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Becoming a Queen in Early Modern Europe

East and West

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<u>ABSTRACT</u>
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History
<u>Doctor of Philosophy</u>
BECOMING A QUEEN IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE: EAST AND WEST
Katarzyna Kosior

My thesis approaches sixteenth-century European queenship through an analysis of the ceremonies and rituals accompanying the marriages of Polish and French queens consort: betrothal, wedding, coronation and childbirth. The thesis explores the importance of these events for queens as both a personal and public experience, and questions the existence of distinctly Western and Eastern styles of queenship. A comparative study of 'Eastern' and 'Western' ceremony in the sixteenth century has never been attempted before and sixteenth-century Polish queens usually do not appear in any collective works about queenship, even those which claim to have a pan-European focus. The thesis combats the stereotype of the cultural 'otherness' and political isolation of sixteenth-century Poland in relation to the 'West' through a comparison with France, considered a quintessentially 'Western' early modern state. Comparing the ceremonies of France, an absolute monarchy, and Poland, a 'noble democracy', exposes the complex impact of the system of government on royal ceremony. The comparison is especially viable since French and Polish queens consort were related to each other and married their husbands for political gain. The role of early modern queens was steeped in mystique and mythologised through ceremonies that transformed them into the virgin mothers of the coronation or the sexual objects of wedding poetry and pageant. But these queens were inherently political, spinning the thread that connected the realms of Europe. Armed with diplomatic protocol, titles, lands and objects, they brought alliances, their native culture and dynastic connections to European monarchs. The thesis suggests that the identities of these queens were often multiple and as they became daughters, wives, and often widows of European monarchs, they carried the imprint of their ancestors and relatives. The similarities between ceremonies were dictated by shared liturgy and the willingness of monarchs to follow European fashions and remain part of the shared royal culture. This by no means excluded local flavours from entering royal ceremony. Subtly distinctive customs, such as a traditional first meeting place, specific colour scheme, or preparation of a royal entry, were shaped by the practicalities of staging the royal ceremonies and addressed matters of legitimacy particular to every European realm.

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Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I, Katarzyna Kosior

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Becoming a Queen in Early Modern Europe: East and West

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

Signed: …………………………………………………………………………

Date: 3 August 2017

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations in Footnotes

AGAD	The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw
AT IV	*Acta Tomiciana: Tomus Quartus Epistolarum. Legationum. Responsorum. Actionum et Rerum Gestarum; Serenissimi Principis Sigismundi Primi, Regis Polonie et Magni Ducis Lithuanie*, S. Górski (ed.) (Kórnik: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1855)
Auton	P. L. Jacob (ed.), *Chroniques de Jean d'Auton, publiées pour la première fois en entier, d'apres les manuscrits de la Bibliothéque du Roi*, vol. 2 (Paris: Silvestre, Libraire-Éditeur, 1834)
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Choque	A. Le Roux De Lincy, *Discours des cérémonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, de la maison de France, avec Ladislas VI, roi de Bohême, précédé du discours du voyage de cette reine dans la seigneurie de Venise, le tout mis en écrit du commandant d'Anne, reine de France, duchesse de Bretagne, par Pierre Choque, dit Bretagne, l'un de ses rois d'armes. Mai 1502.* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, 1861)
CSPV	*Calendar of state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy, 1202 [1675]*, Vol. 2, R. Brown (ed.) (London: Longman and Roberts, 1873)
Hall's Chronicle	*Hall's chronicle: containing the history of England during the reign of Henry the fourth, and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry*

the eighth, in which are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods, carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550, M. Ellis (ed.), (London: J. Johnson, 1809)

LP	*Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII: preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England,* Vol. 1, J. S. Brewer (ed.), (London: Longman and Roberts, 1862
Rymer's Foedera	*Foedera : conventions, literæ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliæ, et alios quosvis Imperatores, Regis, Pontifices, Principes, vel communitates, ab ineunte sæculo duodecimo, viz. ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque tempora, habita aut tractata*, vol. 8, T. Rymer (ed.) (London: J. Tonson, 1727-1735)

Introduction

East and West

The notion that Europe has an 'East' and a 'West' seems to imply that a fundamental political and cultural divide animates life on the continent. This thesis complicates this assumption through a comparative historical analysis of the royal marriage and motherhood ceremonies of Poland and France, arguing that it is impossible to make sense of sixteenth-century European queenship, ceremony and royal culture by looking only at Western Europe. Queens spun the thread that connected early modern Europe, playing a vital role in linking together various European realms with blood-ties and alliances as well as disseminating cultural trends and political models through their influence. This thesis is the first comprehensive study of queenship and ceremony that makes connections between France and Poland, and, more specifically, it is the first to expose the extent to which the wives of the Valois and Jagiellonian kings were related to each other (see Appendix 2). Cousins, aunts and nieces exchanged between Poland, France and the Holy Roman Empire were the guarantors of the close political relationship between these three kingdoms. These connections remain largely obscure in English-language scholarship and Polish queens are usually excluded from studies of European queenship.

