Gniewomir Hawrasz

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Between Orthodoxy and Adaptation – The Benedict of Koźmin Fund's Collection and Reassessing the Intellectual Horizons of the University of Kraków (1560-1599)

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Abstract

Long-standing and influential narratives have traditionally defined the second half of the sixteenth century at the University of Kraków seen through the lenses of institutional decay, moral corruption, and intellectual ossification. This decline of the arts and sciences was frequently attributed to internal strife between humanists and scholastics, wherein the former were eventually overpowered by the latter, allowing dull speculation and religious fanaticism to prevail over intellectual finesse. Consequently, while the myth of a complete institutional collapse is increasingly challenged, the labels of scholastic backwardness and the gradual barbarization of this period remain largely entrenched in the scholarly imagination.

While acknowledging the general premise of a crisis and the narrowing of the University's operations, this paper proposes to shift the scholarly focus by examining an understudied set of primary sources: the collection of books established through the fund of Benedykt of Koźmin. Revolving around two dynamics—temporal and disciplinary—present in the collection's acquisitions, this study examines these books as elements of academic infrastructure that provide a supplementary perspective within discourses on the development of sixteenth-century learning. The main body of evidence consists of works concerning broadly-defined philosophy and the natural sciences acquired between 1560 and 1599.

On the basis of this analysis, the boundaries of contemporary orthodoxy are delineated, providing new evidence for the interpretation of institutional reforms carried out between the 1570s and 1604. Additionally, the study of acquisition dynamics offers a more nuanced explanation of the processes leading to the final reform of Dobrocieski. Ultimately, by investigating a significant portion of the collection, the article calls for a broader recognition of this evidence as a means of opening up new possibilities for understanding the institutional and epistemic transformations of the late sixteenth century.

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Keywords

Benedykt of Koźmin, Reforms of Górski, Reforms of Dobrocieski, Early Modern Knowledge, Early Modern Book Collection, Early Modern University, University of Krakow

Introduction

The classical histories of the University of Kraków frequently depicted the second half of the sixteenth century as a period of institutional, moral and intellectual decay, one that saw a decline of learning. This regression was conveniently linked to the alleged rise of religious intolerance and the reintroduction of scholastic methodologies assisting it.[1] Thus, according to this view about the sixteenth-century University of Kraków, starting in the 1530s, humanistic training was systematically overshadowed, and replaced by old Aristotelian scholastic ways.[2] However, an important turn can be observed in recent studies that shed a new light on previously accepted narrative(s).[3] Some of these new works convincingly argue for a more nuanced reading of the confessionalisation taking place in the second half of the century, viewing it as a deliberate strategy of institutional professionalisation and a vital mechanism for maintaining the University's relevance within the post-Tridentine political and social order. Others fix their gaze on tracing the signs of institutional renewal or reevaluating the connections between the University and its ecclesiastical governors (the bishops of Kraków).[4] This new line of research necessarily leads to a critical examination of some of the older suppositions, whilst opening some interpretative cues for this paper.

Notably, both classical and novel readings of the latter half of the sixteenth century still generally agree on describing this period as marked by the institutional and economic crises plaguing the University of Kraków. At the same time, it seems valid to question—as the contemporary 'revisionists' do—the extent to which the older descriptions dominated in terms of an overall assessment of the University and its professors. Needless to say, the topic remains under-researched, leaving generalised assessments of the 1579 and 1603–1604 major reforms to circulate widely in the absence of focused, modern studies.[5] Interestingly, these generic assessments operate

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1 Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego pod zarządem J. Filipowskiego, 1935; Wacław Urban, 'Rozdział VIII – Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji (1549–1632)', in *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy, vol. 1, Cracow: PWN, 1964, pp. 253–307,

2 Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego…*, pp. 281–285.

3 Maciej Zdanek, 'Seminarium rzeczypospolitej czy jaskinia zbójców? Wokół debaty o pożytkach edukacji uniwersyteckiej w Polsce XVI wieku', *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 71 (2023), no. 1, pp. 131–150.

4 Zdanek, 'Seminarium rzeczypospolitej czy jaskinia zbójców?…'; *id*., '*Universitas haec catholica*. Wydział Teologiczny i droga do katolickiej konfesjonalizacji Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XVI wieku', *Perspektywy Kultury* 43 (2023), pp. 125–153; T. Graff, 'Biskupi krakowscy wobec Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w dobie pierwszych królów elekcyjnych – zarys problematyki', in *Kościół w społeczeństwie w Czechach i w Polsce w średniowieczu i w epoce nowożytnej*, ed. W. Iwańczak, A. Januszek-Sieradzka, J. Smołucha, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, 2020, pp. 69–97.

5 For some information on reforms of Górski (1579) and Dobrocieski (1603–1604), see: Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego…*, pp. 483–488; 526–530; J. Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XVI i XVII w.', in *Nauczanie filozofii w Polsce w XV–XVIII wieku*,

within a pre-established paradigm that reflexively links even the most fragmented evidence to a forced reintroduction of Aristotelian dogmatism.[6] By overlooking the broader institutional context, such narratives frequently misattribute systematic decline to religious zealotry or scholastic backwardness, ultimately superimposing a derogatory or pessimistic interpretation onto the surviving primary sources. As a result, the facts which may be considered as inconclusive are either misinterpreted, ignored or consigned to the periphery.

Unsurprisingly, the decline of the University is linked to the political and social changes taking place in Kraków and Poland-Lithuania.[7] But, appreciating the complex factors leading to the enfeeblement of the University's operations must not cloud an overall assessment of its general academic levels.[8] One could argue that it is instructive to reevaluate the contexts and intentions of the main actions and actors in relation to those changing circumstances surrounding them, but not through them. To this end, this paper aims to shift the research perspective by focusing on understudied materials constituting a part of the collection established through the endowment of Benedykt of Koźmin (henceforth referred to as the Collection), a professor of the University.

Going beyond two standard histories of the Collection, this paper proposes to understand it as an element of academic infrastructure that may fill some gaps in contemporary discourses, by—for instance—presenting the width and breadth of interests of University's masters. This does not equal replacing the overall understanding of the development of certain doctrinal stances, but rather aims at refining some long-term assumptions about the University's intellectual decline and the debilitating effects of scholastic sectarianism. In a similar vein, the paper makes no claim that the mere fact of purchasing the books would suffice to formulate a definitive interpretation of the teaching taking place at the school. Nevertheless, it assumes that the majority of books were selected carefully, and since they constituted the treasured asset of the entire University community, their significance for scholars operating within the school can hardly be doubted. Thus, it regards these books as having been instruments used by faculty members, rather than unseasoned youth.

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ed. Lech Szczucki, Wroclaw–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdansk: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1978, pp. 45–85; *idem*, *Humanizm i scholastyka – studia z dziejów kultury filozoficznej w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1992, pp. 165–174.

6 *Ibid*.

7 Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego…*; Urban, 'Rozdział VIII – Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji…'.

8 Zdanek, 'Seminarium rzeczypospolitej czy jaskinia zbójców?…'; *id*., '*Universitas haec catholica…*'.

The Collection, its origins and development

Already operating in the fifteenth century, the library of the Collegium Maius of the University of Kraków for centuries played a central role for the local scholarly community. Catering predominantly to the needs of theologians, philosophers (artists), and medics, it grew out of several individual collections.[9] Up until the second half of the sixteenth century, the gifts of books and financial support, coming mostly from the testamentary endowments of its alumni and professors, constituted the main source of the library's acquisitions.[10] As precious as they were, the gifts could not fully address the growing needs of the local learned community.

Between 1515 and 1519, a new building for the library was erected, providing more space and better conditions for housing its treasured collections. In 1551, the University, acting through the librarian – a respected professor Mikołaj of Szadek (1489–1564)—made its first significant purchase of 36 of the most needed titles.[11] The acquired books were all new and represented the fields of astronomy, geography, law, philosophy and philology—a fact deserving attention given Szadek's background; he spent almost twenty years teaching at the Arts Faculty, holding a chair of astronomy-astrology until 1531. A year later, Szadek joined the Faculty of Theology, reaching one of the most prestigious and well-paid professorships.[12]

Ten years after Szadek's appointment, another lecturer from the Arts Faculty, Benedykt of Koźmin (1497–1559),[13] joined the theologians. Praised for his erudition, broad knowledge of ancient literature, and poetic talents, Benedykt of Koźmin would be remembered by future generations of Kraków's scholars also as one of the greatest benefactors of the Collegium Maius library. A bibliophile himself, hoping to resolve the issue of the constant shortage of updated scholarly literature, Benedykt of Koźmin set up a fund dedicated to the creation of a new separate collection of books—the Collection of the Benedykt of Koźmin's Fund. The money was to be spent on investments—mostly loans and annuities secured on properties and paid by the city of Kraków—providing a steady source of income for the future—a solution that had already earned Benedykt of Koźmin a considerable fortune. [14]

[9] Anna Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', in *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, vol. 1: *1364–1775*, ed. Ignacy Zarębski, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1966, pp. 133–134; 150–177.

[10] *Ibid*.; Wacława Szelińska, *Biblioteki Profesorów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku*, Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1966).

[11] Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', p. 178

[12] For Mikołaj of Szadek's biography and his interests see for instance *Diariusze profesorów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego Mikołaja z Szadka i Marcina Glicjusza z Pilzna*, ed. Dawid Machaj, Maciej Zdanek, Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2024.

[13] Henryk Barycz, 'Benedykt z Koźmina', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 1, Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1935, pp. 425–426.

[14] Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 181–187.

According to stipulations left in Benedykt of Koźmin's testament, the Collection he had in mind was to cover all disciplines of knowledge, from philosophy and the liberal arts to theology, law, and other sciences. He further clarified that neither used nor outdated books should be accepted into the Collection, claiming emphatically that his ambition was to create optimal conditions for high-quality research and teaching. Similarly, the purchased copies had to be printed in large formats and typefaces and bound in leather over boards. The testator asked for the books to be attached by chains to lecterns set up across one of the library's walls, with his portrait overseeing the Collection. This setup was to ensure that the acquired books would be kept intact and placed in order. Furthermore, in his last will, Benedykt of Koźmin encouraged the librarians to extend his stricter organisational principles over the remaining books stored in the library.[15]

The fate of the Collection's development lay in the hands of custodians (*exactores et dispensatores*) appointed by the professors of the Collegium Maius. The work of the custodians was supervised by the auditors (*auditores*); the scrupulous notes of the custodians registering the expenditures of the Fund's money demonstrate that the obligations were taken seriously by all involved.[16] Apart from the purchase of books—acquired through various means, such as cooperating with local printers or employing agents visiting book fairs, both domestic and overseas—the money was spent on bookbinding and repairs.[17] Although the bulk of the Collection came from purchases, some of the books were also gifts, like the three volumes of the commentary to *Pimander* donated by the author, an Italian Bernardine and professor lecturing at the time at the University of Kraków—Annibale Roselli.[18] Having in mind the diversity of the channels of amassment, there are two points to be raised: 1) the books accepted into the Collection as gifts can still be used for determining the boundaries of institutional orthodoxy; and 2) introducing such gifts into the Collection demonstrates that a particular book was found useful for the scholars.

Based on the formats of the books, and the descriptions of how the Collection was stored, organised and displayed, one must assume that the books served predominantly the incorporated members of the local academic bodies.[19] Most of the acquired books had no previous users and represented the most recent editions of works: only a few of the studied pieces were older than 20 years at the moment of adding them to the Collection, with only one multivolume title being older than

[15] *Ibid*., pp. 178–180.

[16] The register known as *Liber perceptorum et expositorum*, held in in the archives of the Jagiellonian University (Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego), henceforth referred to as AUJ Rkps. 58.

[17] Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 182–195; 199–205.

