

PATRYK SAPAŁA  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1167-8947>

# THE GÓRSKI ARCHIVE (*TEKI GÓRSKIEGO*) AT THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF POLAND: A COLLECTION OF LETTERS AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE REIGN OF KING SIGISMUND I JAGIELLON

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This article was written as part of the work on a detailed catalogue of the archive of Canon Stanisław Górski, traditionally referred to in Polish academic discourse as *Teki Górskiego* (hereafter TG) - literally, "Górski's files" or "Górski's folders". The term *teki* (plural of *teka*) in Polish almost exclusively refers to working materials, selected and structured by an individual for a specific reason and associated with a clearly defined purpose. Most often it is applied to a collection of primary source documentation relating to problems of particular interest to the collector, put together for the purpose of research or publication. The manuscripts presented in this article match this definition precisely, as will be seen from the following discussion.

The TG form part of the manuscript collection of the National Library of Poland, but in fact they constitute a separate archive, with its own rationale and complex structure, which merit detailed research. They are assigned the call number BOZ 2053/I-XXIX, meaning that they are part of the large collection of the former *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej* or Zamoys-

ki Family Library (hereafter BOZ). They comprise a collection of letters and documents which in many respects are unique among all Polish manuscripts surviving from the Jagiellonian Era. Indeed, they represent one of the richest primary sources relating to the reign of Sigismund I (1507-1548), which, together with the reign of his only son Sigismund Augustus (1548-1572), Polish historians regard as the “Golden Age” of Poland.

During this period, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, joined together by a personal union, covered an area stretching almost to the Oder in the west, the Baltic Sea in the north, beyond the Dnieper in the east, and to the Carpathians and the Ukrainian steppe in the south - making it, at the time, one of the largest political entities in Europe. The reign of Sigismund I was marked by dynamic progress in state and society, notably the strengthening of the country’s position in international politics, a long period of peace (the only wars that took place were in borderlands), the shaping of a constitution which guaranteed the nobility significant personal and political rights, an increase in the population’s wealth thanks to favourable economic conditions, and a cultural revolution closely linked to Renaissance humanism and the Reformation. Many of these developments are reflected in the manuscripts of the TG.

Besides materials relating to the internal politics of Poland and relations with its neighbours, the TG contain numerous original letters from leading figures of the day, such as the Popes Leo X and Adrian VI, the Western European monarchs Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England, and the “Prince of the Humanists”, Erasmus of Rotterdam. Their important role in historical research is not limited to Poland, as evidenced by the various editions published in other European countries, especially in Central Europe, based on the manuscripts. The TG have provided textual evidence in a vast number of scholarly editions, either directly<sup>1</sup> or through copies held elsewhere<sup>2</sup>, and are widely cited both within Poland and abroad.

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- 1 E.g. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, eds. P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, vols. 7-8, Oxonii 1928-1934; vols. 9-11, eds. P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, H.W. Garrod, Oxonii 1938-1947; S. Brodarius, *Epistulae*, ed. P. Kasza, Budapest 2012.
  - 2 E.g. *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, vol. 2, part 1, culese de E. Hurmuzaki, Bucuresci 1891; vol. 2, parts 3-4, culese, adnotate și publicate de N. Densușianu,

Historians naturally view the TG as a repository of single texts giving insights into public life and explaining certain problems relating to political, and to a lesser extent cultural, history. However, they pay less attention to the archive itself as a composite whole. We would argue that the materials gathered by Górski are of fundamental importance for understanding how the Royal Chancellery, the central government institution of the time, was organised and functioned<sup>3</sup>. The draft documents he acquired had been written by secretaries and subsequently edited by the then supervisor of the Chancellery - either the Chancellor or the Vice-Chancellor, who had equal power and responsibilities. In this way they reflect the multi-stage production of official documents, in particular letters. The TG also contain originals of correspondence that was received. All of these materials were needed only temporarily by the Chancellery and were not as a rule officially archived. As a result, apart from the TG, virtually no such manuscripts survive from the reign of the Jagiellons.

The TG are also important for another reason. Without them it would be difficult to imagine any serious research taking place into the wide-ranging activities of Górski himself, who was the only private person among his contemporaries in Poland to make political documents available on such a large scale.

Canon Stanisław Górski (1497-1572) is a unique figure in Polish history. His unprecedented activity in collecting, arranging, adapting and disseminating documents relating to public life is described in the classic monograph by Ryszard Marciniak<sup>4</sup>. Marciniak proves convinc-

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Bucuresci 1892-1894; vol. 11, adunate, adnotate și publicate de N. Iorga, Bucuresci 1900; supl. 2, vol. 1, coordonate, adnotate și publicate de I. Bogdan, Bucuresti 1893; E. Joachim, *Die Politik des letzten Hochmeisters in Preussen Albrecht von Brandenburg*, Th. 3: 1521-1525, Leipzig 1895; *Documente privatoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, vol. 1: *Acte și scrisori (1527-1572)*, publ. A. Veress, București 1929; I. Corfus, *Documente privatoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea*, București 1979.

- 3 See in particular: A. Wyczański, "O potrzebie badań nad kancelarią Zygmunta Starego (1506-1548)", in: *Historia i archiwistyka. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Profesora Andrzeja Tomczaka*, Toruń-Warszawa 1992, pp. 148-150.
- 4 R. Marciniak, *Acta Tomiciana w kulturze politycznej Polski okresu odrodzenia*, Warszawa-Poznań 1983 (*Prace Komisji Historycznej PTPN*, vol. 37).

ingly that, contrary to earlier research, Górski should not be viewed as a historian but rather as a person trying to shape the political reality of his times by the means available to him. Marciniak argues that Górski influenced public life by putting together a suitably edited dossier for the major political actors in the Kingdom, namely the King and the royal council, which at that time came to be known as the Senate. In this way he propagated his own vision of the political system, relations between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the laity, and the division of duties between the monarch, the magnates in the Senate, and the gentry, which was emancipating itself politically at the time. He also used the TG to present his view of the major problems of the age, such as the middle nobility's struggle for the enforcement of the law (the programme for abolishing malpractices of public institutions) and the Reformation (which he saw more as a disruption to traditional authority than a religious renewal). His interpretation of facts was conservative, Catholic, and orientated towards the magnates of the time. It was also shaped by his original intention to propagate a positive image of his own favourite patron, Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535, Bishop of Przemyśl, Poznań and then Cracow), as well as the latter's own kinsmen, friends and associates.

Marciniak changed the way we see Górski's role, and his perspective remains valid to this day. However, he does not explain - or in many cases even attempt to explain - all the problems associated with Górski's activity. Many of his findings, both specific and general, can be challenged today, particularly thanks to our improved identification of archival and library collections and better access to them, especially in digital form. Indeed, in the work on the TG carried out over several years by the present author, digital resources were essential. We plan to publish the results of that work successively. In this paper we briefly present the basic facts about the creation of the TG, their later custodial history, rearrangements, partial descriptions of them by keepers and users, and the accessibility to the public of the collection now kept in the National Library of Poland. We intentionally choose not to list all primary and secondary sources, nor to delve too deeply into questions on which our position differs considerably from that of Marciniak.

It seems fitting to begin with those elements of Górski's biography<sup>5</sup> that are directly connected with the resources shown in the catalogue of the TG written by the present author. Although Górski spent many years serving in the Royal Chancellery under Tomicki, his position there was by no means crucial. He was probably mainly responsible for creating fair copies of texts before they were sent or issued. As a scribe (*notarius*), he did not play a significant part in the composition of the letters and documents written on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor or the King<sup>6</sup>. Importantly, he never held the office of Royal Secretary<sup>7</sup>. As Canon, he obtained his first benefices during Tomicki's lifetime, the Płock Canonry (1534) being the most important of these. After Tomicki's death in 1535 he was offered more rewards. He was then already in the chancellery service of Queen Bona, and he certainly remained one of her secretaries until the beginning of the reign of Sigismund Augustus<sup>8</sup>. The most prestigious office he held, one endowed with substantial capital assets, was the Cracow Canonry, where he was installed in 1539.

It was during the reign of the last Jagiellon monarch that Górski completed his work putting together his multi-volume collections of political materials. The volumes contain documents neatly written in humanistic script by professional scribes, with some texts written

5 Cf. W. Urban, "Stanisław Górski", in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [hereafter PSB], vol. 8, ed. K. Lepszy, Wrocław 1959/1960, pp. 452-454; W. Pocięcha, "W sprawie wydawnictwa Aktów Tomicjanów", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 3, 1939-1946, pp. 15-23, where references are made to the earlier research on Górski's life.

6 Marciniak was of a different opinion, op. cit., pp. 26-27, suggesting that from 1531 onwards Górski more and more frequently created drafts of the official correspondence.

7 During the reign of King Sigismund I, Royal Secretaries were a relatively narrow group of senior clerks, responsible mainly for drawing up official documents and letters, and often serving in diplomatic missions. Through their service in Chancellery they usually progressed to the most prestigious offices in the public and ecclesiastical administration. For more information about the Polish Chancellery, see: W. Chorążyczewski, "The Crown chancery between 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century", in: *Metryka Koronna - Pamięć państwa/The Polish and Lithuanian Metrica - Memory of the State*, ed. S. Górzyński, Warszawa 2017, pp. 20-44.

8 The Queen's last letter in his handwriting that we are aware of was written in Warsaw and is dated September 4, 1548. See: Biblioteka Czartoryskich [the Czartoryski Library, hereafter B. Czart.], ms 3465, p. 357. According to Marciniak, op. cit., p. 30, Górski left the court for good towards the end of May 1547.

in Górski's own hand. A review of the contents of these elegant collections, which relate almost exclusively to the reign of Sigismund I, reveals a number of different types of texts. The largest category is that of official and sometimes private correspondence from the leading actors on the political scene: the King, Tomicki and his predecessors and successors as keepers of the seal<sup>9</sup>, and, more rarely, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (1466-1532), who held the post of Vice-Chancellor (1511-1515) and later Chancellor (1515-1535).

Górski also scrupulously included documents of foreign and Polish legations, including letters of credence and plenipotentiary powers, safe conducts, instructions, orations and replies to them, and reports from envoys. Worthy of special attention among them are the copious materials relating to the long missions carried out by the humanist and Royal Secretary Jan Dantyszek (Ioannes Dantiscus, 1485-1548), mainly to the itinerant court of Charles V. There are also copies of treaties concluded by the King of Poland, of great interest with regards to the diplomatic relations of the time.

The TG also include many official materials relating to parliamentary sessions in the broadest sense, including meetings of local assemblies or *sejmiki* which took place prior to the general assembly or *Sejm Walny*. This category of texts is represented by *deliberatoria* (letters from the King to the most prominent members of the Senate asking when and where parliamentary sessions should be established), official summons to attend *sejmiki* and *Sejm* (addressed separately to all members of the upper chamber and the leaders of the landed gentry), documentation relating to local assemblies (credentials, mandates and legations or instructions for royal legates, instructions for elected representatives of the nobility, and complaints and petitions from local communities). There are also letters for royal envoys to the *Sejm* (credentials, mandates and legations or instructions) for when the monarch was absent from the general assembly, and copies of the proceedings of the general assembly (petitions to the King submitted

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9 Jan Łaski (1456-1531), Chancellor 1503-1510; Maciej Drzewicki (1467-1535), Vice-Chancellor 1501-1511, Chancellor 1511-1515; Jan Chojeński (1486-1538), Chancellor 1537-1538; Samuel Maciejowski (1499-1550), Vice-Chancellor 1539-1547, Chancellor 1547-1550.

by the chamber of envoys, the royal responses to them, and the texts of laws that were enacted). Also included are royal acts not directly associated with the general assembly, such as summons to arms (*wici*) for a *levée en masse* of the nobility (*pospolite ruszenie*) and documents on matters left to the King's discretion, such as anti-Lutheran edicts.

"Literary" texts in the traditional sense are poorly represented. Where they do appear, they are mainly connected to politics, for example poems written for court celebrations or sarcastic comments about specific events or people. Prominent examples of such poems are by Jan Dantyszek and Andrzej Krzycki (Andreas Cricius, 1482–1537), both of whom were involved and highly qualified in politics and court life.

It is also worth mentioning that Górski made his own literary contribution to the collections. He wrote a large number of short notes on what he considered to be key events, ordered chronologically and supplied with their exact dates – dates that would otherwise be unknown. These notes take the form of lists or concise narrative texts linking the different documents. Górski also wrote longer commentaries, partly based on his own experiences and partly based on contemporary chronicles, such as those of Jost Ludwik Decjusz (Iodocus Ludovicus Decius, around 1485 to 1545) and Bernard Wapowski (Bernardus Vapovius, 1450–1535)<sup>10</sup>. He also wrote letters addressed to various people in which both the sender's and addressee's identity were protected, being replaced by the words "amicus amico". Given the surprising directness with which he writes about sensitive issues relating to the royal court and political elite, it is sometimes doubted whether these letters were actually sent or not. Marciniak argues that at least some passages were interpolated by Górski into the letters at a later stage and are hence not completely "authentic"<sup>11</sup>.

Customarily all the aforementioned materials, which were bound into volumes, are known as *Acta Tomiciana* or just *Tomiciana*. Górski himself does not use this appellation: in providing titles for individual vol-

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10 Earlier findings on the subject of Górski's historical commentaries' dependence on contemporary historiography are listed and discussed by R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 15–16.

11 Cf. *ibidem*, p. 85–86.

umes, he restricted himself to listing the types of documents included in each of them, for example “tomus [— —] legationum, responsionum, litterarum” or “tomus [— —] epistolarum, legationum, responsionum, actionum et rerum gestarum”. The bibliographer and supervisor of the Załuski Library Jan Daniel Janocki (1720–1786) already mentions that the name *Tomiciana* was used as the customary appellation, writing as follows: “collectio haec *Tomiciana* a plerisque consuevit nuncupari”<sup>12</sup>. These tomes were sometimes referred to as *Acta Tomicii* when they were used for copying texts for the monumental collection assembled by the court historian Adam Naruszewicz (1733–1796) known as *Teki Naruszewicza*<sup>13</sup> or the “Naruszewicz Files”, which were intended to serve as source material for complete official history of Poland.

