

King Sigismund I the Elder's *Prayer Book* (hereinafter referred to as the *Prayer Book*) is now part of the collection in the British Library in London with the catalogue number Add. 15281. The Library purchased the manuscript on 31 July 1844 for 74 pounds out of the estate left by Prince Augustus Frederick (1773-1843), Duke of Sussex, sixth son of the George III of the United Kingdom. The sale was carried out through the agency of the famous London book dealer and antiquarian, Robert Harding Evans (1778-1857).[1] The Duke of Sussex had acquired the *Prayer Book* as part of the inheritance left by Henry Benedict Stuart (1725-1807), Cardinal Duke of York. Henry Stuart was the youngest son of Maria Clementina Sobieska of the Janina coat of arms (1701-1735), granddaughter of John Sobieski III, and James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), pretender to the throne of England and Scotland in the Jacobite Succession. Maria Clementina married James in Montefiascone, Italy (province of Viterbo in the region of Lazio) on 3 September 1719 and it was probably before the wedding that she unlawfully took the *Prayer Book* out of Poland. Up to that moment, the manuscript had been kept in Warsaw, presumably as Crown property, but not throughout the entire period after the death of its first owner, Sigismund I the Elder in 1548.

It is commonly believed that the manuscript was taken out of Poland by Queen Bona Sforza after the King's death, but it is not known how and when it was recovered as Crown property. It was assumed that it was definitely back in Warsaw at the beginning of the seventeenth century as folio 203v bears the inscription *Sigismundus Rex Tertius* referring to Sigismund III of the House of Vasa (1566-1632) who reigned in Poland in 1587-1632.[2]

Urszula Borkowska has speculated that the *Prayer Book* might have been recovered, under unknown circumstances, by Anna Jagiellon (1523-1596), wife of Stephen Báthory, who gave it to her favourite nephew, Sigismund III. Anna herself might have obtained the *Prayer Book* from Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) as partial repayment of the so-called Neapolitan sums, the money due to Poland after Philip II unlawfully seized the duchies of Bari and Rossano pursuant to Queen Bona's forged will of 1557. The debt was never repaid in full (rights to the debt were conferred onto Poland by Sigismund Augustus). In 1575, while staying in Rome, Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz (1504-1579) negotiated a partial repayment of the loan at the behest of Anna Jagiellon and it was perhaps then that the *Prayer Book* made its way back to Warsaw. If this is true and Anna Jagiellon did recover the *Prayer Book* to give it to Sigismund III, the manuscript was back in Poland a dozen or so years before 1596.

All scholars agree that Bona became the owner of the manuscript after the death of Sigismund I. This is evident from the inscriptions on the last folios, some of which are made in the Queen's own hand, recording the most important events from Bona's life. The inscriptions record the dates of the Queen's birth, the death of her mother, Isabella of Aragon, births of all her children – Isabella, Sigismund Augustus and Sophia –, and the marriages of Sigismund Augustus with the members of the House of Habsburg (Elisabeth and then Catherine), as well as Bona's departure from Poland (from Warsaw) to Bari in 1556. Zofia Ameisenowa believed that all these notes were made by the Queen herself with the exception of the one recording her death (19 November 1557)[3] which was made by one of the courtiers.

The theory is contested by Urszula Borkowska who claims the inscriptions at the end of the *Prayer Book* were made by several people, including possibly King Sigismund I himself.[4]

Apart from a laconic description of one miniature in *Paleographia sacra pictoria* by John Obadiaha Westwood[5], the *Prayer Book* is first mentioned by Frederic Madden, an eminent British palaeographer working in the British Museum from 1828, including as manuscript custodian between 1837 and 1866[6]. All the information was repeated in the *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1841-1845* which was almost certainly also made by Frederic Madden. The description implied that the initials S.C. in the miniature depicting St. Jerome stood for Scipione Cavaletti.[7] In the words of Zofia Ameisenowa, “the same nonsense is repeated dozens of years later by Bradley in the dictionary which is still in use today”.[8]

Among foreign art historians, the *Prayer Book* had been studied by Gustav Friedrich Waagen in 1854.[9] According to the scholar, the miniatures were created by a “monogrammist S.C.” related to the Nuremberg workshop of the Glockendons. The assumption was challenged later on and Zofia Ameisenowa was also critical of the claim.[10] The first person who wrote about the *Prayer Book* in Poland was Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski.[11] In addition to this codex, his article of 1856 published in *Biblioteka Warszawska* (Warsaw Library) also discusses *Queen Bona Sforza's Prayer Book* kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Lubomirski wrote that the note referring to Sigismund III was in fact the King's autograph. He knew the *Prayer Book* at first hand and provided a cursory description of its contents.[12] He included his own translation of the Latin excerpt from the preface

to the last part and made a brief comment that the rest of the manuscript was made up of prayers and litanies written by a seventeenth-century hand. He also mentioned four “paintings” with the coats of arms of the Crown and Lithuania as well as listed and included in the footnotes the inscriptions made by Bona and the mention of the Queen’s death. The Dr. Wagner^[13] referred to in the text is in actual fact Gustav Friedrich Waagen mentioned above, whose findings were taken up by Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski when he tried to identify the author of the miniatures. Failing to determine the identity of the painter, he wrote only that there were many indications that his nationality was Polish.^[14]

As soon as one year later, Lubomirski’s finding was referred to by Edward Rastawiecki in his *Słowniku malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających* (Dictionary of Polish and Foreign Painters living or staying in Poland).^[15] To all intents and purposes, he repeated the original information, adding his own reflections on the presumed authorship of the miniatures and, just as Lubomirski, cited Waagen’s work (similarly to his predecessor, he misspelled the name). The information from the *Prayer Book* contained in the private notes was used in 1886 by Aleksander Przeździecki in his book about the women of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the sixteenth century as well as the courts of Sigismund I and Sigismund Augustus.^[16]

In the 1870s, Józef Kallenbach went to London to visit the British Museum among other locations. He then wrote a record of the prayer books, which was published in 1891 and then repeated this in 1905 in a memorial book entitled *Czasy i ludzie* (Times and People).^[17] He did not write much new about the *Prayer Book* itself. He did mention, however, the plans to publish

the manuscript by the Polish Academy of Learning and a facsimile made at the behest of Aleksander Przeździecki. He was also the first to point out that the *Prayer Book* contained three miniatures instead of four as he did not consider the frontispiece illustration introducing the part entitled *Clipeus spiritualis* to be one. I will come back to this terminological problem below.

In the second volume of the *History of Painting in Poland*, Feliks Koperka devotes two pages to the *Prayer Book*. He attributes the miniatures to Stanisław Krakowianin.^[18] Importantly, he reprints black-and-white photographs of three miniatures (*St. Jerome in His Study*, *Sigismund I Receiving Holy Communion from Christ*, *The Virgin and Child*) and provides two copies^[19] of codex folios (owned by the Academy of Learning before the Second World War). He does not mention the full-page frontispiece miniature from *Clipeus spiritualis* at all. Polish scholars also took note of an article published by Anna Maria Mars in January 1945 in the “Burlington Magazine”.^[20] Even though Zofia Ameisenowa described the text as a “useful contribution”, she was quick to point out its mistakes and inaccuracies.^[21]

One of the most important works written so far discussing the *Prayer Book* from the perspective of its artwork – and already mentioned here on several occasions^[22] – was published in 1967. Indeed, the findings made by Zofia Ameisenowa have been cited by scholars of the *Prayer Book* up to the present day. At the turn of the 1970s, Andrzej Mieczysław Olszewski^[23] also wrote about Stanisław Samostrzelnik’s graphical designs, including those in the *Prayer Book*. Apart from *Cztery polskie rękopisy iluminowane z lat 1524-1528 w zbiorach obcych* (Four Polish Illuminated Manuscripts from 1524-1528 in Foreign Collections), the

most important publications discussing the miniatures made by the Kraków master are undoubtedly those by Barbara Mio-
dońska.[²⁴]

In 1999 Urszula Borkowska published a monograph devoted to the royal prayer books of the Jagiellon dynasty.[²⁵] The monograph discusses both the *Prayer Book* as well as a book printed in Kraków around 1533 known in the literature as Sigismund I's Prayer Book. Whilst essentially repeating the findings of her predecessors when discussing miniatures, Borkowska makes a significant contribution to the studies on the royal manuscript by focusing on its contents. She was the first to provide such a detailed account of the texts in the manuscript. She tried to identify some of the prayers but, as a result of imprecise editing, her references to specific locations in the manuscript are in many cases incorrect. The overview of the *Prayer Book's* contents following this introduction corrects (hopefully without any mistakes) all of Borkowska's shortcomings.

