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THE INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES IN CRACOW AT THE TURN OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES AND THE ISSUE OF THE CREATION OF THE SANKT FLORIAN PSALTER

I

In studies and discussions on the genesis of the Florian Psalter, some historians specializing in the Middle Ages have been rather inclined to maintain the view that it came into existence in the Cracow intellectual environment: They have failed, however, to specify what was specifically meant by the concept of a “Cracow intellectual environment.”¹ The argument concerning the Cracovian descent of this book was introduced by Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot who ascribed the execution of its first part (A) to Bartholomew of Jasło, who was master of the universities in Prague and Cracow and connected to the royal court at Wawel. According to her, he not only copied the trilingual text of this section, but also designed and made the illumination himself? This theory, formulated twenty years ago, has not been subjected to any discussion. In my remarks below I shall first propose an overview of the intellectual circles in Cracow at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and then I shall embark on a tentative verification of Śnieżyńska-Stolot’s theory.

II

In the 14th century, Cracow was the most important centre in the reborn Kingdom of Poland. The seat of the ruler and the royal court had been situated here since 1306, and the

- 1 See M. Cybulski, *Psalterz floriański a inne staropolskie przekłady Psalterza* [The Florian Psalter and Other Old Polish Translations of the Psalter], [in:] *Psalterz floriański łacińsko-polsko-niemiecki. Rękopis Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie* [The Latin-Polish-German Florian Psalter. The Manuscript of the National Library in Warsaw], Ed. R. Ganszyniec, W. Taszycki, S. Kubica, L. Bernacki, Łódź 2002, pp. 20*-21*; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Review of: M. Gębarowicz, *Psalterz floriański i jego geneza* [The Florian Psalter and its Genesis], Wrocław 1965, [in:] “Małopolskie Studia Historyczne” 11, 1966, 1/2, pp.114-119; R. Hanamann, *Der deutsche Teil des Florianer Psalters. Sprachanalyse und kulturgeschichtliche Einordnung*, Frankfurt am Main 2010, pp. 119-134, 177-178. I wish to thank Dr Wojciech Mrozowicz very much for sharing this dissertation.
- 2 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Tajemnice dekoracji Psalterza floriańskiego. Z dziejów średniowiecznej koncepcji uniwersum* [Mysteries of Illumination of the Florian Psalter. From the History of the Medieval Concept of the Universe], Warszawa 1992, pp. 79-94; Eadem, *Głos historyka sztuki w sprawie powstania Psalterza floriańskiego* [The Voice of an Art Historian on the Creation of the Florian Psalter], “Język Polski” 70, 1990, 5, pp. 166-174.

clerical elite of the Little Poland region played a major role in the exercise of power. Some of the Cracow-based offices became court offices and acquired significance as central institutions of the Kingdom (e.g. the chancery). The rebuilding of the royal castle at Wawel by king Casimir the Great was one of the core elements of the modernisation of the state at that time, and underlined the ruler's prestige.³ Ladislaus the Short and Casimir the Great gathered university-educated people to the Cracow court by appointing them to various posts at the chancery and as diplomats, and by entrusting them with the pastoral and medical care of the king's immediate circle. This group was composed of around 80 persons.⁴ The difficult political situation of the Polish state in the first half of the 14th century resulted in a court that was mostly of a clerical nature. The rule of Casimir the Great brought a certain change in this situation after 1350. The king, albeit uneducated himself, possessed educated advisers and following the pattern set by Charles IV pursued the goal of establishing a university in Cracow. The efforts to set up a university began in 1363, materializing in the form of a royal foundation document of 12th May 1364, and the Bull of Erection from Pope Urban V of September 1st of that same year.⁵ In the final years of Casimir's life, a faculty of liberal arts was established and the nucleus of a faculty of medicine was formed. The monarch's death interrupted the activity of the budding university and its foundation was set aside, made all the more uncertain by the fact that the monarch had changed the conditions for the funding of the university, since the Salt Mines Statute contained no trace of approved funds for the professors of law and medicine that were explicitly included in the foundation document. The source of funding was probably based on church benefices. Moreover, the king had begun the construction of a college for the university at Kazimierz, which was also interrupted upon his death.⁶

The royal court continued to operate under the regency of Elizabeth of Poland (Łokietkówna), who stayed in Poland on and off until her death in 1380. Thereafter, for a few years, in view of the absence of King Louis of Anjou (1380-1382) and the interregnum (1382-1384), it remained in a state of adjournment. The situation returned to normal upon the arrival in Cracow of Louis' daughter, Hedwig, the successor to the Polish throne. The coronation of Hedwig of Anjou in Cracow on 16th October 1384, followed by her marriage to Ladislaus Jagiełło, opened up a new chapter in the life of a royal couple and in the operation of the Wawel court, which preserved its clerical character. The personal composition of the court in the first years of Hedwig's stay in Cracow stemmed from the demands of the magnates of Little Poland who persevered in implementing the succession agreements

3 J. Kurtyka, *Odrodzone Królestwo. Monarchia Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle ostatnich badań* [The Reborn Kingdom. The Monarchy of Ladislaus the Short and Casimir the Great in the Light of the Recent Studies], Kraków 2001.

4 K. Ożóg, *Intelektualiści w służbie Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1306-1382* [Intellectuals in the Service of the Kingdom of Poland in 1306-1382], Kraków 1995.

5 S. Krzyżanowski, *Poselstwo Kazimierza Wielkiego do Awinionu i pierwsze uniwersyteckie przywileje* (The Envoys' Mission of Casimir the Great to Avignon and the First University Privileges), "Rocznik Krakowski" 4, 1900, pp. 1-111; A. Vetulani, *Początki najstarszych wszechnic środkowoeuropejskich* [The Beginnings of the Oldest Central European Universities], Wrocław 1970, p. 82 ff.; S. Szczur, *Papież Urban V i powstanie uniwersytetu w Krakowie w 1364 roku* [Pope Urban V and the Establishment of the University in Cracow], Cracow 1999, p. 95 ff.; K. Stopka, *Głos w dyskusji nad fundacją uniwersytetu w Krakowie* [A Voice in the Discussion on the Foundation of the University in Cracow], "Rocznik Krakowski" 71, 2005, pp. 31-40.

6 H. Barycz, *Alma Mater Jagellonica*, Kraków 1958, pp. 27-38; A. Vetulani, *Początki najstarszych wszechnic...* [The Beginnings of the Oldest Universities...], pp. 183-196; S. Szczur, *Papież Urban V...* [Pope Urban V...], pp. 195-216; K. Stopka, *Głos w dyskusji...* [A Voice in the Discussion...], pp. 37-39.

concluded under the rule of King Louis of Anjou.⁷ Hedwig, brought up in the traditional elaborate court life of the Anjou dynasty, introduced some of its elements to the Wawel court. Thanks to her father, she certainly obtained an education in the field of Latin as well.⁸ The short period of about a dozen years of joint reign of Hedwig of Anjou and Ladislaus Jagiełło is characterized by a greater opening to the world of scholars than under the reign of two last kings of the Piast dynasty. There were a number of reasons for this, but firstly it stemmed from the intellectual and spiritual needs of the royal couple, as well as from the plans and aspirations that were pursued. Scholars appeared mainly among the personnel of the chancery and among diplomats, as well as among chaplains, preachers and persons filling various orders coming from the court. The selection of these was largely dependent on the personal preferences of the monarchal couple. In my previous research I successfully identified a group of over 20 persons with university degrees from Prague, Padova, Paris and Montpellier connected with the milieu of Hedwig and Jagiełło during their joint reign in the Kingdom of Poland.⁹ These were, among others: John Radlica, Peter Wysz, Nicholas Gorzkowski, Andrew Łaskarzew, Matthias of Sandomierz, Stanislaus of Skarbimierz (Skalbmierz), John Śtęka, and Bartholomew of Jasło. It was this circle that inspired the initiatives aimed at the revival of the university in 1390-1392 and the establishment of a faculty of theology that eventually came to completion with the Bull of Erection issued by Pope Boniface IX on 11th January 1397.

On 26th July 1400, following the death of the Queen – who in her will had donated her jewels to the University of Cracow to support its re-establishment – Ladislaus Jagiełło set up the second foundation for the university, delegating its organisation to Stanislaus of Skarbimierz with a group masters from Prague. This marked the beginning of activity of a thriving scholarly milieu in the Cracow agglomeration that in the first decade of the 15th century grouped around 50 scholars and several hundred students at the four faculties of liberated arts, canon law, medicine and theology.¹⁰

Cracow was the capital of the bishopric and the cathedral chapter, which in the 14th century had gathered a significant number of educated prelates and canons. In the final

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- 7 H. Kręt, *Dwór królewski Jadwigi i Jagiełły* [The Royal Court of Hedwig and Jagiełło], Cracow, 1987, p. 19 ff.; G. Rutkowska, *Urządnicy królowej Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej. Spis* [Clerks of Queen Hedwig of Anjou. A List], [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej* [Nihil superfluum esse. Studies in the History of the Middle Ages Dedicated to Professor Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa], Ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 367-391; J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu* [The Tęczyński Family. Studies in the History of the Polish Magnates' Elite in the Middle Ages] Kraków 1997, p. 201 ff.
- 8 K. Kręt, *Dwór Królewski...* [The Royal Court...], pp. 171-172; P. W. Knoll, *Hedwig and Education*, "The Polish Review" 44, 1999, 4, pp. 419-422; A. Adamska, *Reading and Meditation – Latin and Vernacular: The Medieval Rulers of Central Europe and their Books*, pp. 1-11 (manuscript of a paper delivered at a conference in Rome in 2009). I wish to thank the author for sharing this text prior to its publication.
- 9 A. Strzelecka, *O królowej Jadwidze. Studia i szkice* [On Queen Hedwig. Studies and Outlines], Lvov 1933, pp. 55-74; K. Ożóg, *Duchowni i uczeni w otoczeniu św. Jadwigi* [Clergymen and Scholars in the Environment of St. Hedwig], [in:] *Święta Jadwiga królowa, Dziedzictwo i zadania na trzecie tysiąclecie* [Saint Hedwig the Queen. The Heritage and Tasks for the Third Millennium], Ed. H. Kowalska, H. Byrska, A. Bednarz, Kraków 2002, pp. 165-178; idem, *University Masters at the Royal Court of Hedwig of Anjou and Władysław Jagiełło*, [in:] *Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. A Cultural History*, ed. by P. Górecki, N. Van Deusen, London-New York 2009, pp. 147-160, 267-274.
- 10 M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w świetle mów Bartłomieja z Jasła* [The Renewal of the University of Cracow in the Light of the Speeches of Bartholomew of Jasło], "Małopolskie Studia Historyczne" 6, 1964, 3/4, pp. 23-42; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Odnowienie jagiellońskie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego (1390-1414)* [The Jagiellonian Renewal of the University of Cracow (1390-1414)], [in:] *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364-1764* [The History of the Jagiellonian University in 1364-1764], Ed. K. Lepszy, vol. 1, Kraków 1964, p. 38-87; K. Ożóg, *Uczeni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysława Jagiełły (1384-1434)* [Scholars in the Monarchy of Hedwig of Anjou (1384-1434)], Kraków 2004, pp. 19-67.

