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The Monument to the Famous Prophecy: The Story of the Foundation of the Lublin Monastery of the Order of the Most Holy Savior of Saint Birgitta in Jan Długosz's "Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis"

Pomnik słynnej przepowiedni – opowieść o fundacji lubelskiego klasztoru Najświętszego Zbawiciela św. Brygidy w „Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis” Jana Długosza

ABSTRACT

The creation of the monastery of the Order of the Most Holy Savior of Saint Birgitta in Lublin is inherently connected to the Polish-Lithuanian triumph in the battle of Grunwald and with the Swedish saints' prophecy about the punishment of Teutonic Knights (*cruciferi*) which was supposed to be realised in the form of this battle. At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Poland, Birgitta's works were highly regarded in the university and court circles. However, it is from the lands of Prussia that the fifteenth-century accounts confirming the dissemination of the prophecy aimed at Teutonic Order are known, also in the form identifying the famous battle as foretold by the saint. A significant exception to this is the story of the foundation of the Lublin monastery from Jan Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*. King Ladislaus II is depicted here as the executor of the will of God foreseen by the visionary. This kind of content makes Długosz's story a specimen of the political prophecy genre (*vaticinium ex eventu*) – a form of narration about the past popular, e.g., in the British Isles of the same era. The canon of Cracow's interest in the particularities of Birgitta's prophecy as well as his description of the process of its interpretation immediately after the battle should be considered as proof for the high validation of this kind of thinking about the history in the circle of Cracow intellectual elite. It may also disclose the use of the information of local provenance in the process of constructing the story.

Keywords: Saint Birgitta of Sweden; the Former Birgittine Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary the Victorious in Lublin; Order of the Most Holy Savior of Saint Birgitta; Jan Długosz; *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*; political prophesy; historical consciousness in fifteenth century; Battle of Grunwald

INTRODUCTION

It is a matter of public knowledge that the former Birgittine monastery in Lublin (or rather the monastery of the Order of the Most Holy Savior of Saint Birgitta to use its proper name) was founded as a votive offering¹ for the victory on the fields of Grunwald. The other reasons for its establishing were to hold in perpetual memory King Ladislaus II, his predecessors and the fallen in the battle with the Teutonic Knights². It was this famous encounter that was considered as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Saint Birgitta about the punishment of the Teutonic Order (*Revelationes*, book II, 19). This identification was expressed in considerable detail by Jan Długosz in his *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* in the story depicting the foundation and early history of the Lublin convent. Taking into account that the newly established monastery was the first house of the Order in Poland and the second monastic congregation in the town, there is a strong reason to think that the question of the motives behind the choice of the Bridgettine congregation for a new monastic establishment in Lublin was indeed interesting for the town dwellers. Does the account of Saint Birgitta's prophecy in *Liber beneficiorum* may be therefore considered as to a significant point reflecting the local historical consciousness of the times when the story was written by Długosz?

What can therefore be said about the social circulation of the prophecy concerning the Teutonic Order? What are the highlights of the genre of political prophecies and what ideological meanings does Długosz's story carry? The attempt to answer these questions opens up the opportunity to appraise the interesting aspect of the late medieval historical culture, both characteristic of highly learned clerical scholar (displaying traditional providentialist perception of the past³) but also reflecting the Bridgettine monastic and even wider civic community of Lublin in the fifteenth century due to the existence of the material monument to the famous prophecy in the town's space.

¹ This idea was explicitly voiced in the document of foundation of the convent from 1426. See *Król uposaża klasztor św. Brygidy na przedmieściu Lublina. Krasnystaw, 1 kwietnia 1426*, [in:] *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, eds. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, part 7: *Dokumenty króla Władysława Jagiełły z lat 1418–1434*, Wrocław–Gdańsk 1975, no. 1996, p. 201; J.A. Wadowski, *Kościół lubelskie*, Kraków 1907, p. 419.

² “Marcin Stogner na prośbę króla Władysława Jagiełły i za zgodą miasta Lublina rezygnuje z kaplicy NP. Marii za murem miejskim na rzecz Jana Hoelwassa, [Lublin] 1412”, in: T. Nyberg, *Pierwsze dokumenty Władysława Jagiełły dla polskiego klasztoru brygidek*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 1974, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 72–73.

³ A. Talarowski, *Dzieje w rękach Opatrzności. Elementy historiozofii Jana Długosza i jej uwarunkowania*, “Roczniki Historyczne” 2018, vol. 84, pp. 191–225; M. Koczerska, *Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1970, vol. 15, pp. 113–116; B. Kowalska, *Sacrum w Długoszowym opisie bitwy pod Grunwaldem*, [in:] *Klio viae et invia. Opuscula Marco Cetwiński dedicata*, ed. A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa, Warszawa 2010, pp. 107–121.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE LUBLIN MONASTERY

The foundation of the Lublin monastery was preceded with King Ladislaus Jagiello's efforts to establish the convent of the Order of the Most Holy Savior directly on the fields of Grunwald. The measures to fulfil this task were most probably taken early after the victorious battle, as they are confirmed by the king's letter to the bishop of Pomesania of 16 September 1410 and possibly by the correspondence with abess of the house of the Order of the Most Holy Savior of Saint Birgitta in Gdansk, of which only Ladislaus II's reply of 6 August 1410 survives⁴. But because the battlefield area remained under the Order's rule according to the peace treaty of Torun (1411) the foundation of the cloister had not been realized. It was the Teutonic Knights who established a chapel there, which expressed their own ideological interpretation of the conflict and commemorated the fallen from the defeated party instead⁵.

In this situation, the location for the convent of Saint Birgitta's Order was swiftly changed to Lublin, a former Polish border town, the importance of which grew with the uniting of Poland and Lithuania under the Jagiellon rule. As Anna Sochacka argued, this choice should be considered in the light of copious activities of the first Jagiellon king of Poland aimed at enhancing the town's role as a religious centre and was probably connected with the king's plans to establish a new bishopric there⁶. The initial actions of Ladislaus II were indeed rapid, as testified by the document of resignation of Martin Stoenner of the chapel of the Holy Virgin Mary beyond the Lublin walls for the procurator of the Saint Birgitta's Order, issued on 13 November 1412 at the request of the king⁷. But due to serious obstacles, the scarcity of the Order's monks and nuns, their unwillingness to come to the far-off Polish town as well as the vigorous opposition of the Teutonic Knights to the foundation (which Jan Długosz emphasizes in his account) the document establishing the new convent was only issued in 1426. It is probable though that the members of the Most Holy Savior order had already come to Lublin in 1420–1423⁸.