Among more recent important contributions to the studies on Samostrzelnik's artwork, we need to mention a 2001 publication by Grażyna Jurkowlaniec. Jurkowlaniec discusses three miniatures from the *Prayer Book: Sigismund I Receiving Holy Communion from Christ* as well as the C initials with the image of the Man of Sorrows and Host.[²⁶] Another monograph worth mentioning here is that of Mieczysław Morka from 2006.[²⁷] Morka showed the work of the Cistercian monk from Mogiła against the background of the art created at the court of the penultimate king from the Jagiellonian dynasty, focusing on the ideological (political and propagandist) elements to be found in Samostrzelnik's miniatures. A facet of the miniaturist's work which has not

been mentioned so far in so much detail is discussed by Aleksandra Jaworska^[28] and, most of all, Marcin Starzyński^[29] whose extensive article is devoted to the coats of arms present in Samostrzelnik's miniatures, including those in the *Prayer Book*.

As for the most recent publications referring to the *Prayer Book*, there is a monograph by Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss on the so-called *Hortuli*. It contains a sizeable section devoted to the *Spiritual Shield*^[30] printed in Florian Unger's workshop around 1533. Wiesław Wydra's introduction to *Olbracht Gasztold's Prayer Book*, on the other hand, touches upon the text mentioned above, but mostly uses a different sixteenth-century translation (which was cited and discussed).^[31] The *Prayer Book* is also mentioned in major bibliographies, lexicons and encyclopaedias.^[32]

The author of the manuscript, Stanisław Samostrzelnik (ca. 1480-1541), has been the subject of many papers.^[33] It is therefore enough to say that he was the most eminent representative of the late period in the history of book illumination in Poland. He lived and worked at the turn of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, so that his miniatures, borders and initials contain motifs which are characteristic of both periods. Currently, we cannot say with certainty whether some of the works were made by himself or rather the students he employed in his workshop. We do know, however, that all the miniatures in the *Prayer Book* were created by Samostrzelnik, although we cannot say the same about the initials or borders which are manifestly different in terms of their precision and ornamentation.

The *Prayer Book* is in the small *quarto* format containing 203 parchment folios and 15 paper folios which were added later on, most probably at the turn of the seventeenth century. Today, the

manuscript measures 157 × 107 mm, but was originally slightly larger. Zofia Ameisenowa came to the conclusion that the barbarian[34] act of cutting it probably took place before the *Prayer Book* came to be held in the British Library, i.e. when it was being re-bound in red velvet (its current binding).[35] Endpapers are covered with a light-claret material additionally decorated with three borders embroidered with a golden thread as well as an intermittent floral design of two small flowers facing inwards. In the corners, the floral elements are slightly larger. At the top of the spine, there is a white sticker with the number 663 and a little aegis with a golden border bearing the following inscription: *LIBER PRECUM | SIGISMUNDI I. | REGIS POLO-NIÆ*. Underneath, there is another aegis with a similar border and the words: *MUS. BRIT. | JURE EMPT. | 15,281*. At the bottom, there is a little sticker with a lower case letter *c*. All these additions to be found on the spine come from the nineteenth century. The following pages have been affixed to the codex: Frederic Madden's article from the "Gentleman's Magazine", different notes by Marian Sokołowski referring to the *Prayer Book* written on loose pages (note about the attribution of miniatures [*Stanislaus Capellanus of Mogiła*] and mentions about codices from the Bodleian Library, Milan and Munich), a reference to the book by Zofia Ameisenowa, exlibris of Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (with the motto *Si deus pro nobis, quis contra nos* signed *Perkins and Heath – Patent Hardened Steel Plate*) and a handwritten note by Frederic Madden. The cut edges are gilded. The leaves are double foliated – older foliation is located in the upper left-hand corner of the *recto* and is often (but not always) written between border panels in small numbers. More recent foliation is

written in pencil in the upper right-hand corner of the same folios. Foliations differ by one, two or, more often, three numbers (e.g. older: 60, newer: 63, f. 63; older: 141, newer: 143, f. 143). Older foliation stops abruptly on folio 166 (165 according to the old foliation) at the point in *Clipeus spiritualis* where psalms are replaced by private prayers. In many places (most often on the *recto* side of the folios bearing miniatures or borders), the manuscript was stamped with the red British Museum stamp in the nineteenth century.

The text is written in one column, in 14 lines written into a golden grid of guide lines. Even though it is bordered with three panels on all four sides, large margins were left, many of which were decorated with more or less ornamental borders. The three panels bordering the text are not identical on every folio. Up to folio 43v they come in the shape of a rectangle. Further on (up to folio 51v), the middle of each side is enriched with motifs (curls, “pendants”) symmetrically breaking the monotony of the rectangular form. The rectangle format comes back, however, on folios 52-78v. On folios 79-85v, i.e. in the fragment finishing the first part of the *Prayer Book* (the character and ductus of writing is also different here), the panels are broken in the mid-section as if someone left space for the above mentioned curls to be painted later on. Folios 86-89v also display the rectangular form (f. 86 – the beginning of *Clipeus spiritualis*). Then, after the full-page miniature with a frontispiece, curls reappear on folios 91-91v – one page (f. 92v) is bordered with rectangular panels and a richly ornamented border – to be followed by both forms of border panels intermittently changing – curls (folios: 93-104v, 105v-181v, 197v) and rectangles (folios: 105, 182-189v, 189v-197). In one case

(f. 190) a curl is only included in the lower panel. There is no consistency in the use of different panels. Curls themselves come in various forms which are more or less ornamental, sometimes geometrical (rhombus-shaped) and filled with dots or small circles.

The core of the text is written in a calligraphic humanistic and italic script, whereas the notes are made in italics.[36] The text is sprinkled with ornamental one-line-high initials, whilst empty spaces (where the text stops mid line) are decorated with floral motifs. I will return to the 43 big initials (two- or seven-lines high) of which more than a dozen are richly decorated. Borders with a candelabra motif can be found on 38 folios. The text of the seventeenth-century prayers included at the end is bordered with a single panel based on a motif appearing in the printed books of the period (ff. 198v-202). Seventeenth-century prayers to saints together with their accompanying miniatures are similarly bordered.