two decades of that century the chapter included about a dozen clergymen holding university degrees, including doctors of canon law: John Grotowic of Wiśniowa, Świętosław of Szaniec, Nicholas Gorzkowski, Mieczysław, son of Adam of Zmysłów, Jacob of Kurdwanów (serving then in Rome as an auditor of the Roman Rota); bachelor of decrees: Abraham of Nowy Dwór; masters of liberal arts: Mark of Gnojnik, Peter Strzelicz, John Pomorzaniec (also a bachelor of medicine and a student of canon law); bachelor of arts: Nicholas of Skroniów; students of canon law: Michael Niedźwiedz of Broniszów, John of Rzeszów, John Szafranec, Otto of Tochołów; student of theology: John Wajdut, a keeper. Their degrees and education, obtained from universities in Paris, Bologna, Padova and Prague, find direct confirmation in the existing historical sources.¹¹ Certainly the group of prelates and canons of the Cracow cathedral holding university degrees was much bigger, as can be proved by the posts held by some members of the chapter, like that of an archdeacon or an official, where a degree in canon law was a requirement. The milieu of the cathedral chapter engaged in wide-ranging historiographic and literary-liturgical work.¹²

A cathedral school was in operation, where the *trivium* with some elements of the *quadrivium* were taught. It provided an education for future clergymen, as well as chancery notaries and scribes.¹³ Also associated with the cathedral was the college for vicars performing the Divine Service, situated on the Wawel Hill. Vicars substituted for the members of the chapter in their daily liturgical duties. Moreover, in 1381 a mansionaries' college became active, while in 1393 Queen Hedwig founded a college for psalterists who were to diligently exercise the *officium divinum*.¹⁴

The urban agglomeration consisting of Cracow, Kazimierz and Kleparz and their suburbs, inhabited by ca. 20 thousand people, embraced quite a numerous group of clergy from collegiate, parish and parish branch churches, as well as from chapels. It was a diversified group in terms of education and affluence, as well as language, since many clergymen came from German burghers' families.¹⁵ In the Church of St. Mary sermons were delivered in German, while in the neighbouring St. Barbara's Church, in Polish. In other churches of the Cracow agglomeration, German preachers served shoulder to shoulder with those from Poland.¹⁶

11 K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa w Krakowie w XIV wieku. Środowisko duchowieństwa świeckiego* [The Intellectual Culture in Cracow in the 14th Century. The Environment of the Diocesan Clergy], Wrocław 1987, pp. 15-28, 140-151; K. Ożóg, *Związki Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z kapitułą katedralną krakowską u schyłku XIV i w I ćwierci XV wieku* [The Relationship between the University of Cracow and the Cracow Cathedral Chapter Towards the End of the 14th Century and in the First Quarter of the 15th Century], "Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie" 43, 1998, pp. 7-35.

12 K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa...* [The Intellectual Culture...], pp. 51-97.

13 K. Stopka, *Szkoły katedralne metropolii gnieźnieńskiej w średniowieczu. Studia nad kształceniem kleru polskiego w wiekach średnich* [The Cathedral Schools of the Gniezno Metropolis in the Middle Ages. Studies in the Teaching of Polish Clergymen in the Middle Ages], Kraków 1994; K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa...* [The Intellectual Culture...], pp. 29-43.

14 B. S. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795* [A History of the Cracow Diocese to 1785], vol. 1, Kraków 1998, pp. 357-385.

15 J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich* [A History of Cracow. Cracow Towards the End of the Middle Ages], Kraków 1992, pp. 314-331; A. Niewiński, *Przestrzeń kościelna w topografii średniowiecznego Krakowa. Próba syntezy* [Church Space in the Topography of Medieval Cracow. A proposed Synthesis], Lublin 2004; A. Witkowska, *Przestrzeń sakralna późnośredniowiecznego Krakowa* [Sacred Space of the Late Medieval Cracow], [in:] *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościół i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym* [Ecclesia et civitas. The Church and Religious Life in a Medieval Town], Ed. H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warszawa 2002, pp. 37-48.

16 J. Wolny, *Kaznodziejstwo* [Preaching], [in:] *Dzieje teologii w Polsce* [History of Theology in Poland], Ed. M. Recho-wicz, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze* [The Middle Ages], Lublin 1974, pp. 303-304.

The diocesan clergy of the late 14th century featured people with university degrees and broad intellectual interests. Sufficient proof of this may be found in parish and private book collections.¹⁷ Inventories of books of the St. Mary's library, dating from the 16th and 15th century, show works typical of that period which were to help clergymen in pursuing their pastoral tasks, including, first and foremost, the delivery of sermons, the dispensing of the sacraments, the holding of the liturgy and the performance of the Divine Service. Throughout the 15th century, the library's book collection gathered writings on theology, philosophy, hagiography, historiography, law, and mysticism, but first and foremost on preaching.¹⁸ Parishes ran schools that were typically of a negligible level, although the school at the Virgin Mary's Church upheld higher standards and demonstrated aspirations to teach the *quadrivium*. The school at the Corpus Christi parish school at Kazimierz was also of a similar nature.¹⁹

The Cracow agglomeration was the seat of a variety of monastic communities. The most active ones, according to their intellectual and pastoral contributions, were the mendicant orders: the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Augustinians-Eremites.²⁰ The first of them, bound with the Holy Trinity Church, was the most important monastery of preaching brothers in the Polish province, since it was the headquarters of the provincial school and of several schools within the monastic system, beginning with the convent school for particular studies to the studium generale established in the first decade of the 15th century. Its first regent, according to historical sources, was a well-known Dominican, John Falkenberg. The latter, however, was forced to leave the capital because of attacks he made on King Ladislaus Jagiełło, the bishop of Cracow, Peter Wysz and Matthew of Cracow. The Cracow order, together with the existing monastic schools, maintained a sizeable library and established a very creative environment.²¹

The Cracow-based Franciscans failed to build as equally thriving an intellectual community as their neighbours, but the St. Francis monastery also ran a convent school and particular studies. The Franciscan Brothers Minor engaged in pastoral activity and preaching, delivering sermons in German and in Polish. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans established numerous contacts with the royal court. They took part in the mission in Lithuania and in the organisation of the Roman church construction there and on Ruthenian lands.²² The Augustinians-Eremites from a monastery founded by king Casimir the Great at

17 K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa...*[Intellectual Culture...], pp. 123-130.

18 *Najdawniejsze inwentarze skarbcza kościoła N.P. Maryi w Krakowie z XV wieku* [The Oldest 15th Century Inventories of the Treasury of the Virgin Mary's Church in Cracow], Ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1889, pp. 7 - 48; J. Zathej, *Biblioteka kościoła P.Marii w Krakowie na przelomie XIV i XV w. (Na marginesie badań nad początkami Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego)*. [The Library of the Virgin Mary's Church in Cracow at the Turn of the 14th and 15th Centuries. (Concerning Studies in the Beginnings of the Library of the University of Cracow)], "Roczniki Biblioteczne" 8, 1964, pp. 19-28; E. Piwowarczyk, *Dzieje kościoła Mariackiego (XIII-XVI wiek)* [A History of the Virgin Mary's Church in Cracow (13th-14th Century)], Kraków 2000, pp. 166-182; K. Ożóg, *Book Collections in Medieval Cracow. Outline of the State of Research*, "Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae" 15, 2010, pp. 141-142.

19 K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa...*[The Intellectual Culture...], pp. 43-49.

20 K. Ożóg, *Klasztorna geografia średniowiecznego Krakowa* [Monastic Geography of Medieval Cracow], [in:] *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym* [A Monastery in a Medieval and Modern Town], Ed. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Wrocław-Opole 2000, pp. 217-234; *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie* [The Mendicant Orders in Medieval Cracow], Ed. K. Ożóg, T. Galuszka, A. Zajchowska, Kraków 2008.

21 M. Zdanek, *Szkoły i studia dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu* [Schools and Studies of the Cracow Dominicans in the Middle Ages], Warszawa 2005; Idem, *Kultura intelektualna dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu* [The Intellectual Culture of the Cracow Dominicans in the Middle Ages], Kraków 2003 (a doctoral dissertation at the Institute of History at the Jagiellonian University), pp. 170-394.

