

The Source Study of Jan Długosz's *Catalogue of the Archbishops of Gniezno*

SUMMARY

The presented publication is the first comprehensive study of the *Catalogue of the Archbishops of Gniezno* by Jan Długosz (Johannes Dlugosch/Dlugossius/Longinus; 1415–1480) who was a canon of the Chapter of Cracow Cathedral, a diplomat in the service of the Bishop of Cracow and of the Polish king, and at the same time one of the most eminent Polish historians of the Middle Ages. Długosz's numerous works include six episcopal catalogues, one of which is the *Catalogue of the Archbishops of Gniezno* (*Catalogus archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium*), containing 37 biographies narrating the deeds of archbishops from legendary past in the 10th century to the times of the author. The *Catalogue* is addressed to the current Gniezno archbishop, Jakub of Sienna, and begins with a refined prefatory letter depicting the origin of the Church in Poland. The *Catalogue* is all the more interesting taking into account who the author himself was and the subject of his work. Długosz was associated with Cracow (in Lesser Poland) – the most important centre in the Kingdom of Poland, which held the status of a bishopric, and in the *Catalogue* he described the acts of the archbishops of Gniezno (in Greater Poland), which was nominally more important but in reality was of lesser significance than Cracow. It is also well known that Długosz had a very close link to Cracow, whilst his attitude towards Gniezno was ambivalent.

The book uses research methods typical of critical studies of historical sources and of the auxiliary sciences of history (particularly codicology), as well as textology. It also refers to the achievements of memory studies.

Chapter 1 focuses on the manuscript tradition of the *Catalogue*. This text was not published in print in the early modern period and is known only from manuscripts. Those that have survived to this day are: (1) Wrocław, Ossolineum Library, call. no. 619/I (from the 1530s), (2) Warsaw, National Library, call no. BOZ 5 (1530s), (3) *ibid.*, call no. 106 (second half of the 16th c.), (4) Cracow, the Princes Czartoryski Library – branch of the National Museum in Cracow, call no. 3659 I (17th c.), (5) Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Skoklosterssamlingen, call no. E 8819 (1650s). Furthermore, several manuscripts are unknown today, but attested by

indirect evidence: the National Library's call nos. Lat.F.ch.IV.112, Różnojęz.F.ch IV.138, and BOZ 133, all destroyed during the Second World War, and three manuscripts known from the information provided by 18th-century librarian Jan Daniel Janocki. At the same time, I propose that the manuscript belonging to Marcin Kromer (d. 1589) and Tomasz Treter (d. 1610), which was described by Treter in a dedicatory letter to another work as containing all of Długosz's catalogues and was lost in the early modern period, did not in fact contain the *Catalogue* in question.

The chapter includes codicological analysis of the surviving manuscripts. It takes into account their content, the structure of the quires, the watermarks of the paper, the style of the manuscript binding, the annotations within the manuscript, and the provenance details. For some of these manuscripts, this is their first detailed codicological description. Based on the codicological information, it was possible to determine the likely time and place of the copy's creation and to identify the milieus that might have been interested in such a work.

The analysis showed that the luxurious BOZ 5 manuscript, funded by Piotr Tomicki, Bishop of Cracow, demonstrated his important role in the state and Church. Manuscript 619/I also proved useful in the furthering of Tomicki's cause, as the text of the *Catalogue* contained within it served as a practical aid in the preparation of the illuminated manuscript BOZ 5. In manuscript BOZ 106, the belief in the metropolitan status of the Cracow bishopric is emphasised in various ways. Manuscript 3659 I was most likely used in a monastery in Lesser Poland, and its author was primarily interested in moral and spiritual issues. Manuscript E 8819 reflects the historical interests of its creator and owner – clergyman Marcjan Wituski, who was in the immediate circle of Polish Kings Władysław (Ladislaus) IV Vasa and Jan Kazimierz (John Casimir) Vasa.

As part of the study, the *Catalogue's* text contained in the manuscripts was compared, and two groups of copies were identified: one encompassing manuscripts 619/I, BOZ 106 and 3659 I, the other – manuscripts BOZ 5 and E 8819. The collation of the *Catalogue's* texts also made it possible to assess its only printed edition from 1887. It turned out that, generally speaking, the edition faithfully reproduces the source text, although there are a few omissions. However, the edition makes almost no mention of the differences between the manuscript readings. This indicates that a new edition of the *Catalogue* is needed.

Chapter 1 also contains the *stemma codicum* of the *Catalogue* manuscripts, followed by a description of the *stemma's* subsequent levels. The conclusions drawn from the codicological and textological analyses were used to describe the social life of this work in the 15th–17th centuries. This study showed that neither the Gniezno Cathedral Chapter nor Greater Polish circles were responsible for the transmission of the *Catalogue*. It was copied mainly in Lesser Poland or in Cracow, together with the catalogue of Cracow bishops and, in the vast majority of cases, in connection with an interest in the Cracow Church. This way of textual transmission seems unusual for a catalogue of bishops.

