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Giacomo Zabarella, the Author of a Dedication to King Stephen Báthory

Giacomo Zabarella¹ (1533–1589) is known primarily as an outstanding logician and natural philosopher in the spirit of Paduan Aristotelianism. In line with the humanist idea of return to literary sources, Zabarella strove to extract Aristotle's original thought from the confines of mediaeval scholasticism.² Already in his lifetime, he gained renown as an unequalled interpreter of Aristotle's works, and this acclaim only grew after his death. In 1577, King Stephen Báthory invited him to Krakow to lecture on philosophy at a newly planned university. the dedication presented below is a response to the invitation.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, a multitude of biographical entries were written about Zabarella's life. All of them are short and each is based on

1. Latin: Jacobus or Iacobus Zabarella, Italian: Giacomo or Iacopo Zabarella. On the inconsistent spelling of his first name in Italian, see section D below. In contemporary Italian dictionaries his name appears as *Giacomo Zabarella*; see three different biographical entries *Zabarella*, *Giacomo* accessible on Treccani website [online]. Note: all links to websites containing texts which are available only online or which are unavailable in Poland in printed versions but they have their official online versions are listed in a separate section of Bibliography and omitted in footnotes.
2. On Zabarella's Aristotelianism, see J.M. García Valverde, *Giacomo Zabarella: un aristotélico crítico en la era de la revolución científica*, "Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía" 343 (3/2017), pp. 587–609. Contemporary biographical and philosophical entries: B. Czarnecka-Rej, *Zabarella, Jacopo (Iacopo, Giacomo)*, in: *Powszechna Encyklopedia Filozofii*, vol. IX, Lublin 2008, pp. 893–896; *Zabarella, Giacomo*, in: *Dizionario di filosofia* (Treccani), 2009 [online]; H. Mikkeli, *Giacomo Zabarella*, in: *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2018 Edition), ed. N. Zalta [online].

the same brief list of sources.³ the vast majority of contemporary texts on Zabarella are mostly of philosophical nature. Biographical information in such texts is kept to the necessary minimum.⁴ This observation, first made by famous historian of science R.S. Westfall in the 1990s, holds true even today. To date, there has been no monograph on Zabarella's life.⁵ In Polish literature, such works are even scarcer.⁶ However, Báthory's initiative to set up a new college received more extensive coverage in the 20th century Polish literature. It was analyzed in depth and described in detail as early as the 1920s and 1930s. Still, the fact remains that Zabarella's invitation is discussed only marginally in literature.

For a better comprehension of Zabarella's dedication presented below, it seems necessary to have a slightly broader understanding of the facts of his life and academic career which are more or less directly related to the king's intention to invite the most eminent doctors from all over the world, the group Zabarella undoubtedly belonged to. With this in mind, I will try to go beyond conventional biographical entries and scant information they contain. It is also important to revisit the king's initiative, particularly in reference to Zabarella, with special emphasis on the economic context of the invitation and motives behind Zabarella's rejection of the invitation. In the process of query on those subjects, studying historical data on Zabarella's life, his invitation and dedication in European and Polish historiography proved highly informative. This historiographic information will be

3. Most of these biographical entries will be cited in the text. See also footnote 7 below.
4. See R.S. Westfall, *Zabarella, Jacopo [Iacopo, Giacomo], Sources* (at the end of the entry), in: *the Scientific Revolution..... 700 Biographies Created from Westfall's DSB Catalogue*, ed. R.A. Hatch, 1998 [online]; a posthumous edition of previously unpublished material.
5. Also another assertion of Westfall (op.cit., idem) that the fullest biography of Zabarella is found in the doctoral dissertation by W.F. Edwards remains true, see his *the Logic of Iacopo Zabarella (1533–1589)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University 1960, pp. 1–61; it was only published as a microfilm: Ann Arbor (MI) 1961 (available online on request).
6. On Zabarella's views on logic, see contemporary author S. Kamiński, *Jakuba Zabarelli koncepcja metody poznania naukowego*, „Roczniki Filozoficzne” 19 (1971), book 1, pp. 57–72. A concise overview of his logical and philosophical views can be found in B. Czarnecka-Rej, *Zabarella, Jacopo*, op. cit. It is preceded only with a brief biographical note. There is also a brief report note by L. Regner, *Wnioskowanie ze skutku według J. Zabarelli* (6th Conference of the History of Logic Discussion Group, 28 April 1962 in Krakow), „Ruch Filozoficzny” 21 (1962), no. 4, p. 418.

presented here, for it allows us to ascertain the *status quaestionis* of the issue of the dedication. To understand its character, it will be also valuable to present it in the context of similar literary practices of the epoch, no longer maintained today. Because epigrams constitute an important (and popular) element of this literature, I will also present Zabarella's epigram in praise of King Stephen, a work which seems unknown in Polish literature.

1. Academic career

Zabarella's entire life was linked to Padua.⁷ This was the place he was born, finished his studies in the faculty of arts, and lectured, first on logic, and then on natural philosophy, until his death. At the age of twenty, he was conferred the title of Doctor of Arts *cum maxima vniuersi philosophorum Collegij admiratione*, as acknowledged by his friend Riccoboni.⁸ For the next ten years, he remained strictly connected to the university, although his role is not entirely clear. What we do know is that he studied intensively and with humility, believing that "he knew nothing," just like Socrates.⁹ He was also active as doctor of philosophy. He is mentioned on multiple occasions in *Acta graduum*

7. Main sources of biographical information on Zabarella include: a eulogy by A. Riccoboni, *In obitu Iacobi Zabarellae Patauini. Antonii Riccoboni Oratio*. Patauii MDXC; a biographical note: A. Portenari, *Della Felicità di Padoua ... Libri nove ...*, Padoua 1623, p. 257; vita A. Lollino, *Francisci Picolominei, Iacobiq[ue] Zabarellae præstantium nostrum temporum Philosophorum vitæ ...*, Biblioteca Civica di Belluno, manuscript MS 505, sheet 3r. 39v–49r [hereinafter: Lollino]; eulogium by G.F. Tomasini, ... *Illustrium virorum Elogia iconibus exornata ...*, Patauii MDCXXX, pp. 135–142; eulogium by G. Imperialis, *Musæum Historicum et Physicum ... Ad diditis elogijs eorundem uitas, et mores notantibus. ...* Venetijs MDCXL, pp. 115. 116–118. For more on his academic career, refer to four most significant works on the history and chronicles of the Paduan Gymnasium: A. Riccoboni, *De Gymnasio Patauino ... Commentariorum Libri Sex...* Patauij MDIIC; G.F. Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patauinum ... Libris V ...*, Vtini MDCLIV; I. Facciolati, ... *de Gymnasio Patavino Syntagmata XII ex ejusdem Gymnasii fastis excerpta*. Patavii, MDCCLII [hereinafter: *Syntagmata*] and I. Facciolati, *Fasti gymnasii Patavini Jacobi Facciolati opera collecti ab anno MDXVII. quo restitutæ scholæ sunt ad MDCCLVI*. [Pars III]. Patavii MDCCLVII. Some independent information may also be found in G. Genari's, *Saggio storico sopra le Accademie di Padova*, in: *Saggi scientifici e letterari dell'Accademia di Padova*, vol. 1, Padova MDCCLXXXVI, esp. p. XXIV–XXIX and LIII–LV; and in archives of promotions and academic degrees at the Paduan Gymnasium: *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini*, vol. IV, part 1: *Ab anno 1551 ad annum 1565*, a cura di E. Dalla Francesca e E. Veronese, Roma, Padova MMI, [hereinafter: *Acta graduum*]. On another, less reliable source, see note 129 below.
8. *In obitu Iacobi Zabarellae*, sheet B2r.
9. Op. cit., ibidem.

from 1551–1565 as a participant in master's and doctoral degree examinations and graduations in the field of arts and medicine. For example, on 18 August 1558 he was one of *promotorum in arte et medicina* of Jan Międzyński, who went on to become a physician, counsellor and mayor of Krakow.¹⁰ Zabarella also actively took part in meetings of the elite *Academiae Elevatorum* as its *Consigliere*.¹¹ At the age of thirty (1563/64), he took the first chair of logic.¹²

His lectures attracted crowds of students, and the academic auditorium could not accommodate all interested.¹³ His popularity was not diminished even by the fact that he was not a born orator and expressed himself slowly and with difficulty because of a speech impediment. the disorder (*titubantia, baesis*, stammering) frequently inspired tasteless jokes on part of many students.¹⁴ Nevertheless, many listened to his lectures *maxima cum*

10. *Acta graduum*, no. 803 (p. 321): "D.[ominus] Ioannes Miaczynsky Cracoviensis Polonus d.[omini] Sebastiani f.[ilius]". However, Giacomo Zabarella was not involved in Stanisław Szędziński's doctoral dissertation. See D. Quirini-Popławska, K. Frankowicz, *Dzieła XVI-wiecznych padewskich profesorów prawa, filozofii i filologów w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej oraz ich proveniencja*, in: *Studia Środkowoeuropejskie i Bałkanistyczne*, eds. J. Machnik, I. Stawowy-Kawka, vol. 27, Kraków 2018, p. 27. This was a doctoral dissertation in law, i.e. from another *iuristarum* university. Marcus Antonius Zabarella, Giacomo's distant relative and lecturer in canon law in the years 1539–1560, appears in the dissertation as one of the *promotorum* (see *Acta graduum*, no. 626, p. 245). On the subject of this person, see B. Scardeone, ... *De Antiquitate Urbis Patauii et claris ciuibus Patauinis, Libri Tres ...*, Basileae MDLX, p. 171; he is also mentioned by A. Riccoboni, *In obitu Iacobi Zabarellae*, sheet A4v; idem, *De Gymnasio Patauino*, sheet 17r. 35v; G.F. Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patauinum*, pp. 245, 247; I. Facciolati, *Fasti*, pp. 97, 101. On Jan Międzyński, see B. Kasprzyk, 405. *Jan Międzyński (rajca 1573–1580, burmistrz 1573)*, in: *Poczet sołtysów, wójtów, burmistrzów i prezydentów miasta Krakowa: 1228–2010*, ed. idem, Kraków 2010, p. 513.
11. On the University, see G. Gennari, *Saggio storico sopra le Accademie*, pp. XXIV–XXIX; on Zabarella, p. XXV. Gennari also writes (p. XXIX, note a) that members of the University, including Zabarella *il Consigliere*, were summoned before the Doge of Venice by a certain Luca Bonfio for overdue rent and found liable for debts in 1561.
12. In 1560, the Senate of Venice deprived students of the right to choose professors and reserved the said right to itself. See I. Facciolati, *Syntagmata*, p. 31.
13. A. Portenari, *Della Felicità di Padoua*, p. 257. the auditoria were exceptionally large, with about 400 seats. If necessary, students also occupied a considerable portion of the floorspace. For example, lectures on logic by Bernardino Tomitano, Zabarella's master and predecessor, are described by I. Facciolati (*Syntagmata*, p. 103) as follows: "in Logica Tomitani schola auditores quadringeni quotidie sederent, multique praeterea starent."
14. This is quite vividly described by Bishop Belluno Luigi (or Alvise) Lollino (Latin: Aloysius Lollinus, 1552–1625), a former auditor of Zabarella's lectures, in his *Vitae* of ten professors at the University of Padua, including Giacomo Zabarella (see Lollino, sheet 41r). the text remains in the manuscript kept in the resources of Biblioteca Civica di Belluno under ref. no. MS. 505. A description of this manuscript, its history

voluptate (with pleasure, with avid interest), and there was no lack of foreign students in his audience, including those from Protestant countries.¹⁵ the lectures were far from ordinary; rather, they took form of discussions on key issues of contention between scholars who interpreted Greek and Latin versions of Aristotle's works, especially *Organon*. Manuscripts discussing these issues circulated among students, generating interest in his lectures. His deliberations on logic were published in 1578 as *Opera logica*, dedicated to King Stephen Báthory.¹⁶

From 1569 until his death, Zabarella lectured on natural philosophy with equal success. First, he was appointed to the second extraordinary chair,¹⁷ to be promoted to the first extraordinary chair in 1577 and the second

and various page numbering systems is available on the website of *Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta*. There are two incompatible accounts concerning Zabarella's oratorical and personal qualities, one by G.F. Tomasini, who mentions Zabarella's acumen and ease of problem solving (*Elogia*, p. 138), and another by G. Imperialis, who recalls Zabarella's poor memory, slow acting and slow thinking (*Musæum Historicum*, pp. 115–117). the differences were already noticed by Pierre Bayle in his *Diction[n]aire historique et critique. ... Tome Troisième, N–Z, Seconde Edition, ...* Rotterdam MDCCII, p. 3047. Eyewitness account by Lollinus tips the scales in favor of Imperialis, at least in terms of speech difficulties and taking time to respond to students' questions. In Padua, in 1577–1583, Lollinus studied law and classical languages, and much later theology. See S. Benedetti, *Lollino, Luigi (Alvise)*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [hereinafter: DBI], vol. 65, 2005, 449–553.

15. We find this phrase in the 17th century life of Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609), Dutch theologian and creator of Arminianism, who listened to Zabarella's lectures in 1586; see C. Brandt, *Historia vitae Jacobi Arminii auctore Casparo Brantio*, Brunsvigiae MDCCXXV, p. 16. An identical phrase is used in a description of his meetings with Zabarella and Piccolomini by Luigi Lollino (see Lollino, sheet 3r). It may only be a figure of speech. We also know that Arminius had been attracted to Padua by the enormous popularity of Zabarella's lectures, as confirmed in his funeral eulogy by Petrus Bertius, *Petri Bertii Oratio In obitum Reuerendi & Clarissimi viri D. Iacobi Arminii ... Lugduni Batauorum MDCLXIX 1609*, p. 16.
16. G. Zabarella, ... *Opera Logica. Ad Serenissimum STEPHANUM Poloniae Regem ...*, Venetiis, Apud Meietum Bibliopolam Patauinum, MDLXXVIII. On Giacomo Zabarella's manuscripts, see: D. Bouillon, *Introduction*, in: idem, *Jacques Zabarella, La nature de la logique. En deux livres*, Paris 2009, pp. 13.32ff. According to P. Popiel, the university banned professors from reading out their own texts during lectures. They were merely allowed to bring texts with comments and short notes. See P. Popiel, *Jan Zamoyski w Padwie i Wenecyi*, Kraków 1876, published by editors [of "Przegląd Polski"], printing house of "Czas" daily, p. 18. the fullest contemporary discussion of *Opera logica* Zabarelli is found in D. Bouillon, *L'Interprétation de Jacques Zabarella le Philosophe*, Paris 2009.
17. On the system of schools and chairs in the University of Padua, see I. Facciolati, *Syntagma*, in particular *Syntagma Tertium: De Professorum electione* (pp. 24–41). He differentiates (p. 31) between minor colleges (*scholae minora*e), also called

ordinary chair in 1585. the first and the most prestigious ordinary chair had been occupied since 1565 by Francesco Piccolomini from Siena. the Venetian Senate passed the rule that natives of Padua must not be appointed to the first chair. the intention was to maintain a spirit of competition.¹⁸

The system of schools and chairs was designed in such a way that the professors had to compete with one another for acclaim among students and favors with university authorities. Each ordinary professor had to have an antagonist or anti-sophist.¹⁹ A similar system was also at work in the extraordinary school of philosophy, where from 1569 to 1577 Zabarella's antagonist was Antonio Mercenarius, an impetuous (*vehementem magis quam subtilem*) professor appointed to the first chair. When Zabarella was promoted to the ordinary school in 1585, his antagonist was not a much more conciliatory person (*non multo placabilior*), namely Francesco Piccolomini.²⁰ Zabarella's disputes with Piccolomini went down in history, giving rise to multiple comparisons between the two philosophers, their different teaching styles, diverse approaches to logic and philosophy, as well as different influences, and these comparisons became a permanent theme of their biographies.²¹

extraordinary colleges (*extraordinariae*), and major colleges (*scholae maiora*e), also called ordinary colleges ([*quae*] *ordinarias vocant*). By comparison, in his *Fasti gymnasii Patavini* he uses the term *schola* to refer also to the first and second chair, writing about *the first* and *the second extraordinary school of philosophy* (*prima/secunda schola philosophiae extraordinariae*) and in the same manner about two schools of ordinary philosophy. Although receiving an appointment to the minor school was relatively easy, instruction in the major (ordinary) school was only delivered by most renowned scholars and if there was no suitable candidate in the minor school, an external candidate was recruited (*Syntagmata*, p. 37).

18. D. Bouillon, *Introduction*, p. 12. Had it not been for his premature death, it is highly likely that Zabarella would have succeeded Piccolomini (1591) in the office due to the Senate's great esteem for Zabarella. Since he was appointed to the second ordinary chair, he was assured that he was considered equal (*a lui pari ed uguale*) to Piccolomini (G. Gennari, *Saggio storico sopra le Accademie*, p. LIV). However, it should be emphasised that this equality was of honorary character. Annual pay of both philosophers still differed radically (see 3B below).
19. I. Faccioliati, *Syntagmata*, p. 36. the term *antisophista* is used by Lollino (sheet 40v. 42v).
20. Lollino, sheet 41r.
21. Such a comparison is found in Francesco Piccolomini's eulogium in G. Imperialis (*Musæum Historicum*, p. 115). See P. Bayle, *Diction[n]aire* (published in 1702), p. 3046, author's note; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia Della Letteratura Italiana Tomo settimo Dall' Anno MD all' Anno MDC. Parte prima*. In Modena MDCCCLXXVII, p. 459; G. Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani*, vol. II. Padova MDCCCXXXVI, p. 429. A more substantial take on the dispute is presented by Riccoboni (*De Gymnasio Patauino*, p. 98r). See G.F. Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patauinum*, p. 433; I. Faccioliati, *Fasti*, p. 220.