22 J. Kłoczowski, *Wspólnoty zakonne w średniowiecznej Polsce* [Monastic Communities in Medieval Poland], Lublin

Kazimierz in 1342 were not as influential as the Franciscans, however, on account of their service, they gained many followers and protectors inside the urban community and among the magnates of the Little Poland region.²³ Within the walls of Cracow towards the end of the 14th century there were still monasteries of the Order of the Holy Ghost taking care of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, as well as the monasteries of the “Marks” – the Order of the Penitence of the Holy Martyrs. The latter, since their foundation by Boleslaus the Shameful in 1257, maintained contacts with the order in Prague from which they came to Poland. These contacts were revived at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. At that time the exceptional Prague theologian Maurice Rvačka²⁴ stayed in Cracow in the monastery of the “Marks” – the Order of the Penitence of the Holy Martyrs. In the Stradom suburb, at the Church and Hospital of St. Hedwig, there was a monastery of the Order of the Custodians of the Most Holy Sepulchre of Miechów, ultimately founded by Elizabeth of Poland (Łokietkówna) in 1375, although the foundation work was begun by Casimir the Great.²⁵ Another order that deserves mention here is the order of the Poor Clares, which moved from Skała to Okół, to St. Andrew’s Church, before 1316.²⁶ On the outskirts of the Cracow agglomeration, in Zwierzyniec, was the Norbertines’ nunnery, founded by Jaksa of Miechów and in operation since 1159.²⁷

Hedwig of Anjou and Ladislaus Jagiełło started a few monastic foundations in the Cracow agglomeration. In the Garbary suburb the royal couple successfully established the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites, brought there from Prague.²⁸ As one of the mendicant orders, the Carmelites gained particular favour at the royal court at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. They skillfully combined high-quality pastoral work with profound Marian piety.²⁹ Hedwig and Jagiełło decided against installing the Carmelites in one of the towns of the Cracow agglomeration, and instead picked the burgeoning Garbary suburb where not a single church existed. Ladislaus Jagiełło brought the Canons Regular of the Lateran from Kłodzko to Kazimierz, founding a monastery at the Corpus Christi Church on 26th March 1405, while the Bishop of Cracow, Peter Wysz, confirmed this foundation on 16th May by turning the parish over to this order.³⁰ The plan for the foundation of the monastery of the

2010, pp. 342-346; K. Ożóg, *Błogosławiona wzajemność. Franciszkanie w średniowiecznym Krakowie* [Blessed Reciprocity. The Franciscans in Medieval Cracow] (in print).

- 23 W. Kolak, *Klasztor augustianów przy kościele św. Katarzyny w Krakowie do połowy XVI wieku. Fundacja, rozwój uposażenia i rola kulturalna* [The Monastery of the Augustinians at the St. Catherine’s Church in Cracow to the Mid 16th Century. Its Foundation, Growth and Cultural Role], Kraków 1982.
- 24 K. Ożóg, *Klasztorna geografia* [Monastic Geography], pp. 223-225; T. M. Trajdos, *Krakowscy “markowie” za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386-1434)* [The Cracow “Marks” under the Rule of Ladislaus Jagiełło [1386-1434]], “Studia Historyczne” 25, 1982, pp. 371-386; A. Bruździński, *Kanonicy regularni od pokuty na ziemiach polskich* [The Order of the Penitence of the Holy Martyrs on Polish Lands], Kraków 2003, pp. 237-238.
- 25 J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa* [A History of Cracow], pp. 452-454; K. Ożóg, *Klasztorna geografia* [Monastic Geography], pp. 226-227.
- 26 P. Gąsiorowska, *Konwent klarysek krakowskich do XVIII wieku* [The Order of the Poor Clares in Cracow to the 18th Century] (a doctoral dissertation at the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University).
- 27 J. Rajman, *Klasztor norbertanek na Zwierzynicy w wiekach średnich* [The Norbertines Nunnery at Zwierzyniec in the Middle Ages], Kraków 1993, pp. 30-37.
- 28 T. M. Trajdos, *Fundacja klasztoru karmelitów trzewickowych na Piasku w Krakowie* [The Foundation of the Monastery of the Discalced Carmelites at Piasek in Cracow], “Nasza Przyszłość” 63, 1983, pp. 93-105.
- 29 T. M. Trajdos, *U zarania karmelitów w Polsce* [At the Dawn of the Carmelites in Poland], Warszawa 1993, pp. 117 ff.
- 30 K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu w Krakowie do końca XVI wieku* [The Canons Regular of the Lateran at Kazimierz in Cracow to the End of the 16th Century], Elk 1999, pp. 47-71; K. Łatak, S. Nalbach, *Ze studiów nad kulturą umysłową kanoników regularnych krakowskiej prepozytury Bożego Ciała w XV i XVI wieku* [From the

Canons evolved slowly through the contacts of Hedwig of Anjou and Jagiełło with the Canons from Kłodzko, who had arrived in Cracow in the final decade of the 14th century.³¹ What motivated the decision to turn over the parish to the Canons was the wish of Jagiełło and Bishop Peter Wysz to improve the quality of pastoral service in the biggest parish at Kazimierz.³² The monastery in Kłodzko (est. 1349-1350) from which the Canons were brought, was a branch of a reformed monastery of the Canons in Roudnica, established in 1333. The order, supported by Charles IV (who had founded the monastery in Prague in 1350), developed strong ties with the Prague university environment and the emerging Church reform trend. In Roudnica, Prague, and Kłodzko, the Canons established radiating intellectual, spiritual and artistic centres influenced by modern devotion.³³ Hedwig of Anjou, with Ladislaus Jagiełło, succeeded also in founding the Slavonic Benedictines' monastery at Kleparz in 1390. The monks were brought there from Prague. The foundation was probably connected with plans of the royal couple towards the Orthodox Church for a union that eventually failed. Hence, the foundation survived only until the second half of the 15th century.³⁴

The above remarks indicate that there was a large and varied environment of the diocesan and monastic clergy. In addition to the numerous clergy at the Wawel Cathedral (prelates, canons, vicars, mansionaries and psalterists) there were 12 parishes (4 of which were run by monastic clergy), 4 collegiate, and 11 monasteries in operation. The most numerous were the mendicant orders, with 4 monasteries (the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians and the Carmelites), the Canons Regular in 4 monasteries (the Order of the Holy Ghost, the Order of the Penitence of the Holy Martyrs, the Order of the Custodians of the Most Holy Sepulchre, the Canons Regular of the Lateran), the Slavic Benedictines, and two orders of nuns: the Poor Clares and the Norbertines. Near Cracow, in Tyniec, there was a Benedictine abbey, and a Cistercian abbey was situated in Mogiła.

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning the chanceries of the towns of Cracow and Kazimierz, since in that period they were managed by notaries with broad intellectual outlooks. From 1391 to 1414, the Cracow chancery was managed by the notary Peter, the son of Conrad, the municipal notary (1344-1359), the brother of Matthew of Cracow, doctor of theology and bishop of Worms, and the brother of John. It is probable that Peter studied at the Prague university, like his brother Matthew, because he possessed his own book collection from which, it is known, he let John Puswange have a manuscript that contained the *Liber secretorum* and three other books. He also engaged in efforts to re-establish the university in Cracow.³⁵ In that same period, the notary in Kazimierz was the bachelor of arts Jacob, who in

Studies on the Intellectual Culture of the Canons Regular at the Corpus Christi Church in Cracow in the 15th and 16th Centuries], Kraków 2009, pp. 19-31.

- 31 K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu* [The Canons Regular of the Lateran at Kazimierz], pp. 23-29 and 52-59.
- 32 Ibidem, 271 ff; K. Łatak, S. Nalbach, *Ze studiów nad kulturą umysłową...* [From the Studies on the Intellectual Culture...], pp. 78 ff.
- 33 K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu...* [The Canons Regular of the Lateran at Kazimierz...], pp. 36-45; Z. Jakubowski, *Czeskie i morawskie fundacje kanonickie XIV - XV wieku. (Studium z dziejów devotio moderna)* [Bohemian and Moravian Canon Foundations of the 14th-15th Centuries. (A Study in the History of *devotio moderna*)], Częstochowa 2001, pp. 10-54.
- 34 M. Salamon, *Fundacja klasztoru benedyktynów słowiańskich na Kleparzu. Ekumenizm w dobie św. Królowej Jadwigi* [The Foundation of the Monastery of Slavic Benedictines at Kleparz. Ecumenism in the Age of St. Hedwig the Queen], [in:] *Kościół krakowski w życiu państwa i narodu polskiego* [The Cracow Church in the Life of the Polish State and Nation], Ed. A. Pankowicz, Kraków 2002, pp. 61-82.
- 35 B. Wyrozumska, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa w średniowieczu* [The Chancery of the Town of Cracow in the Middle Ages], Kraków 1995, pp. 119-120.

1393-1395 managed a parish school at the Corpus Christi church. He had, however, held the post of a municipal writer prior to 1385-1393, when the post was held by Martin. The bachelor Jacob and the later Jacob of 1397-1399 – copyist, illuminator and bookbinder of liturgical books for the Corpus Christi parish church at the order of the Kazimierz council – were one and the same person.³⁶ In 1395-1404, after Jacob, the Corpus Christi school was managed by Nicholas, and then by the Canons Regular. The municipal notaries and their subordinates kept all kinds of books (Scabinalia, Acta Consularia, Accounts, Books of Proscription, Books of Wills) that were connected with the operation of various municipal institutions, and also with the writing of documents and official correspondence.³⁷

The panorama of intellectual circles in the Cracow metropolitan area presented above shows its immense intellectual potential. By the beginning of the 15th century it had gathered a significant number of persons with university degrees obtained at well-known European universities. Particularly strong ties linked the Cracow intellectual community with Prague, not only through the returning Poles educated at the Charles University, but also through the migration of Bohemian, Silesian and Polish masters around 1400 in connection with the second foundation of the university in Cracow. It was at that time that Cracow received the Carmelites and the Slavic Benedictines from the Prague monasteries, and the Canons Regular from Kłodzko. The Cracow agglomeration was the biggest school centre in the Kingdom of Poland, and this position was additionally enhanced by the creation of a university. Church institutions of the discussed period possessed sizeable book collections of a varied nature, albeit usually tailored to the needs of the clergy.³⁸ Cracow was also the most important centre of manuscript book production in Poland. It was a town of copyists, illuminators and book binders who produced manuscripts – mostly liturgical ones – to fill orders flowing from the monarchical court, church officials, towns, and burghers, or rewrote various works for the needs of the emerging university and the schools already in operation (cathedral, collegiate, parish and monastic).³⁹

III

In our debate thus far on the genesis of the first part of the Florian Psalter we have not yet elaborated upon the above-mentioned theory of E. Śnieżynska-Stolot that the sole creator of the book was master Bartholomew of Jasło. In that researcher's opinion he began working on the Psalter after Queen Hedwig became pregnant and discontinued it upon her death on 17th July 1399.⁴⁰

This gives rise to the fundamental question: on what sources has she based her findings? In the fullest version of the discussed theory presented in 1992, the author mentions

36 K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa...* [The Intellectual Culture...], pp. 44-45; B. Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe 1320-1540* [Book Illumination of the Little Poland Region 1320-1540], Warszawa 1993, pp. 66, 87; E. Potkowski, *Książka i pismo w średniowieczu. Studia z dziejów kultury piśmiennej i komunikacji społecznej* [The Book and Writing in the Middle Ages. Studies in History of Writing Culture and Social Communication], Pułtusk 2006, pp. 133-134.

