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PIOTR WOLFRAM'S LIBRARY, ITALIAN INTELLECTUAL FORMATION, AND THE CAREER OF A POLISH LAWYER OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The analysis of the library of Piotr Wolfram, a bachelor of laws educated in Prague, Padua, and Bologna, professor of the Kraków Academy, participant of the Council of Constance, and the collector of Peter's Pence in Poland, reveals the tools which he used in building his career, surprisingly brilliant for a son of a burgher. The degree to which his library was typical for the period - library understood not only as a collection of codices but also a collection of texts - has been evaluated through the analysis of the popularity of individual works among the Kraków bar. The very presence of works by Italian lawyers in the collection does not unambiguously point to Italian intellectual education, as some Italian commentaries were included in the canon of literature taught at European universities. It has been determined that a clear indication of Wolfram's Italian formation is provided by such texts as *Apostillae* to Francesco Zabarella's commentary on the *Liber Sextus* or rhetori-

cal texts by Italian authors – Bolognese university speeches or a letter by Petrarch yet unidentified in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library. In comparison to the library of Mikołaj Kicki, a lawyer with similar educational background (law studies in Bologna and Padua), Piotr Wolfram's collection is rather limited, as it lacks some significant collections of canon law or most of the 13th-century commentaries on the *Decretales*. It mostly comprises legal dictionaries, concordances, repertories, and indices. The library is tailored to a practitioner rather than a creative commentator of law, but the presence of rhetorical Italian texts makes it stand out from other contemporary libraries of Polish lawyers.

KEYWORDS: Piotr Wolfram, lawyer's book collection, manuscripts, Italian intellectual formation, 15th century

The first half of the 15th century: the time of the Councils of Constance and Basel, as well as the period of Polish-Teutonic disputes, was an extremely important period for shaping Polish legal thought and praxis. The key role of defenders of Polish interests at the Council of Constance was played by lawyers educated in Italy: Paweł Włodkowic (d. 1436), Andrzej Łaskarzyc (d. 1426), and Piotr Wolfram (d. 1428).¹ It is of great importance to study the content of the book collections of mediaeval scholars in order to learn about their intellectual formation; this particularly so in the case of those of them who did not leave behind an extensive writing output. Thus precisely in the situation with which we have to do in the case of Piotr Wolfram who was more a lawyer-practitioner than a theoretician. The analysis of the stages of the creation of Wolfram's library seen against his career and output will aim at demonstrating both the intellectual background and working tools of the ambitious lawyer, canon and diplomat educated in Italy.

1 T. Wünsch, *Konziliarismus und Polen: Personen, und Programme aus Polen zur Verfassungsfrage der Kirche in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen Reformkonzilien*, F. Schöningh, Paderborn-München 1998, pp. 53-60.

PIOTR WOLFRAM: A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The career of Piotr Wolfram is well known thanks to the studies of Jan Fijałek, Marian Zwiercan, Marek Daniel Kowalski, and Bohdana Petryszak.² Also his Italian intellectual background as a lawyer educated in Padua and Bologna and the fact that he was the first Pole known to have quoted Petrarch have been the focus of interest of numerous scholars.³ Piotr Wolfram was a son of a burgher from Wolbrom near Krakow. He was most likely educated in liberal arts, possibly at the University of Prague.⁴ The argument supporting this thesis is the fact that in 1402 he was already serving as a parson at Prandocin near Krakow, and took the job of a city notary in Lviv. The fact that he introduced new form formats at the Lviv City Chancery and the Chancery of Jakub Strepa, Archbishop of Halyč, would suggest that he had earlier gained some knowledge of *ars dictaminis*, and some experience in chancellery work.⁵ He may

- 2 J. Fijałek, *Polonia apud Italos scholastica saeculum XV*, vol. 1, *Poloni apud Italos litteris studentes et laurea donati inde a Paulo Wladimiri usque ad Johannem Lasocki collecti ei illustrati*, Typis et sumptibus Universitatis Jagellonicae, Cracoviae 1900, pp. 35–44; M. Zwiercan, 'Piotr Wolfram z Krakowa', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 26, Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź 1981, pp. 403–406; M.D. Kowalski, 'Dlaczego warto było zostać kolektorem?', *Roczniki Historyczne*, 2014, vol. 80, pp. 135–138; B. Petryszak, 'Львівський період діяльності Петра Вольфрама (1402–1407 pp.)', in: *Lwów. Miasto – społeczeństwo – kultura*, eds. K. Karolczak, Ł.T. Sroka, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, Kraków 2010, vol. 7, pp. 177–194; eadem, 'Кар'єри публічних нотаріїв у Львові XV—XVI ст', *Średniowiecze polskie i powszechne*, 2011, vol. 3 (7), pp. 171–185.
- 3 J. Fijałek, op. cit., pp. 35–44; N. Contieri, 'La fortuna del Petrarca in Polonia nei secoli XIV e XV', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale. Sezione Slava*, 1961, no. 4, p. 149; K. Ożóg, *Uczni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegawerskiej i Władysława Jagiełły (1384–1434)*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 2004, pp. 206–222; J. Domański, *Scholastyka i początki humanizmu w myśli polskiej*, Instytut Tomistyczny, Warszawa 2011, pp. 77–79; A. Horeczy, *Recepcja włoskiej kultury intelektualnej w krakowskim środowisku uniwersyteckim w drugiej połowie XIV i w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Wydawnictwo IH PAN, Warszawa 2021, pp. 9, 76–79, 81, 282, 331, 337, 362–363; eadem, 'Cytaty w listach Piotra Wolframa – między średniowieczem a renesansowym humanizmem', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 2020, vol. 58, pp. 85–100.
- 4 K. Ożóg, 'Piotr Wolfram', in: *Profesorowie Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, ed. W. Uruszczak, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2015, vol. 1, pp. 337–339.
- 5 R. Trawka, 'Arenki i motywacje w dokumentach arcybiskupa halickiego Jakuba Strepy', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 2015, vol. 53, pp. 59, 65, 68; B. Petryszak, 'Кар'єри...', pp. 175–177.

have had contact with the Italian intellectual culture, and possibly with the Renaissance Humanism when in 1407 he travelled to the Roman Curia as an emissary of the Archbishop of Halyč. A year later, he began to study canon law in Prague, which he interrupted following the Decree of Kutná Hora giving the decisive voice to the Bohemian nation at the University of Prague. In late 1409, he was sent as an emissary of the Polish King to Pisa's Antipope Alexander V staying in Bologna. Wolfram may have taken advantage of this opportunity to attend lectures on canon law. Between 1400 and 1409, he must have come over to Padua to study, this testified to by a Padua custom's stamp placed on the manuscript from the Jagiellonian Library (below BJ) that belonged to him, Call no. 372.⁶ Padua documents record Wolfram's presence as of August until the end of 1411 when he held the function of Vice-rector of ultramontanists, following which, after a stay in Poland (August 1412), he was in Bologna where he was conferred the bachelor of decrees' title (2 September 1413). Having returned to Krakow, he was sent by the King with a mission of envoys to Sigismund of Luxembourg, while in 1415, he was included into the body of professors at the Department of Law. As of May 1415, he participated in the sessions of the Council of Constance representing Bishop of Krakow Wojciech Jastrzębiec. Apart from being involved in the work of Council commissions and the defence of Polish interests in the Polish-Teutonic litigation, he also copied Council files and other texts. The ecclesial career of Piotr Wolfram speeded up after he had been conferred the bachelor's degree in canon law in Bologna, this to a great degree owing to his good contacts among the Curia circles. Furthermore, he gathered numerous benefices; he was, among others, Cantor of the Collegiate Church in Wiślica (1414-1418), Poznan Canon (1414-1428), Gniezno Scholaster (1418-1426), Krakow Canon (1418-1428), and Krakow Archdeacon (1426-1428). Moreover, what contributed

6 'Dominus Wolfram de || || 140 || || bonus propter' BJ 372, f. 1r; L. Gargan, 'L'enigmatico „conduxit”. Libri e dogana a Padova fra Tre e Quattrocento', *Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova*, 1983, vol. 16, p. 24, no. 9. Erroneous information that the custom's stamp concerns the arrival in Padua in 1411. A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', p. 88.

to Wolfram's prominence and affluence was the fact that he assumed a lucrative position of the collector of Peter's Pence in the Kingdom of Poland, first as appointed by the Council (1415), and later by the Pope (1418). At the same time, he remained an active expert lawyer. He participated in the sessions of the Wieluń- Kalisz Provincial Synod (1419-1420) which was working on the codification of law in the Gniezno Metropolis. Later on, Wolfram took part in the Poland versus Teutonic Order trial before the papal envoy Antonio Zeno in 1422. Furthermore, together with Stanislaus of Skarbimierz he published a *consilium*.⁷ As for Wolfram's other output, his letters, orations, and sermons have been preserved.⁸

WOLFRAM'S BOOK COLLECTION: STATE OF RESEARCH

Although quite a number of scholars have investigated Wolfram's library, the issues connected with the chronology of its formation have not been thoroughly studied, nor have the identification of the works it contained and the means of using them been successfully conducted. J. Fijałek identified seven codices that belonged to Wolfram: three copied in Bologna containing law-related issues: a manuscript of the Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter (below: BKKK), Call no. 94, and manuscripts BJ 344 and

7 K. Ożóg, 'Piotr Wolfram...', p. 339; L. Zygner, 'Działalność synodalna arcybiskupa Mikołaja Trąby', in: *Piśmiennosc pragmatyczna – edytorstwo źródeł historycznych – archiwistyka. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Tandeckiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. R. Czaja, K. Kopiński, Towarzystwo Naukowe, Toruń 2015, pp. 221-222.

8 Copies of Piotr Wolfram's letters (8) are in the 15th-century manuscript in the Scientific Library of the PAAS and PAS in Krakow 6641 (below: BPAN), while his sermons *De tempore et de sanctis* have been preserved in manuscript BJ 2459 from around 1425 and in the manuscript in the Wrocław University Library (below BUWr), Call no. I Q 87 (Piotr Wolfram's sermon on the Annunciation of Our Lady in 1424), scans available online <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/38708/edition/135687/content> [Accessed: 31 March 2023]. See W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, part 2, nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, Kraków 1881, p. 588; M. Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy uniwersyteckie z pierwszej połowy XV wieku*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo PAN, Kraków 1970, p. 30.; M. Zwiercan, op. cit., p. 405; K. Ożóg, 'Piotr Wolfram...', p. 339; *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie. Sygnatury 6551-6880*, comp. E. Danowska, E. Knappek, Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Wydawnictwo, Kraków 2008, pp. 86-93; A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', p. 90.

395: two manuscripts containing the *Liber moralium in Job* (*Moralia*) by Gregory the Great copied in Bohemia (BJ 1350 and 1352); a manuscript containing e.g., Council sermons written down in Constance (BJ 1596), and an unpreserved manuscript with works by Cicero listed in the 18th-century catalogue of the Załuski Library.⁹ Wacława Szelińska extended that list with one codex containing letters of Peter of Blois: the Czartoryski Library (below: BCzart), Call no 2008,¹⁰ while the authors of the most recent catalogue of mediaeval legal manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library have identified another Bolognese legal manuscript that belonged to Wolfram: BJ 372.¹¹ Irena Malinowska-Kwiatkowska has given an overview of Piotr Wolfram's Bolognese legal codices as the source for gaining knowledge of (and studying) canon law in the early 15th century.¹² In total, there are eight identified and preserved manuscripts that belonged to Wolfram and an unpreserved one.¹³

PIOTR WOLFRAM'S BOOK COLLECTION: CHRONOLOGY AND CONTENT

It remains unknown when Piotr Wolfram began to amass his library, possibly already when studying liberal arts. It is likely that he came to Lviv with some works tackling *ars dictaminis* or letter formats, since he introduced new preamble templates into the Chancery of Archbishop Strepa.