Zabarella's disputes with logician Bernardino Petrella were equally famous. According to Riccoboni, the entire faculty of logic ultimately split into two separate factions, i.e. supporters of Petrella and supporters of Zabarella, even though Zabarella was already a philosophy lecturer.²² Facciolati also wrote that their disputes divided the entire Gymnasium into two factions.²³

As the term suggests, antagonists had to debate with each other. One form of competition between antagonists was verbal duels in amphitheaters prepared *ad hoc* by the audience. The debates took place in public and were immensely popular among students.²⁴ Subjects of public debates were set, and anti-sophists, together with their students, had to present arguments and counter-arguments to the other party. We learn from Lollinus that such duels were of ludic rather than intellectual character, and frequently ended in fierce altercations. Therefore, it is not surprising that Zabarella, a sober-minded person, did not take delight in these events, in part due to his speech defect which made it difficult for him to compete with his adversaries.²⁵

Still, authors of biographical entries on Zabarella agree that although he was not match for his adversaries in speech, his precision and effective argumentation in writing was unequalled.²⁶ After printing *Opera logica* in 1578 and commentaries to Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* in 1582, Zabarella's renown as an unrivalled commentator on Aristotle spread all over Europe, particularly in Protestant countries.²⁷ His work was reissued on multiple

22. A. Riccoboni, *De Gymnasio Patauino*, p. 97v. See G.F. Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patauinum*, p. 432.
23. I. Facciolati, *Fasti*, p. 219.
24. Lollino, sheet 42v.
25. Lollino, sheet 42v-43v.
26. G. Imperialis, *Musæum Historicum*, p. 115. This is also confirmed by Antonio Possevino, a Jesuit well-known in Poland, who wrote the following on Zabarella's comments to Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*: "id mecum viri philosophi sentiunt eum esse adeptum, quod hactenus pauci interpretando vix assequi potuere..." (... *Bibliotheca Selecta De Ratione Studiorum ... Tomus Secundus*. Venetiis, MDCIII p. 69). Therefore, the opinion was expressed not only by Possevino but commonly by other philosophers. Interestingly, Possevino also dedicated the second part of his work to the king of Poland, this time obviously to Sigismund III Vasa. The dedication is found already in the first edition of 1593 (... *Bibliotheca Selecta Qua agitur De Ratione Studiorum ... Pars Secunda ...*, Romæ MDXCIII, sheet ★2r–★3v), but the text on Zabarella appears only in the second edition of 1603.
27. Ch.B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, 1983, pp. 28, 148. There are many studies which discuss the significance of Zabarella's influence on Protestant universities in the 16th and 17th centuries. Extensive literature of the subject is presented in M. Sgarbi, *the Aristotelian Tradition and the Rise of British Empiricism: Logic*

occasions in Italy, Germany, and England until as late as mid-17th century.²⁸ Bartholomäus Keckermann, a native of Gdańsk, in his *Praecognita* (published in 1599) wrote that thanks to Zabarella, the light of logic shone again all around Germany.²⁹ In the opinion of logic historian W. Risse, Zabarella's approach to logic set the paradigm used by non-scholastic Aristotelians for at least fifty years.³⁰ Yet the impact of Zabarella's logic was much more permanent and noticeable even in the 18th century and Kant's logical doctrine.³¹ Much discussed is also the subject of the influence of his regression method on Galileo's methodological views.³² A lot of Zabarella's works are

and Epistemology in British Isles (1570–1689), Dordrecht 2013, p. 7, note 38. Sgarbi himself makes a point of showing how Zabarella influenced English authors and the rise of British empiricism (*ibidem*, p. 7).

28. See A. Portenari, *Della Felicità di Padova*, p. 257. For information on German editions, see I. Maclean, *Mediations of Zabarella in Northern Germany, 1586–1623*, in: *idem, Learning and the Market Place. Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book*, Leiden–Boston 2009, pp. 39–58. He lists (pp. 56–58) Italian and German editions of Zabarella's individual and collected works from the 16th and 17th centuries. Because the list was prepared according to Frankfurt and Leipzig Bookfair Catalogues of the period, it is incomplete, although it contains most important editions. On English editions, see Ch.B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, p. 36.
29. *Praecognitorum Logicorum Tractatus III. ... adornati a Bartholomæo Keckermanno Dantiscano*, Hanouiae MDXCIX, pp. 179ff. For more information on Keckermann and Zabarella, see W. Ryczek, *Filozofia jako logika. Bartłomiej Keckermann w dialogu z renesansowymi arystotelikami*, in: *Ewangelicyzm reformowany w pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Dialog z Europą i wybory aksjologiczne w świetle literatury i piśmiennictwa XVI–XVII wieku*, ed. D. Chemperek, Warsaw 2015, pp. 337–343. In his discussion of the reception of Zabarella's logic by Protestant authors, S. Wollgast wrote the following on its impact on Protestant metaphysics: "Die protestantische Schulmetaphysik hat eine heterodoxe Quelle bzw. ein heterodoxen Katalysator – eben Zabarella" (*Philosophie in Deutschland zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung 1550–1650*, Berlin 1988, p. 145).
30. W. Risse, *Einführung*, in: *Jacobi Zabarella Opera Logica*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Risse, Hildesheim 1966, p. V.
31. For more on this subject, see T. Albiński, *Recepcja sylogistyki klasycznej u Kanta*, in: *Język. Rozumienie. Komunikacja*, eds. M. Domaradzki, E. Kulczycki, M. Wendland, Poznań 2011, p. 340; and M. Sgarbi, *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason Within the Tradition of Modern Logic*, in: *Kant und die Philosophie in weltbürgerlicher Absicht. Akten des XI. Kant-Kongresses*, ed. S. Bacin et al., Band 1, Berlin–Boston 2013, pp. 502–506.
32. See W.A. Wallace, *Circularity and the Paduan Regressus: From Pietro d'Abano to Galileo Galilei*, "Vivarium" 33, no. 1 (1995), pp. 89–97; and M. Sgarbi, *the Aristotelian Tradition*, pp. 2–6. Early 17th-century Jesuit mathematician Giuseppe Biancani (Blancanus), perfectly versed in Galileo's work and findings, praised Zabarella on many occasions for his superb knowledge of mathematics, mainly Euclidean, which could hardly be expected of an Aristotelian philosopher. See his *Aristotelis loca mathematica ... Bononiae MDCXV*, pp. 50, 63.

found in collections of Polish students, scholars, scientists, and physicians in the 16th and 17th centuries, as well as Jesuit library resources.³³ There is a manuscript dating back to the turn of the 17th century which reveals how Zabarella influenced certain Polish professors. The manuscript was presumably written by Jan Kwaśnicki, who later became professor at the University of Krakow. It contains Kwaśnicki's notes from lectures he had attended in the 1590s as a student of the Jesuit College in Poznań; the manuscript is kept in the post-capitular resources of the parish in Wojnicz.³⁴ For example, in the section dedicated to the nature of logic, the author quotes a long passage from Zabarella's works on logic. It is likely that there are many more citations, but the text has not been examined for them. The author makes multiple references to Zabarella as an authority in the section concerning Aristotle's *Physics*, which proves exceptional respect for the work of the Paduan scholar, not only on part of the student, but mainly on part of his professor.³⁵

Zabarella's views on natural philosophy mentioned above were also his most controversial ones.³⁶ He developed them in the spirit of his Paduan

33. See B.A. Cessak, *Użytkownicy książki filozoficznej w późnorennesansowym Lublinie*, "Folia Bibliologica" 34/35 (1986/1987), pp. 22, 24, 27; E. Trój *Inwentarze księgozbiorów mieszczan lubelskich z lat 1591–1678*, Lublin 1997, pp. 108, 111, 125; D. Quirini-Popławska, K. Frankowicz, *Dzieła XVI-wiecznych padewskich profesorów*, pp. 12, 21–23, 30.
34. See L. Regner, *Szesnastowieczny rękopis biblioteki kapitulnej w Wojniczu*, „Roczniki Filozoficzne,” 10 (1962), no. 1, pp. 173–187, esp. 173, 178–183. The manuscript is kept in the library under number 48. As found by Regner, the lectures from which the notes originated were presumably delivered by Jesuit Hieronim Stefanowski from Lesser Poland (p. 183ff.). Summaries written by Polish students of the University of Padua during lectures given by Zabarella himself are also extant. See S. Windakiewicz, *Padwa. Studium z dziejów cywilizacji polskiej*, Kraków 1891, published by the Author, p. 41; and D. Quirini-Popławska, K. Frankowicz, op. cit., p. 21ff. Wojciech Szeliga's manuscripts are discussed by W. Rubczyński, *Tracce di studi filosofici compiuti dai Polacchi a Padova verso la fine del Cinquecento*, in: *Omaggio dell'Accademia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere all'Università di Padova nel settimo centenario della sua fondazione* [hereinafter: *Omaggio*], Cracovia 1922, pp. 354–356.
35. Op. cit., pp. 175, 177ff.
36. Zabarella's lectures were published as *De rebus naturalibus* in 1590 in separate editions in Venice and Cologne, which also contained different versions of the text; see I. Maclean, *Mediations of Zabarella*, p. 52. 57 and footnote 42 below. Zabarella decided to issue them in 1589, but did not live to see their publication; he died suddenly in October of the same year, soon after writing his dedication to Pope Sixtus V. The dedication is dated to 30 September 1589 (*Pridie Calendas] Octobris MDXIC*), G. Zabarella, ... *De rebus naturalibus libri XXX. Quibus quaestiones, quae ... discutuntur*. Venetiis, MDXC. Apud Paulum Meietum, sheet 3r; in the Cologne edition, sheet): (2r. On date recording and calculation according to the Roman calendar,

predecessors, i.e. Pomponazzi, Vicomerati, and Pendasio. Such opinions provoked strong reactions and many objections on the part of philosophers who favored scholastic tradition, such as Piccolomini, Possevino or Lollino. According to Possevino, who knew Zabarella personally and had a chance to speak with him,³⁷ most controversy was generated by Zabarella's stance of the mortality of the human soul or the impossibility of proving philosophically the existence of the Prime Mover.³⁸ According to Zabarella, such a proof was implausible without additional assumptions of the existence of perpetual motion, which went beyond the realm of philosophy. He held a similar opinion on the immateriality and immortality of

see C. Beck, *Syntax of the Latin Language. Chiefly from the German of C. G. Zumpt*, Boston 1844 (second edition), published by James Monroe & C., pp. 175–178: *Second Appendix. On the Roman Calendar*. the date of Zabarella's death is a subject of disputes between two traditions. What we are certain of is only the date of his funeral, which is given by A. Riccoboni in his funeral Oration (*In obitu Iacobi Zabarella*, sheet B4r) as *V. Kalendas] Nouembris*, i.e. 28 October. See D. Bouillon, *L'interprétation de Jacques Zabarella*, p. 587. On Zabarella's sudden death after a short and acute illness, see G. Imperialis in *Musæum Historicum*, p. 117. G.F. Tomasini (*Elogia*, p. 139) supplies *Mense Octobris* as an approximate date of death. Other authors in subsequent centuries follow Tomasini's example. In 1937, D. Cantimori specified the date as 15 October without mentioning the source. See *idem*, *Zabarella, Giacomo*, in: *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze lettere ed arti* (Treccani), vol. 35, Roma 1950 (reprinted from 1937), p. 858. the date is now commonly accepted. Yet another date, 25 October 1589, was mentioned by W.F. Edwards, *Zabarella, Jacopo*, in: *Enciclopedia filosofica*, vol. 4, Venezia — Roma 1957, p. 181i. He justified it by reference to *Aula Zabarella*, a work co-authored by Zabarella's grandson Giacomo (1599–1679), called 'the Younger' (il Giovane) for the sake of clarity. It contains an image of Zabarella, and the date in the border reads *XXV Octobris*: G. Cavaccia, G. Zabarella the Younger, *Aula Zabarella siue Elogia Illustrium Patauinorum ...*, Patauij MDCLXX, sheet between pp. 130, 131, verso. See W.F. Edwards, *the logic of Iacopo Zabarella*, p. 1, note 1. the date according to Edwards is quoted by R.S. Westfall, *Zabarella, Jacopo*, paragraph 1 [online], who considers it accurate, although Edwards himself leaves considerable room for doubt in the matter. See also J.J. Glanville, *Zabarella, Jacopo*, in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14, Washington DC 1967, p. 1101ff. According to the data in possession of the Basilica of S. Antonio di Padova, where Zabarella is buried, the date of his death is 15 October 1589 (as per an e-mail from Ufficio Informazioni della Basilica on 13/06/2020). What raises concern, however, is that a fortnight would have passed between his death and the funeral.

37. A. Poppi, *Ricerche sulla teologia e la scienza nella Scuola padovana del Cinque e Seicento*, [Soveria Mannelli] 2001, p. 97, note 22. See A. Possevino, *Biblioteca selecta*, vol. 2, p. 70.
38. On Paduan Aristotelianism, on the subject of the immortality of the soul and on Zabarella, see E. Sarnowska-Temeriusz, *Arystotelizm*, in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej: Średniowiecze, Renesans, Barok*, ed. T. Michałowska et al., Wrocław 1990, p. 63.

the soul. To Zabarella, it was a truth of faith and not a philosophical truth in the strict sense.³⁹

According to some historiographers, Zabarella was reportedly accused of being an atheist on grounds of these views.⁴⁰ However, there is no data to confirm this. On the contrary, in Bayle's opinion, at that time inquisitors were not inclined to prosecute anyone for a view that philosophy may make claims conflicting with the truths of the faith, as long as the person holding such views confessed to be a Christian and acknowledged that what cannot be learned by studying philosophy can be learned in a different way.⁴¹ Zabarella often reiterated that he was speaking from the standpoint of Aristotelian philosophy rather than as a theologian or a believer in the Christian faith. While doing so, he stated his complete adherence to Christianity.⁴² Also Possevino as a Jesuit did not think that such issues should be dealt with by inquisitors. Contesting Zabarella's *De rebus naturalibus*, the Jesuit only wrote that had Zabarella not died prematurely, in the second edition he would surely have corrected many things irreconcilable with the Christian faith and religion.⁴³ A slightly different opinion was expressed by Bish-

39. This issue is discussed in detail by A. Possevino, *Bibliotheca Selecta*, vol. 2, pp. 69–73, who engages in polemics with Zabarella. Possevino's views are in turn opposed by A. Poppi, *Ricerche sulla teologia*, pp. 96–100.
40. The first to mention this was A. Teisseur, *Les Éloges des Hommes Savans. Tirez de l'Histoire de M. de Thou. Avec des Additions* Seconde partie, Genève MDCLXXXIII, p. 101 (and likewise in subsequent editions). Teisseur erroneously refers to *Musæum Historicum* by Imperialis, who never wrote anything of the kind. This was repeated by G. Vedova in the 19th century (*Biografia degli scrittori italiani*, p. 430), even though Piotr Bayle in his *Diction[n]aire* (published in 1702, p. 3047, note F), wrote about Teisseur's error.
41. *Diction[n]aire* (published in 1702), p. 3047, note F. As a Calvinist, Bayle had nothing to gain by presenting the Inquisition in a favorable light.
42. See A. Poppi, *Ricerche sulla teologia*, pp. 97, 100. See G. Zabarella, *De rebus naturalibus* Venetiis MDXC, pp. 174, 176; in the Cologne edition pp. 229, 232, the texts are different. In the funeral Oration, Antonio Riccoboni said that Zabarella took part in the Holy Mass each Sunday and spent two to three hours praying in private every day (*In obitu Iacobi Zabarellae*, sheet B2v). On Zabarella's good relations with Paduan Jesuits, both in personal and academic terms, see U. Baldini, *Legem impone subactis. Studi su filosofia e scienza dei gesuiti in Italia 1540–1632*, Roma 1992, pp. 380, 403.
43. *Bibliotheca Selecta ... Tomus Secundus. ...* MDCIII, p. 70 A. Later in the text, he discusses the Prime Mover: "Haec doctrina à philosopho Christiano aliena sit" (p. 71 E) and the materiality of the soul: "Zabarella repugnans rationi & auctoritati Philosophorum, ac fidei nostrae (quando quidem verum vero est consonum) concedit" (p. 73 B). A. Poppi (*Ricerche sulla teologia*, p. 100) defends Zabarella against Possevino's allegations, stating that the latter, too eager to spread

op Luigi Lollino; while considering Zabarella one of the most prominent philosophers of the previous century, he claimed that such overly strict adherence to the Aristotelian approach to philosophy, typical of the Paduan tradition, can hardly be considered an offence, albeit it is not an example to follow.⁴⁴ We also know that Giacomo Zabarella's sons, wishing to publish posthumously their father's commentaries to Aristotle's *De anima*, asked inquisitors' permission in 1601. Eventually, in spite of opening the proceedings, the inquisitors failed to respond and the work was published in 1605 and 1606 without any objection and was not listed in *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.⁴⁵

Another question frequently mentioned by biographers is Zabarella's exceptional predilection for astrology and making forecasts. In fact, he was a master in both areas. At the time, however, theoretical astrology was an integral part of mathematics and astronomy. Therefore, Zabarella's practices could not have been the cause of serious accusations.⁴⁶ Rather, his ability to make accurate nativities was something to be admired.⁴⁷ Riccoboni devoted a lengthy passage to this aspect of Zabarella's work in his funeral Oration.⁴⁸ Zabarella's astrological practice was also acclaimed by Portenari, Tomasini, and Imperialis.⁴⁹ The only criticism was voiced by Lollino,⁵⁰ who showed how inaccurate were Zabarella's forecasts made for his own children and wrote

the post-Trent concept of *Christian philosophy*, failed to read into and fully understand Zabarella's intentions.