⁴ T. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–72; S. Kamińska, *Klasztory brygidek w Gdańsku, Elblągu i Lublinie. Założenie i uposażenie*, Gdańsk 1970, pp. 160–161; S. Kwiatkowski, *O zapomnianym programie ideowym kaplicy grunwaldzkiej w latach 1410–1414*, "Studia Grunwaldzkie" 1991, vol. 1, pp. 57–59; S. Ekdahl, *Grunwald 1410. Studia nad tradycją i źródłami*, Kraków 2010, pp. 138–139; idem, *Św. Brygida Szwedzka, bitwa pod Grunwaldem i założenie Klasztoru Triumphus Mariae w Lublinie*, "Studia Archiwalne" 2010, vol. 3, pp. 16–17.

⁵ See S. Kwiatkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–63; S. Ekdahl, *Grunwald...*, pp. 188–189.

⁶ A. Sochacka, *Powody lokalizacji w Lublinie grunwaldzkiego wotum Władysława Jagiełły*, "Res Historica" 2011, vol. 31, pp. 21–36.

⁷ T. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73; S. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁸ *Król uposaża klasztor...*, pp. 201–204; J.A. Wadowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 416–419; S. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–173; J. Swastek, *Święta Brygida Szwedzka i Zakon Najświętszego Zbawiciela ze*

It is significant that the earliest records of the cloister's *patrocinium* evokes the sense of commemoration of the victorious battle at Grunwald, which is indeed present in the aforementioned remark about the remembrance of the fallen in the document of Martin Stoenner's resignation of the chapel for the Order's needs. It is clearly expressed in one of the constitutions of the congregation of Birgittine convents held in Vadstena Abbey in 1429 where the Lublin house is described as *monasterium (...) ob famosissimam victoriam [fundavit]*⁹. The recurring epithet in these accounts is *de Triumpho* or *Triumphalis*. In most cases it is connected to the *patrocinium* of the Holy Virgin Mary¹⁰. But the oldest record, dating back to 1425 (the supplication to the papal court) identifies the supplicant as a brother of the cloister *De Triumpho sanctorum Mariae Virginis et Brigidae extra muros oppidi Lublin*¹¹. Thus, a significant contribution by Saint Birgitta to the Grunwald victory was clearly understood and expressed in the earliest years of the congregation.

THE PROPHECY CONCERNING *CRUCIFERI* IN *REVELATIONES*

The reason that allowed Saint Birgitta's influence to be recognised as the force behind the defeat of the Teutonic Knights relates to the well-known fragment of the description of her vision in book II chapter 19 of the saint's *Revelationes*. As it is stated there explicitly, the words of condemnation came from Christ himself, who spoke to Birgitta about the matter. A whole catalogue of misdeeds of *cruciferi* is uttered. They were placed by the Savior at the outskirts of the Christian lands but (as a matter of fact) they fight against himself. The *cruciferi* don't take good care of the souls of the converts, nor have pity on their bodies, but oppress them with labours and deprive them of liberty. What is more, they not only don't instruct the converts in the faith but also rob them of sacraments and throw them into hell where they remain in their accustomed paganism. The *cruciferi* fight for no other reason but to magnify their pride and satisfy their greed, announces Christ to Birgitta¹². After this enumeration of vices which indeed subverts the fundamental obligations and rules of conduct of the military order, the forewarning of punishment is given. Christ reveals that "the time is coming when their teeth

szczególnym uwzględnieniem klasztorów na ziemiach polskich, vol. 2, Lublin 1986, pp. 248–260; J.R. Marczewski, *Duszpasterska działalność Kościoła w średniowiecznym Lublinie*, Lublin 2002, pp. 172–173; S. Ekdahl, *Św. Brygida Szwedzka...*, p. 20.

⁹ J.A. Wadowski, *op. cit.*, p. 414. The author is citing the manuscript *Regula S. Salvatoris nec non Additiones, Revelationes, Articuli, Puncta eandem regulam concernentia* (1635).

¹⁰ S. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 175; *Catalogi Episcoporum Cracoviensium*, ed. J. Szymański, "Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series Nova" 1974, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 106.

¹¹ *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 4: 1417–1431, eds. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, H. Wajs, Roma–Lublina 1992, no. 1500, p. 274; A. Sochacka, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

¹² *Revelationes Sanctae Birgittae*, eds. C.-G. Undhagen, B. Bergh, lib. 2, Stockholm 2001, p. 92.

will be crushed, right hand chopped off and right leg maimed, in order that they can live and comprehend themselves”¹³.

The harsh vision of punishment described by the Savior himself revolves around the idea of mutilation of the symbolic corpse of the *cruciferi*. One could assume that deprived of teeth, they obviously cannot bite what can evoke the sense of reducing the potential for aggressive behaviours. However, as biting is not particularly recognised way for inflicting violence by the armed men in medieval era, the aforesaid injury is perhaps better understood as having serious implications for the effective functioning in military environment. A person with seriously impaired dentition would have serious difficulties with eating harder foodstuffs such as hardtacks used during military campaigns since the antiquity¹⁴. Therefore, crushing of the teeth of (symbolic) body of the *cruciferi* has the effect of making this body in significant degree ineffective for warfare. This impression of serious impairment is obviously brought up in the idea of the amputation of the right hand and maiming of the right leg of *cruciferi*. The meaning of serious and all-encompassing deprivation of strength and power of the warlike group is educed very clearly in the Birgitta’s vision.

The reason why the Latin term *cruciferi* has been used in the above discussion for the reproached group is that it is to some degree ambiguous. The expression is commonly understood by the Polish scholars as denoting the Teutonic Knights. Indeed, in the Polish medieval historiography, especially of the times of Jan Długosz, the word *cruciferi* was used to name members of military orders, especially Teutonic Knights. Moreover, the terms *cruce signati* and *peregrini* were used by Długosz to describe “crusaders”¹⁵. However, the Swedish historian Sven Ekdahl drew attention to the historical context of the account’s origin: the visions that were described in the second book of *Revelationes* were received by Birgitta in 1344–1349. The whole book is concerned with the matters of knighthood and the attitudes of Swedish nobility to it. Therefore, as S. Ekdahl emphasizes, it is obvious that the prophecy is connected with the expedition of Swedish king Magnus Eriksson against Novogorod in 1348 and 1350/1351. However, as Professor Ekdahl points out, it does not necessarily mean that the Birgitta’s critique concerned only Swedish nobility. Clearly, for the readers of this revelation outside Sweden it was obvious that it was directed against the Teutonic Order¹⁶.