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- 9 J. Fijałek, op. cit., p. 38; J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Zaluscianae*, typis Harpetrae viduae, Dresdae 1752, p. 74.
- 10 W. Szelińska, 'Piotr Wolfram, profesor Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego i jego nieznaną rękopis', *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Historyczne*, 1977, vol. 59, no. 8, pp. 49-58.
- 11 *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediaevi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 2, *Numeros continens inde a 332 usque ad 444*, comp. M. Kowalczyk et al., Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich--Wydaw. PAN, Kraków-Warszawa-Wrocław-Gdańsk 1982, p. 125.
- 12 I. Malinowska-Kwiatkowska, 'I manoscritti giuridici bolognesi al collegium iuridicum dell'Università Jagellonica (il lascito di Piotr Wolfram)', in: *Laudatio Bononiae. Atti del Convegno storico italo-polacco svoltosi a Bologna dal 26 al 31 maggio 1988 in occasione del Nono Centenario dell'Alma Mater Studiorum*, ed. R.C. Lewański, Università degli Studi di Bologna-Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Bologna-Varsavia 1990, pp. 161-166.
- 13 M. Zwiercan, op. cit., pp. 405-406; A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', pp. 88-91.

The first manuscript known to have ended up in Piotr Wolfram's book collection (already before 1409) is BJ 372 with Guido da Baisio's commentaries. This parchment codex was copied in Bologna in the late 15th century. In the course of his studies in Bologna in 1413, Piotr Wolfram enriched his book collection with three more legal codices: BJ 344, BJ 395, and BKKK 94. *Those manuscripts were copied on paper around the same time: mainly in 1411–1413.*

In 1414, Piotr Wolfram acquired two manuscripts copied in Bohemia in 1392 (BJ 1350 and 1352), containing the first and second part of Gregory the Great's *Liber moralium in Job*.¹⁴ Works by Gregory the Great were extremely popular in mediaeval libraries, also in the Prague and Krakow circles, but mostly among theologians.¹⁵ The copy of the *Liber moralium in Job* may testify to Wolfram's theological interests, however, he could have needed the book first of all to prepare his speeches and sermons, particularly as Gregory the Great was the second (after St Augustine) most frequently quoted authority, while the *Moralia* were one of the three of his most cited works.¹⁶

It is from Constance that Piotr Wolfram brought manuscript BJ 1596 copied in 1415–1417; this one also reflecting the Italian intellectual culture of the late Middle Ages and early Humanism. It opens with the *Compendium moralium notabilium* by Geremia da Montag-

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- 14 J. Zathey, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1364–1492', in: J. Zathey, A. Lewicka-Kamińska, L. Hajdukiewicz, *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, vol. 1, 1364–1775, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Kraków 1966, p. 81; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediæ aevi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 8, *Numerus continens inde a 1271 usque ad 1353*, comp. M. Kowalczyk et al., BJ-Księgarnia Akademicka, Cracoviae 2004, pp. 384–386, 392–394.
- 15 According to the inventory from the turn of the 15th and 16th century, in the library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter there were six items identified as *Moralia* by Gregory the Great. The work was in the library of Jan Szczekany and Maciej of Kobylin teaching theology at the University of Krakow in the 15th century; see: I. Polkowski, *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej*, part 1, *Kodexa rękopiśmienne 1–228*, nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, Kraków 1884, pp. 4–6, 14; M. Hornowska, H. Zdzitowiecka-Jasieńska, *Zbiory rękopiśmienne w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Wydaw. Kasy im. Mianowskiego Inst. Popierania Nauki, Warszawa 1947, pp. 33–35, 104; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 8, pp. 364–366, 394–396.
- 16 Por. M. Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy...*, pp. 48, 108; K. Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejkie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza : Sermones festuales et dominicales z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Miłosławia*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej im. Jana Kochanowskiego, Kielce 2007, pp. 98–100; A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', p. 89.

none (d. 1321): a florilegium with quotations from the Bible, from works of classical authors, early-Christian ones, mediaeval ones, as well as from the oral tradition from the Padua region.¹⁷ The work, also found in the book collections of Paweł Włodkowic and Maciej of Koło, must have served Wolfram when he was composing his speeches, sermons, letters, and treatises.¹⁸ Another group of texts is made up of Council sermons from 1415–1416 preached by: Maurycy Rvačka from Prague, Bernard de la Planche, Robert Gilbert from Oxford, and Alessio di Siregno, Bishop of Piacenza.¹⁹ They are preceded by the Council speech dealing with clergy's vices written by the famous Florentine Humanist Poggio Bracciolini (d. 1459), which was later extremely popular with the Krakow circle.²⁰ The codex concludes with an anti-Hussite treatise and the *Collirium fidei adversus hereses novas* by Álvaro Pelayo (d. 1349), a Spanish canonist who taught in Bologna and Perugia for some time.²¹

17 Inc. 'Incipit Compendium moralium notabilium, compositum per Ieremiam iudicem de Montagnone, civem Paduanum', BJ 1596, ff. 10r–178v. Szerzej o *Compendium moralium*, see L. Morlino, 'Sui proverbi volgari di Geremia da Montagnone', *Bollettino dell'Opera del Vocabolario Italiano*, 2013, vol. 18, pp. 249–275; R.G. Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Leiden, Brill 2000, p. 113.

18 See A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', p. 90.

19 Ibidem, p. 90.

20 Inc. 'Vellem patres reverendissimi, tantum virtutis atque animi roboris', BJ 1596, ff. 179r–184r; see I.M. Radziejowska, "'Mowa soborowa" Poggia Braccioliniego', *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 2000, vol. 8, pp. 362–396; see A. Horeczy, *Recepcja...*, p. 236, 239.

21 Anti-Hussite treatise inc. 'Audite celi que loquar, audiat terra verba oris mei', BJ 1596, ff. 208r–217v, can also be found in manuscripts BJ 1272, BUWr Q I 87, BPAN 6641; see W. Göber, *Katalog rękopisów dawnej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, vol. 14, I Q 71–120, p. 149; <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/10530/edition/18842/content> [Accessed: 30 March 2023]; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 8, p. 26; *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Naukowej PAU...*, Kraków 2008, p. 91. Owing to a similarly worded incipit the treatise has been erroneously identified by some scholars with the Hussite invective at King Sigismund of Luxembourg (*Satira Regni Boemie in Regem Hungarie Sigismundum*) dated to 1420; see J. Triška, 'Príspevky k stredoveké literárni universite [Die auctoribus et operibus universitatis Pragensis mediæ aevi capitula]' in: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, 1968, vol. 9, p. 6; P. Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum provectum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, vol. 2, Wydawnictwa IHN PAN, Warszawa–Praga 1995, p. 106, no. 186. As for satire's publication see F. M. Bartoš, 'Z publicistiky husitského odboje', *Listy filologické / Folia philologica*, 1928, vol. 55, pp. 339–345.

The next manuscript: BCzart 2008, was copied in Gniezno in 1420, possibly as commissioned by Piotr Wolfram. It contains, e.g., a letter of Peter da Blois which Wolfram later used in his sermons, writings by John Gerson, Innocent III (*De miseria condicionis humanae*) and the *Distinctiones* by Nicholas of Gorran.²²

According to the information provided in the catalogue of Jan Daniel Janocki, in the Załuski Library there used to be a manuscript, today unpreserved, featuring a note on the last page saying that Wolfram finished copying it on Saturday, on the feast day of St Lucy .on ember days in 1423.²³ The codex contained works by Cicero: *Brutus* (*De claris oratoribus*), *De oratore*, *Topika*, *Partitiones oratoriae*. Although some Cicero's texts were known in the Middle Ages, such a selection testifies to Wolfram's awareness of the most recent Humanist trends. *De oratore* known in its abbreviated version and the *Brutus* practically forgotten in the Middle Ages were rediscovered thanks to the codex which contained it, and was found by the Bishop of Lodi in the archives of the Cathedral there in 1421, which was quite sensational for the Italian Humanists.²⁴ As for the treatise *Partitiones oratoriae*, it was present in late-mediaeval Italian manuscripts (Petrarch knew it), however, it was not popularised in Wolfram's times in Krakow (it is also found in manuscript BJ 519 copied in Constance).²⁵ Wolfram most likely copied Cicero's works mentioned above in Rome where he went in 1423 to win the backing of Pope Martin V after he had fallen in the King's disfavour.²⁶ This situation contributed to the extension of his book

22 W. Szelińska, 'Piotr Wolfram...', pp. 50-54; A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', p. 90.

23 'In extremo margine folii ultimi adnotatur, absolutum esse hunc codicem anno domini MCCCCXXIII. Sabbato quatuor temporum beate Lucie per Petrum de Lamburga', J.D. Janocki, op. cit., p. 74.

24 M. McLaughlin, 'Petrarch and Cicero. Adulation and Critical Distance', in: *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero*, ed. W.H.F. Altman, Brill, Leiden 2015, p. 20; R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, vol. 1, G. C. Sansoni, Firenze 1905, pp. 100-101.

25 Por. R. Sabbadini, op. cit., p. 26; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 3, *Numeros continens inde a 445 usque ad 563*, comp. M. Kowalczyk et al., Institutum Ossolinianum, Wratislaviae 1984, p. 197.

26 J. Fijałek, op. cit., p. 40; M. Zwiercan, op. cit., p. 405.

collection: when in Rome, thanks to a large number of Humanists, e.g., in the Papal Curia, he could learn about the latest discovery, and manage to get a version which he could copy.²⁷

There are no sufficient grounds to add to Wolfram's library, in harmony with Jan Słowiński's hypothesis, one more manuscript copied in Constance, and containing the collection of Humanist orations and letters by Italian authors (BJ 519).²⁸ Its first part containing Cicero's *Partitiones oratoriae* was collated in Constance by Domenico Baiardi of Fermo.²⁹ Jan Słowiński suggested that on 5 November 1416, above-mentioned Domenico, appeared as a witness in a document issued by Bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec addressed to Krakow city councillors, while on 6 August 1418, he wrote down the document issued by Ladislaus Jogaila to Poznan Bishop Andrzej Łaskarzyc. Jan Słowiński thought that it was Wolfram, as Bishop's trusted man, who proposed the Italian copyist whom he may have met either during his studies in Bologna or at the Council of Constance.³⁰ Furthermore, the fact accounting for the pertaining of this manuscript to Wolfram's library was to be seen in the fact that it contained Krakow Bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec's edict of 8 June 1415 on indulgences on the last page of the first quire.³¹ Słowiński's hypothesis is not strongly supported. Other Poles associated with Wojciech Jastrzębiec, who studied in Padua and Bologna over the similar period, can be pointed to: if only Mikołaj Kicki (d. 1429), who, in 1415, studied in Bologna, and in 1418 and 1419, continued his studies in Padua.³² Besides, had Wolfram owned the *Partitiones*

27 More on Humanism at the Roman Curia, see J.F. D'Amico, 'De dignitate et excellentia Curiae Romanae: humanism and the papal curia', in: *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento. Atti del Convegno su 'Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento'*, New York, 1-4 dic. 1981, ed. P. Brezzi, M. De Panizza Lorich, Barnard College-Istituto di studi romani, New York-Roma 1984, pp. 83-111.