44. Lollino, sheet 47r: " ... sinon culpae affine, at imitatione minus dignum," which curbs freedom of thought and research: "libertas studio parendi saepe imminuta".
45. L. Spruit, *Catholic Censorship of Early Modern Psychology*, in: *Authority, Innovation and Early Modern Epistemology: Essays in Honour of Hilary Gatti*, ed. M. McLaughlin et al., Cambridge 2015, pp. 218–239.
46. As late as 1752 Facciolati wrote favorably about the presence of astrology at the University of Padua: "Non est praetermittenda Astrologia" (*Syntagmata*, p. 57ff.). Doing so, he put together judicial astrology, mathematics, astronomy, and Galileo himself and this combination did not appear to him unseemly. On the role of astrology in medieval and Renaissance perception of the world, see Z. Liana, *Okultyzm a nauka w okresie przedoświeceniowym*, in: M. Heller, Z. Liana, J. Mączka, W. Skoczny, *Nauki przyrodnicze a teologia: konflikt czy współistnienie*, Kraków–Tarnów 2001, pp. 174–235.
47. However, a proviso was added (G.F. Tomasini, *Elogia*, p. 138): *quatenus per artem licet* (as far as it is seeming for this art to do so).
48. *In obitu Iacobi Zabarella*, sheet B2v. Having presented Zabarella's extraordinary piety, he adds: "quantum excelleret in Astrologia, & futurorum euentuum praedictione."
49. A. Portenari, *Della Felicità di Padoua*, p. 257; G.F. Tomasini, *Elogia*, p. 138; G. Imperialis, *Musæum Historicum*, p. 117.
50. Lollino, sheet 43v–44r.

that the celestial bodies, when asked for advice, misled the father (*sydera consulta patrem feellerunt*).

2. Zabarella's invitation and *Dedication* in European and Polish historiography

Stephen Báthory's plans to establish a new college in Krakow and his 1577 invitation of many foreign professors to lecture in Krakow were the subject of numerous studies in Polish historiography.⁵¹ Thus, I will merely present basic facts, especially these pertaining to Giacomo Zabarella and his dedication.

Considering both moral and intellectual decline of the old University of Krakow,⁵² Stephen Báthory, advised by Chancellor Jan Zamojski,

51. A brief story of this historiography, covering the 18th and 19th centuries, is provided by S. Łempicki, *Jan Zamojski jako reformator wyższego szkolnictwa w Polsce. Cz. 1: Działalność na polu szkolnictwa państwowego*, Kraków 1918, esp. p. 59ff. Most works of the period only mention the king's initiative. The first attempt to critically discuss the subject, somewhat incidentally, appears in a study by K. Morawski, *Kierunki duchowe za Batorego*, the Warsaw Library 1891, vol. 201 (vol. 1), pp. 300–303, and in a study by J. Kallenbach, *Les humanistes polonais*, in: *Index Lectionum quae in Universitate Friburgensi per menses hiemales anni MDCCCXCI–XCII inde a die XV. octobris habentur*, Friburgi Helvetiorum 1891, p. 24ff. In the 19th century, there were also many editions of source texts on the subject, usually fragmentary. Many of them will be cited further in this text. Of key importance is the publication of Stephen Báthory's letter in which he invited Italian professors (see footnote 55 below) and correspondence of Chancellor Jan Zamojski with the invited professors. See *Początki panowania w Polsce Stefana Batorego, 1575–1577r. Listy, uniwersały, instrukcje ...*, ed. A. Pawiński, vol. 4, Warsaw 1877, pp. 176–179; and *Archiwum Jana Zamojskiego, Kanclerza i Hetmana Wielkiego Koronnego, 1553–1579*, vol. 1, ed. W. Sobieski, Warsaw 1904, published by Maurycy Zamojski [hereinafter: *Archiwum Zamoyskiego*]. Based on *Archiwum Zamoyskiego* and unpublished letters of Cardinal Hozjusz [Hosius], in 1917 Łempicki presented a lengthy and critical history of the creation of a new college, with a special emphasis on the role of Jan Zamojski (S. Łempicki, op. cit., pp. 16–64; the 1918 edition is a separate impression of the 1917 edition; see below, Bibliography). From the point of view of King Stephen Báthory and his policy, the events were presented exhaustively by H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, book three: *U schyłku epoki Odrodzenia (1573–1610)*, Kraków 1935, pp. 457, 469–479.
52. Jakub Górski, who served many terms in the office of rector of the University, in his *Parænesis* addressed to professors writes about two allegations: *aut ignorantiae, aut disciplinae corruptae crimina (Apologia D. Iacobi Gorscii, pro Academia Cracouiensi ... Vnà cum Parænesi ad Professores eiusdem Academiae Cracouiensis. Cracouiæ MDLXXXI, sheet E4v)*. On the decline of the Academy, see S. Windakiewicz, *I Polacchi a Padova*, in: *Omaggio*, p. 6 (Polish version: idem, *Polacy w Padwie*, "Przegląd Warszawski," year 2, vol. III, no. 10 [July 1922], p. 6).

decided in 1577 to establish a new royal college, independent of the Church and fashioned after *Collegium regium* in Paris, which Báthory called 'Cameracense.'⁵³

In 1530, King Frances I, at the initiative of humanist Guillaume Budé, decided to create an (informal) College des Lecteurs Royaux. In opposition to the conservative Sorbonne, they were supposed to lecture on *humanist* subjects, understood as languages and mathematics then. Still, they operated without a seat for eighty years, lecturing at various colleges instead, e.g. in the two hundred year-old college of Cambrai diocese (Latin: *Camaracum*, hence the name *Cameracense*). the college became property of the Crown only in 1610, so the name *collegium Cameracense* used by Báthory implies nothing more than a lecture venue.⁵⁴

The plan was for the professors at the new College to be brought from various countries, mainly Italy. For this purpose, on 29 May 1577 the king wrote a letter which his secretary Jan Grzymała Zamojski, possessed of all negotiating powers, delivered to most prominent Italian professors and Pope Gregory XIII, requesting the latter for his blessing and

53. *Początki panowania w Polsce*, ed. A. Pawiński, p. 177. Citing R. Heidenstein, J. Kaltenbach makes and more widely justifies the suggestion of Jan Zamojski's initiative, *Les humanistes polonais*, p. 24ff. See also S. Łempicki, *Jan Zamojski*, p. 19ff. Zamojski's biographer Reinhold Heidenstein formulated this suggestion in 1606 in his *De Vita Joannis Zamojsci*; the manuscript was published in the 19th c. as *Vitae Joannis Zamojscii ... Libri tres ...*, in: A.T. Działyński (ed.), *Collectanea vitam resque gestas Joannis Zamojscii ... illustrantia*, Poznaniae 1861; information on Zamojski's *consilium* to bring doctors from abroad is found on p. 33ff.
54. The Polish version was already used by J. Sołtykowicz: *O stanie Akademii Krakowskiej od założenia jey w roku 1347, aż do terażniejszego czasu ...*, Kraków 1810, p. 551, followed by S. Łempicki, *Jan Zamojski*, p. 38. However, the latter made certain reservations as to whether the comparison of the school planned by Báthory with the Cameracense (spelled with or without first capital letter) college is justified. Łempicki also wrote that Jan Zamojski, who later became chancellor, was a student at the college during his stay in Paris in 1555–59. On the history and name of the royal college in Paris, see *Le Collège de France. Quelques données sur son histoire et son caractère propre*, in: *L'annuaire du Collège de France* [online], paragraphs 1–8; M.M. Compère, *Collège royal*, in: idem, *Les collèges français 16e–18e siècle. Répertoire 3 – Paris*. Paris 2002, p. 407ff. and her *Cambrai*, in: ibidem, p. 126ff. Another version of the history of the Cameracense college is supplied by K. Morawski, *Kierunki duchowe*, p. 302. In fact, the discrepancy among French authors on this issue has existed for a long time. the contention, also concerning the date of the establishment and the informal nature of the college, was presented by A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France: depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin du premier Empire*, Paris 1893, published by Librairie Hachette et C^{ie}, pp. 101–123.

support.⁵⁵ Chancellor Jan Zamojski attached many personalized letters directed to professors of various fields of study. Three of such letters were personally addressed to arguably the most famous humanists of the era, i.e. Sigonius, Muretus, and Ursinus.⁵⁶ The remaining ones were written according to the same pattern, with personalized headings only.⁵⁷ Giacomo

55. *CVIII. Advocatio doctorum pro gymnasio novo regio Cracoviae instituendo Joanni Zamojski Grzymała conceditur*, Mariaeburgi Mai 29, in: *Początki panowania w Polsce*, ed. A. Pawiński, pp. 176–179.
56. In *Archiwum Zamoyskiego*, these are letters 138, 139, and 140 (*ibidem*, pp. 153–158). There are various ways in which the surnames of Sigonius and Ursinus are represented in Polish studies. The surname of the former: Latin *Carolus Sigonius*, Italian *Carlo Sigonio*, is written as *Sigoniusz*, *Sygoniusz* or *Sigonio*. The surname of the latter: Latin *Fulvius Ursinus*, Italian *Fulvio Orsini*, as *Ursyn*, or (*Fulwio* or *Fulwiusz*) *Orsini*. Marc Antoine Muret (Muretus) published his correspondence with King Stephen and Chancellor Zamojski as early as 1580. See *M. Antonii Mureti I. C. ac Ciuis Romani Epistolae*, Parisiis 1580 (new and expanded edition), pp. 84r–86r. Muretus's *Epistolae* were reissued multiple times, up to the 19th century inclusive, becoming a source of information on Báthory's initiative also for Polish authors. Especially often authors quoted his letter to the friend Paolo Sacrato of 30 April 1578 (*ibidem*, pp. 66v–69a), in which he describes the invitations as well as his hopes and adventures in connection with it. See K. Mecherzyński, *Świadectwa uczonych krajowych i postronnych o kwitującym stanie nauk w Polsce w wiekach dawniejszych*, „Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego” XIII (1829), pp. 245–247; S. Ciampi, *Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze politiche, ecclesiastiche, ... dell'Italia colla Russia, colla Polonia ...* [hereinafter: *Bibliografia critica*], tomo I., Firenze 1834, p. 353. Although Ciampi was Italian, he had close connections to Poland; for several years, he had been professor at the University of Warsaw, and in 1820 he published his popular works in *Dziennik Wileński*. On Ciampi's connections to Poland, see H. Barycz, *Sebastjan Ciampi i jego działalność literacka w Polsce*, „Przegląd Współczesny” year 13, vol. 49, book 146 (June 1934), Kraków, pp. 467–479. On Fulvio Orsini and his invitation to Poland, see P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothéque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris 1887, published by F. Vieweg, p. 20ff.
57. Studying available sources, S. Łempicki (*Jan Zamoyski*, p. 35), counted a total of 16 invited professors. However, he failed to include Francesco Piccolomini, who is mentioned by Marcin Radymiński in his manuscript *Academia controuersa* of ca. 1660 (The Jagiellonian Library [hereinafter: BJ], MS 227 III, sheet 288v; see footnote 69 below for complete information), who is in turn cited by *Statuta nec non Liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. J. Muczkowski, ... Cracoviae 1849, p. CLXXIIIⁿ, note *. Łempicki also failed to include a Buonamici (*il Bonamici*) mentioned by Ciampi (*Bibliografia critica*, Tomo III., Firenze 1842, p. 22). This was presumably Pisan natural philosopher Francesco Buonamici (1533–1603), Galileo's professor. See M. Camerota, *Buonamici, Francesco*, in: *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography* [online], made available by *Encyclopedia.com*. However, there are no independent sources confirming Buonamici's invitation. H. Barycz (*Historja Uniwersytetu*, p. 447) added two surnames of professors who had been invited some time later. At this point we should mention two other professors: Bernardine Hannibal Roselli and Franciscan

Zabarella presumably received one of such letters.⁵⁸ Below is a sample letter kept in the cartulary of Zamojski's chancellery, addressed to a logic and humanist professor:⁵⁹

Your renown for your excellent teaching of humanist disciplines (*litterarum*), in particular the art of arguing (*in arte disserendi*),⁶⁰ allows me to believe that your expertise would become the greatest asset to a [new] Gymnasium, which His Majesty the King decided to establish, inviting [to it] the noblest doctors from various countries. I persuaded His Majesty to consider sending nobleman Jan [Grzymała] Zamojski so that he [on behalf of the King] would invite you to this Gymnasium and offer you ample and generous remuneration

Camillo Tacheti. Both were invited, albeit independently of the king's initiative, probably at the initiative of Jakub Górski, who after the failure of the idea of a new university started work on the improvement of the situation at the old University as early as 1578. See W. Murawiec, OFM, *Hannibal Rosselli – profesor Akademii Krakowskiej i autor „Pymandra,”* "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" 1 (1989) 34. In Polish historiography, there is a tendency to claim erroneously that Zamojski also invited Justus Lipsius, due to the confusion between two universities: the University of Krakow and the Zamojski Academy. According to Łempicki (op. cit., p. 36, note 2) the trend can be traced at least as far back as a work by Jesuit Kasper Niesiecki from the first half of the 18th century. See K. Niesiecki, *Korona Polska Przy Złotej Wolności ... Ozdobiona. Potomnym ... Podana*, Lvov 1743, p. 669.

58. Because of a fiercely lethal epidemic which had raged from 1576 in the Republic of Venice and had not completely died down, Grzymała was unable to see the Paduan professors in person. This is at least what is stated in a letter to Chancellor Zamojski of 8 September 1577 from Paduan professor of medicine Girolamo Mercuriale [Hieronymus Mercurialis] (*Archiwum Zamojskiego*, p. 169, letter 152). According to French historiographer Jacques A. de Thou (Augustus Thuanus, 1553–1617), the epidemic claimed about 70,000 lives in the Republic of Venice alone. See his *Historiarum sui temporis Pars quarta*, [libri LVIII–LXXX], Parisiis MDCIX, p. 119ff, (Liber LXII). Zabarella's master and predecessor in the chair of logic Bernardino Tomitano was one of the victims of the plague. See M.T. Girardi, *Tomitano, Bernardino*, in: "DBI" 96 (2019) [online], made available by Treccani. It was because of the epidemic that the University was closed for a long time, and Zabarella left for the countryside, where he prepared his *Opera logica* for print. See C. Vasoli, *Jacopo Zabarella e la "natura" della logica*, "Rivista della Storia della Filosofia" 1 (2011), p. 1ff. However, Vasoli does not supply the source of the information.

59. *Archiwum Zamojskiego*, p. 150, letter 132.

60. The phrase *ars disserendi* comes from Boethius, who derived it from Cicero (*Topica* 2. 6), who used *ratio [scientia] diligens disserendi* to denote stoic logic and peripatetic logic. See Boethius, ... In *Topica Ciceronis Commentariorum Libri Sex, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Minge, vol. 64, Parisiis 1847, 1041B–C; Cicero, *Topica*, in: ed. A.S. Wilkins, M. Tulli Ciceronis *Rhetorica*, vol. II, Oxonii 1903, p. 1 (each work in the volume has separate page numbering).

which would allow you to come and teach logic in the new school. But you shall learn from him not only about the amount of [your] grant and a deposit to cover the cost of your journey, but also [he shall introduce to you] the work (*opera*), which you are asked to perform for our illustrious King, who surpasses [others] both in his sagacity in the art of war and his knowledge of the humanities; you shall also learn about [all] amenities and dispensations, and literally about anything which you may expect from His Majesty [if only] you agree to undertake the work. And if these offers convince you to join [us], I instructed him to promptly pay you the sum necessary to prepare for the journey and set off. I also assure you that as soon as you arrive here, I shall personally provide you with [anything] necessary for [your] position and [your] benefit from His Majesty, in my lasting and life-long recognition of illustrious arts and learned men. Please let me know of your decision without undue delay, whether via [this] Zamojski or in a letter. Farewell. In Malbork, this 15th day of June, Anno Domini 1577. Jan of Zamość, Deputy Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland, starost of Bełż, Knyszyn, Zamch.

It is commonly known that most professors rejected the invitation and Báthory's plan to create a new royal college was quickly abandoned.⁶¹ the archive of Zamojski's chancery contains several surviving letters rejecting the invitation and a letter by Cardinal Hosius from Italy, in which he informs of the situation.⁶² But there is no letter of Zabarella, who instead of a letter of decline decided at the last moment, as he wrote, to dedicate to King Stephen his first printed volume of works entitled *Opera logica*, which had not yet left the printer.⁶³ the dedication was reprinted only twice in subsequent editions

61. See H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu*, p. 476ff.

62. In *Archiwum Zamoyskiego* these are letters 158 (Sigonius), 176 (Muretus), 183 (Gurlandinus), 186 (Petrella), 184 (Hosius); there is also a letter with a positive reply 175 (Jamius).

63. G. Zabarella, *Serenissimo Stephano Poloniae Regi, Magno Duci Lituaniae, et Principi Transyluaniae Iacobus Zabarella S.[alutem]P.[lurimam]D.[ficit] ... PatauijCalendis Maijs MDLXXIII*, in: idem, *Opera Logica...* Venetiis ... MDLXXVIII, sheet a2r–a4v. I. Maclean (*Mediations of Zabarella*, p. 46) suggests that Zabarella's idea to publish his logic lectures in printed form could have been inspired by King Stephen's invitation, since at that time Paduan professors did not normally print the content of their lectures when they were still alive. Nevertheless, this idea is undermined by the fact that later Zabarella, still in his lifetime, submitted for publication another series of lectures entitled *De rebus naturalibus* in 1589. See footnote 36.

of the works, published separately in the Venetian edition and as collected works in the Frankfurt edition, both published in Zabarella's lifetime.⁶⁴

Zabarella's *Opera logica* were written for a very narrow, specialist and wealthy audience, as proved by the expensive size of the book (*folio*).⁶⁵ Therefore, it seems that the work did not have any significant effect on spreading the information that Zabarella had been invited to Poland by King Stephen. Polish and European historians derived this knowledge rather indirectly and, as we will see, not always from a reliable source.