¹³ *Ideo venient eis tempus, quo confringentur dentes eorum, manus dextera mutilabitur, et subruabitur dexter pes eorum, ut viuant et se ipsos cognoscant (ibidem).*

¹⁴ See *Military Bread (Panis Militaris)*, https://www.romanobritain.org/2-arl_food/poor-mil-food/military-bread.php (access: 20.02.2024).

¹⁵ M. Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 264–268.

¹⁶ S. Ekdahl, *Św. Brygida Szwedzka...*, pp. 13–14.

Considering this issue, one should pay attention to certain details of the prophecy. The previously described symbolism of mutilation suggests that in the vision Christ referred to the entity that could be considered to have an imaginative body, such as state, organisation or religious order¹⁷. Moreover, the fact that in the Savior's remark the *cruciferi* are located on the outskirts of Christian lands (*quos in illis finibus terrarum Christianorum posui*) indicates some kind of territorial organisation of the reproached group. These details indeed fit particularly well with the identification of *cruciferi* as Teutonic Knights. At any rate, it is out of the question that Saint Birgitta's prophecy was commonly understood as concerning this order in Polish and Prussian lands.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIGURE OF SAINT BIRGITTA

It is particularly important to understand that the aforesaid prophecy was delivered by a personage of exceptional distinction and recognition in the late Middle Ages. Birgitta Birgersdotter, a charismatic visionary from the circles of Swedish aristocracy, is considered one of the most influential female visionaries of the late medieval era. Living permanently in Rome from 1349 to her death in 1373, she was closely connected with the important figures of the Church reform movement. Indeed, Camille Rouxpetel described Birgitta as a "key actor in the reformist debates" in the decades before the Great Schism. This opinion could be sufficiently justified by the character of the saints' writings which comprised both the questions of individual salvation and moral reform as well as the key political problems of the time, including the advocacy to the cause of the return of the Pope to Rome¹⁸. Furthermore, Birgitta should be considered a prophetess rather than a mystic as she regarded herself as an apostle of God. She firmly believed to be charged by him to communicate his will which was announced to her in numerous visions¹⁹. It is important to stress that they also concerned specific matters of earthly rule, such as the Hundred Years' War. From the first years of

¹⁷ See E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton 1997, pp. 193–232; J. Baszkiewicz, *Mysł polityczna wieków średnich*, Poznań 1998, p. 56.

¹⁸ C. Rouxpetel, *The Crossing Paths of Birgitta of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, and Alfonso of Jaén*, [in:] *Sanctity and Female Authorship: Birgitta of Sweden & Catherine of Siena*, eds. M.H. Oen, U. Falkeid, New York–London 2020, p. 179, 195; B. Morris, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 1: *Liber Caelestis, Books I–III*, transl. D. Searby, Oxford 2006, pp. 3–11; J. Swastek, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 33–49; M.H. Oen, U. Falkeid, *Introduction*, [in:] *Sanctity and Female Authorship...*, pp. 1–2; E. Piotrowska, *Brygidki w polskiej tradycji monastycznej i kulturze*, "Słupskie Studia Filozoficzne" 2005, vol. 5, pp. 129–131; R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Saint Birgitta's and Saint Catherine's Visions of Crusading*, [in:] *Sanctity and Female Authorship...*, p. 74.

¹⁹ A. Vauchez, *Epilogue*, [in:] *Sanctity and Female Authorship...*, pp. 207–209; J. Swastek, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 86–89; U. Falkeid, *Constructing Female Authority: Birgitta of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, and the Two Marys*, [in:] *Sanctity and Female Authorship...*, p. 54.

Birgitta's religious activity, these prophecies were highly regarded, to the extent that as early as about 1346, the bishop of Turku in Sweden went on a mission to deliver the prophetess' words to the kings of France, England and the pope²⁰. During the life of the Swedish visionary, her revelations were distributed as letters or orally but were first published only after her death. Even then Birgitta's words were consciously delivered to prominent addressees in the form of illuminated manuscripts (containing the corpus of her prophecies known as *Revelationes*), with the intention of promoting the proclamation of the prophetess' sanctity²¹.

The above matter brings us to the interesting question of the early reception of Saint Birgitta's works in the lands of Poland. In the case of the highest echelons of society, the previously described circumstances of the circulation of the Swedish visionary's prophecies contributed to the vogue of her figure, without doubts significantly enhanced by Birgitta's canonization in 1391²². But in the case of the court of Jadwiga of Anjou and Ladislaus Jagiello, a certain connection with the circle of people directly engaged in advocating the Swedish seer's sanctity existed. It is generally known that Mattheus of Cracow, the most famous late medieval theologian coming from Polish lands had been deeply influenced by Birgitta's writings. As an expert in the commission appointed to prepare the Swedish seer's canonisation process, he analysed her writings and was deeply convinced of Birgitta's sanctity. It was Mattheus who wrote a formal petition to Pope Urban VI for the canonisation of the prophetess²³. After all, both the scholar and the visionary were engaged in the work on Church reform and promoting new forms of piety and religious experience.

It is Mattheus of Cracow who is credited with dissemination of Birgitta's writings in Western Europe²⁴. Moreover, he was a master and mentor of the whole generation of scholars engaged in the reviving of the Cracow University many of whom were former students of Mattheus at Prague University²⁵. Members of this intellectual circle were advisers and spiritual mentors to both Jadwiga and

²⁰ B. Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²¹ M.H. Oen, U. Falkeid, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²² This rise in Birgitta's prophecies popularity is, for example, confirmed by growing number of surviving manuscripts of Prague redaction of *Revelationes* from the beginning of 1390s. See P. Rychterová, *The "Revelations" of St Birgitta in the Holy Roman Empire*, [in:] *A Companion to Birgitta of Sweden and Her Legacy in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. M.H. Oen, Leiden–Boston 2019, p. 253.

²³ J. Swastek, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 401–404; P. Rychterová, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–250; K. Ożóg, *Uczni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegawęskiej i Władysława Jagielly (1384–1434)*, Kraków 2004, pp. 26–30, 32, 61–62, 68, 71, 267, 278.

