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The Pen and the School: The Function and Circulation of Manuscripts in the Teaching Practices of the Zamość Academy in the First Decades of the 17th Century

Abstract: Founded in 1594 by Jan Zamoyski, an eminent Polish politician and patron of culture, the Zamość Academy was a civil school with the main purpose of training cadres of the state administration. To achieve this, an educational program was drawn up based on the study of ancient literary, philosophical, and legal culture, sensitive to the evolution of humanism in the late 16th century and placed under the ideal patronage of Cicero. The legacy of this activity is a number of manuscripts, most of which contain commentaries by Zamość professors on classical texts. Examination of these sources can open a window on their formation process, their circulation and function, as well as the teaching practices that presumably gave rise to them. In the second part of the essay, the hypotheses formulated are tested on the basis of a particular case, a commentary on the *Organon* produced in the first decade of the academy's activity.

1 Introduction: The Zamość Academy between Innovation and Classical Education

This essay aims to highlight the importance of some surviving documents regarding the Zamość Academy for the study of early modern teaching and learning practices. The Zamość Academy played an important role in the vibrant cultural landscape of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Existing studies have noted that the aim of the academy, founded by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605) in 1594, was to educate the future ruling class of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by imparting skills considered useful in public life. The purpose of shaping the minds of those who would one day become public servants of the Common-

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wealth is manifested in the documents relating to the organization of the academy. Ranging from rhetoric to geography, from natural philosophy to contemporary law, the educational program was designed to provide truly interdisciplinary expertise that would be of practical value while retaining a strong theoretical drive.

The curriculum of this original institution, unique in Europe at the time, was closely linked to the political life of the Commonwealth. Its founder was clearly determined to shape the Commonwealth through education. To that end, the institution provided lessons appropriate to life within the Commonwealth, while introducing aspects of innovation and importing external influences. Having been educated abroad, in Italy and France, Zamoyski firmly believed that wider European traditions should be integrated into Polish-Lithuanian culture. In this respect, the Zamość Academy was designed to be a fruitful synthesis of traditional and experimental motifs, resulting in both pioneering cultural productions and exemplary teaching based on classical texts.

To this day, a corpus of manuscripts containing notes from the first decades of the 17th century remains the most comprehensive and reliable source of information on the academy's educational activities. These documents report on the teaching activities of the academy during an early but crucial period of its existence. It was during these decades that the academy achieved its greatest success, attracting a relatively large number of students and becoming a leading institution in the country. At the same time, the institution had to search for new ways to consolidate its role and find its identity after the death of its founder and as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth went through difficult years regarding its political stability, facing internal unrest and increasing protests by members of the nobility as well as increasing external hostility.

The notes provide contemporary readers with crucial insights into the topics covered by the professors and the structure of the courses. Their contribution is therefore crucial to understanding how the Zamość Academy actually functioned, i.e., what teaching methods and educational strategies were used. The majority of the notes are part of the Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej library fund (hereafter BOZ), held at the Polish National Library in Warsaw. This fund contains a series of manuscript volumes, bound together at different times. Each volume contains manuscript texts relating to classes held at the Zamość Academy. Other manuscript volumes can also be found outside the fund. For instance, a volume of texts on law and rhetoric that belonged to the student Andreas Sredzinski is currently kept in the Manuscript Fund of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Another volume of manuscripts containing commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon* is part of the Baworowski fund of the "Vasyl Stefanyk" National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv.

This is an exploratory study of lesser-known sources and does not achieve definitive results: its main aim is to highlight the relevance of the surviving manu-

scripts and possibly to foster a debate on their characteristics and role. The first part of the essay is devoted to presenting some prominent features of the manuscripts from BOZ. The majority of these are lecture notes and thus belong to a well-known and extensive genre. That being said, the fund contains notes with different authors and owners, possibly including both teachers and students. Because of these differences, the lecture notes shed a unique light on the life of the academy and can expand our knowledge of early modern teaching and learning processes by providing a Central-Eastern European perspective. Far from being impersonal records of standard courses, the manuscripts reveal details about the people who wrote them and the educational environment in which they lived. To better illustrate the potential of these sources for deepening existing knowledge of the academy, the second part of the essay examines the commentary on Aristotle's *Organon* preserved in Lviv. This handwritten volume has not yet been the subject of detailed study. After a brief analysis of some of its contents and features, some hypotheses regarding its authorship are outlined.

2 The Extant Notes as a Mirror of the Education at the Academy

Originally located in the prestigious Pałac Błękitny in Warsaw, the BOZ fund included books from the library of the Zamość Academy and from private libraries owned by members of the Zamoyski family. The library suffered immense losses during the Second World War. Most of the surviving materials are manuscripts, many of which relate to the activities of the academy (see Kocówna and Muszynska 1967).

The early 17th-century manuscripts from BOZ are rather heterogeneous and portray academic life from different perspectives.¹ They include some cases of private notes meant for personal use, as well as others that appear to have been conceived in order to circulate more broadly. Most of the manuscripts clearly belong to the genre of lecture notes, as they report teachings delivered by the professors of the academy. The majority of them convey commentaries on classical texts. The commented texts are usually divided into sections, the initial words of which are reported on the left side of the page. Greek works, such as those of Aristotle, are generally reported in their original language.

¹ Some of the features illustrated in sections 2 to 4 were briefly addressed in Brotto 2023, 96–97. Here we want to provide a more detailed analysis by highlighting references to teaching practices and individuals operating within the academy.

In some cases, treatises are also presented. For instance, BOZ MS 1518–1521 contains a series of small treatises on ancient political forms by law professor Tomasz Drezner (1560–1616)—respectively, *De monarchia persarum*, *De republica lacedemoniorum*, *De republica atheniensium* and *De republica romanorum*. The same volume also contains a compendium of Plato's *Laws*, also resulting from the teaching of Drezner. In the codex from the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, a *Laus iurisprudentiae, Dikaiotheia*, a work on law by David Hilchen (1561–1610), and a *Compendium artis dicendi* can be found (on this documents, see Brotto 2023 and Viiding 2023).

The existing studies on lecture notes have shown that polished lecture notes were usually compiled after class and represented a reworking of first-order notes taken hastily on less valuable writing supports. As long as second-order notes were produced by reorganizing content, checking references, and giving the text a more definitive outline, first-order notes were often discarded (Blair 2008). Only a careful examination of the manuscripts can determine whether they were neat first-order notes or rather second-order notes created after first-order drafts, but it seems more likely that they were second-order notes.

A possible element suggesting that the notes were not taken directly during the lessons is their overall accuracy as regards the handwriting, the structure of the pages, and the occasional presence of decorated titles. It is also worth noting that accurate diagrams are often included at the end of the commentaries or at the end of certain sections of the text. For example, a commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* by Adam Burski (c. 1560–1611) contains diagrams summarizing the content of Aristotle's chapters. The drawings are also rather well crafted: in Drezner's commentary on the *Institutiones Iustiniani*, a rather elaborate *arbor consanguinitatis* illustrating different degrees of kinship can be found (BOZ MS 1526, 10v). Walenty Ptarmius' (d. 1638) commentary on Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia* contains a geometrical representation of the Ptolemaic universe (BOZ MS 141, 141v).

