ANNALES UNIVERSITATIS MARIAE CURIE-SKŁODOWSKA LUBLIN – POLONIA

VOL. LXXIV SECTIO F 2019

Społeczna Akademia Nauk w Łodzi

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Generosity for the Church or a passion for beauty - in the world of valuable objects of the Bishop of Włocławek and the Archbishop of Gniezno Jakub of Sienno

Hojność dla Kościoła lub zamiłowanie do piękna - w świecie cennych przedmiotów biskupa włocławskiego i arcybiskupa gnieźnieńskiego Jakuba z Sienna

ABSTRACT

Jakub of Sienno was one of the most interesting and significant people of Polish Church in the late middle ages. Very well educated, he was considered to be an art lover and bibliophile and like his cousin Zbigniew Oleśnicki, he was involved in several foundations and donations for the Church and Krakow University.

The main aim of the paper is to discuss Jakub's foundation and donation activity and an attempt to give an answer to the question about the reasons why he engaged in such a wide foundation activity. We are going to focus on those elements that distinguish his attitude to widely understood art from the attitude of other people of his time.

Written sources (letters, bills, chapter's books and biographies) provide numerous information about liturgical vessels, vestments and other precious objects or books that Jakub of Sienno acquired and sometimes brought from his journeys.

Keywords: Jakub of Sienno, archbishop of Gniezno, bishop of Włocławek, foundation activity, books, liturgical objects.

SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF JAKUB OF SIENNO

Jakub of Sienno was born in 1413 in a very influential magnate family from Małopolska. His father – Dobiesław of Sienno was a voivode of Sandomierz, and

his mother Katarzyna, was a daughter of Dymitr of Goraj, who was Kazimierz the Great's court treasurer¹. The year 1435 was a crucial year for Jakub. After returning from studies in Rome, he began his church career, taking dignity of a Krakow canon. Jakub owed his church career to his cousin - Zbigniew of Oleśnica, a cardinal and bishop of Krakow. Zbigniew helped him also to get into the royal court². Jakub was a prelate and canon of numerous Polish chapters. Successively he was a Krakow canon, a Wiślica custodian, a Skalbmierz provost, a Krakow provost, a Gniezno canon, a Wrocław canon, a Włocławek canon and a Gniezno provost³. After the death of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Jakub was the administrator of the Krakow diocese.

Important episodes in Jakub's life took place in 1460 – he came into a direct conflict with the king. In September Krakow bishop Tomasz Strzepiński died⁴. After his death, Krakow chapter elected Jan Lutek of Brzezie as a new bishop (8 XII 1460), and pope Pius II appointed Jakub a bishop of Krakow (24 XI 1460). However, both pope's and the chapter's decisions were not accepted by the king. who wanted Jan Gruszczyński to become the bishop. In various ways Kazimierz Jagiellończyk tried to force Jakub and the chapter to change their minds (after the pope's decision and resignation of Jan Lutek of Brzezie, some of the members of the chapter supported Jakub of Sienno). Jakub and the faithful chapter members aroused king's anger. He sentenced the banishment and confiscation of the goods of Jakub's supporters, and allowed to ravage their possessions. Even the papal curse did not stop him. But when in 1462 the pope withdrew his nomination for Jakub, he decided to reconcile with Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. The former bishop of Krakow humbled himself before the king at Sejm in Piotrków Trybunalski in January 1463⁵. Shortly afterwards, disappointed with the fact that he was refused payment of the promised compensation, Jakub left Poland and went to Rome. And only two years later Jakub accepted king's proposition to be the bishop of

¹ Most biographical facts for: F. Kiryk, *Jakub z Sienna (1413-1480)*, [w:] PSB, t. 10, s. 364-367; I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Polska kancelaria królewska w latach 1447-1506*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967, s. 151-152.

² Z. Górczak, *Podstawy gospodarczej działalności Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego biskupa krakowskiego*, Kraków 1999, s. 136, 139, 178.

³ L. Poniewozik, *Pralaci i kanonicy sandomierscy w okresie średniowiecza*, Toruń 2004, s. 188-190.

