

## Autobiographical marginal notes in early printed calendars, almanacs and ephemerides as the form of the pre-memoirs in Poland in the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries

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The present study is devoted to a more detailed discussion on the original form of *diariusz*, or more precisely, daily personal entries as marginal notes in multi-annual calendars from the latter half of the fifteenth century. Though the first attempts to validate the significance of this subject area are to be found in my three earlier short texts<sup>2</sup>, it seems that these questions have not yet been adequately addressed and surveyed and require further research to demonstrate that this particular form of private autobiographical writing deserves more critical attention than it hitherto has received.

First, it is worthwhile to remind the reader what is understood by the term “*diariusz*” and what types of Polish *diariusz* are generally distinguished by researchers. The meaning and the typology given below is based on the dictionary entry compiled by Hanna Dziechcińska in *Słownik literatury staropolskiej*<sup>3</sup>.

The term “*diariusz*” stems from the Latin word *diarium* (*dies* – day), which originally meant a daily ration of food given to soldiers and captives. The new usage of the word in later Latin took the existing lexical item and assigned it a new semantic meaning. The word came to mean a journal (diary) in the sense of everyday inscriptions

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<sup>2</sup> Rafał WÓJCIK & Wiesław WYDRA, **Jana Żdźarowskiego, kanonika poznańskiego, diariusz z lat 1532-1551**, vol. 4, Kronika Miasta Poznania, 2006, p. 43-61; introduction to the Series *Diariusze staropolskie* in: R. WÓJCIK and W. WYDRA (Ed.), **Jana Żdźarowskiego, kanonika poznańskiego, diariusz z lat 1532-1551**, z. 1, Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2009, p. 5-7; R. Wójcik, **Zapiski z efemeryd i almanachów XV i XVI wieku. Plan wydawniczy serii Diariusze staropolskie**” (conference communique). Presented during the session on calendars in the Old Polish culture (gone to press).

<sup>3</sup> Teresa MICHAŁOWSKA, **Słownik literatury staropolskiej. Średniowiecze – Renesans – Barok**, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1998, p. 163-165.

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and notes recording day to day events and routines, instructions given and received, contract signed, births and death in the family, public or private matters, income and expense calculations. In the Old Polish period, the Latin word *diarium* was interchangeably used along its Polonized form and equivalent *diariusz*.

Dziechcińska writes that the fundamental structural principle underlying the meaning of the word *diariusz* in its hand-written format is a daily record that divides “racje o większym zespole zdarzeń na poszczególne ogniwa, zamknięte ramą jednego dnia”<sup>4</sup> [sections of a larger set of events into individual portions confined to the timeframe of a single day]. This type of a compositional structure and format of notes (entries) imposed in a natural way a chronological order of presented events. A characteristic trait of the genre is that these notes have survived until our times in almost exclusively hand-written form, while this type of writing was perpetuated through family members as a kind of a family inheritance passed down generation to generation.

Dziechcińska divides marginal notes into regular and irregular. Notes that were kept on a one to one day basis fall into the former category, and they include mainly accounts of foreign journeys (usually either scientific journeys or those undertaken as an official emissary, envoy or delegate) or military expeditions. In the latter case, the period involved was usually given a time frame determined by the moment of departure and the return home. The irregular type of the *diariusz* embraces accounts or commentaries written down sporadically (more like a commonplace book), with frequent intervals and, according to the author of the entry, constitute an intermediate link between the regular form of the *diariusz* and the diary, i.e., we may add, a fully-fledged form of recording one’s thoughts that in some instances (cf. *Pamiętniki* by Jan Chryzostom Pasek) are ranked as literature and not merely autobiographical writings. Dziechcińska continues that this type of notes usually began with some kind of an important, sometimes crucial, event in the life of their author (e.g. graduation, death of parents, the first stages of life on one’s own, etc.).

The *diariusz* is generally of applied and documentary nature, while the main social class directed towards is noblemen and gentry. Its origination was prompted, according to Dziechcińska, by an increase in the political activity of noblemen, in the number of journeys made abroad and in military expeditions. At this juncture, the

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<sup>4</sup> T. MICHAŁOWSKA, *Słownik literatury staropolskiej. Średniowiecze – Renesans – Barok*, p. 164.

researcher offers yet another distinction of the *diariusz*, and classifies it further into personal and official, stating that the former marginal notes were scarce in the sixteenth century and that those that have been preserved until our times mainly constitute a group of accounts of journeys, while the majority of them, being simply reports on official visits as envoys, have close relationship to the official *diariusz*. The latter, originated in the sixteenth century for the first time and popular from the following century, quite frequently simply copied from one to another, performed the function of the source of continuous political information. This type is best exemplified by the then Parliament journal (Polish: *dyariusz sejmowy*) that included condensations and summaries of the agendas and proceedings of deliberations, as well as military and political reports.

It is worthwhile to mention that in lexicographical definitions in dictionaries of earlier forms of autographical writing that preceded diaries in their strict sense, such as *diariusz* (in the meaning described above) or the *raptularz* (a sort of rough draft handwritten somewhat hasty notes), calendar notes are usually omitted and are not listed. In detailed, monographic studies related to diary and memoirs writing, the problem of calendar notes is addressed in a varied manner, i.e., from the full recognition of their significance as an important stage in the development of autobiographical prose (cf. Alojzy Sajkowski), to views and opinions that deny any value or significance to calendar notes in the development of this particular literary genre, and grant them only a certain social importance of a given cultural convention (Andrzej Cieński).

There is no unanimity and no agreement among researchers as to the most appropriate term to be used universally that would designate marginal notes in multi-annual calendars. Most frequently it is the following forms that are used interchangeably: *diariusz*, notes, *raptularz*, *spominki*, calendar/*diariusz* records/entries/annotations/jottings. Sometimes, within one item, two different names occur next to each other, though they describe exactly the same writing phenomenon, which is the case, for example, in *Z zaścianka na Parnas* by Henryk Barycz in which the notes scribbled down by Kasper Goski are defined as a journal<sup>5</sup>, whereas the notes

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<sup>5</sup> Henryk BARYCZ, *Z zaścianka na Parnas. Drogi kulturalnego rozwoju Jana Kochanowskiego i jego rodu*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1981, p. 369.

made by an anonymous author (wrongly attributed by Barycz to Piotr Dunin-Wolski, more on that below) as marginal notes (*diariusz*)<sup>6</sup>.

The term *spominki* is actually restricted to medieval autobiographical annotations that were made on the margins or protective leaves of hand-written codices, and in my opinion should be further limited for this particular type of writing.

Marian Kaczmarek argues for the term “raptularz” for marginal notes in calendars as follows:

*Zwięzła i rzeczowa treść, eliminacja opisu na rzecz krótkiej informacji oraz brak rozbudowanego komentarza autorskiego pozwalają na określenie tej odmiany jako raptularza. Wczesne raptularze pisane pośpiesznie, “na gorąco”, są maksymalnie zwięzłe, często ograniczają się do pojedynczych słów lub trudno zrozumiałych skrótów (np. notatki z lat 1499-1508 Erazma Ciołka biskupa płockiego)<sup>7</sup>.*

[The concise and factual content, elimination of description in favour of some short information, as well as lack of the author’s elaborated commentary, allow us to designate this particular type as the *raptularz*. Earlier forms of the *raptularz*, hastily written as they went along, are as concise as possible, and more often than not limit themselves to just single words or abbreviations hard to be discerned today (e.g. notes from the years 1499-1508 jotted down by Erazm Ciołek, bishop of Płock)]

The term *raptularz*, however, has strong connotations with the culture of the seventeenth century and, when we consult *Słownik terminów literackich*, we find the definition that does not entirely fit to the description of marginal notes in calendars:

*Raptularz (< łac. rapere = porywać, chwycić) – w dawnej Polsce księga gospodarska, w której przygodnie zapisywano wydarzenia rodzinne i domowe, plotki sąsiedzkie, uroczystości towarzyskie, wypadki życia publicznego, dowcipy, anegdoty, wydatki, ceny towarów itp. Zarówno zawartość, jak i właściwości językowe czynią z r. istotne źródło wiedzy o kulturze staropolskiej<sup>8</sup>.*

Raptularz (from Latin *rapere* = to seize, take or snatch) – a kind of a housekeeping book in former Poland in which events from the family life or gossips from the neighbourhood, notes on social ceremonies and events, jokes, public affairs, anecdotes, expenditures, prices of

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<sup>6</sup> H. BARYCZ, *Z zaścianka na Parnas. Drogi kulturalnego rozwoju Jana Kochanowskiego i jego rodu*, p. 372.

<sup>7</sup> Roman POLLAK, Stanisław DREWNIAK, Marian KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w*, Introduction, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966, p. XXIV.

<sup>8</sup> Janusz SŁAWIŃSKI, *Słownik terminów literackich*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1998, p. 422.

commodities, etc., were written down randomly. Both the content and its particular linguistic traits make a *raptularz* a valuable and significant source of information on Old Polish culture.

According to the same dictionary, the term “*diariusz*” is defined as:

*dziennik, w którym zapisywane są na bieżąco wydarzenia z życia prywatnego lub publicznego, prowadzony bez starań o literacką formę przekazu; forma piśmiennicza uprawiana w Polsce od 2. poł. XVI w. [...]*<sup>9</sup>

[A daily record of events, a journal in which events from one’s private or public life are recorded as they go, kept and ran without pretences to maintaining a literary form of the message; a writing form popular in Poland since the latter half of the sixteenth century ...]

At this point, it is also worthwhile to remember Sajkowski’s words who writes:

*Raptularz to pojęcie funkcji, sporządzenia notat, bardziej jednak wiąże się z pewną formą zapisu, dziełem, które jest zespołem notat godnych pamięci, ale nie we wszystkim pamiętnicznym. Raptularz to coś w rodzaju notesu, gdzie znajduje się dorywczo adresy znajomych, lecz równocześnie służy on jako “kucharz doskonały” czy „oltarzyk złoty” spraw trybunalskich. To niezawodny „medicus domesticus” podający remedia na ból zębów, kołtun, niestrawność, reumatyzm, a zarazem rejestrzyk dochodów i ekspensów w gospodarstwie hreckosieja poczciwego*<sup>10</sup>.