There are many printed sources from the end of the 16th century on Báthory's initiative. Still, none of them mentions the invitation extended to Zabarella.⁶⁶ First reports – not counting the text of the dedication itself – are found in texts by two authors of the first half of the 17th century: Lollino and Tomasini.⁶⁷ Both came from Padua, both were bishops, and both wrote *vitae* and *elogia* of famous people – very popular genres at the time. Since

64. *Iacobi Zabarella Patavini Opera Logica. In hac Secunda Editione multis Annotationibus aucta, & erroribus expurgata ... Venetiis. Apud Paulum Meietum Bibliop. [olam] Patauinum, MDLXXXVI, sheet a2r–a3r; and Iacobi Zabarella ... Opera quae in hunc diem edidit, in quinqu[ue] tomos diuisa ... Apud Ioann[em] Mareschallum Lugdunensem MCLXXXVI–MCLXXXVII, [Francofurti], tomo I varia Opera Logica continentur., sheet iii_v–iii_{iii}. On the initiator, publisher, place of print and date of the Frankfurt edition, see I. Maclean, *Mediations of Zabarella*, pp. 41, 46, 56 (n. 10).*
65. I. Maclean, *Mediations of Zabarella*, p. 46ff.
66. See A. Riccoboni, *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica ... latine conuersa. Venetiis 1579*, sheet a3r; idem, *De Gymnasio Patauino*, p. 47r; M.A. Muret, *Epistolae*, p. 67r. 84r–86v; *Viridarium poetarum ... In laudes Serenissimi atque Potentissimi DD. Stephani Regis Poloniae, In duos Libros divisum*, ed. H. Zucconello, Venetiis 1583, sheet a3v–a4r; *Antiquitatum romanarum ... Liber De Comitibus*, ed. A. Manutius, Bononiae 1585, sheet ††2r; J. Pontanus, ... *Progymnasmatum Latinitatis, sive Dialogorum Voluminis tertij pars prior ...*, Ingolstadii MDXCII, p. 619ff. (and many subsequent editions). Stanislaw Reszka was one of the authors who mentioned the king's initiative multiple times in their writings: idem, *D. Stanislai Hosii ... vita. Romae MDLXXXVII*, p. 376 (which is his letter to King Stephen of 1582, ibidem, pp. 340–386, reprinted later in a collection of letters from 1594, pp. 157–210); S. Reszka, *Spongia qua abstergantur Conuitia ... contra Iesuitas. ... Cracouiae MDXC*, sheet B3v, D4r, Kv; second, expanded edition: S. Reszka, *Spongia qua abstergantur Conuitia... Recusa Neapoli M. D. XCII*, pp. 18–20, 51ff, 127; and *Stanislai Rescii Epistolarum Liber Unus ... Neapoli MDXCIV*, pp. 121, 198, 212; these include his letters to Stanisław Sokolowski of 1577, to Báthory (as above), and to M. Antoine Muretus of 1582, respectively. Reszka's letter to Muretus was both referred to and published by S. Ciampi, first in his *Rerum Polonicarum ab excessu Stefani Regis ad Maximiliani Austriaci captiuitatem Liber Singularis ...*, Florentiae MDCCCXXVII, p. 90ff., and later, more broadly in his *Bibliografia critica*, Tomo III, p. 22 (see above, footnote 56).
67. Lollino, sheet 44v; G.F. Tomasini, *Elogia*, p. 139. On the first texts of Polish authors mentioning the invitation of Zabarella, see footnotes 69, 70 and 71, below.

Lollino's work remained in manuscript, Tomasini's *Elogia* is the oldest known independent printed source that mentions the invitation and the dedication. However, Tomasini did not double-check his sources and wrote erroneously that Zabarella had been invited to Poland by King Zygmunt (*Sigismundus*) and that it was to Zygmunt that Zabarella dedicated his works. Because until the end of the 18th century *Elogia* was the basic source of knowledge on Zabarella's life as well as the only known source mentioning the invitation and the dedication, subsequent historiographers repeated the same error.⁶⁸

It is unlikely that Polish authors made the mistake; besides, they used slightly different sources. The main source was available in the form of manuscripts from ca. 1660–64 by Marcin Radyński.⁶⁹ In one of these man-

68. Most famous ones include P. Bayle, *Diction[n]aire*, p. 3046 (1702 edition) and subsequent editions up to the 1820 inclusive: *Dictionnaire Nouvelle édition, augmentée ...*, vol. 15: Z, et Dissertations, Paris 1820, p. 5; fourth edition of A. Teisseur, *Les Éloges des Hommes Savans. ...*, Tome quatrième, Quatrième Edition revûe, corrigée, & augmentée ... Leyde 1715, p. 27; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia Della Letteratura Italiana ...*, p. 344 (year 1777), G. Gennari, *Saggio Storico sopra le Accademie*, p. LIVff. and many others. G. Tiraboschi corrected the mistake in the second, expanded edition of his work in 1791: *Storia Della Letteratura ... Seconda edizione Modenese. Riveduta corretta ed accresciuta dall'Autore*, Modena MDCCXCI, part I, p. 113, part II, p. 438 (and subsequent Venetian editions). Still, Italian authors kept repeating Tomasini's error throughout the 19th century: see B. Labanca, *Sopra Giacomo Zabarella. Studio storico*, Napoli 1878, p. 6. Although there are two works of the 17th century which contain the correct information on King Stephen Báthory, they apparently remained unknown. Both of those publications were authored or co-authored by Giacomo Zabarella's grandson and namesake. Also in the dedication of his work to Jan Kazimierz King of Poland, he states that his grandfather dedicated works on logic and philosophy both to King Zygmunt August and King Stephen, for which he was honored by them; see G. Zabarella, *Polonica siue Originum Polonicarum Stemmata Centum ...*, Patauii MDCL, sheet IIr. No edition of Zabarella's works confirms the existence of the first dedication. Besides, Zabarella did not publish any work which could have been dedicated to Zygmunt August until as late as 1578. The second work: G. Cavaccia, G. Zabarella (the Younger), *Aula Zabarella*, p. 132, repeats the text of Tomasini's *elogium* almost word for word, but replaces *Sigismundus* with *Stephanus*; the text is also preceded by a short note by the authors where they supply correct information on the dedication and exceptional honors which Zabarella received from King Stephen. On such putative honours, see footnote 129 below. Note that throughout this period a correct account of the invitation was available in MA. Muretus's work. In the 17th and 18th centuries, his *Epistolae*, where he mentions King Stephen on multiple occasions, were reissued several times (see footnote 56 above). On the basis of Muretus's letter to Paolo Sacrato, Jesuit Pontanus wrote on Muretus's invitation by King Stephen in *Progymnasmata Latinitatis* (p. 619ff.), and the work was reissued many times, till as late as 1686.
69. He held the position of dean of the Faculty of Artists at the University of Krakow three times. See H. Barycz, *Radyński, Marcin, (1602–1664)*, in: *Polski Słownik*

uscripts, under the year 1577, he writes about Stephen Báthory's intention to create a college modelled on the Cameracense and invite many doctors, including Zabarella, to lecture on philosophy.⁷⁰ It is the only source which provides such information. In another volume, he cites an anonymous text from 1626 by an ecclesiastical official connected to the University of Krakow who refers to a rather imprudent invitation of many foreign doctors, including Zabarella, Piccolomini, and Muretus by the king of Poland and the fact that Pope Gregory XIII did not give his consent following Cardinal Hosius's intervention.⁷¹ In 1891, S. Windakiewicz, citing a revised version of *Storia della letteratura italiana* by G. Tiraboschi, was the first or one of the first authors in Poland to mention Zabarella's dedication.⁷² On the subject of Zabarella,

Biograficzny, vol. 30, Wrocław 1987, pp. 32–36. Radymiński decided to write a chronicle of the University of Krakow, but only managed to gather an enormous quantity of material preserved in the form of manuscripts. Two separate manuscripts of two of his works mention the invitation extended by the king to foreign scholars, including Zabarella. the first (chronological) work is the previously mentioned *Academia controuersa, seu controuersiarum Academiae Cracouiensis cum aemula Societate Iesu in regno Poloniae de iure Vniuersitatis Analecta, collecta Opera M. Martini Radiminski SAP*, BJ MS 227 III, sheet 288v–289r; the second work is *Annalium Almæ Academiæ Cracouiensis Centuria III, Authore M. Martino Radyminski, Collegii Maioris Professore Sacræ Sedis Apostolicæ Protonotario*, [vol. III], [1604], BJ MS 226, sheet 303v with continuous page numbering in all four volumes (bottom), or p. 124 of the volume III (top); [hereinafter: *Annalium Centuria*].

70. *Annalium Centuria*, sheet 303v; the passage was cited in the Polish translation by J. Sołtykiewicz, *O stanie Akademii Krakowskiej*, p. 551ff. See also *Statuta nec non Liber*, ed. J. Muczkowski, p. 13, note 10.
71. *Academia controversa*, BJ manuscript 227, sheet 288v. Pope Gregory XIII's letter to King Báthory, dated 1 December 1577, seems to contradict the words quoted by Radymiński. the letter is published by A. Theiner in *Annales ecclesiastici ... ab an. MDLXXII. ad nostra usque tempora continuat Augustinus Theiner*. Tomus secundus. Romae 1856, p. 315ff. (n. XLVI). See H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu*, p. 476. Similarly, Cardinal Hosius's letter to Zamojski (see *Archiwum Zamoyskiego*, p. 202, letter 184) reveals the cardinal's positive involvement in Báthory and Zamojski's undertaking. Nevertheless, on the basis of the cardinal's unpublished letters Łempicki points to his backstage 'scheming' aimed at halting the king's initiative: S. Łempicki, *Jan Zamoyski*, pp. 49–58. On Hosius's role, see also H. Barycz, op. cit., p. 477ff.
72. See Windakiewicz, *Padwa*, p. 65. He refers to Zabarella as an Averroist, while Zabarella never claimed to be one. Zabarella considered himself an Aristotelian, for whom *ratio* was his only master. His public declaration made at the opening of his lectures in 1586 is quite telling in this respect. See G. Zabarella, *Oratio in exordio lectionis philosophiæ*, in: M. Dal Pra, *Una „oratio” programmatica di G. Zabarella*, "Rivista Critica di Storia della Filosofia" 21, no. 3 (Luglio–Settembre 1966), p. 290. He valued Averroes's views, and regarded him as the best commentator on Aristotle to date (see *Opera logica* (1586 edition), p. 389), but also often criticized him (see e.g. op. cit., p. 443).

Lempicki repeats what Sołtykowicz wrote based on Radyński's work, supplemented with Facciolati's chronicles (*Fasti*), Tomasini's *Elogia*, and Giacomo Zabarella the Younger's *Polonica*. However, he does not mention Zabarella's dedication.⁷³ In another work, he suggests that Zamojski got to know Zabarella during his studies at Padua in 1563–64, which could have influenced the invitation.⁷⁴ It seems likely: as we know, Zabarella was active in the academic circles before he started his lectures in logic in 1564. Nevertheless, because Zamojski studied at the law university (*universitas iuristarum*), which was independent of the university of arts or artists (*artistarum*), he may have been Zabarella's auditor rather than a student.⁷⁵ H. Barycz in his *Historia Uniwersytetu* completely omits Giacomo Zabarella. In contemporary texts by Polish authors, the invitation extended to Zabarella as well as his dedication became part of common knowledge.⁷⁶

3. Zabarella's *Dedication* in the context of the epoch

A. Reasons for refusal

Zabarella's dedication is in fact an elaborate form of rejection of king Báthory's invitation. He justifies his refusal by family and financial matters which keep him in Padua, as well as possible lack of permission to leave from Venetian authorities and the university. Lack of approval by superiors is also mentioned by Muretus, who was held in Rome by Pope Gregory XIII.⁷⁷ According to Radyński, at least four professors were stopped from leaving by their superiors.⁷⁸ This assumption, at least for Zabarella,

Even more often he criticized Averroists of his era, accusing them of lack of understanding of Averroes, calling them *Pseudoaerroistae*, op. cit., p. 326. See also J.M. García Valverde, *Giacomo Zabarella: un aristotélico crítico*, p. 596ff.

73. S. Łempicki, *Jan Zamojski*, p. 35ff.

74. S. Łempicki, *Il cancelliere Giovanni Zamojski e l'Università di Padova*, in: *Omaggio*, p. 99ff.

75. See S. Windakiewicz, *I Polacchi a Padova*, 14–18; idem, *Polacy w Padwie*, pp. 10–13.

76. See S. Kamiński, *Jakuba Zabarelli koncepcja metody*, p. 61, note 18; B. Czarnecka-Rej, *Zabarella, Jacopo*, p. 893; T. Albiński, *Recepcja sylogistyki klasycznej u Kanta*, p. 340, note 64; W. Ryzek, *Filozofia jako logika*, p. 338; D. Quirini-Popławska, K. Frankowicz, *Dzieła XVI-wiecznych padewskich profesorów*, p. 21.

77. He wrote about it in a letter of 30 April 1578 to his friend Paolo Sacrato; see A.M. Muret, *Epistolae*, pp. 68v–69r. See footnotes 56 and 68 above.

78. M. Radyński in his *Annalium Centuria*, sheet 303v, mentions Gregory of Valencia (Germany) and Pappius (Spain). Similar doubts as to the possibility of leaving the Paduan University are voiced in a letter to Zamojski by Bernardino (Bernardinus) Petrella, see *Archiwum Zamoyskiego*, p. 204, letter 186.

is far-fetched, as it is unclear whether he did not obtain permission from the Senate. It is possible that the reason for the refusal was much more prosaic. Indeed, the prospect of travelling to a distant and cold Sarmatia did not seem alluring to heat-loving Italians.⁷⁹ There was a general opinion of the bitterly cold Polish climate. Lollino writes emphatically about Zabarella's refusal: "Who would abandon Italy for Sarmatia, a country constantly covered with snow, where humidity permeates the air and the frozen earth makes your limbs numb?"⁸⁰ In his *Elogia* Tomasini gives another, more likely reason for rejecting the invitation, namely Zabarella's affection for the beauty of his motherland (*dulcedine natalis soli parere renuit*).⁸¹ This is confirmed by Zabarella's own words, which Lollino heard on that occasion, that his homeland and kindness of his close friends and family are more precious to him than Persian mountains of gold.⁸²

Not only was Zabarella a book-lover and distinguished professor but also an active and esteemed citizen of Padua.⁸³ He came from an old and famous Paduan family which produced many eminent men, among whom Cardinal Francesco Zabarella figured prominently.⁸⁴ Giacomo inherited the title of a count of the Holy Roman Empire (*Comes Palatinus S.R.I.*) from

79. Cardinal Hosius refers to this issue in his letter to Zamojski dated 14 December 1577. However, in Hosius's opinion this was an unsuitable time to move to Poland and writes that perhaps more could be done in spring. See *Archiwum Zamoyskiego*, p. 202, letter no. 184.
80. Lollino, sheet 44v: *Sed quis Italiâ relictâ, Sarmatiam peteret torpentem sôlo, coaelo humidam, perpetuò rigore niuium damnatam?* Muretus also writes about the proverbial cold in Poland in his letter to Paolo Sacrato, although in his view there is more notoriety than truth in the commonly held opinion, and having been raised in the highlands he is not afraid of cold anyway (*Epistolae*, pp. 67v–68r). This reason is also repeated by A. Teisseur, *Les Éloges des Hommes Savans*, 1715 (fourth edition), p. 27ff.
81. *Elogia*, p. 139. Similar reasons for the fiasco of Zamojski and Báthory's initiative are supplied by Zamojski's biographer in 1606. See R. Heidenstein, *Vitae Joannis Zamoyscii ... Libri tres*, p. 34: some were stopped from leaving by dukes, others by being accustomed to comforts of their homes.
82. Lollino, sheet 44v: "Dicentem illum audiui non se patriæ, suorumq[ue] caritati, montes Persarum aureos antelaturum". the theme of Persian mountains of gold comes from Roman comedy writer Titus Maccius Plautus and his comedy *Stichus* (l. 1. 24–25): "neque ille mereat sibi Persarum montis, quie esse aurei perhibentur".
83. The data in this paragraph come from A. Riccoboni, *In obitu Iacobi Zabarellæ*; C.F. Tomasini, *Elogia*.
84. The history and accomplishments of the family are extensively praised in the funeral Oration by A. Riccoboni, *In obitu Iacobi Zabarellæ*, A3r–Br. They take up as many as 4 full pages.

his grandfather and father. the Paduan authorities frequently consulted him on important issues and asked him to represent them as a legate before the government of the Republic of Venice. He was also valued by the Senate of Venice, which was evidenced, among others, by 1000 florins they gave for the dowry of his daughter Zabarella (a female name in this case) in order to keep him in Padua. Prior to this, it was only once that the Senate had resorted to such a solution. Zabarella was also active in informal academic circles. Some time after the collapse of *Academiae Elevatorum*, he founded *Academiam Stabilorum*, which survived for many years after his death.⁸⁵ Having founded *Academiam [H]oplosophistarum*, he also participated actively in educating the youth. It was a typical knightly academy that trained young men of noble birth in combat and horsemanship.⁸⁶

Zabarella's preferences and habits also played an important part in his refusal.⁸⁷ He owned a vineyard near Padua and liked tending it in his spare time; he also hunted birds. Moreover, he frequented his favorite bookstores where he met his friends and engaged in animated discussions. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not enjoy travelling and during his walks or errands never really ventured beyond the city walls. the furthest he travelled for pleasure was the hot springs of Abano (*Aponus*), situated ten kilometers from Padua.