⁴ Jan Długosz suggests that both Zbigniew Oleśnicki and Tomasz Strzepiński, due to their health, wanted to give up their episcopal dignity and propose the pope to appoint Jakub of Sienno as their successor, *Katalog Jana Długosza*, w: *Katalogi biskupów krakowskich*, wyd. J. Szymański, MPH, seria nova 10, 2, Warszawa 1974, s. 226.

⁵ Detailed description of the dispute see: M. Borzyński, S. Smolka, *Jan Długosz, jego życie i stanowisko w piśmiennictwie*, Kraków 1893, s. 102-112; J. Sperka, *Zamek Melsztyn, czyli w królewskiej nielasce. Jan Długosz w konflikcie o biskupstwo krakowskie (1460-1463)*, [w:] Klasztory, miasta, zamki w życiu i twórczości Jana Długosza, red. J. Rajman, D. Żurek, Kraków 2016, s. 175-198.

Włocławek. He took that dignity in 1465 (papal provision: 19 X 1464)⁶. After ten years, in 1474 he was transferred to Gniezno (papal decision: 17 XII 1473, chapter election: 27 XII 1473)⁷. As the archbishop of Gniezno and primate he was the one of the most powerful people in Poland. He had the first place and voice in the royal council. Jakub died on October 4, 1480 in Łowicz and was buried in the Gniezno cathedral⁸. His death occurred a few months after the death of his friend Jan Długosz. Jakub and Jan had very close relations, probably because they were peers and both devoted to Zbigniew Oleśnicki. Długosz often helped Jakub by granting him guarantees. The chronicler showed his friendship and affection, also defending Jakub in letters to the cardinal⁹, and later supporting him despite the king's anger and its consequences. According to Długosz, Jakub's biggest flaw was *irascibilitas*. But Jakub was easily angry as he regained his composure¹⁰. The chronicler dedicated two his works to Jakub: *Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gneznesium* and *Catalogus episcoporum Wladislaviensium*.

ITALIAN PEREGRINATION OF JAKUB

His Italian peregrinations played an important role in his attitude to knowledge and art. In Italy he came into contact with the developing culture of the early Renaissance. At first before 1435 Jakub of Sienno studied theology and he might have studied canon law in Rome¹¹. We must remember that at that time (pontificate of Eugene IV 1431-1447) Rome became an important university centre, and soon after - during the pontificate of Nicholas V - also an one of important hearts of humanist

⁶ Hierachia catholica medii aevi, t. 2, wyd. C. Eubel, Monasteria 1914 (dalej:Eubel), s. 270.

⁷ Joannis Dlugossi senioris canonici Cracoviensis Vîtae Episcoporum Poloniae. Catalogus Archiepiscoporum Gneznesium, wyd. I. Polkowski, [w:] Joannis Dlugosz senioris canonici Cracoviensis Opera omnia, t. 1, wyd. I. Polkowski i Ż. Pauli, Cracoviae 1887, s. 377; Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie (dalej: AAG), Akta kapituły metropolitalnej gnieźnieńskiej. Decretalia: ACap., B15, k. 332, 333, 338 (Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta, wyd. B. Ulanowski, t. I: Acta capitulorum Gneznensis, Poznansiensis et Vladislaviensis (1408-1530), Kraków 1894 (dalej: AC), nr 2088, 2089, 2098, 2099); Eubel, t. 2, s.160, M. D. Kowalski, Proventus Camerae Apostolicae Debiti. Opłaty duchowieństwa polskiego na rzecz papiestwa w latach 1417-1484, Kraków 2010, Aneks, s. 233.

⁸ J. Korytkowski, Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy: prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821 czyli do połączenia arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego z biskupstwem poznańskim, t. 2, Poznań 1888, s. 441.

⁹ M. Koczerska, O życiu dworskim, czyli list Jana Długosza do Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego z 5 lutego 1450 roku, [w:] Memoria viva. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Izabeli Skierskiej, Warszawa-Poznań 2015, s. 596.