[18] Czerkawski, *Humanizm i scholastyka – studia z dziejów…*, pp. 97–151; Wiesław Murawiec, OFM, 'Hannibal Rosselli – profesor Akademii Krakowskiej i autor "Pymandra"', *Folia Historica Cracoviensia* 1 (1989), pp. 33–53. A volume preserved in the Jagiellonian Library: BJ St. Dr. Cim. 8085 – Annibale Roselli, *De septem sacramentis Ecclesiae Catholicae liber [Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti, cum commento]*, Poznań: Jan Wolrab, 1589.

[19] Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 178–196; 217–227; 238–240.

50 years.[20] Of the over fifty units of text examined in this research, no more than two dozen entries bear traces of marginal notes and other *vestigia lecturae*.[21] This does not mean that the books were left unused, or played only a ceremonial role i.e. to attract or generate some institutional prestige, or to mark a benefactor's posthumous virtuous self-fashioning.[22] On the contrary, the careful setup described by the testator and executed by the first custodians proves that the Collection was to play a significant role for the community; most notably, it provided the books that the local scholars considered necessary for the University's development.

The scope of research

As for the temporal and material scope of the paper, its central focus lies in books representing broadly understood philosophy and natural sciences that were purchased between the year 1560 and 1599. Notably, theology books will remain largely outside the scope of this paper. Some reflections will necessarily extend into the first decade of the 1600s. The opening date itself corresponds with the first acquisitions, while the closing can be justified by several factors: 1) the preexisting periodisation

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[20] BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/1–2 – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 1, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1510; Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 2, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1511; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/3–4 – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol.. 3–4, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1511; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/5 – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 5, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1512

[21] Some notes were found in the following books: BJ St. Dr. Greka 3650 – Plato, *Opera omnia*, trad. Marsilio Ficino, Sebastiano Corradi, Lyon: Antoine Vincent, Balthazar Arnoullet, 1557; BJ St. Dr. Filoz.2706 (b-c) –Marco Antonio Zimara, *Theoremata, seu memorabilium propositionum limitationes, cum additionibus*, Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1564;Marco Antonio Zimara, *Tabula et dilucidationes in dicta Aristotelis et Averrois*, Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1564; BJ St. Dr. Cim. 1428 – Fabrizi d'Acquapendente, Girolamo, *Pentateuchos cheirurgicum*, ed. Johann Hartmann Beyer, Frankfurt am Main: [Martin Lechler], [Peter Fischer], 1592. In addition, traces of several (unidentified) hands appear in only one book: the *Canon* of Avicenna. Because it is one of the oldest items in the Collection and had likely been resold prior to joining the Collection, the provenance of specific entries remains questionable. BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/1–2 (1); BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/1–2 (2) – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 1, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1510; Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 2, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1511.

[22] Apart from the copies of the Canon mentioned above, Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*, BJ St. Dr. Cim. 8202–8203 (Cim. 8202) – Mikołaj Kopernik, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*. Acc.: Georg Joachim Rheticus, *De libris revolutionum Nicolai Copernici narratio prima*, Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1566, could be mentioned as another obvious example of the book that was taught to students in Kraków at the time. On teaching Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* in Kraków, see: H. Barycz, 'Wczesne ślady', in *Między Krakowem a Warmią i Mazurami – Studia i szkice*, ed. *id*., Olsztyn: Pojezierze, 1987, pp. 117–126; *id*., 'Dookoła pierwszego wykładu dzieła *De revolutionibus* w Uniwersytecie Krakowskim i jego prelegenta', in *ibid*., pp. 226–236; *id*., 'Najstarsze ślady krakowskiej tradycji kopernikańskiej. Mistrz i jego przemyślny uczeń', in *ibid*., pp. 127–148.

of the Collection offered by Anna Lewicka-Kamińska's study;[23] 2) the transformations of European knowledge by the early 1600s;[24] 3) the rebirth of the Collection in the first decade of the 1600s, after its collapse in the final quarter of the 1500s; 4) and the University reforms of the early 1600s that appear to bear weighty effects on interpreting the Collection's development trajectories.

Starting with the reforms of the early 1600s: in 1602, the Faculty of Medicine saw the creation of a chair in anatomy, followed in 1604 by a chair in botany, actions which spoke volumes about the ambitions and alleged dogmatism of the school.[25] Interpreted as beacons of unrealised potential, the two chairs demonstrated the receptivity to an empirically-based model of medicine within the University walls.[26]

Almost parallel with the creation of these new medical chairs, a curriculum reform carried out by the rector Mikołaj Dobrocieski in the years 1603–1604 proclaimed Thomism as the main doctrinal stance for teaching conducted at the Faculties of Theologians and Artists (Philosophers).[27] However, contrary to some hasty judgements formed decades earlier, this decision did not necessarily equal the complete domination of Thomist interpretations.[28] It is important to signal here that the curricular reform of Dobrocieski aimed at strengthening the internal cohesion of the University and was intended to provide students with perceptible knowledge and technical skills, while simultaneously preserving a pluralism of hermeneutical keys in the form of the Scotist alternative—which was at times studied alongside Thomist explanations. In short, the idea was to teach students effectively while leaving some room for independent thinking. The reform itself was determined by multiple factors, including the Jesuit presence that had been felt in Kraków during the last decades of the sixteenth century and—arguably most importantly—the confessionalisation

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23 Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 133–271.

24 For a quick recap from the perspective of the cultural history of science see: Mark A. Waddell, *Magic, Science, and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021; for more standard, yet still diverse approaches to the topic consult: David Wootton, , *The Invention of Science: a New History of the Scientific Revolution*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2015); Marie Boas Hall, *The Scientific Renaissance – 1450–1630*, New York: Dover Publications, 1994); Peter Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge and its Ambitions, 1500–1700*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

25 Henryk Barycz, 'Bodzęcin (z Bodzęcina) Mikołaj', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 2, Warsaw: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936, pp. 590–594.

26 *Ibid*., pp. 588–603; Stanisław Szpilczyński, 'Rozwój myśli lekarskiej w dobie polskiego Odrodzenia', in *Odrodzenie w Polsce – Historia nauki polskiej*, ed. Bogdan Suchodolski, vol. 2, Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1956, pp. 288–314.

27 Barycz, 'Bodzęcin (z Bodzęcina) Mikołaj',, pp. 526–530; Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…', pp. 67–77.

28 Czerkawski's analysis goes into another direction and explicitly states an ambiguous character of the reform which stipulations, according to his view, could not be sufficiently explained based on the trends dominating in the preceding decades. At the same time, his interpretation necessarily leans to the adaptation of post-Tridentine order and the growing Jesuit pressure felt in Kraków. J. Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…'.

of the school.[29] Underlying these obvious motivations lay another profound issue: the changing nature of knowledge, as reflected in the trajectories of Collection acquisitions up until the early 1600s.

Understanding the temporal boundaries and their complex changing contexts allows for a critical examination of the sources that are central to this paper's research—the books of philosophy and natural sciences acquired in the first four decades of the Fund's operations. The artificial date of 1599 creates a demarcation line, especially in the fields of medicine and natural sciences, as starting in the early 1600s, the Collection was enhanced by the introduction of works representing trends unseen in earlier eras: Joseph Duchesne's (Quarcetanus) *Pharmacopea dogmaticorum*,[30] Paré's *Chirurgica*[31] or Clavius' commentaries on Euclid[32] and John of Sacro Bosco.[33] Thus, a conciliatory vision of Paracelsian-Galenic pharmacology, effectively coexisted with the works of a famous French practical surgeon, and Jesuit interpretations of the key works of ancient mathematics and medieval astronomy. Similarly, among the works of philosophy found in the early 1600s, one finds classical treatises of the great Paduan rivals Francesco Piccolomini[34] and Jacopo Zabarella[35], and next to them the *Metaphysics* of Francisco Suárez[36].

Even a cursory look at the early 1600s reveals a wealth of traditions that represent a pluralism within orthodoxy—one that defies the traditional narrative of progress being stifled by scholastic dogmatism. Any analysis of the described sources justifies forwarding an alternative interpretation, one showcasing the dynamic structure of knowledge found in the books and a similar dynamism of Collection's operations, both calling for the acknowledgment of the shift towards the new science, new philosophy and new model of teaching that all lead to the reforms of the 1600s.

Thus, the focus on the last decades of the sixteenth century is determined by reasons of institutional, practical and epistemological character. Any theological perspective may resurface every now and then, but the main focus rests in demonstrating

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[29] Graff, 'Biskupi krakowscy wobec Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…'; Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…', pp. 67–77.

[30] A lost title mentioned in the register: Cf. AUJ Rkps. 58, p. 85

[31] BJ St. Dr. 391778 III – Paré, Ambroise, *Opera chirurgica*, ed. Jacques Guillemeau, Frankfurt am Main: Johann Feyrabend, Peter Fischer, 1594

[32] BJ St. Dr. 940121 III – Euclides, *Elementorum libri XV. Accessit XVI de solidorum regularium comparatione, ed. Christophorus Clavius*, [p. 1–2], Köln: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1591.

[33] BJ St. Dr. 593245 II – Christophorus Clavius, *In sphaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco commentarius*, Lyon: David de Gabiano, Jean de Gabiano, Guichard Julliéron, 1594.

[34] BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 663 II – Francesco Piccolomini, *Universa philosophia de moribus.* Acc.: *Comes politicus*, Frankfurt am Main: Johann Sauer, Peter Fischer, 1595.

[35] BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2558 (a–b) – Giacomo Zabarella, *Opera logica*, ed. Johannes Ludwig Hawenreuter, Köln: Lazarus Zetzner, 1597.

[36] BJ St. Dr. Teol. 8129/1–2–, Francisco Suarez, *Metaphysicarum disputationum et quaestiones ad omnes duodecim Aristotelis libros tomi duo*, vol. 1, Mainz: Balthasar Lipp, Arnold Mylius, 1590 and Francisco Suarez, *Metaphysicarum disputationum et quaestiones ad omnes duodecim Aristotelis libros tomi duo*, vol. 2, Mainz: Balthasar Lipp, Arnold Mylius, 1590.

how the non-theological books, mostly represented by philosophy, medicine and pre-modern natural sciences, allow one to extract a great deal of information about history of knowledge at the University of Kraków.[37] Finally, the paper does not intend to entirely dismiss the idea of an unfolding crisis, but to demonstrate how the University—acting through its members—responded to the changing fortunes while simultaneously trying to preserve its intellectual identity, autonomy and integrity. More precisely, the books of philosophy and natural sciences present in the Collection constitute the main body of evidence that will be used for delineating the potential limits of orthodoxy existing at the University of Kraków, and for assessing the scope of doctrinal pluralism that would have been accepted within those boundaries. In a more general sense, it may also offer some insights about the trajectories of institutional evolution and knowledge adaptation by studying the dynamics of acquisitions that echoed the decisions undertaken by University elites navigating across shifting political, confessional, and scientific conditions.

Methodological reflections and bridging the research gap

Understanding the Collection's significance requires providing a short recap on some main methodological issues stemming from the fifty-year gap between this paper and the last publication describing the Collection.[38] Even greater distance separates—both methodologically and chronologically—the current scholarly discussions from the past narratives on the University of Kraków in the sixteenth century.[39] Similarly, some gaps must be signalled concerning the dearth of comprehensive studies on early modern medicine and natural sciences in Kraków.[40] On the positive note, the book historians and historians of philosophy working on topics corollary to

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[37] For theology at the University of Kraków in the 1500s consult: Zofia Włodek, *Z dziejów filozofii i teologii na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku. Sylwetki, studia, teksty*, Cracow: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2011; Mieczysław Markowski, *Dzieje Wydziału Teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w latach 1397–1525*, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Krakowie, 1996; Wiesław Murawiec, 'Scholastyka–humanizm–reformacja (1500–1603)', in *Wydział Teologiczny w Krakowie 1397–1997. Księga jubileuszowa*, ed. Stanisław Piech, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Krakowie, 1997, pp. 61–80.