The name *Acta Tomiciana* finally caught on when it was used by the publication series in which edited copies of Górski’s collections appeared from 1852 onwards<sup>14</sup>. This series changed editors several times, along with its general concept and manuscript basis. For example, it includes several texts not in Górski’s original collections<sup>15</sup>. As a result, the name *Acta Tomiciana*, inaccurate from the outset, becomes even more ambiguous: Górski’s collections contain a much broader

- 12 J.D. Janocki, *Janociana sive clarorum atque illustrium Poloniae auctorum maecenatumque memoriae miscellae*, vol. 3, ed. S.T. Linde, Varsoviae 1819, p. 142. Janocki is recognised, albeit with some hesitation, as the first person using the name “*Tomiciana*” by: W. Pociecha, “W sprawie...”, p. 9.
- 13 S. Grzybowski, *Teki Naruszewicza. „Acta regum et populi Poloni”*, Wrocław 1960, p. 27.
- 14 *Acta Tomiciana. Epistolae, legationes, responsa, actiones, res gestae serenissimi principis Sigismundi, eius nominis primi, regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae domini*, vols. 1–8, ed. T. Działyński, L. Koenigk, Posnaniae 1852–1860; vol. 9, editio prima, ed. L. Koenigk, Posnaniae s.d.; vols. 9–13, ed. Z. Celichowski, Posnaniae 1876–1915; vols. 14–16, ed. W. Pociecha, Wratislaviae–Cracoviae–Posnaniae 1952–1960; vol. 17, coll. W. Pociecha, ed. W. Urban, A. Wyczański, Wratislaviae–Cracoviae–Posnaniae 1966; vol. 18, coll. W. Urban, A. Wyczański, ed. R. Marciniak, Kórnik 1999 [hereafter AT].
- 15 The fullest information about the history of the edition up to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was gathered by Pociecha, before he assumed the position of editor: W. Pociecha, “Przedmowa”, in: AT 14, pp. VI–XX. Vol. 18, the last volume published to date, has had a mixed reception among academics. See in particular: A. Skolimowska, “Wydawnictwo *Acta Tomiciana* na kolejnym rozdrożu? Z dylematów współczesnego edytorstwa historycznego”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 108, 2001, no. 4, pp. 111–127. Cf. reviews by: K. Baczkowski (*Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 44, 2000, pp. 191–194); H. Olszewski (*Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 52, 2000, no. 1/2, pp. 380–381); T. Ossosiński (*Studia Źródłoznawcze* 38, 2000, pp. 146–148).

scope of material in terms of subject matter and chronology than the documentation pertaining to the activity of Piotr Tomicki; and the contents of the edited version published under the same title as the manuscripts in question do not cover the same scope of materials as Górski's manuscripts. For clarity's sake, in this article we therefore always indicate whether at any given point we are referring to the handwritten volumes or the publication series.

Today we know of four original, partly preserved handwritten collections of *Tomiciansana*, earlier often inaccurately called "digests", by analogy with "law digests". Marciniak divides these collections into three different versions<sup>16</sup>. We consider Marciniak's divisions, dating and supposed purpose of each version to be unconvincing. However, this goes beyond the scope of this article and we therefore restrict ourselves here to a general presentation of Marciniak's findings, while stressing that some of those findings at least will need to be revised.

The oldest collection, called the *Jagiellon Collection* (19 volumes), represents the first version of the work according to Marciniak. It was inscribed and presented by Górski to King Sigismund Augustus in 1558. Its chronology spans the reigns of John I Albert (1492-1501), Alexander (1501-1506) and Sigismund I (1507-1548). The second collection, known after the names of its later owners as the *Sapieha* or *Sapieha-Radziwiłł Collection* (17 volumes), is regarded as a gift for the Lithuanian Ducal Council in the 1560s. It has the same chronological scope as the Jagiellon Collection but is considered by Marciniak to be a different, second version of *Tomiciansana*. The third version is made up of two collections. The first of these, known as the *Andrzej Opaliński Collection* (27 volumes), is identified by Marciniak as the collection dedicated in 1567 to the Polish Senate, and contains documents from the years 1506-1548. The second, known as the *Stanisław Karnkowski Collection* (27 volumes), is a copy of the same version, considered by Marciniak to have been prepared by Górski for his own use and kept by him until his death.

Górski enriched the individual collections with thematic supplements, often not included in the sequential numbering of the vol-

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16 R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 53-80 and table after p. 180.

umes. These supplements include, for example, *Criciana* (poems and letters written by Andrzej Krzycki), *Callimachiana* (works and letters written by Filippo Buonaccorsi, called Kallimach, Lat. Philippus Callimachus Experiens, 1437-1496) and *Orichoviana* (works and letters written by Stanisław Orzechowski, Lat. Stanislaus Orichovius Ruthenus, 1513-1566). The products of Górski's scriptorium also include several volumes of what are known as *PreTomiciana*, which have a chronological and thematic scope narrower than the *Tomiciana* proper. The *PreTomiciana* were presented in the mid-1540s to the powerful Lithuanian magnate Mikołaj Radziwiłł Czarny ("the Black", 1515-1565). In addition there are some transcriptions evidently made at Górski's request, with annotations made in his own hand. These texts are imperfect and presumably form parts of larger items that have not survived; they await further study and detailed description<sup>17</sup>.

The originals for the copies that appear in all versions of Górski's *magnum opus*, as well as in other, separate volumes, were first and foremost papers from the Royal Chancellery under Tomicki, initially in his capacity as Grand Secretary and later as Vice-Chancellor. These originals included rough drafts of outgoing correspondence and documents, original letters addressed to the "keeper of the seal" and the King, and "office copies" of incoming and outgoing papers. Górski also kept for himself some original letters addressed to the Queen from his period as secretary to Queen Bona.

Górski completed the collection with copies of materials from various other sources. He based some of the copies on materials which have survived to this day, such as the record books containing official copies of outgoing Chancellery documentation (Pol. *Metryka Koronna*, Lat. *Metrica Regni Poloniae*), namely the main series of the *Books of Inscriptions* (Pol. *Księgi wpisów*, Lat. *Libri inscriptionum*) and the separate series of *Legation Books* (Pol. *Księgi poselstw*, Lat. *Libri legationum*). Other

17 E.g. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, hereafter AGAD], *Libri legationum* 22; ibidem, the collection of the Branickis of Sucha 22/32; Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. Василя Стефаника [Vasyl Stefanyk National Science Library, hereafter Stefanyk Library], Department of Manuscripts, fond. 5, 168 = formerly Biblioteka Ossolińskich [the Library of the Ossoliński Institute, hereafter B. Oss.], ms 168.

copies were based on materials which have not survived, such as the letters of cardinal Frederick Jagiellon (1468–1503), correspondence received by the Cracow Bishop Jan Konarski (1447–1525), materials from the Royal Chancellery under Jan Chojeński<sup>18</sup> and collections of poetry by Andrzej Krzycki. Górski also collected original printed texts, or asked for copies of them. Copies of materials from the period before and after Tomicki's supervision of the Royal Chancellery are preserved mostly in groups of folded sheets noted and ordered chronologically by Górski in a neater hand and with less editorial interference on his part.

Before texts on loose sheets or gatherings were copied into the volumes, Górski provided them with his own annotations and often added to, corrected, shortened or rewrote them. These interferences in the text had various reasons. Often it was merely a matter of making the writing more legible, in order to make his scribes' work easier, or of correcting the style. However, equally frequently there were factual changes. Some of these can be explained by Górski's desire to get rid of parts of texts which contained information about everyday life which he considered irrelevant, such as references to people's health or gifts which had been sent, or parts of texts which referred to people who would not be widely known, such as Tomicki's servants. Some, however, bear all the marks of deliberate changes made by Górski's in accordance with his own views, for example, where he deleted fragments which might give a bad impression of the clergy or his master, or which he believed to be false<sup>19</sup>.

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18 Yet, R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 47, states that Górski acquired some of the original Chancellery papers of J. Chojeński. It is not clear, whether Górski copied texts from the letterbook containing rough drafts of official outgoing correspondence by M. Drzewicki, which Marciniak fails to document sufficiently thoroughly (*ibidem*, p. 57).

19 For instance, Górski crossed out a few sentences in Krzycki's letter dating from the time of the war between Poland and the Teutonic Order (1519–1521) containing news about the Duchy of Mazovia and Grand Master Albrecht von Hohenzollern (1490–1568) which he believed was false, describing it in a side note as "falsissimum segmentum". See Biblioteka Narodowa [the National Library of Poland, hereafter BN], ms BOZ 2053, TG IV, no. 302, f. 1. For detailed examples of different types of modifications by Górski, described by Marciniak as "licentia politica", see R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 84–89.

Górski arranged the revised manuscripts partly in chronological order and partly according to their subject matter. He then arranged them into larger groups of papers, marked to indicate their sequence usually by means of numbers or in some cases by numbers combined with letters. Fairly frequently several numbers appear on the same page, some of them crossed out, which would appear to indicate that these texts were copied more than once into the various versions of the *Tomiciana*. To help organise the work of the copyists, the sets of materials were additionally provided with covers of blank bifolia or re-used waste paper containing general descriptions of the contents of the sets, the names of the scribes responsible for creating fair copies of them, and information on the progress of their work<sup>20</sup>.

Marciniak is wrong, we believe, where he claims that Górski organised the documents while still working in Tomicki's Chancellery. Marciniak claims that the arrangement according to subject matter (Prussia, Hungary, Gdańsk, Mazovia, Bari, Moldavia and so on) is the same as that used in the Vice-Chancellor's office, and he regards the scribes hired by Górski as subordinates of the "keeper of the seal"<sup>21</sup>. Górski refers to his working materials as *minutae*, irrespective of whether they were drafts from the Chancellery, fair copies, office copies or private copies. Examples of the word *minutae* being used in this sense can be found on the covers of the bundles<sup>22</sup>. Where necessary, Górski gives additional instructions, such as the order to omit a certain text or part

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- 20 Only a few such jackets have been preserved, not all of them complete: BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XII, f. 1; TG XX, ff. 1-2; TG XXII, f. 1 (apart from this a whole fascicle has been preserved, which was sewn together); TG XXIX, ff. 282-281 [!]; Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN [the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, hereafter B. Kórnik.], ms 221, pp. 3-4 (in addition, probably a whole fascicle has been preserved).
- 21 Tomicki's scribes are assumed to be Jakub, Olszyński and Żydowski: R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 43-44. For the correct identification of Olszyński, see: W. Pocięcha, "W sprawie...", pp. 25-26.
- 22 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XX, f. 1: "minutae anni 1541"; TG XXII, f. 1: "minutae 1540"; TG XXIX, f. 282: "minutae et negotia Bariensia in Italia et apud caesarem acta anno 1524"; B. Kórnik., ms 221, p. 1: "minutae litterarum regiarum anni 1546". Hence our conclusion about how we should understand Górski's notes, erroneously regarded by Marciniak as proof that the papers were arranged in Tomicki's Chancellery: "Żydowski scripsit et poni debet in fine extremo omnium minutarum Luteranismi" (TG IX, f. 129v); "fasciculus minutarum regiarum de Lut[e]ranismo Gdanensi" (TG XV, f. 248v).

of a text (“non scribatur”), or asks for the final copy of the texts to be ordered differently to the manuscripts.

The name *Teki Górskiego* applying only to the collection of working papers used as source of texts for the handwritten *Tomiciana*, was first introduced by editor and librarian Zygmunt Celichowski (1845-1923). Celichowski also provided a concise, apt description of them: “czem dzisiaj przy drukowaniu dzieł jest rękopism, tem był powyższy zbiór w układzie kodeksów Górskiego”<sup>23</sup> [“for Górski’s volumes this collection was like a manuscript in today’s printer’s job”]. Another apt metaphor was used by Waldemar Chorążyczewski when he called the TG “the mother of the *Tomiciana*”<sup>24</sup>.

Shortly after the death of Górski, the TG were divided up. A significant part of them - at least 15-20 percent of all the known elements in the collection - initially remained probably for some time in chambers of the Cracow chapter. From there the manuscripts may have been transferred to the Crown Archives, then to King Stanislaus Augustus’s collection and subsequently to the Poryck Library of the antiquary Tadeusz Czacki (1765-1813). Eventually they found their way to the Czartoryski Library, first in Puławy near Lublin and then to the Library’s later locations. Following the November Uprising of 1830-1831, part of Górski’s papers, together with other collections belonging to the Czartoryski family, were deposited with Count Tytus Działyński (1796-1861), a collector of historical manuscripts and editor, at Kórnik near Poznań, within the territory of the Prussian Partition. In this way they avoided confiscation by the Russians. However, not all the manuscripts entrusted to Działyński later returned to the Czartoryski Library. Górski’s papers are today to be found listed under at least ten different catalogue numbers in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow<sup>25</sup>. The rest of this part of the collection belongs to the Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN - the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences<sup>26</sup>.

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23 AT 9, p. II.

24 W. Chorążyczewski, “Prywatne archiwa polityczne w Polsce XVI wieku”, *Archiwa - Kancelarie - Zbiory* 2010, no. 1(3), p. 50.

25 B. Czart., MSS 238, 239, 254, 255, 262, 276, 281, 283, 284, 307.

26 B. Kórnik., MSS 221, 222, 241.

The TG were thus “dispersed” in a dual sense: it was divided up between two different institutions, and materials were added to it that were unconnected with Górski’s original work. In the library of the last King of Poland, codices were composed of loose sheets, the only guideline being that they should be related in terms of their subject matter and chronology, not their provenance. As a result the TG were combined and bound together with materials that were outside the scope of Górski’s original project. Only the units kept at Kórnik are provided with precise catalogue descriptions which make it possible to single out those individual sheets and quires that belong to the TG<sup>27</sup>. The list of manuscripts which Marciniak believes belong to the TG needs to be reconsidered<sup>28</sup>. It is not impossible that careful research will allow us to classify other items as also belonging to this group<sup>29</sup>. The task is thus to take all the materials belonging to the original collection and describe them in detail so as to recreate, in an ideal sense, the entirety of the TG, including the elements kept in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw.

The National Library in Warsaw holds the largest preserved part of the TG (about 80 percent of all the identified elements in the collection). It is certainly also the most valuable part, containing as it does a larger share of rough drafts and original letters than the manuscripts held in the Czartoryski Library and in the Kórnik Library. We owe its

27 *Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej XVI-XVIII w.*, vol. 2, ed. R. Marciniak, M. Muszyński, J. Wiesiołowski, Wrocław 1985, pp. 71-102, 169-178.

28 R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 184-185. Cf. list based on this work: W. Chorążyczewski, “Prywatne archiwa...”, p. 19.

29 We would suggest that the following manuscripts should be the first in line for research in this respect. First, other codices from the Czartoryski Library whose subject matter encompasses the reign of Sigismund I; here, similar research is needed to that carried out on codices that have already been proven to contain parts of the TG. Second, items from the Kórnik Library which are not been mentioned in the printed catalogue, including those that found their way to Kórnik via a partially different route from the above-mentioned manuscripts belonging to the Czartoryskis. One volume in the Kórnik Library, MS 1461, acquired in the 1870s from the Potockis’ Wilanów library (W. Semkowicz, *Przewodnik po zbiorze rękopisów wilanowskich*, updated and prepared for publication by P. Bańkowski, Warszawa 1961, pp. 26-27, footnote 22), was created in Stanislaus Augustus’ library from loose leaves from Górski’s papers. This seems to be a rough copy, given the large number of corrections, crossings out, comments and additions in Górski’s hand. Some handwritten texts are complementary with B. Kórn. MS 222 (cf. B. Kórn., MS 1461, p. 71 and B. Kórn., MS 222, pp. 277-280). Other scraps from the TG also found their way into B. Kórn., MS 1535.

separation from the full collection of Górski to Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), a powerful politician and the founder of the BOZ.