Dates are frequently reported at the beginning and end of the texts—sometimes at the end of each part, i.e., of different books or chapters of the same work. In BOZ MS 1518–1521, several texts attributed to Tomasz Drezner—namely the aforementioned treatises on ancient political forms of government, the compendium of Plato's *Laws*, and a commentary on Cicero's *De legibus*—are listed between July 1609 and July 2010. Drezner's texts are followed by a long series of *Quaestiones* on Jacques Charpentier's *Descriptio universae naturae* and a commentary on Galen's *Ars parva* by Professor Szymon Birkowski (1574–1626). In total, the volume seems to contain the equivalent of a year's worth of material on law and natural philosophy. This suggests that the manuscripts were perhaps produced on the occasion of courses held at the academy and reported on their content. In other manuscripts, more specific indications can be found. For instance, at the

end of BOZ MS 1515–1516, notably at the end of a commentary on Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, a brief note states that approximately half of the commentary was produced by Adam Burski, whereas the rest was completed by Szymon Birkowski, Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine.² The note suggests that although Burski began commenting on Aristotle’s text, he did not manage to complete it: when he died on February 15, 1611, he had barely reached the halfway point of the second book. The task was passed on to Birkowski, who commented on the remaining parts of the text (Facca 2000, 80–81). Although there is a clear connection between the manuscripts and the courses at the academy, the dates given do not indicate exactly when each lecture took place or what content was presented during the session. Rather, the dates seem to follow the structure of the text. The dates may reflect the general organization of the course, without following its division closely. It may be argued that the dates indicate the beginning and end of the groups of lessons during which the reported material was presented.

It should also be noted that the surviving works cover different time spans. For example, it is possible that Adam Burski’s commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* in the classroom lasted more than two years, from October 1609 to February 1612. The commentary on *Rhetoric* probably took from January 1609 to May 1611. Tomasz Drezner’s commentary on Cicero’s *De legibus*, on the other hand, may have required only a short time: although only the start date is given, it is possible that the commentary was completed before the classes on Plato’s *Laws* began.³ It is possible that the courses at the Zamość Academy were not of equal length. Commenting on such a long and renowned work as Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, or *Metaphysics* could easily take longer than expected. One rule is mentioned in the founding statutes of the academy: “All the material allocated to the professors could not be communicated by them within a year and, still less, be apprehended by the students in such a short time. Thus, whatever cannot be accomplished within one year shall be imparted to the young scholars at greater length” (Lepri 2019, 149). Based on this indication, it can be argued that the courses had varying durations depending on the materials and the approach of the teachers.

Other surviving records raise the issue of the extent and role of private teaching at the academy. Tomasz Drezner dedicated his last printed work, *Institutiones iuris regni Poloniae*, to Tomasz Zamoyski, the son of the Academy’s founder. In the

2 BOZ MS 1515–1516, 581v: “Finis commentarii in tres libris Rhetoricorum Aristotelis ad Theodectem Ab Excellentissimo ac Doctissimo olim piae memoriae viro Adamo Bursio, ad medium fere secundi libri producti. Post ab Excellentissimo Domino Simone Bircovio Philosophiae ac Medicinae Doctore profecti, Anno Salutis 1611 XVI kal. Maii.”

3 BOZ MS 1518–1521, 1r: “A. D. 1609, XVI kal. Juli.”; BOZ MS 1518–1521, 54r: “A. MDCVIII, X kal. Novemb.”

dedication letter, Drezner expressed his intention to make his synthesis of Polish and Roman law, which had previously been taught in the form of private lessons, available to the widest possible audience.⁴ In fact, the initial chapters of Drezner's *Institutiones* can also be found in BOZ MS 1526, which belonged to, and is attributed to, Tomasz Zamoyski (see section 4; BOZ MS 1526, 150r ff. See Bukowska 1960, 212). Drezner may have been referring to the classes held at the academy. It is possible, however, that some of his teachings were delivered exclusively to the son of the founder or to a restricted group of students.

A work included in Biblioteka Jagiellońska's MS 2279 AA VII 6, David Hilchen's *Dikaiomatheia*, raises a related question, namely whether texts by tutors could circulate and influence the education of students despite not being part of the official curriculum of the academy. Although the Livonian humanist David Hilchen was not a professor at Zamość, he was nevertheless involved in educational activities and was able to leave his own mark on the institution, possibly like other scholars who worked as tutors. His text ended up in the handwritten volume of Andreas Sredzinski.

In addition to organizational aspects and educational content, the manuscripts highlight activities of different categories of individuals involved in teaching and learning. Studies have shown that lecture notes could have different geneeses and result from the work of different individuals. In some cases, they were produced by one or more students (See Blair 2016). Students, however, would often rely on the help of qualified scribes who could play a significant role in their education. These individuals, whose identities are rarely known and often impossible to trace, were in a position to be deeply involved in the production of the manuscripts and to make some of the choices regarding their structure. Lastly, the professors were often involved: they could create, or commission the creation of, manuscripts as official documentation of their scholarly work, which could then circulate among peers or be disclosed to students.

The handwritten notes from the Zamość Academy seem to bear trace of all three categories: the students, the teachers, and the scribes. The two following sections address manuscripts with different creators and scopes.

⁴ Drezner (1613, n.p.): "Tibi, libens ac merito, do, dico, addico: ut quibus te studiis privatim pro munere meo imbuerim, ea etiam in publicum prodiant, et lucem aspicere sub tuo nomine incipiant."

3 On the Possible Involvement of Academy Professors and on Some Surviving Private Notes

Although many of the extant manuscripts from BOZ display clear connections to professors at the Zamość Academy, some of them belonged to them and were perhaps written by them. Indications on this topic can be found in a group of manuscripts from the late 1620s and early 1630s.

Manuscripts BOZ 114, 116, and 120 present commentaries by eloquence professor Andrzej Abrek (d. 1656): *Scholia* and *Animadversiones* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* ranging from 1630 to 1634 are reported; a commentary is devoted to Cicero's *De partitione oratoria*. The manuscripts are written by different hands, one of which could be that of Abrek himself. On the title page, BOZ MS 116 and 120 bear an annotation reporting Abrek's name. The final notes at the end of all of the manuscripts all report that the contents were collected thanks to the work and study of Andrzej Abrek, professor of eloquence at the Zamość Academy.⁵ Thus, it appears that Abrek was keen to affix his own name to the notes, to claim authorship and declare them a product of his scholarly work.

Another annotation points to the fact that Abrek's manuscripts circulated among his colleagues. On the first page of his *Scholia in libros tres Rhetoricorum Aristotelis*, right under the decorated title, it is reported that it came "from the catalogue of books of Stanisław Turzycki, professor at the Zamość Academy."⁶ These words indicate that Stanisław Turzycki, professor of poetics at the Zamość Academy (d. 1547), owned the manuscript for a while and included it in his personal library. This document shows that the manuscripts were intended by the teachers as valuable materials. They were shared among colleagues and perhaps played a role in mutual influence and cooperation. The manuscripts that can be traced back to professor Andrzej Abrek show that at least some of the extant notes were fostered or perhaps written by the teachers of the Zamość Academy, who had clear interest in their creation and circulation.

It is then worth addressing BOZ MS 554, which conveys what definitely seem to be private notes. It contains a variety of annotations on physics, natural history, and morals from 1629 to 1636. At the very beginning of the manuscript, an annotation—

⁵ See, for instance, BOZ MS 120, 301r, "Sum M. Andreae St. Abrek Leop.," and 395r, "Collectum opera et studio Magistri Andreae Stanislai Abrek ordinari. protunc in Academia Zamoscen. Eloquent. Professoris."

