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Jews in the *Annals* of Jan Długosz – an Eternal, Living Stereotype

*Because only in the rigorous reality of familiarity, in that which exists,
and in such a reality as existed, can a great citizen of a free nation
create his own fate, the fate of his people and that of his country.*

Marceli Handelsman (1882-1945)¹

Jan Długosz, the most outstanding Polish writer of the Middle Ages and one of the greatest historians of his time, became famous for writing, with great flair, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* (*The Annals, Namely the Chronicles of the Famous Congress Kingdom of Poland*)². The *Roczniki* (*Annals*) consists of twelve books covering the events of those times in the history of Poland, all the way through to the contemporary time of the author. In writing the *Annales*, Długosz performed a work of titanic proportions, using as sources chronicles, annals, the lives of saints, documents found in church and royal archives and eyewitness accounts. He also included his own accounts because, as a member of the church and political elite, he participated in many important state events himself.

Thanks to his numerous trips abroad³, Długosz could obtain texts from ancient writers, and so the pages of the *Annales* feature the likes of Cicero, Vergilius, Horacy, Tytus Liwiusz, Salustiusz and Justyn, as well as the humanists Eneaszy Sylwiusz Piccolomini, Boccaccio and Beccadelli⁴. In the *Chronicles*, Długosz presents the history of the rulers of Poland, and also includes the history of our neighbours, of empires and of the Papacy. He described relationships which linked individual states.

¹ Cytat za: A. F. Grabski, *Zarys historii historiografii polskiej*, Poznań 2006, p. 170.

² Jan Długosz opracował również: *Banderia Prutenorum*, *Insignia seu clenodia Regni Poloniae*, *Żywot św. Stanisława*, *Żywot bł. Kingi*, *Katalog biskupów wrocławskich*, *Katalog biskupów wrocławskich*, *Katalog biskupów poznańskich*, *Katalog biskupów gnieźnieńskich*, *Katalog biskupów krakowskich*, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*. Wiadomości o życiu i pracy dziejopisarzkiej J. Długosza możemy czerpać m. in. z: M. Bobrzyński, S. Smolka, *Jan Długosz, jego życie i stanowisko w piśmiennictwie*, Kraków 1893. (Jest to najdokładniejsze do tej pory ujęcie życia i pracy Jana Długosza z uwzględnieniem materiału dokumentacyjnego w postaci prawie 500 regestów); F. Papee, J. Długosz, [w:], *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. V, Kraków 1939-1946, p. 176-180; Jan Długosz [w:], *Słownik pisarzy polskich*, pod red. A. Łatuska, Kraków 2004, p. 108; Filip Buonocorsi zwany przez Polaków Kallimachem jest autorem *Żywotu poświęconego Janowi Długoszowi*, który powstał jeszcze za życia historyka. Opracowano również cztery rozbiory krytyczne kroniki: A. Semkowicz, *Krytyczny rozbiór Dziejów Polski Jana Długosza (do roku 1384)*, Kraków 1887; S. Gawęda, K. Pieradzka, J. Radziszewska, K. Stachowska, *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z lat 1385-1444*, t. I, Wrocław- Warszawa- Kraków, 1961; G. Gawęda, K. Pieradzka, J. Radziszewska, *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z lat 1445-1480*, t. II, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków 1965.

³ J. Długosz odwiedził: Włochy, Czechy, Węgry, Palestynę, Państwo Zakonu Krzyżackiego. Por.: M. Bobrzyński, S. Smolka, dz. cyt., pp. 61-62.

⁴ D. Tęrkowska, *Jak Długosz pisał swoją historię*, „Ziemia Częstochowska”, t. XIV, 1984, pp. 51-56.

He discussed peace treaties, wars and battles. He looked at the characteristics of populations and the geographical situation of countries. In brief, he wrote about everything which could be drawn from the abovementioned sources⁵.