37 B. Wyrozumka, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa...* [The Chancery of the Town of Cracow...], passim; M. Friedberg, *Kancelaria miasta Kazimierza pod Krakowem 1335-1802* [The Chancery of the Town of Kazimierz near Cracow 1335-1802], "Archeion" 36, 1962, pp. 137-170.

38 K. Ożóg, *Book Collections...*, pp. 124-142.

39 E. Potkowski, *Książka rękopiśmienna w kulturze Polski średniowiecznej* [The Manuscript Book in the Culture of Medieval Poland], Warszawa 1984, pp. 79-118; Idem, *Książka i pismo...* [The Book and Writing...], pp. 119-160; K. Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa...* [The Intellectual Culture...], pp. 130-137; B. Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe...* [Book Illumination of the Little Poland...], pp. 72-100.

40 E. Śnieżynska-Stolot, *Tajemnice...* [Mysteries...], p. 89.

– after researching the existing literature – a group of four cathedral copyists headed by Świętosław, and two miniaturists who worked for the Queen, and then she finds that book copying was not only the occupation of cathedral copyists, but also of: “bachelors, rectors of schools, university professors, and, last but not least, students.”⁴¹ And further we read:

Two such copyists worked for the Queen, and they were the above-mentioned Bartholomew of Jasło, the rector of the collegiate school in Sandomerz who in 1394 worked on rewriting for her five books of Salomon, i.e. a part of the Book of Proverbs, and Bernard ‘in scolis ad sanctam Mariam.’ The first one of the two deserves attention. He was the student of Szczekna or Isner, and was closely connected with the university circles in Prague and Cracow. In 1385 he obtained a Master of Arts degree from the University of Prague, in 1389 he returned to Poland, and ten years later he went back to Prague to start theological studies. The Christian interpretation of the Zodiac was not alien to him, as shown in his sermon written for the St. Stanislaus the Bishop’s celebrations, titled *Justus sicut [sic!] leo*, where he compares the virtues of this Saint to the Lion-Christ. He quotes the tales, also known to Szczekna, about the lion which obliterates its traces with a tail, sleeps with its eyes wide open and breathes life into the young. I am inclined to see the main creator of the Florian Psalter in Bartholomew of Jasło, as the author of the decoration programme, copyist and creator of initials and decorations in the margins. Probably, after the founding by the Queen of the Psalterists’ College in 1393, he made the so-called minute, and he began actual work on the Psalter slightly later on, maybe even after 16th September 1398. Without going into details about who was the author of the first preserved translation of the psalter into Polish, or whether it was modelled upon the earlier Bohemian text or the Polish text, it needs to be said that the introduction of the German version of the psalms, and the antiphon in that language on fol. 40v in particular, need not indicate the nationality of the scribe, as has been claimed in the existing literature. Bartholomew, educated in Prague, must have known that language, while, on the other hand, in the 14th century in Central Europe, and particularly in Hungary, antiphons in German were readily used.[...] Bartholomew’s departure to Prague in 1399 might have been one of the reasons why the work on the Florian Psalter was interrupted. We do not know the exact date of his departure. Perhaps it was then that the Queen ordered her miniaturist Peter to add coats of arms and the letters “mm,” “mi.” The eventual interruption of work on the Florian Psalter came upon the Queen’s untimely death on 17th July 1399.⁴²

Śnieżyńska-Stolot claims that the evidence for the line of reasoning discussed above – that cathedralists and copyists worked for Hedwig of Anjou – is provided by royal bills from that period and by the work of Edward Potkowski, whereas the argument concerning Bartholomew of Jasło is supported by research done by Maria Kowalczyk and Jan Kuś (on the

41 *Ibidem*, pp. 88-89.

42 *Ibidem*, p. 89.

edition of Bartholomew's sermon *Justus sicut leo*).⁴³ This hypothesis requires a detailed confrontation with the sources and the existing literature.

In discussing the group of copyists working for Queen Hedwig, Śnieżyńska-Stolot inaccurately interpreted one entry from the royal bills referring to Master Bartholomew, since she linked it directly with information on the copyist Bernard. In fact, the note in the royal bills of 31st January 1394, reads as follows: "Pro IIII libris papyri ad rescribendum quinque libros Salomonis ad mandatum domine regine magistro Bartholomeo rectori scole s. Marie Sandomiriensis VIII sc.,"⁴⁴ whereas the note on Bernard was entered under 10th May 1394: "Item Bernardo scriptori in scola ad sanctam Mariam ad mandatum domine regine VI sc. dedi."⁴⁵ It follows from the first entry that master Bartholomew, the rector of the school of the Holy Virgin in Sandomierz (a collegiate school), received 8 "scotorum" (1 scotus = 2 groschen) for the purchase of 4 pounds of paper from the treasury at the Queen's order for the rewriting of five books of Solomon. In this case the five books of Solomon do not mean "a part of the Book of Proverbs" as the author claims, but the five books of wisdom then universally ascribed to King Solomon, namely: *Proverbia*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticum canticorum*, *Sapientia* and *Ecclesiasticus*.

The amount of the purchased paper (4 pounds) for their rewriting clearly confirms this fact. The master Bartholomew mentioned in this source has been identified by researchers as Bartholomew of Jasło.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Bernard, the scribe at the St. Mary's school, received 6 "scotorum" at the Queen's order on 10th May 1394, but the bills do not specify exactly what he received this remuneration for. It may only be presumed that he was rewarded for the copying of some book. E. Potkowski supposes that Bernard was probably a teacher at the St. Mary's school in Cracow.⁴⁷ Thereafter, Bartholomew of Jasło and Bernard failed to reappear in the surviving royal bills dated up to 2nd January 1394, though the cathedralists received payments from the Treasury until 15th June 1394.⁴⁸ Śnieżyńska-Stolot's view that Bartholomew of Jasło translated "Septuaginta into Polish for Queen Hedwig"⁴⁹ should be regarded as a misunderstanding. No base of reference was provided for this assertion. Nor do we have any existing sources that would confirm master Bartholomew's knowledge of Greek. Likewise, any evidence of translation work done by this scholar from Latin to Polish is missing.

The biography of Bartholomew of Jasło presented by Śnieżyńska-Stolot has been greatly simplified. Firstly, there is no confirmation in the sources that Bartholomew was a student of John Štěkna or John Isner. The *Liber decanorum* of the Prague faculty of arts makes no mention

43 Ibidem, pp. 93-94 (references).

44 *Rachunki królewskie z lat 1393-1395 i 1412. Rachunki podrzectwa krakowskiego. Rachunki stacji nowosądeckiej* [Royal Bills of 1393-1395. Bills of the Cracow "Podrzectwo". Bills of the Nowy Sącz Station], ed. H. Wajs, Warszawa 1993, p. 44.

45 Ibidem, p. 78.

46 J. Fijałek, *Studia do dziejów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego i jego Wydziału Teologicznego w XV wieku* (Studies in History of the University of Cracow and its Theological Faculty in the 15th Century), Kraków 1898, p. 77; M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...* [Renewal of the University...], p. 24; Eadem, *Bartłomiej z Jasła* [Bartholomew of Jasło], "Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej" 5, 1965, p. 4.

47 E. Potkowski, *Książka i pismo...* [The Book and Writing...], p. 130.

48 *Rachunki królewskie...* [The Royal Bills...], p. 79, 81, 83; E. Potkowski, *Książka i pismo...* [The Book and Writing...], pp. 129-131.

49 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Nurt „devotio moderna” na dworze Jadwigi i Jagiełły* [The Current of "Devotio Moderna" at the Court of Hedwig and Jagiełło, [in:] *Nie w blasku kamieni, ale w pokorze i łagodności...*. *Wokół duchowości św. Jadwigi Królowej* [Not in the Glow of Gemstones, but in Humility and Gentleness...] Concerning the Spirituality of St. Hedwig the Queen], Ed. K. Panuś, Kraków 2007, p. 51

of a promoter in the entry on Bartholomew of Jasło's bachelor's exam, which he passed with a top grade just before Christmas 1382.⁵⁰ The same book – under the date of 3rd March 1384 – contains an entry on Bartholomew's bachelor of arts' exam, however, the name of his master is also not indicated. Meanwhile, the note pertaining to the so-called *inceptio* of Bartholomew of Jasło, i.e. his first lecture delivered during his master's promotion ceremony, definitely contains a chronological error, since the *Liber decanorum* gives the date of 31st May 1383 instead of 1384. On the basis of the neighbouring entries, it may be presumed that Bartholomew's promoter was master Albert Engelschalk.⁵¹ The next year Bartholomew of Jasło enrolled in the law faculty in Prague where he began canon law studies. However, he failed to obtain any degree in this field.⁵² At the same time he was a lecturer at the faculty of arts and taught a few students. Four speeches have been preserved that master Bartholomew delivered in Prague, connected with the promotion of Nicholas Kurowski, Matthias of Raciąż, Blizbor of Kwiatków and John.⁵³ The last trace of Bartholomew of Jasło's stay at the Prague university was the bachelor's promotion of Blizbor of Kwiatków that took place on 29th September 1389.⁵⁴ He appeared in Cracow some time before 4th December 1390, when he delivered the first speech, *Hic iubet ordo*, connected with efforts being made to renew the university.⁵⁵ The next five speeches, including the last one delivered during the installation of the bishop of Cracow, Peter Wysz, at the beginning of 1393, confirms the activity of Bartholomew at the faculty of arts of the re-established university.⁵⁶ The efforts made at the royal court of Ladislaus Jagiełło and Hedwig of Anjou to put into effect the above-mentioned provisions on the remuneration fund based on the salt-mines drafted by Casimir the Great (efforts that incidentally came to no avail) resulted undoubtedly in close contact with the royal couple. However, without remuneration it was not possible to maintain the university. Hence, Master Bartholomew left Cracow to become the rector of a collegiate school in Sandomierz, as shown by the royal bills from the end of January 1394. Nevertheless, he continued to maintain his contacts with the Wawel court. It is not known how long he was in charge of the Sandomierz school.⁵⁷ Śnieżyńska-Stolot states that he went to Prague only in 1399, which, however, finds no confirmation in the sources. The *Liber*

50 *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*, pars 1 (1367-1419), [in:] *Monumenta Historica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis*, vol. 1, p. 1, Prague 1830, p. 209.