⁶ BOZ MS 114, 1r: "Ex catalogo librorum S. Turzycki professoris Acad. Zam."

possibly by 19th-century librarian and philologist Józef Przyborowski (1823–1896)—suggests that the owner could have been Gaspar Solcius (d. 1653), professor of medicine at the academy since 1615 (Smoleńska 1991, 113–114). On the first page, a few verses invite to follow the pace of good fortune (BOZ MS 554, 2r). Most of the manuscript consists of a portion of a larger work that was intended to integrate *Pars posterior descriptionis universae naturae* by Jacques Charpentier (1524–1574), a work on natural history devoted to plants and animals. On the one hand, this reveals a specific interest on the part of the author in the medicinal properties of plants. On the other hand, it also shows that Charpentier's work was frequently addressed by professors at Zamość when dealing with natural history and philosophy: the aforementioned BOZ MS 1518–1521 contains *Quaestiones in libros quatuor posterioris descriptionis universae naturae* from 1609, attributed to Birkowski (164r–319v). The manuscript BOZ MS 554 also conveys notes regarding disputations. It reports theses debated during private disputations *de plantis*. It also reports argumentations concerning a *disputatio publica* that touched upon the influence of celestial bodies on the human soul and the human inclination to virtue, thus addressing possible links between astrology and morals. All the texts are written in a hurried handwriting, with frequent corrections. Entire paragraphs are crossed out or rewritten. Most of the texts are incomplete. These features indicate that the notes were not meant to be shared with colleagues or students. The private nature of the document is confirmed by the fact that the paper was previously used for administrative notes: some pages still contain tabs with indications in German. The lessons and disputations reported in the manuscript provide insights into the activities and interests of a scholar who was arguably a rather influential figure within the academy.

4 Were the Students Involved? The Manuscripts Attributed to Tomasz Zamoyski

Some volumes in the fund have traditionally been associated with the activity of at least one student: they are attributed to the hand of Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638), son of Jan Zamoyski, who studied at the academy, following the will of his father, until 1612 (Szczygieł 2014, XVI–XVII; Żurkowski 2014, 10). They constitute a group of 12 works divided into eight volumes, all reporting courses by academy professors. The manuscripts attributed to Tomasz Zamoyski are not the only ones relating to a student. For instance, Biblioteka Jagiellońska's handwritten volume MS 2279 AA VII 61 reports the name of the *studiosus* Andreas Sredzinski and contains a printed version of some theses he officially disputed at the academy. However, the manu-

scripts attributed to Zamoyski are especially important because they convey a great number of commentaries by eminent professors.

Based on the information provided by the Polish National Library, among the first to establish the attribution to Tomasz Zamoyski was the aforementioned librarian and philologist Józef Przyborowski, who organized and directed the BOZ fund when it was first created. Aside from this indication, two elements link the manuscripts to Tomasz Zamoyski.

Moreover, some annotations may indicate that the manuscripts reached the academy collection after the death of Jan Sobiepan Zamoyski (1627–1665). It shows the Jelita, that is, the stem of the Zamoyski family, and the initials of Tomasz Zamoyski—T-Z-C-K, in reference to the fact that he was Capitaneus of Knyszyn. The *supralibros* indicates that the volume belonged to Tomasz Zamoyski.

The first is provided by the *supralibros* on the cover of BOZ MS 1518–521. It shows the Jelita, that is, the stem of the Zamoyski family, and the initials of Tomasz Zamoyski—T-Z-C-K, in reference to the fact that he was Capitaneus of Knyszyn. The *supralibros* indicates that the volume belonged to Tomasz Zamoyski. It is likely that Tomasz passed them down to his son. After that, they became part of the library of the academy (for a description of these manuscripts, see Makowski 2005, 84–85).

The *supralibros* and the annotations indicate that the volumes resulted from the education of Tomasz Zamoyski and were owned by him. The indications of Przyborowski, who had access to many documents of the BOZ fund that were destroyed during World War II and are no longer available to scholars, suggest that the handwriting was that of Tomasz Zamoyski himself. If that were the case, the volumes would thus be the result of a specific educational choice. They would suggest that the teachers at Zamość viewed copying as a formative activity, as a means to appropriate contents. In doing so, the teachers might have followed the precepts of prominent European authors such as Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives (Blair 2016, 270–271). What is more, the educational choice made in the case of Tomasz Zamoyski could have been extended to other students. In this hypothetical scenario, some students—possibly chosen for their abilities and commitment—would be especially integrated into the life of the academy. They would create official notes for at least some of the academy classes. And in doing so they would receive special training; they would learn accuracy by creating an artifact, and they would face classical texts directly. The manuscript could then become of public use within the academy, available to other students and scholars.

This hypothesis is particularly appealing because it would grant a more active role to Tomasz Zamoyski and because it would show that student agency was involved in the realization of teaching and learning tools. A paleographical study of the handwriting of Tomasz Zamoyski could take into consideration other extant documents and compare them to the notes to prove that the hand of the notebook

is that of the son of the founder. For the time being, however, an alternative hypothesis should also be considered.

The education of Tomasz Zamoyski was notably a team effort. As Chancellor Jan Zamoyski wrote his will in 1601, he left the humanist and poet Szymon Szymonowicz (1558–1629) in charge of educating his son Tomasz. Szymonowicz was supposed to supervise the activity of other teachers or to act as a teacher himself. To best succeed, he relied on the help of an old servant, Nagoszki. A variety of measures were put in place to make sure Tomasz would have good morals and would not be led astray by other boys his age (Bielowski 1875, 100). In 1607, specific instructions provided by Tomasz's tutors confirmed that Szymonowicz was supposed to make sure that "the teachers and professors" followed the *praescriptum* and were not negligent, so that they wouldn't show up for lessons unprepared (Bielowski 1875, 100). A document released in September 1607 reported a long list of Tomasz Zamoyski's servants. It was also mentioned that law professor Tomasz Drezner was supposed to sit with Tomasz during his meals, thus putatively providing him with inspiring topics of conversation (Bielowski 1875, 101–103).

These indications suggest that Tomasz Zamoyski was surrounded by many learned individuals attending to different aspects of his life and education. Thus, it could be argued that the notes were perhaps produced by some of these individuals, who would carry out the longest and most extenuating tasks, leaving to Tomasz the duty of memorizing the contents. After all, the educational literature of the 16th and 17th century pointed out that excessive copying could impact education negatively (see again Blair 2016, 271).

The hypothesis that the documents were not written by Tomasz Zamoyski would not make the notes any less relevant. On the contrary, it would make them the result of a shared effort to provide the son of the founder with a high-level education. In any case, whether the notes were written by Tomasz Zamoyski or for him, they reflect aspects of the inner life of the institution, and one can wonder whether they were also made available to others—teachers or selected students allowed to access and copy their content.

5 MS 384 of the Biblioteka "Vasyl Stefanyk" in Lviv: Teaching Logic at the Academy

The manuscripts of the Zamość Academy are very varied in origin and purpose. Whether written by professors, commissioned by them, or produced only for use by students, the manuscripts played an important role in the life of the

Zamość Academy and are valuable sources for tracing the teaching and learning practices within this institution.