It is difficult to imagine that someone with such a well-established academic and social position and so deeply set in the life of Padua and the University could have decided to leave for faraway Poland to live in an obscure city of Krakow with all his family. Even for the price of the proverbial Persian mountains of gold.⁸⁸

B. Persian mountains of gold

In this context, it is interesting to consider the remuneration offered by Báthory to foreign professors. How much was it? Zabarella refers to King

85. G. Gennari, *Saggio storico sopra le Accademie*, pp. LIV–LV.

86. A. Riccoboni, *In obitu Iacobi Zabarellæ*, sheet A2v. On the term *hoplosophistae* (*oplosofisti*) and the academy itself, see A. Bonavilla, M.A. Marchi, *Dizionario etimologico di tutti i vocaboli usati nelle scienze, arti e mestieri, che traggono origine dal greco*, tomo IV, Milano 1821, p. 188.

87. This information was supplied by Lollino, sheet 44r–45r.

88. On proverbial nature of the expression in a broader historical and symbolic context, see A. Richlin, *Slave Theater in the Roman Republic: Plautus and Popular Comedy*, Cambridge 2017, p. 441. See also footnote 82 above.

Stephen's *maxima praemia* and *liberalitas*.⁸⁹ Also other authors of the period use similar general terms to describe the king's initiative.⁹⁰ Exact amounts are only given for Muretus and Sigonius. In a letter to Paolo Sacrato, Muretus writes that he was offered 1500 gold coins per year (*nummi aurei*) and an additional 500, if he became a priest (which, in fact, he already was).⁹¹ In his letter to Carolus Sigonius, Zamojski writes that he successfully persuaded the king to offer Sigonius a salary of 1500 thalers (*tallerorum*), i.e. approx. 950 gold ducats.⁹² We know also that not everyone was offered identical remuneration. According to Riccoboni, Stephen Báthory treated humanists preferentially; they were offered higher pay than other scholars.⁹³ Cardinal Hosius in his letter to Zamojski writes that Latin lecturer Ubertus Foletus would agree to come to Krakow, albeit on the same conditions and salary as offered to others.⁹⁴

How much of a sum was a thousand ducats then? In response to accusations concerning the decline of the University, in his *Apologia pro Academia Cracoviensi* Jakub Górski reminds Polish magnates that one foreign professor earns more than all professors at the University of Krakow put together.⁹⁵ He repeats here the words of Maricius of Pilsen, who criticized the rulers for poor earnings at the University thirty years earlier: although a professor earned 1000 ducats (*aureos*) in Italy,⁹⁶ in Krakow the remuner-

89. *Opera logica* (1578 edition), sheet a3r.

90. Bernardinus Petrella (*Archiwum Zamoyskiego*, p. 204, letter 186): "amplissimis atque honestissimis praemiis;" A. Riccoboni, *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica*, sheet a3r: "maxima praemia;" S. Reszka, *D. Stanislaw Hosii ... vita*, p. 376: "amplia praemia;" S. Reszka, *Spongia qua absterguntur Conuitia*, 1590 edition: sheet D4r; 1592 edition: sheet G2r: "praemium non uulgare;" S. Reszka, *Epistolarum Liber Unus*, p. 121: "magna praemia;" J. Pontanus, *Progymnasmata Latinitatis*, p. 620 (on Muretus): "quam honorifico minerali, seu stipendio ... inuitatus esset."

91. *Epistolae*, p. 67r/v.

92. *Archiwum Zamoyskiego*, p. 155, letter 138. Thalers were silver coins worth 34–36 grossus in the times of Stephen Báthory, while (gold) ducat (or *czerwony złoty*) was worth 54–56 grossus; *polski złoty* (unit of account) was worth conventionally 30 grossus from the end of the 15th century. See A. Szelałowski, *Pieniądz i przewrót cen w XVI i XVII wieku w Polsce*, Lvov 1902, pp. 37, 39, 205; and J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369–1600*, Lvov 1935, p. 32^{ff}.

93. A. Riccoboni, *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica*, sheet A3r.

94. *Archiwum Zamoyskiego* p. 202; see H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu*, p. 477.

95. *Apologia*, sheet C4r.

96. In Padua, the professors were paid in gold florins, in Poland in ducats which were minted at the time of Zygmunt Stary and modelled on Hungarian ducats, see Szelałowski, *Pieniądz i przewrót cen*, p. 37^{ff}. They were of similar but not necessarily equal weight (ca. 3.5 gram). I. Facciolati makes a distinction between Venetian

ations of forty professors of three colleges put together did not even come close to this amount. Only most esteemed received slightly over 30 ducats per year, whereas the average pay was 12 or 16 ducats.⁹⁷

Maricius's argument is not false, but does not represent the actual pay of the foreign professors at their universities, either. The thousand gold coins mentioned above were meant only for the most prominent lecturer on law, and not for lecturers on other subjects. At the faculty of arts, the remuneration was incomparably lower.⁹⁸ There exists a relatively precise list of salaries at the University of Padua in the 16th century.⁹⁹ Zabarella started lecturing in 1564 for a remuneration of 60 florins and ended in 1589, being paid 410 florins. In 1577, e.i., at the time when he received the invitation, he earned 260 florins a year. In comparison, Francesco Piccolomini, who was in the first ordinary chair, earned 600 florins; towards the end of his career at the university, he was paid 1000 florins. We do know, however, that the lecturers of the so-called third school of logic were paid only 20 florins a year, and the amount had remained the same since the school started

ducats and florins, which lost value at the beginning of the 16th century; the difference in weight was from 1/6 to 2/6 of that of the florin. See I. Facciolati, *Fasti*, p. 117. On the weight of the ducat in contemporary grams, see A. Szelaḡowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 37: one Cracow *grzywna* (198.9 of grams), smaller than the Cologne Mark (233 of grams), was used to mint 56 ducats. See J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie*, p. 34.

97. S. Maricius of Pilsen, ... *De Scholis seu Academijs, libri duo*. Cracoviae MDLI, sheet r1v–2r. Maricius's text is also cited by J. Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non Liber*, p. 8, note 4.
98. Windakiewicz writes that the Paduan university of arts or artists (*artistarum*) was always treated as inferior to the university of law; see *idem*, *I Polacchi a Padova*, p. 16; *idem*, *Polacy w Padwie*, p. 12. According to Facciolati (*Fasti*, pp. 80–201) there were around forty different law schools at the University of Padua in 16th century and salaries in these schools ranged from 10 to 2000 florins or gold coins of various gold content. For example, in Zabarella's time, in the first ordinary evening school of civil law, remuneration ranged from 1150 to 1500 florins or a thousand gold coins (*aureos*) (*ibidem*, p. 134ff.). Interestingly, also in this case natives of Padua earned much less. A certain M.M. Benavidius of the first ordinary morning school of civil law received a pay rise from 750 to 800 florins in 1572, which was, in Facciolati's opinion (*idem*, p. 117), the highest amount paid to any Paduan up to that point. At the same time, in an equivalent position (*ei exæquatus*) in the same school, another professor, hailing from Udine, was paid 1000 gold coins (*aureos*), i.e. much more than 1000 florins (*ibidem*).
99. The most precise data are supplied by Facciolati in his *Fasti*; certain amounts are also given by Riccoboni in *De Gymnasio Patauino* and Tomasini in *Gymnasium Patauinum*. Information about Zabarella's pay comes from I. Facciolati, *Fasti*, pp. 295, 284; on Piccolomini's pay: *ibidem*, p. 275.

in 1467.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, from a letter by Muretus, we learn that he earned 500 gold coins (*nummi aurei*) in 1577 and the pope eventually doubled the amount, wishing to keep him in Rome.¹⁰¹

Similarly, Maricius did not speak the whole truth about the earnings of Krakow professors. Admittedly, the professors of the University were paid little, but since all of them or nearly all of them were priests, they relied on various more or less profitable prebends.¹⁰² Even professors from poor families were able to save substantial sums throughout their lives, sometimes amounting to a dozen or more thousand gold coins.¹⁰³ Therefore, Muretus's words in his letter to Paolo Sacrato mentioning that King Steven had promised him additional 500 gold coins from priestly benefices¹⁰⁴ must have reflected the actual level of earnings of the top-earning University professors.¹⁰⁵

To arrive at a fuller picture of the value of the offered pay, let us mention that earnings in other, less prominent professions in Poland rarely exceeded 50 ducats per year.¹⁰⁶ Note also that in proportion to the price

100. See I. Facciolati, *Fasti*, p. 306.

101. *Epistolae*, p. 69r.

102. See T. Graff, *Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w okresie działalności Bartłomieja z Przemysła OP (zm. po 1618)*, „Rocznik Przemyski” 55, *Historia*, book 1 [22] (2019), p. 48ff.

103. For example, towards the end of his life, Marcin Wadowita (1567–1641) made dispositions in his property in excess of 11,000 florins, not to mention generous foundations made throughout his life. See T. Graff, *Professor Marcin Wadowita (1567–1641), an Example of a Brilliant Academic Career in Old Kraków*, in: *Transformation of Central European Cities in Historical Development*, eds. H. Hrehor, M. Pekár, Košice 2013, pp. 89, 91. Note, however, that in the 1st half of the 17th century the Polish grosus suffered a considerable devaluation. In 1641, the ducat cost 180 grossus, which was three times more than in 1578 (the price remained on that level with slight fluctuations since 1626). See A. Szelański, *Pieniądz i przewrót cen*, pp. 158ff, 183, 234.

104. *Epistolae*, p. 67r/v.

105. On the differences in the earnings of professors at the faculty of artists (arts) of the University of Krakow in a slightly earlier period, as well as on the exceptionally low status of the faculty, see K. Morawski, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: średnie wieki i odrodzenie*, vol. 1, Krakow 1900, pp. 216–222. Claims about the shockingly poor (or zero) earnings of young masters who continued their higher education are supported by the fact that they evaded, whenever possible, delivering practical instruction in philosophy or neglected this duty (p. 222); see L. Regner, *Szesnastowieczny rękopis*, p. 182.

106. A. Szelański (*Pieniądz i przewrót cen*, p. 237) reports that in 1580 average daily wages of an unskilled worker were 11/3 grossus, and if one ducat was worth 56 grossus and there were 300 work days in total, the annual income of such a worker was 7 ducats; an infantryman received 5 Polish złoty each quarter, and since 1 Polish

es of that time the sums offered guaranteed Italian professors a wealthy and comfortable life. Yearly rental of a house owned by the city in Krakow in the years 1576–80 ranged from 240 to 1150 grossus (4.5 to 20 ducats), depending on the location. This amount was almost negligible compared to 500 ducats per year. Prices of even the most expensive necessities did not exceed a few ducats.¹⁰⁷ Large amounts were paid only when purchasing villages.¹⁰⁸ the cost of groceries required to lay a fairly abundant table was a few, at the most a dozen grossus per person per day.¹⁰⁹

This leads us to the conclusion that even if Zabarella was offered only 1000 ducats a year, he would have earned much more than in Padua. Moreover, as we have seen, the king guaranteed foreign professors they would be exempt from taxes and lay professors were offered additional

złoty converts into 30 grossus, his annual earnings tally up to 11 ducats; a cavalryman earned twice as much, i.e. approx. 22 ducats. In comparison, according to J. Pelc (*Ceny w Krakowie*, pp. 77–79 and pp. 123–126, tables 93–95), unskilled workers in Krakow in 1578–80 earned 3 grossus per day, i.e. about 16 ducats a year, municipal bricklayers and carpenters 48 grosz, i.e. 45 ducats a year; a municipal clerk was paid 30 ducats a year plus many other benefices, which totalled 25–60% of his base income. the first trumpeter earned slightly more, ca. 56 ducats a year, and a syndic ca. 83.5 ducats a year. the above suggests that the professors with the lowest remuneration were paid less than low-ranking city officials.

107. From among more expensive goods, a horse cost 240 grossus, a sheepskin coat 41 grossus, lined boots 26.50 grossus, and a cubit of damask 45 grossus. See J. Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie*, pp. 81, 100–102, 115, 122.
108. For example, in 1572 a village near Przemyśl was sold for 8700 Polish złoty, i.e. 5000 ducats (52 grosz for a ducat); similar amounts were also paid in subsequent years. See M. Wolski, *Tuliłowy koło Jarosławia. Najdawniejsze dzieje wsi do połowy XVII wieku*, „Rocznik Przemyski” 55, *Historia*, book 1 [22] (2019), p. 71ff. Only this comparison allows us to appreciate the value of 1000 ducats.
109. A gallon (almost 4 litres) of wine cost 16 grossus, a stone (ca. 12 kg) of rice was 70 grossus, a stone of raisins was 117 grossus, a pound of very expensive saffron cost slightly more than 200 grossus (op. cit., p. 112ff.); a chicken could be bought for 2 grossus, a capon less than 4, and a goose 5.5 grossus on average (p. 122). At the time, a pound equalled 576 (German) grams, i.e. about 466 contemporary grams, a stone was 26 pounds, i.e. slightly above 12 kg. See op. cit., pp. 37–39; see A. Szelągowski, *Pieniądz i przewrót cen*, p. 31ff. To quote other prices listed by Pelc: a ream (20 pounds) of quality paper cost 48.5 grossus on average, and a stone of wax 134 grossus (p. 120). A. Szelągowski lists slightly different prices from 1580; in particular, he quotes foreign wine as three times more expensive (op. cit., p. 236). Fish were surprisingly cheap. A carp could be purchased for as little as 5/6 grossus, and a pike for 2 1/6 grossus. Looking at other data, we learn about the enrolment fee for University students. In the 1580s it was only 8 grossus, with poorer students paying merely 3 grossus. See T. Graff, *Professor Macin Wadowita*, p. 86.

commoda corresponding to priestly benefices.¹¹⁰ Besides, the cost of living in Krakow allowed professors to put aside large sums of money from the offered pay.¹¹¹

C. the idea of *dedication* and the humanist ideal of a king

Zabarella's dedication was not the only known dedication of an Italian work to Báthory. We are aware of at least two other dedications. Hippolytus Zucconello preceded his collection of over 130 poems by 66 different authors in praise of King Stephen by his own dedication.¹¹² Another dedication was authored by Aldus Manutius the Younger. He dedicated a work by his father Paulus, published posthumously, to the Polish king.¹¹³ We may also mention Riccoboni's dedication of his translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* to Stephen Báthory, his patron.¹¹⁴ Note that this dedication was not addressed to King Stephen but his nephew and namesake, who studied in Padua in the 1570s. However, the first part of Riccoboni's dedication is in praise of Stephen's uncle (*patruus*).¹¹⁵

At this point we should mention that according to an old tradition King Báthory also studied in Padua, at least for a few months in his youth. This suggestion is sometimes linked to inviting Zabarella to Krakow.¹¹⁶ This tradition is most clearly expressed in the statue of Stephen Báthory (number 76) at the Prato della Valle square in Padua next to eighty other statues of the most eminent people connected with Padua. The statue was commissioned by King Stanisław August and erected in 1789. The wording reads that he was "an alumnus of the Paduan Gymnasium:" *olim Gymnasii Patavini alumno*.¹¹⁷ G. Gömöry argues that the story

110. See A. Pawiński, p. 178.

111. Obviously, a lot depended on the size of the family with which he wished to move to Krakow.

112. H. Zucconello, *Serenissimo atque Potentissimo Principi D.D. Stephano Dei Gratia Regi Poloniae, Magno Duci Lituaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Semogitiae, Kiouiae, Liboniæ[ue] Domino, &c. necnon Principi Transilvaniae*, in: *Viridarium poetarum*, ed. idem, sheet A2r–A5r.

113. A. Manutius, *Ser.[eniss]mo Stephano Regi Poloniae Et. C.*, in: *Antiquitatum romanarum ... Liber De Comitibus*, ed. idem, sheet ††1r–††3v.

114. A. Riccoboni, *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica*, sheet a2r–a5v.

115. Op. cit., sheet a2r–a3r.

116. See T. Albiński, *Recepcja sylogistyki klasycznej u Kanta*, p. 340, footnote 64.

117. A. Neumayr, *Illustrazione del Prato della Valle ossia della Piazza delle Statue di Padova*, parte prima, Padova MDCCCVII, p. 379. See P. Mariuz, *Ferrari, Giovanni, detto il Torretto*, in: "DBI" 46 (1996) [online]: made available by Treccani;

is a legend and King Báthory most likely did not study in Padua, while the legend itself originated from confusing the king with his nephew and namesake mentioned above.¹¹⁸

Among these three dedications, Zabarella's work stands out by virtue of its personal character. Nevertheless, all of them consistently emphasize Báthory's skill to combine harmoniously political and military duties towards his kingdom with his love of sciences, support for scholars, and the development of education.¹¹⁹ As Zucconello put it in his poetic and rhetorical idiom, the deeds of Báthory allow us to profess to all and everyone that Mars and Minerva live peaceably together in his kingdom.¹²⁰ In less poetic terms by Riccoboni, Báthory never forgot about humanities even in the heat of war.¹²¹ To these authors, King Báthory was an embodiment of a humanist ideal of a ruler who combined political and military virtues with intellectual ones.