51 *Liber decanorum...*, pp. 219, 239; J. Krzyżaniakowa, *Profesorowie krakowscy na uniwersytecie w Pradze – ich mistrzowie i koledzy* [Cracow Professors at the University in Prague – Their Masters and Colleagues], [in:] *Cracovia-Polonia-Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej* [Cracovia-Polonia-Europa. Studies in History of the Middle Ages Dedicated to Jerzy Wyrozumski to Mark the 65th Anniversary of His Birth and 40th Anniversary of His Scholarly Work], Ed. W. Bukowski et al., Kraków, p. 514; J. Tříška, *Repertorium biographicum Universitatis Pragensis praeussiticae 1348-1409*, Praha 1981, p. 16.

52 *Album seu matricula facultatis iuridicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1372 usque ad annum 1418*, [in:] *Monumenta Historica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis*, vol. 2, p. 1, Prague 1834, p. 97.

53 M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...* [Renewal of the University...], p. 24.

54 *Liber decanorum...*, p. 264; M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...* [Renewal of the University...], p. 24.

55 *Prima verba. Krakowskie mowy uniwersyteckie* [Prima verba. Cracow University Speeches], Ed. E. Jung-Palczewska, Łódź 2000, pp. 18-39; M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...* [Renewal of the University...], pp. 26-32.

56 M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...* [Renewal of the University...], pp. 26-42; W. Seńko, *Piotr Wysz z Radolina i jego dzieło <<Speculum aureum>>* [Peter Wysz of Radolin and His Work <<Speculum aureum>>], Warszawa 1996, pp. 258-272; K. Ożóg, *Spór o biskupstwo krakowskie w roku 1392 na tle stosunków Polski z papieżem w szychku XIV w.* [A Dispute over the Cracow Bishopric in 1392 against the Background of Poland's Relations with the Holy See Towards the End of the 14th Century], "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 104, 1997, 1, pp. 17,19; Idem, *Uczeni w monarchii...* [Scholars in the Monarchy...], p. 34.

57 M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...* [Renewal of the University...], pp. 24, 40-42.

decanorum of the Prague faculty of arts took note of the bachelor's promotion of Nicholas of Lelów by Bartholomew of Jasło on the Ember-Days after the Pentecost of 1399 which fell from the 21st to the 24th of May.⁵⁸ This means that the said Nicholas had studied in Prague under master Bartholomew's tutelage for about at least a dozen months, because under the bylaws of that university's faculty of arts and the ensuing regular syllabus, two years of studies were necessary to get the bachelor of arts degree.⁵⁹ The longer stay of Bartholomew of Jasło in Prague at that time may be deduced also from other existing sources. In 1400 when he returned to Cracow and co-organized the university together with Stanislaus of Skarbimierz, John Štěkna, Nicholas Gorzkowski, John Isner, and Nicholas of Pyzdry, he had already held a *sacrae paginae* bachelor's degree. He is explicitly listed under 1400/1401 among the editors of the first bylaws of the University of Cracow as a holder of this degree,⁶⁰ which provides irrefutable proof that he went to Prague to start theological studies culminating in the *sacrae paginae* bachelor's degree.⁶¹ In order to receive this first degree within the theological studies syllabus it was necessary, under the bylaws, to listen to a two-year cycle of lectures with commentaries to the individual books of the Bible and to take part in the disputes.⁶² While studying theology, Bartholomew of Jasło was also a lecturer at the faculty of arts, which was then a common practice at European universities. Hence, an analysis of the sources indicate that master Bartholomew left for Prague in 1397, or at the beginning of 1398 at the latest and returned to Cracow only in spring of 1400.⁶³ This therefore undermines the theory that in the final days of Hedwig's life he sojourned at the Wawel court and was busy with the creation of the Florian Psalter.

Two manuscripts have been preserved at the Jagiellonian Library (2192, 2215) with the autographs of Bartholomew of Jasło that were identified by M. Kowalczyk. They contain numerous works of Bartholomew of Jasło written in his own hand. Moreover, in about a dozen other manuscripts held in the Jagiellonian Library, M. Kowalczyk identified various marginalia, glosses, and excerpts in the hand of master Bartholomew. The paleographical analysis of his handwriting, and the Prague leaf and the hand of scriptor A in the Florian Psalter shows fundamental differences which prove that neither manuscript was written in the hand of Bartholomew of Jasło.⁶⁴ The two manuscripts with autographs scarcely reveal any of master Bartholomew's artistic skills. For instance, they contain neither marginal drawings nor slightly more decorative initials. Likewise, other codexes from his library, dotted with his marginalia, show no traces of any such activity.⁶⁵

58 *Liber decanorum...*, p. 342.

59 F. Šmahel, *Fakulta svobodných umění*, [in:] *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy 1347/48-1622*, Ed. M. Svatoš, Praha 1995, pp. 114-119.

60 Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Odnowienie jagiellońskie...*[The Jagiellonian Renewal...], pp. 56-60.

61 *Ibidem*, pp. 56-57 footnote 71; M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...*[Renewal of the University...], pp. 24-25.

62 M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...*[Renewal of the University...], p. 25; J. Kadlec, *Teologiczna fakulta*, [in:] *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, pp. 138-142; M. Rechowicz, *Po założeniu Wydziału Teologicznego w Krakowie (wiek XV)* [After the Foundation of the Theological Faculty in Cracow (15th Century)], [in:] *Dzieje teologii w Polsce [History of Theology in Poland]*, Ed. Idem, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze* [The Middle Ages], Lublin 1974, pp. 99-106.

63 See M. Kowalczyk, *Odnowienie Uniwersytetu...*[Renewal of the University...], p. 25, who made a similar, though very brief statement: "Since 1400 [Bartłomiej z Jasła - K. O.] appears in the sources with the *baccalarius sacre pagine* title. Hence before this year, at least two years earlier he must have started theological studies, of course in Prague".

64 Cf. A. Birkenmajer, *Psalterz floriański jako zabytek kaligrafii. Paleograficzny rozbiór rękopisu* [The Florian Psalter as a Calligraphic Heritage Item. A Paleographical Analysis of the Manuscript [in:] *Psalterz floriański...*[The Florian Psalter...], pp. 21-31; M. Kowalczyk, *Bartłomiej z Jasła* [Bartholomew of Jasło], pp. 14-19.

65 Cf. *Ibidem*, loc. cit.

With reference to another view expressed by E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, that the sermon of Bartholomew of Jasło on St. Stanislaus, *verba thematis: Iustus sicut leo*, reflected his use of the “Christian interpretation of the Zodiac,” since it “compares the virtues of this saint to the Lion-Christ,” and “the just, Zodiacal Lion is St. Stanislaus.”⁶⁶ A careful reading of the whole sermon contradicts this view, since according to the principles of the art of preaching (*ars praedicandi*), Bartholomew of Jasło took the theme from the *Book of Proverbs*: “Hiis stantibus veniendo ad propositum meum pro induccione eius recipio hec verba: Iustus sicut leo, scribitur Proverbiorum XXVIII.”⁶⁷ In his sermon the scholar dwelt on the topic of the virtues of the perfect bishop that St. Stanislaus was, by revealing his justice, humbleness, wisdom and care for the salvation of the faithful. In opposition to this, as it were, he presents a negative image of a bishop who cares only about his wealth, is haughty and betrays his status and office as a bishop.⁶⁸ Bartholomew quoted the Bible, the authorities of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church and medieval canonists, using their writings on the office of a bishop. The description of the traits and behaviour of a lion was taken from the works *Physiologus* and *De proprietatibus animalium*, in which are concealed *De bestiis et aliis rebus* by Hugo of St. Victor and *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomew the Englishman.⁶⁹ As the title of the sermon suggests, he dwells on the virtues of St. Stanislaus by referring to the traits and behaviour of a lion. He refers to the traditional view that a lion is a symbol of royalty. It is worth quoting a fragment of the sermon which aptly conveys Bartholomew’s thought:

non inmerito iusticia informatus leoni similis assimilatur. Qui quidem leo ultra ceteras feras sibi dignitatem quasi usurpans secundum assercionem poeticam, nomine regio vocari consuevit. Igitur cum prefatus presul sanctissimus iustus fuisse non ambigitur, similitudinem leonis dicitur gessisse congruenter et verba sic preasumpta referri potuerint ad eum dicendo de ipso: iustus sicut leo. In quibusdam verbis duo innuntur, primum est virtutum multiplicitas, quibus in vita sua fuit excellentissime prefulgidus, secundum est dignitas eminencia, qua claruit cum quibusdam officiis ipsam concernentibus, que fideliter adimplevit.⁷⁰

The sermon focuses on the bishop, on his office and service, while it contains no traces of zodiacology whatsoever.

From the illuminations of the Florian Psalter, Śnieżyńska-Stolot speculates that Hedwig’s spirituality was borne out of astrological “sources.” The basis for the researcher’s claims about the key importance of astrology in Hedwig’s life is the adopted *a priori* interpretation that the letters “mm” placed in the Florian Psalter, on the Dresden chalice (*roztruchan*) and in the Wawel chamber represent Pisces, the sign of the Zodiac under which she was born and which determines her entire spiritual life through the quotations

66 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Tajemnice...[Mysteries...]*, p.89; Eadem, *Nurt “devotio moderna”... [The Current of “Devotio Moderna”...]*, p. 47.