Scholars have mainly been interested in the annotations in the *Prayer Book* made by Bona and the miniatures by Samostrzelnik. According to Zofia Ameisenowa and Barbara Miodońska, Samostrzelnik's work in the manuscript had been largely influenced by prints of Albrecht Dürer, Hans Sebald Beham, Hans Baldung Grien, Łukasz Cranach the Elder and, possibly, Hans Weiditz. Zofia Ameisenowa noticed "residual Late Gothic style" in the three miniatures and claimed that a complete change in style is only to be seen in the prayer books created later on (such as *Queen Bona Sforza's Prayer Book*).[37]

The miniature *St. Jerome in His Study* (f. 3v) is based on Dürer's woodcut from 1511.[38] Samostrzelnik made slight changes
52 — first of all, his depiction does not include the shaft of light

which is present in the woodcut streaming into the room from the left and illuminating the curtain, the saint's arm, the lion's back and the pillow. According to Barbara Miodońska, it would have been impossible to obtain this effect in the miniature because of the use of colour.[39] Samostrzelnik also changed the source of light to the radiant window framing St. Jerome's head on the right-hand side. The same folio also contains important metatextual elements – a shield with the White Eagle located in the middle of the lower border supported by two putti and crowned by two child angels provides conclusive evidence that the *Prayer Book* was intended for the Kind of Poland. In the lower right-hand corner of the miniature, on the floor, the second tile from the right is inscribed with the golden letters *SC* (short for *Stanislaus Clarambambensis* or *Cracoviensis*), the artist's signature. It is worth adding that the lion lying at the saint's feet is looking at Samostrzelnik's initials. Miodońska points out that, due to the use of colour and the need to link the miniature with the border surrounding the entire scene, the emphasis is shifted to the right compared to the original Dürer's print, whilst keeping the composition balanced. Zofia Ameisenowa described the miniature as a transposition of Dürer's woodcut instead of its copy.[40]

The second miniature, commonly believed to be the most interesting and unusual, is the illustration accompanying the *Orationes de passionibus Domini* (f. 59v) – *Sigismund I Receiving Holy Communion from Christ*. Andrzej Mieczysław Olszewski described it as follows: "In *Sigismund the Elder's Prayer Book* (London, British Museum), in the depiction of the «King Sigismund I Receiving Holy Communion from the Man of Sorrows» the figure of Christ is taken from a woodcut by Hans Sebald Beham (B 26),

whereas King Sigismund resembles the Saxon kurfürst from a woodcut by Łukasz Cranach the Elder (B 77)".[41] As opposed to *The Virgin and Child* – where Samostrzelnik used the principle of hierarchical proportion – in this miniature “Sigismund I [...] is not very much different in terms of height from the Saviour”, a fact the scholar explains by the “action linking Christ and King”. [42] To the already mentioned list of possible inspirations, Zofia Ameisenowa adds Weiditz [43], whilst Barbara Miodońska only mentions a woodcut by Beham.

This depiction is analysed theologically by Urszula Borkowska. [44] It is worth adding that, according to her and to Barbara Miodońska, the miniature’s message is counter-reformatory. Borkowska also puts forward a hypothesis that such a depiction of Christ where the Saviour is giving Communion to the king (a unique approach even in Europe) might have been inspired by Sigismund I himself. Grażyna Jurkowlaniec mentioned this miniature in the context of the evolution of Christ’s gestures, a device known as *ostentatio vulnerum*. [45] In her opinion, the gesture whereby Christ shows the wound in his side had evolved in the course of time to the image of Christ taking the Host out of the wound. In later representations, Christ gave Communion to the figures depicted in the painting. However, Grażyna Jurkowlaniec cites only two representations here – one from *Olbracht Gasztold’s Prayer Book* (f. 1v), but in this case Christ does not give Communion to Gasztold who kneels before Him; the other – from the *Prayer Book*. Such representations were typical for artists working north of the Alps, but were absent in the manuscripts of southern, Italian provenance. Importantly, the closed crown

54 which the king placed at Christ’s feet seems to serve an additional

purpose of crowning the shield underneath it with the painted (and crowned) White Eagle.

The third miniature depicts *The Virgin and Child* (f. 64v). Zofia Ameisenowa and Andrzej Mieczysław Olszewski after her, identify Dürer's woodcut as the model for the illustration. Andrzej Mieczysław Olszewski goes far enough to write that *The Virgin and Child* "follows Dürer's model faithfully (engraving B 31) bordering on a copy with the addition of little angels and the smaller kneeling figure of the king. The painter still observes the Middle Age principle of hierarchical proportion [...]".[46] As pointed out by Barbara Miodońska, this type of representation was enormously popular at the time (the turn of the modern era) due to the indulgence prayers related to it.[47] Samostrzelnik painted as many as four crowns in the miniature – one on Mary's head, one royal placed at Mary's feet, one crowning the shield with the White Eagle, and one the head of the king's bird.

The last miniature, which is also the least impressive, is the frontispiece to the second part of the *Prayer Book* containing the *Clipeus spiritualis* (f. 90v). Because Kallenbach skipped this miniature, as mentioned above, and many later scholars disregarded it, the illustration is not included in some studies. Such was the case of the *Encyclopaedia of Book Studies* where the reader is informed that the *Prayer Book* is "decorated with three [highlighted by R.W.] full-page miniatures, ornamental initials, and marginal ornaments".[48] Notably, the illustration is not mentioned in the codicological description by Barbara Miodońska who listed: "3 [!] full-page miniatures, borders, initials".[49]

Zofia Ameisenowa devoted as many as two and a half pages to the *Clipeus spiritualis* section, but only three sentences refer to

the representation itself: “What is more interesting, however, is the second part of the prayer book [...] entitled *Clipeus spiritualis*, a title which is written on a shield constituting a kind of frontispiece similar to prayer books belonging to Szydłowiecki and Gasztołd. The shield is supported by two putti, the margins are decorated with rich Renaissance borders with the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania in the lower corners. A plaque hangs from the upper border with the inscription *Domine salvum fac regem nostrum Sigismundum*”.[50] Even if the representation is not aesthetically attractive for art historians, it is still the product of Samostrzelnik’s workshop. It was definitely important for the artist himself because it takes up a full page in a sparsely illustrated royal prayer book (as compared to his later productions). The representation also contains important metatextual, ideological and propagandist elements such as the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania or texts written into the already mentioned plaque and the border around the miniature. Still, even if art historians do not decide to consider this representation as a miniature, it should be consistently included in the list of illustrations in the codex. After all, in the words of Marcin Starzyński, it is in this miniature that we can find “the oldest depiction in Polish iconography of the act of coronating the shields bearing national coats of arms with a crown and mitre. It will only appear in royal sfragistics during the reign of the Vasa dynasty”.[51]

Samostrzelnik’s borders have already been described. Zofia Ameisenowa paid special attention to the one she considered the most interesting (f. 66, mistakenly referenced by Ameisenowa as f. 65), depicting two soldiers holding a shield with the Chaser –

the Lithuanian coat of arms. Ameisenowa wrote that this type of border is very typical for the Mogiła painter: “[...] flowery pea twigs decorate the left margin, the upper and right margins being ornamented by heavy coils of leaves against a gold background with fantastical flowers springing out of them [...] in terms of colour, the decoration of the folio is more subtle and varied going beyond the colours most often used by the painter: carmine, madder, azure, sharp green and golden. The soldier on the left-hand side, the one with the strapped sword, wears a light yellow *żupan* coat on a blue caftan lightened up with golden hatching, whilst his colleague on the right, the one with the quiver at his side, is dressed in an azure caftan and a pink *żupan* coat”.^[52] We need to add that borders always accompany large initials.