28 J. Słowiński, 'Pismo humanistyczne w kręgu piętnastowiecznej Akademii Krakowskiej', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1994, vol. 35, pp. 102-104.

29 BJ 519, ff. 1r-9v; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 3, p. 197.

30 J. Słowiński, op. cit., p. 103.

31 BJ 519, f. 10v; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 3, pp. 197, 241.

32 A. Horeczy, 'Prawnicze doktoraty Polaków w Bolonii w XV wieku', *Roczniki Historyczne*, 2015, vol. 81, p. 175.

oratoriae emended by Baiardi, he would not have copied the book for the second time in 1423. However, these arguments are not sufficient to exclude manuscript BJ 519 from Piotr Wolfram's book collection.

PIOTR WOLFRAM'S ITALIAN LEGAL MANUSCRIPTS
BJ 372

The first known as in to-date's research codex which reached Piotr Wolfram's book collection was BJ 372.³³ It contains commentaries on the set of canon law issued by Boniface VIII in 1298 (*Liber Sextus*) written by Guido da Baisio (d. 1313), one of the most famous canonists in Bologna and Archdeacon, affiliated also to Avignon as chaplain of Boniface VIII.³⁴ Guido's work defined as *Lectura or Apparatus super Sexto*, collected and ordered the already-existing glosses on the *Liber Sextus*, additionally consolidating the Pope's authority. It dedicated much attention to the issue of conferring Church dignities.³⁵ The commentary was used in teaching canon law in Bologna already in the 14th century, this confirmed by the fact that University *stationari* had its copy, and made it available for copying in compliance with the *pecia* system.³⁶

The codex in Wolfram's possession was a typical output of the Bolognese production from the late 14th century. Written on parchment in two columns in Italian rotunda (*littera Bononiensis*),³⁷ it

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- 33 Manuscript scans online: <https://polona.pl/item/apparatus-super-libro-sexto-decretalium-absque-fine,NzA0OTM1NzU/4/#info:metadata> [Accessed: 31 March 2023]
- 34 F. Liotta, 'Baisio, Guido da;', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 5, Treccani, Roma 1963, pp. 293–297.
- 35 A. Santangelo Cordani, 'La politica patrimoniale della Chiesa nella dottrina canonistica tra Due e Trecento. La *Lectura super Sexto Decretalium* di Guido da Baisio', in: *Manoscritti, editoria e biblioteche dal medioevo all'età contemporanea : studi offerti a Domenico Maffei per il suo ottantesimo compleanno*, eds. P. Maffei, M. Ascheri, G. Colli, Roma nel Rinascimento, Roma 2006, pp. 1201–1203.
- 36 *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, eds. C. Malagola, N. Zanicelli, Bologna 1888, p. 32. More on the *pecia* system see J. Destrez, *La „pecia” dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle*, Jacques Vautrain, Paris 1935.
- 37 See *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 127. See also A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003, p. 111.

was also large-size (41 x 27.5 cm), this possibly owing to the kind of the material it was made of.³⁸ Its 'luxurious' character is also determined by its ornaments, such as the figural initial showing Guido da Baisio handing a book to a bishop (f. 1r), ornamental and filigree initials, as well as rubrication.³⁹ Although Zofia Ameinsenowa did not assess highly the artistry of those decorations, as seen against the whole book collection of Wolfram this codex stood out as for its elegance.⁴⁰ The use of the text was facilitated with the 'running head', marginal notes containing more important terms, frequently column headers (e.g., 'De summa Trinitate et fide catholica', f. 2r), *maniculae*, and the circled spots some of which may have been added by the scribe.⁴¹

It is hard to precisely define the year and circumstances under which Wolfram acquired this manuscript. He came with it to Padua between 1400 and 1409.⁴² The most likely answer to the question is that he purchased it in Bologna which he may have visited during his mission to Rome in 1407, however, the hypothesis that he bought it in Prague where he began studying canon law in 1408, cannot be refuted, either. He may have bought it from another Pole who had earlier studied in Italy. It may be supposed that Wolfram had that manuscript with him also in 1411 in Padua and in 1413 in Bologna when he studied decrees there. It is impossible to decide whether he continued using this commentary after he had finished studying in Bologna. However, if he did, it is most likely that he resorted to it when lecturing at the University of Krakow. Later on, the manu-

38 In the generally accepted size typology codices whose height and width sum exceeds 671 mm are regarded as large; see C. Bozzolo, E. Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge. Trois essais de codicologie quantitative*, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1983, p. 218; S. Bischetti, *La tradizione manoscritta dell'„ars dictaminis“ nell'Italia medievale. „Mise en page e „mise en texte“*, De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2022, p. 19, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110701869> [Accessed: 12 February 2023].

39 Por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 127.

40 Z. Ameinsenowa, *Rękopisy i pierwodruki iluminowane Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław-Kraków 1958, p. 21.

41 *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 127.

42 See footnote 6.

script disappeared from his book collection, this suggested by the fact that the custom's stamp referring to Wolfram has been scraped off. It is likely that having given up his university career in favour of the Church one, Wolfram sold the manuscript to Gniezno Canon Jakub who took it with him to Padua where he went to study, this confirmed by a clearly visible this time custom's stamp.⁴³

BKKK 94

Manuscript BKKK 94, similarly as BJ 372, is of a 'monographic' character, containing one work only: *Repertorium utriusque iuris* by Giovanni Calderini (d. 1365), doctor of canon law lecturing in Bologna (in 1326–1359).⁴⁴ The paper codex *in folio* was copied by several scribes in two columns. Thanks to the note on f.1r it is known that Wolfram acquired it in 1413, thus during his studies in Bologna.⁴⁵ The *Repertorium* was a kind of a dictionary of terms in civil and canon laws presented alphabetically. It served as a useful tool for a lawyer, allowing to quickly find appropriate formulas and to quote relevant authorities.⁴⁶ For this very reason it was extremely popular, this well confirmed by the preserved manuscripts and one printed edition.⁴⁷ The work can also be found in the book collections of Polish 15th-century lawyers.⁴⁸

43 'D. Iacobus conduxit in Paduam die 4 Marcii 1418', BJ 372, f. Ir; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 127. L. Gargan, 'L'enigmatico...', p. 24; idem, 'Nuovi codici «condotti» a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento', *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 1989–1990, vol. 22–23, pp. 34–35. As for Canon Jakub see A. Horeczy, *Recepcja...*, pp. 9, 81–82, 350.

44 H.J. Becker, 'Calderini, Giovanni', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 16, Treccani, Roma 1973, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-calderini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [Accessed: 15 March 2023].

45 I. Polkowski, op. cit., p. 80.

46 D. Quagliioni, *Pietro del Monte a Roma. La tradizione del <<Repertorium utriusque iuris>> (c. 1453). Genesi e diffusione della letteratura giuridico-politica in età umanistica*, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma 1984, p. 26.

47 Mirabile Database enumerates 8 manuscripts, however, not mentioning any found in Poland [http://sip.mirabileweb.it/title/repertorium-sive-dictionarium-utriusque-iuris-\(a-h-title/32106](http://sip.mirabileweb.it/title/repertorium-sive-dictionarium-utriusque-iuris-(a-h-title/32106) [Accessed: 23 March 2023]. Calderinus, Johannes, *Repertorium utriusque iuris*, [Basel, Michael Wenssler], 12 December 1474, 2°, GW 05904.

48 Calderini's *Repertorium* is in manuscript BJ 472 copied around 1440. See *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 3, pp. 65–66. It is mentioned in Mikołaj Szkudła's legacy from

BJ 395

This paper medium-sized codex (30 x 21.5 cm) containing a collection of legal texts was copied by several scribes representing different workshops.⁴⁹ For example, the text on ff. 7r-33v was written down by a well-skilled hand in gothico-antiqua with chancery writing features (strongly elongated upper stems of some letters). The part of the work contained on ff. 36r-56r was copied equally meticulously, however, by a different hand (the upper stems not as elongated). The last text, as distinct from the rest of the manuscript, was written down in a single column, hurriedly (text lines are not always straight). What has the major impact on the aesthetic qualities of this text is rubrication (usually of the first word in a paragraph) and initials characteristic of the Bolognese school: an initial with plant motifs (f. 3r, 140r) and filigree initials (f. 11r, 13v).

The note found at the beginning of the manuscript suggests that Piotr Wolfram bought it in Bologna in 1413.⁵⁰ He was able to have placed this note in 1426 at the earliest, since it was only then that he became the Krakow Archdeacon (the dignity pointed to in the note). It also shows that the manuscript remained in his book collection, serving him as a set of references as for indices and legal repertory. The paper itself is dated to around 1411: this year was written down in the book's colophon by one of the scribes.⁵¹

The first work to be found in the codex, titled *Registrum super Speculo secundum ordinem alphabeticum*, is a commentary (preceded by an alphabetical index) on the *Speculum iudiciale* by Guillaume

1500, see 'Biblioteki kapituł katedralnych w Gnieźnie i Poznaniu w XV i pocz. XVI wieku', *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 2014, vol. 102, p. 285.

49 Scans available online: <https://polona.pl/item/textus-iuridici-de-peccatis,NzIyMDA2Nzc/16/#info:metadata> [Accessed: 31 March 2023].

50 'Liber repertorium diversorum domini Petri Fabiani de Wolfram archidiaconi Cracoviensis, licenciati in decretis in Studio Bononiensi. Anno Domini 1413 ibidem comparatus', BJ 395, f. 1r. See *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 175.

51 'Explicit hoc opusculum 1411 penultima die mensis Maii', BJ 395, f. 190v. This explicit quoted with a spelling error (1441) in: *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 173.

Durand (d. 1296), a French canonist and civilist, educated in Bologna.⁵² The author of the commentary was not mentioned in BJ 395, yet when comparing this text with the 15th-century printed edition of Durand's works it can be deduced that these are the *Additiones* to *Speculum iudiciale* written by the outstanding Bolognese commentator and doctor of both laws Baldus de Ubaldis (1327-1400). He benefitted from the earlier *Additiones super Speculo* authored, in turn, by an equally important legal authority Giovanni d'Andrea (d. 1348).⁵³

The *Speculum* itself was a kind of an encyclopaedical compilation of canon and civil laws, containing numerous real-praxis cases, and respective issues were presented in a transparent way, that is why it was eagerly used at schools and courts.⁵⁴ Wolfram may have used the work during his law studies in Bologna, since the statutes of the University of Bologna for lawyers obliged the *stationari* to have a copy of the *Repertorium D. Guillelmi Durantis*.⁵⁵ Although a part of the curriculum there, it was used among the circles of the University of Prague in the 2nd half of the 14th century.⁵⁶ Mikołaj Kicki had the *Additiones ad Speculum iudiciale Guillelmi Durantis* in his