[*Raptularz* is a notion encompassing the function of making notes. More closely, however, is related to a certain form of writing, a work that is a set of notes worth to be remembered, not necessarily in terms of their memoir value. A *raptularz* is something like a scrapbook where you can find, should there be a need for it, addresses of your acquaintances, but at the same time it serves as a “cook book” or a “golden little altar” providing legal formulas handy in tribunal court cases. It is a reliable *medicus domesticus* providing remedies and medical recipes for various ailments, toothache, a Polish plait, indigestion, rheumatism, and simultaneously is a little ledger of income and expenses in a household of a good petty nobleman]

To that Sajkowski adds that: “tego rodzaju notatnik [czyli *raptularz* – R.W.] nie jest *diariuszem* ani tym bardziej pamiętnikiem, może jednak stanowić w wielu wypadkach pierwsze ogniwo ich tworzenia”<sup>11</sup>. [this particular notebook [i.e., the *raptularz* – R.W.] is neither a *diariusz*, nor a diary for that matter, but can, however, constitute in many instances the first link in the origination of the latter]

<sup>9</sup> J. SŁAWIŃSKI, *Słownik terminów literackich* p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> Alojzy SAJKOWSKI, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM 1964, p. 33-34.

<sup>11</sup> A. SAJKOWSKI, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*, p. 35. Sajkowski gives an overview of contemporary definitions and typologies of autobiographical writing (p. 27-85).

Putting the question of the chronological scope aside, which, due to the reasons discussed below should be rather shifted one century backwards, the word “diariusz” is more appropriate for a form of writing represented by entries and notes in multi-annual calendars. One may even say that, as far as etymological proximity is concerned, calendar entries fit into the meaning of this word ideally, especially that they were kept according to the chronology of days as they went and constituted a sort of a “daily portion” of information recorded by the author. Things as they are then, take us back to the original meaning of his Latin word.

With the case of the interchangeable usage of the words “records” or “notes”, one should then provide an additional designate: adjectival forms “of a diariusz” or “calendar”, since these adjectives specify the type of the notes, i.e., indicate their chronological and daily structure imposed by the form of the multi-annual calendar.

As far as the content of the diariusz records from multi-annual calendars is concerned, we can distinguish six basic content groups:

- a) Notes that refer to significant events in the lives of those near and dear to the author (births, deaths, illness, wedding, christening, etc.);
- b) Records that refer to everyday activity in the household, i.e., revenues, income, expenses, notes on hands accepted for service, on leaseholders, and the like;
- c) Notes on natural disasters, especially those in the close vicinity of the author’s place of abode (floods, draughts, fires, particularly cold winters) and on unusual natural phenomena (e.g. comets);
- d) Entries referring to important events or incidents important for the local community;
- e) Information concerning important occurrences in Poland or, more infrequently, in other countries or within the Catholic Church;
- f) Notes from journeys, often limited to the simple information “I arrived at the town of X” or “I left the town of Y”, cf. *veni Posnaniam, discessi Pataviam* and so on.

Characteristic formal features of records of marginal notes that were inscribed into a calendar include terseness, usually without any commentary – just a fact given, and a fairly exact precision in giving the specific time of a given event, most frequently

these involve dates giving a day date and, in the case of instances of births and deaths, sometimes an exact hour and minute are added. Obviously, these features were somehow forced upon by the fact that notes were inscribed into printed calendars, which made any elaborate narration impossible due to a simple lack of space. The authors of notes sometimes manage to handle this inconvenience by “shifting” (transferring) notes from the tables to the title pages that introduced the subsequent years. These pages were usually left blank, with little printing on them, and provided an opportunity to squeeze up more notes within their spaces. Most frequently, however, these type of notes concerned (and referred to) the most important events that had occurred in a given year and were usually inscribed not concurrently but *ex post*, when the year was coming to an end, being a sort of a summary of the last twelve month of the passing year.

It is worth mentioning again that unlike in the “golden age of diary writing”, when noblemen were universally engaged in writing a *diariusz*, *raptularz* or a diary, in the initial period, i.e. in the latter half of the fifteenth century and in the first three quarters of the sixteenth century, notes of the *diariusz* type in calendars were kept almost exclusively by the then intellectual elite: clergymen, sometimes high ranking religious officials, and professors of the Cracow University, as well as physicians, oftentimes eminent medics of their time.

At the beginning of the 1960s, a number of important works on Old Polish diary practice were published<sup>12</sup>. A kind of a summary of all relevant works published at the time was *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*<sup>13</sup> Inasmuch as today nobody denies some literary value in the diaries and marginal notes written in the end of the sixteenth century and the whole of the seventeenth century, not to say anything about later times, the very origin of Polish autobiographical writing has still remained problematic, brings much controversy and provokes much dispute.

Maciej Janik, the autor of a very interesting work devoted to the Old Polish calendars of the Saxon period<sup>14</sup>, writes:

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<sup>12</sup> Władysław CZAPLIŃSKI, *Pamiętniki Samuela i Bogusława Kazimierza Maskiewiczów (XVII)*, Introduction, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1961; Jadwiga RYTEL, *Pamiętniki Paska na tle pamiętnikarstwa staropolskiego. Szkic z dziejów prozy narracyjnej*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1962; A. SAJKOWSKI, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*, Introduction.

<sup>13</sup> A. SAJKOWSKI, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*, Introduction, p. VII.

<sup>14</sup> Maciej JANIK, *Polskie kalendarze astrologiczne epoki saskiej*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo DiG, 2003.

Kommemoratywna funkcja notat kalendarzowych prowokuje do zastanowienia się nad ich związkiem z literaturą pamiętnikarską. Jest on różnie oceniany przez badaczy pamiętnikarstwa. Jedni [R. Pollak, S. Drewniak i Marian Kaczmarek; Jadwiga Rytel, A. Sajkowski – dop. RW], zgłębiając genezę form pamiętnikarskich, uznają w zapiskach kalendarzowych źródło diariuszy, a potem pamiętników. Inni [...] [Joanna Partyka – dop. RW] starają się w miarę precyzyjnie umieścić je w łańcuchu form pamiętnikarskich. Jeszcze inni wreszcie, jak np. A[ndrzej] Cieński, nie dostrzegają związku genetycznego między nimi a wyższymi formami pamiętnikarstwa, stwierdzając, że jest to “nie tyle konwencja pisarska, ile konwencja zachowania kulturowego”. Wydaje się, że bez dokładnego rozpoznania zapisków kalendarzowych, zrealizowanego na szerokiej podstawie źródłowej, wielogłos ten będzie kontynuowany<sup>15</sup>.

[Commemorative function of calendar notes makes a good food for thought in considerations on their relationship to autobiographical literature. This relationship is differently estimated by researchers of memoirs literature. Some of them [R. Pollak, S. Drewniak and Marian Kaczmarek; Jadwiga Rytel and A. Sajkowski – my addition, RW], examining the origins of diary forms, recognize calendar notes as the source of the first diariusz, then proper diaries. Others [...] [Joanna Partyka – my addition, RW] make attempts at a relatively precise placement of them in the chain of diary forms. Still others, such as for example A[ndrzej] Cieński, do not discern any genetic relationship between them and the higher forms of autographical writing, simply stating that it is “not so much a literary convention, but rather a convention in a cultural behaviour”. Things as they are, it seems that without a further exploration of calendar notes, executed on a wide source base, this polyphonic discussions will go on]

Marian Kaczmarek, one of the authors of *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.* highlights the important role of the first marginal notes (diariusz) in the early years of Polish autobiographical literature. To describe notes of this particular kind, the author of *Antologia* uses the term *raptularz*. Kaczmarek linked the origination of daily notes with their applied function and its relationship to current needs. It was him who first pointed at a very interesting testimony, seemingly utterly omitted by other researchers. Kaczmarek mentions that in prefaces to printed calendars, publishers encouraged their readers to make notes of “ważniejszych wydarzeń, dat urodzin i zgonów członków rodziny oraz bliskich ludzi z uwzględnieniem >>koniunkcyj ciał niebieskich i

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<sup>15</sup> M. JANIK, *Polskie kalendarze astrologiczne epoki saskiej*, p. 246-247.

astrologicznych konspektów<<<sup>16</sup> [more important events, dates of births and deaths of members of the family and close people with the >>conjunction of celestial bodies and astrological patterns<< taken into consideration]. We shall return to this extremely interesting issue further on in the text. According to the author of *Antologia*, a calendar served not so much as a source of practical information and guidance so needed in the everyday family life and in astrological prophecies for future, but became as well “rejestrzem ważnych dla właścicieli nieraz intymnych zapisów prowadzonych ku pamięci”<sup>17</sup> [a register of important, if not intimate records kept by their owners for posterity]. From among many apt and accurate remarks concerning calendar notes, we find another very important sentence: “Lakoniczne notatki z różnych dziedzin publicznego i prywatnego życia, wpisywane w kalendarzowe tablice na przestrzeni kilku, kilkunastu, a nawet kilkudziesięciu lat, tworzą prymitywną, ale pierwszą odmianę staropolskiego diariusza”<sup>18</sup> [Succinct notes concerning different domains of public and private life, inscribed into the calendar tables throughout a period of a few, a dozen or even several dozens of years, create a fairly primitive, but definitely the first variation of the Old Polish diariusz.], and further:

*Znaczenie raptularza w historii pamiętnikarstwa staropolskiego polega przede wszystkim na stworzeniu szeregu wyznaczników dziennego zapisu, które odpowiednio przekształcone przyczyniły się do powstania i rozwoju diariusza*<sup>19</sup>.

[The significance of the raptularz in the history of the autobiographical literature of the Old Polish period is underlined mainly in creating a string of determinants for a daily inscription that, appropriately transformed, contributed to the origination and the development of the diariusz form.]

and below:

*Raptularzowe notaty były również podstawą największej i najbujniejszej gałęzi pamiętnikarstwa XVI w. – relacji peregrynacyjnych. Wierny opis trasy podróży, oglądanych miast, zabytków i ludzi, wreszcie własnych spostrzeżeń i wrażeń wymagał zastosowania bieżącej relacji prowadzonej z dnia na dzień. Lapidarne notatki, zawierające sumę niezbędnych*

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<sup>16</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIAK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*, Introduction, p. XXIII.

<sup>17</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIAK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*, Introduction, p. XXIII.

<sup>18</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIAK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*, Introduction, p. XXIII.

<sup>19</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIAK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*, Introduction, p. XXV.