Not only do they result from and convey the teachings given at the academy, but their structure and choice of words reveal how the content was planned and presented, or grasped and appropriated. The notes can thus be seen as written traces of how educational communication unfolded, namely, as it was delivered by the teachers or received by the students.

To demonstrate the relevance of this type of documentation, we can now turn our attention to a particular text that may provide useful insights into the teaching practices at the Zamość Academy. We will try to compose in a coherent framework the clues that this text offers, although some of our conclusions can only have the character of hypotheses. We are dealing here with manuscript n. 384 from Baworowski Fund 4, now at the National Library “Vasyl Stefanyk” in Lviv.⁷ It consists of 320 folios and contains an *interpretatio* of Aristotle’s entire *Organon*, preceded as usual by Porphyry’s *Isagoge*. More specifically, in the titles of the individual sections, corresponding to Aristotle’s different books, terms such as *notae breves*, *notae*, *annotatae* are used, whereas *scholia* is reserved for the *Topics*. This terminology, which suggests a series of circumscribed textual units, each in relation to defined parts of the reference text, does not seem to correspond very well to what we actually find, namely, an explanatory, continuous, and homogeneous paraphrase. The manuscript does not give the name of the author of the course taught at the Zamość Academy from which the manuscript itself was derived. A candidate could be the aforementioned Adam Burski, who was a professor at the Zamość Academy from 1596 until his death, and one of the tutors of the dauphin Tomasz Zamoyski. Burski was the author of a weighty ten-book anthology of classical Greek and Latin texts, the *Dialectica Ciceronis* (Burski 1604; Dremierre-Półćwiartek 2020),⁸ which in the form of a dialogue between the proponents of three ancient

7 The manuscript belonged to the collection initiated in the second half of the 19th century by Polish nobleman Wiktor Baworowski (1825–1894), and further enriched after his death. Baworowski, who was also a writer and poet, was particularly committed to collecting texts and memorabilia of all kinds that documented Polish intellectual and cultural history. The collection was later incorporated into the Stefanyk National Library in Lwów and is now the subject of several studies and research projects to reconstruct its history and structure, which so far have mainly concerned printed works (Gwiaździk 2020). Further provenance research would be desirable in order to understand the circumstances of the acquisition of this manuscript, probably due to the fact that it is evidently a polonicum. The Baworowski manuscript collection has been digitized thanks to a project carried out by the Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich—Wrocław (<https://dbs.ossolineum.pl/kzc/opisy.php?info>, accessed on May 15, 2023).

8 Note that the work was known to the leading figure of European neo-Stoicism, Justus Lipsius, who gives a positive, if hasty, assessment of it in a letter to the poet and humanist Szymon Szymo-

schools, the Aristotelian, the Platonic, and the Stoic, presents the Stoic logic-dialectics, specifying its similarities and differences with that of Aristotle. Traces of this comparative method can also be found in MS 384, which at the end of each book of Aristotle gives a concise presentation of the *sententia stoicorum* relating to the part of logic just expounded (Figure 1).

Some other matches with the *Dialectica Ciceronis* may be easily found, such as the list of the six *loci* into which dialectics, defined in the modern way as *ratio disserendi*,⁹ is divided by the Stoics. There is potential for other textual similarities to be found between the manuscript and Burski's major text.

The difficulty in attributing the text to Burski, or determining from which of his courses the text was derived, however, stems from at least two circumstances. The first is that Burski held the chair of moral philosophy (Wadowski 1899–1900, 36)¹⁰ at the Zamość Academy, and we have no verifiable record of him teaching courses in logic, despite his qualifications in the subject.¹¹ The second is the absence of Ciceronian materials in the manuscript we are considering (with one unremarkable exception, see below p. 134). Burski indulging and even deepening the

nowicz, Jan Zamoyski's right-hand man in the organization of the Academy (Dremierre-Półćwiartek 2020 XL). On Burski's alleged Stoicism, see below.

9 F. 4v: "Stoici vero aliam dividendae logicae rationem secuti, totam in disserendi rationem distinxerunt in locos 6, quorum primus est de regulis et iudiciis veritatis, secundus de loquendo, tertio de rebus, quarto de eloquendo, quintus de rationibus, sextus de fallacibus conclusionibus," which summarizes what is set forth in the *Dialectica Ciceronis* (Dremierre-Półćwiartek 2020 92–93) with reference to the Ciceronian *Lucullus*.

10 Wadowski (1899–1900, 76–81) also reports a document from 1600 that contains the first indications of Jan Zamoyski and collaborators on the teaching organization of the Academy, the *Fundatio Academiae Zamosciana*, where the name of the chair in question is "*Philosophiae de vita et moribus, ac re civili*." An edition and translation of the text can be found in Lepri 2019 (143–150), from which we quote with minor modifications. Here is the description: the professor of moral philosophy had the task of explaining "in Greek and Latin the books of *Nichomachean Ethics* by Aristotle. Having exhausted this subject, let him teach *Oeconomics* by Xenophon and the *Politics* by Aristotle and, finally, he shall give a general overview of Plato's *Laws*. At 3 p.m. he shall analyse the book *On moral duties* by Cicero and then explain his views on the Republic compiled from various authors, and those of his books of *On the republic* that have survived. In addition, he shall lecture on the book *On electioneering* [= *De petitione Consulatus ad M. Fratrem*] by Cicero and on the selection of his letters, mostly related to the state such as the councils, the excellence of nobility, and the administration of the province etc." The same professor was then advised to read texts on poetics (Aristotle) and poetry (Pindar, Horace, Homer, Virgil, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca) (Wadowski 1899–1900, 78–79; Lepri 2019, 149).

11 It is worth noting that Maciejowski, who had access to materials that are now lost, reports the existence of a *Definitio logicae seu dialecticae sub Adamo Bursio* of the year 1606. While this information could suggest that Burski did in fact teach logic, on the basis of the title, it seems that this text cannot be associated with our course (Maciejowski 1852, 300–301.)