The studies published so far have not paid much attention to the ornamental initials present in the *Prayer Book*, so it is worthwhile examining them in more detail. The manuscript contains 43 larger, ornamental initials. The letter which appears most often – 13 times – is *D* (folios: 35v, 58v, 61, 66, 68v, 72, 94, 179v, 182v, 184, 185v, 186v, 187v), followed by *O* – 5 times (folios: 53, 55v, 170v, 194v, 197), *S* – four times (folios: 51v, 63, 78, 105), *K* – three times, always in the word *Kyrie* (folios: 37, 49, 112v). Additionally, there are two occurrences of: *B* (folios: 54v, 62), *C* (folios: 73, 75), *E* (folios: 100, 191v), *G* (folios: 75v, 112) and *V* (folios: 4, 188v) and one occurrence of: *A* (f. 92), *F* (f. 168v), *I* (f. 166), *L* (f. 190v), *P* (f. 168v), *Q* (f. 86v), *R* (f. 168). Large, ornamental initials counterbalance the three miniatures located on the opposite pages. And so the miniature of *St. Jerome in His Study* is opposed with the letter *V*, whereas *Sigismund I Receiving Holy Com-*

munion from Christ and The Virgin and Child are accompanied with the initials *D*. One initial is unnecessary (letter *I* on folio 166 in the word *Iesu*). On one occasion, one page contains two large ornamental initials – *P* and *F* (f. 168v). As already mentioned, large initials always accompany marginal borders whose function is to balance the page visually so that the eye is not “pulled” to one side of the folio. Special attention needs to be paid to both *C* initials as only these letters are historiated – one contains the image of the Man of Sorrows (f. 73), the other a Eucharistic Chalice with a Host encompassing a cross and the inscription: *O SALV-TARIS HOSTIA QVE CELI PANDIS OSTIVM*.^[53] It is no coincidence that the letter *C*, the first letter in *Christus*, was given this special, symbolic meaning.

In several locations, the manuscript also contains a marked-out royal monogram of Sigismund I. On folio 42, the monogram is the first letter in two words *sancta* – *S*<*ancta Anna*> and *S*<*ancta Maria*>. The other letters *s* are smaller (one-line high) but highlighted so that they stand out in the text. Such is the case of the phrase *ne irascaris me indigno famulo tuo S*<*igismundo*> (f. 69) and the prayer *O, dulcissime domine Iesu* (folios: 171, 172v, 174, 178v).

There are also several paintings of the White Eagle, the Chaser and, in one case, the Junosza coat of arms (f. 86). Shields with the White Eagle appear on folios: 3v, 4, 59, 65v, 78 and 90v. The Chaser can be found on folios 53, 58v, 66, 90v and 92.

The prayers in the codex can be divided into two main parts which may mean that Samostrzelnik was faced with two different books which he simply put together keeping the two rounds of prayers separate.^[54] The first part begins with the so-called *St.*

58 *Jermoe Psalter* which consists of about 200 lines of psalms from

Psalm 5 (*Verba mea auribus percipe*) to Psalm 142 (*Et perdes omnes qui tribulant animam meam*). Urszula Borkowska points out that the *Litany to All Saints* coming at the end is different from the litany which usually completes the seven penitential psalms and that it does not include any names of Polish saints. Borkowska is right in thinking that this is surprising and may mean that the selection of texts was influenced not only by the King but perhaps by Queen Bona herself. Out of the prayers making up the *Orationes de Passione Domini*, Borkowska has managed to locate only two in other prayer books (*O, Domine Iesu Christe adoro te in cruce pendentem* from *Saliceta* and *Hortuli*, as well as *Benedicat me imperialis maiestas Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* which was known as early as the thirteenth century and was present in German prayer books). The other prayers remain unidentified. The prayer *In elevatione Corporis Christi* is similar to the texts included in the *Hortuli*, whereas *Orationes ante communionem* had been known – with the exception of one – from the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of the three *Post communionem* prayers can be found in the Latin *Hortulus*.

Given the context of the oldest part of the codex, we cannot but be surprised and baffled by the fragment on folios 79-85v between the first part of the *Prayer Book* and the *Clipeus spiritualis*. A totally different person had used this part of the *Conductus uie* to write a set of prayers undoubtedly intended for the king. First, the following words were written in red ink: *Le sequenti oracioni sono state trascritte de uno ufficiolo de q. serenissimo sigismondo primo Re di Polonia: Conductus uie*. The passage is followed by seven prayers in black ink: *Ingressus pilatus cum iesu in pretorium tunc ait illi, tu es rex iudeorum; Miserator et misericors deus; Omnipotens sempiterna deus*

qui te corde rogare precipis; De sancto Juliano custode in hospicijs; Deus qui beato Juliano confessori tuo in consolatione uiatorum; Salve mater domini una; Concede quesumus omnipotens et misericors deus. It is as if the first part left Samostrzelnik's workshop blank, complete only with guide lines and panels (broken in the middle on both sides) and was filled in later on, perhaps at the royal court, by someone coming from Italy.

Urszula Borkowska does not identify any of the prayers present in the *Conductus uie*, but observes that, if *q* stands for *quondam*, the text must have been written after the king's death.[55] It is all the more surprising that a considerable part of the *Prayer Book* remained unwritten for many years. Was it left blank for a reason? Did the king plan to fill it with his own notes or write prayers which were important for him and asked Samostrzelnik to leave the fragment blank and undecorated? Any answer in the affirmative does not appear plausible. Still, the questions make us aware of a more important issue: are we looking at the same book as the one Sigismund I had in his hands? There is much proof that, originally, the *Prayer Book* looked quite different.[56]

First, the *Prayer Book* strikes one as rather modest and, most of all, unfinished compared to other known prayer books produced in Samostrzelnik's workshop. It seems that the book contained more miniatures in its original form. The disproportion between the royal prayer book and the others is glaring in this respect. The argument whereby the book is poorly equipped because it was the first of Samostrzelnik's prayer books is not very convincing. In fact, the opposite should be true – if this was the first prayer book through which Samostrzelnik wanted to win the king's favour and obtain new orders from the king and royal

court, it would only have been natural to finish it with particular care and include many decorations. Nevertheless, in spite of the great beauty of its miniatures, borders and initials, the book looks unfinished in its present form, as evidenced by the empty spaces left in the middle which were filled in only after Sigismund I's death as well as unfinished panels surrounding the text in a few places or some borders which appear broken.

Second, the order of the parts is surprising. *Olbracht Gasztołd's Prayer Book* opens with *Szczyt Duszny* (Spiritual Firmament) – the equivalent of *Clipeus spiritualis* from Sigismund's book. Krzysztof Szydłowiecki's prayer book probably looks similar. It is highly likely that, originally, the *Prayer Book* also started with the Latin *Spiritual Shield*. Tellingly and surprisingly, the manuscript also lacks a prayer to St. Sigismund I, the king's patron, especially venerated by the entire Jagiellonian dynasty. We know for certain that the manuscript was re-bound at least twice. First at the turn of the seventeenth century, when paper folios with miniatures and prayers were added to it, and then later on when the folios were "barbarically" cut and put in a new binding probably at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was during re-binding that the order of individual parts may have been switched and some miniatures removed. Moreover, given that two prayer books belonging to Bona or Krzysztof Szydłowiecki have come down to us, it is beyond any doubt that the king must have had more prayer books including the *Hours*.

As for the controversies related to the *Clipeus spiritualis*, it is worth mentioning the Junosza coat of arms (f. 86v). Frederic Madden linked it to the Frankish family of Vogt von Rieneck or

Tottenham, but was challenged by Polish scholars exploring the subject. According to Zofia Ameisenowa, the coat of arms was owned by the author (or rather compiler) of the prayers in *Clipeus spiritualis*.^[57] Urszula Borkowska, on the other hand, believes that it is simply the emblem of a successive owner of the manuscript, suggesting in a footnote that it might have been Jan Karnkowski, Bishop of Kujawy and the King's Secretary. Marcin Starzyński supports the theory that the coat of arms should be linked to a successive owner, but disagrees with Borkowska about Bishop Karnkowski. In his opinion, the lack of the bishop's insignia instead suggests a lay person.^[58] According to Urszula Borkowska and Marcin Starzyński, the coat of arms was painted later on by the subsequent owner. However, given the history of the codex – it remained the property of first Queen Bona Sforza, then Anna Jagiellon, Sigismund III and, finally, belonged to the crown only to leave Poland together with the granddaughter of John III Sobieski – it is unthinkable anyone would have dared to paint their coat of arms on royal property. The only moment when this would have been possible would have been the period after Bona's death, before the codex was returned to Poland. At the time, however, the manuscript most likely remained in Italian hands. It is hard to imagine an Italian wanting to paint the Junosza coat of arms, especially in such a strange place (in this case). It should therefore be linked to the creator of *Clipeus spiritualis*, as proposed by Zofia Ameisenowa. Moreover, considering the Junosza coat of arms to have been painted at a later date would mean that the initial Q and the border surrounding the entire text on that page were also later additions.