*informacji, dopiero po powrocie do kraju były porządkowane i uzupełniane. Raptularz dzięki tej praktycznej przydatności będzie stosowany później z pewnymi modyfikacjami powszechnie i odegra pierwszoplanową rolę w rozwoju staropolskiego pamiętnikarstwa nie tylko XVII, ale nawet XVIII w<sup>20</sup>.*

[Additionally, notes in the raptularz formed a base for the largest and the most prolific branch of autobiographical literature of the sixteenth century, i.e., peregrination accounts. An accurate description of the itinerary, cities visited, monuments and people met on the way, and finally one's own observations and impressions, required an application of a current account on a day to day basis. Succinct notes, composed as the sum of necessary information, were put in order and appropriately arranged and complemented as late as the return to the country. Thanks to its practical usefulness, the raptularz was to be later used commonly with certain modifications and was to have its primary share in the development of Old Polish autobiographical writing not only in the following century but also even in the eighteenth century.]

In above passage Kaczmarek refers to a book by the prominent specialist in Old Polish diaries, Alojzy Sajkowski, who in his book *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami* devoted a fairly extensive passage to marginal notes, the more so interesting because of its accuracy and aptness<sup>21</sup>. There is no enough space to cite the passage in full. Much to the point, however, is what Sajkowski writes with reference to Rytel's book:

*Zgadając się na wywody zawarte w monografii Rytlówny (o wpływie historiografii oraz autobiografistyki renesansowej) chciałbym je o tyle poszerzyć, że dostrzegam linię wpływów gatunków historiograficznych na właściwe pamiętnikarstwo; natomiast na gałęzi diariuszowo-raptularzowej wycisnęły swe piętno roczniki czy tzw. wspominki sięgające korzeniami głębokiego średniowiecza. Trudno nie dostrzec tych zależności, jakim ulegają późniejsze diariusze zarówno pod względem ogólnej kompozycji jak i w przejęciu pewnych chwytów stylistycznych<sup>22</sup>.*

[Being of the same opinion and views as those expressed in Rytel's monograph (on the influence of historiography and Renaissance autobiography writing) I am inclined, however, to add that I discern a particular influence of historiographical genres on proper autobiographical writing; whereas the diariusz-raptularz branch was clearly ingrained in annals (roczniki), i.e. *wspominki* that go back to deep medieval times. It is hard to overlook these dependencies and

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<sup>20</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIĄK, M. KACZMAREK, **Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.**, Introduction, p. XXVI.

<sup>21</sup> A. SAJKOWSKI, **Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami**, p. 15-26, particularly pp. 15-18.

<sup>22</sup> A. SAJKOWSKI, **Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami**, p. 15.

influences that later diariusze were exposed to as far as the general composition (structure) as well as the use of certain stylistic devices are concerned.]

Sajkowski, after Kürbis, claims that some autobiographical mentions can be found as early as the times of Godysław Baszko<sup>23</sup>. In addition, he recalls a number of autobiographical annals published towards the end of the nineteenth century in the *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Spominki zakonnika świętokrzyskiego*<sup>24</sup>, *Rocznik Jana z Targowiska*<sup>25</sup>, *Spominki łekneńskie*<sup>26</sup>, *Kroniki klasztoru trzemeszeńskiego*<sup>27</sup>, as well as in two interesting calendar notes that still deserve to be re-edited, namely: the diariusz written by Stanisław Naropiński, published based on the notes in *Ephemeridum opus* by Johann Stöffler (Tuebingen 1533) kept in Biblioteka Kórnicka<sup>28</sup>, and Filip Padniewski's diariusz preserved, according to Kętrzyński, in a (wooden) block kept in the Włocławek Seminary Library before the war<sup>29</sup>. The relationship indicated by Sajkowski, between calendar marginal notes and *annales* was met, however, by critical comments on the part of Marian Kaczmarek in his review of the book written by the Poznań-based researcher<sup>30</sup>. Kaczmarek suggests that what Sajkowski claims “does not explain the significance of the phenomenon of the development in the structure of a daily entry” and, moreover, there are only some features, such as recording documentality, schematism and the chronological structure, that can be related to

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<sup>23</sup> A. SAJKOWSKI, *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*, p. 15; Brygida KÜRBIŚ, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV wieku*, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959.

<sup>24</sup> Tadeusz WIERZBOWSKI, “Spominki zakonnika świętokrzyskiego”, in: **Monumenta Poloniae Historica** [thereafter: MPH], vol. 3, Lwów 1878, pp. 411-414.

<sup>25</sup> A. SAJKOWSKI, “Rocznik Jana z Targowiska”, in: E. KALITOWSKI, MPH, vol. 3, pp. 232-240 (Sajkowski wrongly gives pp. 832-40).

<sup>26</sup> S. LUKAS (Ed), “Spominki łekneńskie”, in: MPH, vol. 3, p. 255 (Sajkowski wrongly states in his reckoning the number of these spominki as No. 3 and 4, according to Sajkowski, No. 3 might include *Spominki lubelskie*, published by Lukas prior to the Łekno wspominki on p. 254-255).

<sup>27</sup> A. HIRSCHBERG (Ed.), “Kronika klasztoru trzemeszeńskiego”, in: MPH, vol. 3, pp. 256-263 (Sajkowski gives no indication of pages).

<sup>28</sup> Adam BIEŁOWSKI (Ed.), “Rocznik Stanisława Naropińskiego”, in: MPH, vol. 3, pp. 219-227.

<sup>29</sup> W. KĘTRZYŃSKI (Ed.), “Diarium cuiusdam domestici Petri Tomicki episcopi Cracoviensis”, in: MPH, vol. 5, p. 897-904 (authorship attributed to Padniewski after: A. Sajkowski, *Nad staropolskimi...*, p. 16). The diariusz of chancellor Piotr Tomicki was lost in war. The block described by Kętrzyński is currently missing in Włocławek. It was most probably either destroyed or sent to Germany or Russia. Its fate remains unknown. This is a great loss to Polish culture, since beside calendars for a given year, the block included a very rare and interesting anonymous Cracow print – the textbook for multiannual calendar preparation *Usus almanach seu ephemeridum interpretatio*. Kraków, Florian Ungler, 1532. A printed copy is kept at Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, shelf number XVI.O.503.

<sup>30</sup> Marian Kaczmarek, *Staropolskie pamiętniki*. Review of the book: A. SAJKOWSKI, “Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami”, in: **Ruch Literacki**, R. 6 (1965), pp. 241-244. Kaczmarek's remarks on Sajkowski's claim on the relationship between annals and early versions of diariusz on pp. 242-243.

medieval chronicling. Kaczmarek proceeds to question the assumptions made by Sajkowski that the notes made by Filip Padniewski and Filip Naropiński could prove the transformation of annals into a personal *diariusz*, because as early as the fourteenth century and fifteenth century annals show examples of the application of daily dates. Another objection to Sajkowski's conclusions is the lack of clear elucidation why personal notes started to be kept in the first place. Kaczmarek believes that one of the main reasons behind the origination of notes was their utilitarian function in fulfilling needs of rather expedient nature. On the one hand, it is feasible to accept Kaczmarek's argument, on the other, however, the pro tempore utility of the bulk of the notes in question is largely doubtful. What mercantile significance, for example, has a piece of information that the author of a note left Poznań on a particular day and four days later arrived at Cracow? Or a record of successive deaths of close relatives and even more distant people? This problem will be elaborated later in the text. I believe that both mentioned authors are partly right. Annals may have had some influence (and that was probably the case) as an inspiration for the origination of the first personal notes. This, however, does not change the fact that the appearance of calendar marginal notes were also influenced by some other factors. The following chapters will include very apt and pertinent remarks made by a number of historians such as Andrzej Obrębski, Sławomir Gawlas or Krzysztof Bracha. These elaborations cast a new light on the origins of calendar notes and their relationship with annual notes (records).

In view of the above opinions, the standpoint expressed by Andrzej Cieński in his *Pamiętnikarstwo polskie XVIII wieku*<sup>31</sup> is rather surprising:

*Materiał zapisek kalendarzowych jest szczupły, banalny i od wieków trzymający się nieustannie tej samej formy zapisu. Jest to nie tyle konwencja pisarska, ile konwencja zachowania kulturowego. Fakt, że wraz z narodzeniem się wyżej zorganizowanych form diariuszowych, kronikarskich i pamiętnikarskich zapisy tego typu nie nikną, ani nie zmieniają swej formy, świadczy mym zdaniem o braku związku genetycznego między nimi a formami wyższymi*<sup>32</sup>.

[Material (content) of calendar notes is thin, banal and repeatedly keeping to the same form of record for ages. It is not so much a writing convention, but rather a convention of cultural behaviour. The fact that, along with the origination of better-developed diariusz,

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<sup>31</sup> Andrzej CIEŃSKI, *Pamiętnikarstwo polskie XVIII w*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1981, pp. 60-62.

<sup>32</sup> A. CIEŃSKI, *Pamiętnikarstwo polskie XVIII w*, p. 62.

chronical and diary forms, notes of his type do not disappear or even undergo a change in their form, testifies in my opinion to the lack of a genetic relationship between those forms and higher forms.]

Cieński, justifying his standpoint, writes:

*Badacze pamiętnikarstwa zastanawiając się nad jego genezą wskazują na zapiski robione w drukowanych kalendarzach jako na źródło diariuszy a potem pamiętników.<sup>33</sup> Uznałem więc za celowe sprawdzić, jak wyglądają takie zapiski w XVIII w. [podkr. R.W.]. Zadanie było ułatwione, gdyż Katalog kalendarzy XVII-XVIII Barbary Górskiej<sup>34</sup> starannie wylicza wszystkie kalendarze adnotowane. Przejrzawszy 30 egzemplarzy skonstatowałem, że zdecydowane pierwszeństwo mają notatki gospodarskie, tj. obliczenia wydatków, notatki wypłat służbie, notatki wypłaconych zaliczek i pożyczek, rozliczenie wydatków z podróży, rozliczenia zakupionego na siew zboża<sup>35</sup>.*

[Researchers in autobiographical writing, considering its origins point at marginal notes made in printed calendars as the source for the first diariusz, and then diaries. I found it most appropriate then to check what such notes looked like in the eighteenth century [emphasis added, R.W.]. This assignment has been made easier, since Katalog kalendarzy XVII-XVIII by Barbara Górka scrupulously enumerates all annotated calendars. Having gone through 30 of calendars I realised that it was decidedly household notes, i.e., those that included calculations of expenditures, indentured servants pay-offs notes, information on advance payments and loans, financial settlements of travel expenditures and purchased grain for sowing, that were in absolute precedence.]