Was the separation of this portion from the remaining documents justified, and was it intentional or simply mechanical? Without comparing all the extant dispersed elements of the TG it is difficult to reach a strong conclusion on these points. However, we try to answer the question on the basis of an analysis of the material we have seen. In terms of chronology and contents, the scope of the TG in the BOZ, when compared to that of the entire collection, appears at first sight haphazard, with many gaps and clusters. The number of materials as divided into individual years is as follows. The year 1512 cannot be treated as a logical starting point as Zamoyski acquired only a few items from the period 1512–1513. Slightly more material dates from 1514 and much more from 1515–1536. However, the ratio of material from 1535 to that from 1536 is close to three to one. The following years yielded much less material: there is none from 1537, 1538, 1544 or 1546, while 1545 and 1547 are very poorly represented. It is true that there are a few more items from 1538–1541 and 1543, but only in 1542 is the number of items comparable to the average for 1515–1535. From the above we can see that the more complete materials relate almost exclusively to Tomicki's period as Vice-Chancellor (1515–1535). Hence we may conclude that Zamoyski was particularly interested in original papers of the Chancellery.

The order of items in the TG may have been disturbed even before the division of the whole collection. This would explain why Zamoyski maybe failed to take all the rough drafts and originals he wanted. As a result, the chronological scope of materials partly coincides in both parts of the collection. Cases where the texts in the BOZ and the Czartoryski Library complement each other are also evidence of an early disturbance of the sequence introduced by Górski<sup>30</sup>.

It is possible young Zamoyski learnt more about Górski's papers as early as 1569, when he met Górski at the commission set up for creat-

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30 Cf. B. Czart., ms 281, pp. 465–488 to BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XXIII, no. 2825; B. Czart., ms 281, p. 508 to BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XXIII, no. 2799a); B. Czart., ms 238, f. 118v to BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XXIII, no. 2826.

ing an inventory of the Crown archives<sup>31</sup>. Górski died on March 12, 1572, which doubtless is the *terminus post quem* for the change of owner of part of the collection. Marciniak tries to identify the circumstances under which Zamoyski acquired his part of the collection, concluding that this took place several weeks after Górski's death. He bases his conclusions on his interpretation of a note - probably someone testing out a quill - which he discerns on the back of one item from the TG<sup>32</sup> [see fig. 1]. He reads the note as follows: "Wielmożnej Paniey Paniey [sic] Annie Zorzechowcza [sic] Zamoyskiey Castellancze [chełm]skiey Moiey M[ilościwey] Paniey a Ma[żon]cze"<sup>33</sup> [To the Honourable Lady Anna, née Orzechowska Zamoyska, wife of the Castellan of Chełm, My Beloved Lady and Wife]. According to Marciniak, this is the address from a letter by Stanisław Zamoyski (1519-1572), Castellan of Chełm, the father of Jan Zamoyski, to his wife Anna, née Orzechowska Zamoyska. That would mean that prior to April 4, 1572 the TG must have been taken to Zamch, where the Castellan of Chełm spent the last months of his life and where he ultimately died.

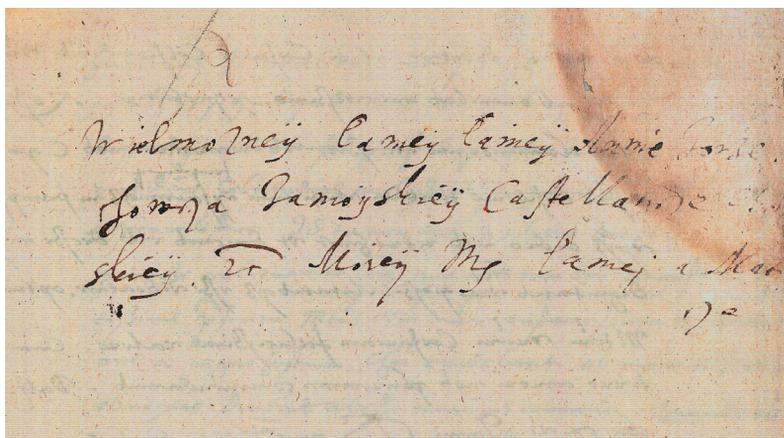


FIG. 1. Detail, top of the page, address of Anna née Orzechowska Zamoyska.  
BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG I, f. 59v.

- 31 A. Kłodziński, "O Archiwum Skarbcza Koronnego na Zamku Królewskim", *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej* ser. 2, vol. 1, Kraków 1923, pp. 206-207.
- 32 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG I, f. 59v.
- 33 R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 182.

However, we believe that Marciniak's conclusions, which have since become an accepted part of the literature on the subject<sup>34</sup>, are erroneous. Doubts arise first of all from the handwriting of the note, which following palaeographic analysis seems to suggest the hand of a younger person than Stanisław Zamoyski. A comparison of the note with his Stanisław Zamoyski's autograph unambiguously rules out that it is in his hand<sup>35</sup>. On its own, this is not enough to prove that the Castellan was not responsible for the note: theoretically it could have been written by his secretary. Nonetheless, Marciniak's conclusion must be rejected, primarily because he deciphers the note erroneously. The correct reading is as follows: "Wielmożney Paniey Paniey [sic] Annie Zorzechowcza Zamoyskiej Castellancze **Chelm-**skiey **etc.** Moiey M[iłościwej] Paniej a **Matcze**" (bold print indicates differences compared to Marciniak's reading) [To Honourable Lady Anna née Orzechowska Zamoyska, wife of the Castellan of Chełm etc., My Beloved Lady and **Mother**]. It is possible that this is how Jan Zamoyski used to address his father's second wife. The stepmother of the founder of the entail (Ordynacja Zamojska) died in 1588<sup>36</sup>, which gives the doubtless *terminus ante quem* for the acquisition of the TG.

We believe that the earliest possible date for the acquisition of the collection should be brought forward to the moment when Jan Zamoyski became Vice-Chancellor. The rapid rise to power of the ambitious young nobleman began during the first interregnum period following Sigismund Augustus's death on July 7, 1572. This was mainly due to Zamoyski's active participation in key events of the time, such

34 K. Muszyńska, "Wstęp", in: *Biblioteka Narodowa. Katalog rękopisów*, ser. III: *Zbiory Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej*, vol. 2: *Rękopisy od XVI do XIX wieku (sygn. BOZ do 1050)*, ed. B. Smoleńska in cooperation with K. Muszyńska, Warszawa 1991, p. 11; W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa...", p. 49; T. Makowski, "Siedziba i organizacja biblioteki Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 43, 2012, p. 353.

35 Cf. AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [hereafter AZ] 24, p. 4.

36 *Genealogia. Tablice*, ed. W. Dworzaczek, Warszawa 1959, table 135. The date given by Dworzaczek can be specified more closely: Anna died before July 27, 1588, when she was mentioned as deceased in a document of the King Sigismund III (*Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego*, vol. 4, ed. K. Lepszy, Kraków 1948, p. 439, no. III 44).

as the particular and national diets, the commission for the review of the law, royal elections, the mission to France as a convoy for the king-elect, Henry of Valois. Here, he combined unquestionable competence with an effective positioning of himself as the “champion of the noble people”. He finally consolidated his position during the reign of Stephen Báthory (1576–1586), thanks to whom he became the second most important person in the political community. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor on May 5, 1576, several days after Stephen Báthory’s coronation. As the “keeper of the seal” he had unrestricted access to all the resources on the premises occupied by the Chancellery and scattered across other chambers in Wawel Castle.

Marciniak’s statement that the TG were acquired “during the retrieval of public documents”<sup>37</sup> does not sound convincing for the period of the interregnum, when Zamoyski was merely the Starost of Bełz and a former royal secretary (during the reign of Sigismund August, the office evolved and partially lost its previous importance), albeit an exceptionally active and committed one. It is true that during the interregnum there may have been a slackening of discipline among Chancellery staff, creating favourable conditions for appropriating semi-private materials such as the TG. But as the “keeper of the seal”, Zamoyski could create the semblance of an official seizure and set his subordinates to carrying it out. We therefore believe that it was after Zamoyski’s appointment as Vice-Chancellor that the collection “was again privatised”, as Chorążyzewski aptly describes the acquisition<sup>38</sup>.

It is worth considering whether Zamoyski acquired the TG the same way he took possession of books from the well-stocked library of Sigismund Augustus, which contained as many as 4,000 works. After the King’s death his collection of books was dispersed. It is certain that Zamoyski acquired at least 170 works in 115 volumes from it<sup>39</sup>. So far no one has succeeded in explaining exactly how and when these books became Zamoyski’s property. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, author of

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37 R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 182.

38 W. Chorążyzewski, “Prywatne archiwa...”, p. 49.

39 The estimated number of books from Sigismund Augustus’ library preserved prior to 1939 in the BOZ; see catalogue note by M. Brynda in: *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej. Od Jana do Jana. Katalog wystawy*, ed. T. Makowski, Warszawa 2005, p. 44 [CD-ROM].

a monograph on the King's library and responsible for a catalogue of its contents, suspected that this took place after 1586, with the permission of the monarch's sister, Anna Jagiellon, who was overseeing the execution of her brother's will and the property left by him<sup>40</sup>. Kawecka-Gryczowa conjectures that, in selecting volumes, Zamoyski was helped by his friend, Łukasz Górnicki (1527-1603), a man of letters, former royal librarian and Starost of Tykocin, who was in charge of Tykocin Castle, where from 1565 onwards the book collection was to be stored. She also draws attention to the fact that Zamoyski obtained an estate at Knyszyn near Tykocin. We do not know whether Zamoyski took all the volumes he was interested in at once or enriched his own library in stages. It is also possible that he acquired some volumes from the royal collection earlier than Kawecka-Gryczowa believes. He took possession of Knyszyn in May 1574 and did not let go of the estate, despite a dispute with its previous tenant, Stefan Bielawski (d. 1596), for several years<sup>41</sup>. Although Zamoyski did not live permanently there, as he was busy with public affairs, he could easily have acquired books from the Tykocin collection thanks to the kindness of a friendly neighbour, for example.

The acquisition of the King's books and the TG, taken together, offer strong evidence of Zamoyski's determination to appropriate materials which he found important. It seems that his main aim was always to gather sources of knowledge on public life and consequently build up his own position in national politics. However, the acquisitions were different in nature. Unlike with the TG, acquiring the King's books could be motivated either by seeking prestige – bound volumes were very valuable both in terms of their aesthetics and their price – or more utilitarian objectives, although this appears much less likely, such as

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40 A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona. Pomnik kultury renesansowej*, Wrocław 1988, pp. 83, 85. On the subject of Jan Zamoyski appropriating books from the Royal Library, see T. Makowski, "Zarys dziejów biblioteki Jana Zamoyskiego", *Zamojsko-Wołyńskie Zeszyty Muzealne* 3, 2005, p. 97; id., "A brief history of Jan Zamoyski's library", in: *I lag medböcker. Festskrift till Ulf Göranson*, ugt. P. Cullhed, ed. K. Östlund, Uppsala 2012, p. 249; id., "Siedziba i organizacja...", p. 359.

41 A. Jabłonowski, "Jan Zamoyski na Podlasiu. Spór o starostwo knyszynskie", in: *Z wieku Mikołaja Reja. Księga jubileuszowa*, Warszawa 1905, pp. 128-131, 136-149.

gathering books for the library of the Zamość Academy, which was not established until 1594<sup>42</sup>. Moreover, the King's books differed from the TG in terms of their provenance (provincial Tykocin as opposed to the capital city, Cracow), the conditions in which they were kept (under the supervision of the sympathetic Górnicki as opposed to in the Royal Chancellery/Cracow chapter) and their formal legal status (the monarch's private property as opposed to papers documenting the activity of public institutions). For these reasons we do not believe that the King's books which Zamoyski included in his collection are particularly helpful when it comes to establishing the time and circumstances of the acquisition of the TG.

On the other hand, it is surely no coincidence that in the same period other important elements of Górski's oeuvre changed hands, namely two collections of the final, most extensive version of the *Tomiciana*. Andrzej Opaliński (1540-1593), a powerful magnate from Greater Poland, took over the collection that Marciniak regards as the Senate collection in 1578/1579 at the latest, as demonstrated by the fact that it was then that the manuscripts were provided with bindings with his supralibros<sup>43</sup>. According to Marciniak, probably during the first interregnum period after the death of Sigismund Augustus (July 1572–February 1574), Opaliński removed the manuscripts from Wawel Castle, which he had easy access to as the Court Marshal<sup>44</sup>. This hypothesis should be verified by means of a more detailed analysis of Opaliński's itinerary.

The second set of the third version of the *Tomiciana* found its way to Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski (1520-1603) via a somewhat roundabout

42 It was only Jan Zamoyski's grandson, Jan "Sobiepan" Zamoyski (1627-1665), who bequeathed the books from the King's library to the Zamość Academy, although the instructions in his will were not complied. See A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, op. cit., p. 86.

43 For a dating and analysis of the bindings of the Opaliński's *Tomiciana* collection, see: R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 200-203; *Katalog rękopisów staropolskich Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, vol. 2, pp. 23-24; A. Wagner, "Oprawy ksiąg Andrzeja Opalińskiego", in: *Księgozbiór wielkopolskiego magnata Andrzeja Opalińskiego (1540-1593)*, ed. A. Wagner, Poznań 2011, pp. 164-171.

44 R. Marciniak, op. cit., p. 200.

route<sup>45</sup>. After Górski's death, manuscripts from this collection ended up, perhaps on the strength of the author's last will, with the Castellan of Gniezno. This was Jan Tomicki, the nephew of Piotr Tomicki, that is, the closest relative of Górski's beloved patron. From Jan Tomicki (d. 1575) the codices passed on to his sons Andrzej and Mikołaj, both of whom left their ownership inscriptions on the manuscripts. According to Marciniak, Karnkowski received the books from the elder brother, Mikołaj, who was Canon of Poznań and Cracow. Karnkowski writes that exploring the *Tomiciana* helped him understand the political reality of the period of the two interregna and inspired him to promote solutions that would be salutary for the Republic<sup>46</sup>. However, Marciniak assumes - we believe, incorrectly - that the above-mentioned commendation refers to a different collection at Karnkowski's disposal, namely the Senate collection, identical, according to Marciniak, with Opaliński's collection<sup>47</sup>. Later, Karnkowski, this time beyond any doubt on the basis of the *Tomiciana* collection named after him, drew up a historical compendium, in the heading of which he bears the title of "Bishop of Kuyavia"<sup>48</sup>. Thus it is clear that the undisputable *terminus ad quem* for the acquisition of the codices was when Karnkowski was promoted to Archbishop of Gniezno in 1581. Slightly later, by now Primate of Poland, he marked the *Tomiciana* owned by him with his ex-libris.

All three acquisitions have common features. Zamoyski, Opaliński and Karnkowski had risen in influence thanks to their cooperation with Stephen Báthory, as the monarch's major adherents. During his reign the three magnates could be viewed, with certain reservations, as something of a group of allies<sup>49</sup>. There is no escaping the following com-

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45 Ibidem, pp. 224-225.

46 S. Karnkowski, *Epistolae illustrium virorum in tres libros digestae*, Cracoviae: [A. Petricovius], 1578, ff. 3v-4.

47 R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

48 The latest discussion on the origins of the compendium and a list of its preserved seventeenth and eighteenth-century copies, in: W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa...", p. 39.