67 J. Kuś, *Iustus sicut leo. Studium ikonografii św. Stanisława [Justus sicut leo. A Study in the Iconography of St. Stanislaus]*, “Rocznik Krakowski” 51, 1987, p. 11.

68 *Ibidem*, pp. 9-22.

69 *Ibidem*, p. 13; Hugo de Sancto Victore, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, PL 177, col. 56-57 (*De leone*); Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, Strassburg 1485 (BJ Inc. 2453), liber XVIII: *De animalibus. Leo; Fizjolog*, przekł. K. Jażdżewska, Warszawa 2003, pp. 23-24.

70 J. Kuś, *Iustus sicut leo...*, p. 12.

from the Bible encoded thereunder.⁷¹ It should be noted, however, that the exact date of Hedwig's birth remains unknown. It is only known that she came into the world after 3rd October 1373 and before 18th February 1374.⁷² When she was entering into marriage with Ladislaus Jagiełło in the Cracow Cathedral on 18th February 1386 she must have been already 12 years old because that was the requirement under the canon law.⁷³ Prior to the wedding ceremony, on the same day and in the presence of the gathered assembly, she cancelled the marriage contract with William Habsburg concluded by her father, Louis of Anjou. This legal procedure was also connected with a woman reaching the so-called marriageable age, i.e. 12 years, which is unequivocally specified in the note in the Cracow Calendar: "tunc existens in annis maturitatis publice in ecclesia predicta ipsa sponsalia, si qua fuerunt, irritavit et revocavit."⁷⁴ The expression used by an anonymous clergyman from the circles of the Cracow cathedral, the eye-witness to the events, that Hedwig was "in annis maturitatis" meant that she was 12 years old.⁷⁵ Hence, it can be justifiably assumed that Hedwig was born towards the end of 1373 or at the beginning of 1374.⁷⁶

The author's assumption that the "mm" monogram symbolizes Pisces, the sign of the Zodiac under which Hedwig was supposed to have been born, led to the association of the letter "i" – which appears in the Florian Psalter in conjunction with the letter "m" ("mi") – with the sign of Sagittarius under which the baby of the royal couple was conceived, around mid-September 1398.⁷⁷ However, fol. 42v, where "mi" appears only once, is not decorated by any sign of the Zodiac. Likewise, on fols 3r, 53v, 56 r., 57 r., 59 r., where the "mm" monogram is placed, the sign of Pisces is not present. On the basis of the two mentioned a priori assumptions and without any justification based on sources, Śnieżyńska-Stolot has dated the creation of the first part of the Florian Psalter to the period from ca. 16th September 1398 (the date of conception according to the royal child's horoscope) to the Queen's death.⁷⁸

The Psalter belonged to the core of pious reading matter among medieval monarchs, as was justly pointed out by Anna Adamska.⁷⁹ The book was used in a variety of ways at

71 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Tajemnice...*[Mysteries...], pp. 74-75. Reference is made to the following quotations encoded under Pisces: 2Tym 2:163,12;J 15,20; Flp 3, 20.

72 S. A. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich* [Genealogy of the Hungarian Anjou Dynasty], Kraków 1999, pp. 54-56.

73 Cf. *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Ae. Friedberg, p. 2, Leipzig 1879, col. 672-679; *Decretales Gregorii IX*, lb. IV, tit. II: De dispensatione impuberum, c. I-XIV; *Najstarsze statuty synodalne krakowskie biskupa Nankera z 2 października 1320 r.* [The Oldest Cracow Synodal Statutes of Bishop Nanker of 2nd October 1320], Ed. J. Fijałek, Kraków 1915., p. 15; J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia Giedyminowiczów* [The First Generations of the Giedyminowicz Dynasty], Poznań - Wrocław 1999, p. 127.

74 *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz...*[The Oldest Cracow Yearbooks and the Calendar...], Ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Monumenta Poloniae Historica series nova, vol. 5, Warszawa 1978, pp. 125-126.

75 *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz...*[The Oldest Cracow Yearbooks and the Calendar...], p. 126; J. Wyrozumski, *Królowa Jadwiga między epoką piastowską a jagiellońską* [Queen Hedwig Between the Piast and the Jagiellon Epoch], Kraków 1997, p. 67, 91.

76 S. A. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich* [Genealogy of the Hungarian Anjou Dynasty], Kraków 1999, pp. 54-56.

77 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Tajemnice...*[Mysteries...], pp. 74-75, 83-89.

78 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Tajemnice...*[Mysteries...], pp. 85-86, 89.

79 See A. Adamska, *Królewska lektura. Uwagi o sposobach obcowania z Psalterzem w średniowiecznej Europie* [Royal Reading. Remarks on the Uses of the Psalter in Medieval Europe]. I wish to thank the author for sharing the final version of this article.

courts, not only by literati, but also by those who did not possess the skill of reading.⁸⁰ Hedwig was brought up in a traditional monarchical model of devotion that had evolved in the 13th century under the impact of the piety of Louis IX, the king of France. The model was characterized by *caritas*, *compassio* and *humilitas*. The faith and pious practices of Queen Hedwig bear visible traces of this model.⁸¹ J. Długosz passed along information on the Queen's favourite reading material:

Through pushing aside and disposing of pride and worldly base behaviour, she occupied her mind and heart solely with prayer and the reading of holy books, namely the Old and New Testament, the Homilies of the Four Doctors, lives of the Fathers, sermons and descriptions of the torments of Saints, meditations and sermons of St. Bernard and St. Ambrosius, the Revelations of St. Bridget and many others translated from Latin into Polish.⁸²

The list of works read by Hedwig overlaps, with some exceptions, that of Louis IX, as it was extensively described by the authors of Saint Louis' life, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus and Geoffroy de Beaulieu. The first wrote:

The Saint King Louis, mindful that no time should be wasted on useless matters or curiosities of this world, and that it should be spent on more important and better matters, toiled in reading the Holy Scripture, since he had the Bible with glosses and original writings of Augustine and other saints, and other copies of the Holy Scripture that he would read or would have read often between dinner and bedtime [...]. On the days when he rested, between the time of rest and the vespers, if he had no important matters to attend to, he had clergymen and other noble persons summoned to whom he would talk about God, about saints and their deeds, and he would tell stories from the Holy Scripture and the lives of Fathers of the Church. After the completorium said by the chaplains in his chapel, he would go to his bedchamber, have a candle more or less three feet tall lit and as long as it burnt he would read something from the Bible or another holy book.⁸³

Geoffroy de Beaulieu wrote that during his first crusade, Louis came to think about creating a library at the Paris court at his own expense where "he himself and learned people, as well as his befriended monks, would study for their own benefit and the benefit of their brothers." Hence, at the King's order scribes rewrote the Bible and other useful books he had gathered in the Sainte-Chapelle vault:

It was a chamber of the Sainte-Chapelle vault where he gathered most of the original works of Augustine, Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Gregory and the books of other Doctors of the Church. In his spare time, he liked studying there and readily let others study there too. [...] He rather preferred to make new copies of these books than buy old ones, because in this manner the number and use of these holy books grew.⁸⁴

80 See A. Adamska, *Królewska lektura...*; Eadem, "Audire, intelligere, memorie commendare": Attitudes of the Rulers of Medieval Central Europe towards Written Texts, [in:] *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*, ed. by S. Ranković et al., Turnhout 2010, pp. 337-357.

81 See J. Le Goff, *Święty Ludwik* [Saint Louis], przekł. K. Marczevska et al, Warszawa 2001, pp. 603-630; A. Adamska, *Reading and Meditation...*, pp. 2-7.

82 J. Długosz, *Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego* [Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland], translated by J. Mrukówna, book 10, Warszawa 1985, pp. 302-303.

83 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis (conservée dans sa version française)*, éd. H.-F. Delaborde, Paris 1889, pp. 52-53. Translation of the quotation taken from J. Le Goff, *Święty Ludwik...* [Saint Louis...] p. 610.

84 Geoffroy de Beaulieu, *Vita et sancta conversatio piaae memoriae Ludovici quondam regis Francorum*, [in:] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 20, éd. P. Daunou, J. Naudet, Paris 1840, pp. 14-15. Translation of the quotation after: J. Le Goff, *Święty Ludwik...* [Saint Louis...], p. 611; A. Adamska, *Reading and Meditation...*, pp. 3-6.

These two testimonies are extremely important for the right interpretation of the excerpt from J. Długosz. They indicate that Hedwig, while at the Cracow court, followed the patterns set by Louis IX in his spiritual and intellectual pursuits. She was surrounded by the same books, adding only the St. Bridget's Revelations, which had gained tremendous popularity towards the end of the 14th century.⁸⁵ Yet there was no room in Louis' and Hedwig's book collections for astrological treatises.