D. Giacomo Zabarella's epigram

Zucconello's work deserves a separate mention, since Giacomo Zabarella is the author of one of Italian epigrams contained in it.¹²² To date, it is his only known work in Italian. Moreover, it is the only instance in which the Italian version of his name appears: *[del] Conte Giacomo Zabarella*. Ever since the 17th century, his Italian name has been written in two forms:

G. Gömöry, *Gdzie studiował Stefan Batory albo narodziny legendy*, "Terminus" 16, book 2 (31) (2014), p. 169.

118. G. Gömöry, op.cit.

119. However, Manutius (*Antiquitatum romanarum ... Liber De Comitibus*, sheet ††1r–2r) concentrates on Báthory's military and political exploits, including his skilful policy towards the Turkish sultan (*Turca, summus Barbarorum Princeps*). His accomplishments in the development of learning are described in a single sentence (sheet ††2r). Meanwhile, the entire second section of his dedication (sheet ††2v–3v) discussed a young student, Marcin Szyszkowski (Martinus Siscouius), who was placed under the king's protection.

120. *Viridarium poetarum*, sheet A4r.

121. *Aristotelis Ars Rhetrica*, sheet a4r. We find similar tone in a letter from Gregory XIII to Stefan Báthory (*Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. A. Theiner, p. 316): "Jucundissimum Nobis fuit ... perspicere, te in ipsa bellorum occupatione de liberalium quoque artium studiis et doctrinis cogitare."

122. The collection is made up of two books with separate page numbering. the first one contains Latin and Greek works (*Viridarium poetarum*). the second one contains Italian texts: *Del Giardino de' Poeti. In lode del Serenissimo Re di Polonia, Gran Duca di Lituania, Russia, Prussia, Samogitia, e Chiouia, Signor di Libonia & Principe di Transilvania, Libro secondo*, Venetia, 1583. Giacomo Zabarella's epigram is published in the second book, p. 17.

Giacomo in some texts, and *Jacopo* or *Iacopo Zabarella* in others.¹²³ In fact, both versions of the name appear in Italian literature as early as the 16th century, albeit not in reference to Zabarella.¹²⁴

Zabarella's work, uncharacteristic of the entire collection, is also interesting. The collection is an example of typical political poetry of the epoch.¹²⁵ This is an evidence of Báthory's extraordinary fame in Italy, both due to his initiative to establish a new university and his military victories, especially his successful siege of Połock.¹²⁶ Still, as observed by Kruppa,¹²⁷ most poems contained in the collection praise Báthory in a traditional manner based on the mediaeval catalogue of virtues of a model monarch. Exceptional in this respect are only two epigrams, one in Latin and one in Italian, as well as a dedication by Zucconello; these works go beyond the confines of convention and refer to the humanist ideal of a monarch capable of skillfully combining his political and military virtues with intellectual prowess,

123. The spelling *Giacomo* appears in the 17th century in A. Portenari, *Della Felicità di Padova*, p. 257, and G.P. de Crescenzi, *Presidio Romano ouero Della Milizia Ecclesiastica ... Aggiunteui le memorie di molte Illustri Famiglie ...*, Piacenza MDCXLVIII, p. 525, col. II. The work of Zabarella's grandson and namesake contains both versions of the name, with *Iacopo* used in reference to the grandson and author, and *Giacomo* in reference to his grandfather and other persons. See G. Zabarella (the Younger), *Gli Arronzii, ouero De' marmi antichi. ... Discorso del co.[nte] Iacopo Zabarella ...* Padoua MDCLV, title page, 127, 129. The name *Iacopo* became widespread in the 18th century and dominated Italian texts. On the dualism of the Italian name in contemporary authors, see e.g. B. Czarnecka-Rej, *Zabarella, Jacopo (Iacopo, Giacomo)*, p. 893; D. Quirini-Popławska, K. Frankowski, *Dzieła XVI-wiecznych padewskich profesorów*, p. 21; H. Mikkeli, *Giacomo Zabarella* [online]; and reference entries on Jacopo Zabarella at the *Oxford Reference* webpage [online].
124. In the list of Italian authors by Zucconello, there is also a second version of the name: *Giacobo* instead of *Iacopo*. See *Del Giardino De' Poeti*, sheet A2r. This could be a misprint, however, the entire collection does not feature any other author of this name for comparison.
125. On Polish political poetry of the period, see J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni*, Warsaw 1969.
126. The siege of Połock of 1579 inspired commemorative publications in Italy. See Basilius Hyacinthus Vilmensis, *Panegyricus In Excidium Polocense atq[ue] in memorabilem Victoriam Stephani ... Cal. Septemb. MDLXXIX. reportatam. Basilij Hyacynthij Vilmensis ... Accesserunt in fine nonnulla Epigrammata*. Patauii MDLXXX; and F. de' Nobili, *De Rebus Gestis Stephani I. Regis Poloniae Magni Ducis Lithuaniae, Etc. ... Narratio. Edictum Regium etc. ad milites*. Romae MDLXXXII.
127. T. Kruppa, *Tradycja rodzinna i mit genealogiczny w zwierciadle probatoriańskiej i antyprobatoriańskiej propagandy*, in: *Latinitas Hungarica. Łacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, eds. J. Axer, L. Szörényi, translated from a Hungarian manuscript by J. Snopce, Warsaw 2013, p. 150.

his love of science and scholars, and support of education. the Italian work is Giacomo Zabarella's poem. the Latin epigram was written by a certain Basilius Hyacinthus Vilmensis.¹²⁸

Since Zabarella's epigram is both short and unique, I will present it in its entirety, both in the Italian original and in an English translation. It clearly shows how important was the harmonious development of knightly virtues coupled with intellectual ones. An illustrious professor himself, he was also an imperial knight, son and grandson of a knight¹²⁹ and founder of a knightly academy for young men. To him, Stephen Báthory must have been a model monarch, an example to be followed also in Italy. Pompous to the modern ear, the exceptional praise of King Báthory contained in the dedication probably could not have been merely a rhetorical tool but an expression of genuine acclaim.

128. I. Zucconello, *Viridarium poetarum*, p. 41: *De Ser. Stephano Nascente*. Both epigrams were discussed by T. Kruppa (op. cit., *ibidem*), who also published a translation of an excerpt from Zabarella's epigram. Zucconello published a total of four different epigrams by Basilius, which he had published before alongside other epigrams in his *Panegyricus* (sheet E3r/v). It was reissued by S. Ciampi, see *Bibliografia critica*, Tomo III, p. 125. Little is known about Basilius except for the fact that he was the author of *Panegyricus*, a work in praise of Báthory's victory at Połock. Its identification was attempted by D. Antanavičius, *Who Was Basilius Hyacinthus Vilmensis, the author of "Panegyricus in excidium Polocense" (Padua, 1580)? An attempt at authorship attribution* (the original text in Lithuanian in: "Senoji Lietuvos literatūra" 47 (2019), p. 101–122; the English title and abstract are made available by Lithuanistika Database [online]). Windakiewicz suggests that Basilius was one of the initiators of the Latin section of Zucconello's poetic album in praise of Báthory. See S. Windakiewicz, *Padwa*, p. 76.
129. His father Giulio (Iulius) was member of a knightly academy and proved his skill in chivalrous competitions. See A. Riccoboni, *In obitu Iacobi Zabarella*, sheet Br. Like his grandfather, he wore gold insignia of a knight. See Lollino, sheet 39v. the title *Comes Palatinus* inherited by Zabarella from his grandfather and father was connected to the title of the Imperial Knight: *Cavaliere dell' Impero*. See G.P. de' Crescenzi, *Presidio Romano*, p. 525, col. I. His grandfather's name was also Iacobus, but followed by IV (Iacobus IV, Giacomo IV). See A. Riccoboni, op. cit., *ibidem*; A. Portenari, *Della Felicità di Padoua*, p. 257. Giacomo Zabarella's grandson and namesake, together with G. Cavaccia, claim that King Báthory in his gratitude for the dedication of *Opera logica* appointed Zabarella his knight: "Opera Logica Ser.[enissimo] Stephano Bathorio Poloniae Regi dicauit, a quo ideo Eques creatus, & alijs honoribus decoratus fuit," *Aula Zabarella*, p. 131 (see footnote 68 above). the text was first noticed by W.F. Edwards, *the Logic of Iacopo Zabarella*, p. 53. However, as noted by R.S. Westfall, *Zabarella, Jacopo*, paragraph 8 [online], the story appears not to have any confirmation in records.

Da quel giro celeste, onde guardando
 Stà Gioue i nostri mali, e con benigni
 Influssi ne consola, hor che maligni
 Mostri la nostra età van deprestando;
 Discese vn tal, che quelli posti in bando
 Par che dal prisco honor nulla traligni
 Serenissimo STEFANO, che i Cigni
 À l'immortalità van consacrando:
 Questi sol, Questi à guerre, e à paci nato,
 Non pur oltr' Aquilon allarga il Regno
 Ma'n quel desta i bei studi, e'l fa beato:
 Ma spero, che, com'hora il nome degno
 Sona fra Noi, cosi ch'al primo stato
 Tornerà Hesperia, ed ei ne fia 'l sostegno.

From the circle of heaven, where Jupiter
 Looks at our anger and alleviates it
 With his influxes,^a at the time when we
 Come under attack of ominous monsters,
 A man has descended to chase them away.
 The world sees the ancient unblemished honor
 of Serenissimo STEFANO, whom the song
 Of Swans^b consecrates to immortality:
 Born like the Sun shining both in peace and war,
 Not only beyond Aquilon he extends his Kingdom,^c
 But adorns it with learned schools, making it happy.^d
 And I hope that as his noble name now reverberates
 Among us, thus edified [by his good example],
 Hesperia^e shall return to its first state [of glory].^f

- a. Bartholomew the Englishman (Bartholomaeus Anglicus) wrote in 1601 that Jupiter's influences are invariably positive according to astrologers and signify "wisdom, reason, and truthfulness" as well as "respect, honesty, faith, and discipline"; besides, Jupiter strengthens the "benevolence of any other sign [of the Zodiac] when he dwells in this sign, except for the twelfth." Jupiter is a "benevolent, warm, and humid" planet also according to physicians, and when combined with other planets, it "brings about good and useful effects." See E. Grant, *Planets, Stars and Orbs. the Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687*, Cambridge 1996, p. 468. On the effect of planets and 'influxes' (influences) see Z. Liana, *Okultyzm a nauka*, pp. 186–199.
- b. Zabarella makes a reference to the swan song (*i cigni consacrano*). In Greek mythology, the swan was a bird sacred to Apollo, god of music and prophecy for it was believed to have predicted its own death, singing an admirably harmonious song shortly before it died. It was also believed that the swan had an immortal soul and that its song presaging its death was an expression of the joy at the imminent liberation of the soul from the mortal body. That is why the swan has become a symbol of poets and the word 'swan' was used in place of 'poet'. This meaning of the word *cigno* was intended by Zabarella in this line. Cf. *Dizionario storico mitologico di tutti i popoli del mondo*, compilato dai sign. G. Pozzoli, F. Romani, A. Peracchi ..., tomo 1, Livorno 1829, p. 422, entry: 1. *Cigno*.
- c. Aquilon (Greek *Βορέας*, Boreas) in Roman mythology was a god associated with cold and gusty northern wind and also the north as a direction. Cf. the entry *Boreasz*, in: W. Kopaliński, *Słownik mitów i tradycji*, Warsaw 1985. It is in this sense that the Vulgate refers to the king of the northern kingdom (the Seleucid Empire) as *rex aquilonis* in the Book of Daniel (Dn 11: 6–15). In the case of Báthory, Zabarella presumably means Poland's northern borderlands.
- d. Cf. Zabarella's words from his dedication (1578 edition of *Opera logica*, sheet a3r): "si inter mortales sola philosophorum vita *beata* est, vt sapientes omnes censuerunt,

- beatissima* certè est sub rege philosophante vitam agere philosophando". In Dante, the expression *il beato regno* meant paradise, *il paradiso*. Cf. F. Tollemache, *Moralità*, in: *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, 1970 [online]; made available by Treccani.
- e. *Hesperia* (*Ἑσπερία*) is the name used by the Greeks with reference to Western lands, particularly the Italian peninsula. According to Greek and Latin mythology, Aeneas, led by fate, reached Hesperia on his ship and begot Romulus, his son, there. See M. Guarducci, *Nuove osservazioni sulla lamina bronzea de Cerere a Lavinio*, in: eadem: *Scritti scelti sulla religione greca e romana e sul Cristianesimo*, Leiden 1983, p. 274.
- f. In medieval theology (e.g. Hugo of St. Victor) and later on, *il primo stato* referred to by Zabarella signifies the condition of man before the original sin (*natura retta*), the second state is the present one, i.e. that of sin [corruption] (*natura corrotta*), whereas the third one is one of 'glorious nature' (*natura beata*). See F.M. Giraldi, *Viaggio Del Paradiso. Distinto in dieci Giornate.... Del ... padre D. Francesco Maria Giraldi da Mondolfo ...*, Venetia MDCVII, p. 234. Metaphorically, the first state could mean greatness before the age of the *corruption of arts* (*corruptio artium; corruptae artes*). With regard to the latter expression, see J.L. Vives, *Joannis Lodouici Vivi Valentini De Disciplinis Libri XX*. Antuerpiae MDXXXI, vol. 1, which contains seven volumes of *De Causis Corruptarum Artium* (cf. *ibidem*, sheet Av. Br. G3r, etc.).

Appendix

Serenissimo Stephano Poloniae Regi Magno Duci Lituaniae
et Principi Transyluaniae Iacobus Zabarella S.P.D.
[Salutem Plurimam Dicit]¹

Veram ego semper existimaui esse illorum sententiam, STEPHANE Rex potentissime, qui dixerunt hominum alios ad imperandum, alios ad obediendum nasci;² sic enim natura nec mundum vniuersum,³ nec in mundo rem vllam è partibus dignitate paribus existere vnquam voluit, sed hanc præ[æ]

1. *Iacobi Zabarellae Patavini Opera logica* Ad Serenissimum STEPHANUM Poloniae Regem; Venetiis, Apud Paulum Meietum Bibliopolam Patauinum, M.D.LXXVIII, sheets a2r–a4v. On other publications of the dedication, see introduction by Z. Liana, *Jakub Zabarella autor dedykacji królowi Stefanowi Batoremu*. I did not modernise the Latin text; instead, I left it in the original version, spelling out abbreviations and correcting mistakes.
2. Zabarella writes in the plural, suggesting that this manner of addressing is commonly acceptable. However, it does have one source, an oft-quoted passage from the third chapter of the first book of Aristotle's *Politics*. See *Polityka* (1254a, 21–24), in: *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 6, Warsaw 2001, p. 30, section 8. the entire passage where Zabarella writes about the natural hierarchy of power in the world and in the human being reiterates theses contained in this chapter (ibidem, sections 8–13.20). From among many, at least six, different Latin translations of *Politics* available in Zabarella's times, the translation by I.L. Strebæus (J.L. Strebée) is the closest to Zabarella's wording: "Et statim principio nascendi quædeam videntur esse distincta, alia ad imperandum nata, alia ad obtemperandum..." *Aristotelis Politica ab Iacobo Lodoico Strebæo ... conuersa*. Parisiis, Ex Officina Michaelis Vascosani. M.D.XLII, p. 9. Note, however, that Zabarella had a perfect command of Greek and was able to interpret any Greek text available at the time, e.g., *Ἀριστοτέλους Πολιτικῶν Βιβλία οκτώ*. *Aristotelis Politicorum Libri octo*, Argentorati per Vundelianum Rihelium. Anno M.D.XL, p. 10. Note also that the Aristotle's dictum was the subject of a heated debate between the proponents and opponents of natural equality of all people. See a letter of 1616: *Dan[iel] Heinsius Georg[i]o Richtero De Seruitute Naturali* (Lugduni Batavorum, Anno 1616), in: *Georgii Richteri Epistolae selectiores ad Viros Nobilissimos ...*, Norimbergæ, Typis & Sumptibus Michaelis Endteri, Anno M.DC.LXII, p. 142ff.
3. Modern spelling: *universum*. As most Latin texts of the period, this one does not differentiate between phonemes *v* and *u*, representing both either as the letter *v* (at the beginning of a word) or *u* (in the middle of a word).

esse, ac regere, illam parere, ac regi; quod cum in cæteris omnibus rebus, tum potissimum in homine ipso inspicere possumus, quum enim animo, & corpore constet, animus ei ad regendum, & imperandum, corpus verò ad obediendum, ac seruiendum datum est. Eos igitur homines, qui quantum animus corpori præstat, tantum ipsi virtute alijs hominibus antecellunt, natura Reges, & ad imperandum natos esse, gentesque omnes, si ab huiusmodi viris regerentur, beatas fore credendum est. Sed hunc naturæ ordinem praua consuetudo, prauique hominum mores peruerterunt, quemadmodum enim plurimos inuenias, in quibus appetitus, qui natura seruus est, rationi, cui obtemperare deberet, dominetur; ita regnare, & imperare aliquando visi sunt homines nequam, & vitiosi, & Regia dignitate prorsus indigni; cuius mali causam putandum est esse illam, quam omnes ferè nationes seruare solitæ sunt, obtinendi imperij rationem; ius enim regnandi hæreditarium faciunt, & à parentibus ad filios per successionem transire volunt, quasi non sæpe videamus filios à parentum virtute plurimùm degenerare. Plerique etiam {azv} per vim & patriæ libertatem, & regna quoque aliena occuparunt quorum magna pars insigni auaritia, & crudelitate præ[æ]diti esse consueuerunt. Quòd si gentes singulæ suo arbitratu⁴ sibi Regē[m] deligerent, semper viri lectissimi, & qui virtute alijs anteirent, regnare conspicerentur. Huius quidem rei exemplum præclarissimum illustrissimi Poloni Proceres⁵ nunc