Within the broad chronological and geographical scope, this thesis is concerned primarily with the making of a consort and focuses on the ceremonies of becoming a queen, understood as the wedding with the accompanying festivals, coronation, childbirth and motherhood. They marked the transition of a bride into a queen consort, but have never been studied as a sequence in a larger European context. The analysis of these ceremonies illuminates the French and Polish queenship by revealing the ideological, conceptual, diplomatic and family frameworks within which queens functioned. By establishing the patterns that marked the movement of royal brides between east and west, laying bare the connections that bound together monarchical Europe (see Figure 1), this thesis questions whether the differences in European royal ceremony and queenship were motivated by specific 'Eastern' and 'Western' ideas. This thesis is therefore the first to ask what impact Poland's 'noble democracy' had on queenship and royal ceremony in the sixteenth century

and it is also the first to attempt to answer this question comparatively with respect to any time period, in this case through a comparison with an absolute monarchy. Although this examination of the ceremonial processes that accompanied the continuous swapping of brides posits a new pan-European model of queenship and court culture that is resistant to crude east/west categorisations, it does not obscure its variety. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that no complete understanding of early modern European court culture can ignore its Polish dimension.

Previously untranslated and unknown sources are drawn upon to explore the dynamic between continental and local royal cultures, where the latter was shaped by the practicalities of staging the royal ceremonies and addressed matters of legitimacy particular to every European realm. These ceremonies are the gateway to understanding European royal culture as a blend of national, alien and shared customs and fashions. Analysis of the ceremonies of becoming a queen casts a new light on how queens experienced their marriages both in private and public, suggesting that there were moments of unstaged emotion. Treating 'family' and 'dynasty' as distinct terms of historical analysis, it asks whether the evidence allows us to regard Polish and French royal families as an emotionally connected group of people rather than solely relatives linked by political dealings, and it tests the idealised vision of royal queenship and motherhood conveyed by coronation and pageants against the reality of the lives of queens.

Literature Review

Analysis of Polish queenship and ceremonies is both interesting and important to English-language scholarship, because it provides a new perspective on European queenship and royal culture, as well as dispelling a recuring set of assumptions identified by Norman Davies in the historiography of Europe. He argues that 'the first [assumption] maintains that West and East, however defined, have little or nothing in common'.[1] Even just a brief look at the joined family tree of Polish and French queens (Appendix 2) shows how deeply unfounded such assumptions are. This thesis uses the terms 'east' and 'west' in a geographical sense to pierce the stereotypes of sixteenth-century Poland's cultural and political isolation. These stereotypes, of course, are mainly perpetrated by the difficult access to Polish documents which require a working knowledge of Polish, Latin, and often German

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[1] N. Davies, *Europe: a history* (London: Pimlico, revised edition 2010) p. 25.

and Italian.[2] Comparing the history of Poland with that of other European countries adds English, French and Ancient Greek to the list, making it possible for only a small number of historians. Another challenge lies in the turbulent modern history of the European East, which had consequences for both access to the region's archives and its cultural perception as fundamentally disconnected from the rest of the continent. Davies explains that 'by taking transient contemporary divisions, such as the Iron Curtain, as a standing definition of 'West' or 'East', one is bound to distort any description of Europe in earlier periods. Poland is neatly excised from the Renaissance, Hungary from the Reformation [...].'[3] Since Davies wrote this in 1992, Robert Frost and Natalia Nowakowska have pioneered early modern Polish history as an English-language field of study. Nowakowska is right to argue that 'where our models are built from examples garnered from only half the continent, we risk operating with only a half (or even a half-accurate) picture of Renaissance European society.'[4] In other words, historians have tried to define the 'European' by looking only at half of Europe. However, eastern and central Europe remains the primary context for representing the Polish monarchy.[5] This thesis is the first to offer a substantial comparison of Polish royal ceremony and culture with that of a quintessentially western realm and relate Polish queenship and monarchy to the ongoing debates in English-language scholarship. It contributes to broadening the horizon of the historiography by offering the first English-language study of sixteenth-century Polish queenship and ceremony.

Polish sixteenth-century queens do not appear in any collective works about queenship, even those which claim to have a pan-European focus.[6] This excludes the volume on royal motherhood edited by Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre, which includes my article about Bona Sforza, and a forthcoming volume on frictions and failures accompanying

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[2] All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[3] Davies, *Europe,* pp. 25-6.

[4] N. Nowakowska, *Church, State, and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) p. 6.

[5] U. Borkowska and M. Hörsch (eds.), *Hofkultur der Jagiellonendynastie und verwandter Fürstenhäuser* (Ostfildern: J. Thorbecke, 2010); F. N. Ardelean, C. Nicholson and J. Preiser-Kapeller (eds.), *Between Worlds: The Age of the Jagiellonians* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013).

[6] T. M. Vann (ed.), *Queens, Regents and Potentates* (Cambridge, 1993); C. Levin, D. Barrett Graves, and J. E. Carney (eds.), *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); J. Eldridge Carol, *Fairy Tale Queens: Representations of Early Modern Queenship* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); D. Barrett-Graves (ed.), *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); S. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); A. J. Cruz and M. Suzuki (eds.) *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

the cultural transfer connected to royal marriages edited by Almut Bues.[7] A volume edited by Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton also includes Almut Bues' analysis of bridal trousseaus and art collections belonging to two Polish princesses, Catherine and Sophie Jagiellon, who became, respectively, the Queen of Sweden and Duchess of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.[8] However, queens of Poland are again excluded. While queens have been studied in a variety of European regions, such as the Mediterranean by Elena Woodacre, the north by William Layher, and the west by Carole Levin, Anna Whitelock, Alice Hunt and Charles Beem, a study of Polish queenship has never been produced.[9] This might be because even though Polish scholars have written biographies of queens, such as Maria Bogucka's *Bona Sforza* and *Anna Jagiellonka*, there has been little effort to place the Polish queens in their European context, or even to generally consider Polish queenship as a phenomenon.[10] Some Polish queens, such as Elizabeth and Catherine of Austria, received very little attention, and their short biographies were written as parts of two larger collections.[11] Moreover, these biographies tend to follow older works, such as those written by Władysław Pociecha or Aleksander Przeździecki, which were excellently researched, but which sometimes adopted stereotypical views, such as representations of Bona as a bad mother, or