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- 52 Inc. 'Abolicio vide bene tractatum in Speculo', BJ 395, ff. 6v-33v. See *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 172. F.J. von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. 2, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur von Papst Gregor IX. bis zum Concil von Trient*, Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart 1877, pp. 144-147; L. Falletti, 'Guillaume Durand', in: *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, vol. 5, Letouzey et Ané, Paris 1953, pp. 1014-1075.
- 53 The text defined in the explicit as *Regestrum super Speculo Guilelmi Duranti*, BJ 395, f. 33v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 172. See also G. Murano, 'Baldo degli Ubaldi', in: *Autographa : autografi di italiani illustri*, vol. 1, *Giuristi, giudici e notai (sec. XII-XVI med.)*, ed. G. Murano, Clueb, Bologna 2012, p. 107. 15th-century printed edition: Baldus de Ubaldis, *Aureum repertorium super speculo Guillelmi Durantis. Singularia speculatoris Durantis ad causas cottidianas collecta*, Roma, Bartholomäus Guldinbeck, ca 1482/1485, 2°; see GW M48700.
- 54 More on the *Speculum iudiciale*, see K.N. Nörr, 'A propos du Speculum iudiciale de Guillaume Durand', in: *Guillaume Durand, évêque de Mende (v. 1230-1296). Canoniste, liturgiste et homme politique. Actes de la Table Ronde du C.N.R.S., Mende 24-27 mai 1990*, ed. P.M. Gy, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1992, pp. 63-71.
- 55 *Statuti delle Università...*, pp. 32, 91.
- 56 This work was also owned by Adam of Nežetic (d. 1414), Prague decree doctor, J. Grant, *For the Common Good : The Bohemian Land Law and the Beginning of the Husite Revolution*, Brill, Leiden 2014, p. 42.

library: he brought the book with him when he came to study in Padua.⁵⁷

Directly following the repertory of the *Speculum iudiciale*, on the same leaf, there starts a brief treatise on distinguishing mortal and light sins, attributed to Mathew of Krakow (ca 1345–1410), an outstanding theologian, academic teacher in Prague and Heidelberg, later Bishop of Worms.⁵⁸ The work containing a clear presentation of moral rules was a helpful reference for confessors.⁵⁹ The fact that the treatise of Mathew of Krakow is to be found in Wolfram's Bolognese manuscript suggests that it had its manuscript circulation in Italy. In other 15th-century manuscripts this treatise surrounded by Italian legal texts can also be found.⁶⁰

What could be found as assistance to Wolfram in his legal career was the *Tabula super Decretalibus* included in manuscript BJ 395 as an anonymous work.⁶¹ Previously in literature it was assumed that

57 This testified to by the Padua custom's stamp on his manuscript; see L. Gargan, *Nuovi codici...*, p. 34, no. 15; M. Czyżak, 'Legat książkowy archidiacona Mikołaja Kickiego dla katedry gnieźnieńskiej. Przyczynek do kultury intelektualnej duchowieństwa wielkopolskiego w pierwszej połowie XV wieku', *Ecclesia. Studia z Dziejów Wielkopolski*, 2010, vol. 5, pp. 13, 20.

58 Inc. 'Ad sciendum, quando peccatum aliquid sit mortale vel veniale, nota quinque regulas', expl. 'Istud composuit sapientissimus sacre pagine professor, magister Matheus de Cracovia et cum hoc arcium valentissimus et cetera', BJ 395, ff. 55r–56r; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 173. Some scholars are of the opinion that the treatise was authored by the theologian Henry of Langenstein (ca 1325–1397), see M. Nuding, *Matthäus von Krakau. Theologe, Politiker, Kirchenreformer in Krakau, Prag und Heidelberg zur Zeit des Großen Abendländischen Schismas*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2007, p. 255; "Clavis scriptorium" et operum Medii Aevi Poloniae, comp. J. Kaliszuk et al., Homini, Kraków 2019, pp. 551–552, no. 460/6, http://otwartehistorie.pl/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Clavis_corpus.pdf [Accessed: 27 March 2023].

59 'Mateusza z Krakowa opuscula theologica dotyczące spowiedzi i komunii', eds. W. Seńko, A.L. Szafrański, ATK, Warszawa 1974, pp. 164–166, 317–324.

60 The treatise of Matthew of Krakow in a 15th-century manuscript (London, British Museum, Royal 10 B IX) is found next to a legal dictionary and treatises as well as texts by Italian Humanists; <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7491> [Accessed: 3 March 2023]. A manuscript with the above-mentioned treatise of Matthew of Krakow surrounded by similar texts as in BJ 395 was found in the library of the Church of Sts Peter ad Paul in Legnica; see W. Gemoll, *Die Handschriften der Petro-Paulinischen Kirchenbibliothek zu Liegnitz*, Carl Seyffarth, Liegnitz [1900], p. 54, no. 55. See also W. Seńko, 'Dzieła Mateusza z Krakowa w rękopisach bibliotek europejskich', *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 1988, vol. 4, pp. 75–107.

61 'Incipit tabula super Decretalibus. Prompte volentibus per hoc opusculum in Decretalibus et super Decretales secundum apparatus ordinarium (...) Abbas, ubi appellacio', BJ 395, ff. 60r–135r.

the alphabetical concordance had been authored by Johannes de Deo, a canonist from Portugal, professor of canon law in Bologna in the 13th century.⁶² However, lately Giovanna Murano has demonstrated that its author was the Dominican Friar Willian of Paris (*Guillelmus Parisiensis*).⁶³

A similarly useful tool could be seen in a concordance to the Old and New Testaments and decrees copied in 1411.⁶⁴ The concordance was included as an anonymous work. In the first printed editions of the concordance Johannes Nivicellensis, Abbot at Joncels, professor of canon Law at Montpellier (1340-1346), was given as its author.⁶⁵ The work in question is also known from several other Krakow manuscripts, including another one copied in Padua in 1418 (BJ 1595), which demonstrates that the text circulated within the Italian university circles.⁶⁶ The work may have been helpful to

62 *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 173; por. F.J. von Schulte, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 99.

63 G. Murano, 'La tradizione delle opere di Johannes de Deo ed il ms Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 1094 (A.II.10)', *Mediaevalia. Textos e Estudos*, 2007, vol. 26, pp. 27-31, <http://ojs.letras.up.pt/index.php/mediaevalia/article/view/785> [Accessed: 2 March 2023]; eadem, *Initia operum Iuris canonici Medii Aevi. A shortlist of works, arranged by their incipit words*, <https://home.uni-leipzig.de/juraronom/manuscr/murano/initican.html> [Accessed: 25 March 2023]. Mirabile Database which records 19 other manuscripts with the work gives Guillelmus Parisiensis as its author [http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/tabula-super-decretales-et-decreta-\(prompte-volent-title/14002](http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/tabula-super-decretales-et-decreta-(prompte-volent-title/14002) [Accessed: 28 March 2023].

64 Inc. 'In principio creavit Deus celum et terram', BJ 395, ff. 140r-190v; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 173.

65 [Pseudo-]Johannes Nivicellensis, *Concordantiae Bibliae et Canonum*; [Nikolaus Kessler, Basel ca. 1488], 2°; [Johann Amerbach] Basel 31.I.1489, 2°; [Basel: Nikolaus Kessler, ca. 1488], 2°; por. M14405, M14407 <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/JOHANIV.htm>. On Johannes Nivicellensis see H. Gilles, 'Un canoniste oublié: l'abbé de Joncels', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, Quatrième série, 1960, vol. 37, pp. 578-602; *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, ed. F. Stegmüller, vol. 3, *Commentaria. Auctores H-M*, CSIC-Instituto Francisco Suárez, Madrid 1951, p. 400.

66 W. Wisłocki, op. cit., part 1, p. 386. The concordance also in manuscripts BJ 323, 1214, 1410; see. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, *Numeros continens inde ab 8 usque ad 331*, comp. M. Kowalczyk et al., Institutum Ossolinianum Officina Editoria, Wratislaviae 1980, p. 417; vol. 7, *Numeros continens inde a 1191 usque ad 1270*, comp. M. Kowalczyk et al., Bibliotheca Jagellonica-Officina Editoria "Księgarnia Akademicka", Cracoviae 2000, p. 111; vol. 9, *Numeros continens inde a 1354 usque ad 1430*, comp. M. Kowalczyk et al., Bibliotheca Jagellonica-Officina Editoria "Księgarnia Akademicka", Cracoviae 2008, p. 421.

Wolfram when, e.g., composing sermons. Its use was facilitated by the 'running head', rubrication, and notes in the margins containing titles of Bible books and numbers.

At the very end there was the *Repertorium super Innocentio*, an alphabetical index to the commentary (*Apparatus*) by Pope Innocent IV. The author of that repertory was aforementioned Baldus de Ubaldis, actually mentioned in the explicit.⁶⁷ The work was used to teach canon law (it was on the list of books that Bolognese *stationari* had to have), and its popularity can be judged by the number of its preserved manuscript copies.⁶⁸

BJ 344

As can be seen in the note included by him, Piotr Wolfram bought the texts contained in manuscript BJ 344 in Bologna in 1413, however, not in the form of a ready codex, only loose quires.⁶⁹ In a way, he was the 'author' of that collection, since through the selection of works he had a decisive impact on the profile of the codex.⁷⁰ The utilitarian nature of manuscript BJ 344 and Piotr Wolfram's intellectual formation can be seen in the index he included on f. Ir. The terms he used there show what he knew about the given work and its author, what the texts could serve him for, and which of them were important to him. Wolfram enumerated the following as the authors: Giovanni Calderini, Francesco Zabarella, Peter

67 Inc. 'Abbas potest licenciare monachum', expl. 'Finis est Repertorii super Innocencio compilati a famosissimo utriusque iuris doctore domino Baldo de Perusio (...)', BJ 395, ff. 194r-273v; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 174.

68 *tatuti delle Università...*, p. 32; F.J. von Schulte, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 276. Mirabile Database records 15 manuscripts containing Bald's *Repertorium*, however, it does not mention any manuscript from the territory of Poland; <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/repertorium-super-innocentium-title/13825> [Accessed: 20 March 2023]. Bald's *Repertorium* has also been preserved in manuscript BKKK 127, see I. Polkowski, op. cit., p. 91.

69 'Collecta per dominum Petrum de Wolfram in Bononia licenciatum in decretis anno et cetera M CCCC XIII', BJ 344, f. Ir; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 34.

70 On the role of a client and reader as 'author' of a mediaeval manuscript see E. Kwakkel, 'Decoding the Material Book, Cultural Residue in Medieval Manuscripts', in: *The Medieval Manuscript Book. Cultural Approaches*, ed. M. Johnston, M. Van Dussen, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, pp. 60, 65-70.

of Ancarano, St Augustine, Guillermo/Gwilhelmi, and Damasus.⁷¹ Interestingly, Wolfram defined Zabarella as Florentine Cardinal, although the scribe wrote that he was a doctor of both laws. He was concise with respect to some of the works, e.g., 'Repertorium Policratis', and more descriptive with regard to others, adding also the work's usefulness and value, e.g., 'Speculum sacerdotum circa omnia sacramenta ecclesiastica valde bonum' or 'Brocardica Damasi satis pulcra'. He treated collectively the rhetorical works which were placed at the end as forming the category of university orations: 'collaciones seu recomendaciones', not distinguishing in any way two last works included here as anonymous: a fragment of the *Secretum Secretorum* by Pseudo-Aristotle and of a Petrarch's letter from the *Liber sine nomine*.