¹⁰ KAG, s. 378.

¹¹ I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, op. cit., s. 152; H. Barycz, *Polacy na studiach w Rzymie w epoce odrodzenia (1440-1660)*, Kraków 1938, s. 40.

culture¹². In 1448 he travelled to Rome in his cousin matters (cardinal hat)¹³. In 1459 he was a royal deputy to the Pope to submit an obedience on behalf of the king. There is a very interesting description of the entry of the legation, headed by Jakub to Rome. This retinue was to arouse the admiration of the Pope Pius II¹⁴. During his stay in Mantua, Jakub also dealt with the affairs of the Gniezno chapter. He brought the bull of Pius II for the chapter, approving the establishment of two canons for lectors of theology and canon law for Gniezno's cathedral¹⁵.

Four years later he travelled to Rome again because of a dispute with the king about Krakow bishopric. The Pope accepted him in his court and made him an administrator of the castle in Tivoli (18 IX 1464)¹⁶.

Jakub had contacts with representatives of the Italian Renaissance, especially with Enea Silvio de Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II). The Pope considered Jakub a learned man¹⁷. He corresponded by letter *inter alia* with Taddeo of Trevizo¹⁸ and Leonardo de Mansuetis. Jakub and Leonardo were peers from noble families, both took Church career. They had love of books and collected interesting libraries¹⁹. In a letter from Milan as of September 4, 1476 Mansueti thanks Jakub for his warm welcome and help when he was in Poland²⁰. Jakub was also a protector of Jakub Wodka of Kwidzyn, a well known astronomer and medical doctor. In 1476 in Bologna Jakub Wodka made a horoscope (annual prediction) for Jakub. This demonstrates Jakub's interest in astrology²¹.

JAKUB'S FOUNDATION ACTIVITY. A DUTY, GENEROSITY OR PASSION?

The paper will focus on such objects as stalls, paintings, books or liturgical vessels, vestments and other precious objects, but it's necessary to say a few words

¹² H. Barycz, op. cit., s. 19.

¹³ Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti (dalej: CE), t. 1, wyd. A. Sokołowski, J. Szujski, Kraków 1876, pars 2; nr 59; J. Krzyżaniakowa, W służbie króla i Kościoła - wybitni arcybiskupi XV wieku, [w:] 1000 lat archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej, red. J. Strzelczyk, J. Górny, Gniezno 2000, s. 136.

¹⁴ I. Zarębski, *Stosunki Eneasza Sylwiusza z Polską i Polakami*, "Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego", Polska Akademia Umiejętności, seria II, t. 45 (t. 70), nr 4, 1939, s. 81-82; R. Ojrzyński, *Obraz Polski i Polaków w pismach Eneasza Sylwiusza Piccolomoniego (papieża Piusa II)*, Warszawa 2014, s. 156.

¹⁵ AAG, ACap., B15, k. 137; J. Korytkowski, op. cit., t. 2, s. 301.

¹⁶ Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w archiwach i bibliotekach rzymskich do dziejów Polski w wiekach średnich za lata 1899-1913, oprac. W. Abraham, "Archiwum Komisji Historycznej", seria II, t. 1, 1923, s 56.

¹⁷ R. Ojrzyński, op. cit., s. 156, przypis 606.

¹⁸ CE, t. 1, pars 2, nr 37.

¹⁹ J. Niedźwiedź, *Panegiryk do Jakuba z Sienna a początki poezji humanistycznej w Krakowie w XV wieku*, "Terminus", t. 15 (2003), z. 4, s. 491.

²⁰ CE, t. 3, wyd. A. Lewicki, Kraków 1894, nr 227.

²¹ J. Niedźwiedź, op. cit., s. 497.

about Jakub's architectural foundations. He founded churches in Włocławek and Skierniewice, he expanded or renovated the castles in Raciążek, Wolbórz, Włocławek and Żnin. Jakub also financed the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Dormitory founded by his cousin cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, which burnt in 1462²². It is worth mentioning that earlier, after the death of the cardinal, Jakub as the executioner of his will, supervised the completion of the dormitory.