So such a multi-layered work could not have omitted the Jewish population whose largest centre, in the Middle Ages, was Kraków, a city particularly close to Długosz⁶. The first Jewish settlers on Polish soil appeared in the 11th century. They headed here following pogroms in Czech and German territories⁷. In 1264, Prince Bolesław the Pious issued the oldest known privilege to the Jews inhabiting the Wielkopolska region. Its contents were confirmed, in 1334 by Kazimierz the Great, allowing Jews to live anywhere in the entire Congress Kingdom of Poland. The privilege was supposed to guarantee safety to and justice for the Jews under the care of the authority of the state⁸. It was the first legal document created for Jews on Polish territory. It consisted of 36 articles which can be divided in four categories:

1. judicial power over the Jewish population,
2. lending finance and pawn broking activities,
3. trade,
4. the relationship of the Jews to the Christian population⁹.

This privilege, however, did not stretch far enough to meet expectations in that the waves of antisemitism, which hit Jews in other parts of Europe, also reached them in Poland. This issue was not alien to Długosz, who wrote in his *Chronicles* about the Jews and their relationship with Christian society in Poland over the centuries. However, he did not focus his writing on intolerance or persecution, as all the information found in the *Annals*, with one exception, have a negative character or are simply contemptuous with regard to Jews.

When we seek the first mention where the chronicler least negatively projects an attitude towards the Jews, we find it in the first volume of the *Annals* where Długosz wrote, "If only the Poles would follow the example of the Spanish, who do not insult people because of their origins, where virtue is distinguished, and who appoint bishoprics and high eminences from neophytes drawn from the Jews and Saracens and, through their graciousness, make their republic blossom and successfully develop"¹⁰. We clearly hear the voice of a patriot here, approving of neophytes holding high positions of state if they are capable of rendering service to the state. The attitude adopted by Długosz can be explained by the fact that his intolerance is based purely on religion. Długosz is a man of the Church, a traditionalist with a deep faith. His attitude is steadfast. It does not require additional explanation or justification

⁵ J. Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)*, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków 1964, p. 215.

⁶ A. Jelicz, *Życie codzienne w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, 1966, s. 41.

⁷ Kosmas, *Kronika Czechów*, przetłumaczyła, wstęp i komentarze opracowała Maria Wojciechowska, Warszawa 1968, p. 319.

⁸ R. Grodecki, *Polska piastowska*, Warszawa 1969, p. 604, 642.

⁹ Tamże, p. 643.

¹⁰ Jana Długosza *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, ks. I, Warszawa 1962, p. 167-168; „Utinam Poloni Hispanorum virtuosius uterentur ingeniis, qui nullum hominum genus, in quo virtus elucescit, fastidiunt, conversisque ex Judei et Saracenis pontificia et celsiores magistratus mandat, hac quoque benignitate rem publicam suam florentiorem vegetioremque efficiunt”; Joannis Długossii *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. I, Warszawa 1964, p. 108.

because he accepts the Catholic faith, as his ancestors had without doubt¹¹. He stigmatised everyone who stood against, what was for him, the one true faith – Christianity. To Długosz, the beginnings of the Polish state are inseparably associated with the beginnings of the Polish Church. Christianity accompanies our nation from its dawning. We discern this fact from the *Chronicles*, where the baptism of Poland's first ruler, Mieszko I, completes the full organisation of the Church.

Poland is also a proponent of the Christian faith beyond its borders. St. Wojciech sets off from our country to baptise the Prussians. Polish hierarchies succeed in the baptising of Lithuania. For Długosz, the baptism of Poland is a moment in our history which gave us independence, freedom and the possibility to enter the culture which created the civilisation of the West. To Długosz, the state was an organism which, in order to function well, needed a strong and forceful base. That was exactly what was provided by the Catholic Church, ensuring a moral and legal grounding.