The texts included in the codex were copied by several scribes, possibly on Wolfram's commission. Two of them: Nicolaus Spreet de Hamborch and Johannes Fredeberg were most likely of German descent.⁷² The first of them, according to the information in the colophon, completed his work on 18 February 1413, thus at the time when Wolfram could no longer be studying in Bologna.⁷³ The third

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- 71 'Hii libri continentur in isto volumine: primo Concordantie Bible cum iure canonico domini Io[hannis] Kalder[ini]. Item adiecciones Glossarum Sexti et Cle[mentinarum] secundum dominum Fran[ciscum] cardinalem Florentinum. Item Speculum sacerdotum circa omnia sacramenta ecclesiastica valde bonum. Item Repertorium super libro beati Augustini De civitate Dei. Item Repertorium Policratis. Item contrarietas glossarum et soluciones ipsarum in toto corpore iuris canonici patris domini Gwilhelmi. Item Tractatus de ecclesiastico interdicto patris domini Iohannis Kalderini. Item Repeticio domini P[etri] de Anharano de permixta iurisdiccione spirituali et seculari. Item forma absolucionis omnium peccatorum et facultas penitenciariorum domini pape. Item Brocardiaca Damasi satis pulcra. Ultimo alique collaciones seu recomendaciones', BJ 344, f. Ir; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 33.
- 72 Although the attempt at identifying them among the German-nation students in Bologna have failed, it cannot be ruled out that they were students gaining some income by copying. More on foreign copyists in Italy see G. Pomaro, 'Copisti stranieri in Italia nei sec. XIV e XV in Codex - Inventario dei Manoscritti Medievali della Toscana', in: *Palaeography, Manuscript Illumination and Humanism in Renaissance Italy: Studies in Memory of A. C. de la Mare*, eds. R. Black, J. Krayer, L. Nuvoloni, The Warburg Institute, London 2016, pp. 127-427.
- 73 BJ 344, f. 56v. It was with his had that the texts were copied on ff. 1-56v, 60r-76r, 211r-221r, 223r-238v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 28.

signed his name in the colophon as 'Guillemmus de Athus iusta [!] Parisius'.⁷⁴

The codex as such is of a utilitarian character, in majority copied in two columns (except for ff. 185v-210v where the text is written in a single column), which allowed to include more content on one page. Fast information finding could be facilitated with simple red calligraphic initials and rubrication (ff. 1r-56v), or by simple initials written in the same ink or first letters in an enlarged font (ff. 60r-80v).⁷⁵ Some of the texts were written down hurriedly.⁷⁶ There were quite broad margins left for possible glosses or marginalia.

This manuscript contains mainly repertories and concordances. The first of them is the *Tabula auctoritatum et sententiarum Bibliae cum concordantiis decretorum et decretalium* composed by Giovanni Calderini.⁷⁷ It encompasses keywords starting with subsequent alphabet letters (from 'Aron' to 'Zizania'), followed by excerpts from canon law combined with relevant biblical references.⁷⁸ The concordance enjoyed high popularity, also within the Krakow circles.⁷⁹

74 BJ 344, f. 183v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 30. It should be assumed that it was a little town near Paris (iuxta instead of iusta), most likely Athys (Atheiae) near Paris, and not Athus now in Belgium, see. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, vol. 200, *Alexander III pontifex Romanus*, J.-P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum 1855, p. 215.

75 *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 33.

76 E.g.l. *Contrarietates glossarum* (ff. 185r-195v), where the scribe left one empty page (F. 195r), which was also recorded in an added note informing to turn the page (at the bottom of f.194v).

77 Explicit tabula auctoritatum et sententiarum Biblie inductarum in compilationibus Decretorum et Decretalium quotatarum domini Iohannis Calderini decretorum doctoris', BJ 344, ff. 1r-56v, por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, pp. 28-29.

78 D. Claes, 'Adam per Evam deceptus est, non Eva per Adam. Biblical repertoria in fourteenth century canon law', in: *Aspects of Genre of and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Cultures*, eds. B. Roest, H.L.J. Vanstiphout, Brill, Leiden 1999, p. 5.

79 Mirabile Database records 16 manuscripts with this work (no Polish ones), <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/tabula-auctoritatum-et-sententiarum-bibliae-cum-co-title/3967> [Accessed: 23 March 2023]. The repertorium is also found in manuscripts BJ 323, BUW1 II Q 17, and II Q 18; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 416-419; W. Göber, *Katalog rękopisów dawnej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, vol.18, *II Q 3a-48 i III Q 1-31*, ff. 10-12 <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/10516/edition/18838> [23 March 2023]. The work had already had two printed editions in the 15th century, GW 5896 i 5897; see A. Bartocci, 'Giovanni Calderini', in: *Autographa...*, vol. 1, p. 76.

The next work is titled *Apostille Sexti et Clementinarum clarissimi utriusque iuris doctoris Francisci de Zabarellis, que exemplate sunt ex Sexto et Clementinis suis*, and to-date it has been known only from manuscript BJ 344.⁸⁰ The text analysis shows that it is a kind of a gloss to Francesco Zabarella's comment on the *Liber Sextus*. The author of the *Apostille* contained in BJ 344 remains unknown. Importantly, the notations called *apostillae*, *additiones* or *suppletiones* could have also been written by well-known canonists or civilists.⁸¹ Furthermore, the term *exemplate* may point to the fact that they were copied from another manuscript containing such glosses, and not written down in the course of a lecture conducted by a professor using Zabarella's commentary. It should be assumed that the discussed *Apostille* were authored after 1385 and before 1409, since Zabarella was described in them only as a doctor of both laws, and not as Florence Cardinal.⁸² Zabarella was an extremely important authority to Polish lawyers: Paweł Włodkowic studied under him and also referred to his thought. It was particularly Zabarella's commentaries on the *Decretals* that were popular within the Krakow bar.⁸³

The two subsequent texts are connected with the circle of Italian intellectual culture. The first of them is a textbook for priests *Speculum manuale sacerdotum* by the Augustinian friar Hermann von Hildesche (d. 1357), professor of theology in Würzburg,⁸⁴ the book

80 Inc. 'In glossa, in verbo: Titulus. Signa glosse: Quia singularis', BJ 344, ff. 60r-77r; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 29; J. Fijałek, op. cit., p. 38. The work is also mentioned by G. Murano though not identifying its author, see eadem, *Initia operum...*, <https://home.uni-leipzig.de/juram/manuscr/murano/initican.html> [Accessed: 25 March 2023].

81 Let us recall here e.g., *additiones* to *Speculum iudiciale* by Guillaume Durand; see R.H. Helmholz, *The spirit of classical canon law*, University of Georgia Press, Athens-Georgia 2010, p. 29.

82 Por. C. Valsecchi, 'Zabarella, Francesco', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 100, Treccani, Roma 2020, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-zabarella_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [Accessed: 28 March 2023].

83 they are found in manuscripts BJ 354, 355, 358. In manuscript BJ 403 there are seven Zabarella's repetition; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, pp. 83-87, s. 93, 187-195.

84 Inc. 'Speculum clarum et nobile et preciosum omnium sacerdotum', BJ 344, ff. 77v-80v, por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 29. More on Hermann von Schildesche, see A. Zumkeller, 'Hermann von Schildesche', in: *Lexikon für die Theologie*

having been extremely popular north of the Alps. The second is the *Tabula super librum beati Augustini de civitate Dei*,⁸⁵ an alphabetical concordance facilitating the use of St Augustine's works, previously attributed to Robert Kilwardby (d. 1279) a Dominican friar, Archbishop of Canterbury (from 1272), and educated in Paris and Oxford.⁸⁶ It enjoyed the highest popularity in the 14th and 15th century, which is not surprising, since St Augustine was one of the most quoted authorities in sermons of the period.⁸⁷ Piotr Wolfram, too, quoted St Augustine, e.g., in his sermon addressed to clergy on the feast day of the Annunciation of Our Lady in 1424, in which he focused on disobedience (*inobedientia*) for which he could find the quoted concordance useful.⁸⁸

und Kirche, vol. 4, Herder, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 2004, p. 1446. Mirabile Database records as many as 136 manuscripts with this work, but only 5 preserved in Italian libraries; see <http://sip.mirabileweb.it/title/speculum-manuale-sacerdotum-title/149> [Accessed: 30 March 2023].

- 85 Inc. 'Tabula super librum b. Augustini De civitate Dei. Ut de infra scripta tabula plenior noticiam habere valeas', BJ 344, ff. 81r-140v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, pp. 29-30.
- 86 See H. Lagerlund, P. Thom, 'Introduction: the life and philosophical works of Robert Kilwardby', in: *A Companion to the Philosophy of Robert Kilwardby*, eds. H. Lagerlund, P. Thom, Brill, Leiden 2012, pp. 1-7. The attribution to Robert Kilwardby was questioned by A. Brix, see idem, 'La Tabula De civitate Dei dite de Robert Kilwardby : Problèmes d'attribution et tradition manuscrite', *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 2014, vol. 60, no. 1, pp. 125-146.
- 87 Out of 18 manuscripts recorded by A. Brix only one is from the 13th century; see idem, op. cit., pp. 132-134. Brix's list is incomplete: in Polish libraries alone apart from BJ 344 there are at least 7 more manuscripts containing this concordance, see F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, vol. 3, *Polen. Anhang: Die Skandinavischen Staaten Dänemark-Finnland-Schweden*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1973, pp. 27, 29, 63, 187, 203, 228, 232. On references to St Augustine in late mediaeval sermons see L. Grzybowska, *Kazania <<de tempore>> i <<de sanctis>> Mikołaja z Błonia. Zarys monografii*, Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Warszawa 2020, pp. 115, 132, 153, 154, 189, 204, 219, 226, 237-240.
- 88 *Sermo ad clerum de anunciatione beate Marie virginis et conceptione Christi*, inc. 'Ecce ancilla domini', BUW I Q 87, ff. 189v-198v. The concordance *De civitate Dei* features the entry *inobedientia* (BJ 344, f. 106r), which sends the reader to Book 14, Chapter 15. The following fragment from Piotr Wolfram's sermon may suggest that he benefitted from that concordance: 'In paradiso inquit tanta maior inobediencia fuit quanto illud quod perceptum est nullius fuit difficultis' BUW I Q 87, f. 191v; see Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *De civitate Dei libri XI—XXII*, ed. B. Dombart, A. Kalb, Typographi Brepols Editores Pontifici, Turnholti 1955, p. 437. As demonstrated by L. Grzybowska's research into the sermons of Mikołaja of Błonie, the use of quotes

Wolfram could find a similar aid in his lawyer's and preacher's work in the next alphabetical concordance: the *Tabula super Policraticum*. As shown in the explicit, the title *Policraticus* of the work of John of Salisbury was used here as the author's name, in harmony with the convention known also from other mediaeval manuscripts.⁸⁹ Italian lawyers often referred to that work, particularly when discussing the issues related to social ethics. The author of the discussed concordance was afore-mentioned canonist Giovanni Calderini. The *Tabula* presented quotations from the *Policraticus* in an alphabetical order on a given topic (e.g., virtue, man, death, etc.).⁹⁰ The utilitarian purpose of the concordance is confirmed by *maniculae* placed in the margins and pointing to the places of higher relevance. It can be assumed that Wolfram used it in order to find the right quotation from the *Policraticus*. The latter was the work he referred to e.g., in his 1424 sermon.⁹¹ The *Policraticus* was relatively popular with the Krakow circle, this demonstrated by the number of the preserved manuscripts (apart from the discussed one there are still five more kept in the Jagiellonian Library), as well as references made to it in various types of texts, particularly in university speeches and sermons.⁹² The work of John of Salisbury together with its concordance was also owned by the Krakow professor of

in compliance with the topic imposed by the kind of a tool (florilegium, concordance), was a common praxis, see eadem, op. cit., p. 221.