Researchers believe that Jakub of Sienno had an interesting book collection created thanks to his trips to Italy. His collection consists of liturgical, legal and theological books as well as Greek late-Romanic and patristic ones. The preserved books have beautiful appearance - ornamentation and humanistic script (italics). Some of them have his coat of arms on its first folios. Jakub paid a very high price for some of his manuscripts. For example in 1459 in Bologna he paid 64 florens for Pliny's *Historia naturalis*²³. Edward Potkowski believes that the library of Jakub of Sienno was a harbinger of a new type of library in Poland - Renaissance book collections (libraries of Maciej Drzewicki, Erazm Ciołek, Piotr Tomicki). Stefan Swieżawski also emphasizes the role of a library in shaping the new Renaissance mental formation²⁴. He made his library not only for scientific and spiritual purpose, but also for his own pleasure.

Jakub of Sienno was a protector and benefactor of the Jagiellonian University. He gave some of his books as a gift to the university and, as it was mentioned above, he rebuilt the Jerusalem Dormitory. Jakub donated several manuscripts to the library of the Jerusalem Dormitory: John of Damascus *De orthodoxa fide*, Cyril of Alexandria *Thesaurus adversus hereticos* and Gregory of Nyssa *Vita Moysia* translated by George of Trebizond and Peter of Tarantasia, *Postillae super Epistulas Pauli Apostoli*²⁵. Also the chapters benefited from Jakub's generosity. For example, in 1476 he gave *Liber Lectionarius*, *Pars de Sanctis* to the cathedral church in Gniezno, in 1477 he donated three books: *Missale*, *Catholicon* and *Psalterium cum glossis*, and a year later another one - unspecified liturgical books (*codex solennis*)²⁶. Earlier, Włocławek chapter experienced his generosity – bishop Jakub of Sienno gave it *librum magnum pontificale vocatum* and *librum racionale formis applicatum*²⁷.

²² J. Niedźwiedź, op. cit., s. 493.Por. A Włodorek, *Architektura średniowiecznych kolegiów i burs Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*, Kraków 2000, s. 38, 345-346 – Autor claims that Jan Długosz was responsible for rebuilding the dormitory.

²³ Z. Ameisenowa, *Rękopisy i pierwodruki iluminowane Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Wrocław-Kraków 1958, s. 49.

²⁴ E. Potkowski, *Książka rękopiśmienna w kulturze Polski średniowiecznej*, Warszawa 1984, s. 191; S. Swieżawski, *Dzieje filozofii europejskiej w XV wieku*, t. 1, Warszawa 1974, s. 158.

²⁵ Z. Ameisenowa, op. cit., s. 39, 40, 49; E. Potkowski, op. cit., s. 190.

²⁶ AAG, ACap., B15, k. 397v, k. 406v; J. Rył, *Biblioteka katedralna w Gnieźnie*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelna", 32, 1976, s. 223.

²⁷ AC, t. I, nr 1205 (15 VI 1470).

His biographer Jan Długosz wrote that Jakub funded stalls to three cathedral churches in Cracow, Włocławek and Gniezno. He was to order them at the monastery in Oliwa²⁸. We do not know what stalls looked like in Krakow and Włocławek churches, but the parts from the Gniezno cathedral show that they were masterpieces²⁹. For the Gniezno cathedral Jakub funded rood beam with crucifix, which we can still admire³⁰, and the painting of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin but it hasn't been preserved till now³¹. He also funded a new sarcophagus of Saint Adalbertus for the Gniezno cathedral from Hungarian marble³², but this foundation was finished after his death by his relative archbishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki³³. Thanks to Jakub's funds the reliquary of St. Adalbertus was adorned with gold³⁴.

Jakub is also considered to be the donor of the late Gothic altar retable in the Krakow cathedral. Jerzy Gadomski claims that the theme of the four patron saints (Adalbertus, Stanislaus, Venceslaus and Florianus), introduced into retable of the high altar, could have been the form of the execution of "ideological testament" of Jakub's cousin, cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki³⁵. In 1460 he founded a bell named Głownik (Homicidalis) for this cathedral³⁶. The inscription on the bell suggests that it was a joint foundation of Jakub and Krakow chapter.

