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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 archidiakonacie 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 Rozeń. 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 arcydzieł 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 Piszowice (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 Novodvorsiana 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 Novodvorsiana 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 Piszowice (1653–1659), who noted in *Księga inwentarzowa kościoła parafialnego* (so-called Piszowice 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[agister] S[imon] W[acławski] A Z[ychlin] D[ecanus] E[t] P[roffessor] C[ommutacione] AE[stiva] A[nn]o 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 Oświęcim[ensis]. / 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[oct]or. On the back of the title page there is a literary-figurative composition, containing an invo-

⁵⁶ See W. Baczkowska, *Słonkowiec Marcin...*, p. 28.

⁵⁷ W. Wiśłocki, *Katalog rękopisów...*, vol. 2, p. 826, item 3881.

⁵⁸ See J. Ródak, *Parerga Zdziewoiana*, [in:] *idem*, *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. Ródak, *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 Piszczowiczensis.” 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-

tury 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 emblematkach 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 panegrylists 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. Zgółkowa, 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 wilańskiej 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. Głogier, *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-niel, *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. Kopałiński, *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 Propriéta 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 Zdziewoianae 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 Zdziewoianae Domus* [...], Kraków 1639, no f. [verses 221–222]; see also J. Ródka, *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 Zdźwowski'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 Zdźwowski 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 Zdźwowskiego*, "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 światłych 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