Hedwig of Anjou's spiritual life was rooted in the Bible and the tradition of the Church – daily prayer practices, pious reading, contemplation, the sacraments – and this had an impact on the performance of her duties as a monarch. With the assistance and advice of her spiritual leaders, Peter Wysz, John Śtęka, Stanislaus of Skarbimierz and others, Hedwig combined these duties with the desire for a profound spiritual life and maintained a balance between *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. She cherished the Evangelical Mary who contemplated the words of her Master Jesus while sitting at his feet, as well as Martha who toiled to prepare Him a meal.⁸⁶ This is evidenced by documents and letters produced by the royal chancery, as well as by historiographical sources and books of homilies (*Soliloquium de transitu Hedvigis reginae Poloniae, Sermo ad regem et poceres eius de obitu Hedvigis reginae et vita eius* by Stanislaus Skarbimierz, and Henry Bitterfeld's *De vita contemplativa et activa*).⁸⁷

In speeches and narrations of documents and letters, the Queen often referred to images and quotations from the Bible, and even where not literally so, the Biblical climate is present all the same.⁸⁸ They express concern for the salvation of her subjects and for her own salvation, for the dissemination of the Christian faith, multiplication of the cult and the glory of God. In their public statements on Hedwig of Anjou, the clergymen who were close to the Queen and knew her spiritual nature reflected upon the evangelical richness of her inner life, filled with love of Jesus Christ, that showed on a daily basis in her active care for her neighbours, the Church and the monarchy.⁸⁹ The Passion is a recurring theme in Hedwig's piety. John Śtęka wrote the beautiful meditation *Liber de passione* (incipit: "Extendit manum suam"). Grzegorz Ryś noted that Śtęka wrote this piece most probably in Cracow

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- 85 M. Nuding, *Matthäus von Krakau, Theologe, Politiker, Kirchenreformer in Krakau, Prag und Heidelberg zur Zeit des Grossen Abendländischen Schismas*, Tübingen 2007, pp. 75-90; A. Waśko, *Arystokraci ducha. Obraz społeczeństwa średniowiecznego w Revelations św. Brygidy Szwedzkiej [Aristocrats of the Soul. The Picture of Medieval Society in the Revelations of St. Bridget]*, Kraków 2009, pp. 17-36; P. Rychterová, *Die Offenbarungen der heiligen Birgitta von Schweden. Eine Untersuchung zur alttschechischen Übersetzungen des Thomas von štítné (um 1330 - um 1409)*, Köln 2004, pp. 85-95.
- 86 M. Gębarowicz, *Psalterz floriański i jego geneza [The Florian Psalter and Its Genesis]*, Wrocław 1965, passim; G. Ryś, *W stronę duchowości królowej Jadwigi. Liber de passione Jana Szczekny [Towards the Spirituality of Queen Hedwig. Liber de passion of Jan Szczekna]*, [in:] *Nie w blasku kamieni... [Not in the Glow of Gemstones...]*, pp. 55-57; A. Adamśka, *Reading and Meditation...*, pp. 4-5.
- 87 *Dzielo Jadwigi i Jagiello. W sześćsetlecie chrztu Litwy i jej związków z Polską [The Work of Hedwig and Jagiello. A Commemorative Book to Mark the 600th Anniversary of the Baptism of Lithuania and Its Relations with Poland]*, ed. W. Biliński, Warsaw 1989, pp. 243-252, 261-265, 268-298; Henricus Bitterfeld de Brega OP, *Tractatus de vita contemplativa et activa*, ed. B. Mazur, L. Seńko, R. Tatarzyński, praef. C. Marciniak, Varsaviae 2003.
- 88 I. Sułkowska-Kurasiova, *Dokumenty królewskie i ich funkcja w państwie polskim za Andegawenów i pierwszych Jagiellonów 1370-1444 [Royal Documents and Their Function in the Polish State Under the Rule of the Anjou Dynasty and the First Jagiellons 1370-1444]*, Warszawa 1977, pp. 178-180.
- 89 J. Wolny, *Zagadnienie formacji duchowej królowej Jadwigi [The Spiritual Formation of Queen Hedwig]*, [in:] *Dzielo Jadwigi i Jagiello [The Work of Hedwig and Jagiello]*, pp. 115-119; R. Zawadzki, *Wartość i kształt. U źródeł przemian i wzrostu świętości królowej Jadwigi [Value and Form. The Origins of Change and Growth in the Holiness of Queen Hedwig]*, "Analecta Cracoviensia" 19, 1987, pp. 117-136; J. Wolny, R. M. Zawadzki, *Królowa Jadwiga w tradycji kaznodziejskiej XV wieku [Queen Hedwig in the Preaching Tradition of the 15th Century]*, "Analecta Cracoviensia" 7, 1975, pp. 15-90.

especially for Queen Hedwig of Anjou, because it has been preserved in two manuscripts belonging to the Library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter (MSS: KP 124, fols 46r-73v; KP 150, fols 102v-119v) and one held at the Kórnik Library (MS: 53, fols 133r-153v).⁹⁰ *Liber de passione* is a piece of an ascetic nature and it contains deliberations on Jesus Christ's final days on earth from Saturday before Palm Sunday until His death on Good Friday. The piece is set in Bethany in the house of Lazarus, Mary and Martha, which becomes the place where Mary, the Mother of Jesus is staying during the Passion Week and waiting for the return of Her Son from Jerusalem. The Mother talks with Her Son about His Passion, asking him questions about Its meaning.⁹¹ The meditation is Christ-centered and directs attention to Christ, Man of Pain and His Suffering Mother. It inspires love and feelings leading to cognition of God and unification with God. *Liber de Passione* undoubtedly served towards a fuller comprehension of the work of salvation.⁹² The piece contains no traces of zodiacology.

The interpretation provided by Mieczysław Gębarowicz, that the two intertwined majuscule "mm" letters in the Sankt Florian Psalter and on other heritage items related to Hedwig symbolize the active Martha and the contemplative Mary, conforms with the picture of the Queen's spirituality emerging from the existing sources.⁹³ This sign referred to the ideal - then already well-rooted in Europe - of a Christian monarch who harmoniously combined prayer and activity. Urban VI, in his Bull of 18th April 1388 addressed to Ladislaus Jagiello, directly referred to this ideal. Having expressed his joy about the ruler's adoption of Christianity and his dissemination of the Christian faith, the Pope wrote as follows:

Eapropter, fili carissime, premissa cum incrementis virtutum continua, id quod accepisti a Domino in fidei firmitate conservans ac ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas, ut cepisti, semper habeas in honore; fratres ad fidem revoca et in tue operationis ministerio Marthe sollicitudinem assumes et in altitudinem Marie contemplacionis consurgas, ita ut thezauros perhennis vite thesaurizes in superis, et post huius cursum vite labilis optimam partem eligisse leteris et cum electis Dei quietis beatitudinem merearis.⁹⁴

This is the model that Hedwig of Anjou pursued in her short life.

Separate attention is due to E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot's views on John Štěkna, whom she credits as author of horoscopes of the royal couple's child and the main propagator of zodiacology in Hedwig's environment, the core proof of this being his sermons from the *Carcer animae* collection.⁹⁵ Firstly, it should be noted that the sermons included in this collection were delivered while John Štěkna was probably still in Prague at Vyšehrad and in the Bethlehem Chapel, prior to his arrival to Poland. Therefore, there is no certainty that he delivered them again in Cracow, especially as his work includes also the collection of sermons *de sanctis* and many others.⁹⁶

90 G. Ryś, *W stronę duchowości królowej...*[Towards the Spirituality of Queen...], pp. 54-55.

91 Ibidem, pp. 58-59.

92 Ibidem, p. 59.

93 M. Gębarowicz, *Psalterz floriański...*[The Florian Psalter...], p. 15 ff.

94 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej* [Diplomatic Codex of the Vilnius Cathedral and Diocese], Ed. J. Fijałek, W. Semkowicz, Kraków 1932-1948, No. 12; G. Ryś, *W stronę duchowości królowej...*[Towards the Spirituality of Queen...], pp. 55-58.

95 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Tajemnice...*[Mysteries...], pp. 88-89; Eadem, *Nurt "devotio moderna"...*[The Current of "Devotio Moderna"...], pp. 39-50; Eadem, *Osobowość królowej Jadwigi w świetle nowych źródeł* [Personality of Queen Hedwig in the Light of New Sources], "Sprawozdania nr 106 za 1988 r. Wydział Nauk o Sztuce Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk", Poznań 1989, pp. 32-42; Eadem, *Horoskopy dziecka królowej Jadwigi* [Horoscopes of the Child of Queen Hedwig], "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" 43, 2003, pp. 23-27.

96 Z. Siemiątkowska, *Jan Szekna*, "Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej" 5, 1965,

The characteristic feature of the sermons in the *Carcer animae* are prologues referring to the topic of the main sermon, taking the form of quotations related to the world of nature drawn from popular works by ancient and medieval authors named in the sermon, e.g. Plinius the Elder, Solinus, Isidore of Seville, Rabanus Maurus.⁹⁷ Štěkna also invokes sources he refers to, using an expression that opens the *prothema*: “Legitur in naturalibus rerum,” or “Legitur in proprietatibus rerum,”⁹⁸ meaning a reference to a work on nature or the properties of things, plants, or animals. Mostly, these are references to the following: *Liber de natura rerum* by Thomas of Cantimpre OP, *De bestiis* by Hugo of St. Victor, or *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomew the Englishman, as shown by M. Kowalczyk and K. Bracha.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, Śnieżyńska-Stolot, while misspelling the above named typical expressions, makes the following assertion: “In his sermons, Štěkna invokes Plinius, Solinus, Isidore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus, but most often begins his deliberations with the expressions: *Ligetur* [sic] in naturalibus rerum or *proprietatibus rerum*, which refers to the medieval model of the *universum*, widespread in medieval society;”¹⁰⁰ and in another place: “Along the same lines, in his sermons John Štěkna invoked the laws that rule the Universe, beginning his discourse with the words *Ligetur* [sic] in naturalibus rerum... or *Proprietatibus rerum*.”¹⁰¹

Śnieżyńska-Stolot built the whole concept concerning John Štěkna’s naturalistic views and his reference to the laws that rule the Universe on an erroneous reading of the word “legitur” which she misspells as “ligetur” and on her misunderstanding of the sermons of this Bohemian scholar and the late medieval art of preaching in general. Štěkna was not a naturalist, but a moralist, and the quotations taken from the above-mentioned authors, *exempla* from the world of nature, served to build pictures, comparisons, and allegories in a sermon, its main objective being moral instruction as well as criticism of society in the reforming sense.¹⁰² In his sermons he neither mentions the signs of the Zodiac nor delivers a lecture on astrology and zodiology.¹⁰³ His conflict with Polish masters did not stem from the fact that, as Śnieżyńska-Stolot insists, “his sermons titled *Carcer animae* [...] were incomprehensible to all, save for the queen and her closest circle,” but because in his otherwise largely

pp. 34-75; M. Kowalczyk, *Postylla de tempore w rękopisie B13 Biblioteki oo. Paulinów w Krakowie na Skalce* [Postylla de tempore in the Manuscript B13 of the Paulines' Library in Cracow at Skalka], “Studia Claromontana” 7, 1987, pp. 7-34; K. Bracha, “*Semen est verbum Dei*”, *Postylla Carcer animae przypisywana Janowi Szczeknie* [“Semen est verbum Dei”, Postylla Carcer animae Attributed to Jan Szczekna], [in:] *Amoenitates vel lepores philologiae*, ed. R. Laskowski, R. Mazurkiewicz, Kraków 2007, pp. 61-71; K. Ożóg, *Szczekna Jan*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], vol. 47, Warszawa-Kraków 2007, pp. 231-235.