Another issue which has so far been virtually untouched in the literature devoted to the *Prayer Book* is the seventeenth-century addition at the end of the codex. Mentioned only in passing or, most often, ignored in the studies, it has been an integral part of this beautiful book and its history for 400 years. Most of all, however, it proves that the manuscript was in use for a long time after the death of its first owner. This is evidenced both by the prayers written into the codex and the meticulously painted miniatures which, even though much less accomplished than Samostrzelnik's works, are still an interesting record of additions to the *Prayer Book's* artwork.

It is for a reason that the top of folio 203v is inscribed with a name – most probably the signature of King Sigismund III Vasa. Without getting into too much detail, it is worth mentioning that, according to Urszula Borkowska, at least one of the prayers added in the seventeenth century may have been written with a monarch in mind.[59]

Today, we may draw the following conclusions: first, the *Prayer Book* was in use long after the death of Sigismund I, at least by Sigismund III who used the book primarily because of the text of its prayers, although the artistic aspects of the codex might also have played a role given how much the monarch loved art. Second, there is every reason to believe that both the Polish and the Latin text of the *Spiritual Shield* were in the group of major prayer texts of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. In the light of current findings, the most pressing research proposal concerning prayer books made in Samostrzelnik's workshop should be to publish a critical editions of the *Spiritual Shield* together with its Latin equivalent.

Plans to publish a facsimile of the *Prayer Book* date back to late nineteenth century. As early as 1889, having visited the British Museum, Józef Kallenbach wrote: “I am not writing about other miniatures and historical notes in the prayer book because it will be thoroughly described and published with facsimiles of miniatures thanks to the efforts of the art [!] History Committee at the Academy of Learning”.^[60] In the footnote to this fragment made in 1905, he added: “Written in 1889. Since that time, the Art History Committee has not published the prayer book in spite of obtaining all necessary materials and a subsidy made by the late Count Konst[anty] Przeździeckiego”.^[61] According to Józef Kallenbach, in around 1859 Aleksander Przeździecki commissioned a facsimile of one of the miniatures which was then lost.^[62] The plans to publish the codex by the Academy of Learning were also mentioned by Feliks Kopera in the already mentioned *History of Painting in Poland*. According to Kopera, the Academy had “drawings and photographs”, but he was only able to obtain “some of the photographs” for the purposes of his book^[63].

Given the tragic history of Polish book collections, the words of Józef Kallenbach written in *Czasy i ludzie* sound particularly bitter: “The more we learn about the prayer book the more we regret that this relic, whose proper location should be the Wawel Castle treasury, is to be found here after its long peregrination. The only consolation is that the book is safer in the British Museum than anywhere else...”.^[64] Tadeusz Lubomirski was correct in wondering whether “this eminent monument to art and piousness [...] could not be used as a background to a terrible drama?”.^[65]

Sigismund I the Elder's Prayer Book – overview of contents:

- f. 1: blank
- f. 1v: note by Queen Bona; three sixteenth-century notes in a different hand
- f. 2: note by Queen Bona; two sixteenth-century notes in a different hand
- f. 2v: blank
- f. 3: sixteenth-century note: *N.B. 1555*
- f. 3v: miniature depicting St. Jerome in His Study
- ff. 4-52v: *Incipit Psalterium S. Ieronimi*
- f. 4: *Verba mea auribus percipe*; in the border, a shield with the White Eagle, plaques with text, at the top of the page: *Saluum fac domine Regem | nostrum Sigismundum*; on the left-hand side: *DICI* and *Renouabitur | ut aquile*:
- ff. 35v-36v: *Oratio: Dona michi queso, omnipotens deus, ut per hanc sacrosanctam psalterii celestis melodiam*
- ff. 37-52v: *SEQVITUR LETANIA POST PSALTERIVM Kyrieleison. Criste eleison. Criste audi nos. Pater de celis miserere mei*
- f. 49: *Letania. Kyrieleison, Criste eleison, Criste audi nos. Pater noster et ne nos inducas*
- f. 51v: *Oratio. Suscipe domine deus omnipotens hanc laudem oracionum et psalmoreum*
- ff. 53-65: *Orationes de Passione Domini*
- ff. 53-54v: *O Domine iesu xriste adoro te in cruce pendentem*
- ff. 54v-55v: *Benignissime domine iesu xriste [...] cum latrone in deliciis paradisi esse merear sine fine. Amen.*
- ff. 55v-58v: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vnigenitum filium tuum*

[...] *qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen*

ff. 58v-61: *Deus misericors, deus clemens [...] ut sim idoneus hodie accedere ad sacratissimum sacramentum corporis eius et illud suscipere ad salutem corporis et anime. Amen*

f. 59: miniature depicting Sigismund I Receiving Holy Communion from Christ

f. 59v: blank

ff. 61-62: *Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor [...] animarum quiete perfrui. A(men).*

ff. 62-63: *Benedictio. Benedicat me imperialis maiestas [...] In nomine Patris et filij et spiritus sancti. Amen*

ff. 63-64v: *In elevacione Corporis xristi. Salve salutaris victima [...] Per te qui nos creasti cum non essemus, nos libera. Amen*

f. 65: blank

f. 65v: miniature depicting May with Child

ff. 66-75: *Orationes ante communionem multum devotissime*

ff. 66-68v: *Domina mea sancta maria [...] cogitaciones et opera. Amen*

ff. 68v-72: *Domine iesu xriste immensam clemenciam tuam humili deuocione deposco [...] Qui in trinitate perfecta viuis ac regnas deus in secula seculorum. Amen*

ff. 72-73: *Deus qui de indignis dignos [...] ad vitam eternam capiendam. Per eundem xristum dominum nostrum Amen*

ff. 73-75: *Oracio Clementissime deus qui occultorum omnium es cognitor [...] Presta me hoc saluator mundi; initial C(lementissime) with the Man of Sorrows*

ff. 75-79: *Orationes post communionem*

66 ff. 75-75v: *Corpus tuum domine iesu xriste [...] qui venturus est*

- iudicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem; initial C<orpus>*
with a Eucharistic Chalice and a host encompassing
a cross and *arma Christi*
- ff. 75v-78: *Gracias tibi ago mitissime deus [...] cui est honor et gloria
in secula seculorum. Amen*
- ff. 78-79: *Oratio. Serenissima et inclita mater domini nostri iesu xristi
[...] Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen*
- f. 78v: blank
- ff. 79-85v: from mid folio 79 *Conductus uie* written in a different
hand: *Le sequenti oracioni sono state trascritte del uno ufficciolo
del q. serenissimo sigismundo primo Re di Polonia: Conductus
uie[...] Ingressus pilatus cum iesu in pretorium tunc ait illi, tu es
rex iudeorum [...]*
- ff. 80-83: *Oratio. Miserator et misericors deus*
- ff. 83-83v: *Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui te corde rogare
precipis*
- ff. 83v-84: *De sancto Juliano custode in hospicijs*
- ff. 84-84v: *Oratio. Deus qui beato Juliano confessori tuo in consolatione
uiatorum*
- ff. 84v-85: *Oratio. Salue mater domini una [...] Versus. Exgreditur
uirga de radice iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet*
- ff. 85-85v: *Oratio. Concede quesumus omnipotens et misericors deus
[...] et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti deus per omnia secula secu-
lorum. Amen. finis*
- ff. 86-197: *Clipeus spiritualis*
- f. 86: title *Clipeus spiritualis*
- ff. 86-89v: dedication to the King: *Serenissimo Domino Sigis-
mundo Primo Regi Polonie*
- f. 90: blank

