory biblioteczne, czytelnictwo, wystawy, Biblioteka Jagiellońska

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ISBN 978-83-955592-8-0
ISBN 978-83-955592-9-7 (online)
ISSN 0006-3940
ISSN 2450-0410 (online)



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