²⁸ KAG, s. 378.

They are built into the Renaissance bench of the Baranowski chapel. These include three rectangular panels with figural sculptures depicting the characters the Virgin Mary with the Child, Saint George killing dragon and saint Adalbertus (?). The original gothic stalls which were once standing in the cathedral's presbytery, were made, according to Długosz, by Cistercian monks from Oliwa in the second half the 15th century. The contract was concluded between the Krakow chapter and Bartłomiej from Sącz on October 3, 1488; it says that the Gniezno cathedral stalls were examples for this artist for a new stall of the Krakow cathedral; I. Polkowski, *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, Gniezno 1874, s. 17; M. Sokołowski, *Z dziejów kultury i sztuki*, "Sprawozdania Komisyi do badań historii sztuki w Polsce", 6, 1897, z. 2, s. 97.

³⁰ Katedra gnieźnieńska, red. A. Świechowska, t. 1, Poznań-Warszawa-Lublin 1970, s. 43.

³¹ J. Korytkowski, t. 2, s. 443.

³² KAG, s. 378.

³³ There is the controversy if sarcofagus of St. Adalbertus is survived. Some researches believe that tomb of archbishop Andrzej Boryszewski is in fact the tomb of St. Adalbertus – see: A. Woziński, *Z rozważań nad Hansem Brandtem*, "Porta Aurea. Rocznik Zakładu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego" 6, 1999; tenże, *Hans Brandt czy anonim z początku XVI wieku? Św. Wojciech czy Andrzej Boryszewski?*, [w:] *Tropami Świętego Wojciecha*, red. Z. Kurnatowska, Poznań 1999; P. Mrozowski, *Polskie nagrobki gotyckie*, Warszawa 1994; tenże, *Jeszcze o Hansie Brandtcie*, "Porta Aurea. Rocznik Zakładu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego" 6, 1999.

³⁴ J. Niedźwiedź, op. cit., s. 500; M. Starnawska, Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu, Warszawa 2008, s. 185.

³⁵ J. Gadomski, *Późnogotyckie retabulum oltarza głównego w katedrze na Wawelu*, Kraków 2001, s. 66. About propagating the veneration of four patrons of Polish Kingdom by Zbigniew Oleśnicki see: M. Koczerska, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i kościół krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu (1423-1455)*, Warszawa 2004, s. 254, 268.

³⁶ M. Rokosz, *Dzwony i wieże Wawelu*, Kraków 2006, s. 185-191.

In the chapter's books and his letters there is some information about liturgical vessels and vestments which were ordered, bought or donated by Jakub. For example, in the letter of March 3, 1477, Jakub of Sienno, Archbishop of Gniezno, asked the Council of the City of Gdańsk to force goldsmith Jan Kyellak to make a silver cantharum. The silver for the work had been given to the goldsmith by Jakub during his stay with the King in Malbork³⁷. In the book of the City Council of Gdańsk in 1480 there was an agreement signed between the Gdańsk goldsmith Johann Kalner and the Archbishop of Gniezno. From the records we know that Jakub entrusted the master with the execution, melting of gold, silver, processing of pearls, sapphire and amethyst, and the Archbishop gave the goldsmith a down payment³⁸.

From the records in the book of the chapter of Włocławek we know that Jakub gave pontifical vesture: miter with pearls, two bishop's rings, pastoral stuff, sandals and gloves, gold catena *cum lapidibus pretiosis* and *mappa magna cum Sibilli et Octaviano*, which is considered to be Flanders with an interesting motif of Sibyl telling Augustus about the coming of the Savior³⁹. Also in treasure chests in Gniezno there were precious objects, which were given to cathedral Church by Jakub. He donated two crucifixes, one with True Cross relic, silver bell and two tapestries, one with Deposition of the Cross, and second with the Virgin Mary⁴⁰.