- 89 Inc. 'Abraham volens ymolare Ysaac', expl. 'Explicit tabula Policratis philozophy magni', BJ 344, k. ff. 141-183v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 30, 31. The same colophon was found in the manuscript from the former library of the Collegiate Church of Ss Peter and Paul in Legnica (Call no. 50), see W. Gemoll, op. cit., p. 54.
- 90 W. Ullmann, 'The Influence of John of Salisbury on Medieval Italian Jurists', *The English Historical Review*, 1944, vol. 59, no. 235, pp. 384-385; M. Kerner, 'Johannes von Salisbury im späteren Mittelalter', in: *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert*, eds. J. Miethke, A. Bühlerpp, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München 1992, pp. 42-43.
- 91 'Ita ut verbis utar Policratici quibus nec vita ad meritum nec ad doctrinam sciencia sed nec opera serviunt ad exemplum', BUWr I Q 87 f. 195v <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/38708/edition/135687/content> [Accessed: 31 August 2023]; see Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis *Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. C.I. Clemens, A.M. Webb, E typographo Clarendoniano, Oxonii 1909, p. 226.
- 92 The *Policraticus* is to be found in manuscripts BJ 479, 480, 481, 482, 483; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 3, pp. 84-90, 92-95. See also M. Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy...*, pp. 48, 80; L. Grzybowska, op. cit., pp. 56, 245-246, 297, 361, 422, 461.

law Jan of Dąbrówka who referred to it in his commentary on the chronicle of Master Vincentius.⁹³

There was another work titled in the explicit as *Contrarietates glossarum domini Guilhelmi* that was associated with law studies in Bologna.⁹⁴ Previously, it was attributed to the Bologna canonist Galvano Becchini (d. before 1395). It remains unknown whether Guilhelmus mentioned in the explicit is the version of the name Galvanus distorted by the scribe, or whether it refers to a different person (a certain 'Wilhelm'). In the light of the latest findings, the *Contrarietates* were a compilation put together by Cino da Pistoia who attended Galvano's lectures in Bologna, and collected the Master's *repetitiones* and *disputationes*.⁹⁵ The method called *solutio contrariorum* consisting in harmonizing contradicting texts worked out by Bolognese lawyers in the 12th century was widely used in various texts.⁹⁶ The *Contrarietates* were most popular in the late 14th century and in the first decades of the 15th century. They can be found in three more Krakow manuscripts from the similar period (two of them copied in Italy).⁹⁷

What follows is Giovanni Calderini's treatise *De interdicto ecclesiastico*.⁹⁸ Its presence could, on the one hand, result from Wolfram's

93 W. Szelińska, 'Dwa testamenty Jana Dąbrówki. Z dziejów życia umysłowego Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w połowie XV wieku', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, series A, 1962, no 5, p. 1-40.

94 Inc. 'Glosas contrarias ordinarias in iure canonico', expl. 'Expliciunt contrarietates glossarum domini Guilhelmi', BJ 344, ff. 185r-196v, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 30.

95 Por. L. Prosdociami, 'Becchini Galvano', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 7, Treccani, Roma 1970, pp. 496-497.

96 K. Pennington, W. P. Müller, 'The Decretist: The Italian School', in: *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, eds. W. Hartmann, K. Pennington, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 2008, p. 160.

97 Manuscripts BJ 349 and 403 were copied in Italy, BJ 327 in Prague; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 458, 463; vol. 2, pp. 72-76, 187-195. Mirabile Database enumerates 8 more manuscripts with this work found in foreign libraries <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/contrarietates-glossarum-iuris-canonici-casus-et-c-ti-tle/125673> [Accessed: 9 March 2023].

98 Inc. 'Quamvis dubia plura circa materiam ecclesiastici interdicti', expl. 'Explicit tractatus de ecclesiastico interdicto domini Iohannis Cald<e>rini decretorum doctoris', BJ 344, ff. 198-210v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 30.

Italian law studies, since at that time the interdict question was being discussed by Italian canonists, while on the other, from the practical purpose of the work, since it contained the list of what was allowed and banned in an interdict.⁹⁹ In manuscript BJ 344 the treatise was of a clearly utilitarian character thanks to the ‘running header’, the presence of *maniculae* pointing to the places of higher relevance, and the marginalia referring to respective issues discussed in the text.¹⁰⁰ The treatise, next to the *Consilia* and *Repetitiones*, ranked among the most popular writings of the canonist, also in Krakow, this testified to by the preserved manuscripts.¹⁰¹

The subsequent text: *Questio disputata de laico homicida qui se promoveri fecit ad sacerdotium* related to the practical application of canon law is of a similar character.¹⁰² The issue concerning a murder committed by a lay person after having been ordained was discussed in Bologna in 1412 by the famous canonist Pietro d’Ancarani (d. 1415), author of commentaries on the *Decretales*, *Liber Sextus*, and *Consilia*.¹⁰³ The argumentation for the issue was supposedly provided by the Benedictine Nicolaus de Tudeschis (Panormitanus) of Sicily (d. 1445) who ran academic courses in Bologna as of 1411.¹⁰⁴

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- 99 T. Woelki, ‘L’interdetto ecclesiastico nella dottrina di Francesco Zabarella’, in: *Diritto, chiesa e cultura nell’opera di Francesco Zabarella, 1360-1417*, ed. C.M. Valsecchi, F. Piovan, Franco Angeli, Milano 2020, p. 91.
- 100 ‘Casus in quibus in ecclesia celebrari non licet’, ‘An speciale interdictus potest relaxari ad cautelam’, BJ 344, f. 199r.
- 101 BJ 343, 348, 403, 412, 1483, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, pp. 27-28, 37-72; 187-196, 217-220; vol. 10, *Numeros continens inde a 1431 usque ad 1500*, comps. A. Kozłowska et. al., Bibliotheca Jagellonica-Officina Editoria “Księgarnia Akademicka”, Cracoviae 2012, pp. 256, 258-260. Its popularity can be testified to by two printed 15th-century editions, see GW 5902 and 5903; F. von Schulte, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 250-251.
- 102 Inc. ‘Laycus quidam propter homicidium, quod comisit’, expl. “Disputata fuit dicta questio per me Petrum de Ankrano, iuris utriusque doctorem in hac alma civitate Bononiensi (...) in qua publice ad utramque partem omnibus argumentibus respondit (...) dominus Nycolaus monasterii sancti monachus (...) de Cycilia, qui mihi materiam disputandi prebuit (...) M CCCC XII die XXIII Aprilis’, BJ 344, ff. 211r-221r; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, pp. 30-31.
- 103 Por. G. Murano, ‘Pietro d’Ancarani (1350 ca-1415)’, in: *Autographa...*, p. 118.
- 104 Por. K. Pennigton, ‘Nicholaus de Tudeschis (Panormitanus)’, in: *Niccolò Tedeschi (Abbas Panormitanus) e i suoi Commentaria in Decretales*, ed. O. Condorelli, Il Cigno Galileo Galilei, Roma 2000, pp. 9-36.

Piotr Wolfram may have addended Pietro d'Ancharano's lectures, and also contacted him at the Council of Constance. The presence of this work in Wolfram's book collection reflects his Italian background, and his attitude to applying canon law in daily practice. It seems that the discussed text known from a scarce number of manuscripts was a novelty amidst the Krakow bar.¹⁰⁵

A certain coherent whole is composed of the three subsequent texts: the formula for administering absolution in *articulo mortis*, privileges of apostolic penitentiaries together with the list of issues falling within their jurisdiction, accompanied by the voice of the French canonist Guillaume de Montlaurzun (d. 1342) related to bishops' reserves.¹⁰⁶ These texts may have been copied in Italy from a manuscript with the Apostolic Penitentiary form.¹⁰⁷ The presence of these texts may suggest that when studying in Bologna, Piotr Wolfram was planning a curial career, possibly an office at the Apostolic Penitentiary.

The text defined as *Repertorium Brocardice Damasi* contained in BJ 344 may, in turn, refer to Wolfram's law studies' curriculum.

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- 105 Mirabile Database records 6 manuscripts with this issue (not including BJ 344) <https://www.mirabileweb.it/title/quaestio-disputata-de-laico-homicida-qui-se-promov-titile/8700> [Accessed: 20 March 2023]. Another Pietro d'Ancharano's question and *repetitio* can be found in manuscript BJ 403 copied in Padua in the early 15th century, while two other Krakow manuscripts (BJ 1487 and BCzart 1242) contain this author's *Consilium de schismate*; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, pp. 192, 194; vol. 11, pp. 293, 296–297; A. Horeczy, *Recepcja...*, pp. 182–183. Paweł Włodkowic in his treatises also made references to Pietro d'Ancharano, S.F. Belch, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 417; W. Świeboda, *Innowiercy w opiniach prawnych uczonych polskich w XV wieku. Paganie, żydzi, muzułmanie*, Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego "Societas Vistulana", Kraków 2013, pp. 184–185, 303.
- 106 Inc. 'Forma absolucionis, quando datur plena remissio in morte', BJ 344, f. 221r; inc. 'Privilegia penitenciarum domini pape super hec', BJ 344, ff. 221r–v; inc. 'Isti sunt casus conservati episcopis a iure secundum Wilhelmum de Amduno', BJ 344, f. 222r; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 31, F.J. von Schulte, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 197–198, 513, 518.
- 107 The text of penitentiaries' privileges in BJ 344 is close to the version found in the manuscript in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 6290, f. 42r https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6290 [Accessed: 17 March 2023], differing, however, from the printed version of privileges in: E. Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie von ihrem Ursprung bis zu ihrer Umgestaltung unter Pius V.*, vol. 1, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie bis Eugen IV.*, part 2, *Quellen*, Verlag von Loescher & Co., Rom 1907, p. 177. Manuscript Vat. Lat. 6920 also contains the *in articulo mortis* absolution formula (f. 24r).

Above-mentioned Damasus, Bolognese canonist from the turn of the 12th and 13th century, was the author of a collection of brocards, namely concise general rules providing legal texts showing arguments in favour and against a definite solution to a given issue.¹⁰⁸ Damasus' collection of brocards was used in academic teaching in Bologna, this testified to by the list of *pecia* in the possession of Bolognese *stationari*.¹⁰⁹ Some researchers were of the opinion that the discussed text is a collection of Damasus's brocards edited by Bartolomeo da Brescia (d. 1258), Bolognese canonist, author of a glossa to the *Decree*.¹¹⁰ He is not, however, mentioned in manuscript BJ 344, and what is more, the *Repertorium* text differs from the brocard collection edited by Bartolomeo which can be found in manuscript BJ 333 copied in the early 15th century in Prague.¹¹¹ The *Repertorium* may have been a useful aid to Wolfram, since there is numbering in the margins, and it is accompanied by a numbered alphabetical index placed at the end.