²⁴ B. Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁵ J. Verkholantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy, or: How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs*, DeKalb 2014, pp. 144–145; P.W. Knoll, "A Pearl of Powerful Learning": *The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden–Boston 2016, pp. 26–27; K. Ożóg, *op. cit.*, p. 34, 61.

Ladislaus II²⁶. As a matter of fact, it was the influence of Mattheus of Cracow himself that was considered by the scholars of the older generation as a reason for Jadwiga d'Anjou's interest in the writings and cult of Birgitta. This view is maintained nowadays and although it has not been directly confirmed²⁷, the significant role of the Prague professor in disseminating the knowledge of the Swedish saint and her vision, be it direct or indirect, seems to be unquestionable²⁸.

This influence was interpreted as the reason for the presence of Saint Birgitta's *Revelationes* in the famous catalogue of books in Polish in the Jadwiga d'Anjou's private library which was included in the *Annales* of Jan Długosz²⁹. Of course, notwithstanding its veracity, Długosz's information is of great importance in considering the diffusion of the Swedish seers' writings in Polish lands. It also resonates well with another account important for the matter under discussion: the short narrative about the foundation of the Saints Erasmus and Birgitta's altar in the Cracow Saint Stanislaus cathedral at Wawel Castle. It was commenced by Jadwiga and after her death in 1399 duly finished by Ladislaus II, who allocated a special allowance from the incomes from the salt mine in Wieliczka to finance it³⁰. Thus, not only Jadwiga d'Anjou but also to some degree her husband Jagiello may be seen as holding the Swedish saint in special reverence.

Interestingly, a distant yet very concrete premise confirming this kind of circulation of Birgitta's prophecies in Polish is well recognised. These are two parchment sheets containing Polish translations of the fragments of *Revelationes*. Identified by Jan Łoś as the remains of the Jadwiga's book mentioned by Długosz, they were rather written around the middle of the fifteenth century³¹. Still, this interesting monument of Polish vernacular writing is a clear sign of the considerably broad reception of Swedish saints' works in late medieval Poland.

²⁶ J. Verkholtantsev, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

²⁷ J. Fijałek, *Mistrz Jakób z Paradyża i Uniwersytet Krakowski w okresie soboru bazylejskiego*, Kraków 1900, pp. 101–102; J. Verkholtantsev, *op. cit.*, p. 144, 148. See also K. Ożóg, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

²⁸ The indirect confirmation of this influence is the fact that three manuscripts of the so-called Prague redaction of *Revelationes* which is ascribed to Mattheus of Cracow were bought between 1394 and 1400 for Wrocław or Cracow customers. See P. Rychterová, *op. cit.*, pp. 252–253.

²⁹ *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. 10: 1370–1405, eds. D. Turkowska, M. Kowalczyk, S. Gawęda et al., Warszawa 1985, p. 232.

³⁰ *Joannis Długossii senioris canonici cracoviensis Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, ed. A. Przewdziecki, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1863, pp. 245–246.

³¹ J. Łoś, *Biblioteka polska królowej Jadwigi*, "Przewodnik Bibliograficzny" 1926, vol. 49, no. 6, pp. 257–258; J. Janów, *Resztki biblioteki królowej Jadwigi*, "Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń PAU" 1948, vol. 49, pp. 345–350; A. Brückner, *Dzieje kultury polskiej*, vol. 1: *Od czasów przedhistorycznych do r. 1506*, Warszawa 1957, pp. 602–603; S. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 159; J. Swastek, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 704.

THE STORY OF THE FOUNDATION OF LUBLIN CONVENT IN JAN
DŁUGOSZ'S *LIBER BENEFICIORUM*

Długosz's story of the origin of Saint Birgitta's monastery in Lublin is especially interesting because it sheds light both to the significance and dissemination of the saint's revelation but also due to the fact that it unveils Długosz's opinion on the matter of the process of interpretation of the past event of exceptional importance to understand it according to the *vaticinium* given by the Christian sacral authority and thus enrich it with powerful ideological meanings.

The account commences with a complex historical introduction that discloses the Cracow canon's taste for the recounting of history. Długosz tells the story of Ladislaus II's baptism, his assuming of Polish royal dignity, and the conversion of the inhabitants of the Great Duchy of Lithuania to Christianity. Then a quick shift is brought about and the chronicler introduces the account of two naked swords sent to Jagiello by the Teutonic Order's heralds before the battle of Grunwald in an "arrogant pride" (which are still held in the royal treasury, informs the historian). It opens up the short description of the *magna clade* of Teutonic Knights at Grunwald³². Thus, the history is presented to introduce the providential interpretation of its decisive moment.

First of all, Długosz informs his readers about the source of the king's correct understanding of what indeed happened at the fields of Grunwald. It was catholic doctors and masters who notified Jagiello about the Swedish seer's prophecy and obviously let him understand the matter himself (*intellexit rex ipse, doctoribus catholicis et magistris id illi notificantibus*). The knowledge of the matters of the prophecy belongs thus to the intellectual circles of the Church. Its interpretation requires or at least is appropriate for men of considerable learning rather than common priests. This kind of opinion corresponds well to the actual practice of the Church of including the famous scholars to evaluate visionary material, which we observed in the case of the role played by Mattheus of Cracow in the canonisation of Birgitta. According to the highly learned late medieval historian, the interpretation of the past based on accounts of divine revelation is thus a serious task requiring intellectual skills. That they indeed need to be used to understand the actual meaning of *vaticinium* is indicated by the use of the verb *intelligo* in Długosz's account. After all, Birgitta's prophecy in the story from *Liber beneficiorum* is in fact an example of a "historical" or "political" prophecy (*vaticinium ex evento*), in which it is the past that is interpreted according to already known visionary traditions. It is indeed a form of historical thinking that

³² *Joannis Dlugossii senioris canonici cracoviensis Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, ed. A. Przewdziecki, vol. 3, Cracoviae 1864, p. 301: *magistrum et ordinem Cruciferorum de Prussia, aperto Marte, et arroganti superbia, missis duabus rompeis...*

often expresses the desired connections between history and the divine, the realms of “time and eternity”³³.