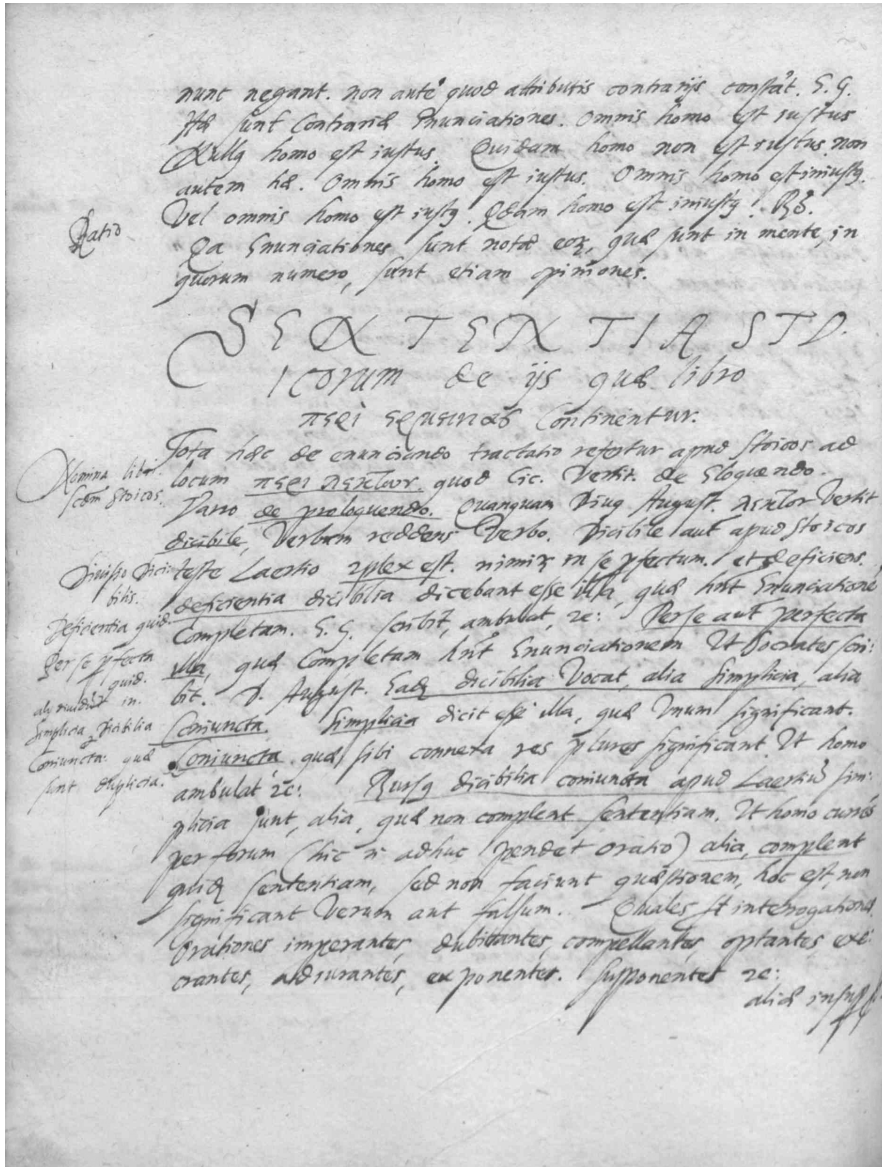


Figure 1: The *sententia stoicorum* about what is taught in the *De interpretatione*, MS 384, 60v.

devotion to Cicero, which Jan Zamoyski had already cultivated, had made the Roman rhetorician the eponymous hero of his reconstruction of ancient logic (Dremler-Półcwiartek 2020, XXXI–XXXIII). Moreover, if one considers his style of

commenting on Aristotle's texts, one quickly realizes the strategic role played in it by Cicero. As mentioned before, a manuscript has been preserved in the National Library of Warsaw (BOZ MS 1515–1516) which contains a long course by Burski on the *Nicomachean Ethics* given from 1609 to his death. Each gloss presents a characteristic construction: the Aristotelian text in Greek is first illustrated with pertinent passages excerpted from Cicero's books (*De officiis*, *De finibus* ...) followed by numerous texts from Greek and Latin literature (Figure 2).

In short, Cicero is used, on the one hand, as the key to understanding Aristotle and, on the other hand, as the thinker who reveals the moral sense hidden in the pages of classical literati and poets. In the commentary on the *Organon*, this typically Burskian compositional mode is somewhat discernible only in the very first pages of the text—while comparing the Stoic and Aristotelian definitions of logic and dialectic, the author quotes Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, *Prior Analytics*, and *Metaphysics* ("Sapientia") (2r), Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on the *Topics*, Cicero's *De fato*, and Plutarch's *De placitis*—while the remaining more than 600 pages are exclusively filled with an explanation of the Aristotelian text, in the almost total absence of verbatim quotations from Cicero or other authors.¹² Note also that throughout MS 384 the Greek text of the *Organon* is not used, but Latin translations, as we shall soon see.

As an alternative to Burski, one could look for other candidates for the authorship of the course on the *Organon*. The first ones who come to mind are the holders of the Zamościan chair of logic and metaphysics.¹³ The first name is that of Szymon Birkowski (*leopolicensis* like Burski), continuator of the course on the *Nicomachean Ethics* after Burski's death, author among other things of a course on Plato's *Timaeus* (BOZ MS 1523) and a competent scholar of ancient discourse techniques, considering that he published a translation and edition of the tract *De collocatione verborum* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Birkowski 1602). However, Birkowski was studying in Italy in the period before 1607, the year he received his doctorate in medicine in Padua, while the start date of the course on the *Organon* is June 4, 1606 (f. 1v).¹⁴ The other holders of the chair of logic in those years are Maciej Jaworowski (Wadowski 1899–1900, 36), Jan Sechini (or Secchini. See Wadowski 1899–1900, 37), though known more for his medical and naturalistic inter-

12 Among the very few authors cited are Thomas Aquinas in the section on *De interpretatione* (f. 38v) and Albertus Magnus and Averroes at the beginning of the *Posterior Analytics* (146r).

13 The original structure of the teachings at the Academy is reported in the *Fundatio* (Wadowski 1899–1900, 77–79; Lepri 2019, 147–150).

14 F. 1v. The date of the conclusion of the course is May 7, 1609 (320v). Only one other date is given throughout the manuscript, February 9, 1609, at the beginning of the *Sophistical Refutations*, f. 285v.