Further examples, confirming Długosz's attitudes to Jews, are excerpts which contain descriptions of the ritual murder of Christian children and the desecration of the Host. Długosz relates a case of ritual murder in Kraków, which took place in 1407:

When Master Budek, a Wiślicki canon, was about to descend from the pulpit after preaching his sermon at St. Barbara's church, he said that a paper which had been placed on the pulpit contained a request and admonition that he make an announcement of a recent event, a terrible misdeed. However, he had intentionally remained silent about it, since a similar warning had, as everyone knows, provoked great unrest in the city of Prague [...] Jews, living in Kraków and having, the previous night, killed a Christian child, used his blood in godless, vile behaviour. They had thrown stones at a priest who was bringing the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to a sick person [...] looting, robbing and the murdering of Jews had begun anew¹².

The entire description of the event is not quoted, only the most important excerpts. It is the first description of ritual murder which was recorded in Poland. In describing that event, Długosz refers to earlier events from Prague in 1389 which also involved profanation of the Host and which were also recorded in the pages of the *Annals*. Długosz describes them this way: *the crowd of Jews, shamelessly blaspheming the Holy Sacrament, threw stones at the Viaticum priest carrying them. When news of this travesty spread amongst the people, in order to wreak God's vengeance, unrest immediately began, the result of which was a slaughter and the burning of Jews in Prague*¹³.

¹¹ M. Koczerska, *Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze”, t. XV, 1971, s. 114.

¹² Jana Długosza *Roczniki...*, ks. X, Warszawa 1982, s. 20-21. „magister Budek canonicus Wisl-iciensis pronunciato in ecclesia sancte Barbare ad populum sermone, e cathedra descensus significabat se per cartam in cathedra locatam rogatum et admonitum fore quatenus quandam novitatem abominandum facinus continentem populo intimaret, se huiusmodi rogationem, cum ex pari avisamento grandem seditionem in civitate Pragensi produsse constabat, consulto suppressisse [...] Iudeos in Cracoviensi urbe habitantes nocte, que precesserat, Christianorum infante necate in illius sanguine abominaciones impietatis egisse et in sacerdotem ad egrotum Divinissimum Eucharistie Sacramentum deferentem lapides iecisse [...] spoliatio direpcioque atque strages Iudeorum [...] ex integro instaurata.”; Joannis Długossii *Annales* lib. X, Warszawa 1997, p. 16.

¹³ Jana Długosza *Roczniki...*, ks. X, s. 232. „Iudeorum caterva blasphemias in Sacramentum impudico ore evomens, sacerdotem eciam Sacramentum ferentem proiectione lapidum ob-ruebat. Qua iniuria ad vulgares perlata sedicio mox, iusto Dei permittente iudicio, coorta est, ex qua omnium Iudeorum primum strages, deinde concrematio sequuta est apud Pragam.”; Joannis Długossii *Annales*, lib. X, p. 178.

We can immediately perceive a similarity between these events. One could even say that they are identical. Only the people and places where the profanations occur differ, but the remaining elements are the same as the situation already outlined. They were descriptions often repeated and communicated with great attention to detail. This is confirmed by an excerpt from a chronicle, in which Długosz informs the reader of incidents which took place in Poznań in 1399:

On Friday 15th August, a certain woman in Poznań, accepting the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist in the Dominican friars monastery in Poznań, took the Host out of her mouth in order to sell it to Poznań Jews ¹⁴.

Another example deserving of attention is one which appears in the *Annals*, which took place during Długosz's lifetime, and occurred in Trydent in 1475. Długosz wrote:

In the city of Trydent, lying north of the L'Aniza River, which separates Italy from Germany, and belongs to the Bishop of Trydent, Jews living there, Tobias and Samuel, seized a boy by the name of Simon [...]. Tempted by promises and bribes, Tobias grabs him by the arms and, in the atrium of the synagogue where they had gathered, they cut the living boy's face and that which is manly. They stretch the boy out in the shape of the cross and pierce his saintly body with hard needles, deeply wounding him all the way to his feet ¹⁵.

There were commonly known and often repeated motifs – so called *itinerant motifs*. A fact was the characteristic feature of these stories – that persecution often occurred during religious holidays or in places where crowds would spontaneously gather like, for example, a church. The chronicler described incidents which occurred in cities, since crowds could gather there, feel strong and then attack. Jews in cities were more anonymous to the outsider. However, Jews in villages were well-known, which caused them to feel endangered.