It was already highlighted that perceiving the Teutonic Orders’ defeats in the light of book II chapter 19 of *Revelationes* was not only depicted in Długosz’s *Liber beneficiorum*. The same interpretation was made by the Cartusian monk in his analysis of the contemporary situation in Prussia made for the grand master of the Teutonic Knights in 1427 or 1428. The author of the work who was clearly interested and well versed in the matter of Biblical prophecies, recounted Birgitta’s revelation in his work and actually gave an opinion that the critique of the Order in the prophecy as well as the punishment inflicted on the fields of Grunwald were justified³⁴. A somewhat similar confirmation of the circulation of the prophecy concerning the fate of the Teutonic Order comes from the manuscript legacy of the bishops of Pomesania. The *in folio* book of bishops’ privileges contains the text of Birgitta’s *vaticinium*, written down among Jan Rynman’s documents³⁵, the same hierarch to whom Ladislaus II wrote in September 1410 asking for permission for the foundation of the convent of the Order of Most Holy Savior on the fields of Grunwald.

Equally interesting is the example of collective thinking about the Order’s future with Birgitta’s vision in mind. This is the case of the solemn vow of the Elbing estates to found the Birgittine cloister in the intention of quick and happy finishing of the hostilities made probably in April 1456, during the time of Teutonic Order’s considerable advantage in the Thirteenth Years’ War, which was a foe to the Elbing community³⁶.

The above-mentioned examples seem to confirm not only the fairly widespread knowledge of the prophecy in the lands of Pomorze and Prussia but also the willingness to interpret the Order’s past and consider its future in the light of the words of saintly prophetess who disclosed Christ’s will concerning this political entity. Special attention should be given to one more example of this kind of thinking about the past and present political state of affairs. As a matter of fact, it

³³ R.W. Southern, *Presidential Address: Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 3. History as Prophecy*, “Transactions of the Royal Historical Society” 1972, vol. 22, pp. 159–180, especially p. 167, 172; L.A. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England*, New York 2000, pp. 30–38.

³⁴ *Die Ermahnung des Carthäusers*, ed. T. Hirsch, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 3: *Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, eds. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1870, p. 461; S. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 126; S. Ekdahl, *Św. Brygida Szwedzka...*, pp. 14–15.

³⁵ S. Kwiatkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–59.

³⁶ S. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–128; S. Szybkowski, *Król Kazimierz Jagiellończyk wobec fundacji klasztoru brygidek w Elblągu*, [in:] *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Polityka kościelna i praktyki religijne Jagiellonów*, eds. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, P. Węcowski, Kraków 2020, pp. 138–139, 147; S. Swastek, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 240–241.

comes from Jan Długosz's work. Describing the peace of Torun of 1466 (which ended the previously mentioned Thirteen Years' War between the Teutonic Order and the Polish-Lithuanian state), the canon of Cracow referred to book 2 chapter 19 of Birgitta's *Revelationes*. He has not commented on the matter though, restricting himself to ascertaining that the prophecy has been verified on the day the treaty was signed. Still, he cited the text concerning Birgitta's vision extensively³⁷. The famous historian showed both the knowledge of the discussed passus of Birgitta's work³⁸ and the willingness to use it to interpret the events of contemporary history.

Yet if the fragment from Długosz's *Annales* is compared to this from *Liber beneficiorum*, significant differences can be noticed. The story of the foundation of the Lublin cloister assumes an individual shape that is substantially different from the fragment of *Revelationes*. In the latter account, the king understands that the Birgitta's prophecy was made about him as "true and faithful prophecy of his and his people's victory". To say more, the story features the name that – as is explained – was used by Saint Birgitta to name Ladislaus II, the Hebrew *nomine Johef*³⁹. As Marek A. Janicki observed, this appellation is confirmed in the late medieval historiography, that is to say in Koprzywnicki manuscript of *Rocznik świętokrzyski* (*Świętokrzyski Annal*) written in 1471⁴⁰. Interpreting this feature of the story M.A. Janicki described it as a "twofold, agitational-propagandistic mystification"⁴¹. This qualification inevitably raises our strong objections. The name, as Długosz himself indicates, comes from *Vulgate* and is a form of Latin spelling of the name of prophet Joel, son of Pethuel⁴². A short glimpse at the subject confirms that this was a fairly widespread form of Latinisation of the Lithuanian name Jogaila (hence Polish Jagiełło). Besides *Rocznik świętokrzyski* and *Liber beneficiorum* it may be found in *Rocznik małopolski Kuropatnickiego* (*Kuropatnicki Małopolski Annal*)⁴³ as well as in work described by Ludwik Biernacki as *Sequitur de regibus Poloniae* from the historical collection written in

³⁷ *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. 12: 1462–1480, eds. D. Turkowska, G. Wyrozumski et al., Kraków 2005, p. 163.

³⁸ *Jana Długosza Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, lib. 12: 1462–1480, eds. K. Baczkowski, D. Turkowska et al., Warszawa 2009, p. 171, footnote 103. See also B. Kowalska, *W poszukiwaniu symboliki Długoszowych Roczników...*, Częstochowa 2017, pp. 131–133.

³⁹ *Joannis Długossii senioris canonici cracoviensis...*, vol. 3, p. 301: *Beatam Brigidam de Scotia electam, in suis revelationibus id dudum de eo cecinisse, et Cruciferis quidem cladem, sibi vero et genti suae victoriam fidei vaticinio, quod impletum singuli videmus, denunciassse.*

⁴⁰ *Rocznik świętokrzyski*, ed. A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, "Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series 2" 1996, vol. 12, p. 123; M.A. Janicki, *Grunwald w tradycji polskiej od wieku XV do XVII*, [in:] *Na znak świętego zwycięstwa. W sześćsetną rocznicę bitwy pod Grunwaldem. Katalog wystawy 15 lipca – 30 września 2010. Zamek Królewski na Wawelu. Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki*, vol. 1: *Studia*, ed. D. Nowacki, Kraków 2010, pp. 96–97.

⁴¹ M.A. Janicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–97.

⁴² *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, Stuttgart 1994, p. 1384, Joel, I, 2.

⁴³ *Rocznik małopolski*, ed. A. Bielowski, "Monumenta Poloniae Historica" 1878, vol. 3, p. 202.