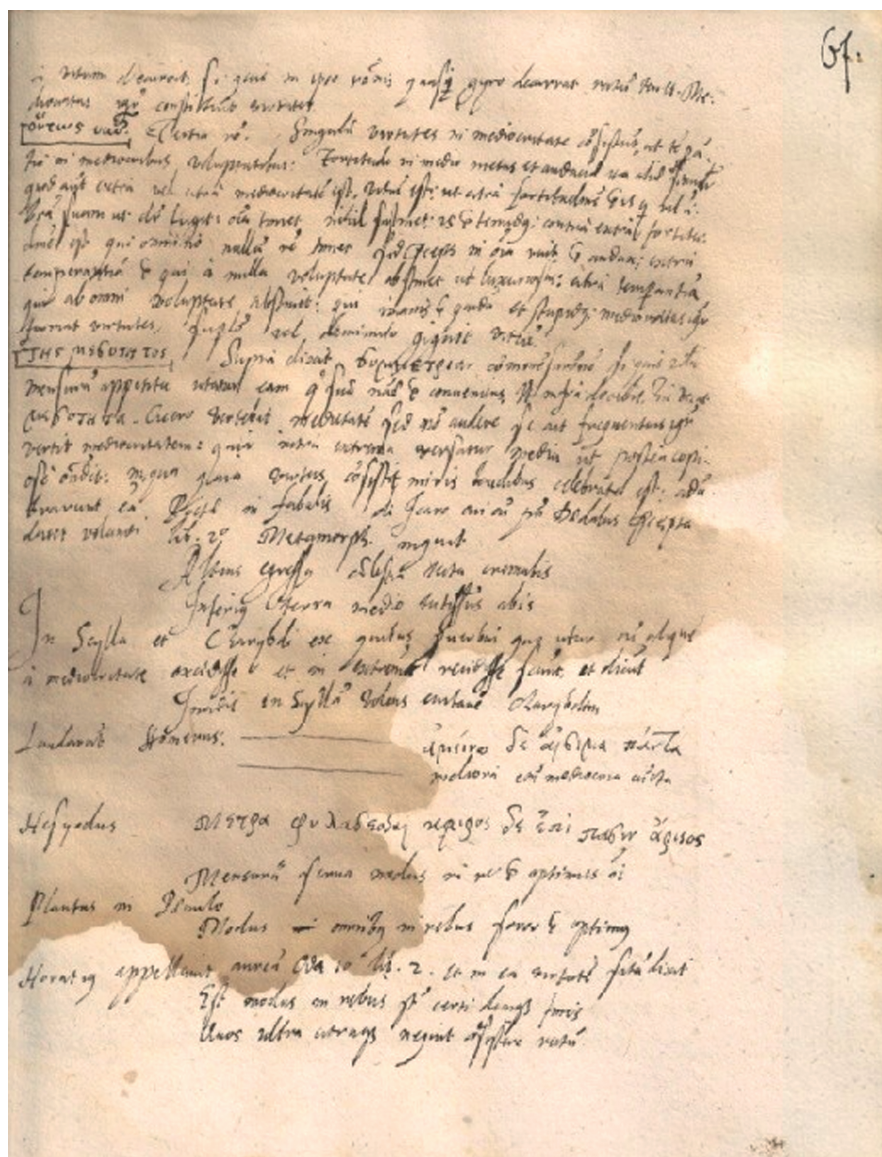


Figure 2: Commentary on *Nichomachean Ethics* (BOZ MS 1515–1516, 67r): the Burskian gloss on *mesotes*.

ests, and Wojciech Siemkowski (Wadowski 1899–1900, 37),¹⁵ who was also rector and among Tomasz Zamoyski's tutors. These, however, are figures with a lower profile and of whose work as Zamość professors we have no precise knowledge.

In this situation, it is difficult to give the last word about the author of the text reported in MS 384. What can be taken for certain, however, is that it is a course that matured in the milieu of the Zamość Academy, with its specific interest in Stoic logic, and that moreover its author had Burski's *opus magnum* in mind. After all, in doing so, the author was merely following the instructions that Jan Zamoyski himself had given at the establishment of the academy. Indeed, in the text of the *Fundatio*, one of the very few surviving documents that gives us any information about the curricula in the early years of the life of this school, the holder of the chair of logic and metaphysics (a diction sometimes replaced by that of *philosophia rationalis*) was assigned the task of explaining “various books of the logic of Aristotle, some in the morning and others in the afternoon.... In the morning, to the boys already familiar with dialectics he [= the professor] will teach metaphysics according to Aristotle and the reading of *Parmenides* by Plato. In the afternoon, he shall analyze (*aperiat*) the dialectic of the Stoics and *Lucullus* by Cicero” (Wadowski 1899–1900, 78; Lepri 2019, 148). If we understand the meaning of these directions correctly as far as the part dealing with logic is concerned, the core of the teaching of dialectic remained the books of Aristotle. The Stoic doctrines and what little or much could be found in Cicero represented a useful supplement, certainly not an alternative. If this was the intention, the course contained in MS 384 is essentially its concrete realization.

Second, these lectures on the *Organon* seem to confirm the assessment of the ideological neutrality of studies on Stoicism carried out in Zamość, especially by Burski (Facca 2000, 132–135). In other words, it is difficult to see here a relationship with late Renaissance neo-Stoicism, usually associated with names such as that of Justus Lipsius. In effect, this intellectual and political orientation had had some diffusion in Poland, if only because two translations of works by Lipsius

15 On Secchini, see Polski Słownik Biograficzny (v. 36, 18–119 = Marek Wagner). Wojciech Siemkowski, a professor at Zamość between 1605 and 1610, appears in the epistolary of the Livonian humanist David Hilchen (Viiding 2022). It is worth noting that Maciejowski reports a 1609 *In Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis logicam commentarius* by Siemkowski (Maciejowski 1852, 300). We have not been able to locate the text mentioned, or to trace it with certainty back to MS 384. The date is slightly different from MS 384, but this information could indicate that Siemkowski taught logic in those years, thus being a good candidate for the authorship of the course that we are now analyzing. To our knowledge, no sources have been preserved for Zamość that indicates what courses actually were taught year by year by the professors. Regarding students at the academy, see Gmiterek (1994).

were published, *Politica* (issued by Paweł Szczerbic in 1595) and *De Constantia* (by Janusz Filipowicz in 1600). However, if we take as a criterion of adherence to some form of neo-Stoic philosophy the explicit endorsement or favoring of the Stoic doctrines presented in *Dialectica Ciceronis*, we should note that in that work, Burski rather maintains a cautious balance with regard to the various positions represented, preferring one or the other eclectically. But even if we leave the rarefied realm of dialectics and look at the aforementioned commentary on Aristotelian ethics, it is hard to discern any distancing from Aristotle on the part of Burski in favor of Stoic doctrines. Consistent with this general orientation, the author of the course on *Organon* in MS 384 explicitly adheres to the Aristotelian conception of logic as an “instrument” of knowledge, while rejecting the Stoic position, which considers it a *scientia*.¹⁶ In short, it seems that the very fact of considering logic, dialectics, and rhetoric as tools devoid of philosophical load shows the un-ideological approach of the Zamość professors to this matter: the techniques of discourse, being merely preparatory tools, are to be subtracted from the philosophical debate and not labeled with the name of one school or another. The technique¹⁷ is the same for everyone; one just has to be willing to learn it. Any developments and additions are desirable on the practical level, because they enrich the learner’s armamentarium, but they do not impact the philosophical level. The academy, as its founder conceived it, espoused no ideological orientation; instead, it focused on its role as educator of future civil servants. It is clear, moreover, of the intent to keep school teaching safe from political and denominational conflicts and also to safeguard the school’s independence from the influence of Catholic religious authorities. One may wonder if democratic nuance is not far from this way of thinking. It may be associated with the need to recruit the most promising young people, regardless of their class provenance.¹⁸ Behind all of this is the revival of the humanistic ethi-

16 F. 2v: All errors in fixing the subject of logic derive “ab ignoracione naturae logicae, quae ita brevis accipe iuxta seaniorem sententiam eorum qui logicam non scientiam, ut Stoici, faciunt, sed instrumentum potius scientiarum esse asseverant. Certum est eam esse disciplinam operatricem, tota enim in eo consisti, ut fabricet instrumenta quaedam, quibus noster intellectus iuvetur in cognoscendis rebus.”

17 The use of the terms “logic” and “dialectic” is unstable, both among the Stoics and in Aristotle. But to avoid ambiguity, the term “logic” should be reserved for all the arts of discourse, for the *facultas disserendi* in general, reserving that of dialectic for the disputatorial technique alone. See f. 2v: “Tu vero quid in hac re sentiendum sit, ita accipe: licere quidem utroque nomine citra omnem religionem indiscriminatim uti, nimirum modo pro universa disserendi facultate modo pro sola illa quae 8 lib. Topicis continetur. Homonimiae tamen vitandi causa rectius hanc cum plerisque interpretibus Aristotelis appellabimus dialecticem, illam vero logicam.”