[38] Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 177–204; cf. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego…*, pp. 699–712.

[39] Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego…*,; Urban, 'Rozdział VIII – Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji…'.

[40] The most comprehensive study of sixteenth-century Polish medicine remains Szpilczyński (1956), published seventy years ago. Recent works by Sylwia Konarska-Zimnicka fill some gaps, though her research focuses primarily on iatromathematics through the mid-sixteenth century; cf. Sylwia Konarska-Zimnicka, *„Wenus panią roku, Mars towarzyszem…" Astrologia w Krakowie XV i początku XVI wieku*, Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego, 2018. Similarly, Rafał T. Prinke addresses iatrochemical innovations but seldom discusses them within the context of the University of Kraków;

the Collection examined in this paper, displayed an abundance of caution when it came to formulating opinions about the intellectual trends present in Kraków, and especially at the University.[41]

A good starting point for a critical analysis of the historiography shaping the views of historians of the University of Kraków, are the accounts focused on tracing the trajectory of humanism at the university.[42] One of the common denominators of these accounts involving reading the sources as chronicles for the birth and decay of 'modernity.'[43] Furthermore, uniform evaluation criteria were not always applied in these descriptions, which led to further complications, e.g. with defining even the conventional boundaries of periodisation or explaining the interpretative complexity of specific facts (the aforementioned curriculum reforms).[44] Thus, the relationship between competing models of intellectual culture, which were assumed to be scholasticism and humanism, was judged on the basis of categorising them as mutually exclusive dichotomies.[45] The development of knowledge was seen in terms of progress, reminiscent of the methodological assumptions of so-called progressivism in the history of science—assuming the linear, cumulative nature of scientific development.[46] Scholasticism was thus roughly equated with backwardness and excessive focus on dialectical, cognitively worthless metaphysical inquiries, which were seen, in turn, as forms of institutionalised epistemological oppression. Humanism, on the other hand, was seen in these considerations as overcoming the conservatism and dogmatism of the previous era, a trend that valued human individuality and subjectivity, and even as a trend characterised by the advancing secularisation of forms of human activity and, consequently, the "liberation" of science.

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cf. Rafał T. Prinke, 'Medycyna w działalności i pismach alchemika Michała Sędziwoja (1566–1636)', *Medycyna Nowożytna* 24 (2018), issue 3, pp. 33–55.

41 Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655'; Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…'; Leszek Hajdukiewicz, *Księgozbiór i zainteresowania biblofilskie Piotra Tomickiego na tle jego działalności kulturalnej*, Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1961, pp. 5–7; 16–25.

42 Barycz, 'Bodzęcin (z Bodzęcina) Mikołaj'; Urban, 'Rozdział VIII – Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji…'.

43 This trend was particularly pronounced in the Polish historiography of the 1950s and 1960s, a period characterized by the forced adoption of Marxist philosophy and historical sociology, often combined with the pre-war positivist trends present in studies addressing sixteenth-century intellectual culture in Poland. For instance: Bogdan Suchodolski, 'Polska myśl pedagogiczna w okresie renesansu', in *Odrodzenie w* Polsce – Historia nauki polskiej, ed. *id*., vol. 2, Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1956, pp. 115–174.

44 Urban, 'Rozdział VIII – Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji…'; cf. Zdanek, '*Universitas haec catholica*…'.

45 Consult Domański's erudite exposition of the interactions between humanism and scholasticism in fifteenth-century Poland. Juliusz Domański, *Scholastyka i początki humanizmu w myśli polskiej XV wieku*, Warsaw: Instytut Tomistyczny, 2011.

46 For a progressivist approach, see: Boas Hall, *The Scientific Renaissance – 1450–1630*; cf. Christopher S. Celenza, 'What Counted as Philosophy in the Italian Renaissance? The History of Philosophy, the History of Science, and Styles of Life', *Critical Inquiry* 39 (2013), no. 2, pp. 367–401.

Some of the problems stated above were resolved thanks to the new wave of scholarship that successfully integrated the more up-to-date understandings of scholastic and humanist cultures.[47] This research demonstrated, for instance, the cross-fertilisation of scholastic science (especially its logic) with the new methods of textual criticism and preference for seeking knowledge in ancient sources that characterised the University already in 1490s.[48] Notably, the new trends popularised in Kraków by 'humanistically' attuned scholars did not lead to abandonment of its (natural) philosophical identity. As shown in works addressing the local school of astronomy, the early sixteenth century University of Kraków was able to combine its premodern empiricist leanings with pragmatic and critical assessments of observed facts, while accepting the humanist revised editions and techniques as complementary resources.[49] Within the Collection, recognising these problems is significant, also in the context of medicine, which in the sixteenth-century was by no means limited to the empirically oriented works of Vesalius[50] and Fuchs, but continued to draw upon typically medieval inspirations.[51] Thus, neither the form, nor the content of the specific works one finds in the Collection would justify labelling them as denoting exclusively humanist or scholastic leanings on the part of its users.

It seems that any attempt to define scholastic and humanist cultures risks missing the mark, even if one limits its meanings to purely philosophical or technical meanings. Treating scholasticism and humanism as clear-cut notions produces false dichotomies that often reduce the meaning of one phenomenon simultaneously

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47 For a more recent methodological shift in the study of Polish humanism, see: *Renaissance and Humanism from the Central-East European Point of View – Methodological Approaches*, ed. Grażyna Urban-Godziek, Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2015. For the rehabilitation of scholastic culture and erudition, see: R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1: *Foundations*, Oxford, UK – Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1995.

48 Most notably: André Goddu, *Copernicus and the Aristotelian Tradition – Education, Reading, and Philosophy in Copernicus' Path to Heliocentrism*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 35–167; see also: Edith Dudley Sylla, 'Astronomy at Cracow University in the Late Fifteenth Century: Adalbert of Brudzewo and John of Głogów', in *What is New in the New Universities? Learning in Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages (1348–1500)*, ed. Elżbieta Jung, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2018, pp. 125–204.

49 Cf: Mieczysław Markowski, , *Filozofia przyrody w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, vol. IV: *Dzieje filozofii średniowiecznej w Polsce*, Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1976, pp. 168–173; 182–187; *id*., *Metodologia nauk*, vol. 2: *Dzieje filozofii średniowiecznej w Polsce*, Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1976, pp. 42–46; 110–124.

50 BJ St. Dr. Med. 6720 (egz. A) – Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1555.

51 BJ St. Dr. Med. 6471/1–3 – Leonhard Fuchs, , *Opera*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1566; Leonhard Fuchs, , *Opera*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567; Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 3, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567. On medieval outlook of Renaissance medicine, see: Vivian Nutton, *Renaissance Medicine – A Short History of European Medicine in the Sixteenth Century*, London–New York: Routledge, 2022, pp. 2–3; Nancy Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy – The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

overestimating the other.[52] Another mistake lie in forceful attempts towards adopting classical formulations of humanism—such as Kristeller's—which could not be effectively applied to the Polish case due to the vastly different socio-economic circumstances, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century.[53]

For those reasons, this study proposes to go beyond the negative, 'exclusivist' assessments of these two categories, instead embracing the idea of their mutual interdependence.[54] This approach treats books as potentially drawing from both traditions; the case of idiosyncratic works of Paduan medicine and natural philosophy—numerous in the Collection—serves as a prime example. Generally speaking, the School of Padua combined post-medieval scholastic logical rigor with the humanist philological criticism, often adopting the latter's finesse literary form.[55] Ultimately, humanist and scholastic elements were both present and constantly evolving, adjusting to the local tastes and needs.

The adoption of humanism in Kraków was a gradual process, with its earliest influences appearing in the early-fifteenth century literary interests of some professors. However this did not transform the University into a purely humanist centre as suggested by older scholarship.[56] This misunderstanding fuelled a narrative of the 'Golden Age' ending in the 1530s—a decline often associated with falling international enrolment.[57] Consequently, traditional accounts often framed the late sixteenth century as a period of institutional decay and rigid 'scholasticism.' By characterising this era as a retreat from progress, such interpretations overlook the more complex intellectual and scientific adaptations actually taking place within the University.

Redressing this trend is essential, as it challenges negative and simplistic assessments of ecclesiastical influence and the role of Catholicism in the alleged suppression of progressive trends represented by Renaissance humanism. Recent scholarship offers a nuanced correction to older views of the University's confessionalisation, which was previously framed in the same negative light as the scholastic '(re)turn' in teaching. As current studies convincingly argue, primary evidence supports a more complex evaluation of the University's actions during this period. Crucially, this perspective avoids reducing the process of confessionalisation to an expressive of blind Counter-Reformation dogmatism or equating it with religious fanaticism.[58]

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52 Cf. Czerkawski, *Humanizm i scholastyka – studia z dziejów…*, pp. 5–6.

53 Juliusz Domański, *Wykłady o humanizmie*, Warsaw: Biblioteka Kwartalnika Kronos, 2020, pp. 649–656.

54 Cf. Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy – The Case of Philip Melanchton*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 1–26.

55 Jerome J. Bylebyl, 'The School of Padua: Humanistic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 335–370.

56 The problem has been sufficiently addressed in: Paul W. Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning": The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 540–590.

57 Urban, 'Rozdział VIII – Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji…', pp. 253–254.

58 Zdanek, '*Universitas haec catholica…*', pp. 125–153.

Instead it acknowledges the potentially constructive role of reforms associated with this process—a point the analysed Collection will further illuminate.

Apart from the issues caused by the usage of imperfect notions another interpretative risk arises from the tendency to generalise about the doctrinal nature of Kraków University based on a singular source. Such theses were substantiated by analysing shifts in the canon of readings, or rather subjects that were supposed to focus on discussing specific works, often included in abbreviated form in the *Liber Diligentiarum*.[59] Frequently, no consideration was given to changes in the subsequent editions of newly introduced texts. Moreover, it was often impossible to determine the version or even the exact title of a work due to the brevity of the references in the *Liber Diligentiarum*. Each introduction to the updated curriculum of any work of Aristotle, Aquinas' commentary, or Sacrobosco's edition could thus testify to the triumph of conservative ideas over progressive ones.

Lastly, one must also acknowledge the challenges stemming from the imperfect and incomplete character of data. Thus, giving precise figures may not always be possible for multiple reasons: from the purely pragmatic, related to their materiality; through those concerning the epistemic dimension of the books; and ending with the superimposition of new taxonomies in the late eighteenth century by the librarian Arseni Fasseau. Concerning the first issue, two main challenges arise in relation to establishing precise bibliographic units. Scattered across library holdings, most of the books were identified and retrieved from the storage rooms thanks to the preserved register that provided almost complete list of the acquired positions.[60] For instance, several Aristotelian commentaries were found, like those of Simplicius[61], Psellos,[62] or Agostino Nifo[63] mentioned in the 1564 entries.[64] However, some books are still missing, among them one title from the same year. The only information of that book was preserved in the register, stating that a commentary of Aristotle's unknown work by Alexander

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[59] For a successful application of the *Liber Diligentiarum* in a recent study, see Marian Chachaj, *Kopernik, Mikołaj – Czasy studenckie. Kraków, Bolonia, Rzym, Padwa i Ferrara (1491–1503). Miejsca – ludzie – książki*, Torun: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2023, pp. 64–85.

[60] AUJ Rkps. 58

[61] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3606–3609 III – Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentationes in praedicamenta Aristotelis nuper diligentius in latinam linguam translatae*, ed. Gilbertus Porretanus, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1550; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in octo libros Aristotelis de physico auditu*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1558; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in quatuor libros de coelo Aristotelis*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1563; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in treis [!] libros de anima Aristotelis*, Lat. trad. Evangelista Longo, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1554; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentarius in enchiridion Epicteti, quo universa hominum vita instituitur, et libertatis recuperandae via monstratur*, trad. Angelo Canini, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1546.