97 M. Kowalczyk, *Postylla de tempore...*, pp. 9-13; K. Bracha, “*Semen est verbum Dei*”..., pp. 64-71.

98 M. Kowalczyk, *Postylla de tempore...*, pp. 9, 35-38.

99 Ibidem, pp. 9 ff; K. Bracha, “*Semen est verbum Dei*”..., pp. 64 ff.

100 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Osobowość królowej Jadwigi...* [Personality of Queen Hedwig...], p. 34.

101 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Nurt “devotio moderna”...* [The Current of “devotio moderna”...], p. 46. Cf. Eadem, *Psalterz floriański – zwierciadło duchowej formacji królowej Jadwigi* [The Florian Psalter – The Mirror of the Spiritual Formation of Queen Hedwig], [in:] *Jubileusz sześćsetcia Wydziału Teologicznego w Krakowie, 20 X 1996 – 20 X 1997* [The 600th Anniversary of the Theological Faculty in Cracow, 20th October 1996 – 20th October 1997], ed. A. Kubiś, Cracow 1997, pp. 332-333: “Szczekna is a Christian naturalist, he refers in his sermons to Isidore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus. He refers also directly to the laws that rule the Universe, beginning his deliberations with the words: *Ligetur* () in naturalibus rerum...”.

102 M. Kowalczyk, *Postylla de tempore...*, pp. 10-34; K. Bracha, “*Semen est verbum Dei*”..., pp. 64-71. It was typical for the preaching art of the time, cf. *The Sermon*, ed. by B. M. Kienzle, Turnhout 2000; K. Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza* [The Art of Preaching in Poland in the Late Middle Ages], Kielce 2007.

103 M. Kowalczyk, *Postylla de tempore...*, pp. 10-34; K. Bracha, “*Semen est verbum Dei*”..., pp. 64-71.

unknown sermon he raised difficult issues connected with the sixth commandment. In it, Štěkna stated that “*mulier adulterii commisso crimine ipsa minus peccaret, quam vir similiter delinquens et per consequens minoribus digna supplicii censeretur*”.¹⁰⁴ The masters considered these words to be scandalous, untrue and hardly leading to salvation. If the preacher had not retracted the above words, he would have been forced to leave the Polish Kingdom. The Bohemian theologian must have fulfilled the masters’ demand, because he remained at the Queen’s court.¹⁰⁵

In the Jagiellonian Library, the manuscript No. 805 fols 414v-415r contains two horoscopes for the child of the royal couple. The paleographical analysis made by M. Kowalczyk unequivocally indicates that they were added to this codex by John de Saccis of Pavia, who in the successive years lectured on medicine at the University of Cracow and was its rector during the outbreak of the plague in Cracow in 1425.¹⁰⁶

Passing in silence over this weighty fact, Śnieżyńska-Stolot groundlessly attributes these horoscopes to John Štěkna.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, there is no testimony available that this Bohemian scholar ever owned the said manuscript.

The illumination of the Florian Psalter contains initials (including figural initials), floriture in the margins of leaves featuring motifs of people, angels, animals and fantastic creatures, including zodiacal motifs. Śnieżyńska-Stolot recognized the entire decoration as an expression of an astrological universe. However – as was rightly pointed out by Andrzej

104 *Formularz Jerzego* [Liber formularum Georgii], Ed. K. Górski, Toruń 1950, No. 4, p. 5.

105 K. Ożóg, *Uczeni w monarchii...* [Scholars in the Monarchy...], p. 311.

106 *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediæ aevi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica asservantur*, vol. 6, Comp. M. Kowalczyk et alii, Cracoviae 1996, pp. 185, 187, 363-364; M. Kowalczyk, *Przywilej nobilitacji dla doktora medycyny Hermana z Przeworska* [The Privilege of Nobilitation for the Doctor of Medicine, Herman of Przeworsk], “*Studia Mediewistyczne*” 29, 1992, p. 157; A. Birkenmajer, *Jan de Saccis*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], vol. 10, Wrocław 1962-1964, pp. 473-475.

107 E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Horoskopy dziecka...* [Horoscopes of the Child...], pp. 23-27. On the basis of corrections in a marginal note to the birthday horoscope of the daughter of Hedwig and Ladislaus Jagiello, the author made corrections to the dates of death of Elizabeth Bonifacia on 12th July 1399 and Queen Hedwig on 16th July of that year. It is hard to accept these corrections with regard to the other sources. First, it needs to be emphasized that in the original marginal note to the above-mentioned horoscope, dates were given in accordance with the reliable notes in the Calendar of the Cracow cathedral, and thus: “*ipso die sancte Margarethe virginis*” for Elizabeth Bonifacia, i. e. 13th July, and “*ipso die sancti Alexii, que fuit 17 Iulii*”. The note in the Calendar of the cathedral, under the day of St. Alexis (17th July) reads as follows: “*Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIX nono serenissima princeps domina Hedwigs regina Poloniae et heres Vngarie etc. procreata filia primogenita Elizabeth Bonifacia die solis XXII Junii et ea ipso die sancte Margarethe tunc sequenti defuncta, ex post ipsamet, que fuit auatrix indefessa cultum divinorum, protectrix ecclesie, ministra iusticie, omnium virtutum pedisequa, humilis et benigna mater orphanorum et cui tunc similis in orbe terrarum secundum propaginem homo de stripe regia non est visus die presenti hora meridie expiravit*” [*Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie* [The Oldest Cracow Yearbooks], p. 157]. Exactly the same date of death, including the hour, was handed down in the Epitaph for Hedwig, the content whereof was quoted by J. Długosz: “*Mille trecenteno anno nonagesimo nono [...] Hora tredena Iulii die septima dena*” (*I. Długossii Annales seu Cronice incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. D. Turkowska, M. Kowalczyk, S. Perzanowski, liber X, Varsaviae 1985, p. 235). The death of Hedwig on the day of St. Alexis is also referred to in *Rocznik Świętokrzyski nowy* (*Rocznik świętokrzyski*, ed. A. Rutkowska-Plachcińska, Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova series, vol. 12, Cracow 1996, pp. 73, 116), *Rocznik miechowski* (*Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Rocznik miechowski*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 5, 1960, p. 129 and *Nekrolog lubiński (Księga bracka i nekrolog Opactwa Panny Maryi w Lubiniu*, ed. Z. Perzanowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series nova, vol. 9/2, Warsaw 1976, p. 84) and the *Annalista toruński* (*Annalista Thorunensis*, hg. E. Strehlke, *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1866, p. 228). The University of Cracow prayed for the deceased Hedwig every year on the day of St. Alexis (*Notae de Universitate Studii Cracoviensis*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, vol. 5, Lvov 1888, p. 907). There is no doubt that the death of Elizabeth Bonifacia came on St. Margaret’s day, i. e. 13th July, and the death of Queen Hedwig on St. Alexis’ day, i. e. 17th July 1399. See G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium królowej Jadwigi 1384 - 1399* [Itinerarium of Queen Jadwiga 1384-1399] [in:] *Dzieło Jadwigi i Jagiełły* [The Work of Hedwig and Jagiello], p. 219; J. Tęgowski, *Rodowód pierwszych Giedyminowiczów* [*Genealogy of the First Members of the Giedyminowicz Family*], Poznań-Wrocław 1999, p. 127, 131-132.

Dróżdż – save for the pictorial representations of some elements of the Zodiac, any other references of an astrological nature are missing. Moreover, Dróżdż states that the researcher failed to explain the relation between individual psalms and the corresponding decorations, including the zodiacal depictions.¹⁰⁸ In these circumstances, Dróżdż suggests a mnemonic explanation to clarify the meaning of the Florian Psalter's decorations, where “the symbols of the Zodiac included in the codex [...] assumed a secondary function - a decorative-mnemonic function in this case.”¹⁰⁹ The illuminations were to facilitate the use of the Book of Psalms and their memorisation. This research proposal requires broader comparative studies on iconographic content of the manuscript psalters in medieval Europe.

The reservations made above fully permit us to challenge E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot's concept that Bartholomew of Jasło was the creator of the first part of the Florian Psalter. This also applies to her views on the astrological background of Hedwig of Anjou's spirituality.

108 A. Dróżdż, *Propozycja badawcza dekoracji Psalterza floriańskiego* [The Research Proposal with Regard to the Decorations in the Florian Psalter], “Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej” 35, 2003, pp. 201-202, 206-210. Cf. J. Ziętkiewicz-Kotz, *Cykl Dawida we wczesnogotyckich modlitewnikach franko-flamandzkich* [The Cycle of David in the Early Gothic Franco-Flemish Prayer Books] (1240-1320), “Folia Historiae Artium”, Seria Nowa 10, 2005, pp. 35-57. The author made an analysis of the psalms of the cycle of David in over 70 illuminated psalters and analysed their illumination as against the text of individual psalms and their exegesis of the time. This integral and methodologically sound research approach to psalm analysis received unjustified criticism by E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot for whom – like in the case of the Florian Psalter – only the astrological iconography counts, cf. Eadem, *Metody badania dekoracji średniowiecznych Psalterzy. Na marginesie artykułu Joanny Ziętkiewicz-Kotz, Cykl Dawida we wczesnogotyckich modlitewnikach franko-flamandzkich* [Methods in Studies of Decorations in Medieval Psalters. Concerning the Article by Joanna Ziętkiewicz-Kotz. The Cycle of David in Early Gothic Franco-Flemish Prayer Books] (1240-1320), “Folia Historiae Artium”, Seria Nowa 11, 2007, pp. 95-101 and J. Ziętkiewicz-Kotz's response, “*Jak przekonać astrologów...?*” *W odpowiedzi Ewie Śnieżyńskiej-Stolot* [“How to Convince Astrologists...?” In Response to Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot's Article], *Ibidem*, pp. 103-108.

109 A. Dróżdż, *Propozycja badawcza dekoracji...* [The Research Proposal with Regard to the Decorations...], pp. 201-201 (quotation from p. 207).