18 In this light can be read the quotation from Livy placed in the exergue of MS 384, 1r: “Qui sis non unde natus sis repute” (1r). The other three quotations we read here (but seem to have been

co-rhetorical tradition and the Ciceronian patronage that are the hallmarks of the first phase of the life of this institution.¹⁹

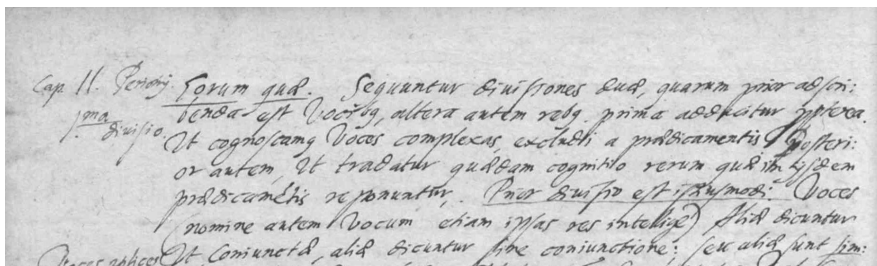


Figure 3: From the commentary to the Categories: “Peronii divisio”, MS 384, 18v.

To return to MS 384, as mentioned above, the text that is used as the basis of the commentary is not the Greek text of Porphyry and Aristotle, but a Latin version. More precisely, it is the translation by Giulio Pace (1550–1635), the most authoritative and influential interpreter of Aristotelian logic of the Paduan school, together with Jacopo Zabarella (1533–1589).²⁰ Another interesting detail are some annotations in the margin that point out, though not systematically, the division of the Aristotelian text in the Latin version of Joachim Périon (1499–1559) and again in that of Pace.²¹ While reporting them though, the author (or the compiler) of the

written at another time) are derived from *Various History* by Aelianus, conveying the idea that it is preferable not to receive material gifts from anyone so as not to be indebted and preserve one's freedom.

¹⁹ Already Wadowski lamented the rapid loss of this original vocation to increasingly pervasive ecclesiastical interference. Our considerations aim to be more balanced, although they may seem far too cautious. Over time, divergent, even polarized views have been expressed on Jan Zamoyski's activity as a politician and a school reformer, from those of the 1800s and first half of the 1900s (e.g., that of Stanisław Łempicki—1886–1947), who unanimously emphasized the merits, one would say demiurgic, of the Hetmann in giving Poland stable and high-profile educational institutions, to the more recent positions, like that of historian Andrzej Nowak, who tackles a black legend in Zamoyski. Imbued with the Machiavellianism learned in Italy, the Chancellor would have pursued throughout his life his own (absolutist?) state design, dangerously contrary to the ideals of Polish republicanism, centered on the institution of elective monarchy (Nowak 2021, chapters 4–9).

²⁰ Pace's translation followed his edition of the Greek text (Pace 1584), published several times.

²¹ For traces of Périon (1551) in the text of MS 384, see, e.g., f. 18v (Figure 3). The division of Pace is reported from chapter II of *Categories*, and between 79r and 159r the divisions of both versions are given. Périon's version was issued also in 1548 and 1567, and in 1584 with a commentary by Nicolas Grouchy.

manuscript adopts another division into chapters, different from the previous two. It is worth mentioning that while Pace represents the Paduan school of logic, well rooted in the medieval Averroist tradition, and in his translation seeks adherence to the *cursus* of the Greek text, Périon's translation of the *Organon* adopts a much freer, humanistic, or more precisely, Ciceronian style. Another edition of the *Organon* that makes an appearance in the margin of our commentary on the part devoted to *De interpretatione* is that of Jacques Charpentier (Charpentier 1567), who was also one of the reference authors for Zamość professors, for his *Descriptio universae naturae* (Charpentier 1576) (Wadowski 1899–1900, 78). Charpentier's Latin version is used as the basis for the commentary on *Prior Analytics*.²² In short, in MS 384, one finds an interplay of French and Paduan, humanist Ciceronian, and late scholastic influences, which is typical for Zamość, and which ultimately derives from the intellectual background of Jan Zamoyski himself, who studied first in Paris and then in Padua. Note also the care not only to represent different commentary traditions, but also to be up-to-date with the most recent scholarly and editorial production in this field.

Finally, the text of the manuscript can be analyzed in search of clues that, together with the indications that have been noted so far, can shed light on the formation process of the manuscript itself. The following circumstances seem relevant in this regard: the indication of only the initial and final dates (with one exception, as noted); the presence of two hands, one principal and one secondary, that wrote the text from 65r to 144vr (Figure 4); the constant and unvarying presence throughout the text of the characteristic annotations in the margin that mark the structure and key points of Aristotelian argumentation (*argumentum*, *divisio capituli*, *primum ... secundum ...*, *praeceptum*, *quaestio*, *solutio*, *responsio*), highlight important points (*observa!*) or provide definitions of the main concepts (*terminus quid?*). In some cases, these marginalia report the headings of alternative Latin editions or translations of the text. The hand of these notes could be the first of the two we have identified, and it seems to be the same throughout the entire book,

22 53r and 65r and v, where in the margin appears the indication *textus Carpentarii*. In his edition of the *Organon*, Charpentier contrary to the traditional order anticipates the properly “dialectical” part, i.e., *Sophistical Refutations* and *Topics*, placing the *Analytics* with their theory of demonstration at the end of the *Organon*. As for the *Sophistical Refutations*, the title of which is rather unstable in the 16th-century editions (in addition to the standard *De sophisticis elenchis* we find, e.g., *De sophisticis redargutionibus* [Pace], *De reprehensionibus fallacibus and captiosis* [Périon]), the manuscript opts for *De reprehensionibus sophisticis*, taken up precisely by Charpentier. Finally, it may be recalled that for Charpentier in the Périon translation quoted above there was more “ornamentation in words than truth and thought,” in short a *pulchra sed infidelis*, that was certainly not an adequate tool in the battle that Charpentier, and Périon himself, were waging in favor of Aristotle and against Ramus and the Ramists.