Chapter 2 contains an analysis of the form and content of the *Catalogue*. Długosz completed it (and probably wrote the entire text) during his three-year sojourn in Lublin, where he stayed with the sons of the Polish king, Casimir IV Jagiellon,

in the role of their tutor. While working on the *Catalogue*, Długosz therefore did not have access to his workshop, which was probably located in Cracow – and consequently could only rely on selected materials and his own memory. An analysis of the dedicatory letter to the *Catalogue* revealed its sophisticated style, both in terms of language and its references to ancient history and humanistic literature. The letter itself can therefore be regarded as one of the proto-humanist texts in Poland. In composing it, Długosz sought to please Jakub of Siennio, whilst also expressing his own interest in these literary trends. On the other hand, the structure of the *Catalogue*, as well as the types and order of the information contained in it, reveal the draft-like nature of that text. It seems that the information about the Gniezno Church was gathered and written down, but without being fully edited.

The *Catalogue* was also compared with Długosz's monumental *Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland* (up to 1406), referring not only to the text of these works but also to the so-called autograph of the *Annals* (Cracow, the Princes Czartoryski Library, call no. 1306 IV), which made it possible to specify when Długosz included information about a particular archbishop in the *Annals*. In the case of the information on archbishops that Długosz collected at the beginning of his historical work, he copied it from the chronological card index or from the so-called autograph of the *Annals* into the *Catalogue*. Whenever he obtained further information at a later date, he added it to both the *Catalogue* and the *Annals*. An example was also given of a piece of information being first included in the *Catalogue* and then, subsequently, in the *Annals*. This theory of a two-way flow of text between the *Catalogue* and the *Annals* explains the textual similarities between the biographies of the archbishops in these two texts. On the other hand, a partial comparison of the *Catalogue* with Długosz's other catalogues of bishops has shown that each of the biographical entries is unique – this demonstrates that Długosz took an individual approach to each of his numerous works.

Chapter 2 also outlines the sources Długosz may have consulted when creating the *Catalogue*. His primary source of information and the framework for the entire *Catalogue* was the earliest catalogue of the archbishops of Gniezno, dating from the late Middle Ages. He also made use of sources from Lesser Poland, Greater Poland and Silesia. He drew mainly on those texts to which, for various reasons, he had easy access. In addition to chronicles, annals, calendars and lives, he utilised numerous documentary sources, as attested by his description in the *Catalogue* of 59 legal actions concerning succession in the Gniezno bishopric and property of this Church. It appears that he obtained this information from original documents or a cartulary held in the milieu of the Gniezno Cathedral Chapter. That conclusion enriches our knowledge of the scope of Długosz's primary source research.

Chapter 3 presents the *Catalogue* as an expression of Długosz's historical memory. This term is defined as any views regarding the past that were important to him. Długosz's historical memory was analysed from two perspectives: as the memory of a 'man of the Church' and of a member of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter. For Długosz the cleric, the circumstances of an archbishop's appointment and death were of particular importance, together with his background, character and achievements,

as well as his relations with the papacy, secular rulers and the cathedral chapter. Such types of information helped to fulfil the didactic and moralising purpose of the *Catalogue*. The analysis of Długosz's historical memory as a Cracow canon focused on his attitude towards Gniezno and Cracow. It was already known that he had an ambivalent attitude towards Gniezno, and this study of the *Catalogue* confirms this. However, he did not discredit this archbishopric. At the same time, the *Catalogue* contains many references to Cracow that were not strictly necessary, given the subject matter of the work. The number and tone of these passages in the *Catalogue* demonstrate how instinctive it was for Długosz to refer to events concerning this Church.

The book also raises (in Chapter 2) the question of the purpose for writing the *Catalogue* and its relationship to the *gesta episcoporum*, which in Western Europe were most commonly produced during the 11th–13th centuries. The aim of those texts was to document the legal succession within the bishopric, to defend church property, to demonstrate authority, or to express claims to certain rights. Such works were created within the communities they described, and were often written at the request of bishops. These efforts were intended to help the community achieve its objectives. Długosz's *Catalogue* does not fit this pattern. It was created as part of studies conducted for his *magnum opus* – the extensive *Annals*, which, in twelve books, covered the history of Poland from legendary times to 1480. It would seem that at some point Długosz decided that the information he had gathered was worth making further use of, and this led to the idea of creating individual catalogues of Polish bishops. The purpose of Długosz's work on the *Catalogue* was therefore, in a sense, secondary and strictly scholarly. Another significant aspect of the *Catalogue* was that it contained a moral lesson for the head of its Church, the Archbishopric of Gniezno. However, as Długosz wrote it, his deeply held convictions regarding the importance of 'his' Cracow Church and his reserve towards Gniezno came to the fore. In this way, the same factors that make this text unusual and present interpretative challenges also make it unique and of particular interest in research into the historical memory of a member of the Polish cathedral clergy in the late Middle Ages.

The book contains six appendices, listing the types of information contained in the *Catalogue*, information from the *Catalogue* found in the *Annals* (up to 1406), stylistic similarities between the *Catalogue* and the *Annals*, as well as the documents and legal actions described in the *Catalogue*. Also included are indices of personal and of place names, as well as an index of cited manuscripts.