4. The text reads *abitratu*.
5. It is unclear in what sense Zabarella used the word *proceres*. We do not know whether he was aware of the complex story behind Báthory's election to the Polish throne and if he discriminated, like Ulrich von Werdum or Klement Janicjusz, between aristocratic *proceres* (magnates) and ordinary *nobiles* and *equites*. See X. Liske, *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce: L. Naker, U. Werdum ...*, Lvov 1876, published by Gubrynowicz and Schmidt, p. 92 (a translation of a passage from the journal of Ulrich von Werdum's journey to Poland of 1670–72); and *Temat zgody politycznej w twórczości Klemensa Janicjusza i Jana Kochanowskiego* (discussion), in: *Inspiracje platońskie literatury staropolskiej*, eds. A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, P. Stępień, Conference materials..., Warsaw 2000, p. 277. In Aurelius Victor (4th c.) the word was used in reference to Roman senators, but the term also had a more general meaning and, according to its origin, stood for those who surpassed others in strength, nobleness, power, and wisdom. See F. Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1242 and *Sexti Aurelii Victoris, Liber de Caesaribus (1.1) ...*, recensuit F. Pichlmayr, Lipsiæ in Aedibus B.G. Teubneri, MCMXI, pp. 77, 205. On the intellectual connotation of the concept of *proceres* (*arystokracja*), see A. Nowicka-Jeżowa (a voice in the discussion) in: *Temat zgody politycznej*, p. 277. This connotation would be something that Zabarella could relate to particularly well since, like the ancient masters, he thought that the ability to rule and wisdom are two interrelated natural traits, not necessarily exhibited by those who reign by succession.

omnibus gentibus præ[æ]buerunt, nec possum ipsorum iudicium, & probitatem, & prudentiam non maximopere admirari; illius enim regionis amplissimæ, & opulē[n]tissimæ[æ] Regem electuri non ignorabant esse in eorum numero complures, qui & genere, & virtute eo honore dignissimi, & ad maximum illud regnum administrandum aptissimi erant; sed quum te, licet alienigenam, omnibus regijs virtutibus exornatum, quasi Lunam⁶ nocte serena inter cætera astra fulgentem, inter omnes mortales insigniter eminere conspicarentur, in te vnum conuersis omnium animis te summa omniū[m] ordinum consensione Regem declararunt; iam enim perspicua, & præ[æ] oculis omnium erant ea, quæ[æ] magna cum laude in Transyluania⁷ gesseras, vbi nobilissima stirpe natus simili populorum electione iam pridem illius bellicosissimæ[æ] gentis Princeps creatus fueras. Sed ea, quæ nunc in administrando Poloniae regno gessisti, non modo populos illos tuæ ditioni⁸ subiectos, sed alias quoque gentes, ac nationes, ad quas tui nominis fama perlata est, magna tui admiratione affecerunt; multorum enim Regum, & Imperatorum memoria colitur, qui belli, multorum etiam, qui pacis artibus claruere; sed qui in vtrisque excelluerint, pauci admodum reperti sunt; singuli nanque ad singula nascimur, nec omnes simul animi dotes prouida Natura singulis frequenter contribuere solita est, sed perpaucis, qui miraculo cæteris hominibus forent, & qui ijs gubernandis, ac instruendis præficerentur.⁹ Te

6. The symbol of the Moon was used in Christian literature for two reasons. Firstly, it reflects the sunlight, and secondly, it wanes and waxes cyclically. Inasmuch the Sun stood for Christ and eternal life, the Moon for these two reasons symbolized the pilgrim Church on the way and mortal and vain earthly life (*mortals*). See Hraban Maur, *De universo*, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. J.P. Minge, vol. 111: B. Rabanus Maurus, Parisiis 1864, published by J.P. Migne, coll 268ff. Hraban Maur also supplies other meanings, irrelevant to this study. Zabarella obviously links the Moon semantically with earthly life, at the same time emphasizing its domination over all other lights (stars and planets) which stand for other mortals. Such additional symbolic meaning of the Moon is proposed e.g. by Duns Scot, who in his commentary to Aristotle's *Physics* sees the Moon and the Sun as two best known (*maximè nota*) heavenly bodies (*astra*) and claims that the author of the Book of Genesis rightly refers to them as *duo luminaria magna* (*Vulgata*, Gen. 1, 16). See *Ioannis Duns Sctoti, In VIII. Libros Physicorum Aristotelis Quæstiones ...*, *Tomus secundus. Lugduni, Sumptibus Laurentii Durand. M.D.CXXXIX*, Lib. IV, Quæstio XVI, p. 284. the symbolism of a wise king who shines with the reflected light of Divine Wisdom cannot also be excluded. See the previous footnote on the intellectual meaning of the term *proceres*.

7. In Polish: 'Siedmiogród.'

8. In classical Latin: *dicionis*.

9. Here Zabarella makes another reference to Aristotle's *Politics*. See footnote 131 above.

vero, Rex præstantissime, in his paucis non modo numerandum esse, sed etiam mirum in modum excellere quis non videat? magna nanque res est Regem in bello summam prudentiam, ac fortitudinem præ[æ]seferre; in pace tum omnia prudenter agere, tum philosophari; & æquè vtrisque temporibus iustitiam colere, temperanter viuere, & clementia, liberalitate, ac magnificentia nemini concedere; sed & his omnibus virtutibus singulariter insignē[m] esse, & tum tempore pacis omnia, quæ[æ] ad bellum attinent, prouidere, tum belli tempore studia pacis non intermittere, qualem te esse & {a3r} homines prædicant, & tua facta declarant, maximum certè est, & nescio quid videtur habere diuinitatis. Tu quidem rei militaris peritia nulli Imperatori secundus omnium liberalium disciplinarum cognitione, & eloquentia, qua plurimum vales, Regibus, ac Principibus omnibus, qui ad hæc vsque tempora extiterunt, anteire contendis; ferunt enim te in sapientiæ, ac bonarum artium studia¹⁰ ita sedulò, & enixè incumbere, vt ab ijs ne ipsum quidem bellum, & maxima, quam in eo gerendo adhibes, cura, ac diligentia te auertere possit; idque hoc anno tota fermè Italia non sine magna admiratione experta est; quum enim ab vrbe Regia longè absens in vltimis regni tui finibus bellum gereres, ad omnia ferè Italiæ Gymnasia, ad Patauinum præsertim, Nuntios misisti, qui literatos¹¹ viros omniumque disciplinarum professores Cracouiam magnis propositis præmijs tuo nomine aduocarent, quanuis enim in illa nobilissima vrbe gymnasium vetustissimum adhuc floreat, in quo viri, vt audio, eruditissimi omnes liberales disciplinas magna cum laude profitentur; eo tamen tu non contentus, simulatque regnum inisti, nouam Academiam accersitis ex Italia doctoribus extruere constituisti; tantus enim te sapientiæ, ac literarum amor tenet, vt neque absentia, neque bellum,

10. On the translation of *bonae artes* as *noble arts* ('sztuki szlachtetne'), see Jan Rybiński, *Księga elegii podróżnych [Hodoeporicorum liber unus]*, eds. W. Ryczek, E. Buszewicz, Warsaw 2015, p. 74ff, note 21. In the tradition traced back to Cicero, *bonae artes* signified the entire learning, i.e. what was later described as liberal arts. Since the 16th century, due to Erasmus of Rotterdam, a new term *bonae litterae* was used. In this spirit, Jakub Górski wrote about King Stephen in his *Paraenesis* to professors at the University of Krakow that *amor eius erga litteras, patrociniumque singulare bonarum artium; quorum splendore non minus, quàm Regni maiestate illustratur (Apologia ... pro Academia Cracouiensi ... Vnà cum Parænesi, Cracouiæ. In Officina Lazari. M.D.LXXXI, sheet Fr)*. There was yet another tradition, dating back to Salustius, who applied the term *bonae* and *malae artes* to make a distinction between *viri boni* and *viri ignavi*. See a commentary by C. Sallustius Crispus, *Bellum Catalinae*, ed. P. McGushin, A Commentary by P. McGushin, Lugduni Batavorum MCMLXXVII, p. 43.
11. In classical Latin: *litterarus, litterae, litteratura*.

neque amplissimi Imperij nouitas vel honestissimo tuo desyderio obsistere, vel retardare animum tuum potuerit. Hoc verò omnium animos in admirationem, tuique nominis reuerentiam conuertit, præsertim nostræ huius Patuinæ Academiæ, omniumque, qui hic sunt, studiosorum, ac literatorum hominum, qui tuam eximiam liberalitatem, & magnificentiam, & singulare sapientiæ[æ] studium aliasq[ue] regias virtutes, quarum fama iam per omnes gentes vulgata est, quotidie celebrare, ac laudibus in cę[æ]lum ferre non desinunt. Id quidem de me ipse profiteri possum, tantam esse meam erga te obseruantiam, vt in te absente colendo,¹² ac venerando nemini cedam, nilque in hac vita magis optem, quàm vt commoda oblata occasione Italiam cum Sarmatia commutare, & te præ[æ]sentem colere, tibi que inseruire, & si quid est in me ingenij, ac virium, id omne ad arbitrium tuum conferre, ac denique sub tuo nutu vitam traducere mihi liceat nam si inter mortales sola philosophorum vita beata est, vt sapientes omnes censuerunt, beatissima certè est sub rege philosophante vitam agere philosophando.¹³ Propterea

12. See 9th letter from Cicero to Appius Pulcher (*Appio Pulchro*): "cognosse te ex iis, qua in te absentem fide, qua in omnibus officiis tuendis erga te obseruantia, & constantia fuissem" (emphasis mine – Z.L.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistolae Familiæ. Dictæ Paulli. Manutii studio ... Addita ... conducentia*. Aldus Iunior Venetis MDLXXVI, p. 71.
13. We find similar words in M.A. Muretus's letter to King Stephen Báthory of 1 December 1577: "... qui solus hodie confirmat uetus dictum hominis sapientissimi, tum demum beatas ciuitates fore, cum aut philosophi regnarent aut reges philosopharentur ...," ... *Epistolæ*, Parisiis. Apud Robertum Coulombel. 1580, p. 84v. Polish translation of the passage by Muretus is supplied by K. Mecherzyński, *Świadectwa uczonych krajowych i postronnych o kwitującym stanie nauk w Polsce w wiekach dawniejszych*, „Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego” XIII (1829), Kraków, p. 247, note y. Muretus's text is almost a direct quote from Lactantius, who presented Plato's views and words from the fifth book of *the Republic*. See *Platona Państwo*, Warsaw 1990, book V. no. XVIII (473d), p. 290; and L. *Coelii Lactantii Firmiani Diuinarum Institutio Libri Septem: Eiusdem ... Carmen de Dominica resurrectione. Cum Indice ...*, Antuerpiae, Apud Viduam & haeredes Ioannis Stelsii. 1570, p. 239 (lib. III, cap. XXI). Plato's words in Marsilio Ficini's translation into Latin: "Nisi philosophi ciuitatibus dominantur, vel hi qui nunc reges potentesq[ue] dicuntur, legitimè sufficienterq[ue] philosopharentur..." *Omnia D. Platonis Opera Tralatio-ne Marsilii Ficini, & ad Græcum codicem accurata castigatione. Quæ recentis hac editione nostra multo quàm antea ornatiore, & locupletiore sunt facta, opera & diligentia Iacobi Tapia Aldana ... Venetiis, Apud Hieronymum Scotum. MDLXXI*, p. 344, col. I. the words were well-known and cited throughout centuries also in a different version by Cicero, *Epistola ad Quinctum*, 1, 1, 29. See *M.T. Ciceronis Epistolæ ad Atticum, ad Brutum, ad Quinctum Fratrem. Cum correctionibus Pauli Manutii*, Venetii, M.D. LVII, Aldus, p. 347r. On this subject, see also E. Brooks, *Commentary 10.1–2*, in: *P. Rutilii Lupi De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis*, edited with Prolegomena and Commentary by Edward Brooks, Jr., Leiden 1970, p. 59. On

quum superioribus diebus {a3v} nuntij tui, & amici quidam mei plurima, & ea quidem mihi non incognita, de tua humanitate, & liberalitate prædicantes, ac pollicentes me tuo nomine inuitare, ac rogare cę[œ]perunt vt ad te accedere, & in Cracouiensi Academia philosophiam publicè profiteri vellem, ego tum gaudio, tum mœrore¹⁴ affectus sum; gaudio quòd occasionem optatissimam tranquillè beateq[ue] viuendi vltro mihi oblatam viderem; dolorem autem tum quòd Illustrissimo Senatu Veneto, & Clarissimis Patauinae Academiae moderatoribus, qui me ad philosophiam publicè interpretandam conduxerunt, pactione me obligatum sentio, & hinc discedere, nisi facta mihi ab ijs potestate, nec possum, nec debeo; tum quòd etiam si ipsi, vt non omnino despero, id mihi permiserint, ego nunc negotijs familiaribus que[æ] tam breui temporis spatio confici nequeunt, ita sum impeditus, vt non sine magno rerum mearum¹⁵ detrimento patriam hoc anno relinquere possim; familiam quoque numerosam habeo, quam improuisò deserere & mihi molestum, & ipsi perniciosum esset, in Sarmatiam autem traducere onerosum. Veruntamen hæ difficultates animum meum alioqui cupidissimum, & incitatissimum perturbare quidem hactenus, ac retardare, sed non omnino retrahere potuerunt, spes enim aliqua subest eas & dominorum humanitate, & auxilio amicorum, & consilio, & labore posse superari. His contrarijs agitata curis, & de euentu incertus mecum ipse cogitare cœpi qua ratione possem interea meam incredibilem in te obseruantiam, animique deuotionem tibi significare; in mentem venit meum Logicorum operum volumen, quod iam typographo excudendum tradideram, & præter veterem consuetudinem sub nullius patrocinio in lucem proferre constitueram; solent quippe cuncti, qui libros in publicum edunt, patronum aliquem sibi deligere magnæ auctoritatis virum, sub cuius nomine, & cuius auspicijs liber honoratior, & illustrior exeat in lucem, quem morem nulli prorsus reprehensioni obnoxium, sed laude potius dignum esse existimarem, si Reges, & magni Principes vel sapientiæ studijs dediti, vel saltem sapientum, ac literatorum hominum amatores, & fautores, quales priscis temporibus magnum Alexandrum, & Augu-

the expression *beata vita*, see an epigram by Giacomo Zabarella in the introductory text before the dedication in this volume.

14. In classical Latin: *mæror*.
15. See A. Lollinus, *Francisci Picolominei, Iacobiq[ue] Zabarellæ ... vitæ*, Biblioteca Civica di Belluno, manuscript MS 505, sheet 44r.: "Reip[sa]. raro, et non nisi difficili eius tempore (i.e.: uergente ætate) operam navabat, incuriosus privatarum rationum usque ad neglectum, qui tamen de patrimonio, quod illi luculentum admodum obtigerat, parum decerpebat, uxoris domesticorumq[ue] cura acriore."

stum, & Mecœnatem¹⁶ exstitisse ferunt, nostris quoque temporibus haberentur, nec potius in sola belli studia incumbentes, aut etiam in voluptatibus uitam agentes {a4r} sapientiæ studium, omnemque literaturam¹⁷ contemnerent; quo factum est vt tales librorum dicationes multi non modo neglexerint, sed, vt audio, etiam molestè tulerint; quod quidem animum meum ab inscribendo his Libris alicuius nomine prorsus auertit, quum scirem nec me hac inscriptione rem illis gratam facturum, nec multum splendoris eorum nomine, à quibus philosophia tam parui æstimaretur, philosophicis libris accessurum fuisse. Quū[m] igitur, dum liber meus iam sub typis esset, in hac sententia perseuerarem, tu solus præstantissime Rex, in quo cum magna potentia summam eruditionem, & sapientiæ amorem¹⁸, coniunctum esse intellexi, me consilium mutare coegisti; quumprimū[m] enim virtutes tuæ, de quibus etiā[m] ante audiueram, notissimę[æ] mihi esse cœperunt, nil habui

16. In classical Latin *Mæcenas*. See F. Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire latin-français*, Paris 1934, pp. 936, 957 and a list of words in the online edition of Classical Latin Texts by the Packard Humanities Institute; [DOA: 29.062020], URL: <https://latin.packhum.org/search>. In the Renaissance, there were three versions of the name: Mecœnas, Mecænas, and Mecenias. By this, he obviously meant Caesar August (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus) and his friend and advisor Gaius Cilnius Maecenas (Gaius vel Caius Clinius Maecenas). Any sources of this claim are difficult to determine. The views were already common in the antiquity. See a similar text in I.P. Severitan ... *Feretreiodos* ... (sheet Biiii_v): "La[us] oli[m] Augusti & Mecenatis (on the margin). Postremo referam: q[uod] nunc pro carmine uobis Mecenates non sunt: non datur amplius ille Augustus cesar: qui clara poemata sanxit." A similar juxtaposition of Augustus, Maecenas, the Muses and poets we also find in an epigram by S. Lemnius, *Ad Principem Albertum Cardinalem etc. in: M. Simonis Lemnii Epigrammaton libri III ...* Anno Domini M.D.XXXVIII, lib. II, sheet C7r/v. On Alexander and his fondness of orators and poets, see *Aelii Lampridii Alexander Seuerus, ad Constantinum Augustum*: "Oratores & poetas ... libenter audiuit ... Ad Athenæum, audiendum & Græcorum & Latinorum rhetorum vel poetarum causa, frequenter processit," in: *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*, tomus secundus, (D. Erasmus Roterodamus, Antuerpiæ, An. M.D.XVII; published: Basileae 1518, Apud Joannem Frobenium), p. 992. On Augustus as *perculator doctorum* and that his *eloquentiae studio ac religioni mire attineretur*, see Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 16. 8, p. 77.
17. In the 16th century, the term *litteratura* meant works of science and works of art. See J. Trzynałowski, *Litteratura* [online]; [DOA: 28.06.2020], URL: <http://www.eduteka.pl/doc/litteratura>. See also footnote 139 above on the subject of *bonae artes* and *litterae*. The term could also mean *mediocre writings*, i.e. popular literature. See the expression *mediocris litteratura* in Stanisław Orzechowski's letter to F. Comendoni of 1564, M. Kuc, *Pojęcie narodu u Stanisława Orzechowskiego*, in: *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim*, eds. K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, vol.1: *Kultura, instytucje, gospodarka w XVI–XVIII*, Białystok 2007, p. 85ff. note 17.
18. I.e. philosophy (*philosophia*), defined since antiquity as all "exact sciences" (*scientia*), as opposed to areas of study based on opinion and practical skills.