The image of the Jew, which Długosz created in his stories concerning Host profanation and the ritual murder of children, demands us to perceive the Jewish population as murderers, servants of Satan and sorcerers. Was the chronicler overcome by a collective phobia? Did he really believe that Christian children were cruelly murdered? Writing in this manner, as presented above, Długosz further strengthened, in the consciousness of people, the image of the Jew as a persecutor and a contemptible torturer of Christians which Europe, for the first time, came to know

¹⁴ Jana Długosza *Roczniki...*, ks. X, s. 308. „VENERIS die quinta decima Augusti mulier quedam de Poznania, prokurata in monasterio fratrum Predicatorum Poznaniae Divinissimo Eucaristie Sacramento, illud ex ore sustulit Iudeis Poznaniae commorantibus venditura.”; Joannis Długossii *Annates...*, lib. X, 236.

¹⁵ Jana Długosza *Roczniki* ks. XII, Warszawa 2004, s. 384-385. „In civitate Tridentina, quae versus Aquilonem sita, Italiae a Germania, fluvio Lansio interlabente, determinat, ad proprietatem pertinens episcopo Tridentini, Iudaei in civitate ipsa habitant, quorum duces errant Angelus, Thobias et Samuel, puerum insignem, Simonem nomine (...) clandestine per Thobiam Iudaeum, pretio et promissis oneratum, corripunt, et in atrio Synagogae, universis congregatis, vivis carnibus pueri in vultu et in his, quae inter cavillam et cruris musculum interiacent, lac-eratis, puerum in crucis modum extensum, corpus illud sacrum certatim acubus duris et densis a vertice usque ad plantas.”; Joannie Długossii senioris canonici Cracoviensis opera omnia, t. X-XIV, p. 636.

at the beginning of the 12th century. The legend was supposed to for centuries thereafter¹⁶.

Working of his chronicles. Długosz does not rely on methodological knowledge, upon which history today relies. He did not have the tools which would allow him to be critical of the sources he used. He was not equipped with any knowledge outside of those sources which could have helped him to abandon that medieval system of ideas and theo-centrism¹⁷. Neither did Innocent IV's Papal Bull, in 1247, stop him from including subject matter about the Jews. The Bull defended Jews against accusations of murdering Christian children with the aim of using their blood for ritual purposes¹⁸.

He leaned more towards the views of the Polish clergy who, in a synod held in Wrocław in 1267 and presided over by Papal Legate Gwidon, established regulations regarding the Jewish population of Poland. We will not quote them all – only those most representative affecting the situation of the Jews. The Jewish population had its contact with Christians limited by the introduction of a ban on Christians from staying in a Jewish home during the day or from staying there overnight, a ban on joint celebrations and a ban on Jews patronising bathhouses or inns. They were ordered to wear special headgear, the so-called horned hat (*cornutum pileum*) and were permitted to build only one synagogue in a city.

Jews were also removed from positions in offices to limit, as much as possible, their contact with Christians because, according to the clergy, they could influence their neighbours towards the Jewish faith. Buying food from Jews was also forbidden for fear that it might be poisoned¹⁹. These regulations led to the separation of Christians from Jews and an instilling in the consciousness of people with whom, to that time, they had co-existed, a belief that those people would lead to their doom. This was how antisemitism was born, fuelled by the Church, separating Jews from the rest of society by means of walls and fences. The clergy appeared here as defenders of the oppressed Christian, whereas the authorities still maintained close connections to the Jews.