1474–1477 which before World War I remained in Archives of the City of Przemysł and which included the version of *Alexandreis*⁴⁴. Let us notice that significantly Długosz doesn't use this "Hebraicism" at all, employing the various forms of name of Lithuanian prince and Polish king closely derived from his native name (*Iagal, Iagel*) and its Polonised form (*Iagello, Jagiello, Iagyello, Jagiello*). Should the characteristic name used in the story from *Liber beneficiorum* be therefore considered a kind of signature pointing out to the use of some external source of information or even an account by Długosz in constructing the narrative of foundation of Lublin convent?

A somewhat closer look at the Długosz's story and the contexts of its creation which includes this point of view reveals circumstances important for one interested in the local history of culture of the Lublin community. First of all, it should be observed that *Regestrum monasteriorum*, the part of *Liber beneficiorum* to which the story of the foundation of Lublin convent belongs, was written in 1473–1480. This dating was established on the basis of analysis of watermarks on the paper on which the foundation of Saint Birgitta's cloister was written: the sheets containing this story were produced in 1473 or 1474⁴⁵. The similar opinion was voiced by Stanisław Kuraś. According to him, *Regestrum monasteriorum* was written in 1474–1476 and then supplemented until the historian's death in 1480⁴⁶. This means that the final version of the account was written at the time or after the time in which Jan Długosz frequently stayed in Lublin (1473–1476), performing the duties of the preceptor of the sons of Casimir Jagiellon here (among other activities)⁴⁷. It was also already highlighted that in quite a few cases, mainly describing Lublin religious institutions in his *Liber beneficiorum* and *Annales*, Długosz discloses familiarity with the town locality and its history⁴⁸. Moreover, even though the historical introductions to the descriptions of the monasteries in *Liber beneficiorum* were written by the hands of the Cracow canon's notaries,

⁴⁴ L. Bernacki, *Przyczynki do dziejów dawnej powieści polskiej. II*, "Pamiętnik Literacki" 1903, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 568, footnote 1.

⁴⁵ K. Jelonek-Litewka, *Czas powstania rękopisu Liber beneficiorum Jana Długosza na podstawie znaków wodnych*, "Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny" 2022, vol. 28, pp. 53, 55–56.

⁴⁶ S. Kuraś, *Regestrum Ecclesiae Cracoviensis. Studium nad powstaniem tzw. Liber beneficiorum Jana Długosza*, Warszawa 1966, p. 34.

⁴⁷ P. Dymmel, *Związki Jana Długosza z Lublinem*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 2000, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 109–120; idem, *Lubelskie lata Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Memoriae amici et magistri. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci prof. Wacława Korty (1919–1999)*, eds. M. Derwich, W. Mrozowicz, R. Zerelik, Wrocław 2001, pp. 211–219; W. Polak, *Dominikanie lubelscy w przekazie Liber beneficiorum Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Dominikanie w Lublinie. Studia z dziejów i kultury*, ed. H. Gapski, Lublin 2006, p. 78.

⁴⁸ W. Polak, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–83, see also p. 77; P. Dymmel, *Związki Jana Długosza z Lublinem...*, pp. 106, 117, 119–120; W. Michalski, *Legenda fundacyjna dawnej lubelskiej fary św. Michała Archaniola*, "Bibliotekarz Lubelski" 2015–2016, vol. 58–59, pp. 94–97.

Marek Kowalski (who examined this work in more detail) holds an opinion that they were simply of Długosz's authorship. It is also recognised that preparing these short historical narratives the famous historian used documentary and oral sources coming from the monastic communities⁴⁹.

The story of the foundation of the Most Holy Savior cloister in Lublin bears clear marks that this was exactly what happened in the process of constructing the account. Długosz exhibits detailed knowledge of the history of the convent, giving the names of its previous abbots and discussing the problems of founding the community. Even more significant is that the historian follows this group's perspective in judging the events from the convent's past, like the misdeeds of the former German monks of the convent, who were the brethren of the monastery before it was Polonised. On the other hand, Długosz highly commends Martinus of Karnyowycze, the Polish abbot of the monastery in 1470s⁵⁰.

Could therefore be some kind of a local substratum in the theme of the fulfilling of Birgitta's prophecy in the famous historian's story? The differences in attitude for the prophecy in book 2 chapter 19 of *Revelationes* between *Annales* and *Liber beneficiorum* raises this possibility. The use of name *Johel* which was discussed above is a premise confirming this possibility although it can't be ruled out that Długosz was aware of it because of his vast knowledge of Polish historiography and used it to enhance the idea of God's approval of Jagiello's rule and actions.

Nevertheless, an important circumstance of the naming of the Polish king should be highlighted. Długosz writes explicitly that the ruler was called *Johel* by Saint Birgitta⁵¹ and as this information is given directly after discussing her prophecy, the clear meaning that it was used in Swedish visionary revelation is expressed. We already know that this was by no means the case and furthermore, Długosz knew it well himself as it was already mentioned that he was versed enough in Birgitta's *Revelationes* to virtually quote the prophecy concerning *cruciferi* in his *Annales*. Thus, one gets an impression that the chronicler included in his story the account of the prophecy which he encountered only after the above-mentioned description of peace of Torun (1466) as fulfilment of Swedish saint's revelation was written. The use of the version of king's name which Długosz have not used in his historical *opus* indicates the significant probability that he took over the account in which Jagiello's victory has been foreseen by the saint rather than interpreted her revelation himself in the context of Grunwald triumph.

⁴⁹ M. Kowalski, *Źródła i wiarygodność informacji w „Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis” Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz (1415–1480). Życie i dzieła*, eds. L. Korczak, M.D. Kowalski, P. Węcowski, Kraków 2016, pp. 103–125, especially p. 106.