This harsh evaluation of calendar notes seems to be inaccurate. It is the choice of the studied material that is inaccurate in the first place, As it is clearly seen from the cited passage Cieński, to substantiate his argument examined calendar notes from the eighteenth century, i.e., from the period when proper diaries in their fully-fledged and complex form had been around in Poland for at least 100-150 years. The thing is, however, that we encounter first calendar notes in Poland as early as the end of the fifteenth century! The author of *Pamiętnikarstwo polskie XVIII w.* uses the same measure for late medieval and Early-Renaissance calendar marginal notes and to eighteenth century notes. In my opinion this is a wrong approach. Moreover, if we

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<sup>33</sup> At his point, Cieński inserts a footnote to the works cited earlier: KACZMAREK, RYTEL, SAJKOWSKI and Wayne SHUMAKER, **English Autobiography: Its Emergence, Materials and Form**, Berkeley, California University Press, 1954.

<sup>34</sup> Barbara GÓRSKA, **Katalog kalendarzy XVII-XVIII w. w zbiorach Biblioteki Ossolineum**, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968.

<sup>35</sup> A. CIENSKI, **Pamiętnikarstwo polskie XVIII w.**, p. 60.

assume that the eighteenth century notes indeed include primarily household information, then these notes differ from those inscribed into the pages of calendars in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, for the latter mainly included notes on births and deaths in the family or of other people, information on trips undertaken, natural disasters or some important events in the life of their author and of people either related to his private life or public activity<sup>36</sup>. In addition, the following statement can hardly be acceptable: “Fakt, że wraz z narodzeniem się wyżej zorganizowanych form diariuszowych, kronikarskich i pamiętnikarskich zapisy tego typu nie nikną, ani nie zmieniają swej formy, świadczy mym zdaniem o braku związku genetycznego między nimi a formami wyższymi.” [The fact that with the origination of better-developed diariusz, chronicle and diary forms, notes of this type do not simply vanish or do not change their form testifies, I believe, to the lack of any genetic relationship between the latter and the higher forms.] In reply to this statement it is worthwhile to remember that, firstly, in the medieval times, beside well-developed narrative forms such as the chronicles of Gallus Anonymus, Kadłubek or Janko of Czarnków, there were still in operation annalistic notes and the so-called *spominki*, yet researchers do not deny or challenge the influence of *annales* upon the development of chronicler’s work, despite the fact that the form of chronicles was being perfected as the time progressed. Secondly, it may be so indeed that notes of this type do not disappear and do not change their form, while they do change their function. The thing is these notes had a different role at the turn of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century and then had a totally different role in the eighteenth century. In this way, we come to a point where we have to pose two extremely important questions: when and exactly why personal calendar notes started to be kept?

It is quite understandable that the first attempts at autobiographical notes were made primarily by clergymen, because liturgical calendars were included in codices held in cloister or chapter libraries or in monasteries. Scarce autobiographical notes made on their margins, which is the case for example with the *spominki* written by Maciej of Pełczyn (*Rocznik świętokrzyski – Annales s. Crucis*; formerly known as:

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. the marginal notes in diariusz of Ambroży Pampowski, Jan Źdżarowski, Kasper Goski, Jan Musceniusz and Jan and Stanisław Krzysztopski, to mention but a few.

*Spominki zakonnika świętokrzyskiego*)<sup>37</sup>, constitute the first attempt at immortalising not only significant moments in the life of the state, church and the monastic community, but also key events in the life of an individual.

The already cited book by Sajkowski includes the following passage:

*Zgadając się na wywody zawarte w monografii Rytłówny (o wpływie historiografii oraz autobiografistyki renesansowej) chciałbym je o tyle poszerzyć, że dostrzegam linię wpływów gatunków historiograficznych na właściwe pamiętnikarstwo; natomiast na gałęzi diariuszowo-raptularzowej wycisnęły swe piętno roczniki czy tzw. spominki sięgające korzeniami głębokiego średniowiecza. Trudno nie dostrzec tych zależności, jakim ulegają późniejsze diariusze zarówno pod względem ogólnej kompozycji jak i w przejęciu pewnych chwytów stylistycznych*<sup>38</sup>.

Accepting the elucidations included in Rytłówna's monograph (on the influence of historiography as well as the Renaissance autobiographical writing), I am inclined to broaden their scope by the clearly perceivable action line (influence) of historiographical genres upon the proper diary writing; while the **diariusz-raptularz** branch was influenced by annals or the so-called **spominki** that were deeply rooted in the early Middle Ages. It is hard to overlook these dependencies that influence later diariusz, both with respect to the general composition and in the adoption of certain stylistic devices [emphasis mine, R.W.]

The analogy that could be drawn from Sajkowski's elucidation would be then as following: medieval chronicles, similarly as in the case of *Annales*, had their origin in personal *spominki* notes, and then in calendar notes written on a day to day basis and concerning private life. Thus obtained forms were then followed by later and better developed forms of recollective notes (the relationship between notes and the historiography of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries is discussed later on in the text). And it is of no significance that calendar notes did not vanish after the development and the establishment of such forms as the diary in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, as Cieński would like to see it. As it is indicated above, when the literary form of the diary was fully established, the function of calendar notes changed, whereas they did not change their form. The problem issues related to the transformations that calendar notes underwent between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, have not been yet properly and

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<sup>37</sup> "Rocznik świętokrzyski (Annales s. Crucis)", in: A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, **MPH**, seria II, 12. Kraków, 1996, p. XXXIX-XL.

<sup>38</sup> A. SAJKOWSKI, **Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami**, p. 15.

sufficiently addressed by researchers. Until this question has been sufficiently examined and resolved, there is no time to jump to ultimate conclusions.

How to explain the fact of the emergence of the importance of personal experiences in the life of an individual in human consciousness? Why notes relating to personal lives started to be written and kept in the first place? It should be noted that in the initial period, it is not so much household notes that are in question, notes of the type "who owns whom and how much", but rather those that relate to boundary, eschatological events, such as the birth and the death in the family or to those public people that for some reason were considered important in the life of the author of the notes. With the current state of research, it is hard to find an unequivocal answer. Fifteenth-century notes of this type are too scarce for examination to propose any far-reaching conclusions. It might have been the influence of Humanism which emphasized the value and agency of human beings, more individual than collective, and that generally preferred individual thought and evidence, but this seems to be too general a remark and a too simplified explanation.

Krzysztof Bracha points at the role of the Cracow Academy, lectures offered by the university, as well as the commentaries written by Jan of Dąbrówka to *Kronika* by Wincenty Kadłubek<sup>39</sup>. Undoubtedly, Bracha's remarks are very relevant when it comes to Maciej of Pełczyn (from Pyzdry), abbot of the Holy Cross monastery on Łysa Góra, the keeper of the book collection at the library of the monastery, a copyist and a prominent monk. As Bracha continues, *Spominki*:

*Była to nieśmiała próba Macieja własnej twórczości kronikarskiej lub tylko zwykłe przekonanie wyniesione z lektury historycznej i klimatu krakowskiej uczelni o wartości zapisu własnej pamięci*<sup>40</sup>.

[This was a modest and tentative attempt made by Maciej to embark on chronicle writing of his own or, perhaps, a simple conviction following the reading of historical texts and the specific climate of the Cracow university that valued recording of one's own memory so much]

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<sup>39</sup> Krzysztof BRACHA, "Maciej z Pełczyna (z Pyzdr) – opat łysogórski, bibliotekarz, kopista, miłośnik historii z XV w. i jego kodeks z Biblioteki Czartoryskich w Krakowie", in: Marek DERWICH, Krzysztof BRACHA, *Z dziejów opactwa świętokrzyskiego. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Kielce 1 czerwca 2006 r.*, Kielce, Kieleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2007, pp. 29-50.

<sup>40</sup> K. BRACHA, "Maciej z Pełczyna (z Pyzdr) – opat łysogórski, bibliotekarz, kopista, miłośnik historii z XV w. i jego kodeks z Biblioteki Czartoryskich w Krakowie", p. 35.

In the case of the Łysa Góra *spominki*, Bracha highlights still another aspect that might have triggered the interest in not only the past in its general dimension, but also in the first attempts to write down one's own little, private, history. The Kielce-based historian relates this fact to humanistic currents, at the time becoming more and more influential among Polish elites. Humanism brought a strong belief that thinking about the past opens a whole new way in its moral dimension and, what is important in the life of a monk – “może być wykorzystane na niwie pastoralnej”<sup>41</sup> [can be further used in his pastoral work]. Undoubtedly, the personal history could have been applied to a certain extent in sermons to common people, while at this point some sort of a convergence of a number of factors might have taken place causing Maciej to turn to recording elements from his personal history. The contemporary strong interest in history in the then Łysa Góra monastery, Maciej's personal fondness of history and historical issues, the first influences of Humanism – all this contributed to Maciej of Pelczyn's decision to keep personal notes on the pages of his codex, thus inscribing his personal experience into a wider context of the all-nation memory and that of the monastic community. Bracha rightly cites the words of a German researcher with reference to the monastic community, one of which Maciej was an active member: “ważnym elementem jedności tej grupy była memoria, a więc pamięć liturgiczna oraz tradycja historyczna”<sup>42</sup> [an important element of the unity of this group was *memoria*, i.e., the liturgical memory and historical tradition].

These notes made by the clergyman are not in fact what is of particular interest to us in the present study. Unquestionably, however, in the notes of Maciej of Pelczyn, just as in the slightly later calendar notes, the desire for preserving and recording one's own personal history that concurrently accompanies the perimeters of the “great” history.

Apparently, ideological and intellectual reasons, such as Humanism and a deeper interest in history, were yet accompanied by one more important factor that triggered

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<sup>41</sup> K. BRACHA, “Maciej z Pelczyna (z Pyzdr) – opat łysogórski, bibliotekarz, kopista, miłośnik historii z XV w. i jego kodeks z Biblioteki Czartoryskich w Krakowie”, p. 46.