f. 90v: miniature with a frontispiece – a shield with the title
CLIPEVS SPI | RITVALIS CON | TRA IN-
SPIAS INIMI | CORVM : ET : AD | VICTO-
RIAM : | OBTINEN | DAM, plaque with the words:
DOMINE : SALVVM : FAC | REGE(M) :
N(OST)R(V)M : SIGISMVN | : DVM, little aegis
 with the words: *DEVS : ADIVTOR | MEVS : ET.*
PROTEC | tor [...]; in the border, from the lower left-
 hand corner: *DOMINE IN VIRTUTE TVA*
LETABITVR REX ET SVPER | [...]
VEHEMENTER | DESIDERIVM CORDIS
EIVS INBVISTI ET VO : LA : NON : F : EVM;
 at the bottom of the page: *ESTE NOBIS DOMINE*
TVRRIS FORTITVDINIS A(MEN)

ff. 91-91v: *Si quis calamitate seu tribulatione aliqua vexatur*

ff. 92-94: *Oratio previa: Anima mea in angustiis posita est [...]*
et superexaltatus in secula. Amen

ff. 94-112: Psalms

ff. 94-100: *Psalmus. Deus, deus meus* (Ps 21)

ff. 100-105: *Psalmus. Exaudi deus oracionem meam* (Ps 54)

ff. 105-112: *Psalmus. Saluum me fac, deus* (Ps 68)

ff. 112v-166: *Incipiunt letanie tocuis domini nostri iesu xristi.*
Kirieleison [...] *Domine exaudi oracionem meam et clamor*

ff. 166-167: *Iezu nazarene respice tribulaciones meas*

ff. 167-167v: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui subuenis in periculis*

f. 168: *Respice quesumus, domine, super hanc familiam*

f. 168v: *Presta quesumus optimus deus*

ff. 168v-169v: *Festina domine ne moreris*

68 f. 170: *Sequitur oracio sancti Augustini*

- f. 170v-178v: *O Dulcissime domine iesu [...] Qui uiuis et regnas. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen*
- ff. 179-181v: *Oracio hec deuotissima contra Insidias quascumque inimicorum omnium visibilium et invisibilium efficacissima est et probatissima. Si cum deuocione dicatur. Que sequitur infra.*
- f. 179v: *Dulcissime domine iesu xriste filii dei vivi secundum diuinitatem [...] in unitate spiritus sancti dominus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen*
- ff. 181v-184: *Alia oracio maxime uirtutis que si deuote in tempore tribulacionis dicatur cum psalmis sequentibus ualet mirabiliter ad obtinendam victoriam et ut confundant inimici in iniquitate sua*
- f. 182: *Domine deus omnipotens pater et filius et spiritus sanctus da michi victoriam [...] ut non timeam quod faciat mihi homo. Amen*
- ff. 184-185: *Psalmus. Domine quid multiplicati sunt <Ps 3>*
- ff. 185v-186: *Deus misereatur nostri <Ps 67 (66)>*
- ff. 186v-187v: *Deus in nomine tuo saluum me fac <Ps 54 (53)>*
- ff. 187v-188v: *Psalmus. De profundis clamavi <Ps 130 (129)>*
- ff. 188v-190: *Psalmus. Voce mea ad dominum clamavi, voce mea ad dominum deprecatus sum <Ps 142 (141)>*
- f. 190: *Post hoc psalmos dic istam oracionem cum deuocione.*
- ff. 190v-191v: *Libera me domine iesu Xriste filii dei vivi [...] Qui cum deo patre et spritu sancto uiuis et regnas dominus in secula seculorum. Amen; plaque with the words: DOMINVS FOR- TITVDO MEA ET REFVGIVM MEVM*
- ff. 191v-193v: *Oracio pro ciuitate. Exaudi domine oraciones nostras et ciuitatem nostram tu circumda, domine [...]; monogram IHS*
- ff. 193v-197v: *Fertur quod diabolus apparuit beato Bernardo et ei insin-*

uauit hos versus sequentes. Quos si quis cum deuocione semel in die dixerit ea die mala morte perire non poterit. Et si quotidie perseueranter eos dixerit diem sui obitus presciet.

- ff. 194v-197: O Bone iesu, illumina oculos meos; plaque with the monogram: S<tanislaus> C<laratumbensis> F<ecit>
- ff. 197-197v: prayer: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui ezechie regi iude cum Lacrimis tibi deprecanti terminum sue uite pretendisti. Concede mihi famulo tuo S<igismundo> tantum uite terminum saltem quod ad mensuram ut petam mea ualeam deplorare et veniam atque gratiam per tuam misericordiam consequi merear. Per Christum*; on folio 197, plaque with the words: DEVS DEVS ADIVTOR MEVS; on folio 197v, plaque with the words: LAVDANS INVOCABO | DOMINVM ET AB INI | MICIS MEIS SALVVS | ERO | 1524 | S
- f. 198: sixteenth-century note
- ff. 198v-199v: *Ad Recte Obeundum Munus Regium. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus a quo omne datum optimum et donum perfectum descendit [...] Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum.*
- ff. 199v-200v: *Aggressus Negocia Difficilia Dicat. Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo? [...] ut omnis nostra deliberatio et operatio a te semper incipiat et incepta per te dirigetur. Per Dominum nostrum etc.*
- f. 200v: *Item Alius Psalmus Brevior Ante Negotia. Levavi oculos meos in montes [...] Gloria patri et filio etc.;*
- ff. 200v-201: *Vel Item. In te Domine speravi*
- ff. 201-202: <Psalmus> *In Gratiarum Actionem Pro Beneficij's Acceptis. Psalmus 144. Exaltabo te Deus meus rex <Ps 144>*

- f. 202: *Benedicamus patrem et filium cum Sancto Spiritu. Laudemus et superexaltemus eum. Oratio. Deus cuius misericordiae non est numerus*
- f. 202v: blank
- f. 203: blank
- f. 203v: sixteenth-century notes
- f. 204: blank
- f. 204v: miniature depicting St. Archangel Michael
- f. 205: *Obsecro te sanctissime archangele michael*
- f. 205v: blank
- f. 206: blank
- f. 206v: miniature depicting St. Archangel Raphael
- f. 207: *Ego sum Azaria Ananiae magni filius, ego sum raphael angelus*
- f. 207v: blank
- f. 208: blank
- f. 208v: miniature depicting St. Christopher
- f. 209: *Sancte et iuste uiuendo Christi martyr effectus sanctus Cristoforus*
- f. 209v: blank
- f. 210: blank
- f. 210v: miniature depicting St. Roch
- f. 211: *O uenerande Rocche Christi confessor*
- f. 211v: blank
- f. 212: blank
- f. 212v: miniature depicting St. Sebastian
- f. 213: *O quam mira refulsit genera sebastianus martir inclitus*
- f. 213v: blank
- f. 214: blank

- f. 214v: miniature depicting St. Leonard
- f. 215: *Christi confessor sancte Leonarde nobilis genere sed nobilior
sanctitate*
- f. 215v: blank
- f. 216: *Oratio Sancti Gregorij Papae in Capella S. Andreae Romae
aureis literis marmori inscripta [...] Stabat Mater iuxta crucem |
Videns patri veram lucem [...] Virgo Mater et puella | Vidit
et opprobrium. Amen.*
- f. 216v: *Oratio efficax tempore pestis. Contra insidias inimicorum
meorum visibilium et invisibilium*
- f. 217: blank
- f. 217v: sixteenth-century note in Italian
- f. 218: blank
- f. 218v: miniature depicting St. Anthony
- f. 219: *Si queris miracula mors error calamitas*
- f. 219v: blank
- f. 220: astrological drawing (first half of the sixteenth
century)
- f. 220v: blank
- f. 221: notes by King Sigismund I (?)
- f. 221v: notes by Queen Bona and King Sigismund I (?)
- f. 222: notes by Queen Bona
- f. 222v: notes by King Sigismund I (?) and other persons.