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[7] K. Kosior, 'Outlander, Baby Killer, Poisoner? Rethinking Bona Sforza's Black Legend', in C. Fleiner and E. Woodacre (eds.), *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother fom the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) pp. 199-224; A. Bues, 'Frictions in the life of Polish princesses and queens consort 1500-1800', in A. Bues (ed.) *Frictions and Failures: Cultural Encounters in Crisis* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017) pp. 105-132; G. Mickūnaité, 'United in blood, divided by faith: Elena Ivanovna and Aleksander Jagiellończyk', in A. Bues (ed.) *Frictions and Failures,* pp. 181-200. Two Polish eighteenth-century queens were included in: H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Religion and the consort: two Electresses of Saxony and Queens of Poland (1697-1757), in C. Campbell Orr (ed.) *Queenship in Europe 1660-1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp. 252-276.
[8] A. Bues, 'Art collections as dynastic tools: The Jagiellonian Princesses Katarzyna, Queen of Sweden, and Zofia, Duchess of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel', H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and A. Morton (eds.) *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500-1800* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2017) pp. 15-36.
[9] C. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); W. Layher, *Queenship and Voice in Medieval Northern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre*; Elena Woodacre (ed.) *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); C. Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); A. Hunt and A. Whitelock (eds.) *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
[10] Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*; M. Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1994/2009); J. Besala, *Zygmunt Stary i Bona Sforza* (Poznań: Zysk i S-ka, 2012); Maria Bogucka put Polish women on the map of English-language gender studies with her book that applies its methodologies to studying Polish women's everyday lives. M. Bogucka, *Women in Early Modern Polish Society, Against the European Background* (Oxon: Routledge, 2nd edition, 2016).
[11] I. Kienzler, *Kobiety Zygmunta Augusta* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2013); E. Rudzki, *Polskie Królowe: żony Piastów i Jagiellonów* (Warszawa: Instytut Prasy i Wydawnictw 'Novum', 1990).

lacked a critical approach to sources.[12] As I have argued before, the perception of these queens, which appears in some biographical works published before 1989, may be a result of communist censorship and Polish nationalism of the nineteenth and twentieth century.[13] This thesis is the first to apply the methodology of thematic, i. e. not purely biographical, analysis developed within English-language scholarship to examine the public role and glimpse the private lives of Polish queens on a large scale.

The presence of sixteenth-century French queens in English-language works on queenship has been considerably greater, but some feature more prominently than others.[14] Since the pioneering days of queenship studies and the first articles written by Alison Heish and Carole Levin in the 1980s, there has been a tendency to focus on 'powerful' women, such as queens regnant and regents.[15] Consequently, the most studied French queens are Anne of Brittany and Catherine de Medici.[16] Mary, Queen of Scots, also remains a popular subject, but more as the Scottish queen regnant than as a French queen consort.[17] This thesis treats all consorts as equally important objects of study irrespective of how fascinating their biographies might have been to present a more balanced image of European queenship. Mary of England and Elizabeth of Austria have already received some attention: the first was written about in a joint biography with her sister Margaret by Maria Perry, while Joseph Petrouch produced a unique account of Elizabeth of Austria's fifteen years spent at her mother's court.[18] There have also been two significant collections of biographical essays about sixteenth-century Valois queens, the most recent written by Kathleen Wellman, and

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[12] W. Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557): czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia*, vols. 1-4 (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Nauk, 1949); A. Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI w.: uzupełnienia, rozprawy, materyały*, vols. 1-5 (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1878).

[13] Kosior, 'Outlander, Baby Killer, Poisoner?'; M. Werde, *Królowa Bona: między Włochami a Polską* (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1992) p. 7.

[14] Peggy McCracken, *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 1998); Eldridge Carol, *Fairy Tale Queens*; Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*; Cruz and Suzuki (eds.) *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*.

[15] A. Heish, 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy', in *Feminist Review*, vol. 4 (1980) pp. 45-56; Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*.

[16] J. Poirier, 'Catherine de Medicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (Autumn 2000); K. Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); R. J. Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici* (London: Longman, 1998); I. Cloulas, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Fayard, 1992); Brown, *The Queen's Library.*

[17] A. Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Pheonix, 1969/2002); J. Guy, *My Heart is My Own: The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004); J. Wormland, *Mary, Queen of Scots:Politics, Passion and a Kingdom Lost* (New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2nd edition 2001).

[18] M. Perry, *Sisters to the King: The Tumultuous Lives of Henry VIII's Sisters: Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France* (London: Andre Deutsh Limited, 1998); J. F. Petrouch, *Queen's apprentice: archduchess Elizabeth, empress María, the Habsburgs, and the Holy Roman Empire, 1554-1569* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010)

the other by a French historian Simone Bertière.[19] Kathleen Wellman focuses on the French court of the Valois, but she also highlights the importance of other women in power at court, the royal mistresses. Through her comparison and contrast of the roles and representations of the mistresses and queens consort, she explores the cultural boundaries which constricted them, and discusses different ways in which these women could access power.[20] However, her book does not offer an insight into the lives of all sixteenth-century French queens and some of them, such as Louise of Lorraine who features in this thesis, are still understudied.