[62] BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2638 III (c)—Michael Psellus, *In physicen Aristotelis commentarii*, trad. Giovanni Battista Camozzi, Venezia, 1554.

[63] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3522—Agostino Nifo, *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros de historia animalium, de partibus animalium, et earum causis, ac de generatione animalium*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1546.

[64] AUJ Rkps. 58, pp. 48–49.

of Aphrodisias[65] was added to the Collection in 1564. In addition to that, the bibliographic units discussed in this research have also been established tentatively. Precise calculations would require, for instance, the splitting of books like Plato's *Opera omnia*, added to the Collection in 1566,[66] and another edition of 1578, [67] into several intellectual units. Mutatis mutandis, the status of works divided into multi-volume books, or grouped into sammelbands would necessitate further investigation. In the case of philosophy, the estimated number of books corresponding with this category would total thirty.

Among the challenges listed above, there are finally issues of the epistemic nature. The principal and most basic question boils down to asking how one may categorise books that belong to an ancient, foreign order of knowledge? What criteria should one employ to justify labelling them as philosophical, especially in the context of the sixteenth century? Was Plato's *Opera omnia* treated in Kraków as philosophy; or maybe its application was purely rhetorical and philological, thus framing it in the typically erudite pedagogical register? Again, answering all those questions goes beyond the scope of such research, consequently some simplifications cannot be avoided. Nevertheless, the issue cannot be overlooked for one more reason, namely the superimposition of taxonomies conducted at the Jagiellonian Library in the late eighteenth century. Indeed, the groupings established by Arseni Fasseau have been in use ever since.[68] As useful as they have been for establishing order across the vast archival holdings, their rigidity has influenced readers' perception of the Collection's contents.

Taking inspiration from the vast body of traditions described above, this paper proposes to treat the Collection as one of the elements of the University's intellectual infrastructure. This involves analysing the Collection not as a passive repository, but as a curatorial program – a normative collection-building strategy devised by the institution's overseers to produce specific results. While their primary motivations cannot be fully recovered, there is significant evidence showing that these bibliographic pathways can be reconstructed through a reconstitution of the library's historical horizon. Applying this spatial and systematic analysis of the Collection, the following section examines two primary analytical frameworks: a preestablished periodisation of the Collection's formation; dividing it into periods corresponding to the subsequent decades, and epistemic trends found within philosophical and natural scientific works purchased over this time.

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[65] AUJ Rkps. 58, p. 49.

[66] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3650—Plato, *Opera omnia*, trad. Marsilio Ficino, Sebastiano Corradi, Lyon: Antoine Vincent, Balthazar Arnoullet, 1557.

[67] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3551 IV (v. 1+3, v. 2) – Plato, *Opera quae extant omnia*, Lat. trad. et comm, Jean de Serres [vol. 1–3], [Genève]: Henri II Estienne, 1578.

[68] Małgorzata Galos and Żaneta Kubic, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1775–1835', in *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, ed. Piotr Lechowski, vol. 2: 1775–1918, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2017, p. 54.

The dynamics of the Collection's development

Anna Lewicka-Kamińska conveniently divided the process of a Collection's formation into nine stages, corresponding to eight first decades of operations and the final period of ca. six years. Following her lead, this paper assumes the decennial division and focuses on the first four periods. The letters of the Latin alphabet were designations for better readability: A for 1560–1569, B for 1570–1579, C for 1580–1589, D for 1590–1599. Noteworthy, next to this intuitive periodisation, additional temporal markers can also be inferred from the implicit reading of Lewicka-Kamińska's paper: the tenures of the Collection's custodians, appointed by the professors of the Collegium Maius, appear to roughly correspond with the proposed ten-year periods. Most importantly, a cursory glance through the list of the following custodians and members of the Fund's auditing committee allows us to establish a line of succession pointing toward some of the main agents shaping the Collection until the early 1600s. The names in question are: Marcin Glicjusz of Pilzno (1528–1591),[69] Sebastian Janeczka of Kleparz (d. 1568),[70] Mikołaj of Bodzentyn (d. 1586),[71] Stanisław Marenjusz (ca. 1532–1580),[72] Stanisław Jakobejusz of Kurzelów (1540–1612),[73] and Błażej Bazyli Goliniusz of Golina (1545–1625).[74]

An examination of the precise correspondences between their biographies and possible acquisitions warrants a separate study.[75] However it is worth noting that Glicjusz and Jakobejusz – acting as consecutive main custodians—appear to have been the driving force behind two major purchases in the entire history of the Collection corresponding with the first (A) and the fifth decade. Janeczka and Glicjusz were directly involved in the purchase of books in period A, enriching the library

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[69] Henryk Barycz, 'Glicius Marcin', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8, Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1959–1960, pp. 48–50.

[70] Halina Kowalska, *Sebastian z Kleparza zwany Janeczką*, in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 36, Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1995, pp. 112–113.

[71] Barycz, 'Bodzęcin (z Bodzęcina) Mikołaj', p. 181.

[72] Leszek Hajdukiewicz, 'Mareniusz (Marennius) Stanisław', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19, Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1974, pp. 631–632.

[73] Henryk Barycz, 'Jakobejus Stanisław', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 10, Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1962–1964, pp. 333–334.

[74] Leszek Hajdukiewicz, , *Goliniusz, Błażej Bazyli*, in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8, Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1959–1960, pp. 221–223.

[75] For instance: Janeczka's interest in books of Greek was mentioned in: Anna Lewicka-Kamińska, *Renesansowy księgozbiór Mikołaja Czepla w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, Wroclaw: Zakład imienia Ossolińskich, 1956, pp. 42–44; Goliniusz's interests in Copernicana in: Henryk Barycz, 'Jan Brożek – badacz myśli i kolei życia Mikołaja Kopernika', in *Między Krakowem a Warmią i Mazurami – Studia i szkice*, pp. 237–247; Jakobejusz's role in spreading Copernicanism in Kraków was noticed in: *id*., 'Dynastia kurzelowska. Rodowód i charakterystyka kopernikanistów kurzelowskich', in *ibid*., pp. 159–168. For information on books owned by Glicjusz and Goliniusz, see: Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 157–160, 166

with at least 91 titles. Glicjusz, Bodzentyn, Jakobejusz, and Goliniusz stood behind acquisitions of periods B, C, D, totalling 57 titles. The combined 148 titles correspond with 56% of the total number of 261 titles purchased between 1560 and 1648.[76] The significance of the period A, and the first decade of the 1600s, was already highlighted by Lewicka-Kamińska, who also provided more detailed calculations of expenses, including the costs of book-binding, or salaries paid to custodians and auditors.[77] The two eras correspond with the opening and closing of the temporal boundaries of the current research, and demonstrate that despite the crises of the periods B, C, and D, the project was not easily abandoned. At the same time, the arts and sciences have evolved—the process mirrored in the changing trajectories of disciplinary interests found in the Collection.

Period A (1560-1569)

The first period (A) was particularly rich in books of philosophy, with around thirty titles falling within this category.

Coming back to the part A of the Koźmin Collection, one may easily identify multiple titles placed by Fasseau under the categories of works of Greek or Latin, suggesting their purely literary-philological functions. While many such attributions could be justified, they also pose a threat of false fragmentation; that, if unchecked may corrupt the results of this investigation. The sammelband filled with Simplicius'[78] commentaries come to the fore again, as Fasseau groups them with the category of Greek works. However, this attribution seems to be going against the grain of the books' intended use for two reasons: firstly, the books included only a 1550s Latin translation with no Greek text next to it, secondly, the sammelband's contents were philosophical in a sense of premodern philosophy going beyond humanist-philological interests. The multivolume edition presented Simplicius's interpretations of fundamental works of

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[76] Consult Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba's forthcoming article, which mentions various estimates and states the reasons behind the differing figures: J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, 'The Gift of Benedict of Koźmin to Collegium Maius of the University of Cracow. The First Decade (1560–1569)', in *University and School Libraries in East Central Europe in the Pre-Modern Period. Forms of Appearance – Development – Usage*, ed. Ch. Fassbender, M. Holá, M. Holý, L. Veselá, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2023, (forthcoming).

[77] Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 178–188.

[78] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3606–3609 III – Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentationes in praedicamenta Aristotelis nuper diligentius in latinam linguam translatae*, ed. Gilbertus Porretanus, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1550; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in octo libros Aristotelis de physico auditu*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1558; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in quatuor libros de coelo Aristotelis*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1563; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in treis [!] libros de anima Aristotelis*, Lat. trad. Evangelista Longo, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1554; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentarius in enchiridion Epicteti, quo universa hominum vita instituitur, et libertatis recuperandae via monstratur*, trad. Angelo Canini, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1546.

Aristotle's natural philosophy (*De caelo*, *Physica*, *De anima*) and the Stoic ethics of Epictetus. Thus, there is no denying that these works were acquisitioned for broadly understood philosophical reasons, while simultaneously providing occasion for the training of reading in a distinctively humanist key, involving the critical philological analysis of the novel Latin translation.[79] There is no denying, moreover, that in the sixteenth century the two dimensions would likely be recognised as equally important, both representing mutually dependent philosophical uses of classical texts.

Such examples and challenges resurface in each of the discussed decades, and often concern works that cross manifold epistemic orders at once; as a result, only a handful of books constitute self-contained, isolated categories. For that reason, this article treats the works of philosophy as a broad class embracing titles penned by ancient and early modern philosophers, sometimes denoting philosophy in a restricted humanist sense.[80] Simultaneously it acknowledges the broader idea of sixteenth-century philosophy as encompassing three interrelated streams of: practical philosophy (works of ethics, some pedagogical treatises and even works of history), natural philosophy and logic/dialectic.[81] Most of the titles fall easily into (at least) one such category, while several others betray some philosophical potential, especially for the humanistically attuned minds.

Notably, among the books of philosophy mentioned above, one should notice that period A was especially rich in works of Aristotle. Apart from the commentaries of Simplicius mentioned previously, there were also multiple renderings representing various contemporary trends, from works of the Paduan 'Averroists' like Agostino Nifo[82] and Marco Antonio Zimara,[83] the Byzantine classics in new Venetian renderings such as Michael Ephesius[84] and Michael Psellos,[85] or one of the most

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79 For the humanist method, see: Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991.

80 James Hankins, 'Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 30–48.

81 Robert Black, 'The Philosopher and Renaissance, Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 13–29.

82 For instance: BJ St. Dr. Greka 3522 – Agostino Nifo, *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros de historia animalium, de partibus animalium, et earum causis, ac de generatione animalium*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1546 or BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2638 III (d) – Agostino Nifo, *Commentationes in librum de substantia orbis [Averrois]*, Venezia: Eredi di Ottaviano Scotti, Boneto Locatello, 1508 or one of his translations of Aristotle with a commentary: BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2669 (a) – Aristioteles, *Physicarum auscultationum libri duo*, trad. et comm. Agostino Nifo, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1540.

83 BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2706 (b–c) – Marco Antonio Zimara, *Theoremata, seu memorabilium propositionum limitationes, cum additionibus*, Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1564; Marco Antonio Zimara, *Tabula et dilucidationes in dicta Aristotelis et Averrois*, Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1564.

84 BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2669 (d) – Michael Ephesius, *Scholia in Aristotelis opuscula aliquot*, trad. Evangelista Longo, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1552.