The foundation activity of Jakub of Sienno was extensive and varied. However, his motive are not fully clear for us. The duty had been the reason for some of foundations and donations. Jakub, first as a provost, later as a bishop, was obliged to care for the building of the cathedral. The bishop and the chapter had to pay for expansion and necessary repairs of the cathedral church. In Gniezno the archbishop had to pay two-thirds of the contribution *pro fabrica ecclesie*⁴¹. On the other hand, he could have enough funds to commission stalls or a painting from Krakow or Gdańsk craftsmen. First, he accumulated numerous benefices in many Polish cathedral and collegiate chapters, which gave him a lot of income. For example, income of Skalbmierz provost was estimated at 124 marks⁴², Krakow canon – on average 84 marks (from 30 to 144 marks) and Krakow provost at about 170 marks⁴³. The chapter members could get benefits from lease of chapter villages. They also could receive distributions for complying with the residence requirement. It's worth noting that the income of the Archbishopric of Gniezno was estimated at 11 000 marks.

³⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (dalej: APG), Akta miasta Gdańska 300 D/ 6, 87.

³⁸ APG, Akta miasta Gdańska 300/59/8, k. 12.

³⁹ AC, t. I, nr 1205.

⁴⁰ AC, t. I, nr 2234, 2697, 2765, 2848.

⁴¹ M. Czyżak, *Kapitula katedralna w Gnieźnie w świetle metryki z lat 1408-1448*, Poznań 2003, s. 234-235.

⁴² Z. Górczak, op.cit., s. 138.

⁴³ M. D. Kowalski, *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2000, s. 73-75; 84-132.

However, we know that sometimes he had to borrow money for his needs. On July 31, 1459, Jakub borrowed 1000 florins from Jan Długosz and his brother. Such amount of money was probably needed to travel to Mantua. Jan Długosz vowed several times for Jakub that he would return the money⁴⁴.

Jakub had a great passion for books, which can be evidenced by the manuscripts he bought: adorned with beautiful illuminations, they have very interesting and rich ornament motifs. Works of Pliny, Cyril of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa were probably calligraphic of italica in Florence on very good quality parchment⁴⁵.

And the fact that he was entrusted by chapter with the task of transforming valuables from the treasury into chalices or other liturgical objects may show that he had good knowledge of the craftsmen's community and good taste. For example, in chapter's book of Gniezno it was written under 1460 that Jakub of Sienno, the Gniezno provost brought a golden chalice made of gold and jewels from an old chasuble⁴⁶.

In addition, generosity was good trait for bishop, and his merit and foundations, according to Długosz, was worth commemorating in the lives of bishops to be an example for their successors.

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⁴⁴ Wypisy do biografii Jana Długosza z ksiąg sadowych Kurii Metropolitarnej w Krakowie, opr. M. Kowalczykówna, "Analecta Cracoviensia", t.12, 1980, nr 5, 14, 15, 53.

⁴⁵ E. Potkowski, op. cit., s. 191.

⁴⁶ AAG, ACap., B 15, k. 137; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi* ..., t. 2, s. 301.

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STRESZCZENIE

Jakub z Sienna był jedną z najciekawszych i najbardziej znaczących osób polskiego Kościoła w późnym średniowieczu. Bardzo dobrze wykształcony, uważany za miłośnika sztuki i bibliofila, podobnie jak jego kuzyn Zbigniew Oleśnicki, był zaangażowany w kilka fundacji i darowizn na rzecz Kościoła i Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego.

Głównym celem artykułu jest omówienie działalności fundacji i darowizny Jakuba oraz próba odpowiedzi na pytanie o powody, dla których zaangażował się w tak szeroką działalność fundacyjną. Skupimy się na tych elementach, które odróżniają jego stosunek do szeroko rozumianej sztuki od postawy innych ludzi jego czasów.

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Slowa kluczowe: Jakub z Sienna, arcybiskup gnieźnieński, biskup włocławski, działalność fundacyjna, książki, przedmioty liturgiczne