Polish queens are new to English-language scholarship, but so are sixteenth-century Polish marriage and motherhood ceremonies. The literature on European ceremonies is extensive, but limited in two significant ways. First, it does not provide a truly European perspective by excluding some areas of the continent because a comparative study of eastern and western ceremonies or royal courts in the sixteenth century has never been attempted before. Second, the main focus is usually on ceremonies of kings. This is especially evident in literature on French and Polish coronations, especially in studies produced by Michał Rożek, Urszula Borkowska, Aleksander Gieysztor, Richard Jackson and Jean-Pierre Bayard.[21] These treat the ritual of the queen's coronation as marginal or as part of the marriage ceremonies.[22] A thematic or chronological analysis of Polish and French coronations of queens consort has never been produced and their significance remains obscure. Even *Europa Triumphans*, a collection of source material and essays on European ceremonies edited by J. R. Mulryne and Helena Watanabe-O'Kelly, which otherwise inspiringly defies the routine practice of concentrating only on western parts of the continent, focuses on kingship and on the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[23] A classic French collection of essays on the subject has been edited by Jean Jacquot, covering a wide range of

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[19] S. Bertière, *Les Reines de France au Temps des Valois* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1994).

[20] K. Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France* (New Haven; London, Yale University Press, 2013); J. Boucher, *Deux épouses et reines à la fin du XVIe siècle : Louise de Lorraine et Marguerite de France* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1995).

[21] M. Rożek, *Polskie Koronacje i Korony* (Kraków: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1987); U. Borkowska, 'Theatrum Ceremoniale at the Polish Court as a System of Social and Political Communication', in A. Adamska and M. Mostert (eds.), *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004) pp. 431-452; pp. 432-450; A. Gieysztor, 'Gesture in the Coronation Ceremonies of Medieval Poland', in J. M. Bak (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990); J. Bayard, *Sacres et Couronnements Royaux* (Paris: Éditions de la Maisnie, 1984); R. A. Jackson, *Vivat Rex: histoire des sacres et couronnements en France* (Paris: Éditions Ophrys, 1984); published in English as: R. A. Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

[22] U. Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów w Polsce* (Warsaw: PWN, 2011) pp. 229-259.

[23] J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*, vols. 1-2 (Aldershot: MHRA and Ashgate, 2004).

issues from music to tapestries, but its focus is similar to that of *Europa Triumphans*.[24] Although a more recent volume edited by Nicolas Russell and Hélene Visentin represents an excellent in-depth analysis of French ceremonial entries, ingresses of queens are not among the studied events.[25] This thesis aims to advance the study of Polish and French royal ceremony by putting ceremonies of queenship in the picture and asking of them the questions of symbolism, politics, change over time and significance, previously applied to the study of kingship and ceremony.

There are, however, studies of English queens consort that provide interesting frameworks for exploring royal ceremonies, such as Alice Hunt on sixteenth-century coronations, Maria Hayward on ceremonial dress and J. L. Lynesmith on rituals of late medieval queenship.[26] English-language scholarship pioneers the ceremonial turn in queenship studies, even if its focus is limited. The volume on English ceremonies and rituals of queenship edited by Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson is one example of this.[27] Retha Warnicke was also the first to produce a comprehensive study of diplomatic protocol and marriage, taking Anne of Cleves' marriage to Henry VIII of England as her detailed case study.[28] This thesis emulates these methodologies to comparatively examine Polish and French queenship and ceremonies. Some of these approaches have been used previously in articles on individual weddings and coronations of French queens consort, such as Erin Sadlack's study of Mary of England's wedding, which focuses especially on the role of letters in the ceremonial exchange of affection, as well as Sarah Carpenter and Graham Runnals' article on the entertainments accompanying Mary Stuart's wedding to Dauphin Francis of France.[29] Historians also approach entries of French queens consort through analysis of the manuscripts which contain descriptions of these. For example, Cynthia J.

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[24] J. Jacquot, (ed.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956); an earlier French classic on ceremonies: J. Chartou, *Les Fêtes solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance, 1484-1551* (Paris: les Presses universitaires, 1928).

[25] N. Russell and H. Visentin (eds.) *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image and Text* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007).

[26] M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney, 2007); J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); A. Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[27] L. Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (eds.) *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval and Early Modern* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009).

[28] R. Warnicke, *The marrying of Anne of Cleves: royal protocol in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[29] E. A. Sadlack, *The French queen's letters: Mary Tudor Brandon and the politics of marriage in sixteenth-century Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); S. Carpenter and G. Runnals, 'The entertainments at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the French Dauphin Francois, 1558: Paris and Edinburgh', *Medieval English Theatre,* 22 (2000), pp. 145-161.

Brown focuses on how the oral, visual, and textual aspects of pageants could be represented on a page.[30]

The tendency to focus on the western part of the continent in studies on European ceremonies and courts creates a lopsided reflection of them, by not taking account of ceremonies in a different political setting than that provided by absolute monarchy.[31] This perptuates the misunderstandings of Polish culture, ceremony and politics in works by historians of other royal courts, such as in Robert Knecht's biography of Henry I of Poland and III of France.[32] The most pan-European contributions to the field remain the study of Renaissance festivals by Roy Strong, J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring's edited volume, and the above mentioned *Europa Triumphans*.[33] Only the latter includes Poland-Lithuania, but it focuses on various German accounts of the sixteenth-century Polish ceremonies.[34] The spotlight on Western Europe in other works, such as Gordon Kipling's study of royal entries, limits them to analysis of one type of royal ingress celebrated with pageants, which was often not the case in other parts of the continent.[35] This one-sided view of European ceremonies partly results from little effort on the Polish side to analyse these events, let alone to put them into a European context. Urszula Borkowska provides a general overview of Polish royal marriages, births and baptisms in her essay published in Jacek Banaszkiewicz's volume on rituals and symbols of power in medieval Poland, but she often omits sources describing events which might be considered immoral.[36] Only one volume of essays edited by Mariusz Markiewicz and Ryszard Skowron contains a substantial number of essays dedicated to early modern Polish ceremonies and rituals. It contains analysis of a range of topics and themes, including the ceremonies connected to the Polish senate and chamber of

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[30] Brown, C. J., 'From Stage to Page: Royal Entry Performances in Honour of Mary Tudor (1514)', in A. Armstrong and M. Quainton (eds.) *Book and Text in France 1400-1600: Poetry on the Page* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) pp. 49-72.