49 Karnkowski and Opaliński are described as Zamoyski's allies by: W. Tygielski, *Listy, ludzie, władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*, Warszawa 2007,

parison: the same way that they partitioned among themselves various spheres of influence and advantages coming from their privileged positions at the King's side, they also divided up for their private purposes Górski's most valuable manuscripts. In the 1570s and 1580s, owning the works of the Canon was a reflection of the highest status in the political community, as they provided an insight into the *arcana imperii*, inaccessible to the majority of participants in public life. The research initiated by Marciniak into the use of knowledge gained from the Górski's materials - mainly *Tomiciana*<sup>50</sup> - should be continued and extended<sup>51</sup>, especially with respect to Zamoyski. The "Grand Chancellor" was a figure who in terms of the breadth of his power was far superior to all the noble politicians of his epoch, and his activity left incredibly rich documentation relating to the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

What was the role played in Zamoyski's activity by texts often concerning events that took place half a century earlier? It hardly seems likely that as Vice-Chancellor and later Chancellor he looked to the texts for guidelines - formal or stylistic - for drawing up official correspondence and other documents. After all, he had at his disposal many other materials such as the public records in *Metryka Koronna* (*Metrica Regni Poloniae*) which were of more recent date and, as such, were more in line with current Chancellery norms. Moreover, since

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pp. 89-92. For a more nuanced picture of the magnates' relationship with each other and King Stephan Báthory from a diachronic perspective, see: E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *O nowy kształt Rzeczypospolitej. Kryzys polityczny w państwie w latach 1576-1586*, Warszawa 2013, *passim* (with references to earlier writings on the same subject).

50 R. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 108-114, 116-118.

51 More recent studies do not deal with the problem, either repeating Marciniak's findings on the Opaliński collection (J. Pietrowicz, "Acta Tomiciana i inne rękopisy z księgozbioru marszałka wielkiego koronnego Andrzeja Opalińskiego", in: *Księgozbiór wielkopolskiego magnata...*, pp. 105-127) or focusing solely on analytical research into Karnkowski's library in terms of the provenance and thematic selection of books (see especially: S. Rybandt, "Księgozbiór prymasa Stanisława Karnkowskiego, źródło badań nad kulturą umysłową dostojnika kościelnego XVI w.", *Z badań nad Polskimi Księgozbiorami Historycznymi* 13, 1992, pp. 117-129; M. Bartoszak, "Pozostałości księgozbioru prymasa Stanisława Karnkowskiego w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie", *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 61, 2017, pp. 35-65). Only Chorążyczewski, inspired by Marciniak's approach, tries to combine bibliography and archival studies with research into Polish political culture of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, albeit on a limited scale, cf. W. Chorążyczewski, "Prywatne archiwa...", pp. 13-67.

Sigismund Augustus a large part of official documents had been written in Polish, and not in Latin as had been the case during Sigismund I's reign. Zamoyski may therefore have been more interested in finding precedents in internal and international relations which could serve to support his own arguments in public debates. It would require careful research to trace the connections between the argumentation in Zamoyski's speeches, correspondence and other documents and the contents of the TG; here, we limit ourselves to presenting conclusions from our analysis of physical traces of the use of the archive in the period when its owner was Zamoyski.

The TG contain no direct indication that they were read by the Chancellor; we find no underlined passages or notes in his hand. The only evidence that the collection was used is ten notes or "scriptae" from the last decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, written by a scribe who copied selected texts for Zamoyski's needs. All the texts with these notes are related to each other in terms of chronology and subject matter: they date from June 1515 and concern Sigismund I's prolonged wait in Pressburg (today's Bratislava) for the planned meeting with Emperor Maximilian I<sup>52</sup>. We do not believe it was coincidental that the above-mentioned address of Anna Zamoyska was written on the blank back page of one of the letters marked as copied. The notes appear to be in a different hand from that which wrote the address, but the timing is similar. The appearance of one of them on the same leaf explains why the testing of the quill - the only one in the TG dating from Zamoyski's time - is there rather than anywhere else. It is our hypothesis that the sheets taken out of the collection to be copied lay for some time among other materials used by secretaries, and an empty page simply served to test a formulation of the address which was to be used in correspondence.

One case which is definitely *not* a deliberate use of the TG is a cursive note in the hand of another of Zamoyski's secretaries, which reads as

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52 Letters of King Sigismund I to his first wife, Queen Barbara Zápolya (BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG I, Nos. 36, 42), M. Lang (TG I, Nos. 38, 41; TG XXVII, no. 3547) and to L. Pieczychowski (TG I, no. 45); Sigismund I's correspondence with Emperor Maximilian I (TG I, Nos. 43, 44, 47).

follows: “nie myśl WM o tem, aby WM zbiegowie skodzić mieli, o poganiach teraz WM myŃlić pilniej”<sup>53</sup> [do not think My Lord about fugitives who can do harm to My Lord, it is more urgent My Lord to think about pagans]. This is found on what was originally a small piece of paper, which during conservation work was incorporated in a larger, modern leaf *in folio*. This piece of paper was not included in the pre-War foliation, so it is possible that it was added to the archive only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The content of the note is not connected with the letter which it accompanies today. It must therefore be a wrongly placed script, originally attached to some other letter.

After Jan Zamoyski’s death in 1605, the TG formed part of the Zamoyski family archive. The following two centuries did not leave any significant mark on them. We know that some loose bifolia of thick paper, only partly covered with writing, were used for organising estate papers. The paper from the TG was used to register the circulation of documents about the Kutno estate dating from 1732<sup>54</sup>. Another example of this practice can be dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Górski’s covers were used for wrapping a number of papers about the Ruthenian voivodship<sup>55</sup>.

Work on sorting out the TG began in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the twelfth ZamoŃ *Ordynat*, Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (1775–1856), decided to draw up an inventory of the historical part of the family archive and incorporate it into the BOZ. This is unambiguous evidence of a profound change in how Górski’s manuscripts were perceived. The TG were obsolete from a legal and political point of view, but now they were considered irreplaceable as a source of knowledge about the distant past. History was a focal point in the development of a modern national identity, so keeping and studying historical texts was considered both important and a matter of prestige. Stanisław Kostka, like many of his contemporaries from a similar milieu, was well educated and keen to recall the country’s former glory. He understood the

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53 BN, Ms BOZ 2053, TG XVIII, f. 95a.

54 Ibidem, TG XXIX, f. 23v.

55 Ibidem, TG XX, ff. 2-1[!].

relevance of the papers inherited from his ancestors. We may assume that his zeal for organising the archive was motivated in equal parts by his curiosity about its contents and his sense of duty towards his family and the nation.

Stanisław Kostka wrote as follows about his work sorting out the documents: “w rok czyli we dwa lata po śmierci brata [— —] w Zamościu zatrudniłem się przejrzaniem archiwum jurydycznego, w którym znalazłszy kilka szaf i kufrów ze starymi papierami, na których było napisane «niepotrzebne» lub «curiositates», kazałem one do sieni przynieść i strawiłem ze trzy miesiące czasu nad ułożeniem i spisaniem ogólnym onych”<sup>56</sup> [“one or two years after the death of my brother”<sup>57</sup> [— —] in Zamość I occupied myself with looking through the muniment room, where I found several cabinets and chests full of old papers with ‘useless’ or ‘curiositates’ written on them; I had them transferred to the vestibule and spent at least three months putting them in order and generally registering them”]. He recalled the same work later, in his remarks on the history of the BOZ: “rękopisma, gdzie tylko spodziewać się można było znaleźć jakie, do swojego pokoju kazawszy zanieść, prawie wszystkie karty, listy, pisma swoją ręką ponumerowawszy”<sup>58</sup> [“I had the manuscripts, wherever they were to be found, brought to my room, having first numbered almost all the sheets, letters and scripts myself”].

The full significance of the two quotes above is clear when we look at the few surviving traces of the initial work putting the archive in order undertaken by Stanisław Kostka. One of them is the bifolium which he used for the cover of a file of papers from the TG, on which the following heading appears in large script: “litterae et copiae var[iar]um litte[ra]rum, legationum, instructionum et aliarum transactionum publicarum”<sup>59</sup>. Under this heading we find the number “15”, Stanisław Kostka’s signature and the year 1801, which agrees with the chronology given in the quotes above.

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56 AGAD, AZ 14, p. 33.

57 Aleksander August Zamoyski, 11<sup>th</sup> *Ordynat*, d. December 6, 1800.

58 BN, ms BOZ 1483, f. 2v.

59 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG X, ff. 127v-128.

Stanisław Kostka certainly created more files of papers, but how many we do not know. Neither do we know whether he carried out an initial segregation of the entire historical archive into different categories of documents. One indirect source of information about what he did is a note in the hand of an archivist who was employed later, Mikołaj Stworzyński, who on one of Górski's covers wrote as follows: "Plik 83. Fragmenta stare różnych papierów podartych, pogniłych i do żadnej kategorii aplikować się niemogących, bez początku i końca. Poprzednicze tych papierów napisy ręką JW. Pana numerowane niektóre"<sup>60</sup> ["File 83. Old fragments of various torn, damp-stained papers which cannot be ascribed to any category, without beginnings and ends. Earlier inscriptions on these papers by the Most Honourable Lord's hand, some numbered"]. We are of the opinion that this is another case of the use of Górski's covers for ordering archive materials that did not belong to the TG, as it seems that the collection did not at that time contain manuscripts in such a bad condition as suggested by the description of the contents of the fascicle.

More complete data on the above-mentioned "numbering" by Stanisław Kostka would be available if any later files created by him were found. This stage of sorting out the documents is not mentioned by Teresa Zielińska, who was responsible for establishing the Zamoyski Archive fonds in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw] after the Second World War<sup>61</sup>. This means that searching for more files created by the owner of the BOZ has a very slim chance of success. What remained of Stanisław Kostka's efforts became almost completely blurred during the subsequent proper inventorying operation. Ultimately, Stanisław Kostka did not play any significant role in the way the TG are arranged today; having started this tedious job, he left it to his archivist Stworzyński.

60 Ibidem, TG XII, f. 1v.

61 Cf. T. Zielińska, "Archiwum Zamoyskich w dawnej Bibliotece Ordynacji Zamojskiej w Warszawie", in: *Zamość i Zamojszczyzna w dziejach i kulturze polskiej*, ed. K. Myśliwski, Zamość 1969, p. 468; ead., "Zasługi bibliotekarzy i archiwistów z Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej w badaniach dziejów Zamościa, Ordynacji Zamojskiej i jej właścicieli", in: *Zamoyscy, Zamość i Ordynacja Zamojska w badaniach końca XIX i XX w.*, ed. R. Szczygieł, Zamość 2005, p. 42.

When Stworzyński took up the position of archivist in Zamość in 1803, one of his first tasks was to deal with the papers discovered by his master, a task which he describes as follows: “*ułożenie porządne tych pism i spisanie inwentarza z wyrażaniem treści*”<sup>62</sup> [“putting these papers in proper order and drawing up an inventory of their contents”]. Over the following three years he mainly sorted out and summarised the Zamoyskis’ abundant correspondence<sup>63</sup>. In this period he also devised a new arrangement of the TG: 29 boxes in chronological order, each provided with a label bearing an appropriate title, for instance *Akta publiczne Królestwa Polskiego różne interesa tak krajowe jako i zagraniczne obejmujące* [“Public papers of the Kingdom of Poland pertaining to internal and external affairs”] or similar, and the time span each of them covered [see fig. 2]. However, he was unable to stick consistently to this chronological arrangement due to the fact that many documents had no date. In fact, it would seem that he failed to stick to his



FIG. 2. Boxes made for the Górski’s archive, early 19th cent.  
BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG I-XXIX.

62 AGAD, AZ 14, p. 33.

63 AGAD, AZ 8-12. Cf. T. Zielińska, “Zasługi...”, pp. 42-43.

original plan in any case: from Box XXIV onwards he left documents from different years together, some of them dated and others not.

The approach taken by Stworzyński can be seen not just from the effects of his work still visible on the manuscripts today but also from his inventory of the Zamoyski Archive in Zamość, covering loose correspondence and some literary and historical manuscripts bound into volumes. This inventory has survived to this day. It reflects a slightly earlier stage of his work on the TG, and thus also a slightly different arrangement of the boxes than today's<sup>64</sup>. The inventory includes a working division into 30 boxes. Only Boxes I to XVIII agree with their present labels. Boxes XIX and XXVI are simply described as "późniejsze" ["subsequent years"], while Boxes XXVII to XXX are marked only as "bez daty" ["no date"]. In his note to the inventory<sup>65</sup>, Stworzyński explains that he had not yet established dates for the manuscripts from Boxes XXVII to XXX and would redistribute them to the correct boxes once he had prepared a descriptive list of all the boxes' contents. He also writes that, at that point in time, he does not know whether he would stick to the division into 30 boxes or whether, as a result of the redistribution, the number of boxes would ultimately be fewer than originally planned – which, in fact, turned out to be the case.

Stworzyński also mentions that if the number of boxes changed, the reference codes of the successive items in the Zamoyski Archive would have to be adjusted downwards correspondingly. The preserved boxes

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64 AGAD, AZ 14, pp. 14–15. There is no additional information on creating an inventory of the TG in another description of the Zamoyskis' manuscript holdings, which dates from the same period: *Konsygnacja papierów w manuskryptach, listach i innych rzeczach pod względem starożytności pisanych i drukowanych* [List of papers in manuscripts, letters and other handwritten or printed antiquities], which only mentions Box I (B. Oss., MS 2419, f. 61). This list, which requires closer study, forms part of the collection of materials about the BOZ (for a description of its contents, see: W. Jabłońska, "Inwentarz i katalogi biblioteczne w zbiorach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich", *Ze Słarba Kultury* 20, 1969, pp. 159–161). At least part of this collection appears to relate to plans to organise the Ossoliński Institute (Ossolineum) in Zamość (another list from the collection is mentioned in this context by B. Horodyski, "Straty działu rękopisów Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej w latach 1939–1944", in: *Straty bibliotek i archiwów warszawskich w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych*, ed. P. Bańkowski, vol. 3: *Biblioteki*, Warszawa 1955, p. 324). On the subject of the failed plans of S.K. Zamoyski and J.M. Ossoliński to create a common public library, see B. Horodyski, "Jak miało powstać Ossolineum w Zamościu", *Teka Zamojska* 1(5), 1938, pp. 84–96.

65 AGAD, AZ 14, p. 15.

bear the reference codes 52-80, visible on the labels on them, above the number within the TG. These depart slightly from the reference codes they should have according to the inventory, where they begin with 51 rather than 52. It is impossible to say whether Stworzyński provided numbers for all the items in every box in the TG, but he definitely began numbering them in the descriptive list and introducing corresponding marks on the manuscripts. He wrote the numbers in ink on a small number of items, generally in early sections of the TG. We also find dates written in his hand, mostly in the margins, which usually correspond to a date that appears in the text itself.

The descriptive list of the contents of the TG drawn up by Stworzyński has survived<sup>66</sup>, albeit in incomplete form. The final version of this list, according to the additional information that appears on the title page, was completed on September 1, 1806. The surviving fragment covers slightly over a tenth of the contents of the TG. It ends abruptly in the middle of the description of item no. 508. In addition, descriptions of Nos. 169-236 are lacking, and the leaves with descriptions of nos. 237-261 are sewed in the wrong place. When cataloguing the TG, we used the work carried out by Stworzyński as a source of important information about the historical arrangement of the TG and as an aid to identifying missing or displaced items.