<sup>42</sup> K. BRACHA, “Maciej z Pelczyna (z Pyzdr) – opat łysogórski, bibliotekarz, kopista, miłośnik historii z XV w. i jego kodeks z Biblioteki Czartoryskich w Krakowie”, p. 49; W. SCHÖNTAG, “Memoria, tradycja historyczna i dziejopisarstwo w klasztorach premonstratensów XII i XIII wieku”, in: Edward POTKOWSKI, Jerzy KALISZUK, Jacek PUCHALSKI, **Historia – pamięć – pismo. Studia z dziejów tradycji historycznej i historiografii**, (Kultura – historia – pismo, 1), Warszawa, Instytut Informacji i Studiów Bibliologicznych, 2002, pp. 35-36, 58-59.

and released the need for satisfying the desire to immortalize fragments of one's life, even in such a simple form as notes in a *diariusz*. Marian Kaczmarek as the first of Polish researchers noticed and underlined that publishers themselves in their prefaces to calendars encouraged their readers to make notes of “ważniejszych wydarzeń, dat urodzin i zgonów członków rodziny oraz bliskich ludzi z uwzględnieniem >>koniunkcyj ciał niebieskich i astrologicznych konspektów<<”<sup>43</sup> [more important events, birth and death dates of the members of the family and other people in relation to the >>conjunction of celestial bodies and astrological arrangements taken into consideration in them<<]. Kaczmarek then continues: “Lakoniczne notatki z różnych dziedzin publicznego i prywatnego życia, wpisywane w kalendarzowe tablice na przestrzeni kilku, kilkunastu, a nawet kilkudziesięciu lat, tworzą prymitywną, ale pierwszą odmianę staropolskiego diariusza”<sup>44</sup> [Succinct notes covering different areas and domains of the public and private life, inscribed into the calendar tables over a period of a couple, several, or even a dozen of years, create a primitive, but original and the first variation of Old Polish *diariusz*]. This issue was later re-evaluated by the historian Sławoim Gawlas in his article published in 1991<sup>45</sup>. While considering the origins of the notes of Zbigniew Oleśnicki that were to provide Jan Długosz with information to the latter's chronicle, Gawlas points at a number of possible reasons. Some of them are worth mentioning here: the need for a creation of genealogical documentation among the Polish magnates, the historiographical activity of circles of secular and monastic clergy, the beginning of historiography created by burghers (annalistic notes in municipal records), records and lists of officials, annalistic notes, attempts to create and maintain municipal chronicle, and also the growing number of loose marginal notes in codices and, later, incunabula<sup>46</sup>.

Following the trail suggested by Kaczmarek and Gawlas, I think that the appearance of calendars, in their the multi-annual variation in particular,

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<sup>43</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIĄK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w*, p. XXIII.

<sup>44</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIĄK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w*, p. XXIII.

<sup>45</sup> Sławoim GAWLAS, “Astrolog przyjacielem historyka? Diariusz Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego w genezie Roczników Jana Długosza”, in: Danuta GAWINOWA, *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa, PWN, 1991, pp. 455-469.

<sup>46</sup> S. GAWLAS, “Astrolog przyjacielem historyka? Diariusz Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego w genezie Roczników Jana Długosza”, pp. 464-465.

as well as common access to them, were the key elements that made it possible for private notes to be kept and maintained. It is no coincidence that the earliest calendar marginal notes were kept in the main by either clergymen (including professors of Cracow University), or physicians (or at least by people who had something to do with medicine and astronomy).

A significant demand for calendars by private persons can be testified by the fact that they constituted one of the first books that were published and printed in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Prior to the Gutenberg's invention, the Swabian astronomer, Johann Gmünd (Ioannes de Gamundia) developed calendar tables (around 1439) that were then impressed from xylographic blocks. Twenty years later, between 1458 and 1476, the very same Gmünd was able to print calendars with the help of the movable type<sup>47</sup>. What is then the significance of the developments in calendarography in the development of diary writing? It was apparently quite essential. As it has been said earlier, in a similar way as medieval chronicles have their roots in monastic annals, so private, personal, records (notes) started to be generally used when it was possible for a private person to possess his own copy of a multi-annual calendar. Before Gutenberg's introduction of moveable type, making a hand-written codex, for a private person, that included exclusively a multi-annual calendar would have been extremely time and work consuming and costly, another words – uneconomic. Obviously, there are some hand-written calendars in medieval codices that have been preserved until our times, also at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, but they served not just one person for his personal use, but rather a group of people – professors, students, members of the clergy, and in general, each individual copy was to serve a certain community or a group of people and not an individual.

After the introduction of the moveable type, the book became a much more personal object than incunabula ever had been before. It became *familiaris*, something that once was so much craved by Hugh of Saint Victor. This does not mean of course that hand-written books were not privately possessed by professors or students of the Cracow University. Indeed they were, but for obvious reasons they were treated differently than the printed book. Calendars were around from the very beginning of the invention of print and enjoyed enormous popularity in all their formats: wall calendars,

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<sup>47</sup> Ludwik ZAJDLER, *Dzieje zegara*, Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1977, p. 15; M. JANIK, *Polskie kalendarze astrologiczne epoki saskiej*, p. 6.

prognostics, directorium, or finally in the form that is of our interest – almanacs and astronomical and astrological ephemerides<sup>48</sup>. The book in general, and the book of this type in particular, became a real private property of one person within one timeframe. Such calendars were rarely given for use to other people and they were even protected from an unauthorised use of an outsider by coding notes, which was the case, for example, with the notes made by Maciej Drzewicki and Jan Źdżarowski.

A fairly late, because from about mid-16th century, but very interesting example of a historical calendar that had two different uses is the repeatedly re-edited and reprinted, *Calendarium historicum* by Paul Eber of Kitzingen (Paulus Eberus Kitthingensis; 1511-1569)<sup>49</sup>, dedicated to George Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg, Stettin and Pomerania. Eber was a protestant theologian, hymn-writer and a reformist. He studied in Wittenberg, where his master was Philipp Melanchthon. Eber's printed work fit accurately into the current of Lutheran historical calendars. Some interesting considerations on Eber are to be found in the chapter *Lutherische Geschichtskalender zwischen Humanismus und Hagiographie*<sup>50</sup> by Matthias Pohlig. Pohlig is of opinion that the increase in the number of hand-written notes in Lutheran calendars is closely related to Philipp Melanchthon's (1497-1560) postulate to keep the so-called "calendar historiography" (*die kalendarische Historiographie*). Everyday events in the general history and in the history of the Church should be noted on the pages of a specially designed calendar, while each morning should start with a reading of a chapter from the Bible in the calendar. >From about 1544, Melanchthon had been considering publication in print of calendars of this type and commissioned the task to Paul Eber, just like the following creators of other protestant calendars – Michael Beuther (1522-1587) and Kaspar Goldtwurm (Kasper Goltwurm; 1524-1559)<sup>51</sup>. The instructions given by Eber, or even Melanchthon himself, state<sup>52</sup> that everyone should have his own calendar in order to write in them his own hand-written notes relating to events that are worth

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<sup>48</sup> Also discussed by S. GAWLAS, "Astrolog przyjacielem historyka? Diariusz Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego w genezie Roczników Jana Długosza", p. 466, with a sample list of works on the history of books and the calendars' contribution – ibidem (footnote 49).

<sup>49</sup> Paul EBER, *Calendarium historicum conscriptum a Paulo Ebero Kitthingensi*, Wittebergae, excusum in officina Haeredum Georgii Rhau, 1550.

<sup>50</sup> Matthias POHLIG, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2007 (seria: Spätmittelalter und Reformation. Neue Reihe, 37), Chapter 6: Lutherische Geschichtskalender zwischen Humanismus und Hagiographie, pp. 418-461.

<sup>51</sup> P. EBER, *Calendarium historicum conscriptum a Paulo Ebero Kitthingensi*, p. 419.

<sup>52</sup> In German literature it is a matter of dispute; see.: M. POHLIG, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung*, footnote 5, p. 419.

remembering. It was not only contemporary events that were to be included in the notes, but also edifying examples from the past, dates of births and deaths of outstanding and famous people, Christian and, interestingly enough, pagan feast days, as well as joyful and sad events from one's own life<sup>53</sup>.

Multi-annual calendars were unique publications in terms of their impact on personal lives of their owners. Their very format, the way they were structured and organized, suggests that in their authors' intention (clearly embracing the expectations of buyers) was that the almanacs were to serve their readers in their everyday life, whereas their size made them easily available and always close at hand. The striking bulk of calendars of this type was in the format 4° (*in quarto*), except Leovitz's ephemerides – huge, weighty volumes published as 2° (*in folio*). Interestingly enough, in the latter ones notes were also kept, sometimes quite lengthy. The *in quarto* format is handy and easy enough to carry it around, take it with on a journey, actually use it almost everywhere. Apparently format 8° (*in octavo*) seemed to even more suitable for the purpose, but in fact the sheer multitude of tables would have made their contents virtually illegible. Not without any significance for our considerations is the fact that the latter format would have been completely unsuitable for making any notes in it for simple lack of space<sup>54</sup>. The only exception is Paul Eber's *Calendarium historicum* mentioned above (*in octavo*) in which the author purposefully left much space on every page for private notes. Kaczmarek writes:

*Kalendarz służył więc nie tylko jako źródło praktycznych wskazówek, tak potrzebnych w życiu rodzinno-domowym, i przepowiedni przyszłości na podstawie gotowych horoskopów astrologicznych. Wraz z rosnącą ilością notat stawał się także rejestrem ważnych dla właścicieli, nieraz intymnych zapisów prowadzonych ku pamięci*<sup>55</sup>.

[The calendar served then not only as a source of practical tips and information, so needed in the family and household life, as well as prophecies for the future that were based on ready-made astrological horoscopes. Along with the growing number of notes, the calendar also

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<sup>53</sup> M. POHLIG, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung*, p. 419.

<sup>54</sup> The issue of the format and its significance in much later calendars from the Saxon period is highlighted by M. JANIK, *Polskie kalendarze astrologiczne epoki saskiej*, p. 82-86. His observations on the introduction of protective leaves into the then calendars are also interesting, as well as a fairly extensive passage on the co-memorization functions of calendar notes ( p. 243-253)

<sup>55</sup> R. POLLAK, S. DREWNIĄK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*, p. XXIII.

became a register of important, for its owners, and oftentimes intimate entries kept for posterity.]

In later calendars and prognostics, the problem of free space for notes was resolved by inserting a blank page into the calendar.

It may be then an established fact that these calendars, apart for their obvious role of providing information of astronomical and astrological nature, also performed a function of contemporary organizers, though they did organize the future, but individual, private past. It is worthwhile to add, by the way, that one might wonder why multi-annual calendars virtually lack any information on what is going to happen in the future, but they only provide information on what has already happened. In a way, these calendars can be likened to present-day organizers because one is almost tempted to make notes on scheduled meetings, future arrangements in them, yet only past events were inscribed into the calendars.