NOTES

[1] The history of the manuscript was discussed in detail by Zofia Ameisenowa – see. *eadem*, *Cztery polskie rękopisy iluminowane z lat 1524-1528 w zbiorach obcych* (Four Polish Illuminated Manuscripts from 1524-1528 in Foreign Collections) Kraków 1967, pp. 11-12. The *Prayer Book* is listed among manuscripts added as an annex “Preparing for Immediate Sale by Messrs. Evans” to the catalogue *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*: “Book of Prayers, in Latin, executed for Sigismund I. King of Poland, with Miniatures, from the Cardinal of York’s Library, with Entries of the Births and Deaths of the Sobieski Family” (R.H. Evans, *Bibliotheca Sussexiana. The Extensive and Valuable Library of His Royal Highness the Late Duke of Sussex, K.G. &c. &c. [...]* which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Evans, No. 93, Pall Mall, on Monday, July 1st, and Twenty-Three Following Days (Sundays excepted), [London–Evans] 1844, p. [259]). Zofia Ameisenowa mentions the amount of £74 (see Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 12), whilst the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts (transaction date was established on this basis) on University of Pennsylvania’s website identifies “Price” as £68 (see <http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/index.html>, [access on 16.10.2015]).

[2] Urszula Borkowska – inspired by the British Library’s catalogue of additions – suspects this to be the autograph of King Sigismund III himself – see U. Borkowska, *Królewskie modlitewniki. Studium z kultury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku)* (Royal Prayer Books. A Study of the Religious Culture in the Jagiellon Era (fifteenth and early sixteenth century), Lublin 1999, p. 98; F. Madden, *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCXLI-MDCCCXLV*, London 1850, p. 122.

[3] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[4] U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

[5] The publication contains reproductions of one miniature (*Christ Giving Communion to Sigismund I*) and one page with prayers – see J.O. Westwood, *The Prayer-book of King Sigismund or the Stuart Missal*, w: *idem*, *Paleographia sacra pictoria*, London [1845], p. 36.

[6] F. Madden, *Prayer-book of Sigismund I. of Poland*, “The Gentleman’s Magazine” 1845, No. 34, pp. 25-28. In footnotes 89 and 93 to *Royal Prayer Books...*, Urszula Borkowska provides bibliographical information about Madden’s article referring to its offprint. In the original publication, Madden’s text is on pages 25-28. Moreover, it appears in Issue 34 of “The Gentleman’s Magazine” of 1845 instead of 24 as referenced by Borkowska.

[7] See F. Madden, *Catalogue of additions...*, p. 122.

[8] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 6. See J.W. Bradley, *The Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers and Copists*, Vol. 1, London 1887, p. 207.

[9] G.F. Waagen, *Letter VII*, w: *idem*, *Treasures of art in Great Britain: being an account of the chief collections of paintings, drawings, sculptures, illuminated manuscripts etc. etc.*, Vol. 1, London 1854, p. 202-203.

[10] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[11] J.T. Lubomirski, *Książka do nabożeństwa Zygmunta Starego, i inna królowej Bony, zachowujące się w Anglii* (Sigismund the Elder’s Prayer Book and Another One Belonging to Queen Bona Kept in England) “Biblioteka Warszawska” 1856, Vol. 4, pp. 623-629.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 624.

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 627.

[14] See *ibidem*, p. 628.

[15] See E. Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających* (Dictionary of Polish Painter or Foreign Painters Living or Staying in Poland), Vol. 3, Warszawa 1857, pp. 521-524.

[16] A. Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI. wieku. Obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I. i Zygmunta Augusta Królów Polskich* (Polish Jagiellons in the Sixteenth Century. Paintings of the Family and Court of Sigismund I and Sigismund Augustus, Kings of Poland), Vol. 1, Kraków 1868, pp. 279-280.

74 [17] See J. Kallenbach, *British Museum (wrażenia i pamiątki)* (British Mu-

seum (Impressions and Souvenirs)), in: *idem*, *Czasy i ludzie* (Times and People) Warszawa 1905, pp. 376-378.

[18] F. Kopera, *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce* (History of Painting in Poland) Vol. 2: *Malarstwo w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku* (renesans, barok, rokoko) (Painting in Poland from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century (Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo)), Kraków 1926, pp. 25-26.

[19] See *ibidem*, p. 27 (fig. 28), p. 29 (fig. 30).

[20] See A.M. Mars, *Polish Miniature Painters in the First Half of the XVIth Century*, "Burlington Magazine" 1945, No. 502, Vol. 86, pp. 17-20. The entire issue is devoted to Polish Renaissance Art. In addition to a text by Anna Maria Mars, it also contains articles by Karol Estreicher (on architecture), Jerzy Zarnecki (on sculpture) and Stefania Zahorska (on painting).

[21] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 10. For another relevant publication, see a short text by Jerzy Hoppen – *idem*, *Eklektyzm Samostrzelnika* (Samostrzelnik's Eclecticism), "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 1995, Year 17, No. 2, pp. 277-278.

[22] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*

[23] A.M. Olszewski, *Wzory graficzne gotyckiej sztuki małopolskiej* (Graphic Designs in the Gothic Art of Małopolska) "Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych Oddziału PAN w Krakowie" 1969, [offprint], January-June, p. 179; *idem*, *Pierworzory graficzne późnogotyckiej sztuki małopolskiej* (Graphic Archetypes of Late Gothic Art of Małopolska), Wrocław, 1975.

[24] B. Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika* (Stanisław Samostrzelnik's Miniatures), Warsaw 1983; *eadem*, *Małopolskie malarstwo księzkowe 1320-1540* (Małopolska Book Painting in 1320-1540), Warsaw 1993; *eadem*, *Świat malarski Stanisława Samostrzelnika. Miniatury* (World of Stanisław Samostrzelnik's Paintings. Miniatures), "Cistercium Mater Nostra. Tradycja – Historia – Kultura" 2007, Year 1, pp. 63-78 (it is a reprint of *Stanisław Samostrzelnik's Miniatures* with upgraded literature references); see also: *eadem*, *Organizacja i technika pracy iluminatorów małopolskich w latach*

1400-1520 (Work Organisation and Technology of Małopolska Illuminators in 1400-1520), in: *Stanisław Samostrzelnik*, ed. M.A. Quinkenstein, Kórnik 2006, pp. 9-20.

[25] U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*

[26] G. Jurkowlaniec, *Chrystus Umęczony. Ikonografia w Polsce od XIII do XVI wieku* (Man of Sorrows. Iconography in Poland from the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century), Warszawa 2001, pp. 72-75, 112-114, 206. Catalogue numbers from the publication: 143 (miniature), 144 (initial with Christ).

[27] See M. Morka, *Sztuka dworu Zygmunta I Starego. Treści polityczne i propagandowe* (Art at the Court of Sigismund I the Elder. Political and Propagandist Content), Warszawa 2006. References to the *Prayer Book* are scattered all over the book so it would be difficult to cite specific pages. Readers are advised to use the index at the end of the publication.

[28] See A. Jaworska, *Orzeł Biały. Herb państwa polskiego* (The White Eagle. Emblem of Poland), Warsaw 2003, p. 286.

[29] See M. Starzyński, *Rola i funkcja herbów w miniaturach Stanisława Samostrzelnika* (Role and Function of Coats of Arms in the Miniatures by Stanisław Samostrzelnik) „Cistercium Mater Nostra. Tradycja – Historia – Kultura” 2007, Year 1, pp. 79-112.