The conditions under which the Zamoyski archive and library in Zamość were run were disturbed by unrest during Napoleonic times. The city was at the time a fortress of vital strategic importance and its siege and capture by the troops of the Duchy of Warsaw are regarded as an important episode in the campaign of 1809<sup>67</sup>. The collections

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66 *Wypis aktów publicznych Królestwa Polskiego tyczących się interesów tak wewnętrznych, jako i zewnętrznych części w oryginałach, częścią w kopiach starożytnych ręką urzędników koronnych pisanych, zachowanych w Archiwum Zamojskim z rozkazu Jaśnie Wielmożnego hrabiego na Zamościu ordynata Zamoyskiego* [List of public documents of the Kingdom of Poland concerning internal and external affairs, originals and early copies written by statesmen, preserved in the Zamoyski Archive], Stefanyk Library, Department of Manuscripts, fond 4: Zbiór rękopisów Biblioteki Baworowskich [the collection of the former Baworowski Library], dz. 1, 1069, Teka IV: Zamoysciana, I, ff. 4-37v.

67 J. Feduszka, "Twierdza zamojska w Księstwie Warszawskim (1809-1813)", *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 55, 2007, issue 2, pp. 207-226, which includes a discussion of the primary sources and extensive research on the siege and its consequences for the town.

were moved to the vaults of the Zamość palace<sup>68</sup>. It was expected that sooner or later the strongly fortified city, which was of considerable military interest, would be purchased by the state, so it was a logical move to transfer the family collections to a safer place. Rooms within the Pałac Błękitny [Blue Palace] in Warsaw, bought by Stanisław Kostka in 1811, were chosen as the new storage location.

Following this transfer, no further rearrangements or descriptions of the TG were made. It is possible that it was at this point that the individual items were given numbers written in pencil, this time covering the contents of all 29 boxes. The ordering introduced by Stworzyński was preserved with slight, possibly accidental variations caused by the fact that some items may have been put in a different place and some others may have been lost. The fact that such slight modifications took place is confirmed by a comparison of the present numbering of the manuscripts with the preserved numbers in Stworzyński's hand and with Stworzyński's descriptive list.

Unfortunately the ceiling of the library collapsed in 1846, after which the manuscripts were housed inadequately. This created an objective obstacle to any detailed examination of the TG by the library staff or accessibility of the manuscripts by scholars. The BOZ collections were packed into storage trunks and move to the Orangery, where they remained until 1868 when the restoration of the building was completed and its interior adapted to the needs of the library<sup>69</sup>. Transferring and arranging the collections anew, checking their contents and at least provisionally describing them took many years. For the staff of the BOZ, the work was particularly demanding in the case of loose manuscripts and archival documents, of which the TG were part<sup>70</sup>. It was perhaps at this time that the TG were converted

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68 B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej", in: *Studia nad książką poświęconę pamięci Kazimierza Piekarskiego*, Wrocław 1951, p. 312.

69 B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów..." , pp. 326-328; K. Ajewski, *Zbiory artystyczne i galeria muzealna Ordynacji Zamojskiej w Warszawie*, Kozłówka 1997, p. 31.

70 Leopold Hubert, one of the librarians in 1868-1870 (see: B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów..." , pp. 328-329; D. Gądko, "Hubert Leopold", in: *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej* [hereafter SPKP], ed. I. Treichel, Warszawa-Łódź 1972, p. 342), planned unsuccessfully in 1868 to arrange the collections and create an inventory of them.

into a separate unit, with no reference code within the Zamoyski Archive.

We can glean some knowledge about the condition of the collection following its transfer to the renewed premises from the account provided by Gustaw Ehrenberg (1818–1895, BOZ librarian 1868–1870<sup>71</sup>) dating from late 1869<sup>72</sup>. According to Ehrenberg, “względy praktyczne nakazywały rozpocząć prace porządkowe od ksiąg, cała zaś część archiwalna w opłakanym nieładzie do przechowania przyjęta” [“due to practical considerations, putting the collection in order had to begin with the volumes, and the entire archival part taken over for storage was in a pitiful condition”]. For this reason, he continues, the only information about the TG came “z powierzchownego przeglądu tek i kartonów” [“from a superficial review of the folders and boxes”].

It is worth quoting at length what Ehrenberg writes about the TG, as it reflects what was known about them at the BOZ at the time: “mamy za to teki (tych jest 29) z napisami na grzbietach charakterem XVIII wieku «Akta publiczne Królestwa Polskiego», mieszczące w sobie luźne arkusze i karty, na których skoropisem XVI wieku, z pokreśleniami i poprawkami, znajdują się przedmioty widocznie z Tomicianami jednorodne. Luźne te arkusze i karty były kiedyś (zdaje się także w XVI-II wieku) ołówkiem ponumerowane i zapewne uporządkowane, ale porządek ten został naruszony, tak że dziś nie tylko że są przerzucone, ale nawet zdarza się spotykać po innych zupełnie kartonach dokumenta do tej kolekcji niezawodnie należące” [“On the other hand we have boxes (29 of them) with the inscription on their spines in an eighteenth-century hand ‘Public Papers of the Kingdom of Poland’. These contain loose sheets and leaves written in sixteenth-century cursive,

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He concentrated on books and paid relatively little attention to manuscripts but he distinguished the following categories: “manuscripts proper” (manuscript books), “diplomata”, “letters and autographs” and “family papers”. He may have included the TG in the third group. Cf. “Projekt urządzenia biblioteki” [“The project of an arrangement of the library”] (BN, ms BOZ 2010, ff. 9v–11v).

71 B. Horodyski, “Zarys dziejów...”, p. 328, was doubtful about Ehrenberg’s suitability for the position of librarian.

72 Letter from G. Ehrenberg to W. Kętrzyński, Warsaw, December 16, 1869 (B. Kórn., ms AB 111, ff. 1b–1bv).

with underlinings and corrections, content probably congruent with the *Tomiciana*. These loose sheets and leaves were once (apparently also in the 18<sup>th</sup> century) numbered in pencil and possibly arranged tidily, but this order has been disturbed, so that today not only is the previous sequence of items disrupted but you also sometimes come across documents certainly belonging to this collection in completely different boxes”].

Such observations clearly imply that Stworzyński’s earlier work had been forgotten about and no use was made of his inventory of the Zamoyski Archive and his descriptive list of the TG. It seems probable, then, that the surviving copy of his descriptive list of the contents of the TG was the only copy that ever existed and that it had already been removed from the BOZ. Another important fact stressed by Ehrenberg is the disorder in which the collection was found, quite natural considering that the manuscripts had been kept for lengthy periods in temporary conditions, lacked permanent professional care and had been moved twice to different locations during just a quarter of a century.

Once the BOZ had been installed in Warsaw, the TG could be made available for users. Access to manuscripts was in fact limited, however, to privileged upper-class scholars who were well connected and knew the owners of the library. It is likely that even before the collapse of the ceiling in the 1840s the TG were inspected by historian and archaeologist Mikołaj Malinowski (1799–1865) based in Wilno (today’s Vilnius), who mentions several letters from them in his book published some years later, in the mid-1860s<sup>73</sup>. Since he refers to very few of the large number of items found in the TG and makes no com-

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73 *Stanisława Łaskiego wojewody sieradzkiego prace naukowe i dyplomatyczne wydane z rękopisów Muzeum Wileńskiego z przedmową Mikołaja Malinowskiego oraz z dodatkiem dzieł Jana Tarnowskiego z jedyne go egzemplarza Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, Wilno 1864, pp. XII, LXXXV. Towards the end of his life, Malinowski struggled with weakening sight and poor health in general. The BOZ collections were inaccessible during the period directly preceding the publication. It is therefore most likely that he became acquainted with the TG during his earlier visits to the Zamoyski Library mentioned in, for example: *Pamiętniki o dawnej Polsce z czasów Zygmunta Augusta obejmujące listy Jana Franciszka Commendoniego do Karola Boromeusza*, collected by J. Albertrandi, transl. by J. Krzeczkowski, commentary by M. Malinowski, vol. 1, Wilno 1847, p. 170, footnote 1.

ment on the rest of the collection, it is not certain whether he was aware of the nature of the TG and their relation to the *Tomicians*.

The next user of the collection that we can identify by name is Aleksander Przeddziecki (1814–1871), one of the most eminent historians, archaeologists and editors of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Przeddziecki was also a renowned philanthropist and founder of the Przeddziecki Family Library in Warsaw, comparable to the BOZ. Shortly after the reopening of the BOZ in 1868, Przeddziecki used the TG in a similar way to Malinowski before him, consulting only certain texts that were of interest to him<sup>74</sup>. Both historians write simply that the resources which they used were kept in the Zamoyski collections.

However, we should stress that revealing the contents of private manuscript collections which shed light on Polish national history was not always an obvious thing to do at the time of the Partitions (1795–1918), especially in the initial years following the January Uprising of 1863–1864. After putting down the Uprising, the Russian authorities introduced repressive measures aimed at limiting not only Poland’s political but also its cultural autonomy. The hard-line policies of the regime caused anxiety about possible negative effects on institutions such as libraries which had been established to protect the national heritage in the “Kingdom of Poland” – the remnant of the central territories of the former Kingdom of Poland, with Warsaw as its capital, placed under Russian sovereignty after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and effectively autonomous in the initial years after its creation.

This widespread fear was shared by Ehernberg. He writes that the BOZ was among the Polish institutions that were “niepewne egzystencji swojej, której jawność nie sprzyja”<sup>75</sup> [“uncertain of their existence, which is not favoured by overtness”]. It is known that the fourteenth *Ordynat*, Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski (1832–1889), did not

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74 A. Przeddziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI wieku*, vol. 5: *Uzupelnienia, rozprawy, materiały głównie z Ces. Tajnego Archiwum Wiedeńskiego czerpane*, expanded and published by J. Szujski, Kraków 1878, p. XI, footnote 1; p. XIV, footnote 1; p. XVI, footnote 1; pp. 4–8, no. 2; pp. 12–13, no. 6; pp. 13–14, no. 7 (posthumous work).

75 Letter from G. Ehernberg to W. Kętrzyński, Warsaw, December 16, 1869 (B. Kórn., Ms AB 111, f. 1b).

wish the whereabouts of the TG to be disclosed. This caution in sharing information was justified given the very real threat of repressive measures against Polish academic and cultural institutions. However, Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski's cautious approach did not mean the definitive closure of the collection to scholars.

Between the 1820s and the early 1870s, in circumstances that are currently unknown, a significant number of items disappeared from the TG. The earliest possible date for the losses is when the library hall in the Blue Palace was completed and the collection arranged on the shelves, making it accessible to the first visitors<sup>76</sup>. A considerable part of the manuscripts that disappeared from the collection concerns the Łaski family, and also Polish-Hungarian and Polish-Habsburg relations. The losses no doubt had something to do with data being gathered for historical studies. The names of those responsible for the losses should probably be sought among the authors of works on these subjects – a task that would require considerable effort, however, as such problems were relatively popular among historians in the mid- to late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The losses were not recorded until 1875, when they were registered by Józef Przyborowski (1823-1896, head of the BOZ 1872-1896<sup>77</sup>) on small cards loosely inserted in the TG boxes. Parts of these notes have survived<sup>78</sup>.

The majority of the TG manuscripts taken from the BOZ later came into the hands of the ethnographer, archaeologist, historian and collector Zygmunt Gloger (1845-1910). Today they form part of his collection, which belongs to the Archiwum Narodowe [National Archives], formerly known as the Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], in Cracow<sup>79</sup>. We found there the following items from the TG: from Box I –

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76 J. Lelewel, *Bibliograficznych ksiąg dwoje*, vol. 2, Wilno 1826, pp. 163-164. Cf. B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 316-318.

77 B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 329-335; W. Motz, "Przyborowski Józef", in: SPKP, p. 725.

78 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG X, f. 198a; TG XI, f. I; TG XXIV, f. I; TG XV, f. I; TG XIX, f. I.

79 Archiwum Narodowe, Zygmunt Gloger Collection, no. 750. Unfortunately there are no studies on how Gloger assembled his manuscripts, despite the fact that the collection attracts a lively interest among researchers. Gloger's endeavours to gather various categories of objects are described briefly by: A. Antoniuk, "Z działalności kolekcjonerskiej Zygmunta Glogera", in: *Zygmunt Gloger – badacz przeszłości ziemi*

Nos. 16, 22, 23, 26, 80, 85, 88, 98, 100; from Box II - nos. 162, 169; from Box III - nos. 196, 210, 250; from Box IV - Nos. 350, 396; from Box V - no. 483; from Box VII - no. 802; from Box VIII - no. 883; from Box XI - nos. 1238, 1344; from Box XVIII - Nos. 2111, 2112; from Box XXI - nos. 2541, 2544; from Box XXIV - no. 3021; from Box XXVII - no. 3539; from Box XXIX - no. 3678. In all, 28 items.

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a remarkable development of Polish historiography, despite the lack of institutional and financial support, intentionally limited by the partitioning nation-states. Historians were no longer simply amateurs from the upper class, people with enough time and money to devote themselves to travelling in search of old manuscripts, usually stored in the residences of their relatives and friends. After the failed uprisings, a new generation of professional historians emerged from a slightly more diverse social background, trained at universities and employed by intuitions which rewarded formal research. With this increasing “professionalisation” came better methodology and the desire for more objective, scientific findings. Unsurprisingly, providing reliable data from original texts became one of the main concerns of these new historians, leading to significant progress in manuscript studies and the editing of primary sources. It was only a matter of time before the TG attracted the closer attention of scholars, who were increasingly eager to explore and publish such a large body of historical texts.

When it came to the TG, one of those leading the way here was Prince Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski (1826–1908), historian, philanthropist and humanitarian. Lubomirski appears to be the first person to understand accurately the nature of the collection and the significance of

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*ojczystej*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 37–50. The authors of more recent works on the Gloger Collection usually rely on general findings from the introduction to the unpublished archival inventory by F. Zacny dating from 1994, available in the National Archive Reading Room. Cf. W. Wilczewski, “Zasób tzw. Archiwum Zygmunta Glogera w Oddziale Wawelskim Archiwum Państwowego w Krakowie”, *Białostocczyzna* 1993, no. 2 (30), p. 30; S. Radoń, “Zbiór Zygmunta Glogera w Archiwum Państwowym w Krakowie”, in: *Spotkania z Glogerem. Studia i materiały z łomżyńskiej sesji i konkursów glogerowskich 1985–1995*, Łomża 1995, p. 129; A. Pełakowski, “Źródła do dziejów rodziny Zamojskich [!] w Zbiorze Zygmunta Glogera w Archiwum Państwowym w Krakowie”, *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny* 15, 2009, pp. 77–79.

its manuscripts. Unlike previous users, he views the collection as an organic whole. Equally importantly, he is also the first to inform the reading public about his findings. He first mentions the TG *en passant* in a work about royal finances under King Sigismund I, published in 1868. It is probably no coincidence that this was also the date that the BOZ reopened after its restoration. In a footnote he compares the value of three different primary sources (*Volumina legum* - an eighteenth-century edition of Polish statutory law, an edition of *Acta Tomiciana* and *Metrica Regni Poloniae*) for research into his subject, and suggests that it would be useful to collate the information provided by each of them. He aptly notes: “Akta Tomickiego układano w duchu tendencyjnym (mówię nie o oryginale, którym się posługiwałem, lecz o kopiach, z których drukował śp. Tytus hr. Działyński)”<sup>80</sup> [“Tomicki’s Acts were arranged in a tendentious spirit (I do not refer to the original which I used, but to copies which were used in the edition by the late Count Tytus Działyński)”. To support this observation he quotes, after citing the rough draft of the tax decision by the General Sejm of 1527/1528, a paragraph which was deleted during the final proof and is thus absent from the final version<sup>81</sup>. He specifically refers to the TG - although, as was Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski’s wish, he does not mention exactly which institution held the manuscripts he examined.