[31] J. Adamson (ed.) *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime* (London: Seven Dials, 2000); R. J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

[32] Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant?*

[33] J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (eds.), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); R. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1973/1984).

[34] K. Friedrich [et al] (ed.), 'Festivals in Poland-Lithuania from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: MHRA and Ashgate, 2004) pp. 371-462.

[35] G. Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[36] U. Borkowska, 'Królewskie zaślubiny, narodziny i chrzest', in Jacek Banaszkiewicz (ed.), *Imagines Potestatis*: *Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X-XV w.* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAN, 1994) pp. 75-92; Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów,* pp. 229-259.

representatives, the religious ceremonial at the Jagiellonian court, as well as the political ceremonies associated with the relationship between Poland and Lithuania prior to and after the union of 1569. The volume contains Krystyna Turska's analysis of costumes worn by the Jagiellonian kings when first greeting their brides, as well as Karolina Turgosz's comparison of the entries of three Habsburg sisters, two of them to Poland and one to Florence, between 1592 and 1608.[37] Targosz also produced a short volume on sixteenth and seventeenth-century royal weddings aimed at the general audience.[38] Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski and Katarzyna Mroczek have also examined Polish *epithalamia*, or wedding songs, from the point of view of literary critics.[39] This thesis aims to produce a more comprehensive study of early modern ceremonies by addressing and explaining the differences in royal festivals of Poland and France.

Childbirth, a central component of the analysis offered in this thesis, has usually been excluded from studies of early modern royal ceremony, except for the visual aspects of both pregnancy and delivery. Historical debates have focused on the symbolism of material culture associated with childbirth and how it was used to subtly announce pregnancy to the court. For example, Maria Hayward explores Mary I of England's and Jane Seymour's use of costume to reveal their swelling stomachs and Karen Hearn writes about pregnancy portraits in connection to the uncertainty of childbirth.[40] The self-representation of the people who aided childbirth also mattered. Lianne McTavish explores the way in which Louise Bourgeois, a royal midwife who delivered three of Marie de Medicis' babies, represented herself to seem a reliable (and clean!) assistant.[41] Commemorating and mystifying royal childbirth was equally important. Holly Tucker analyses medals marking the births of Henry IV of France and Marie de Medicis' children, Louis, Elizabeth and Christine, to explore the

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[37] K. Turska, 'Stroje Jagiellonów podczas ceremoniału witania narzeczonych', in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich* (Cracow: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1999) pp. 101-111; K. Targosz, 'Oprawa artystyczno-ideowa wjazdów weselnych trzech sióstr Habsburżanek (Kraków 1592 i 1605, Florencja 1608), in Markiewicz and Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum ceremoniale*, pp. 207-244.
[38] K. Targosz, *Królewskie Uroczystości Weselne w Krakowie i na Wawelu, 1512-1605* (Cracow: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2007).
[39] J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Czasy Zygmuntowskie* (Warszawa: Pax, 1966); K. Mroczek, *Epitalamium staropolskie: między tradycją literacką a obrzędem weselnym* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989).
[40] M. Hayward, 'Dressed to Impress', in A. Hunt and A. Whitelock (eds.) *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) pp. 81-94; K. Hearn, 'A Fatal Fertility? Elizabethan and Jacobean Pregnancy Portraits', *Costume*, 32 (1998), 39-43.
[41] L. McTavish, *Childbirth and the Display of Authority in Early Modern France* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005)

fairy-tale imagery representing childbirth as a metaphorical voyage.[42] Historians usually place childbirth within the context of dynasticism and cultural trends at court. For example, Bonnie Lander Johnson discusses Henrietta Maria's births and the cult of chastity at the Caroline court, and Kersti Markus explores the symbolism of baptism in the Danish coronation.[43] Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Urszula Borkowska and Maria Bogucka are the most prominent Polish historians who have studied childbirth and childhood in early modern Poland-Lithuania by looking at the connections between childbirth, family and liturgy. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, in particular, studies iconographic sources while Borkowska reconstructs the ritual of Polish baptism from liturgical books.[44] Their focus is extended in this thesis with an exploration of royal personal networks by examining the correspondence accompanying pregnancy and childbirth.

Within this large comparative study, experiences of queens will not be homogenised or their personal experiences underestimated. This thesis questions whether within the staged public life of monarchs, all displays of emotion reflected political calculations. Affection between spouses or between parents and children can seem too obvious to be treated as a line of historical inquiry, too reminiscent of the approach represented by authors of popular biographies and historical fiction. However, the sentiment that animated the life of early modern courts demands a serious and nuanced analysis. The burgeoning histories of emotion allow a new framework for understanding queenship and ceremony, which until now have been largely seen through the prism of staged emotion in terms of performance and propaganda.[45] The most recent scholarship includes analysis of royal letters as a means of

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[42] H. Tucker, *Pregnant Fictions: Childbirth and Fairy Tale in Early Modern France* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003).