Multi-annual calendars soon became a very popular and commonly purchased printed publications. No wonder then that in the sixteenth century many authors were ready to prepare them, oftentimes drawing from the experience and calculations of their predecessors. Notes from the fifteenth century are to be found (in Poland) in the calendars prepared by Johann Müller, better known as Ioannes Regiomontanus (Ioannes de Monte Regio)<sup>56</sup>. Others included Jakub (Iacobus) Pflaum and Johann (Ioannes) Stöffler. The authors<sup>57</sup> of the seventeenth-century calendars worth mentioning during reference queries in libraries first of all include Johann Carellus (Carellius), Marten Everaert (Martinus Everart), Lucas Gauricus, Cyprian von Leowitz (Cyprianus Leovitius), Ioannes Antonius Magini (Maginus), Giambattista Moletto, David Origanus (David Tost), Pietro Pitati (Petrus Pitatus), Niccolo Simo (Nicolaus Simus) and Ioannes Stadius.

Since the *Cronica Poloniae Maioris* written by Godislaw Baszko (1. ed. 1283-1296, 2. ed. 1377-1384), Polish historiography intertwines history with time more closely<sup>58</sup>. Bronisław Geremek comments on this as follows:

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<sup>56</sup> These prints should be found in printed catalogues and particular libraries under the Latinized name of the author.

<sup>57</sup> Some of the Latinized names are given because many libraries use these Latinized forms to catalogue the calendars.

<sup>58</sup> B. KÜRBIŚ, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV w.*, p. 131, 272.

*do wyobraźni czasowej kręgów oświeconych – nie tylko jednak czytelników, ale także słuchaczy – przenikała z wolna i w mierze ograniczonej roczna precyzja chronologiczna, myślenie o upływie czasu w wymiarze lat*<sup>59</sup>.

[human time imagination of enlightened circles – not only readers but also members of the audience – more and more involved the sense of some annual chronological precision in delineating events, the sense of the passage of time in terms of years]

Geremek also points at the fact that the daily date has a meaning that goes beyond the domain of chronology. It also determines, he continues, the quality of a day through the introduction of the relationship between secular time with that of ecclesiastical time-keeping, i.e., with sacred time. By making a note that an event took place on the day of this or that patron saint, the event was given a particular inflection, some formative influence upon the occurrence of the event was discovered. As a rule, the chronological order in which events occurred was supported by two systems: the kindred order (consanguinity relationship) on the one hand, and the numerical arrangement) of dates<sup>60</sup>, on the other. Still, according to our standards, the adherence to chronological precision in the depiction of events was not at all satisfactory. Geremek continues:

*Przede wszystkim mamy tu do czynienia z odmiennym typem wrażliwości na czas, uwarunkowanym zarówno socjopsychologicznie jak i światopoglądowo. Słaba wrażliwość na czas, na dokładność mierzenia czasu ustępowała z wolna w ostatnich stuleciach średniowiecza przed nowymi potrzebami, a ekspansja zegara mechanicznego znaczy zmianę tak mierzenia jak i pojmowania czasu. Ale przemiana ta w wyobraźni czasowej dziejopisarstwa daje się zauważyć w stopniu ograniczonym, nie zmienia jeszcze – aż po XV w. – zasadniczych jej struktur i granic*<sup>61</sup>.

[In the first place, we have to deal here with a different type of sensitivity to time that is conditioned by both social and psychological factors, as well as was determined by a particular worldview of the time. Low sensitivity to time, to the precision and accuracy of time measurements slowly was giving way throughout the last centuries of the Middle Ages to new requirements, while the expansion of the mechanical timing device was followed by a change in not only the method for time measurement but also in the understanding of the very notion of time. But this transformation in time imagination of historiography is still hardly visible, and

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<sup>59</sup> Bronisław GEREMEK, “Wyobraźnia czasowa polskiego dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego”, in: **Studia Źródłoznawcze**, n° 22, 1977, p. 9. I am indebted to Dr. Alicja Szulc from the Manuscript Collection of Poznań University Library for making me aware of this inspiring article.

<sup>60</sup> B. GEREMEK, “Wyobraźnia czasowa polskiego dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego”, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> B. GEREMEK, “Wyobraźnia czasowa polskiego dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego”, p. 16.

does not alter for the time being – until as late as the fifteenth century – its fundamental structures and boundaries.]

This important and revealing remark has not been yet properly discerned by researchers in the history of diaries in Poland, most probably because the clear reference of the outstanding medievalist to the history of medieval historiography and not to memoirs or autobiographical writing. It is worthwhile to consider, however, the influence of yet another element that is mentioned in the above passage, i.e., the shift in understanding of private history and such an accurate time location of it due to the application of printed calendars. It seems that not enough emphasis has been hitherto put to the influence of the rapid expansion of the mechanical clock that started towards the end of the fourteenth century (the invention dates back to the thirteenth century), and flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The first tower clocks in Poland were those in Wrocław (Breslau) (1368) and in Cracow (1380)<sup>62</sup>. Still, however, the basic source of the passing time, of coming religious feasts, festivities and events was mainly holy masses and priests, who reminded their flock about the coming fasts and religious holidays<sup>63</sup>. Beside clergy, calendar information was also provided by municipal authorities (due dates for payments and rents). Towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the beginning of the following century, printed calendars were already increasingly popular and easily available at medieval fairs, community bazaars and church fairs<sup>64</sup>. Beside Cracow and Wrocław, other early tower clocks were attested in documents from Świdnica (1370), Gdańsk (1389), Poznań (before 1399), Lwów (1404)<sup>65</sup>. From the early years of the fifteenth century, the number of mentions of mechanical clocks in Polish lands

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<sup>62</sup> Wiesława SIEDLECKA, *Polskie zegary*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988, p. 33. O roli zegarów i ich rozwoju, wpływie na mentalność zob. także: Ludwik ZAJDLER, *Dzieje zegara*, Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1977; Benedetta GALLIZIA di VERGANO, Emilio STRADA, *Zegary. Dzieje instrumentów mierzących czas – od zegarów słonecznych do elektronicznych*, Warszawa, Arkady, 2000; Carlo M. CIPPOLI, *Clocks and Culture, 1300-1700*, New York, Norton & Company, 2003; *Zegary mechaniczne. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu oraz Toruński Oddział Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Toruń, Muzeum Okręgowe, 2000; Agnieszka BARTOSZEWCZ, *Czas w małych miastach. Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, Warszawa, Pułtusk, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2003.

<sup>63</sup> A. BARTOSZEWCZ, *Czas w małych miastach. Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, p. 112 and below.

<sup>64</sup> A. BARTOSZEWCZ, *Czas w małych miastach. Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, s. 114 (writes on the beginning of the 16th.c.).

<sup>65</sup> A. BARTOSZEWCZ, *Czas w małych miastach. Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, p. 116. The author enumerates many Polish cities and towns (*secundi ordinis*), as well as gives an extensive reference list.

decidedly increases. Appropriately, the same refers to relevant occupations of artisans, clockmakers, clock repairers and to agreements made between them and appropriate city boards. In the fifteenth century, most Polish bigger cities boasted a number of clock towers, while smaller cities had at least one, most frequently located in the city's town hall<sup>66</sup>. It is worth remembering that the clock on town hall tower not only facilitated and improved the city life but also testified to its wealthiness, improved the status of a town and, more often than not, was a pride of its inhabitants. Beside mechanical clocks, hour glasses were obviously still in common use. The hour glass, even more than the mechanical clock seemed to be one of the basic items in the household. At least from 1464, home clocks became fashionable accessories in Poland. They were manufactured in Cracow by master clock maker Leonard Wunderlich<sup>67</sup>. If Grzegorz, the parson in Ciężkowice, could have afford a timing device of this sort in 1465, there is no doubt that clocks were also quite common in courts of bishops and magnates, not to mention the royal court. There is a certificate that has been preserved until our time stating that Wunderlich made a clock in 1478 commissioned by the "professor of the Cracow University Jan of Głogów"<sup>68</sup>. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the next big step in the evolution of clocks was the creation of a small clock to be carried around (this was made possible by the replacement of the open construction with a simple box construction), which changed the approach to time in the mentality of the then educated elites even more. A precise record of time was in turn necessary for generating horoscopes, preparing prognosticons (practicas), i.e., in astrology and astronomy that at that time the Cracow University was so famous for (it is no coincidence that it was exactly Jan of z Głogów that commissioned the manufacture of the clock to Wunderlich). Obviously, many years went by before the clock became common enough to be a commonplace item in many households. Agnieszka Bartoszewicz writes that, in everyday practice, more burghers started buying clocks as late as the mid-sixteenth century<sup>69</sup>. This statement applies, however, to burghers and not to professors, bishops or high royal officials, who were the first to start keeping private calendar notes.

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<sup>66</sup> W. SIEDLECKA, *Polskie zegary*, p. 38.

<sup>67</sup> W. SIEDLECKA, *Polskie zegary*, p. 57.

<sup>68</sup> W. SIEDLECKA, *Polskie zegary*, p. 59.

<sup>69</sup> A. BARTOSZEWCZ, *Czas w małych miastach. Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, p. 121.

One may venture to state that the appearance of the first notes of the diariusz type, the awakening of the awareness of one's own private history, attempts to record it and inscribe into the "great" history were all influenced by a number of factors that all taken together constituted the onset of Polish autobiographical writing:

1. the expansion of the mechanical clock, within the city space (town hall tower, church tower, etc.), as well as in private houses and manors, which resulted in a shift in attitude towards time and, primarily, in the way time was measured;

2. the development of astronomy and astrology, its blooming period in Cracow in the fifteenth century (requirement of accurate record of a given event (dates and hours) for an accurate horoscope to be generated);

3. the appearance of multi-annual printed calendars, which on the one hand made it possible to keep chronological notes, and on the other influenced the change in the perception of passage of time (similarly as in the case of the mechanical clock) and events that actually occur in time;

4. expansion of Humanism with its perception of man as a separate human being with his own history;

5. the related change in the perception and the narration of history (e.g. lectures by J. Dąbrówka at the Cracow University, calendar notes made by Maciej of Miechów, later used in the creation of the *Chronica Polonorum*, notes by Maciej Drzewicki used with the edition of the *Acta Tomiciana*, by Górski, more on that below);

6. a particular vogue for keeping notes (records of events) that seems to be firmly established among the professors of the Cracow University and high church and state officials at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Is it so then that, as writes Kaczmarek in the passage cited earlier: "Jego [t.j. pamiętnikarstwa] narodzin trzeba szukać w epoce, która w centrum zainteresowania umieściła człowieka i jego życie. Dopiero renesans mógł stworzyć odpowiednie warunki powstania i rozwoju tej subiektywnej z racji swego istnienia gałęzi piśmiennictwa"?<sup>70</sup> [Its [i.e., autobiographical writing] advent is to be found in the epoch that focused primarily on man and his life. It was only Renaissance that could

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<sup>70</sup> R. POLLAK., S. DREWNIĄK, M. KACZMAREK, *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI w.*, p. XVI.

provide appropriate conditions for the origination and development of this subjective, due to its existence, branch of literature and writing]? The first *spominki* and calendar marginal notes were initiated during a period of great intellectual transformations, but it is hard to unequivocally state whether their authors still belonged to Middle Ages or should be rather perceived as the first Humanists. It was a great watershed period, caused the invention of Gutenberg among others, and authors of notes were deeply rooted in the mental borderland between the new and the old, lived in the period that Zygmunt Bauman calls the *interregnum*, where what is “old” has not been completely dismantled and the new not yet risen to power.