Although guarded, Lubomirski’s observations did not escape the notice of readers of his paper and it was not long before they met with criticism. Ksawery Liske (1838–1891), one of the most active and influential members of the Polish academic community in Galicia, which was under the Austrian Partition, took Lubomirski’s statement about Działyński basing the *Tomiciana* on tendentious copies as an accusa-

80 [J.T.] L[ubomirski], *Trzy rozdziały z historii skarbowości w Polsce 1507–1532*, Kraków 1868, p. 64, footnote 1.

81 Ibidem, p. 92 (quoted from BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG IX, no. 1057, ff. 165v–166). It should be noted that no critical edition exists as yet showing how the text was modified as a result of conflicts of interests (cf. *Volumina constitutionum*, vol. 2, eds. W. Uruszczak, S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, Warszawa 2000, pp. 34–38; AT 10, pp. 69–73, no. 72). Lubomirski’s comment on the wording the act, although not in line with today’s research standards, forms an exception in the literature on the subject.

tion directed against the distinguished editor<sup>82</sup>. It appears that here he misunderstood the use of the term “original”, taking it to refer to another copy, but written in the hand of the creator of the *Tomiciana*<sup>83</sup>. He was sceptical about the value of the manuscripts that Lubomirski used, although he knew where they were to be found: “słyszeliśmy, że podobno rzeczywiście Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej posiadać ma oryginalny zbiór aktów Tomickiego, tj. rękopism spisany ręką układacza tych «Aktów» kanonika Stanisława Górskiego, słyszeliśmy, że dobrze o tem wiedział sam wydawca aktów Tomickiego, lecz że wiedział zarazem, iż ówczesny [XIII] ordynat i właściciel owej biblioteki [Konstanty Zamoyski (1799-1866)] w żaden sposób nie pozwoli korzystać z rękopismów w jego ręku pozostających”<sup>84</sup> [“We have heard that apparently indeed the Zamoyski Family Library has the original collection of Tomicki’s Acts, that is, manuscripts written by the arranger of those ‘Acts’, Canon Stanisław Górski, and we have also heard that the editor of Tomicki’s Acts was well aware of their existence, but he was also aware that the then thirteenth *Ordynat* and owner of this library, Konstanty Zamoyski, was absolutely against the use of the manuscripts in his possession”].

Liske well knew how important it would be to have an insight into Górski’s method of working, but he did not believe that any working materials could have been preserved. He writes: “ważną by było

82 K. Liske, *Dyplomacja polska w roku 1527*, Lwów 1869, pp. 3-4 (reprint from *Biblioteka Ossolińskich* 12, 1869).

83 In defending Działyński’s considerable reputation as a competent editor, Liske was supported by another important figure from Galician academic circles, namely the historian, editor and curator of the Ossolineum Institute, August Bielowski (1806-1876). He adds to Liske’s critical remarks about Lubomirski’s opinion of the published *Acta Tomiciana* (Liske’s paper was originally published in a journal he was in charge of) in an editor’s note, where he argues that the late Działyński had done his best to use not only copies but also the “original” *Tomiciana*. He reminds his readers that some volumes in the Karnkowski Collection, then regarded as the “original *Acta Tomiciana*” because of Górski’s coat of arms (Bogoria) being stamped on their covers, had been lent to Działyński by the Ossolineum. On the circulation of handwritten *Tomiciana* from Lviv and the progress of the edition, see Działyński’s correspondence with Bielowski from 1852-1860: “Korespondencja Augusta Bielowskiego z Biblioteką Kórnicką w latach 1845-1876”, part 1: “Wymiana listów z Tytusem Działyńskim w latach 1847-1860”, ed. H. Chłopocka, *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 16, 1980, *passim*.

84 K. Liske, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

rzeczą, gdybyśmy pod ręką mieć mogli archiwum, z którego korzystał Górski, ważną dlatego, żebyśmy w takim razie sami odczytywali oryginały, które Górski przepisywał, i przekonać byśmy się mogli, o ile odpowiedział on słusznym wymaganiom, lecz w rękopiśmie Górskiego oryginałów już nie ma i być nie może, być to tylko może kopiariusz jego ręką sporządzony”<sup>85</sup> [“It would be an important matter if we had within our reach an archive used by Górski - important, because then we could ourselves read the originals that Górski copied and we could discover how far he met the required standards, but in Górski’s manuscripts there are no originals, nor can there be: there can only be copies made by his own hand”].

Later on, Liske correctly points out that Lubomirski only mentions one example of the “tendentious spirit” in which Działyński arranged Tomicki’s Acts, and moreover does not explain exactly what he understands by the original of the *Tomiciana* or what premises he uses in his interpretation of the researched manuscripts: “na gołe słowo rzeczy takich wierzyć nie można, w sprawach tego rodzaju będziemy zawsze owym niewiernym Tomaszem, który dopiero wtenczas uwierzy, kiedy sam palce w ranę włoży”<sup>86</sup> [“Words alone are not enough for us to trust such things; in such matters we shall always be like that doubting Thomas who did not believe unless he put his finger in the wound”].

Lubomirski later responded to the doubts voiced by Liske, describing the collection more accurately as follows: “zawiera minuty ekspedycji kancelarii królewskiej i oryginały otrzymanych odpowiedzi i odezw. Pierwsze pisane ręką Maciejowskiego, Hozjusza i Kromera, a poprawiane przez Tomickiego, drugie jako wychodzące z kancelarii zagranicznych lub od osób prywatnych, opatrzone własnoręcznymi podpisami króla Ludwika Węgierskiego, cesarza Karola V, króla Ferdynanda I i Franciszka I, Erazma Rotterdamszczyka, Andrzeja Krzyckiego, Jana Dantyszka, Seweryna Bonera itd.”<sup>87</sup> [“It contains rough drafts

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85 Ibidem, p. 4.

86 Ibidem, p. 5.

87 [J.T. Lubomirski], “Kronika bibliograficzna”, *Przegląd Polski* 4, 1870, fas. 10, p. 159. Lubomirski is wrong on some details: there are neither drafts written by Marcin Kromer nor letters signed by Charles V and Seweryn Boner in the TG.

of dispatches from the Royal Chancellery and originals of incoming replies and proclamations. The former are written by the hand of Maciejowski, Hozjusz and Kromer and corrected by Tomicki, and the latter are sent by foreign chancelleries or private individuals, bearing the signatures of King Louis of Hungary, Emperor Charles V, King Ferdinand I and Francis I, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Andrzej Krzycki, Jan Dantyszek, Seweryn Boner etc.]. At the same time, Lubomirski implies that Liske was too hasty in revealing the location of the manuscripts, against the owner's explicit wishes: "nie mam ani prawa, ani chęci powiedzenia, gdzie się znajduje ten zbiór [— —] pozostawiam innym odwagę narażenia na niebezpieczeństwo własności prywatnej, która jest zarazem i częścią skarbu narodowego"<sup>88</sup> ["I have neither the right nor the wish to reveal where the collection is to be found [— —] I leave it to others careless enough to expose to danger someone's private property which is also part of the national legacy"].

The main misunderstanding on the part of readers with regards to Lubomirski's findings was mistaking the TG for ready-made *Tomiciiana*, whereas in fact they were more like the raw material than the complete edifice. This misunderstanding is forgivable: after all, Lubomirski's work was pioneering. Without sufficient context, his succinct comments were open to various interpretations. Besides, at the time there was no apt term for clearly differentiating this part of Górski's oeuvre from the volumes of the *Tomiciiana*. Prior to this, knowledge about the TG was passed on through unofficial channels only, so it is no wonder that historians found it difficult to form an opinion about it. Until Lubomirski's rejoinder to Liske's criticisms appeared in April 1870 - a reply that left little room for further speculation - Liske's views probably coincided with those of most well-informed historians.

While the debate between Lubomirski and Liske continued, historian Wojciech Kętrzyński (1838-1918) was given an opportunity to study the collection more closely. Kętrzyński distinguished himself in research into Górski's oeuvre, although he directed little attention to the TG from the BOZ. He later held for many years the position of Director

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88 Ibidem.

of the Ossoliński Institute (Ossolineum). From late November 1868 to March 1, 1870 he was employed as a librarian at Kórnik, where his main task was to continue the series *Acta Tomiciana*, suspended after the death of its first editor Count Tytus Działyński (1861). Although nominally Tytus Działyński was its editor until Volume 8, the work was gradually becoming the exclusive domain of the Kórnik librarian Ludwik Koenigk (1810–1890)<sup>89</sup>. While Tytus Działyński was still alive, Koenigk managed to prepare Volume 9, albeit ineptly, but its printing was already supervised by Jan Działyński (1829–1880), Tytus's only son. Distribution of the publication was made impossible by the sequestration of the Kórnik estate as punishment for Jan Działyński's support of the January Uprising. Subsequently Jan Działyński spent several years abroad and it was only following his amnesty and the restitution of the property that he could return to his patronage of arts and letters, including funding the uncompleted publication.

The disruption in releasing successive volumes, although unfortunate, provided an opportunity for a new beginning and the adjustment of the series to modern editorial standards. At first, Jan Działyński ordered Kętrzyński only to proofread and republish Volume 9, and then to begin work on the next volumes as quickly as possible. However, when Kętrzyński discovered gross mistakes in Koenigk's work, Działyński agreed to publish a new edition of Volume 9. Kętrzyński's task was twofold: to correct the many and various typographical and factual errors caused by the negligence of his predecessor, and to establish the accurate text of letters and other documents based on all of the available manuscript evidence. Koenigk generally only used the manuscripts that were available in Kórnik.

As part of the preparatory work, Kętrzyński, at Działyński's expense, visited some of the most important libraries with sixteenth-century manuscripts. From December 1868 to January 1869 he travelled to the Czartoryski Library in Paris, the greater part of the collection having been evacuated from Poland temporarily after the fall of the Novem-

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89 M.J. Lamberti, P. Nowak, "Ludwik Koenigk (1810–1890). Wydawca, nauczyciel, publicysta", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 23, 1993, pp. 83–85.

ber Uprising in 1831. In October and November 1869 he went to Galicia, where he examined the collections of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow and the Library of the Ossoliński Institute (Ossolineum) in Lviv. He also consulted the holdings of the Raczyński Library in Rogalin near Kórnik (not to be confused with the Raczyński Library in Poznań) and naturally the manuscripts in the Kórnik Library. His examination of these manuscripts provided him with materials for a study which, although not published until 1871, reflects his findings while working for Działyński<sup>90</sup>.

Kętrzyński's published study is of unquestionable value. It enriches our knowledge of Górski's life and activity, attempting as it does to identify the relationship between the different collections of *Tomiciana* manuscripts and later copies of them. It also brings to light some of the "working drafts", as Kętrzyński calls them, that is, fragments of the TG from the Czartoryski and Działyński collections. The study's main shortcoming, however, is its complete neglect of the TG preserved in the BOZ. Instead, Kętrzyński merely refers to Lubomirski's work in a digression: "bruliony Piotra Tomickiego w jednej z prywatnych bibliotek warszawskich znajdujące się niezupełnie zgadzają się z tekstem Górskiego, jak o tem świadczy autor trzech rozdziałów o skarbowości polskiej"<sup>91</sup> ["Piotr Tomicki's working drafts in one of the private Warsaw libraries do not completely agree with Górski's text, as had been indicated by the author of three chapters about Polish treasury"]. This is a rather puzzling omission, especially considering what would appear to be the favourable conditions created by Działyński for Kętrzyński to expand his research to include the BOZ. Luckily, Kętrzyński's oversight resulted in only a few years' delay before a survey of the TG was begun and details of the collection were shared with scholars.

Kętrzyński's neglect, to put it mildly, of the Warsaw collection was one of the reasons why he lost his job at Kórnik. The circumstances

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90 W. Kętrzyński, "O Stanisławie Górskim kanoniku plockim i krakowskim i jego dziełach", *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* 6, 1871, pp. 85-145 (also as a separate reprint).

91 Ibidem, p. 137.

under which Działyński dismissed him are discussed in detail by Andrzej Mężyński, who rightly sees the core of the conflict between the owner of the library and his librarian as their differing attitudes towards searching for and selecting manuscripts for the publication<sup>92</sup> – and not, as Władysław Chojnacki claims in an earlier study, personal arguments about matters of secondary importance<sup>93</sup>. Działyński was willing to postpone publication in order to perfect the work rather than presenting readers with a substandard product which would be easy prey for critics. Kętrzyński was of a different opinion: he wanted the book to appear as soon as possible at the cost of it having some shortcomings – shortcomings of which he was also aware. At the time, Kętrzyński was running for a chair at the Jagiellonian University<sup>94</sup> and having an important completed publication would have helped him. He was ready to move to Galicia even before his autumn trip to Cracow in 1869 in connection with the work on the edition. He considered the work finished towards the end of that year and sent it to the printers. This bringing forward of the publication date was therefore probably motivated by personal reasons.

Evidence to Kętrzyński's disfavour comes above all from surviving correspondence, from which we shall quote only those letters that most clearly show that he did not, in relation to the TG, adhere

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- 92 A. Mężyński, "Biblioteka Kórnicka Jana Działyńskiego", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 12, 1976, pp. 130–134. Later the author presents a more balanced interpretation of Działyński's conflict with Kętrzyński, while remaining true to his principal thesis: id., "Działalność wydawnicza Jana Działyńskiego", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 14, 1978, pp. 84–86; id., *Jan Działyński 1829–1880*, Wrocław et al. 1987, pp. 183–189.
- 93 W. Chojnacki, "Wojciech Kętrzyński a Wielkopolska", *Roczniki Historyczne* 23, 1957, pp. 374–376. "The choice of the printing house and the date of publication" are wrongly given as the main cause of the conflict by: H. Keferstein, W. Żuławska, "Bibliotekarska działalność Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego", *Rocznik Olsztyński* 7, 1968, p. 86. Using only secondary sources, except Mężyński's work, E. Serwański failed to resolve the question: E. Serwański, *Syn Odzyskanej Ziemi. Wojciech Kętrzyński (1838–1918)*, 2nd ed., corrected and updated, Warszawa 1989, pp. 115–117. The matter is not adequately clarified by the latest popular biography of Kętrzyński: S. Achremczyk, *Wojciech Kętrzyński. Historyk – bibliotekarz – poeta*, Kętrzyn 2008, pp. 48–49.
- 94 H. Barycz, "Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego starania o katedrę uniwersytecką w Krakowie", *Przegląd Historyczny* 37, 1948, pp. 324–327 – an article based only on the university's archives, not considering any other primary sources; A. Skrobicki, "Dlaczego Wojciech Kętrzyński nie otrzymał katedry na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w 1869 roku", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 1973, no. 3, pp. 209–211.

to the standards of scholarly editions that prevailed at the time. As early as October 1, 1869, Zygmunt Celichowski - Działyński's secretary - informed Kętrzyński of Działyński's strong wish that more attention should be given to the "originals of the *Tomiciana*" from the BOZ, which Lubomirski had personally recommended to Działyński<sup>95</sup>. Celichowski also informed Kętrzyński that he was planning to go to Warsaw to research those documents as soon as he had passed his doctoral exams. Therefore Kętrzyński was not justified in claiming that he was unable to access the TG as he was prohibited from entering Congress Poland because of his recent involvement in smuggling arms for the January insurgents, for which he was sentenced in Prussia<sup>96</sup>.