85 BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2638 III (c) – Michael Psellus, *In physicen Aristotelis commentarii*, trad. Giovanni Battista Camozzi, Venezia, 1554.

authoritative Aristotelians representing Florence—Niccolò Tignosi.[86] One must thus appreciate this great variety of authors and approaches to the Stagirite, while simultaneously bearing in mind the fundamental role that Aristotelian model of universal knowledge played in university education at each stage and within every faculty.[87]

The books of history, appearing in each of the four decades, with period A taking the leading position due to approximately 10 titles falling into this category, resonated closely with the expectations of humanist philosophers. Moreover, we must not fail to note that the first non-theological books that appear in the Collection in 1561, are precisely those of political history: the chronicle of Martin Kromer[88] and Sigismund von Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*.[89] By the end of 1569, the Collection expanded over many more titles stretching from ancient histories (i.e. Pausanias,[90] Livy),[91] through works of a humanist antiquarian bent (i.e. Peter Apian's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*)[92] and Renaissance universal histories (i.e. Johannes Nauclerus' *Chronicon ab initio mundi usque ad annum M.CCCCC*),[93] ending with the ecclesiastical histories or hagiographies (i.e. Luigi Lippomano's *Historiae de vitis sanctorum*).[94] This propensity towards consuming broadly understood histories appears to reflect most evidently the impact of the humanist method.[95]

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[86] BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2706 (a) – Niccolò Tignosi, *In libros Aristotelis de anima commentarii*, Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551.

[87] Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

[88] BJ St. Dr. Cim. 8155 – Marcin Kromer, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1558.

[89] BJ St. Dr. Cim. 8156 – Sigmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*. Acc.: Paolo Giovio, *De legatione Basilii magni principis Moscoviae ad Clementem VII*. Georg Werner, *De admirandis Hungariae aquis hypomnemation*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1556.

[90] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3529 – Pausanias, *Veteris Graeciae descriptio*, trad. Romolo Amaseo, Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551.

[91] BJ St. Dr. Lat. 2727–2728 – Titus Patavinus Livius, *Libri omnes, quotque ad nostram aetatem pervenerunt*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Georg Rab der Ältere, Erben des Weigand Hans, Sigmund Feyerabend, 1568; Titus Patavinus Livius, *Libri omnes, quotque ad nostram aetatem pervenerunt*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main: Georg Rab der Ältere, Erben des Weigand Hans, Sigmund Feyerabend, 1568.

[92] BJ St. Dr. Hist. 14698 – Peter Apianus, Bartholomaeus Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, Ingolstadt: Peter Apianus, 1534.

[93] BJ St. Dr. Hist. 14982 III/1–2 – Johannes Nauclerus, *Chronicon ab initio mundi usque ad annum M.CCCCC*. Acc.: Laurentius Surius, *Appendix nova rerum interim gestarum*, vol. 1, Köln: Johann Quentels Erben, Gerwin Calenius, 1564; Johannes Nauclerus, *Chronicon ab initio mundi usque ad annum M.CCCCC*. Acc.: Laurentius Surius, *Appendix nova rerum interim gestarum*, vol. 2, Köln: Johann Quentels Erben, Gerwin Calenius, 1564,

[94] BJ St. Dr. Hist. 14944 III/1–2 – Luigi Lippomano, *Historiae de vitis sanctorum*. P. 1. Leuven: Reinerus Velpius, Peter Zangrius, 1568; Luigi Lippomano, *Historiae de vitis sanctorum*. P. 2. Acc.: Giovanni Garzoni, *Vita divi Dominici*, Leuven: Reinerus Velpius, Peter Zangrius, 1568.

[95] On the impact of history on the medical humanist method, see: Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010). For medical humanism, consult: Vivian Nutton, ,'The Rise of Medical Humanism: Ferrara, 1464–1555', *Renaissance Studies* 11 (1997), , pp. 2–19; *id*., 'Medical Humanism, a Problematic Formulation?', *Arts et Savoirs*, 15, (2021), pp. 1–15.

Despite being deeply invested in the development of a more profound understanding of history and integrating it firmly with Renaissance natural sciences, this aspect of humanism still remains largely understudied in the context of the late sixteenth-century University of Kraków.[96] But, looking at the situation more broadly, taken together with the typically humanist mode of philosophizing—appreciative of ethics and political philosophy—the works of history must thus be considered as playing a vital role in intellectual formation of the scholars using them. Simultaneously, they reveal the significance and liveliness of the cultural model that was by no means alien to the Fund's custodians and auditors.

The two last groups of acquisitions in period A contain ten works of astronomy and mathematics, and a similar number of titles concerning medicine and natural sciences. Comprising of works of theoretical and practical character, the Collection of mathematical-astronomical works included a 1566 edition of Copernicus' *De revolutionibus*,[97] multiple works discussing Euclidian geometry, and Johannes Stadius' *Tabules Bergenses*.[98] Surprisingly, despite Kraków's ancient astronomical-mathematical lineage, the next acquisitions of books representing this category took place only in 1601! One could of course claim that the study of the celestial bodies might have lost its appeal, or was at least pushed to the very end of the bucket list in periods B, C, D due to the serious financial problems impeding Collection's development.

All of the works of astronomy and mathematics in period A were in fact introduced in a single year of 1567, which was also the only year in the decades A–D with no theological acquisitions.[99] Among books added to the Collection was Jean Fernel's *Cosmotheoria*, a copy of which disappeared from the Jagiellonian Library.[100] Although making any definitive claims about a lost book risks hitting wide of the mark, the case of *Cosmotheoria* deserves a closer attention. Firstly, the book represents Fernel's final attempt at combining mathematics and natural philosophy in his original cosmology. As emphasised by John Henry, published in 1528, the book was penned towards the end of Fernel's medical studies, at the very moment of his transition from astronomer-mathematician to physician.[101] His later medical reforms,

[96] Most recently, a discussion on the pedagogical and community-forming role of history at the University of Kraków after the 1550s was initiated by: M. Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości w XV i XVI wieku*, Cracow: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2017, pp. 266–291.

[97] BJ St. Dr. Cim. 8202–8203 (Cim. 8202) – Mikołaj Kopernik, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*. Acc.: Georg Joachim Rheticus, *De libris revolutionum Nicolai Copernici narratio prima*; for editions of Copernicus's *opus magnum* consult a classical monograph: Owen Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De revolutionibus (Nuremberg, 1543 and Basel, 1566)*, Leiden: Brill, 2002.

[98] BJ St. Dr. 940342–940343 III (St. Dr. 940343 III) – Johannes Stadius, *Tabulae Bergenses aequabilis et adparentis motus orbium coelestium. De fixis stellis commentarius*, Köln: Arnold Birckmanns Erben, 1560.

[99] AUJ Rkps. 58.

[100] AUJ Rkps. 58, p. 56.

[101] John Henry, '"Mathematics Made no Contribution to the Public Weal": Why Jean Fernel (1497–1558) Became a Physician', , *Centaurus* 53 (2011), issue 3, pp. 193–220.

would be built on the natural philosophical scheme outlined in *Cosmotheoria*. Secondly, the presence of Fernel's treatise demonstrates the unexpected receptivity of the Kraków masters for novel, non-standard readings of the cosmos and the natural world, which again casts doubt on the accusations of dogmatism and intellectual ossification that were so frequently made towards the University professors of this period. More significantly, read together with other books added to the Collection in 1567, the *Cosmotheoria* provides a thought-provoking clue for interpreting the entire sequence of purchases of period A, while also hinting at the explanation of the absence of astronomical-mathematical works of periods B–D.

Out of ten books of medicine and natural sciences acquired in period A, only two were not added to the Collection in 1567; Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica*[102] enriched the library in 1563, Matthioli's commentary to Dioscorides[103] was acquired in 1566. Interestingly, both works represent the growing empirically-oriented trends in contemporary medical thought: anatomy and botany.[104] As for the remaining eight books mentioned in entries from 1567, apart from the set of botanical works of Leonhart Fuchs,[105] the remaining seven sources represent other streams of natural and medical thought, including a 1562 edition of the fifteenth century treatise on poisons – *De venenis* by Sante Ardoini.[106] The works of Gulielmus Rheginus,[107] Jean de Gorris,[108] and Franciscus Valleriola,[109] all could be conveniently grouped as medical compendia integrating ancient, Medieval and Renaissance medical knowledge and veiled in a broadly understood medical humanist form (i.e. critical philological examination of medical terms, providing Greek equivalents to key terms and diseases,

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[102] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6720 (egz. A) – Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1555. For the second edition of *De humani corporis fabrica*, see: Dániel Margócsy, Mark Somos, and Stephen N. Joffe, *The* Fabrica *of Andreas Vesalius: A Worldwide Descriptive Census, Ownership, and Annotations of the 1543 and 1555 Editions*, Leiden: Brill, 2018.

[103] BJ St. Dr. Bot. 657 IV – Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de medica materia*, Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1565.

[104] Cynthia Klestinec, 'Medical Education in Padua: Students, Faculty and Facilities', in *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and John Arrizabalaga, London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 193–220; Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature – Image, Text, and Argument in the Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

[105] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6471/1–3 – Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1566; Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567; Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 3, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567.

[106] BJ St. Dr. Med. 35562 III – Sante Ardoini, *Opus de venenis*. Acc.: Ferdinando Ponzetti, *De venenis commentarium* [ed. Theodor Zwinger], Basel: Heinrich Petri, Peter Perna, 1562.

[107] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6452–6453 (Med. 6452) – Guilelmus Rheginus, *Medicinae exercitamenta ex selectis linguae utriusque authoribus illustrata*, Lyon: Barthélemy Molin, 1564.

[108] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6452–6453 (Med. 6453) – Jean de Gorris, *Definitionum medicarum libri XXIIII literis graecis distincti*, Paris: André Wechel, 1564.

[109] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6714 IV – François Valleriola, *Loci medicinae communes, tribus libris digesti*, Lyon: Héritiers de Sébastien Gryphe, 1562.

sporadic presence of scientific poetry etc.).[110] Theoretically speaking, one could close this list by pointing to Gessner's monumental four-volume (the fifth volume was published years after in 1587) work of natural history—*Historiae animalium*.[111]

However, this description is both superficial and incomplete; for what escapes one's notice of the medical and natural philosophical works of period A lies precisely in acknowledging the fundamental link between philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine and other natural sciences. The missing link becomes visible due to the presence of *Cosmotheoria*, particularly pertaining to its relationship to all the books mentioned in the register under the year of 1567. As already mentioned, none of them dealt with theology, while the philosophies found there are all without exception commentaries to works of Aristotle. Only one philosophical book treats poetics, while the rest fall between physics, logic and epistemology.[112] Juxtaposed with the predominance of geometry and practical astronomy among celestial studies, *Cosmotheoria* could cater for the needs of astrologically attuned medics and natural philosophers, while also attracting theologians. The picture stemming from this complex arrangement appears almost striking when one understands the profound evolution of the natural sciences, astronomy and mathematics taking place between 1560s–1610s.[113] More importantly, it shows the vitality of the astrological tradition that had earned the privileged status in Kraków already in the late fifteenth century. It seems that the presence of Fernel's work might have been related to a final effort to reform astrology as a legitimate *scientia*. This does not mean that *Cosmotheoria* would be the only work potentially important for defending this tradition, but a growing tension—driven, for instance, by new medical approaches distancing themselves from the old ways that challenged local iatromathematics—was already being felt.[114]

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[110] Nutton, 'The Rise of Medical Humanism: Ferrara, 1464–1555'; *id*., 'Greek Science in the Sixteenth-century Renaissance', in *Renaissance and Revolution. Humanists, Scholars, Craftsmen and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Judith V. Field and Frank A. James, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 15–28.

[111] BJ St. Dr. 114255 IV (a–b) – Konrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium liber I de quadrupedibus viviparis*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer der Ältere, 1551 and Konrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium liber II de quadrupedibus oviparia*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer der Ältere, 1554; BJ St. Dr. 114364 IV – Konrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium liber IIII. qui est de piscium et aquatilium animantium natura*. Acc.: Guillaume Rondelet, Pierre Belon, *De Aquatilium singulis scripta*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer der Ältere, 1558; BJ St. Dr. 114248 IV – Konrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium liber III, qui est de avium natura*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer der Ältere, 1555.

[112] On Aristotelianism, see: Luca Bianchi, 'Continuity and Change in the Aristotelian Philosophy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 49–71; Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Mass. – London, Harvard University Press, 1983, pp. 10–33.