[43] B. L. Johnson, *Chastity in Early Stuart Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); K. Markus, 'Baptism and the King's Coronation: Visual Rhetoric of the Valdemar Dynasty on Some Scanian and Danish Baptismal Fonts', in K. Kodres and A. Mänd (eds.) *Images and Objects in Ritual Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Northern and Central Europe* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013) pp. 122-142.

[44] D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, '"A blessing most desired" – Expecting a Child and the First Tribulations of Life among the Polish Jagiellonians', in U. Borkowska and M. Hörsch (eds.), *Hofkultur der Jagiellonendynastie und verwandter Fürstenhäuser* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010) pp. 193-198; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk and K. Kabacińska-Łuczak, *Codzienność dziecięca opisana słowem i obrazem: życie dziecka na ziemiach polskich od XVI do XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2012); Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów*, pp. 255-257; M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce. Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI-XVIII wieku na tle porównawczym* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio, 1998); M. Bogucka, *Gorsza płeć. Kobieta w dziejach Europy od antyku po wiek XXI* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio, 2005); M. Bogucka, *Dzieje kultury polskiej do 1918 roku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991).

[45] S. Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016); J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, transl. K. Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); C. Jones, *The Smile Revolution in Eighteenth Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); T. Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); G. K.

conveying affection and maintaining long distance relationships between relatives and spouses as well as staging gendered emotion in what Tracy Adams calls the 'affective diplomacy'.[46] The focus has been on how women employed emotion in gaining political advantage, but instances where royal emotion might have been spontaneous, non-staged and not predicated on securing the upper-hand in politics are rarely discussed. Royal ceremony, especially, has been considered a staged performance, an orchestrated festival of contrived propaganda. The role of family feelings in governing dynastic display, which this thesis discusses, has very rarely been conceptualised or even hinted at by historians.

The focus on dynasticism is a valuable approach that helps us contextualise the particular politics of European monarchies, but it often overshadows our understanding of the royal family as a family. Instead of making inquiries into the idea of the royal family, historians often examine them by dynasty, looking for their distinguishing characteristics. For example, a recent volume looks at early modern Habsburg women and the dynastic ideals they carried into their careers as queens regnant and consort, duchesses and nuns.[47] Similarly, the idea of 'Tudor queenship' has been planted firmly within early modern historiography discussing Henry VIII's mother, wives and daughters.[48] While historians have started to examine queenship by its supra-dynastic roles, for example, in recent volumes edited by Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre looking at motherhood, the debate surrounding royal mothers is still focused on fashioning image and perpetuating dynastic ambitions.[49]

Paster, K. Rowe and M. Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); R. Meek and E. Sullivan, *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); M. Champion and A. Lynch (eds.) *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); B. Escolme, *Emotional Excess: on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); L. R. Perfetti, *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); M. Steggle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[46] S. Broomhall, 'Ordering Distant Affections: Fostering Love and Loyalty in the Correspondence of Catherine de Medici to the Spanish Court, 1568-1572', in S. Broomhall (ed.), *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder* (Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2016) pp. 67-88; T. Adams, 'Married Noblewomen as Diplomats: Affective Diplomacy', in S. Broomhall, *Gender and Emotions*, pp. 51-66.

[47] A. J. Cruz and M. G. Stampino (eds.), *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

[48] A. Hunt and A. Whitelock (eds.) *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); A. Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Vintage Books, 2011); D. Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Vintage Books, 2004); D. Loades, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (Chalford: Amberley, 1994/2009).

[49] E. Woodacre and C. Fleiner (eds.), *Royal Mothers and Their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Power from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); C. Fleiner and E. Woodacre (eds.) *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Eras* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

This thesis treats 'dynasty' and 'family' as separate categories of historical analysis to suggest that there was real affection amongst dynastic politics.

Polish and French Politics and Culture

This comparison between Poland and France, considered a quintessentially western state, aims to complicate our notion of what 'European' means and to demonstrate that early modern queens had to operate in a variety of political contexts. Even though the royal customs and ceremonies of these monarchies developed from the shared experience of medieval Christian rulership, during the sixteenth century, these countries were in the final stages of developing two very distinctive political systems: elective and absolute monarchy. There had been precedent for both legendary and historical election of Polish kings, but Poland became an elective monarchy after the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Władysław Jagiełło, married the Polish queen regnant, Jadwiga I, in 1386; the electiveness of the Polish monarchy was formally recognised in 1434.[50] The marriage between Władysław and Jadwiga also established the personal union between Poland and Lithuania, creating what was to become the largest composite monarchy on the continent, and laying the foundation for the subsequent elections of Jagiełło's sons and grandchildren, as hereditary rulers of Lithuania, to the Polish throne. Thus in the sixteenth century, Poland still functioned as a de facto hereditary monarchy, because the king's son was likely to be elected to the Polish throne to perpetuate the union with Lithuania. The Polish elective monarchy was further consolidated when Poland and Lithuania entered into a constitutional union at the Parliament of Lublin in 1569. This coincided with the lack of a Jagiellonian male heir to the Polish throne following Sigismund August's death in 1572, which allowed the nobility to choose their kings in 'free elections' without a dynastic principle from that point onwards.