Relatively late, on December 12, 1869, having completed (as he believed) his work on the *Tomiciana*, Kętrzyński addressed a query to the BOZ about possible materials for his edition. Ehrenberg replied within a week, sending Kętrzyński a long letter which we think paints a true picture of the situation with regard to the TG, the degree to which its contents had been inspected, the storage conditions and the circulation policy<sup>97</sup>. This letter is evidence of goodwill and in a way an offer of cooperation in gathering source materials for the edition. Ehrenberg writes that although the relationship between the TG and the *Tomiciana* is unclear, it is certainly worthwhile comparing the two to obtain different readings of the texts, if not for any other reason. He also assures Kętrzyński that although Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski would not allow the manuscripts to be taken out of the library, he would be quite willing to make them accessible inside the library and to produce copies of them. The contents of this letter, including an invitation to visit Warsaw, which Kętrzyński tried to make light of in his correspondence with Działyński<sup>98</sup>, contributed to the printing

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95 B. Kórn., ms 7451, ff. 25v-26.

96 J. Jasiński, "Wojciech Kętrzyński w powstaniu styczniowym", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 1967, no. 1/2, pp. 85-119.

97 B. Kórn., ms AB 111, ff. 1b-1bv. Description of the TG in the letter quoted earlier, see above pp. 38-39.

98 Letter of December 22, 1869 (B. Kórn., ms 7450, ff. 19-20v).

of the publication being halted and the end of Kętrzyński's work for Działyński, the former having clearly fallen short of the latter's expectations<sup>99</sup>.

Kętrzyński's duties were taken over by Celichowski<sup>100</sup>, who unlike his predecessor assigned the TG a key role in the edition of *Acta Tomiciana*. Celichowski paid his first visit to the BOZ in the summer of 1871<sup>101</sup>. Tomasz Franciszek Zamoyski allowed the resources of the BOZ to be used and Józef Przyborowski, then head of the BOZ, cooperated with Celichowski<sup>102</sup>. However, Zamoyski was still cautious about having the whereabouts of the TG published and agreed only to the veiled formula earlier adopted by Lubomirski. Celichowski was aware that such information was insufficient for modern scholarship and tried to argue, but in vain<sup>103</sup>. In his preface to Volume 9, which finally appeared in 1876, he did not state directly that the TG were the property of the BOZ, instead listing the Zamoyski Library among those institutions which provided access to "original documents"<sup>104</sup>. Zamoyski

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- 99 In a letter of December 29, 1869, W. Kętrzyński informs Działyński that Vol. 9 of the AT is ready to go to press (B. Kórn., ms 7450, f. 24). In another letter, from January 26, 1870, he asks for permission to begin printing and mentions that in any case Celichowski could go to Warsaw no earlier than that summer or autumn (B. Kórn., ms 7450, ff. 26-26v). Only in a letter dated March 13, 1870, after the categorical order had come to suspend the printing, does Kętrzyński begin to show a more sympathetic attitude towards searching the BOZ, and encloses a copy of Ehrenberg's letter (B. Kórn., ms 7450, ff. 27v-28; enclosed with the letter - *ibidem*, ff. 46-47). Działyński mentions the reasons for his dissatisfaction with Kętrzyński's services in a letter to Kętrzyński of May 1870: above all the fact that Kętrzyński had ignored the TG and copies - admittedly less significant but still deserving consideration - from the *Teki Naruszewicza* sent to Kórnik from the Czartoryski collection in Paris. Only later does Działyński remind Kętrzyński about his insubordination regarding negotiating and agreeing a contract with the printer (B. Kórn., ms 7450, ff. 44v-45; autograph; above the text of the letter there is a note, probably in Celichowski's hand, stating that the letter was not sent).
- 100 A. Meżyński, "Biblioteka Kórnicka Jana...", p. 137; W. Karkucińska, "Wydawca", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 24, 1996 [special issue in memoriam Zygmunt Celichowski], pp. 42-43.
- 101 Letter from W. Kętrzyński's to Z. Celichowski, August 2, 1871 (B. Kórn., ms AB 25, f. 17).
- 102 For details of the cooperation with the BOZ, which developed favourably not only during the preparation of the AT, see letters from J. Przyborowski to Z. Celichowski from 1870-1896 (B. Kórn., ms AB 49).
- 103 J. Przyborowski to Z. Celichowski, September 3, 1873 (B. Kórn., ms AB 49, ff. 17-17v).
- 104 AT 9, p. II.

only learnt about this after the book appeared: a copy of the book had been sent Zamoyski immediately but he was not in Warsaw at the time, so did not see it until later<sup>105</sup>. As a result he may have reacted less strongly than would otherwise have been the case, given that his instructions had only been partly followed.

Importantly, this did not have an adverse effect on Celichowski's later research in the BOZ. Manuscripts from the BOZ were used subsequently for Volumes 10 to 13 of *Tomiciana*, published 1899-1915<sup>106</sup>. Thanks to Celichowski's edition, the TG quickly became known and were soon regarded as indispensable for studies of the era of Sigismund I, used by both researchers and editors. The interest the TG aroused provided a stimulus to Zamoyski's librarians to keep the collection in order and describe it in more detail. Thus it was probably due to Celichowski and his request that in 1875 Przyborowski carried out the above-mentioned revision of the contents of the TG.

Later queries from other researchers were focused on specific subjects, and not as extensive as that of Celichowski. One request worth mentioning, however, was in connection with the monumental *Corpus iuris Polonici* edited by Oswald Balzer (1858-1933), a professor of legal history at the University of Lviv. In 1900 Balzer's student Przemysław Dąbkowski (1877-1950, later also a renowned legal historian) searched the TG paying special attention to any parts relevant for the history of legislation<sup>107</sup>. His work has been preserved in Balzer's archives<sup>108</sup>. In our catalogue of the TG, for those items that have not survived we quote the summaries made at the time.

Towards the end of his life, Celichowski set out to assemble manuscripts for his edition of Volume 14 of the *Acta Tomiciana*, which was to

105 J. Przyborowski to Z. Celichowski, November 1, 1876 (B. Kórn., Ms AB 49, f. 25v).

106 Cf. critical remarks on Celichowski's publishing methods in: W. Pocięcha, "W sprawie...", pp. 36-38; id., "Przedmowa", pp. IX-X.

107 Letters dating from late April to late June 1900 containing reports on the course of the search in the TG (B. Oss., Ms 7786, pp. 82, 84, 98, 101, 105, 119). The last of these letters informs the addressee of the closure of the BOZ for the holidays and Dąbkowski's departure from Warsaw. Dąbkowski had no time to look through Boxes XXVIII and XXIX. The registers for these two boxes are written in a different hand, which suggests the search was finished by someone else.

108 B. Oss., Mss 7786, 7788.

cover the year 1532<sup>109</sup>. However, owing to the First World War, the poor financial situation of the Kórnik Library<sup>110</sup> and Celichowski's weakening health in the years before his death in 1923, this work did not proceed beyond the initial stage. The director of the BOZ Tadeusz Korzon (1839-1918)<sup>111</sup>, a historian and representative of what is known as the "Warsaw Historical School", delegated a young historian named Halina Siemieńska (1884-1943) to work with Kórnik; Siemieńska, the wife of historian and archivist Józef Siemieński (1882-1941), had earlier searched for, copied and collated texts from the TG for the work on Volume 13<sup>112</sup>.

Siemieńska completed the work for Volume 14 by the end of June 1916<sup>113</sup> and her findings, sent to Kórnik, are preserved in the archive of the Kórnik Library. They are contained in a typescript with a few corrections and notes added in Korzon's hand. The typescript has two parts: the first, which is more general, lists materials from the year 1532 onwards in Boxes XXIV to XXIX<sup>114</sup>; the second, which is more detailed, contains descriptions of items dating from 1532 in Boxes XIV to XVI<sup>115</sup>, including headlines copied verbatim from the original and other basic information such as dates, the relationship with the original and, less frequently, the scribes' hand and the means of authenti-

109 Materials for the edition, mainly in B. Kórn., MS AB 156.

110 For details of the financial situation and organisation of publishing activities in Kórnik in the time of Władysław Zamoyski (1853-1924), the last private owner of the Kórnik library, see: T. Kowalski, "Działalność wydawnicza Biblioteki Kórnickiej do roku 1925", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 7, 1959, pp. 134-135; S.K. Potocki, "Podstawy finansowe Biblioteki Kórnickiej w latach 1826-1924", *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej* 12, 1976, p. 34; R. Osiewała, "Społeczne, ekonomiczne i własnościowe uwarunkowania funkcjonowania Biblioteki Kórnickiej", *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Historica* 85, 2010, pp. 114, 116.

111 B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów...", pp. 336-338; H. Chamerska, "Korzon Tadeusz Sylwester", in: SPKP, p. 445.

112 Letters from T. Korzon to Z. Celichowski of November 26, 1911 (B. Kórn., MS AB 99, p. 38), April 24, 1915 (B. Kórn., MS AB 29, p. 19) and September 28, 1915 (B. Kórn., MS AB 99, p. 40).

113 Postcard from T. Korzon to Z. Celichowski of June 28, 1916 (B. Kórn., MS AB 29, f. 21); Siemieńska's receipt of the payment for the work done, July 8, 1916 (B. Kórn., MS AB 99, p. 44).

114 B. Kórn., MS AB 133, ff. 1-2.

115 Ibidem, ff. 3-30.

cation (signatures, seals). We used Siemieńska's work to complement our reconstructions of those items that are currently missing, quoting her in relevant places in our catalogue of the TG.

Around the same time Siemieńska was doing her work, part of the TG manuscripts whose absence had been noted first by Przyborowski and later by Celichowski<sup>116</sup> were recovered. These were almost exclusively materials connected to the Łaski family, nearly all of them dating from 1530 and 1531<sup>117</sup>. Their restitution certainly took place after Przyborowski's death in 1896; we know this because when registering the missing items Celichowski mentions notes by "the late J. Przyborowski". It is almost certain that they were returned after the publication of Volumes 12 and 13 of the *Acta Tomiciana*, published in 1906 and 1915 respectively, in which the items were not used. The latest possible date for their return is November 1924, when the contents of all the boxes were checked by the BOZ librarian Jadwiga Korzonowa (1871-1942, librarian 1918-1929<sup>118</sup>), who crossed out the recovered items from Przyborowski's cards<sup>119</sup>. It was also probably at this point that Korzonowa reviewed the earlier foliation noted in pencil and altered it slightly, changing some pages from verso to recto and stamping all pages with a number stamp.

Undoubtedly the best-known researcher who examined the TG during the interwar period was Władysław Pocięcha (1893-1958), the author of an extensive, although unfinished, biography of Queen Bona<sup>120</sup>. Pocięcha was Director of the Kórnik Library and later Vice-Director of the Jagiellonian Library<sup>121</sup>. In the 1920s he began work on

116 B. Kórn., mss AB 131, AB 132.

117 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XI - Nos. 1291-1293, 1316, 1319; TG XXIV - nos. 3031, 3015, 3195; TG XXIX - no. 3856.

118 B. Horodyski, "Zarys dziejów..." , p. 338; D. Kamolowa, "Korzonowa Jadwiga", in: SPKP, pp. 445-446.

119 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XI, f. I; TG XXV, f. I; TG XIX, f. I.

120 W. Pocięcha, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557). Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 1-4, Poznań 1949-1958.

121 See especially H. Barycz, "Pocięcha Władysław Kazimierz August", in: PSB, vol. 22, pp. 19-23; M. Zawiercan, "Bibliotekarz, rękopiśmiennik, historyk epoki zygmontowskiej - Władysław Pocięcha", in: *Znawcy rękopisów*, ed. J. Cygańska, Warszawa 2002, pp. 52-68.

reactivating the *Acta Tomiciana* series, although it was not until 1952 that the first volume prepared by him appeared. Korzonowa's work at that time was probably connected with Pocięcha's visit to the BOZ. On the initiative of the Polish Academy of Learning, Pocięcha carried out in the years 1923–1924 a survey of primary sources from the Sigismund era<sup>122</sup>. He produced a number of copies and extracts of selected items from the TG, drew up a register of the entire collection for his own use (including some excerpts) and also had the manuscripts photographed; unfortunately these photographs are missing today so we have not been able to consult them. A more detailed description of Pocięcha's materials, especially relevant as a source of information about lost items from the TG, is to be found in the preface to our catalogue of the TG.

Korzonowa's revision and our understanding of the arrangement and partial dispersion of the collection in the 19<sup>th</sup> century allow us to determine exactly which items had already been lost when the Second World War broke out – in other words which items were in neither Warsaw nor the Gloger collection. The fate of the following items remains unknown: Nos. 143 and 154 from Box II, no. 1237 from Box X, no. 1519 from Box XII, Nos. 2917 and 2953 from Box XXIV, no. 3135 from Box XXXV, Nos. 3304 and 3309 from Box XXVI, and no. 3877 from Box XXIX. This makes up ten items in all, a small proportion (approximately 0.25%) of the whole. Of them, the contents of only two items can be ascertained. These are the two covered by Stworzyński's descriptive list, namely Nos. 143 and 154. As regards their contents, both seem akin to manuscripts discovered in the Gloger collection in that they refer to Hungarian subjects and the Łaski family, therefore we may assume that they left the library together with those manuscripts. As for the remaining eight items, we have no earlier documentation referring to them even in a generalised manner and thus their contents are unknown. However, there is some justification for concluding that all the items that were missing from the BOZ before the War left the collection during the same period, because this is the

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122 W. Pocięcha, "W sprawie...", p. 14; id., "Przedmowa", p. XII.

only confirmed case of items going missing from the TG before 1875, when they were noted by Przyborowski<sup>123</sup>.