[113] See, footnote 28.

[114] Stanislaus Picius Zavacius, *Examen Thematum D. Stanislai Zavacii Pici Cracovi. Anno Domini M.D.LXIII. Die XIII Novembris In Academia Crac. Disputandi Gratia Temere Productorum, sub praesidio Felicis Sieprski*, Cracoviae: in Officina Lazari, Anno Domini M.D.LXIII.

Apart from the evidence discussed above, based on the results of the discussion and the analysis of the entire source material present in period A, the following conclusions may be reached: 1) the acquisitions of the books followed a structured plan that catered for the needs of the local scholarly community while respecting the main stipulations of Benedykt of Koźmin; 2) from the outset, a clear balance of acquisitions was maintained, the books of theology did not constitute even a half of the total number of the titles with multiple showcasing a clear humanist and philosophical bent: many volumes of Renaissance patristics, hagiographies, Erasmiana, or ecclesiastical histories; 3) among the books of philosophy there were diverse versions of Aristotelian works encompassing all branches of philosophy, and representing various interpretations; 4) the same variety of new Peripatetic editions, coming from Florentine and Venetian printing houses, sheds a new light on the claims of the dominance of scholastic Aristotelianism in the University of Kraków of the 1550 and 1560s; 4) moreover, a strong representation of the contemporaneous scientific and philosophical essentials demonstrates the scholarly awareness and suggests the high level of receptivity to the sixteenth-century discourses among the Collection's custodians and auditors.

Periods B, C, and D (1570–1599)

The three middle decades encompassing periods B, C, D, deserve joint consideration as the cumbersome financial situation of the Fund combined with social, political and institutional crises, took its toll precisely at that time, negatively affecting operations and possibly prompting the adoption of new acquisition strategies.[115] On the most general plane, three trends must be observed: 1) the books of theology start slowly gaining an upper hand over other disciplines, making at least 60% of the total number of books in period B and as much as 70–75% in C and D; 2) the complete number of books acquired in the three final periods corresponds with roughly 60-65% of the figures found in period A, with the final decade D providing only 12 books; 3) while in period A books were added nine times, with 1568 being the only year free of registered acquisitions – which can be explained by the lavish purchases of 1567 discussed above – the combined data for decades B, C, D, shows that in the span of thirty years the new titles arrived only eleven times![116] The picture of an overall downfall emerging from the simple analysis of statistics cannot be dismissed, nor should one interpret such trends as mere anomalies.

At the same time, however, a closer look at each decade allows us to identify intriguing trends and patterns that prove instrumental for understanding the impact of this period; and to possibly explain how the Collection's supervisors reacted

[115] Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 191–194.

[116] AUJ Rkps. 58, pp. 59–82 and Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655', pp. 185–186.

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to the constantly changing circumstances. It seems also instructive to underscore that these reactions appear to unveil some of the rectifying measures employed towards saving the academic prestige of the school. In other words, assessing the concrete data of the combined three decades, one must agree that certain ideas had to be privileged while others were sacrificed, which is echoed in the specificity of selected titles. Trying to avoid limiting the research perspective to alleged doctrinal rigidity (i.e. the reactiveness of scholastic factions), this paper argues that the pragmatic circumstances played a significant role in the processes shaping the Collection in these periods. Operating within an economy plagued by a constant shortage of resources, demanded mediating between exponentially growing intellectual competitiveness of the late sixteenth century philosophy and sciences and preserving institutional integrity. It is in this context that one should view the process of confessionalisation; it was devised precisely to maintain the cohesion and order, ultimately lead to the curricular reforms of Dobrocieski, mentioned at the outset of this paper. Understanding this point requires studying the dynamics leading towards that end.

The positive trends described in the analysis of period A can still be found at the beginning of decade B as the first two years enriched the Collection with 19 new titles.[117] Unfortunately, the good fortune did not last long and only two books were added in 1575, followed by the final additions of two more titles in 1578.[118] From a content perspective, a significant growth of theology should be noted. At the same time, the abundant philosophical-scientific acquisitions of the years 1567–1569 (late period A), justify the attention given to the highest academic discipline in the early 1570s. The non-theological works can be divided into three main groups of philosophy, history and medicine, roughly corresponding with the descriptions of disciplines employed for period A. Interestingly, the most notable philosophical acquisition was Plato's *Opera omnia* in the translation of Jean de Serres,[119] added in the final years of period B in 1578. One of the most impactful renderings of Platonic philosophy, this bilingual edition enriched with Serres' commentaries, introduced the famous "Stephanus pagination" that revolutionised the ways of thinking about organization of the corpus of Platonic texts. At the same time, it complemented the already mentioned edition of Platonic *Opera omnia* added over a decade earlier in 1566. However, this older book provided only the Latin translations of the dialogues 'authored' by Marsilio Ficino.[120]

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[117] BJ Rkps., pp. 59–71.

[118] BJ Rkps., pp. 69–71.

[119] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3551 IV (v. 1+3, v. 2) – Plato, *Opera quae extant omnia*, Lat. trad. et comm. Jean de Serres, [vol. 1–3], [Genève]: Henri II Estienne, 1578.

[120] On the problems with Ficino's authorship of the 1557 copy added to the Collection in 1566, see: John Monfasani, 'For the History of Marsilio Ficino's Translation of Plato. The Revision Mistakenly Attributed to Ambrogio Flandino, Simon Grynaeus' Revision of 1532, and the Anonymous Revision of 1556–1557', *Rinascimento* 27 (1987), pp. 293–297.

The precise meaning of both acquisitions cannot be fully assessed given the current state of knowledge on the reception of Platonism in Early Modern Poland. Even though the trajectories and dynamics of this phenomenon have been initially explored by studies focused on single authors and works, there is still much room for broader analysis.[121] Thus, determining the actual impact that the two editions of Plato had on the teaching staff, and (possibly) the entire academic community, remains our desired goal.[122] Some evidence presented in Jan Czerkawski's nuanced study of Aristotelianism at the sixteenth and seventeenth century Arts Faculty, demonstrates that the influence of Plato cannot be overlooked, but the extent of the application of his ideas can only be described tentatively. Based on professors' speeches, textbooks and the analysis of statutes reforming the curriculum in 1573 and 1579, Czerkawski suggests that Plato was acknowledged as one of the ancient sages, whose thought was believed to compliment teachings of Aristotle. The phenomenon was further linked with those professors, usually conveniently labelled as humanist, whose approach to philosophy rejected following single rigid interpretation. By combining various Renaissance versions of Aristotle (which interestingly correspond with the books described in period A), Plato (A and B) and Cicero (A), these thinkers championed a vision of philosophy that was affirmative towards man's freedom and dignity, simultaneously favouring doctrinal pluralism.[123]

Another significant aspect of Czerkawski's source analysis is his appreciation of the "pursuit towards reform" that characterised the period between 1550s and 1570s. At first glance, the inclusion in 1570—at the beginning of period B—of a surprisingly old multivolume edition (1511–1512) of Avicenna's *Canon*[124] may seem strikingly conservative. A standard work introduced into the late medieval medical programme, the *Canon* remained an internationally recognised source of medical academic training well into the early seventeenth century.[125] It is thus important to emphasise that the exact copies in question were most likely employed in Kraków in preparation for lectures. Moreover, this very book was by no means outdated

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[121] Earlier assessments of this topic can be found in: Czerkawski, *Humanizm i scholastyka – studia z dziejów…*, pp. 7–151; Izydora Dąbska, 'Platon w Polsce', *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 49 (1948), pp. 362–364. On the related problem of the dissemination of the Hermetic tradition, see: Agata Sowińska, *Hermetica średniowiecza i renesansu. Studium z historii myśli europejskiej*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2018, pp. 25–41.

[122] Cf. *Teaching Plato in Italian Renaissance Universities*, ed. Eva Del Soldato, and M. Vanhaelen, Turnhout: Brepols, 2024.

[123] Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…', pp. 64–67.

[124] BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/1–2 (1) – Avicenna, *Canon*, *comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 1, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1510; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/1–2 (20) – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 2, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1511; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/3–4; Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 3–4, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1511; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/5 – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 5, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1512.

[125] Nancy Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy – The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

or considered archaic. As brilliantly illustrated in the works of Nancy Siraisi, the sixteenth-century versions of the *Canon* mediated between scholastic and Renaissance humanist methodologies.[126] Significantly, contemporary scholars of Renaissance medicine have repeatedly reiterated that the sixteenth century medicine was as deeply rooted in medieval conceptual frameworks as it was capable of integrating the evolving empirical, iatromathematical, and iatrochemical elements.[127] And indeed, this same complex vision of medicine is reflected in the multidisciplinary character of the medical works in Koźmin's Collection. Returning to the *Canon*, this single medical acquisition in period B offers a substantial clue for interpreting the boundaries of local orthodoxy, which appear to have accommodated—at least partially—the methodological rigor of the pre-humanist Schoolmen while concurrently engaging with newer intellectual currents. At the same time, it serves as a reminder of the complex interactions in the Collection, which combined Renaissance humanist philosophies (i.e. Platonic[128] and Aristotelian works[129] mentioned in A and B), empirical novelties (i.e. Vesalius,[130] Gesner[131] and Fuchs[132] in A), and contemporary adaptations of medieval knowledge (i.e. Regiomontanus' *De triangulis*[133] in period A and Avicenna's *Canon*[134] in B).

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126 *Ibid*., pp. 7, 77–97, 127–156.

127 Nutton, *Renaissance Medicine – A Short History of European Medicine…*, pp. 2–3; Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Medicine, 1450–1620, and the History of Science', *Isis* 103 (2012), no. 3, pp. 491–514.

128 BJ St. Dr. Greka 3650 – Plato, *Opera omnia*, trad. Marsilio Ficino, Sebastiano Corradi, Lyon: Antoine Vincent, Balthazar Arnoullet; BJ St. Dr. Greka 3551 IV (v. 1+3, v. 2) – Plato, *Opera quae extant omnia*, Lat. trad. et comm. Jean de Serres, [vol. 1–3], [Genève]: Henri II Estienne, 1578.

129 For instance: BJ St. Dr. Greka 3606–3609a III – Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentationes in praedicamenta Aristotelis nuper diligentius in latinam linguam translatae*, ed. Gilbertus Porretanus, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1550; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in octo libros Aristotelis de physico auditu*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1558; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in quatuor libros de coelo Aristotelis*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1563; Simplicius de Cilicia, *Commentaria in treis [!] libros de anima Aristotelis*, Lat. trad. Evangelista Longo, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1554; BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2638 III (c) – Psellus, Michael, *In physicen Aristotelis commentarii*, trad. Giovanni Battista Camozzi, Venezia, 1554.

130 BJ St. Dr. Med. 6720 (egz. A) – Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1555.

131 For instance: BJ St. Dr. St. Dr. 114255 IV (a) – Konrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium liber I de quadrupedibus viviparis*, Zürich: Christoph Froschauer der Ältere, 1551.

132 BJ St. Dr. Med. 6471/1–3 – Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1566; Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567; Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 3, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567.

133 BJ St. Dr. 393078–393080 III (St. Dr. 393078–393079 III) – Joannes Regiomontanus, *De triangulis planis et sphaericis libri quinque.* [Acc.: Georg von Peuerbach, *Tractatus super propositiones Ptolemaei de sinubus & chordis. Problematum astronomicorum et geometricorum sectiones septem*], ed. Daniel Santbech, Basel: Heinrich Petri, Peter Perna, 1561.