Długosz did not fail to inform his readers of this, writing in the *Annals*, that King Kazimierz the Great:

¹⁶ J. Żyndul, *Kłamstwo krwi*, Warszawa 2011, s. 14-15. Pierwszy przypadek rzekomego mordu rytualnego odnotowano w Norwich we wschodniej Anglii 1144 roku. Przypuszcza się że inspiracją took for himself a

concupine, Wyrozumski, *Przesłanie Jana Długosza w sprawie pamięci historycznej*, „Zeszyty Długoszowskie”, Esther, of Jewish

Nr. IX, 2010, s. 61-62. origins, because

¹⁸ R. Grodecki, dz. cyt., s. 647. of [her]

¹⁹ Tamże, pp. 671-673. extraordinary beauty. [...] Also,

at the request of the abovementioned Esther, he granted all Jews, living in the Congress Kingdom of Poland, extraordinary privileges and freedoms which greatly offended God's Majesty (suspicions were raised that this document was forged by certain people)²⁰.

As a result, it looked as though all obligations towards the state, in a practical sense, incurred by the Jewish population and their judicial organisations, were different to those of the Christians²¹. Rights and privileges received by the Jews aroused a dislike amongst the Christian population, not only towards the Jews, but also towards the authorities. As a result, the following myth came about – that Jews were favoured by the authorities and enjoyed special consideration. Legislation of the time, with regard to the Jews, determined that they were the property of the Prince's treasury, that is, they were *servi camerae*, and any act of harm against a Jew was the same as an act against the Prince's property²².

An increase in the significance of the Jewish population in the economic field, granting them the titles of free businessmen, factors, tax collectors, customs and toll collectors and brewers, resulted in them constituting competition for the Christians and becoming a target of persecution²³. With the passage of time, however, the Jewish population was forced to reduce its activity in the economic and rural fields of the Kingdom and to concentrate on usury (*usura*) which, from then on, was one of the most important professions amongst Jews. In addition, what is exceedingly important is that Canon law forbade Christians with Jews in that way.

Usury brought Jews great material gains. Lending money on interest or as a mortgage loan was a lucrative business and was, as it turned out, yet another reason for persecution by Christians. Długosz also wrote on this subject in the excerpt from the chronicle devoted to the nomination of Archdeacon Ścibor as Bishop of Płock. Because the newly appointed bishop was unsure of his nomination to the position, he sent a messenger to Rome, “who received six hundred and three score groszy from a Kraków Jew, at interest. Following his stay in Rome, he returned with a second confirmation of his appointment from Pope Urban VI”²⁴.

²⁰ Jana Długosza *Roczniki...*, ks. IX, Warszawa 1975, s. 360. „Iudaici generis feminam Hester nomine propter forme eleganciam in concubinam ascivit. (...) Ad preces quoque prefate Hester Iudee et concubine exorbitantes prerogativeas et libertates per literas regias singulis Iudeis in Regno Polonie habitantibus, que falso scripte ab aliquibus insimulabantur, et quibus Divina Maiestas contumeliatur et offenditur, concessit.”; Joannis Długossii *Annales ...*, lib. IX, Warszawa 1978, s. 284-285.

²¹ R. Grodecki, dz. cyt., s. 626.

²² Tamże, s. 620-621, 626. Ten stosunek dobrze obrazuje przypadek Żyda Lewka z Krakowa, który był bankierem czterech monarchów, żupnikiem wielickim, zarządcą mennicy, właścicielem wielu domów i placów w mieście. Nie czując się pewnie ze względu na stawiane Żydom zarzuty poprosił o specjalny dokument zapewniający jemu i jego rodzinie opiekę ze strony władcy i rady miejskiej. I. Ihnatowicz, A. Mączek, B. Zientara, *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku*, Warszawa 1979, p. 200.

²³ J. Heyde, *Ewolucja zwierzcności królewskiej nad ludnością żydowską*, [w:] *Małżeństwo z rozsądku? Żydzi w społeczeństwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, pod red. M. Wodzińskiego i A. Michałowskiej-Mycielskiej, Wrocław 2007, 46.