The establishment of the elective monarchy was accompanied by the rise of the Polish nobility, and the gradual development of the parliamentary system of government sometimes termed a 'noble democracy'.[51] In order to secure the succession for his daughter, Jadwiga I, in 1374 Louis I of Hungary signed the Koszyce privileges, which exempted the nobility from all taxes, except for a modest land tax, and 'established the important principle

[50] J. Bardach, B. Lesnodorski and M. Pietrzak, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987) pp. 62-3; 102-3; Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland,* pp. 33.
[51] Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland*, p. 32.

that the monarchy could only levy extraordinary taxes with szlachta [noble] consent.'[52] This started the process of gradually establishing the Polish nobility as the dominant political group. In 1505, Alexander I Jagiellon signed the *Nihil Novi* act, in which the Polish kings renounced their legislative powers in favour of the parliament, or sejm, giving equal powers to the Senate and Chamber of Representatives. The sejm was thus established as the central organ of what Robert Frost calls 'Poland's consensual, mixed parliamentary monarchy'.[53] The *Nihil Novi* act provided the basis for the idea of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, based on the Roman Republic, where all nobles enjoyed equal privileges and liberties. Within this extraordinary political system, the nobility were identified by their non-hereditary offices, such as voivode or castellan, rather than aristocratic titles like duke or count. This fostered a sense of collective responsibility for the state in theory and practice, because service to the Commonwealth rather than birth was the mark of status and power. The sheer number of the Polish nobility added to their strength. This politically involved social group constituted as much as 10 per cent of the Polish-Lithuanian population, 'making it by far the largest in Europe'.[54] One of the reasons for this number was explained by the apostolic nuncio to Poland, Vincenzo Lauro, who observed that 'the Polish nobility cannot be persuaded to civil war', which significantly diminished the nobility's numbers, for example, in fifteenth-century England.[55] But Karin Friedrich is right to argue that the modern view of Poland-Lithuania is still largely based on 'the caricature of Poland', propagated successfully by Austria, Prussia and Russia following their partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, as an 'ineffective elected monarchy with its "medieval" corporate freedoms and factionalised nobility'.[56]

During the early modern period France developed into an absolute monarchy, which 'has long been considered to be the essential form of the early modern state' and does not require a lengthy introduction.[57] French kings were legitimised by divine and hereditary right, which was strengthened by the fact that since the first Capetian was crowned in 987,

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[52] R. Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania: Volume 1: The Making of the Polish Lithuanian Union, 1385-1569* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 65-6.

[53] Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania,* p. 351.

[54] D. Stone, *A History of East Central Europe Volume 4: The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001) p. 77; P. Paul Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th-18th Centuries: The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) p. 309.

[55] P. Jasienica, *Ostatnia z rodu* (Warsaw: Czytelnik 1965) p. 20.

[56] K. Friedrich, 'Royal Entries into Cracow, Warsaw and Danzig: Festival Culture and the Role of the Cities in Poland-Lithuania', in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewring (eds.) *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) p. 386.

[57] P. R. Campbell, 'Absolute Monarchy', in W. Doyle (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p. 11.

France was ruled by the same dynasty until the end of the sixteenth century and the advent of the Bourbons. Even though the French king's powers were far from truly absolute, French absolutism 'developed claims and practices that ran counter to long-term representative tendencies contained within its own structures'.[58] The French Estates General wielded less power than the Polish sejm and, before their temporary revival in 1560, 'they were a nearly defunct institution'.[59] The king was at the very centre of French politics and his court was an important instrument of government, so the nobility flocked to it in order to secure royal favour – a significant means for French nobles to be involved in politics.[60] It is rather extraordinary that at the end of the eighteenth century the French and Polish models of government, despite their fundamental differences, both started to be perceived as decayed and inefficient. This cast a long shadow onto the period when both of these regimes were robustly developing in the sixteenth century. For example, Georges Picot, a nineteenth-century French historian makes a harsh judgement that 'avec François Ier, la monarchie [...] avait marché rapidement vers la despotisme', while Peter R. Campbell makes a more balanced claim that the French monarchy merely failed at 'modernising sufficiently'.[61]

Court ceremony was adapted to the practical needs of these two political systems, especially taking into account the royal couple's and the nobility's position and function within these states. It also revealed much about the queen's expected patterns of behaviour, or even subtly instructed a queen, who might have arrived from a completely different political environment. Ceremony represented the reality of politics, but much like a carnival mirror, it offered an image that was often distorted in the most striking or subtle ways. For example, it might be expected that royal ceremonies reflected the difference in power balance between the king and the nobility in France (strong king versus weak nobility) and Poland (weak king versus strong nobility), or that ceremonies of an elective monarchy would put less emphasis on the importance of fertility, but this was often not the case. Comparing

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[58] Ibid. p. 12.

[59] P. Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers 1500-1660 Volume 2: Provincial rebellion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) p. 71.

[60] O. Chaline, 'The Kingdoms of France and Navarre: The Valois and Bourbon Courts c. 1515-1750', in J. Adamson (ed.) *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London: Seven Dials, Cassel & Co, 2000) pp. 76-7; Detailed information about the French nobility may be found in: J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles & Estates* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994) pp. 57-107 and D. Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).

[61] G. Picot, *Histoire des Etats Généraux considérés au point de vue de leu influence sur le Gouvernement de la France de 1355 à 1614*, vol. 2, (Genève: Mégariotis Reprints, 1979) p. 1; Campbell, 'Absolute Monarchy', p. 12.

the French and Polish styles of government allows us to examine the impact of different political circumstances on the representation of queenship in royal culture and ceremony.