⁵⁰ *Joannis Dlugossii senioris canonici cracoviensis...*, vol. 3, pp. 302–303.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

Still, if we take into account the criterium of functionality of memory, according to which only the information that has value for the group (e.g. corresponding to ideas important to the community) are transferred in the collective memory⁵², the direct and strong connection of Birgitta with the Polish and Lithuanian past in the story of the foundation of the Lublin cloister should be considered as desirable for the community of the convent known as *de Triumpho sanctorum Mariae Virginis et Brigidae*⁵³. Certainly, one may observe the correspondence between the patriotic circumstances of foundation of the convent in the Długosz's story and the fact that it was inhabited by a Polish community interested in maintaining patriotic values in the time when the historian wrote the account of its past. Furthermore, the clear emphasis of the role of the saint founder of the order to which the cloister belonged in the patriotic cause of the victory over Teutonic Order (which obviously gave rise to the foundation of the monastery) may be observed. Concerning this last feature of the story it should be observed that although the victory at Grunwald is ascribed to God and his Mother, the Birgitta's *vaticinium* is perceived by the author as something more than a simple image of the events which was once delivered. "We see a singular fulfilment" (*impletum singuli videmus*) of the announced faithful prophecy of the victory, writes the historian. In his words, King Ladislaus established the new monastery not only to honour the visionary but also to compensate her gratitude⁵⁴. The prophecy of the saintly seeress is thus considered a gift that should be returned according to the rules of symbolic economy. This attests to its exceptional value of the prophecy (in version from *Liber beneficiorum*) as both the portent revealing the role of the sacred in shaping the past but also as giving some kind of sacral authority to the foregone events by itself. Interestingly enough, the latter aspect was voiced already in the above-mentioned Jagiello's foundation act of the monastery from 1426, in which Saint Birgitta was called *adiutricem* (female assistant, helper) in obtaining judgement (or even favour) of the sacral powers while performing warlike deeds for the fatherland and the nation against Teutonic Knights and Prussians⁵⁵.

It is thus important to realize that the vision of significance of Birgitta's prophecy presented by Długosz in *Liber beneficiorum* is considerably deeply

⁵² See P.G. Bogatyriew, R. Jakobson, *Folklor jako specjalna forma twórczości*, "Literatura Ludowa" 1973, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 28–41.

⁵³ S. Kamińska, *op. cit.*, p. 175; *Catalogi Episcoporum Cracoviensium...*, p. 106.

⁵⁴ *Joannis Długosz senioris canonici cracoviensis...*, vol. 3, p. 301.

⁵⁵ *Król uposaża klasztor...*, pp. 201–202: (...) *ad laudem Omnipotentis Dei dedicantur, perpetuam semper censentur memoriam pro gloria Nominis eius sempiterna et honore B. Mariae Virginis Gloriosae, omnium sanctorum Divisionis Apostolorum et b. Birgidae, cuius plerumque suffragis, dum ipsam ad nostra auxilia cernua devotione vocavimus adiutricem, gestorum nostrorum, praecipue bellorum, quae gessimus pro patria et gente nostra contra Cruciferos et Prussiae hostes nostros, votivum finem recipimus ac zelo devotionis accensi speciali (...) monasterium (...) fundavimus...*

rooted in the images disseminating in wider circles during the fifteenth century, especially in intellectual ones as the examples from the lands under Teutonic Order rule indicate. However, the interesting exception to this is the Lublin community due to the existence of spiritual and to some degree learned community of the monastery of Most Holy Savior of Saint Birgitta, doubtlessly interested in maintaining the memory of the role played by their holy patron and founder of the order in the glorious history of the Polish Kingdom. A piece of extraordinary interesting evidence may be pointed out to attest this conclusion.

In 1898 the painter Józef Smoliński inspected the wall paintings recently found in the attic of the former Birgittine church in Lublin and recognised their significant worth. They were hidden under the plaster between the roof and the vault after the latter was constructed in the sixteenth century⁵⁶. Nowadays, four remaining scenes from the original composition are known, one of them uncovered relatively lately, in the early 2010s. The two which are best known are the figural ones. The first of these depicts a king preceded by a squire and followed by a group of men-at-arms. Next to it, in the narrative sense following the king in the cavalcade, is the group of closely ranked men-at-arms, most of them wearing white armours and sallets together with bevors, preceded by the bearded rider. In the foreground of the first of these two scenes, a fortified town is depicted⁵⁷.

The paintings were dated to about 1460–1480 (the reign of Casimir Jagiellon, Ladislaus Jagiello's son) what may be clearly confirmed by the type of depicted armours and there is a consensus among scholars for this time of the frescoes' origin. Contrary to that the theme of the paintings remains still under discussion, although most modern scholars agree with Karol Estreicher Jr's opinion that it is the motif of Three Kings March that the paintings represent⁵⁸. Estreicher voiced

⁵⁶ J. Smoliński, *Kościół pp. Brygidek, później pp. Wizytek w Lublinie i odkryte malowidła ścienne z XV wieku*, "Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce" 1915, vol. 9, col. 281–287.

⁵⁷ B. Stolarz, *Pobrygidkowskie, powizytkowskie i diecezjalne. Zabytki wyposażenia i wystroju kościoła pw. Wniebowzięcia NMP Zwycięskiej w Lublinie*, [in:] *Kościół pobrygidkowski w Lublinie dawniej i dziś. Historia wciąż żywa*, Lublin 2021, pp. 80–84; Z. Uszycka, *Gotyckie malowidła ściennie w kościele pobrygidkowskim w Lublinie*, Lublin 1968 (unpublished master's thesis), pp. 24–65. The paintings are made in fresco technique.

⁵⁸ K. Estreicher, *O treści malowideł w kościele brygitek w Lublinie*, "Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki" 1934–1935, vol. 6, p. 17*; M. Kornecki, H. Małkiewiczówna, *Małopolska*, [in:] J. Domański, A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, M. Kornecki, H. Małkiewiczówna, *Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Polsce*, Poznań 1984, pp. 21, 28, 51–52, 74; Z. Uszycka, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–123; T. Dobrowolski, *Malarstwo*, [in:] *Historia sztuki polskiej*, vol. 1: *Sztuka średniowieczna*, Kraków 1965, p. 400; A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Nauczanie obrazowe na ziemiach polskich w XIV i XV wieku na przykładzie malowideł ściennych*, [in:] *Literatura i kultura późnego średniowiecza w Polsce*, ed. T. Michałowska, Warszawa 1993, p. 261; D. Kopcowski, *Jagiellońska fundacja świątyni Brygidów i brygidek lubelskich*, [in:] *600 lat fresków w Kaplicy Trójcy Świętej na Zamku Lubelskim. Historia, teologia, sztuka, konserwacja*, eds. J. Żuk-Orysiak, A. Frejlich, Lublin 2020, pp. 84–85.

his judgement in discussion with the aforesaid J. Smoliński's belief that they depict "historical events from the time of the reign of Ladislaus Jagiello"⁵⁹. The basis of the former's argument is that the description of ruler's triumph on the church walls would be an exceptional case in the fifteenth-century Poland and that because of this a religious theme should be looked for in the paintings. The rest of Estreicher's argument is conjectural and based on the fact that Three Kings March depictions feature secular imagery and that there is the image of (one!) king on the Lublin painting in the present state of its preservation.