antiquius, quàm tibi, cui iam animum deuoueram, hos libros meos dicare, eosque sub tuo nomine, ac patrocínio in publicum edere;¹⁹ præsertim quum nobilissimo consilio tuo conuenientissima hæc dicatio esse videretur, quum enim philosophiæ[æ], ac bonarum artium studia erigere, & instaurare in animo habeas, nil certè ad id accommodatius esse videbatur, quàm hoc logicorum operum volumen, in quo totam rectè philosophandi rationem nunc alijs non satis cognitam explicandam, & facilem omnium disciplinarum adiutum patefaciendum mihi proposui;²⁰ sic etiam fiet vt libri mei tum nominis tui Maiestate illustrati, & muniti in conspectum hominum honoratissimi, & ab inuidorum morsibus tutissimi prodeant; tum etiam tanquàm nuntij, atque interpretes animi mei summæ meæ erga te obseruantię, quam in præsentia declarare aliter nequeo, specimen tibi aliquod præ[æ]beant. Videbor etiam laudabilem Parthorum morem, institutumque imitari, quibus sine munere, quo obsequium, & obseruantiam suam significarent, ad Regem accedere non licebat;²¹ quum enim non desperem futurum vt paucis post men-

19. W.F. Edwards (*The Logic of Iacopo Zabarella*, microfilm: Ann Arbor (MI) 1961, pp. 52–55) questions the sincerity of the confession and suspects that Zabarella took this opportunity to modify a previous form of the dedication to arrive at a result suitable for a much more distinguished patron. However, we must treat it as a mere conjecture. Edwards's suggestion can only be confirmed by Zabarella's later tendency to dedicate all his works published in his lifetime.
20. In *De Natura Logicæ*, Zabarella supports the claim that logic as a discipline is only a tool and a path to science (*scientia, philosophia*) rather than a science in the strict sense. See *Opera logica*, p. 8. the dispute of the status of logic as a science was transferred from the Greek to the Latin tradition by Boethius. See his *Commentariorum, in Porphyrium a se translaturum, liber I*, in: *Anitii Manlii Seuerini Boethii[i] ... Opera omnia ...*, Basileae, ex Officina Henricpetrina. M.D.LXX, p. 47ff.
21. The information originates from Seneca's 17th letter (Lucius Annaeus vel Anneus Seneca) to Lucilius (ad Lucilium): "Reges Parthos non potest quisquam salutare sine munere." See *L. Annei Senecae Opera, et ad dicendi facultatem, et ad bene uiuendu[m] utilissima per Des.[iderium] Erasmum Roterod.[amum] ... Adiecta sunt eiusdem scholia nonnulla*, Basileae in Officina Frobeniana. M.D.XXIX, p. 92. In the 16th century the phrase was traditionally used in letters of dedication. Authors who opened their dedications with this phrase include Petrus Candidus (15th c.) Augustinus Nipho (1520), and I. Policarpus Severitanus (1522). See *Augustini Niphi ... De falsa Diluuii Prognosticatione, ... Libri tres : ad Karolum ... semper Augustum*. Augustæ Vindelic[orum] MDXX per Sigismondu[m] Grim[m], & Marcum Wyrsum, sheet Aii_r; *Magistri Ioannis Policarpi Seueritani Sibenicensis Dalmate Predicatorii: ad Illustrem Guidobaldum Ruerium ... Feretridos libri tres*, (Callij, 1522), sheet Aii_r; and *P. Candidi ad Diuum Alfonso[m] ... in Appiani Alexandrini historiam bellorum Ciuilium, è Græco in Latinum à se conuersam Præstatio*, in: *Appiani Alexandrini Sophistae, De Ciuilibus Romanarum bellis historiarum libri quinque ...* Lugduni. Apud Haered[es] Seb. Gryphi. 1560, sheet a4r.

sibus ad te ore salutandum, meque tibi totum dedendum Cracouiam me conferam, id quidem si ex sententia successerit, alacrius certè, & audacius præmisso munusculo hoc in tuum conspectum veniam, minusque tanti Regis dignitatem, ac Maiestatem verebor; quòd si voti compos esse non potero, hac saltem ratione, quando alia non licebit, mihi ipse satisfecero, quòd hac librorum meorum dicatione animi quoque mei deuotionem tibi significauero, & opera mea splendore tui nominis multo illustriora reddidero. Tu {a4v} igitur, Rex potentissime, munusculum hoc meæ perpetuæ in te obseruantiaë pignus, & monimentum benignè, & humaniter, vt omnia soles, excipito; quod tametsi ipsum per se tenue, atque exiguum est, si verò cum dignitate, atque amplitudine tua conferatur, tenuissimum; tamen pro virium mearum, quæ maiora præstare nequeunt, conditione maximum, meæque erga te obseruantiaë[æ] argumentum firmissimum iudicandum est. Vale Rex præ[æ]stantissime, & bonarum artium studia, quæ nomen tuum ad astra tollent, amore prosequi, & fouere ne desinas.

Patauij Calendis Maijs M. D. LXXVIII.

To His Majesty Stephen King of Poland,
Grand Duke of Lithuania and Duke of Transylvania,
by Giacomo Zabarella, with greetings

Mighty King Stephen, I have always believed in the truth that some people are born to rule and others are born to obey. By nature, neither the entire world nor anything which exists in it is made up of parts of equal dignity; instead, some of them are sovereign and rule, and some are subordinated to them and are ruled. And, therefore, what is true of all things may also be prominently noticed in the human being himself, as he consists of the spirit and the body. the spirit was given to man to rule and give orders, whereas the body to serve and obey. Thus, we may trust that there are those who are born natural rulers and kings, those in whom the spirit reigns over the body and makes them equally superior in their virtues to others; we may also trust that the peoples ruled by such men are happy ones. Alas, ignoble ways and ill human habits destroyed this natural order. And, since there are many of those in whom covetousness, instead of heeding the mind according to its servile nature, reigns over the mind, one may see despicable and corrupt people among rulers, totally unworthy of the royal dignity. the roots of this evil are to be traced to the order of succession to power, followed by nearly all nations. They make the right to rule hereditary, willing that it should be transferred from parents to children; as if we were not aware how many a time children deviate from their parents' virtue. What is more, many of them {a2v}, raised to indulge in their immense greed and cruelty, deprive [their own] fatherland of freedom, and take other kingdoms by force. However, if people were able to elect their kings according to their own will, they would always be ruled by the best men of all; men who surpass others in their virtue. And so those enlightened and distinguished Polish Noblemen (*proceres*) gave a perfect example of such reasoning, and I hold their judgement, integrity, and circumspection in great esteem. When choosing the King for such a great and wealthy kingdom, they were aware that among them there is no lack of those who by birth and by virtue are doubtlessly worthy of the honor and fully capable of ruling the kingdom. However, knowing that among all mortals you shine the brightest with all royal virtues like the Moon, which gleams among the stars on a fine night, they unanimously and at full consent of all the estates (*ordinum*) proclaimed you their King, regardless of your hailing from a foreign land. For everyone had heard of your glorious deeds in Transylvania, where, born of a noble family, you

had been long ago made Duke of the valiant nation through a similar election. Nevertheless, what you achieved by ruling the Kingdom of Poland, caused great admiration for you not only among nations under your reign but also in other peoples and nations which learned about the glory of your name. We honor the memory of many Kings and many Monarchs who shone brightly in the art of war or in the art of peace; but there are few of those who were unmatched in both. Each of us is predisposed to a different purpose and rarely does providential Nature bestow upon us all spiritual gifts, and only few are seen as exceptional in the eyes of others, those who lead, rule, and reign. Is there anyone who does not reckon that you, the noblest King, are not only one of those few, but you surpass them in an admirable manner? For it is a great thing when a King distinguishes himself with his unique bravery and circumspection at war as well as with prudence and love of philosophy in peacetime; when his acts are governed by justice and moderation; when he has no equals in gentleness, generosity and magnanimity, but remarkably excels in all of these virtues; when in peacetime he arranges for all things necessary for war, and at war he does not neglect what pertains to peacetime. You are this [king] {a3r}, which is proved both by your deeds and the words of men. It is fully certain, and it appears that there is divine cause in it. In the art of war (*militaris peritia*), you are second to no Monarch, and also in knowledge of liberal arts and in eloquence, in which you greatly distinguish yourself, you try to surpass all Kings and Princes who have ever lived. For you are said to care for the study of philosophy (*sapientiae*) and other noble arts⁷ with so much ardor and intensity that neither war nor all effort and involvement which you invest in battles are able to dissuade you from it. This year, entire Italy witnessed your achievements and was full of admiration. Although you were at war in distant borderlands of your kingdom, far away from the Royal City, you sent your Envoys to almost all Italian Gymnasia, especially to [our] Paduan school to encourage learned men and professors of all disciplines to come to Krakow, promising great benefits in return. Although in your respectable city, there is an ancient school in which, as I hear, men of great knowledge lecture on all liberal arts in a praiseworthy manner, this seemed insufficient to you and as soon as you took power, you decided to create a new Academy and invite doctors from Italy to teach there. For such is your love of philosophy and all literary arts (*litterae*) that your absence, war, or the need to acquaint yourself (*nouitas*) with so vast an Empire could not distract you from [the fulfilment of] your noble wish and postpone your will (*animum*). This inspired great admiration and

respect for your name in all minds; especially in our Paduan Academy, where all educated (*litterati*) and learned (*studiosus*) men do not cease to praise to the skies your great generosity, magnanimity and other kingly virtues whose fame spreads across all nations, but above all, your dedication to philosophy (*studium sapientiae*). This, I have to admit, is true for myself, since so great is the respect I have for you that it would be difficult to find anyone who has not met you, yet admires and respects you so much. Thus, there is nothing in my life which I want more than change Italy for Sarmatia at the first opportunity to pay you respect and serve you, leaving all my abilities and strengths at your disposal, and live under your reign. Since, as all wise men agree, of all mortals only philosophers live happily, it is without doubt that the lives of those who can philosophize under the rule of a king-philosopher must be the happiest of all. So, when these days {a3v} your messengers, as well as many of my friends, started encouraging me on your behalf, telling me about your wisdom and generosity, which were not unknown to me, to set off and join the Krakow University and publicly teach philosophy, I was both elated and saddened. Elated—for I knew that I was given a dream opportunity to peacefully live a happy life; saddened—since I knew that being bound by an agreement with the Great Senate of Venice and Noblest Moderators of the Paduan Academy, who entrusted me with public lectures on philosophy, I cannot and should not resign from my duty without their permission; not only that: I also regret that even should I be given this permission, which does not seem entirely hopeless, certain family matters I have to deal with will consume much of my time and do not allow me to leave my home country this year without great harm to my property. I also have a large family. Leaving them would be very difficult for me and disastrous for them; on the other hand, moving to Sarmatia would be extremely onerous. Such difficulties, worrying me as they are and holding back my mind and heart (*animum*) so willing and happy to take advantage [of this opportunity], cannot entirely dissuade me; I still hope that thanks to the understanding (*humanitas*) of my Superiors, and the assistance of my friends and [my own] effort, I would be able to overcome them. Nonetheless, troubled with these obstacles and unsure of [their] final resolution (*eventu*), I began to contemplate how I would be able to express my great respect and devotion to you (*animi devotionem*). So I thought about a volume of my works in Logic, which I just handed over for publication at the printing house. Contrary to an old tradition, I initially wanted it to be published without any patronage. For almost anyone who publishes his books chooses a man of

great authority as its patron so that the book should be held in a greater esteem and prestige under such a patron's name and auspices. In fact, I thought it proper not to entirely condemn this tradition and believed that it would be indeed praiseworthy, but only if the Kings and Princes of our times were equally dedicated to studying philosophy or at least equally passionate about communing (*amatores*) with studious and educated men like in ancient times, as it is said, Alexander the Great, Augustus, and Maecenas, instead of only engaging in the art of war or living a libidinous life, contemptuous of wisdom {a4r} and all literature. Therefore, many of them do not take such dedications seriously, but, as I hear, hardly tolerate them; on my part, I was completely discouraged from dedicating my books to anyone. I realized that I would not add splendor to philosophical books to place in them names of those who hold philosophy in so low esteem, much less please them with such a title. So when my book was already in press and I still was adamant in my resolution, it was Your Majesty who made me change my mind. For I understood that you are a man of great strength, exquisite education, and love of wisdom. And since your virtues, of which I had heard before, presented themselves to my eyes in their full glory, I wanted nothing (*nil habui antiquius*) but dedicate my books to someone to whom I had already given my thought, and to publish them with your name and under your patronage. In particular, it appeared to me that such a dedication would best suit your noble intention. Now, your plan is to erect and establish [new] studies in philosophy and other lofty arts. Thus, it seems that this volume of works in logic will be most appropriate, for I decided to explicate principles (*rationem*) of correct philosophizing not fully investigated by others and to present an easy path (*aditum*) to all disciplines. And so my books, graced and honored with the name of Your Majesty, like my personal (*animus*) messengers and representatives (*interpretes*) shall certify (*specimen*) before you the great respect I have for you, and which for now I cannot express otherwise. [But obviously] you will notice that in doing so I follow the glorious example of Parthians, who were not allowed to approach the King without a gift expressing their obedience and respect. I do hope that in a few months I will be able to travel to Krakow myself, to greet you in person and be completely at your service. If my wish were to materialize, then preceded by such a humble gift I shall arrive before you much more willingly and confidently, since I will not be overawed by the rank and Majesty of so grand a King. However, if I were unable to honor my vows, I would be put at ease by this one thought (*ratione*) that in absence of other opportunities, I was able to

express my devotion to you with my dedication and that the splendor of your name adds prestige to my books. Therefore, your {a4v} Royal Highness, please accept this humble token and proof of my perpetual devotion graciously and magnanimously (*humaniter*) as you are wont to do. Although the gift is in itself indeed humble, unassuming and insignificant compared to your rank and dignity (*dignitate atque amplitudine*), considering my modest abilities which cannot create anything greater, please accept it as the greatest and indisputable proof of my devotion to you. Farewell, Your Majesty, and do not cease your support and loving care for lofty arts since it elevates your name to the stars.

Padua, 1 May 1578

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Abstract

Zbigniew Liana

Giacomo Zabarella, the Author of a Dedication to King Stephen Báthory

In 1577, Stefan Báthory King of Poland decided to create a college in Krakow modelled on the royal college in Paris. To this end, he invited eminent foreign scholars to lecture there. One of them was Paduan philosopher and logician Giacomo Zabarella (1533–1589). He rejected the king's generous offer, but dedicated to him his own work *Opera logica* (1578). This fact has been variously described in European historiography due to an erroneous indication given by one biographer. The present article is an introduction to the edition of the dedication and presents its historical and historiographical context. It opens with a presentation of Giacomo Zabarella's life and work and his exceptional position in the academic world of the era. Next, the historical context of Báthory's invitation and its historiography are discussed. The third section contains socio-economic aspects of the invitation and Zabarella's refusal as well as a cultural and literary context of his dedication. A comparison with similar literary works of the epoch allows to understand its panegyric character and is supplemented with a presentation of Zabarella's Italian epigram in praise of King Stephen along with its English translation.

Keywords:
Giacomo Zabarella (1533–1589), King Stefan Báthory, Cameracense College, 16th century dedications and epigrams

Abstrakt

Zbigniew Liana

Jakub Zabarella, autor dedykacji dla króla Stefana Batorego

Słowa kluczowe:

Jakub Zabarella (1533–1589), król Stefan Batory, kolegium Kameraceńskie, literatura dedykacyjno-epigramatyczna XVI w.

W 1577 roku król Polski Stefan Batory postanowił założyć w Krakowie kolegium na wzór kolegium królewskiego w Paryżu. W tym celu zaprosił z wykładami najwybitniejszych zagranicznych uczonych. Wśród nich był padewski filozof i logik Jakub Zabarella (1533–1589). Odmawiając hojnej propozycji króla, zadedykował mu swe *Opera logica* (1578). W historiografii europejskiej fakt ten przechodził różne koleje losu, stając się ofiarą błędnego zapisu biografów. Obecny artykuł jest wprowadzeniem do wydania tej dedykacji, ukazującym jej historyczny oraz historiograficzny kontekst. Tekst rozpoczyna się od przedstawienia sylwetki Jakuba Zabarelli oraz jego wyjątkowej pozycji w świecie ówczesnej nauki. Następnie omawiany jest historyczny kontekst zaproszenia przez króla Batorego oraz historiografia tego faktu. Część trzecia prezentuje kontekst społeczno-ekonomiczny zaproszenia i odmowy Zabarelli oraz kontekst kulturowo-literacki dedykacji. Porównanie z analogiczną literaturą epoki pozwala zrozumieć jej panegiryczny charakter, a porównania tego dopełnia prezentacja włoskiego epigramatu Zabarelli ku czci króla Stefana i jej angielski przekład.