In a way, one might say that this issue was a kind of a phenomenon, a remarkable occurrence. Of course, researchers noted and acknowledged the significance of diaries and marginal notes long time ago, but the beginning of autobiographical writing in Poland is usually dated for the latter half of the sixteenth century. Things as they are, however, make us re-evaluate the way we view the problem, as the beginnings of autobiographical marginal notes (*diariusz*) should be moved one century backwards, i.e. to the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Why a phenomenon is observed within this context? No doubt, personal recollective motifs were to be found much earlier in the writings of great and less significant authors, starting from the ancient times, through St. Augustine’s *Confessions*, the *Autobiography* of Charles IV<sup>71</sup>, to the autobiographical poem written by Władysław of Gielniów or the “autobiography” of Biernat of Lublin<sup>72</sup>, to mention but a few examples in Poland and a number of other obvious examples. There is, however, a principal difference between the above mentioned texts and calendar notes. There is no doubt that the mentioned autobiographical notes knowingly and designedly addressed some unidentified or specific receiver (reader), whereas calendar marginal notes undoubtedly in their original function did not address strangers or outsiders, but apparently they were to serve their authors exclusively (though this

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<sup>71</sup> Cf.: Balázs NAGY, *Memories of the Self: The „Autobiography” of Charles IV in Search of Medieval Memories. [In:] Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, Ed. by Rafał Wójcik, Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2008, pp. 161-166; B. NAGY, Frank SCHAER, *Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas*, Budapest, CEU Press, 2001; literature ibidem.

<sup>72</sup> Stanisław GRZESZCZUK, *O notatkach autobiograficznych, lekturach i bibliotece Biernata z Lublina*, Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej R. XXXVIII, 1988, pp. 31-61.

statement is not conclusive and does not refer to all calendar marginal notes preserved until our time). What was then the purpose of keeping notes of this kind?

The answer provided by Jadwiga Rytel cannot be fully reconciled at present with other answers provided by researchers:

*Diariusze dostarczały często kronikom surowego materiału. Kroniki wykorzystywały ten materiał, nadbudowując już nad nim określoną koncepcję dziejowego procesu, przetwarzając jednocześnie dla swych celów charakterystyczny szczegół<sup>73</sup>.*

[The diariusz oftentimes provided raw material for future chronicles. Chronicles used this material, superimposing it with a given concept of a historical process, adjusting at the same time some distinguishable detail to their own specific purposes.]

Marginal notes could indeed provide extensive raw material to chronicles that in the process of their incorporation into the latter could be then elegantly cast in the literary form.

However, the only known Polish historiographer that actually used his own calendar notes in his writing of the chronicle was Maciej of Miechów (Miechowita). This fact was highlighted by Aleksander Birkenmajer<sup>74</sup>, later acknowledged and validated by Leszek Hajdukiewicz<sup>75</sup>. Birkenmajer came to a conclusion that the calendar notes that Miechowita had kept in his copies of the Ephemerides (Almanac) by Stöffler and Pflaum, published in 1499 and not preserved until our time, were helpful in his description of the years 1481-1506 (i.e., those later than the year 1480 in which Długosz terminated his *Annales*). The Stöffler's print (*Almanac* aimed to cover the years 1499-1530) was mentioned as the only book in Miechowita's legal estate (inheritance) next to a number of jewels and rare and historic coins that were to be bequeathed to the chronicler's friend, Jerzy Turzo. The latter, however, never made it to collect his due inheritance because he died in Augsburg before Maciej of Miechów in 1521<sup>76</sup>. According to Hajdukiewicz, the fact that the almanac was among the jewels

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<sup>73</sup> J. RYTEL, *Pamiętniki Paska na tle pamiętnikarstwa staropolskiego. Szkic z dziejów prozy narracyjnej*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>74</sup> A. BIRKENMAJER, *Stromata*..., pp. 209-210.

<sup>75</sup> Leszek HAJDUKIEWICZ, "Zainteresowania Miechowity w świetle jego księgozbioru", in: **Maciej z Miechowa. 1457-1523. Historyk, geograf, lekarz, organizator nauki**. Monografie z Dziejów Nauki i Techniki, t 15, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960, p. 220 and 239. After Hajdukiewicz, also.: Agnieszka DZIUBA, **Wczesnorennesansowa historiografia polsko-lacińska**, Lublin, Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 2000, p. 51.

<sup>76</sup> L. HAJDUKIEWICZ, "Zainteresowania Miechowity w świetle jego księgozbioru", p. 220 (literature ibidem).

proves that it must have included notes made by Miechowita, because otherwise, with Miechowita's private notes missing, it would have been of almost no value. This conjecture seems right. Regretfully, we know nothing about the book's fate after the death of Maciej of Miechów.

It is worthwhile to mention that the notes of bishop Drzewicki were used by Stanisław Górski during his work on the edition of *Acta Tomiciana*: "Już przy pierwszej redakcji zbioru posługiwał się Górski takimi źródłami, jak dzienniczek osobisty prymasa Macieja Drzewickiego (zm. 1535), z którego nie mógł chyba wcześniej korzystać, jak po jego zgonie"<sup>77</sup> [As early as during the first editing work of the book, Górski made extensive use of sources such as the private journal of Primate Maciej Drzewicki (d. 1535) that was available to him, one might suspect, only after the death of the primate.

As it seems then, none of the authors of early calendar notes known to us, except Maciej of Miechów, later became authors of a chronicle. Moreover, I do not know of any instance in which early calendar notes were taken advantage of by some other author involved in historiography (apart from bishop Drzewicki and *Acta Tomiciana*), though it cannot be ruled out that this might have been possible (this does not apply, of course, to our contemporary historians who made or have been making extensive use of early notes, such as Henryk Barycz or Jacek Wiesiołowski). This, however, does not change the fact that in their remarkable majority these notes were kept for one's own use and, at least in the early years, their authors did not intend to use them while writing a proper chronicle of their lives.

Each and every researcher that has examined calendar notes and made an effort to study or publish them, has been fully aware of the potential that marginal notes have. Both Antoni Karbowski and Ludwik Aleksander Birkenmajer, the first editors of the notes from calendars kept in the Jagiellonian Library, were very keen on writing about their exceptional value. Henryk Barycz, cited in the present article a number of times, the historian who published *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, still after almost a hundred years after its publication a topical and inspiring reading, included in it a significant number of interesting observations:

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<sup>77</sup> Władysław POCIECHA, *W sprawie wydawnictwa Aktów Tomicjanów*, Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej, 3, 1946, pp. 23-25; Ryszard MARCINIAK, *Acta Tomiciana w kulturze politycznej Polski okresu Odrodzenia*, Warszawa – Poznań, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1983, p. 53.

*materiał to bardzo cenny, malujący w najdrobniejszych szczegółach życie codzienne magistrów, notujący wszystkie ważniejsze wydarzenia z dziejów wszechnicy, wreszcie zawierający pierwszorzędny materiał do historii obyczajowej samego miasta, dworu królewskiego oraz ważniejszych wydarzeń w polityce wewnętrznej i zewnętrznej*<sup>78</sup>.

[this material is of particular value, depicting in every detail the everyday life of masters, recording all more important events and happenings in the history of the Academy, and finally constituting the first-rate material for the study of morality and manners of the city itself and the royal court, as well as the most important events in the country's internal and external politics.]

Eight years earlier Kazimierz Piekarski, the outstanding scholar specializing in the history of the book and printing, following his study on the notes by Mikołaj Sokolnicki and Marcin Biem from Olkusz, moved the date of death of the Cracow-based printer Jan Haller, from October 7 to October 8, 1525 r. In his article devoted to this particular issue, he highlights the significance of notes from ephemerides<sup>79</sup>.

It is worthwhile to recall at this juncture Kazimierz Piekarski's pre-war initiative that, for a number of reasons, failed to substantiate. This fact has been noted by Andrzej Obrębski<sup>80</sup>, while this project is widely discussed by Henryk Barycz in his particularly interesting chapter *Dwa studenckie diariusze padewsko-bolońskie z czasów Jana Kochanowskiego* from the already cited book *Z zaścianka na Parnas*<sup>81</sup>. Around 1927, Kazimierz Piekarski collected a team of co-workers (W. Pociach, W. Budka and Henryk Barycz) to embark on the work on an edition of the notes from ephemerides that were kept at the Jagiellonian Library. According to Barycz, the plan did not come into effect because of three reasons: firstly, because of the crisis of the 1920s, secondly, because of the transfer of Kazimierz Piekarski to Warsaw, and thirdly because of the outbreak of

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<sup>78</sup> Henryk BARYCZ, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, Kraków, 1935, pp. 4-5.

<sup>79</sup> Kazimierz PIEKARSKI, "Z dziejów drukarstwa", IN: *Silva Rerum*, t. 3, 1927, s. 78; Eugenia TRILLER, *Zapiski Piotra Wiesiołowskiego na kalendarzu Stadiusa*, Roczniki Biblioteczne, R. 6, z. 3-4, 1962, pp. 29-30.

<sup>80</sup> Andrzej OBREBSKI, *Dziennik z lat 1561-1583 dyplomaty i biskupa płockiego Piotra Dunina-Wolskiego*, Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, R. XLII, 1992, p. 99.

<sup>81</sup> H. BARYCZ, *Z zaścianka na Parnas. Drogi kulturalnego rozwoju Jana Kochanowskiego i jego rodu*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1981, pp. 357-375 (na s. 369-371: *Dziennik Kaspra Goskiego [z lat 1549-1551]*; on pages 372-375 *Dziennik Piotra Dunina Wolskiego (1550-1556)*).