However, in the light of the above discussion concerning Birgitta's prophecy we should understand that in the case of Jagiello's main reason to triumph, we are not dealing with the secular theme but with the outcome of divine favour. As revealed by Saint Birgitta, it was the sacral power that decided about the course of history and the fate of Teutonic Order. Thus, the matter of the Polish king's deeds during the war of 1409–1411 may be considered as religious theme, especially in the walls of church of congregation whose saintly founder received a revelation disclosing God's will concerning the fate of political entity which the Polish king fulfilled, as described Jan Długosz in the work written in the very period when the frescoes were made. There are also other reasons to interpret the paintings in the former Bridgettine church in this way. Zofia Uszycka, the researcher who devoted the most attention to this work of art, interpreted its theme as triumphal parade although she believed that this theme was merged with the motif of Three Kings March⁶⁰. It is also significant that the wall paintings feature three depictions of fortified towns what can not be easily explained with deeming one of them to be Jerusalem as Estreicher did. On the other hand, it may be highlighted that if the medieval sigillography and numismatics would be considered, the motifs of walled towns depicted in the contexts of images of rulers frequently express the ideas connected to the sphere of exercising power, as accepting it in the case of motif of *adventus* or defending the community and its values against the threat, as is the case of images of princes fighting the beasts in front of city gates.

It may be thus seen that the somewhat antique Smoliński's proposal of explanation of the theme of wall paintings in the former Bridgettine church is not at all ungrounded. The most important thing to consider while evaluating his opinion though is that this explanation is coherent with ideas and beliefs reflected in *Liber beneficiorum* which, as was already emphasized above, came to being in the same period comprising of roughly twenty years. Equally important is that the frescoes were painted in the spiritual centre of the community for which these ideas and

⁵⁹ J. Smoliński, *op. cit.*, col. 283–284. Cf. F. Kopera, *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Średniowieczne malarstwo w Polsce*, Kraków 1925, pp. 105–108.

⁶⁰ Z. Uszycka, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

values were of great importance as they explained the origins of their convent and emphasized the role of the founder of their order as a saint who enjoyed special closeness to God, who revealed and even facilitated the introduction of the divine plan of the course of (the Lublin monks') fatherland's history.

To add to this, it is worth to point out the important remarks of Teresa Jakimowicz who discussed the socio-cultural backgrounds of depictions of historical subjects in the art of the last Jagiellon rulers of Poland. She emphasized that the works of art expressing this kind of matter appealed to their audiences' knowledge of the aforesaid historical matter which existence could be surmised (by the artist)⁶¹. In the case of Lublin Bridgettine convent, this kind of awareness was certainly present when the paintings were created. This makes the opinion that they depicted historico-religious theme all the more probable. Needless to say, in this case the circulation of the matter of Birgitta's prophecy in its version known from *Liber beneficiorum* would be significantly enhanced in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially among members of Lublin community.

A closer look at the story of the foundation of the Most Holy Savior of Saint Birgitta monastery of *Triumphus Mariae* in Lublin from *Liber beneficiorum* gives an opportunity to encounter the particularly interesting example of the thinking about the past as being shaped by the sacred powers which was performed by the leading Polish intellectual of the late medieval era. The account is a fine example of the widespread and far-reaching political prophecy genre⁶². However, the subject matter of the story was also irrevocably connected to the material structure distinguishing itself significantly in the local cultural landscape and thus significantly enhancing the memory and social circulation of the knowledge of the *vaticinium* at a local level⁶³. Therefore, taking into account the presence of local monastic community's attitudes in the Długosz's story too, it should be considered as to some point reflecting the local tradition of Saint Birgitta's prophecy about the punishment of the Teutonic Knights. How much it could held sway in the historical and political imagination of local intellectual elites is interestingly expressed in the words of priest Jan Władziński, rector of the once Birgittine church. As late as 1910, in the gloomy times of the partitions of Poland, he attributed the "inexhaustible power" to the prophetic words of Saint Birgitta, believing that "the highest justice will once again claim its rights on the fields of the second Grunwald"⁶⁴.

⁶¹ T. Jakimowicz, *Temat historyczny w sztuce ostatnich Jagiellonów*, Warszawa–Poznań 1985, p. 18.

⁶² For example, see L.A. Coote, *op. cit.*; R. Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England*, New York 1911.

⁶³ See M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris 1950, pp. 130–167, especially pp. 146–147.

⁶⁴ J. Władziński, *Grunwald a Kościół Panny Maryi w Lublinie*, Lublin 1910, p. 21.

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ABSTRAKT

Powstanie klasztoru Zakonu Najświętszego Zbawiciela św. Brygidy w Lublinie jest nieodłącznie związane z wiktorią grunwaldzką, w szczególności zaś z przepowiednią szwedzkiej świętej o ukaraniu Krzyżaków (*cruciferi*). Na przełomie XIV i XV wieku w Polsce pisma Brygidy cieszyły się uznaniem w kręgach uniwersyteckim i dworskim. Jednak to z obszaru Prus pochodzą piętnastowieczne przekazy świadczące o cyrkulacji antykrzyżackiego proroctwa, również w formie identyfikującej słynną bitwę jako wydarzenie zapowiedziane przez świętą. Wyjątkiem jest opowieść o fundacji lubelskiego klasztoru z *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* Jana Długosza. Król Władysław II występuje tu w roli zapowiedzianego przez wizjonerkę wykonawcy woli Boga. Taka treść fabuły Długosza czyni z niej przykład przepowiedni politycznej (*vaticinium ex eventu*) – formę narracji o przeszłości, popularną w tym czasie choćby na Wyspach Brytyjskich. Zainteresowanie kanonika krakowskiego specyfiką treści i jego opis procesu interpretacji proroctwa Brygidy zaraz po bitwie są dowodem na wysokie waloryzowanie tego rodzaju myślenia o dziejach w kręgu krakowskiej elity intelektualnej. Może również zdradzać wykorzystanie informacji o lokalnej proveniencji w procesie konstruowania opowieści.

Słowa kluczowe: św. Brygida Szwedzka; kościół pobrygidkowski pw. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny Zwycięskiej w Lublinie; Zakon Najświętszego Zbawiciela św. Brygidy; Jan Długosz; *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*; przepowiednie polityczne; świadomość historyczna w XV wieku; bitwa pod Grunwaldem