[30] K. Krzak-Weiss, *Krótko o konkurencji “Hortulusa”, czyli innych modlitewnikach drukowanych w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku* (A Few Words about Hortulus’ Competition or Other Prayer Books Printed in Poland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century) in: *eadem*, *W ogrodzie duszy. Studia nad wyposażeniem graficznym polskich edycji modlitewnika “Hortulus animae”* (In the Garden of the Soul: Studies on the Graphics of Polish Editions of the Prayer Book “Hortulus Animae”), Poznań 2014, pp. 109-112.

[31] W. Wydra, *Introduction*, in: *Modlitewnik Olbrachta Gasztołda kanclerza wielkiego litewskiego 1528 r.* (Prayer Book of Olbracht Gasztołd, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, 1528. Facsimile), ed. K. Krzak-Weiss, R. Wójcik, W. Wydra, Poznań 2015, pp. 15-17.

[32] See *Książka do nabożeństwa Zygmunta I* (Sigismund I's Prayer Book) in: *Bibliografia literatury staropolskiej. Nowy Korbut* (Bibliography of Old Polish Literature. New Korbut), Vol. 1: *Piśmiennictwo staropolskie* (Old Polish Writing), written by a team led by R. Pollak, Warsaw 1963, p. 249. Later edition of *New Korbut* does not contain separate entries for either the *Prayer Book* or the *Spiritual Shield* (and the *Spiritual Firmament*). All (scant) information was included in the entry for *Krzysztof Warszewicki* – see I. Tereśńska, *Krzysztof Warszewicki* [entry], in: *Dawni pisarze polscy od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski. Przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny* (Polish Writers in the Past from the First Written Records to Young Poland. Biographical and Bibliographical Guide), Vol. 5, ed. R. Loth, Warsaw 2004, pp. 23-24; *Encyklopedia Wiedzy o Książce* (Encyclopaedia of Book Studies), ed. A. Birkenmajer, B. Kocowski, J. Trzynadłowski, Wrocław 1971, column 1554; T. Michałowska, *Średniowiecze* (Middle Ages), Warsaw 1997, pp. 638-640; E. Chojecka, *Ilustracja książkowa* (Book Illustration) [entry], in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej. Średniowiecze – Renesans – Barok* (Dictionary of Old Polish Literature. Middle Ages – Renaissance – Baroque), ed. T. Michałowska, Wrocław 1998, p. 336; J. Pelc, W. Tomkowicz, *Mecenat* (Sponsorship) [entry], in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej...*, p. 531; T. Michałowska, *Średniowiecze* (Middle Ages) [entry], in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej...*, p. 965.

[33] For the most important and exhaustive information about Samostrzelnik's life, see.: B. Przybyszewski, *Jak się nazywał Stanisław z Krakowa, cysters z Mogiły, iluminator?* (What was the name of Stanisław of Kraków, cistercian monk of Mogiła, illuminator?) "Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń PAU" 1948, Vol. XLIX, pp. 338-340; *idem*, *Stanisław Samostrzelnik*, "Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń PAU" 1951, Year LII, pp. 74-80; *idem*, *Stanisław Samostrzelnik*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 1951, Vol. XIII, pp. 47-87; Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-70; B. Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika* (Stanisław Samostrzelnik's Miniatures), pp. 5-23; M.A. Quinkenstein, *Stanisław Samostrzelnik*, in: *Stanisław Samostrzelnik*, pp. 21-29; W. Wydra, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11.

[34] Frederic Madden was the first to use the word "barbaric" to describe the act of cutting the manuscript which also damaged the minia-

ture *The Virgin and Child* – see F. Madden, *Prayer-book of Sigismund I...*, p. 25.

[35] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[36] For more information about the writing in the *Prayer Book*, see Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 11; U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 96; B. Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika* (Stanisław Samostrzelnik's Miniatures), p. 24.

[37] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[38] Importantly, in Barbara Miodońska's text (see *eadem*, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika*, pp. 48-53) wrong folio references were copied from Zofia Ameisenowa (see Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16): the miniature *St. Jerome in His Study* (in Ameisenowa's text: *St. Jerome in His Cell*) is on folio 3v (in Ameisenowa's and Miodońska's texts: f. 1v); *Christ Giving Communion to Sigismund I* is on folio 59 (Ameisenowa and Miodońska: f. 59v); *The Virgin and Child* (in Ameisenowa's text: "*Woman Clothed in the Sun*" adored by Sigismund I) is on folio 65v (Ameisenowa and Miodońska: f. 64v). Miodońska does not reproduce the title miniature of *Clipeus spiritualis*, whereas Zofia Ameisenowa does not discuss it together with the other three miniatures. Instead, she does it earlier (see Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13) providing an incorrect reference (k. 86-197) to the part of the *Prayer Book* which is in fact on f. 99v-198. The miniature which Ameisenowa calls a "kind of frontispiece" (*ibidem*, p. 12) is on f. 99v.

[39] B. Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika*, p. 48.

[40] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

[41] A.M. Olszewski, *Pierwowzory graficzne...*, pp. 93 and 99. For accurate references and comparisons of the three miniatures (*St. Jerome in His Study*, *Christ Giving Communion to Sigismund I* and *The Virgin and Child*) citing previous publications (Feliks Kopera, Bolesław Przybyszewski, Jerzy Hoppen, Zofia Ameisenowa, Andrzej Mieczysław Olszewski) – see *ibidem*, p. 152.

- [42] *Ibidem*, p. 60.
- [43] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
- [44] See U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.
- [45] G. Jurkowlaniec, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74.
- [46] A.M. Olszewski, *Pierwowzory graficzne...*, pp. 59-60.
- [47] B. Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika*, pp. 52.
- [48] *Encyklopedia Wiedzy o Księżce*, column 1554. Incidentally, the *Encyclopaedia...* does not mention that the “seven representations of saints and the accompanying text” added at the end were not only the work of a different scribe, but were also most probably made in the seventeenth century.
- [49] B. Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika*, p. 24.
- [50] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- [51] M. Starzyński, *Rola i funkcja herbów...*, p. 87; *ibidem*, *Inwentarz pieczęci luźnych w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* (Inventory of Loose Seals in the Collection of the Jagiellonian Library) “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” 2005, Year 55, pp. 9-10.
- [52] Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
- [53] The initials are discussed by Grażyna Jurkowlaniec – see G. Jurkowlaniec, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207. In the literature, little attention has so far been paid to the fact that it is the C initials that contain figurative scenes.
- [54] U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
- [55] *Ibidem*, p. 102. Urszula Borkowska only observed that the text was written in a different hand.
- [56] The problem was noticed by Wiesław Wydra. Most comments in the text related to the original appearance of the *Prayer Book* are due to his work.
- [57] See Z. Ameisenowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 44.

[58] U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 104; M. Starzyński, *Rola i funkcja herbów...*, p. 87.

[59] U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

[60] J. Kallenbach, *Czasy i ludzie*, pp. 377-378.

[61] *Ibidem*, p. 378 (footnote 1).

[62] “This [i.e. Frederic Madden’s description – R.W.] attracted the attention of late Count Aleksander Przezdziecki who already commissioned a facsimile of the main miniature 30 years ago. But the *facsimile* disappeared as I have learnt from late Count Konstanty Przezdziecki; the later description of the prayer book made on site by the late historian [Stanisław – R.W.] Lukas is available until the present day in the manuscript” (*ibidem*, p. 378). Writing about the facsimile, Józef Kallenbach, must have meant the miniature *Christ Giving Communion to Sigismund I* because it is the only miniature he mentions on the previous page.

[63] F. Kopera, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[64] J. Kallenbach, *Czasy i ludzie*, pp. 376-377.

[66] J.T. Lubomirski, *op. cit.*, p. 629.