²⁴ Jana Długosza *Roczniki* ks. X, p. 109. „qui receptis a Iudeis Cracoviensibus sexingentis sexagenis latorum grossorum cum accrescencia usurarum, Romam pertingens, alteram confirmationem ab Urbano sexton in sua obediencia nominato reportavit.”; Joannis Długossii *Annates...*, lib. X, p. 81

Based on the text, it can be noticed that everyone borrowed money from Jews, as the result of which the wealth of Jews grew very quickly. This aroused jealousy and, slowly, the belief arose that Jews constituted a negative element of economic life. Jews began being held responsible for economic pressures. Often debtors, who were unable to pay back sums which they had borrowed, sought to blame others for their failure and so more persecutions began. Repeated accusations against Jews of avarice and greed aroused, in Christians, an ever growing dislike and jealousy. In the end, this led to the closing down of districts especially allocated to them.

Długosz also contributed to this. In his agreement with the Kraków Jewish Community Council, dated 20th January 1469, relating to the sale of property and the Kraków Jews moving to live elsewhere, he wrote:

All Jews [...] of the Jewish community living in Kraków [...] will hand over to Elder Jan Długosz, Canon of Kraków, irrevocably and forever, all plots and places on which stand their synagogues, old and new; furthermore all houses which are called hospices located near the synagogues; furthermore both cemeteries [...] in exchange for a house and plot or site on ul. Szpiłarskiej²⁵.

From this we can learn that Długosz expressed his attitude to Jews not only on the pages of the *Annals*, but also in his private life.

Many factors could have influenced Długosz's comprehension of reality. But, probably, the most important influence which was exerted upon the chronicler came from his master and mentor Zbigniew Oleśnicki. A bishop, later cardinal, and great statesman, Zbigniew Oleśnicki had great power concentrated in his hands. He was an adviser to kings and the most significant matters of state were decided in his office²⁶. The Bishop's court was the centre of the country's political life. It was here that Długosz met diplomats, politicians and scholars from all over Europe. But, for Długosz, Zbigniew Oleśnicki was the highest authority and it was he who inspired the young cleric to write the *Roczniki*.

Długosz's mind was under the strong influence of cleric ideology and, in that atmosphere, it shaped his political views and his perception of the world²⁷. Długosz wrote his history with great commitment. His chronicle not only recorded hard facts, but had as its mission saving the history of the Polish state from being forgotten. It also expressed his unconditional attachment to his homeland, unfortunately, often lacking objectivity, which places the author in an adverse light²⁸.

The characteristic feature of Długosz's historiography, however, remains his religiousness, which speaks to the reader in the excerpts where the chronicler, not knowing the real reasons which existed behind certain facts, or they were far too difficult to imagine, invokes divine intervention. In Długosz's perspective, God is very austere. He punishes every offence in any manner according to his

²⁵ J. Drabina, *Wierzenia, religie, wspólnoty wyznaniowe w średniowiecznej Polsce i na Litwie i ich koegzystencja*, Kraków 1994, p. 137; *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis studii generalia Cracoviensis* (wyd. P. Żegota), t. 1, Kraków 1886, No. 223 (przekład: J. Drabina).

²⁶ J. Wyrozumski, dz. cyt., pp. 20-21.

²⁷ M. Koczerska, dz. cyt., p. 111.

²⁸ Jana Długosza *Roczniki...*, ks. I, s. 71-72. Długosz pisał: „dla błędów moich, których w tej pracy po ludzku nie mogłem uniknąć, wyjednajcie mi u najmiłosierniejszego Boga z łatwością zarówno tak zdolność sprawiedliwego i rzetelnego pisania, jak i myśli, aby płynęły obficie ku chwale Bożej i ku ozdobie i pomnożeniu ojczyzny, ku pouczeniu zaś i pożytkowi bliźnich.” Joannis Długossii *Annates...*, lib. I, s. 58. „sperans vos erratibus meis, que (me) humanitus non potuisse in hoc opere evitare profiteor, [veniam] apud clementissimum Deum, simulque recte scribendi iustam et Fidelem supellectilem, atque mentem in divinum honorem patriumque decus et amplitudinem, proximorum vero instructionem et profectum redundantem facile impetraturos.”

commandments, as well as demanding absolute obedience. But what is most important, "The *Annals* clearly state the significant influence that God has on the fate of the Polish nation"²⁹. An example is an excerpt in which Długosz blames King Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk for the defeat in the battle of Chojnice, which was supposed to be a punishment for the King granting privileges to the Jews:

The King and members of the Council granted liberties to the Jews, dishonouring the holy faith, for which Kraków Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki and the man of God Jan Ca-pistrano³⁰ publicly accused and admonished the King – but the King dismissed them, attracting the anger of God and the people³¹.