134 BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/1–2 (1) – Avicenna, *Canon*, *comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 1, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1510; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/1–2 (2) – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 2, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1511; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/3–4; Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 3–4, Pavia:

Closing the description of period B, despite their limited resources, Collection supervisors decided to add three books catalogued later by Fasseau as histories. Leaving aside discussions concerning their exact disciplinary status, two titles are worthy of closer attention: Petrus Ramus' *Scholae in liberales artes*[135] and Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum vitae humanae*.[136] In a most general sense both books represented different phenomena characterising the early modern reform of knowledge: the former epitomising the radical rejection of the older system clinging to the preestablished vision of Aristotelian gnoseology,[137] the latter participating in the evolution of the new type of practically applicable commonplace learning.[138] The Ramist method was reductive and focused on seeking practicality in 'overt' simplicity, while Zwinger's aimed at expanding and organising human knowledge concurrently treating it as means for personal self-growth. The two perspectives illustrated the tension that would be felt even more intensely in upcoming decades and that was rooted in divergent visions of practicality of knowledge. What is more, the approach of Ramus was largely contested due to its radicalism, when Zwinger earned much respect as a careful reformer; a reputation that did not wane after he pivoted to Paracelsian medicine in the 1580s.[139]

The effects of this focus on systematizing knowledge and reforming the philosophical curriculum was formally confirmed in the late 1570s. In 1577, the new textbook of Jean Charpentier (*Descriptio universae naturae ex Aristotele*),[140] the fiercest Parisian opponent of Ramus, was introduced. Soon after, in 1579, the reforms of Górski took place, recognising the equal need for Aristotelian and non-Aristotelian subjects in the teaching program. Notably, Górski produced his own textbook on dialectic that skilfully combined the most up-to-date takes on the humanist Aristotle.[141] The Koźmin Collection's register mentions spending money on the binding of a copy of this work in 1588.[142] A year later, another work penned by the professor

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Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1511; BJ St. Dr. Med. 35676/5 – Avicenna, *Canon, comm. Gentilis de Fulgineo*, vol. 5, Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, Luigi Castello, Bartolomeo Morandi, 1512.

135 BJ St. Dr. Hist.15032 III – Pierre de La Ramée, *Scholae in liberales artes*, Basel: Eusebius Episcopius, Erben des Nicolaus Episcopius der Jüngere, 1569.

136 BJ St. Dr. Hist. 15385 IV – Theodor Zwinger, *Theatrum vitae humanae a Conrado Lycosthene inchoatum*, Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, Jean Charron, Michel Sonnius, 1571.

137 Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 139–153.

138 Ann Blair , *Too Much to Know – Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age*, New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 193–213.

139 Nutton, *Renaissance Medicine – A Short History of European Medicine…*, pp. 287–294.

140 Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…', p. 62.

141 Jakub Górski's *Commentariorum artis dialecticae libri decem* was published in 1563 in Leipzig. For Górski's intellectual profile and his main works in rhetoric and dialectic, see: Stefan Ziemski, 'Jakub Górski: Logician and Philosopher', *Organon* 16/17 (1980/1981), pp. 115–134; Wojciech Ryczek, 'Renesansowe teorie figuratywności (II): Jakub Górski', *Pamiętnik Literacki* 3 (2017), pp. 101–119.

142 AUJ Rkps. 58, p. 78.

of the University, Annibale Roselli, the three volumes of the theological-hermetic commentary to *Pimander*, underwent the same procedure.[143]

Apart from gifts, the most interesting purchases of period C included the popular compendium—Pliny's *Opera naturalis historia*,[144] only one book of philosophy—Mattia Aquario's commentary to Aristotelian *Metaphysica*[145] and a number of books that engaged with broadly understood humanist-historical themes. In the last group, one finds Joseph Scaliger's *Opus de emendatione temporum*, a work that operated at the intersection of history and astronomy and forwarded a new vision of historical chronology.[146] Similarly, adding one of the classical mythological compendiums of the sixteenth century, the lavishly illustrated *Imagines deorum* of Vincenzo Cartari,[147] speaks for the vivid presence of antiquarian interest. The same work, taken together with Roselli's *Pimander*,[148] and Aquario's *Metaphysica*[149] may also suggest a strong interest in meditative introspection that again counters the narrative of scholastic dogmatism and philosophical sterility. But, the most significant purchases lie out of the main scope of this paper, for between 1586 and 1588 at least six new works of four Jesuit authors were added; to mention only Roberto Bellarmino[150] and Francisco de Toledo.[151] And thus, the new era in the history of the Collection would ultimately lead to the introduction of Dobrocieski's curricular reforms.

The final decade of the sixteenth century, period D, can be summarised as the complete dominance of Counter-Reformation acquisitions. Apart from the

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143 AUJ Rkps. 58, p. 79

144 BJ St. Dr. Lat. 2788 IV – Plinius, Caius Caecilius Secundus Maior, *Historia mundi naturalis*, comm. Sigismund Gelenius. Frankfurt am Main: Martin Lechler, Sigmund Feyerabend, 1582.

145 BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2584 III – Mattia Aquario, *Dilucidationes in XII libros primae philosophiae Aristotelis*, Roma: Bartolomeo Bonfadino, Tito Diani, 1584.

146 BJ St. Dr. 392964 III – Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Opus novum de emendatione temporum*, Paris: Sébastien Nivelle, Mamert Patisson, 1583; Anthony Grafton, 'Scaliger's Chronology – Early Patterns of Reception', in: *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe – An Episode in the History of the Humanities*, ed. Nicholas Hardy and Dmitri Levitin, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 154–193.

147 BJ St. Dr. Hist. 5554 III – Vincenzo Cartari , *Imagines deorum, qui ab antiquis colebantur*, Lat. trad. Antoine Du Verdier, Lyon: Étienne Michel, Guichard Julliéron, 1581.

148 BJ St. Dr. Cim. 8085 – Annibale Roselli, *De septem sacramentis Ecclesiae Catholicae liber [Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti, cum commento]*, Poznań: Jan Wolrab, 1589.

149 BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2584 III – Mattia Aquario, *Dilucidationes in XII libros primae philosophiae Aristotelis*, Roma: Bartolomeo Bonfadino, Tito Diani, 1584.

150 For instance: BJ St. Dr. Teol. 6700 IV/1 – Roberto Bellarmino, *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, vol. 1, Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1588 or BJ St. Dr. Teol. 6700 IV/2 – Roberto Bellarmino, *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, vol. 2, Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1588 or BJ St. Dr. 394971 IV – Roberto Bellarmino, *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, vol. 1, Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1586.

151 BJ St. Dr. Teol.11757/1 – Francisco de Toledo, *In sacrosanctum Joannis Evangelium commentarii*, [T. 1], Köln: Arnold Birckmanns Erben, Arnold Mylius, 1589 and BJ St. Dr. Teol.11757/2 Francisco de Toledo, *In sacrosanctum Joannis Evangelium commentarii*, [T. 2], Köln: Arnold Birckmanns Erben, Arnold Mylius, 1589.

monumental *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Cesare Baronio,[152] and the eighteen volumes of Aquinas' complete works,[153] all of the remaining books of theology were authored by the Jesuits. The only three positions standing out from this description are works of physicians, all related to the trends dominating in the sixteenth century learned medicine. Starting with the still understudied *De curatione membratim* of Guido Guidi (Vidus Vidius),[154] through Girolamo Fabrizio d'Acquapendente's *Pentateuchos cheirurgicum*,[155] and ending with Francisco Vallés' commentaries to various works of Galen, [156] these titles demonstrate a clear direction pursued by the Kraków's scholastic body. With the diminishing role of iatromathematics, the empirically oriented works of the revered medics gained the upper hand in Kraków, foreshadowing the establishment of two medical chairs mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Moreover, what is evident from a reading of the books of Vallés and Acquapendente, some scholars in Kraków must have become enchanted with the methodical approach of the School of Padua.[157] The influence of the Paduan school of medical-natural philosophy, although uncontested, has yet to be fully examined in the context of the development of medicine in Poland.[158] Nevertheless, this direction cannot be overlooked or reduced to a matter of fashion or the curiosity prompted by the growing trend of young Polish scholars choosing to attend the University of Padua. Going beyond period D, the purchases of 1601 and 1604 mention multiple titles of the Paduan masters, among them works of Zabarella[159]

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[152] BJ St. Dr. Hist. 15585 IV (t. 1; def.) – Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, t. 1, Antwerpen: Christophe Plantin, [1589].

[153] BJ St. Dr. Teol. 8230/1–2 – Thomas de Aquino, sanctus, *Opera omnia*, t. 1, Venezia: Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio et Socii, 1594; Thomas de Aquino, sanctus, *Opera omnia*, t. 2, Venezia: Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio et Socii, 1593 (and the following 15 volumes under signatures: – BJ St. Dr. Teol. 8230/3–4 – BJ St. Dr. Teol. 8230/17). See also: BJ St. Dr. Teol. 6727 IV – Thomas de Aquino, sanctus, *Opera omnia*, t. 18 [= Petrus de Bergamo, Tabula aurea in omnia opera Divi Thomae Aquinatis], Venezia: Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio et Socii, 1593.

[154] BJ St. Dr. 394938 IV – Guido Guidi, *De curatione membratim libri XI*, Firenze: Michelangelo Sermartelli, 1594.

[155] BJ St. Dr. Cim. 1428 – Girolamo Fabrizi d'Acquapendente, *Pentateuchos cheirurgicum*, ed. Johann Hartmann Beyer. Frankfurt am Main: [Martin Lechler], [Peter Fischer], 1592.

[156] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6700 III – Francisco Vallés de Covarrubias, *Commentaria in Galeni libros*, ed. Giovanni Pietro Airoldi, Köln: Francesco dei Franceschi, Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1592.

[157] Jerome J. Bylebyl, 'Teaching *Methodus Medendi* in the Renaissance', in Galen's Method of Healing. Proceedings of the 1982 Galen Symposium, ed. Fridolf Kudlien and Richard J. Durling, Leiden: Brill, 1991, pp. 157–189; Bylebyl, 'The School of Padua: Humanistic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 335–370.

[158] Cf. Danuta Quirini-Popławska, Krzysztof Frankowicz, *Dzieła padewskich profesorów medycyny (Gabriele Falloppia, Melchiorre Guilandini, Girolamo Mercuriale) w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej i ich proweniencja*, in *Exemplis discimus – księga jubileuszowa osiemdziesięciolecia Profesora Edwarda Potkowskiego*, ed. Piotr Tafiłowski, Lublin: Studenckie Koło Informacjii Naukowej „Palimpsest", 2015, pp. 64–107.

[159] BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2558 (a–b) – Giacomo Zabarella, *Opera logica*, ed. Johannes Ludwig Hawenreuter, Köln: Lazarus Zetzner, 1597.

or Girolamo Mercuriale[160]—both significantly contributing to the discussion on the role and character of the method, and its proper application in natural philosophy or empirical medicine. At the same time, the early presence of Agostino Nifo,[161] Marco Antonio Zimara[162] and Andreas Vesalius[163] in period A, show a certain line of continuity of interest in Padua's approach to medical-philosophical studies.[164]

Thus, taken all together, although period D did not yield numerous new works, this same scarcity may serve forming an important question concerning the finalisation of the early seventeenth century reforms: would it be possible that the shortage of resources, combined with growing pressure of the Jesuit educational model, the overabundance of scholarly innovations, and the impact left by confessionalisation of the school lead to the formation of a more definitive doctrinal stance of the University of Kraków? Although such a question cannot be answered based purely on this research, a broader study of the entire Collection would undoubtedly benefit from the falsification of such a hypothesis. The long process of confessionalisation was, of course, in many ways decisive for delineating the community's general course of action. The financial struggles starting in the 1580s, might have contributed to the narrowing of the boundaries of doctrinal orthodoxy, and ultimately found its expression in mitigating the risks—both financial and those concerned with preserving the institutional order—by integrating the scientific model championed by the Counter-Reformation Church. Importantly, this did not necessarily mean rejecting the works that did not follow the post-Tridentine normativity in the strict sense, as period D and early 1600s still welcomed works operating on the fringes of mainstream academic knowledge. The presence of the Paracelsian Joseph Duchesne,[165] the purist Paduan Aristotelian Jacopo Zabarella,[166]

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[160] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6576 – *Mercuriale, Girolamo, Praelectiones Pisanae… In Epidemicas Hippocratis Historias… Nec non Tractatus Primo, De Hominis Generatione. Secundo, De Balneis Pisanis. Tertio, De Vino & Aqua*, Venezia, Apud Iuntas [= Lucantonio Giunta iun.], 1597.