The last group of texts can be ranked within the rhetorical category. It is made up of five orations delivered at the law university in Bologna, a fragment of the *Secretum secretorum* by Pseudo-Aristotle and Petrarch's letter from the *Liber sine nomine*.¹¹² These

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- 108 For more on the 'brocard' concept see. W. Spargo, 'The Etymology and Early Evolution of Brocard', *Speculum*, 1948, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 472-476. See also F.J. von Schulte, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 84; H.E. Kantorowicz, 'Damasus', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 1927, vol. 16, pp. 332-340; M. Ascheri, *I diritti del Medioevo italiano. Secoli XI-XV*, Carocci, Roma 2000, p. 217.
- 109 *Statuti delle Università...*, pp. 33, 92.
- 110 *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 31. For more on Bartolomeo da Brescia, see. R. Abbondanza, 'Bartolomeo da Brescia', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 6, Treccani, Roma 1964, pp. 696-697.
- 111 'Incipiunt Brocarda iuris canonici Bartholomei Brixiensis', BJ 333, ff. 135r-150r. The collection of brocards in BJ 333 opens with the argument ('Argumentum primum. In hiis, que sunt iuris positivi') not to be found in the *Repertorium brocardice* in BJ 344. The argument which opens the brocard collection in manuscript BJ 344 ('Nullus privandus est iure suo'), in manuscript BJ 333 appears as the second, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 6. The text in manuscript BJ 333 actually echoes Damasus's collection of brocards as edited by Bartolomeo da Brescia and printed in the 16th century, see *Tractatus illustrium in utraque tum Pontificii, tum Caesarei juris facultate jurisconsultorum*, vol. 18, Franciscus Zilettus, Venetiis, 1584-1586, ff. 506r-512v, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HLS.Lib:r834909?n=1016> [Accessed: 25 March 2023].
- 112 BJ 344, ff. 239r-247; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, pp. 31-33.

speeches follow a scheme typical of mediaeval *sermons* beginning with a biblical quotation chosen as the *verbum thematis*.¹¹³ The attempts at dating the first two of the speeches, of which one was delivered on the occasion of conferring the doctoral degree in civil law to Count Bernard of Saiano near Brescia, have not been successful.¹¹⁴ The latter contains references to ancient legal authorities, such as Ulpian, Papinian, and Celsus (unspecified which one), but also outstanding Roman citizens as Marcus Aurelius and Gaius Mucius Scaevola.¹¹⁵ The second speech on the occasion of receiving the doctoral degree in canon law of an unidentified Lawrence (*Laurentius*) listed the doctoral insignia discussing their symbolism, all this in harmony with the convention applicable at graduation ceremonies (*sermones pro conventuando*).¹¹⁶

Meanwhile, the third oration delivered at a graduation ceremony for the doctoral degree in canon law of the Camaldolese Hieronim can be approximately dated.¹¹⁷ The address enumerates his dissertation's supervisors, illustrious Bolognese professors: Giovanni da Legnano (d. 16 February 1383), Lorenzo de Pinu (d. 1397),

113 See . M. Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy...*, pp. 8-9; S. Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi : A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2015, pp. 47-86.

114 Inc. 'Probatu est in illo et perfectu inventu est, Ecclesiastici 31', BJ 344, ff. 239r-v. The following fragments refer to the graduate being conferred the degree: 'in laudem et gloriam huius nobilis et egregii viri domini Bernardi, comitis de Sayano principaliter doctorandi', BJ 344, f. 239r; 'Bernardum nobilitate strenuum genere comite de Sayano', BJ 344, f. 239v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 31. In the secret book of the Bolognese college of doctors of civil law we have been unable to find the Bernard from the oration; yet, it should be borne in mind that this source has some gaps, see *Liber secretus iuris caesarei dell università di Bologna*, ed. A. Sorbelli, vol. 1, 1378-1420, L'Istituto per la storia dell'Università di Bologna, Bologna 1938.

115 BJ 344, f. 239r.

116 Inc. 'Clarificavi et iterum clarificabo (...) Iohannis 12 c. Humiliter exoro ut mihi in hoc brevissimo breviliquio', BJ 344, f. 239v. The abbreviation 'La.' for the graduate's name should possibly be given the long form of 'Laurentius'; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 32. As for Italian *sermones pro conventuando*, see F. Treggiari, 'La laurea del giurista: le orazioni dottorali di Bartolo da Sassoferrato', in: *Lauree. Università e gradi accademici in Italia nel medioevo e nella prima età moderna*, eds. A. Esposito, U. Longo, Clueb, Bologna 2013, p. 109.

117 Inc. 'Vir stetit veste candida', BJ 344, ff. 239v-240v; ser *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 32.

and Gaspare Calderini (d. 1399).¹¹⁸ The graduate should be identified with Hieronim, Abbot of the Camaldolese Hermitage at Poppien who passed a private exam in canon law in Bologna, and whose supervisors were Giovanni da Legnano and Lorenzo de Pinu.¹¹⁹ It must be assumed that Hieronim's public viva voce combined with the presentation of the doctoral insignia and the delivery of the oration in question took place between 2 May 1378 and 16 February 1383 (the date of Giovanni da Legnano's death).¹²⁰

The fourth doctoral speech delivered at the graduation of two students: Teodoryk Plesiler, abbreviator at the Papal Chancery and for the Meissen Archdeacon, and Jacob of Bohemia can also be approximately dated.¹²¹ Giovanni Canetoli is mentioned in it as the supervisor (d.1407) acting on behalf of the absent Bolognese Arch-

118 The names of the professors attending Hieronim's exams were written down in the manuscript with the initial letters which should be deciphered as follows: 'Jo. de Li.' - 'Johannes de Lignano', 'La. de Pi.' - 'Laurentius de Pinu', 'Gas. de Cal.' - 'Gasparus de Calderinis', BJ 344, f. 240v. For more on these professors see B. Pio, 'Oldrendi, Giovanni (Giovanni da Legnano)', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 79, Treccani, Roma 2013, pp. 196-200; B. Pieri, 'Lorenzo del Pino sr', in: *Dizionario Biografico dei Giuristi Italiani (XII-XX secolo)*, ed. M. L. Carlino, vol. 2, Lev-Z, Il Mulino, Bologna 2013, p. 162; H.J. Becker, 'Calderini, Gaspare', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 16, Treccani, Roma 1973, pp. 605-606.

119 *Liber secretus iuris pontifici*, Bologna Archivio di Stato, Studio 126, f. 6v.

120 The *Liber secretus iuris pontifici* does not record the public viva voce of mentioned Hieronim, which can result from the gaps in this source, particularly in the parts from 1377-1414; see B. Pio, 'Osservazioni preliminari all'edizione delle più antiche registrazioni del Liber secretus iuris pontifici', in: *Università e formazione dei ceti dirigenti. Per Gian Paolo Brizzi, pellegrino dei saperi*, eds. G. Angelozzi, M.T. Guerrini, G. Olmi, Bononia University Press, Bologna 2015, pp. 56-57.

121 Inc. 'Lux in tenebris lucet, Iohannis 1', BJ 344, ff. 240r-v; 'Theodricus Plesiler archidiaconus Misniensis, abbreviator litterarum apostolicarum noviter doctorandus (...) nobilis igitur et egregius vir dominus Iacobus de Boemia presencialiter doctorandus', BJ 344, f. 340v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 32. We have been unable to identify either Theodricus or Iacobus. It can only be suspected that Iacobus was the scholastic Jacob of Bohemia who arrived in Padua on 15 May 1400 to study bringing with him a codex containing the *Decretum Gratiani*, this testified to by a custom's stamp in the manuscript: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23553, f. 1r: 'MCCCLXXXV, XI iulii, dominus Iohannes de Boemia conduxit hunc librum in Paduam', 'die XV mai 1400 dominus Iacobus de Boemia scolasticus (...) canonicus' see: <https://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/m%C3%BCnchen-bayerische-staatsbibliothek-clm-23553-manuscript/164554> [Accessed: 29 March 2022].

deacon Baldassarr Cossa (1396–1404).¹²² It is not known if the exam in question was in canon law (more likely in the case of the ultramontanists) or whether it was an exam in civil law, this suggested by the person of the supervisor: Giovanni Canetoli as of 1388 was member of the Bolognese college of doctors in civil law and gave lectures on civil law.¹²³ We have been unable to find the graduation referred to in the speech in the Bolognese secret books of the canon and civil laws in 1396–1404.¹²⁴

The last oration devoid of its conclusion was delivered on the occasion of being conferred the doctorate of both laws by Battista d'Argile.¹²⁵ It contains eulogy of civil and canon laws, numerous biblical quotes, and also references to canon law. In harmony with the *Liber secretus iuris caesarei*, Battista d'Argile took a public viva voce on 9 May 1413, and his supervisors were: Floriano Sampieri (d. 1441), Jacopo Isolani (d. 1431), Niccolò Aldrovandi (d. 1423), and Giacomo Marescalchi.¹²⁶ Maybe Piotr Wolfram had an opportunity to have heard that address personally, and that is why he decided to include it in his collection, this possibly accounting for the clearly hurried manner in which it was copied.

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- 122 'excellentissimo legum doctore domino Johanni de Canitulo patri domino et preceptore meo singularissimo reverendo patri et domino domino Baldassare Cossa de Neapoli dignissimi archidiacono Bononiensi vicem gerenti', BJ 344, f. 240v, por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 32. See also G. Pasquali, 'Canetoli, Giovanni', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 18, Treccani, Roma 1975, pp. 38–40; F.Ch. Uginet, 'Giovanni XXIII, antipapa', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 55, Treccani, Roma 2001, pp. 621–627.
- 123 G. Pasquali, op. cit., pp. 38–40.
- 124 Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Studio 126, ff. 21r–31r; *Il Liber secretus iuris caesarei dell'Università di Bologna*, ed. A. Sorbelli, vol. 1, 1378–1420, Bologna 1938, pp. 96–166.
- 125 Inc. 'In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Amen. In me omnis gracia vite et virtutis', BJ 344, ff. 241r–242r; 'Egregii viri et dilectissimi fratris domini Ba<p>tiste de Argilt presencialiter cathedratti', BJ 344, f. 241r; por. *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 32.
- 126 *Liber secretus...*, p. 210. See also A. Sorbelli, *Storia della Università di Bologna*, vol. 1, *Il medioevo (secc. XI–XV)*, Zanichelli, Bologna 1944, pp. 97, 99, 101; A. Bartocci, 'Sampieri, Floriano', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 90, Treccani, Roma 2017, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/floriano-sampieri_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/floriano-sampieri_(Dizionario-Biografico)) [Accessed: 26 March 2023]; G. Tamba, 'Isolani, Jacopo', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62, Treccani, Roma 2004, pp. 659–663.