Luckily the TG did not suffer any noticeable losses during military operations in the Second World War or the German occupation of 1939–1944. They sustained no damage when the Library’s buildings caught fire and were destroyed in the bombing attacks on Warsaw on September 7 and 25/26, 1939, when many other BOZ manuscripts were damaged<sup>124</sup>. The gravest threat to the TG came following the evacuation of manuscripts from Warsaw to Görbitsch (today’s Garbicz in the Lubuskie province) in November 1944. In March 1945 the Red Army was the first to reach the place where they were stored. The Soviets carried off to Moscow a major part of the collection in relatively good condition. The leftover manuscripts from the TG remained in the palace in Görbitsch and its vicinity, exposed to all kinds of weather and acts of vandalism. A Polish delegation responsible for the repossession of library collections arrived in Görbitsch in May 1945<sup>125</sup>. Delegates from the Ministry of Education, the sinologist Witold Jabłoński (1901–1957) and teatrologist Bohdan Korzeniewski (1905–1992), found damaged books and manuscripts scattered in various buildings and outside, even recovering some TG materials from a latrine<sup>126</sup> [see fig. 3]. In July 1945 the defective items from Görbitsch were brought back to Warsaw where, together with other surviving manuscripts and books from the BOZ collection, they were handed over to the National

123 Ludwik Kolankowski (1882–1956), a historian and from 1929 a director of the BOZ, is thus mistaken when he argues in a letter to Pocięcha from June 13, 1939 (B. Kórn., ms AB 440/1, n. pag.) that some papers from the TG borrowed by Celichowski had been lost while away from the Library and that he did not want that to happen again. He uses this mistaken belief to justify his refusal to send certain items to Pocięcha which were needed for the edition of the *Acta Tomiciana*.

124 On the circumstances and scope of the September 1939 losses suffered by the BOZ, see: B. Horodyski, “Straty...”, pp. 325–329; id., “Zarys dziejów...”, pp. 340–341; id., *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej w latach wojny*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 28–32.

125 “Sprawozdanie delegatów Ministerstwa Oświaty z wyjazdu do Goerbitsch pod Frankfurtem n/Odrą i rewindykacji książek z bibliotek warszawskich”, in: H. Łaskarzewska, “Bohdana Korzeniewskiego przygoda bibliotekarska”, *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 52, 2008, pp. 144–150. Cf. B. Korzeniewski, *Książki i ludzie*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 145–147.

126 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XIV, f. 82.

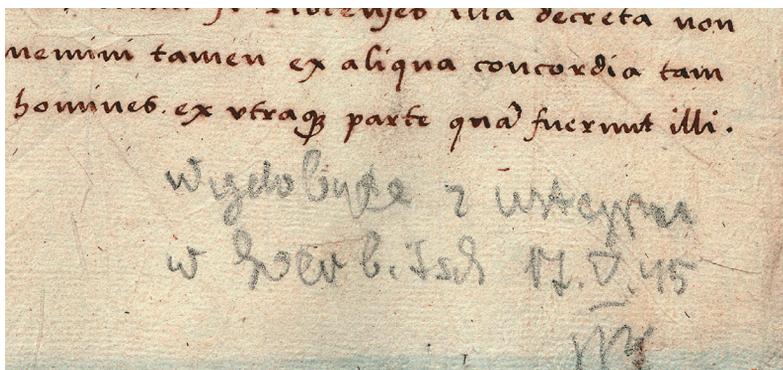


FIG. 3. Detail, bottom margin, pencil note: "Wydobyte z ustępu w Goerbitsch 17 V 1945"  
 ["Retrieved from the latrine in Görbitsch 17 May 1945"], signature illegible.  
 BN, ms BOZ 2053, TG XIV, f. 82.

Library<sup>127</sup>. In July 1947, TG II, III, V-VII, IX-XIII, XV, XVII, XX, XXII-XXV, XXVII and XXVIII were returned from Moscow to Warsaw<sup>128</sup>. The transfer of the BOZ manuscripts was publicised as a gesture of goodwill, bearing testimony to harmonious cooperation in the cultural sphere between the USSR and Poland<sup>129</sup>.

In the National Library, the BOZ was given the status of permanent loan, certified in writing by the sixteenth (and last) *Ordynat* Jan Zamoyski (1912-2002)<sup>130</sup>. Considered to be priceless treasures from past centuries, they were immediately put in the care of professionals. In the Manuscripts Department - headed by Bogdan Horodyski (1904-1965), formerly the distinguished custodian of the BOZ - the way the

- 127 K. Muszyńska, "Z pierwszych lat mojej pracy w Bibliotece Narodowej (1945-1949)", in: *Wspomnienia o Bibliotece Narodowej*, ed. A. Kłossowski, Warszawa 1995, p. 77; monthly report of the Manuscript Section of the National Library for July 1945 (BN Archive 487/75, p. 1).
- 128 *Lista książek i rękopisów Biblioteki Ord. Zamojskich [!] zwróconych przez Rząd Radziecki dnia 9 VII 1947 r.* [protocol drawn up on the opening of the chests], copy authenticated for its conformity to the original in the Chancellery of the National Library in 1971 (BN, ms akc. 15778). Cf. K. Muszyńska, "Z pierwszych lat...", pp. 80-81.
- 129 *Katalog wystawy rękopisów i druków wywiezionych przez hitlerowców do Niemiec uratowanych przez Armię Czerwoną i przekazanych Polsce przez rząd radziecki*, Warszawa 1948, pp. 3, 5, 7-8, 9, 14; *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich*, vol. 9: *styczeń 1946-grudzień 1949*, ed. E. Basiński et al., Warszawa 1974, pp. 215-216, no. 137; p. 217, no. 139.
- 130 *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej. Od Jana do Jana...*, pp. 251-252, no. 138 [electronic edition]; *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej. Przewodnik po wystawie*, ed. T. Makowski, Warszawa 2005, pp. 31-33 (English translation: pp. 51-52).

manuscript volumes were arranged in the BOZ was preserved as far as possible, as were the former shelf marks of individual items. In March 1946 the archival part of the collection was divided into three sections, again trying to reconstruct the pre-Second World War arrangement. The three sections were: correspondence of successive generations of the Zamoyski family; *dissoluta* without any visible reference codes; and the TG<sup>131</sup>. Further sorting of the TG was only possible after the collection was supplemented with the materials returned by the USSR in the summer of 1947. In the autumn of the same year, the consignment of manuscripts, temporarily deposited in the University Library, was sorted by Horodyski and Krystyna Muszyńska (1923–1994) working on behalf of the National Library<sup>132</sup>. In December 1947 the Manuscripts Department reported that 24 volumes of the TG had been stacked<sup>133</sup>. This does not mean that five volumes were still missing; rather the figure refers to the number of original boxes preserved<sup>134</sup>. Reconstruction of the contents according to the division into 29 boxes was completed in May 1950<sup>135</sup>, following which the manuscripts were again made accessible to readers.

A few of the missing items were later identified and returned. Nos. 2363 and 2364 were discovered in 1975<sup>136</sup> among the papers of historian Jan Karol Kochanowski (1869–1949), which found their way to the

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- 131 Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for March 1946 (BN Archive, 487/75, p. 15).
- 132 Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for September–November 1947 (BN Archive, 487/75, pp. 39–42).
- 133 Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for December 1947, fair copy (BN Archive, 487/75, pp. 47–48); annual report of the Manuscripts Department for the year 1947 (BN Archive, 487/25, p. 1).
- 134 Today we have 23 complete original boxes and two partly preserved ones. The difference in number – 23 rather than the 24 boxes mentioned in 1947 – is because during conservation work the seriously damaged box containing TG III was exchanged for a new one. The only preserved parts were a label provided by Stworzyński and the lining of the pull-out protective insert on which Korzonowa noted in 1924 the results of her inspection of the box's contents. Moreover, in 1947 the surviving protective insert of TG XXVIII, which could not be used on its own as packaging for the manuscripts, was not reported.
- 135 Monthly report of the Manuscripts Department for May 1950 (BN Archive, 487/75, p. 5).
- 136 Handwritten note by K. Muszyńska in a summary TG list, *rs*, working papers of the Manuscripts Department.

National Library together with the BOZ, where they were deposited during the German occupation<sup>137</sup>. In 1979, during work on Pocięcha's Nachlass in the Jagiellonian Library, nos. 2160 and 2161 were found and immediately incorporated into the rest of the TG in the National Library<sup>138</sup>. After the manuscripts were returned from the Soviet Union - the last transport arrived in March 1958 - the collection of the former BOZ was divided up between the National Library and the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records]. In the process a small number of items from the TG found their way to the latter institution by mistake: no. 1644 from Box XIV<sup>139</sup>, Nos. 2123<sup>140</sup>, 2131<sup>141</sup> and 2166<sup>142</sup> from Box XVIII, and Nos. 2264<sup>143</sup> and 2342<sup>144</sup> from Box XIX. After the War, the Russians also mistakenly sent some materials from the TG to Berlin, where they are to be found in the Staatsbibliothek, namely Nos. 1672-1674 from Box XIV and no. 2091 from Box XVIII<sup>145</sup>. The author of this article identified the items in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw and in the Berlin State Library as belonging to the TG only while working on the catalogue of the TG.

The number of items still lost and the boxes they once belonged to is as follows: two from Box II<sup>146</sup>, one from Box X<sup>147</sup>, one from Box XIII<sup>148</sup>, 29 from Box XIV<sup>149</sup>, 11 from Box XVIII<sup>150</sup>, 39 from Box XIX<sup>151</sup>, 31 from Box XX<sup>152</sup>,

137 On the papers and circumstances of their being deposited in the BOZ, see: Cz. Pomianowska, "Spuścizna Jana Karola Kochanowskiego", *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 1977, no. 2(69), pp. 10-11.

138 Handwritten note by K. Muszyńska, as above.

139 AGAD, AZ 3042, ff. 1-1v.

140 Ibidem, AZ 2895, pp. 62-63

141 Ibidem, pp. 65-66.

142 Ibidem, pp. 56-58.

143 Ibidem, AZ 3042, ff. 3-4.

144 Ibidem, ff. 2-2v.

145 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Depot 39, Bd. 1.

146 Nos. 143, 154.

147 No. 1237.

148 No. 1519.

149 Nos. 1587-1589, 1595-1599, 1601, 1647, 1654, 1655, 1661, 1663-1669, 1671, 1683-1688, 1692, 1693.

150 Nos. 2097, 2103, 2108-2110, 2113, 2114, 2133, 2167, 2168, 2179.

151 Nos. 2257, 2295-2297, 2300, 2304-2306, 2315, 2322, 2323, 2332-2334, 2351, 2358, 2360, 2361, 2365-2371, 2375, 2377-2382, 2387, 2389, 2393, 2397, 2398, 2409, 2413.

152 Nos. 2475-2481, 2483-2486, 2488-2503, 2508, 2518, 2519, 2524.

37 plus two partly lost from Box XXI<sup>153</sup>, two from Box XXIV<sup>154</sup>, one from Box XXV<sup>155</sup>, two from Box XXVI<sup>156</sup>, one from Box XXIX<sup>157</sup>. In sum there are 157 lost items and two partly lost, representing a 2% depletion of the collection.

For a relatively long period of time the TG lacked a permanent call number in the National Library. After the War they were only given an accession number - BOZ akc. 828 - as was standard procedure for newly acquired items in the National Library. The delay in including them in a serial system for items of the same provenance was out of respect for their historic order in the BOZ collection. In the case of the TG the previous number could not be used as there was no such number: in the BOZ they functioned independently, as it were, being distinctive and easy to find and quote from. This custom was maintained after 1945. Only when other BOZ manuscripts were put in order in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century - manuscripts that before the War had no call numbers or whose previous call numbers could not be established - were the TG given a permanent call number: BOZ 2053.

As one of the most valuable units in the National Library, the TG belonged to the first batch of manuscripts microfilmed by the Microfilm Station of the National Library in 1950<sup>158</sup>. These microfilms<sup>159</sup> were subsequently replaced with new ones produced in 1994. Today the value of the microfilms is merely documentary, indicating the shape of the

153 Nos. 2525-2527, 2529-2540, 2543, 2546, 2549, 2550, 2578, 2581, 2583, 2585, 2586, 2595, 2602, 2605, 2607-2609, 2613, 2618, 2621, 2624, 2627, 2635a), 2629-2631, 2637a)-i).

154 Nos. 2917, 2953.

155 No. 3135.

156 Nos. 3304, 3309.

157 No. 3877.

158 *Katalog mikrofilmów Biblioteki Narodowej*, no. 1, Warszawa 1951, pp. 15-16. For detailed information on the extensive microfilming of library and archive holdings after the mass losses of manuscripts during the Second World War, which was seen in post-War Poland as an effective means of preserving documents and ensuring their wider circulation, see M. Szablewski, "Microfilming in Poland", *Polish Libraries* 3, 2015, pp. 20-147 and id., *Dzieje mikrofilmowania przez Bibliotekę Narodową*, Warszawa 2015.

159 TG I - mf. 52; TG II - mf. 53; TG III - mf. 54; TG IV - mf. 55; TG V - mf. 75; TG VI - mf. 87; TG VII - mf. 88; TG VIII - mf. 89; TG IX - mf. 90; TG X - mf. 91; TG XI - mf. 73; TG XII - mf. 135; TG XIII - mf. 76; TG XIV - mf. 92; TG XV - mf. 94; TG XVI - mf. 78; TG XVII - mf. 95; TG XVIII - mf. 97; TG XIX - mf. 98; TG XX - mf. 99; TG XXI - mf. 100; TG XXII - mf. 101; TG XXIII - mf. 102; TG XXIV - mf. 103; TG XXV - mf. 104; TG XXVI - mf. 110; TG XXVII - mf. 111; TG XXVIII - mf. 112; TG XXIX - mf. 113.

collection before we began work on the catalogue. The current state of the TG can be seen from the new, high-quality scans available online via the National Digital Library Polona.

When preparing the catalogue of the TG, we worked on the assumption that it would present the collection in the form it had had in the BOZ. First, we maintained to the pre-War arrangement with regard to both the division into 29 boxes and the sequence and marking of items belonging to each box. Wherever the previous order had been disturbed, we re-introduced it. Next, we described those elements which were separated from the collection in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and are today found in the National Archives in Cracow, the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw and the Berlin State Library. Finally, we reconstructed as far as possible catalogue data for items that had been lost.

This concludes our survey of basic information about the creation of the TG, their contents and the changes in their use and meaning over time. Their history is one of increasing visibility and accessibility, from a private archive available only to the privileged few to a digital repository accessible by everyone and supported by a catalogue describing every item in the collection.

*translated by Bogna Piotrowska*

#### SUMMARY

This paper results from the author's work on a detailed catalogue of The Górski Archive (*Teki Górskiego*) in the National Library of Poland (ms BOZ 2053). The collection consists of letters and documents dating back to the reign of King Sigismund I Jagiellon and assembled by Canon Stanisław Górski (1497-1572) to be used as a source of texts for large collections of copies offered to the king Sigismund August and to the Royal Council (so called *Acta Tomiciana*). This article presents an outline of the most important aspects of the history of the Górski Archive: its creation, original contents, custodial history, as well as changing patterns of its use - from a political dossier to historical sources.

**KEYWORDS:** Stanisław Górski, Piotr Tomicki, Teki Górskiego, Acta Tomiciana, Zamoyski Family Library, Sigismund I Jagiellon