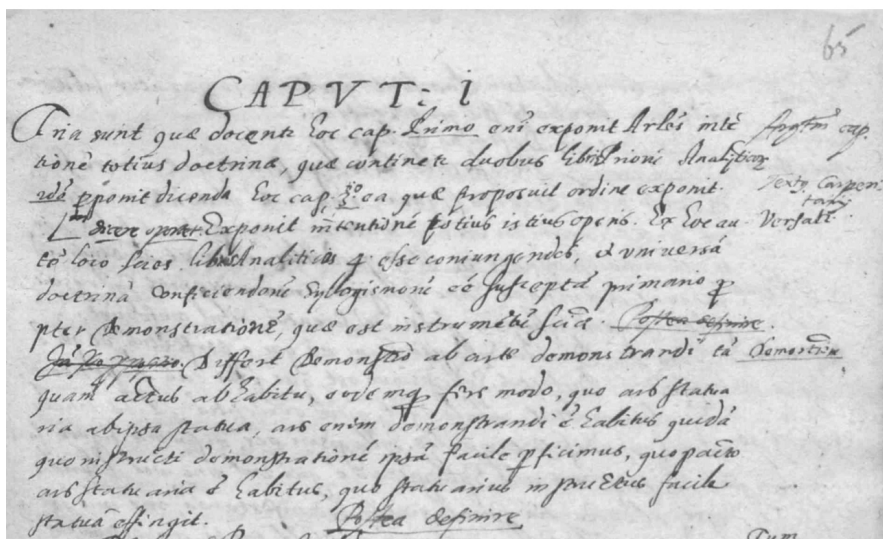
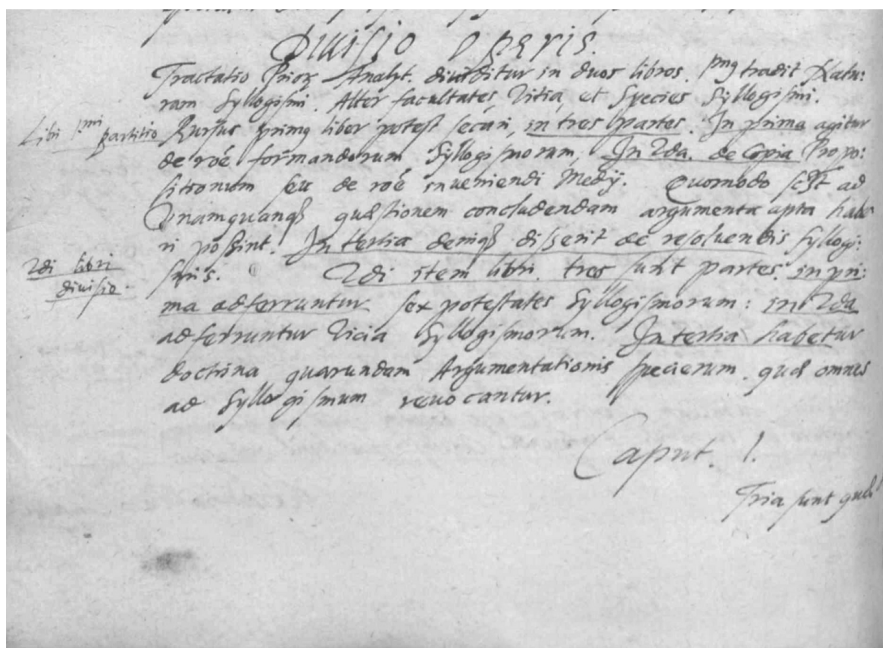


Figure 4: From the Notae to the Prior Analytics: Two hands, MS 384, 64v–65r.

also in the part of the main text written by the secondary hand. However, since the ink of these notes does not always present the same intensity as the main text (e.g.

f. 19v; see Figure 2) [Figure 5], the marginalia seem to have been introduced at a different time. Finally, it is worth noting that corrections, additions, and cuts are sporadic,²³ and also that some well-traced schemes were drawn by the compiler (82v, 88r diagram copied from Périon).

Having said that, we can infer first what the text of MS 384 *was not*, and then make conjectures about what it actually was. First of all, it does not contain shorthand or stenographic *reportationes* i.e., a text written down by listeners or students while listening to an oral exposition. The lack of dates corresponding to the sequencing of the lectures, the regularity of the lines and writing, and the rare corrections seem to rule out this hypothesis. It is also unlikely to be a transcription made by the author of the course, as there are two hands.

A hypothesis could be the following: a systematic (= continuous and full) commentary or paraphrase of *Organon* according to the traditional sequence of Aristotle's work had been presented during class over three years. The subsequent parts of this paraphrase were written down—possibly by the lecturer himself—in the form of a rough copy, a draft. At a later time, these drafts were duplicated in a clear copy by two students and/or secretaries, who were also responsible for annotating the final text in the margin with simple, standardized formulas. Deletions and corrections occurred along these stages, but they were not numerous because the compiler worked side by side with the lecturer. These corrections and additions may also be in part the result of interventions by the professor himself. By this procedure a kind of authorized copy was produced and made available to other students or to anyone for whom it could be beneficial. It was not necessarily a perfect copy, of the kind of those handwritten texts sent to the printer for publication, but one that was already suitable for wider circulation within the academy.

This could go along with the general assumption that at Zamość it was customary to prepare and make available “official” or reference copies of the courses, first of all for the benefit of students. These copies could serve as archetypes for those who wanted to transcribe (*describere*) them in whole or in part. Other manuscripts, especially Burski's mentioned commentary on *Nichomachean Ethics*, lead to similar conclusions.

If so, one may conclude on the one hand that ultimately orality played in the entire process a lesser role than acts of writing (copying, correcting, noting in margins, transcribing) and, on the other, that students were perhaps given a subordi-

²³ One of the few that is of some relevance is provided toward the end of 38v, where only the addition of a few terms allows us to reconstruct the distinction between concepts that mean by nature and spoken and written words that mean by convention (Figure 6).

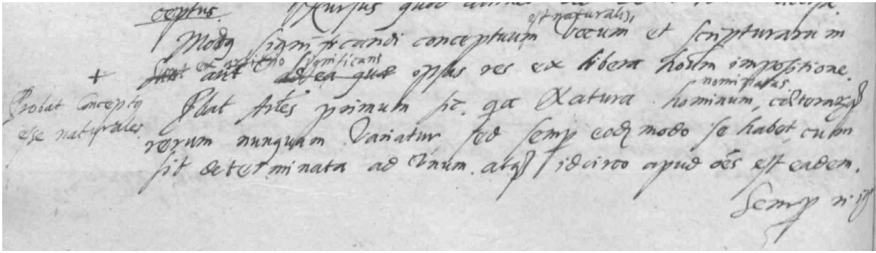


Figure 6: From the Notae to the De interpretatione: “Modus significandi ...”, MS 384, 38v.

ality to the commentary form, in countertendency with the Central European Ramists and Post-Ramist mainstream of compiling systematic textbooks. In the wider context of European school education, however, one may observe that the practice of commenting Aristotle in class was not everywhere in retreat, indeed it seems to know no crisis in the schools of the Jesuits and other religious orders throughout the 17th and even 18th centuries. Further study could show the similarities and differences between these circles and the practices in Zamość.

6 Conclusion: The Inner Life of the Academy

By presenting some of the key features of the surviving manuscripts from Zamość, the first part of this essay has shown that the notes provide a complex portrait of the academic community and show it as being composed of many individuals, voices, and points of view. The notes somehow photograph the educational process from different angles, shedding light on the actors involved in it and their different perspectives. As a result, cultural life at the Zamość Academy is revealed as complex and multifaceted, since the teaching and learning processes went far beyond the little official information that has survived. Although they do not always allow to understand how the students grasped the content taught in class, these documents are nonetheless worthy of careful study.

A more detailed and comparative study of the manuscripts can lead to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of educational and scholarly life. Moreover, the documents from the Zamość Academy can lead to the discovery of new details that can influence the way the history of this institution is represented today.

The Lviv manuscript analyzed in the second part of the essay is an excellent example: although it does not present a particularly original approach to Aristotle's logic, it shows which early modern translations and commentaries were used by the teachers and how. It also allows theoretical aspects to be better examined in

the light of new elements. The interest in Stoic philosophy expressed in the commentary suggests that the course from which the notes were derived was in line with the indications of the founder, Jan Zamoyski.

While Adam Burski is undoubtedly the most famous intellectual to have taken up Stoic philosophy in Zamość, the fact that the commentary seems to have been authored by someone else can lead one to argue that a wider group of scholars were working on Stoic epistemology during the same years, possibly collaborating with one another. Far from being an isolated author, Burski may have been the most prominent author of a small group of scholars who focused on epistemology as a means to educate public servants of the Commonwealth. These seemingly circumstantial aspects can perhaps be the starting point for broader inquiries regarding the Central-Eastern European reception of Stoic epistemology and its possible connection with political ideas.

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