This quotation confirms the tendentious nature of Długosz's historiography. His rejection of the Jews, let us say once again, is only the result, however, of a religious awakening. He rejects them and expresses his dislike, because they are "on the margins of medieval society"³², a people who contributed to the crucifixion of Christ and, due to that, it must be assumed that they are an enemy of His Church.³³ The Church, which had earlier studied the history of Poland, did not wait to make a broader study. Only Długosz, writing a parallel history of the state, talks about the history of the Church and, in connection with that, deserves being described as a Church historian³⁴. "A church interpretation of history flows from the chronicler's methodological foundation and a consistent sacralisation of the historical process"³⁵ is strengthened while the chronicler studied at Kraków University, where opinions of a moral-didactic character were emphasized, aimed at teaching one to live by acceptable principles and norms, and to be aware of all activities which interfere with the will of God.³⁶

Medieval Jews stood out from Christian society, not only by how they dressed, but by their behaviour and their customs. They did not assimilate and maintained their own customs and culture. This aroused an ever greater dislike and led to changes in persecution - from religious to political, economic and social. Długosz belonged to the country's intellectual elite and kept in close contact with Kraków University professors. He belonged to a small circle of educated people and earned his living from writing. From that, we cannot say that his attitudes were typical of the rest of medieval society³⁷. We do know, however, that Długosz's negative attitudes of the Jews were continued by certain later writers³⁸, strengthening the stereotype of the Jew as a God-killer, child murderer and usurer.

²⁹ M. Koczerska, dz. cyt., p. 113.

³⁰ U. Borkowska, *Treści ideowe w dziełach Jana Długosza*, Lublin 1983, s. 190-191. Jan Długosz znał osobiście Kapistrana, gdyż przebywał on w Krakowie w 1454 roku na zaproszenie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego. Kapistran doprowadził do tumultu przeciw Żydom we Wrocławiu, jednak te informacje nie pojawiły się w kronice Jana Długosza.

³¹ *Jana Długosza Roczniki* ks. XII, p. 243. Libertates insuper in fidei sanctae dedecus, per Regem et consiliarios concessae Iudaeis, pro quibus a Sbigneo Cardinali et episcopo Craco-viensi, et fratre Iohanne de Capistrano, divo homine, Rex publice argutus et correptus, illas revocare distulit, provocaverunt iram Dei in Regem et populum."; *Joannies Długossii senioris* t. X-XIV, p. 188.

³² U. Borkowska, dz. cyt., p. 17.

³³ Tamże, p. 17.

³⁴ Tamże, pp. 67- 68.

³⁵ Tamże, p. 198.

³⁶ Tamże, p. 198.

³⁷ M. Koczerska, dz. cyt., p. 110.

³⁸ K. Bartoszewicz, *Antysemityzm w literaturze polskiej XV-XVII wieku*, Warszawa- Kraków 1914. Pozycja ta w całości poświęcona zagadnieniu antysemityzmu w literaturze. Przedstawiamy tylko przykładowe pozycje: P. Mojecki, *Żydowskie okrucieństwa, mordy i zabobony*, Kraków 1598; S. Hubicki, *Żydowskie okrucieństwa nad Najświętszym Sakramentem i działkami chrześcijańskimi. Ku temu przydana jest tychże zdrajców zbrodnia, w Świniarowie pod Łosicami popełniona, która sądzono na Trybunale Lubelskim roku Pańskiego 1598*, Kraków 1602; S. Miczyński, *Zwierciadło Korony Polskiej, czyli urazy ciężkie i utrapienia wielkie, które ponosi od Żydów*, Kraków 1618.