WWII<sup>82</sup>. What is to be regretted, Piekarski's initiative was not revived after the war and as Obrębski comments:

*A szkoda, bo stanowią owe diariusze w szeregu wypadków źródło informacji nie do pogardzenia. Tworzą, co prawda, lakoniczny, bowiem z reguły zapisywany na marginesach kolumn druku, opis wypadków z bliższego i dalszego otoczenia autora, ale lakoniczność ta nie stanowi specjalnej przeszkody w rozeznaniu, choćby pobieżnym, co do zainteresowań i upodobań piszącego, jego sytuacji społecznej i materialnej. Informacje czerpane z tych zapisek wypełniają luki w naszych wiadomościach, ubarwiają wizerunki znanych skądinąd postaci. Dzienniki profesorów Akademii Krakowskiej dają poza tym wgląd w codzienne życie uczelni i miasta. Równie ważne są notatki osób pochodzących z innych kręgów, szczególnie osobistości życia politycznego. Pochodzące spod ich rąk zapiski bywają pomocne w zakresie problematyki historii dyplomacji (choćby przy ustaleniach chronologicznych). Pożytki więc z szerszego upowszechnienia tych śladów przeszłości byłyby niewątpliwe<sup>83</sup>.*

[This is something to be regretted, indeed, because these diariusz-type notes presented in a number of instances a source of information not to be overlooked. It is true that they constitute a succinct description of events in the author's life or the lives of his closes circles, because as a rule they were written down on margins next to the printed columns, but this brevity (succinctness) is by no means an obstacle in discerning, though in a very sketchy way, interests and tastes of the writer, his social and material standing. Thus obtained pieces of information fill in gaps in our knowledge on the period, embellish the silhouettes of otherwise well-know people. The journals of the professors of the Cracow Academy provide us with an insight into the everyday routine life of the university and the town. Notes of people from circles other than the university are just as important, especially those of figures from the political life of the country. Notes made by them may be very helpful in studying problems in the history of diplomacy (with establishing chronological order, for example). Benefits that would be accrued from a much more wider diffusion of these vestiges from the past can hardly be overlooked.]

Kazimierz Piekarski himself mentioned the gathered material in his report written for the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences:

*Ważność ich [kalendarzy astronomicznych – R.W.] dla badań historycznych polega na tej drugorzędnej okoliczności, iż były w oświeconych kręgach ówczesnych używane powszechnie*

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<sup>82</sup> A. OBREBSKI, *Dziennik z lat 1561-1583 dyplomaty i biskupa płockiego Piotra Dunin-Wolskiego*, Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, R. XLII, 1992, p. 99; H. BARYCZ, *Z zaścianka na Parnas. Drogi kulturalnego rozwoju Jana Kochanowskiego i jego rodu*, p. 360.

<sup>83</sup> A. OBREBSKI, *Dziennik z lat 1561-1583 dyplomaty i biskupa płockiego Piotra Dunin-Wolskiego*, pp. 99-100.

*jako notatniki do zapisywania memorabiliów, najczęściej o charakterze personalno-biograficznym. Jakkolwiek jako źródło historyczne było od dawna znane i niekiedy wydawane (Ludwik Birkenmajer, Henryk Barycz i in.) niemniej nie czyniono systematycznych w tym względzie poszukiwań, ani nie zestawiono nawet tego materiału, który dotychczas był dostępny. Autor zebrał dane o 92 takich efemerydach astronomicznych z zapiskami różnych osób z w. XV i XVI, wśród których znajduje się szereg dotychczas nieznanymi, jak Macieja Drzewickiego kanclerza w. kor., Jana Firleja wojewody krakowskiego, Mikołaja Dłuskiego znanego działacza dysydenckiego i in.<sup>84</sup>*

[The importance of the material {i.e., astronomical calendars – RW} for historical research is based on this secondary circumstance that they were commonly used in the then enlightened circles as notebooks to write memorabilia, most frequently of personal and biographical nature. Though their contribution as a historical source has been appreciated, known and sometimes published (Ludwik Birkenmajer, Henryk Barycz and others) over time, nonetheless no systematical searches with reference to them have been done, neither the material hitherto available has been collated and juxtaposed. The author has managed to gather data on 92 astronomical ephemerides with notes of different people living in the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> century, including a number of hitherto unknown names such as Maciej Drzewicki, Great Chancellor (Marshal) of the Crown, Jan Firlej, the starosta of Cracow, the well-known dissident activist Mikołaj Dłuski and others.]

Regrettably, the material gathered by Piekarski was destroyed by the Germans in 1944, just like almost the whole of the book collection of the National Library in Warsaw.

It is worth mentioning here that vital information for researchers can be found not only in notes but also in horoscopes included in multi-annual calendars. This was the case, for example, of the horoscopes included on the pages of ephemerides by Jan Brożek, a prominent mathematician at the Jagiellonian University in the seventeenth century. The examination of three anniversary horoscopes made it possible for Jan Mietelski to not only ultimately establish Brożek's birthdate on Friday, November 1, 1585, but also to verify what calendar Brożek actually used and to state precisely the date of his birth with minute precision<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> K. PIEKARSKI, *Studia bibliograficzne*, Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, vol. 44, 1939, No. 1, p. 8.

<sup>85</sup> Jan MIETELSKI, *Jednoznaczność daty urodzenia Jana Brożka (1585-1652)*, Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, R. LV, 2005, p. 51-54.

What is important is not only that present-day historians do make use of calendar notes. The situation was similar in the sixteenth century when, according to Gawlas, notes of high officials and dignitaries were also used. This was the case with the notes from Maciej Drzewicki's *diariusz* that were later incorporated by Stanisław Górski to the collection of the *Acta Tomiciana*<sup>86</sup>. Maciej of Miechów, in turn, extensively drew from his own notes while writing the last part of the *Chronica Polonorum*.

Marginal notes from multi-annual calendars fit into the current of research that is increasingly becoming topical in science and research, namely considerations on memory not within its psychological or mnemotechnical aspect, but in its cultural aspect, as well as into the research on pragmatic literature and writings in late Middle Ages. The works that come to mind within this context include, first of all, such authors as: Jan Assmann<sup>87</sup>, Aleida Assmann<sup>88</sup>, Jacques Le Goff<sup>89</sup> and Otto G. Oexle<sup>90</sup>, and Marcin Kula, Witold Wojtowicz<sup>91</sup> or Krzysztof Ratajczak<sup>92</sup> in Poland.

Early marginal notes provide an excellent example of awareness in the making, of growing awareness of embedding of one's individual life in a common cultural and national history, and, what is even more important, an example of creating, or re-creating, one's own history from fragmental parts of one's own life events. It is fascinating to see how these shards and snippets of one's life are inscribed into the

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<sup>86</sup> S. GAWLAS, "Astrolog przyjacielem historyka? Diariusz Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego w genezie Roczników Jana Długosza", p. 467 (footnote 57): In Sections *Commentarium* and *Cronica*; the author made a reference to himself: „*hec Mathias Dzrewiczki vicecancellarius regni qui tum in curia regis Sigismundi presens fuit manu sua in suo Almanach annotaverat*” – *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, ed. T. Działyński, Poznań 1852, p. 19 [...] Górski made a selection of notes omitting personal ones, others were frequently reorganized and complemented”.

<sup>87</sup> Jan ASSMANN, **Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych**, Przeł, Anna Kryczyńska-Pham. Introduction and edition Robert Traba, Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2008 (original publication: München 1992).

<sup>88</sup> Aleida ASSMANN, **Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses**, München, C.H.Beck, 1999.

<sup>89</sup> Jacques LE GOFF, **Historia i pamięć**, Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2007 (original edition: 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1988).

<sup>90</sup> Otto G. OEXLE, "Memoria und Kulturelles Gedächtnis. Kulturwissenschaftliche Ausblicke auf Mittelalter und Moderne", in: **Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae**, n° 8, 2003, pp. 3-24; **Die Gegenwart der Lebenden und Toten. Gedanken über Memoria**. [W:] **Gedächtnis, das Gemeinschaft stiftet**. Hrsg. von Karl Schmid. München-Zürich 1985, pp. 74-107.

<sup>91</sup> Witold WOJTOWICZ, "Memoria and Mnemotechnik in der Chronica Polonorum", in: Rafał WÓJCIK **Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period**, Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2008, pp. 129-137.

<sup>92</sup> Krzysztof RATAJCZAK, "The Dynastic Memory and the Role of Historical Books in the Education of the Piasts from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries", in: Rafał WÓJCIK, **Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period**, Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2008, pp. 167-177.

“great” history, how personal order is mixed, intentionally or unintentionally, with that of the state or the church. Many marginal notes include information of events of great significance next to intimate, personal experiences, such as those that are to be found in Kasper Goski’s notes: the information on the death of the queen is followed by a note on the birth and then untimely death of his beloved daughter Anna.

For the first time in writings that originated in Polish lands we experience the awakening of the awareness of one’s individual existence in history. Here, the reasons behind the motivations for their choices to keep notes of their life is of lesser importance. As we have seen above, the reasons and the extent for starting to keep notes in calendars varied. What is important is that the bulk of these notes clearly concerns private life, while their authors, for some reason (no matter whether pragmatic or sentimental) decided to keep them in memory, even more than that, wanted to embed them in specific time, to anchor them with a specific timeline and date, sometimes being as precise as to state hours and minutes, as with the case of the notes on births and deaths in the family in Kasper Goski’s *diariusz*. Notes of the latter type (with exact dates, hours and minutes in reporting birthdates and deaths) had additionally astrological significance and are to be found mainly in notes made by physicians.

Insofar as the diary, as was the intention of Kaczmarek, has been rightly placed in literature, calendar notes still wait to be fully discovered and recognized, despite the fact that their significance has been repeatedly stressed by various researchers. Undoubtedly, calendar notes cannot be on par with later diaries as far as their significance in literature is concerned, but certainly deserve to be included in the group of research objects in the knowledge of literature and culture of past centuries as prototypes of later well-developed narrative forms to be found in diaries. It should not be forgotten that it took a long time for diary forms to develop, and the process was not simple, linear or abrupt. The change in the mentality, methods for cognition and for time measurement, the way an individual was viewed by himself and his position in the local, national and, ultimately in general history depended on a number of different factors that, analysed all together, give a fuller picture of the changes, both in mentality and in the development of particular literary genres. The appearance of private notes inscribed into pages of multi-annual calendars influenced on the one hand the development of historiography, which is testified in the calendar notes of Maciej of

Miechów or the Maciej Drzewicki's diariusz, and the creation of the private history, i.e. diary writing, on the other.