What follows the Bolognese university orations in the same quire is a fragment of the third book of the *Secretum secretorum* by Pseudo-Aristotle.¹²⁷ This apocryphal Aristotle's letter to Alexander the Great, in which the philosopher was to unveil the greatest secrets of nature to the ruler, was greatly popular in the late Middle Ages.¹²⁸ The fragment contained in BJ 344 concerns the questions connected with ruling a state: justice being the quality of a ruler, advisors, envoys, the army. It remains unknown whether the copyist purposefully chose this piece, or whether it had been already included in the base which served for the copy. Importantly, the Bolognese speech preceding this fragment lacks its conclusion. The *Secretum secretorum* was widespread in mediaeval manuscripts, and it is also known from other Krakow ones.¹²⁹

The last piece, also included as anonymous, is Petrarch's letter XII from the collection *Liber sine nomine* (*Epistole sine nomine*).¹³⁰ In this letter, similarly as in others from the collection, the poet is deploring the fall of the Church, allusively referring to the death of Clemens VI.¹³¹ It seems interesting that Wolfram decided to include this letter in his collection, whether in view of its content, topical immediately following the Council of Pisa where the Western Schism was not ended, or as a rhetorical template, particularly

- 127 Inc. 'Iusticia est commendacio laudabilis de proprietatibus altissimi simplicis gloriosi', expl. 'prout indiget exercitus magnus huius instrumenti sonus auditur per miliaria LX et cetera', BJ 344, ff. 243r-246v; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 2, p. 32. The fragment contained in BJ 344 is equivalent to Chapters 5-8 of Book III of the *Secretum secretorum* from the printed editions, see *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, vol. 5, *Secretum secretorum cum glossis et notulis*, ed. R. Steele, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, Oxonii 1920, pp. 123-151.
- 128 See S.J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets. The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2003.
- 129 BJ 228, 813, 2135; see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 276-280; vol. 6, *Numeros continens inde a 772 usque ad 1190*, comps. M. Kowalczyk et al., Bibliotheca Jagellonica-Oficina Editoria "Księgarnia Akademicka", Cracoviae 1996, pp. 219, 222; W. Wisłocki, op. cit., part. 2, pp. 551-552.
- 130 Inc. 'Ve populo tuo, Christo Ihesu', BJ 344, ff. 247r-v. see F. Petrarca, *Liber sine nomine*, ed. G. Cascio, Casa Editrice Le Lettere, Firenze 2015, pp. 110-116; A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', p. 89.
- 131 G. Cascio, op. cit., pp. 1-9; J. Spicka, 'La sentina dei vizi: poetica e motivi del Liber sine nomine di Petrarca', *Critica letteraria*, 2010, vol. 146, pp. 3-4.

if he was aware that the text was by Petrarch. In his letter written in Constance he actually made reference to the Italian poet.¹³² The presence of this letter undoubtedly points to Wolfram's Italian intellectual background. Additionally, Petrarch's philosophical works and letters did circulate in legal manuscripts.¹³³

CONCLUSIONS

Piotr Wolfram's book collection does not stand out as for the quantity or quality of codices. In comparison to the well-identified libraries of Mikołak Kicki, Gniezno Archdeacon (d. 1429), who also studied canon law in Bologna and Padua around the same period and participated in the Polish-Teutonic litigation, the collection of works of Italian lawyers which Wolfram owned seems relatively modest.¹³⁴ Similar conclusions are prompted through the analysis of legal authorities recalled in Paweł Włodkovic's writings.¹³⁵ What lacks in Wolfram's collection are first of all collections of canon law and the most important 13th-century commentaries on the *Decretals* authored by Enrico Segusio, called Hostiensis (*Summa super titulis Decretalium*), Bernardo da Bottone Parmensis (*Glossa ordinaria* to the *Dekretalas*), Guillaume Durand (*Repertorium sive titulos Decretalium*). Another item missing is the *Rosarium super Decretum* by Guido da Baisio, an extremely important 13th-century commentary on the *Decret*. Other writings missing are the popular works

132 N. Contieri, op. cit., p. 148; A. Horeczy, 'Cytaty...', p. 91.

133 G. Cascio provided a list of 38 manuscripts containing the entire text of the *Liber sine nomine* and of 27 with selected lists, however, he did not record manuscript BJ 344, see. idem, op. cit., pp. 12-13. The work is included in a 14th-century manuscript that was once owned by the Cathedral Library in Kamieniec Pomorski, currently the Szczecin Library Cod 6 (XV.47); it also contained Giovanni Calderini's *Consilia* and Baldo degli Ubaldi's *consilium*, <https://zbc.ksiaznica.szczecin.pl/dlibra/publication/10292/edition/9284/content?ref=desc> [Accessed: 31 August 2023].

134 See M. Czyżak, op. cit., pp. 7-27. On Kicki's studies in Italy see. A. Horeczy, *Recepcja...*, p. 82.

135 See W. Ehrlich, *Paweł Włodkovic i Stanisław ze Skarbimierza*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1954, pp. 146-154; K. Grzybowski, 'Paweł Włodkovic a współczesna mu kanonistyka', *Państwo i Prawo*, 1955, vol. 11, no. 10, pp. 799-814; S. Bełch, op. cit., passim; W. Świeboda, op. cit., pp. 178-180, 184-196.

by 14th-century lawyers, such as the *Decisiones Rotae Romanae Curiae* by Wilhelm Horborch, *De censura ecclesiastica* by Giovanni da Legnano, *Novella in quinque Decretalium libros* by Giovanni d'Andrea, his commentary on the *Liber Sextus*, or any of Francesco Zabarella's commentaries. It has to be remembered, however, that Wolfram's book collection was dispersed, and the manuscripts known to us today are but its fragment. The example of manuscript BJ 372 with Guido da Baisio's commentary with which Piotr Wolfram arrived in Padua to study, but already in 1418 was in the possession of Gniezno Canon Jakub, supports the hypothesis that when studying canon law Wolfram could have owned a larger number of such legal commentaries.

Furthermore, it cannot be ruled out that a further identification of the manuscript resources will point to subsequent manuscripts owned by Piotr Wolfram. It is quite likely that he had in his possession the Holy Scriptures and commentaries on them (apart from Gregory the Great's *Moralia*); he may have also owned Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. It may be suspected that he had St Augustine's *De civitate Dei* as well, since he often quoted it in his sermons. The *Tabula super librum beati Augustini de civitate Dei* which was in his possession (in BJ 344) contained merely references to St Augustine's works, without the actual citations. In Piotr Wolfram's sermons references to various authorities can be found, e.g., St Anselm of Canterbury, Thomas Aquinas, or Ambrose, however, it seems that he did not own these works in his book collection, quoting them from another study.¹³⁶ It cannot be confirmed whether Piotr Wolfram owned Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* which he quoted

136 For example, the reference in manuscript BUWr I Q 87 during the sermon on the feast day of the Annunciation of Our Lady 'Ubi dicit beatus Ambrosius: "Iudicet ille de alterius errore qui non habet quod in seipso contempnat" (f. 193r) could have been derived directly from the *Decretum Gratiani* C.3 q.7 c.4 ('Item Ambrosius super: "Beati immaculati" sermone XX. ad uers. Miserationes tuae, Domine. Iudicet ille de alterius errore, qui non habet quod in se ipso contempnet') or from a concordance or a legal commentary, not from the work of St Ambrose. On the canon of authorities and a hypothetical library of a learned Krakow preacher of the late Middle Ages see L. Grzybowska, op. cit., pp. 220-221, 240-241.

in his letter from Constance (it remains unclear whether he cited it from his own or another available codex, and whether it was a direct quotation). The fact that in his manuscript BJ 344 Pertrach's letter from the *Liber sine nomine* was contained many support the hypothesis that Wolfram also owned other works by the Italian poet.

The analysis of the manuscripts identified as owned by Piotr Wolfram points to a certain standard of a legal library, featuring qualities more of a practitioner, an expert, than a creative law professor or an ambitious commentator. To such a practitioner in law what mattered most was a quick access to a definite case, commentary, or quotation, hence such a big number of repertories, indices, the 'running head', terms in the margin, or *maniculae*.¹³⁷ Additionally, as observed by Irena Malinowska-Kwiatkowska, these repertories, indices, and concordances were meticulously completed, covering the corpus of canon law and civil law.¹³⁸ Wolfram's book collection is comparable with e.g., book collections of Poznan canonists who owned legal treatises and various types of compendia, while fewer theological works whose selection was subordinated to the preaching goals (mainly writings by St Augustine and Gregory the Great).¹³⁹

The chronology of the creation of his library by Wolfram reflects well his subsequent career stages. Wolfram's Bolognese manuscripts partially contain works by Italian lawyers which had been included in the canon of law curriculum valid not only for Italian universities. The Italian legal formation is reflected in the most recent texts, such as the *Apostille* to Francesco Zabarella's commentary or the question of Peter of Ancarano. What can be considered

137 See D. Nebbiai, '<<Leges de voluntariis>>. Bibliothèques et culture des juristes en Italie d'après les inventaires de livres (XIIIe-Xve siècles)', in: *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter*, ed. V. Colli, Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt a. M. 2002, p. 707.

138 I. Malinowska-Kwiatkowska, op. cit., p. 164.

139 J. Wiesiołowski, 'Społeczeństwo a książka w późnośredniowiecznym mieście. Poznań i jego osiedla przedmiejskie w XV i na początku XVI wieku. Uwagi wstępne', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1978, vol. 23, p. 69.

a less typical element (going beyond the canon of law curriculum) were the recommendations on doctoral graduations delivered at the Law University of Bologna. Their presence may point to the plans connected with the further career, and the need to deliver such speeches by Wolfram himself. In the case of Wolfram who was not born to a wealthy family the opportunity to make a curial career (he became the collector of Peter's Pence, and remained in close contacts with the Roman Curia) it was the skill of using refined Latin in harmony with the latest Humanist models that was decisive for promotion.¹⁴⁰

Wolfram's library reflects his Italian formation demonstrating that he was familiar with the leading trends, and had the capacity to select useful texts; the stay at the Roman Curia and at the Council of Constance must have made him appreciate the relevance of new Humanist rhetoric, that is why in due course he began to focus more on collecting rhetorical texts, bringing with him the latest texts: graduation orations from the late 14th century and the first decade of the 15th century from Bologna, as well as Petrarch's letter, while from Constance he brought with him the Council sermon (including the famous Poggio Bracciolini's oration), and newly-discovered Cicero's works from Rome. The presence of these rhetorical texts distinguishes Wolfram's book collection from his contemporary Polish lawyers.¹⁴¹ In this respect he precedes the book collections abounding in such works of Krakow law professors: Jakub Parkoszowic (d. 1452) and Jan of Dąbrówka (d. 1472)¹⁴².

140 Leonardo Bruni precisely owed his position of the Secretary at the Roman Curia won in 1405 to his fluency in sophisticated Latin, see C. Vasoli, 'Bruni Leonardo', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 14, Treccani, Roma 1972, pp. 618-633.

141 For example, in Mikołaj Kicki's legacy only one work on rhetoric was mentioned: *rhetorica Ciceroni*, but it could have been *De inventione* or the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by Pseudo-Cicero widespread in the Middle Ages; see M. Czyżak, *Legat...*, p. 22.

142 See M. Zdanek, 'Jakub Parkoszowic z Żurawicy h. Godziemba', in: *Profesorowie...*, pp. 96-97; idem, 'Jan z Dąbrówki', in: *Profesorowie*, pp. 134-135; W. Szelińska, 'Dwa testamenty...', pp. 1-40.

**PIOTR WOLFRAM'S LIBRARY AND THE ITALIAN
INTELLECTUAL AND PROFESSIONAL FORMATION OF
A POLISH LAWYER IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 15TH
CENTURY**

The analysis of the library of Piotr Wolfram, a bachelor of laws educated in Prague, Padua, and Bologna, professor of the Kraków Academy, participant of the Council of Constance, and the collector of Peter's Pence in Poland, reveals the tools which he used in building his career, surprisingly brilliant for a son of a burgher. The degree to which his library was typical of [MI] the period - library understood not only as a collection of codices but also a collection of texts - has been evaluated through the analysis of the popularity of individual works among the Kraków bar. The very presence of works by Italian lawyers in the collection does not unambiguously point to Italian intellectual education, as some Italian commentaries were included in the canon of literature taught at European universities. It has been determined that a clear indication of Wolfram's Italian formation is provided by such texts as *Apostillae* to Francesco Zabarella's commentary on the *Liber Sextus* or rhetorical texts by Italian authors - Bolognese university speeches or a letter by Petrarch yet unidentified in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library. In comparison to the library of Mikołaj Kicki, a lawyer with similar educational background (law studies in Bologna and Padua), Piotr Wolfram's collection is rather limited, as it lacks some significant collections of canon law or most of the 13th-century commentaries on the *Decretales*. It mostly comprises legal dictionaries, concordances, repertories, and indices. The library is tailored to a practitioner rather than a creative commentator of law, but the presence of rhetorical Italian texts makes it stand out from other contemporary libraries of Polish lawyers.

Translated by Magdalena Iwińska