[161] BJ St. Dr. Greka 3522 – Agostino Nifo, *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros de historia animalium, de partibus animalium, et earum causis, ac de generatione animalium*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1546.

[162] BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2706 (b–c) – Marco Antonio Zimara, *Theoremata, seu memorabilium propositionum limitationes, cum additionibus*, Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1564; Marco Antonio Zimara, *Tabula et dilucidationes in dicta Aristotelis et Averrois*, Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1564.

[163] BJ St. Dr. Med. 6720 (egz. A) – Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1555.

[164] For the medieval origins of this rich intellectual exchange between the Universities of Kraków and Padua, see: Mieczysław Markowski, 'Krakowskie dzieła astronomiczne w zbiorach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Padwie jako świadectwo ich recepcji przez naukę włoską', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 29 (1979), no. 1, pp. 43–53.

[165] BJ St. Dr. 391778 III – Ambroise Paré, *Opera chirurgica*, ed. Jacques Guillemeau, Frankfurt am Main: Johann Feyrabend, Peter Fischer, 1594.

[166] BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2558 (a–b) – Giacomo Zabarella, *Opera logica*, ed. Johannes Ludwig Hawenreuter, Köln: Lazarus Zetzner, 1597.

or the royal surgeon Amborse Paré[167], who espoused the empirical perspective, illustrate the flexibility of this orthodoxy that was still able to accommodate the views challenging the status quo.

Conclusions

Starting with numerical data, a clear trajectory can be sketched: period A was characterised by a great ambition and disciplinary diversity that lost its vigour by the end of period B. Despite the gradual growth of theology in B, C and D, scholarly interest and plans for institutional reform can still be clearly detected, especially in B and C. At the same time, the sudden disappearance of mathematics and astronomy in period B, coincided with a narrowing of interests in medicine and natural sciences; a trend that would be only reversed in the early 1600s, when new medicine, mathematics and astronomy took a more definitive shape. Periods B and C must also be viewed through the scope of works presenting various perspectives on the systematising of knowledge, accounting for the centrality of this theme in the undergoing pedagogical reforms of the late 1570s. Finding the way out of the financial, institutional, but also epistemic struggle required redefining the main philosophical-theological doctrine, the fact confirmed by a clear preference for the Counter-Reformation texts in period D. Thus, on the purely statistical ground, one could even risk agreeing with earlier interpretations, which reduced these complex processes to the gradual surrender of humanism at the expense of Aristotelian scholasticism.

Seeking the answers in the interplay of regularities and irregularities brings comparisons to the humanism-scholasticism dyad present in earlier research. But there is a significant difference between the two approaches. While scholasticism is still sometimes seen as a form of incursion corrupting the humanist order, this research embraces the irregularities; seeking to understand them as signposts rather than impediments. The emphasis of the research in this instance lies not in simply categorising the ideas for the sake of reconstructing linearly developing processes, but rather treating them as embodying knowledge in making the trends viewed as denoting the multiplicity of epistemic expressions (both in substance and form).[168] Such is the case of books that may ruin the narrative about doctrinal rigidity and intellectual ossification springing up from the austere religious observance that was often linked to the University of Kraków in the second half of the sixteenth century.

[167] BJ St. Dr. 391778 III – Ambroise Paré, *Opera chirurgica*, ed. Jacques Guillemeau, Frankfurt am Main: Johann Feyrabend, Peter Fischer, 1594.

[168] For a magisterial exposition of the problem of multiplicity of forms of early modern science, see: Martin Korenjak, *Latin Scientific Literature, 1450–1850*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024.

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Some examples included works of the authors whose confessional loyalties were questioned i.e. Justus Lipsius,[169] Ambrose Paré,[170] or those who were openly Protestant i.e. Leonhart Fuchs,[171] Joseph Scaliger,[172] Peter Ramus.[173] Similar concerns could be raised next to names of the 'Averroists' such as Agostino Nifo[174] and Jacopo Zabarella,[175] whose works sparked great controversies.[176] Interestingly, these irregularities appeared throughout each of the four decades discussed in this research. As argued in the paper, it is possible to view these examples as indicators of the Collection's inherent dynamics: first, a temporal dynamic reflected in Collection's chronological build-up and the disciplinary trends characterising each decade, and second, a conceptual dynamic shaped by the intellectual 'building blocks' of the era. These blocks—ranging from philosophical movements, like Aristotelianism, to even vaguer categories like empirical medicine—formed an intricate philosophical-scientific grid that remained structurally coherent, yet flexible enough to incorporate novel leanings.

Yet, delving deeper into the analysed sources, a broader picture emerged pertaining to dialectic of the humanist-scholastic struggle. The dynamic interactions of disciplines revealed more fundamental tensions between various models of systematic thinking, competing approaches to authorities and the manifold shifts in the perception of the core ideas constituting the very essence of each discipline. Benedykt of Koźmin's testament expressed this very awareness of the changing character of knowledge. The same attitude seemed to dictate the actions and decisions of the Collection's custodians, auditors, and many other agents who cannot be easily linked with the acquisition trajectories. Yet, towards the end of the sixteenth century these tensions must have reached a tipping point that ultimately led to the formulation of more precise criteria of orthodoxy. Those new limits, made manifest

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169 BJ St. Dr. 945027–945029 III – Justus Lipsius, *De militia romana libri quinque, commentarius ad Polybium*, Antwerpen: Jan I Moretus, 1598; Justus Lipsius, *Admiranda, sive, de magnitudine romana libri quattuor*, Antwerpen: Jan I Moretus, 1598; Justus Lipsius, *Poliorceticon sive de machinis, tormentis, telis, libri quinque*, Antwerpen: Jan I Moretus, 1599.

170 BJ St. Dr. 391778 III – Ambroise Paré, *Opera chirurgica*, ed. Jacques Guillemeau, Frankfurt am Main: Johann Feyrabend, Peter Fischer, 1594.

171 BJ St. Dr. Med. 6471/1–3 – Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1566; Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567; Leonhard Fuchs, *Opera*, vol. 3, Frankfurt am Main: Sigmund Feyerabend, Simon Hüter, Martin Lechler, 1567.

172 BJ St. Dr. 392964 III – Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Opus novum de emendatione temporum*, Paris: Sébastien Nivelle, Mamert Patisson, 1583.

173 BJ St. Dr. Hist.15032 III – Pierre de La Ramée, *Scholae in liberales artes*, Basel: Eusebius Episcopius, Erben des Nicolaus Episcopius der Jüngere, 1569.

174 BJ St. Dr. Greka 3522 – Agostino Nifo, *Expositiones in omnes Aristotelis libros de historia animalium, de partibus animalium, et earum causis, ac de generatione animalium*, Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1546.

175 BJ St. Dr. Filoz. 2558 (a–b) – Giacomo Zabarella, *Opera logica*, ed. Johannes Ludwig Hawenreuter, Köln: Lazarus Zetzner, 1597.

176 Craig Martin, 'Rethinking Renaissance Averroism', *Intellectual History Review* 17 (2007), , pp. 3–19.

in the curricular reforms of Dobrocieski, enabled a streamlining of the efforts of the overseers, but were by no means unreceptive to the needs of the times. The science of astronomy and mathematics, no longer limited to the ancillary role of astrology, was (re)introduced employing Clavius' key. The medical sciences flourished, accepting Paracelsian pharmacology, but in a polished academic form respecting the still largely accepted broader Galenic scheme. While the last three decades of 1500s became almost completely disinterested in any knowledge but theology, the first decade of the 1600s was still receptive to philosophical novelties as evidenced in the books of Lipsius, Piccolomini and Zabarella.

Looking at this turning point of the early 1600s allows us to narrow the boundaries of orthodoxy of the periods A–D. As it turns out, the University of Kraków can be characterised by: 1) a receptivity to all main authorities operating within the accepted broader Aristotelian-Ptolemaic-Galenic grid (i.e. Copernicus, Vesalius, Mattioli) that was common for both humanist and post-medieval scholastic thinkers; 2) while periods A and B explored multiple philosophical and natural scientific traditions, the tendency of C and D was towards systematising the knowledge and narrowing the disciplinary scope, but with an important qualifier of following the most significant novelties in dialectic/logic and natural philosophy; 3) there is no evidence of confessional restraints playing a decisive role in purchasing and accepting gifts of books, so long so they did not openly question the most sacred standards of truth established by an evolving Catholic orthodoxy;[177] 4) works of Ramus, Lipsius, Scaliger, Zabarella, demonstrate that the University masters must have been aware of the circumstances of their extra-scholarly notoriety, and so the 'controversial' authors were most likely used for developing a more nuanced understanding of the issues present in the key works used in University teaching. Charpentier's textbook, used in Kraków following the curricular reforms of the 1570s and 1600s, must have been tested against the text of his arch-enemy Ramus; indeed, just like Zabarella's claims were likely to have been read in tandem with texts of his Paduan rivals, especially those of Piccolomini.

PREVIEW

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This study has demonstrated that the works of philosophy and natural sciences present in the first four decades of the Koźmin Collection's existence warrant closer attention on the part of historians interested in unveiling the development of knowledge in Kraków. Recovering the boundaries of orthodoxy present in the sources leads towards formulating a hypothesis about the relationship between books and two major reform projects of 1579 and 1603-–1604. The first attempt seemed to work through a reform of dialectics that still tried to save the phenomenon, expressed in its attachment to outwardly humanist methodological commitments. The growing

[177] Cf. Lewicka-Kamińska, 'Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1492–1655' p. 227; Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego…*, p. 708; Czerkawski, 'Arystotelizm na Wydziale Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego…', p. 70.

Jesuit pressure and unfavourable social and political conditions accelerated the process of institutional reform through confessionalisation—a measure undertaken to improve the cohesion of the school. Combined with problems with extracting payments from rents in which the fund's money were invested, a change of strategy became necessary beginning in period B. This also meant the ultimate abandonment of the ambitious project of complete self-repair. Trying to remain within the broader frameworks of the institution's epistemic plurality, the second reform made recourse to an already developed, working tool that, while created by University's main competitors (the Jesuits) was also well-integrated in the changing dynamics of knowledge. Refining the scope of training while allowing a certain flexibility seemed like a reasonable solution. The judgments of this action are, however, still overshadowed by the broader idea of a gradual decline, perceiving the reform as a regressive step back towards scholastic rigidity. Maintaining such a view remains convenient despite the fact that this same system welcomed in 1603 Jan Brożek as one of the first students who would navigate this rigid and "inflexible" educational pathway.

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Gniewomir Hawrasz

Polska Akademia Nauk / Polish Academy of Sciences
ghawrasz@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7027-9962

Gniewomir Hawrasz is a doctoral researcher at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a team member in the ERC project From East to West, and Back Again: Student Travel and Transcultural Knowledge Production in Renaissance Europe (c. 1470 – c. 1620). His research focuses on early modern intellectual history and the history of knowledge, particularly medical exchange between Padua and Central and Eastern Europe. Most recently, he published on a little-known manuscript containing Georg Handsch's student notes (*Centaurus* 66 (2024)) and the applications of Giovanni Battista da Monte's medical method (in Valentina Lepri and Farkas Gábor Kiss, *Dilemmas and Uncertainties: The Sciences at the Early Modern University*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2026). Alongside his research on sixteenth-century learned medicine and Polish students in Padua, he explores the impact of Florentine Neoplatonism in Poland. Building on these themes, his doctoral thesis reconstructs the intellectual profile of an understudied physician-astrologer-philosopher: Matthias Lis of Krajna (c. 1480–1546).

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