But rather than explaining the diversity of European political culture, historians tend to homogenise it by excluding or representing stereotypically what is considered different. There have been a few studies of the Renaissance that include Poland, notably by Peter Burke and Harold B. Segel, but many works on the European Renaissance still mention it only in passing or not at all.[62] If Poland is referred to, it is often in order to emphasise its cultural 'otherness'. Dispelling these stereotypes is important, because they go hand-in-hand with misinformed statements such as that 'it was not unusual for a coronation in Poland to be accompanied by bloodshed'.[63] In her recent book about expressions of identity through costume in the European Renaissance, Ulinka Rublack mentions Poland once in relation to its 'ostentatious barbarism' and argues that the Polish nobility

> used oriental clothes, weapons, and hairstyles to emphasise its closeness to Asian rather than Western European aesthetic ideals, as well as male valour and hardiness. Italy, France, and Spain mattered less than Ottoman, Russian, and Tartar styles, so that French observers of Polish ceremonies routinely felt as though they were back in periods of ancient Persian glory.[64]

Karin Friedrich also argues that the 'otherness' of Polish culture was 'founded on Polish self-representations of a heroic eastern "Sarmatian" tribe of warriors, with chivalric values, Tartar-style haircuts and Turkish style dress'.[65] However, most of these ostentatiously oriental characteristics became established as a form of national culture at the end of the period discussed in this study. For the majority of the sixteenth century, and prior to the great wars of the seventeenth century, Poland followed the trends of the European Renaissance.[66] Łukasz Górnicki, the author of the Polish adaptation of Castiglione's *The Courtier*, comments on the range of fashions in Poland: 'we have so many fashions here today that

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[62] J. B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989); J. Hale, *The Civilisation of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York: Touchstone, 1993); P. Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); C. G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[63] R. J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574-89* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) p. 79.

[64] U. Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) p. 146; Term 'ostentatious barbarism' was first coined by G. Klaniczay, 'Everyday Life and the Elites in the Later Middle Ages: The Civilised and the Barbarian', in P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (eds.) *The Medieval World* (London: Routledge, 2001) pp. 684-5.

[65] Friedrich, 'Royal Entries into Cracow, Warsaw and Danzig', p. 386.

[66] P. Mrozowski, 'Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości narodowej szlachty polskiej w XVI-XVIII wieku', in A. Sieradzka and K. Turska (eds.) *Ubiory w Polsce* (Warsaw: Kopia, 1994) p. 25.

there is no counting them: Italian, Spanish, Brunswick, Hungarian, either old or new, Cossack, Tartar, Turkish [...]. Some shave their beards and wear only moustaches, others trim their beards in the Czech style, or in the Spanish fashion'.[67] Sixteenth-century Poland was a bustling cosmopolitan and multi-cultural environment where Latin, German and Ruthenian were spoken almost as often as Polish, and the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish refugees of the religious wars could find a safe haven.[68] The robust academic culture of the University of Krakow founded in 1364 contributed to the dissemination of other (especially literary) Renaissance trends, through constant interaction with other European universities.[69] Most importantly, the Polish royal court keenly pursued the fashionable Italian Renaissance. In 1516 Sigismund I the Old contracted Francisco of Florence and Bartolommeo Berrecci to carry out the conversion of the medieval Wawel palace into a Renaissance palazzo.[70] Foreign brides of Polish kings probably arrived in Cracow to find that in many ways their new home resembled the palaces they had left behind in the west.

Politics of French and Polish Royal Marriages

This is the first study to explicitly link the interests behind the Jagiellonian and Valois marriages to demonstrate how politically connected Europe was in the sixteenth century. The information table listing wives of sixteenth-century European rulers (Appendix 3) will further guide the reader and, hopefully, draw attention to the fact that the Jagiellonian brides constituted a substantial percentage of European queens. Yet Poland is often removed from the master narrative of sixteenth-century European politics just as from the Renaissance. Some studies do include it, even if only to point out that Poland was 'too republican for its own good', or argue that 'the politics of Poland, Lithuania, Muscovy and Sweden only rarely came seriously into contact with the affairs of any Western European state'.[71] However, European dynasties were in essence a network of relatives in which the

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[67] Ł. Górnicki, *Dworzanin Polski* (Gdańsk: Wirtualna Biblioteka Literatury Polskiej) p. 76, [http://biblioteka.vilo.bialystok.pl/lektury/Odrodzenie/Lukasz_Gornicki_Dworzanin_polski.pdf, accessed on 24/11/2014].
[68] Jasienica, *Ostatnia z rodu*, p. 53.
[69] P. Knoll, *'A Pearl of Powerful Learning: The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2016).
[70] Burke, *The European Renaissance*, p. 82.
[71] E. Cameron, *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford* History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) p. 131;R. Mackenney, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993); T. A. Morris, *Europe and England in the Sixteenth-Century* (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 5; Other works including eastern and northern Europe: M. E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe 1450-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); C. Wilson, *The Transformation of Europe, 1558-1648* (Berkeley and Los Angeles:

connections were motivated by the ever-changing alliances comprising both East and West. Poland maintained wide-ranging relationships with other European countries resulting in dynastic marriages, the majority of which were motivated by three elements: the Polish struggle to maintain its influence in Hungary, the need to protect Eastern Lithuania from the expansionist designs of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, and the Italian Wars.

The Grand Duchy of Moscow started to gain significance following its release from subjugation to the Mongolian Horde in 1480 and thereafter rapidly became an important player on the European stage. After the annexation of the Grand Duchy of Tver, Grand Duke Ivan III started to call himself the 'overlord of all Ruthenian territories'. The Latin term 'Ruthenia', or Slavonic 'Rus' refers to the eastern European ethno-cultural region, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth century comprised the majority of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (modern Belarus, Ukraine, south-eastern Poland) and the western parts of the Grand Duchy of Moscow.[72] Ivan promptly proceeded to annex parts of Lithuania, gathering support among the Lithuanian eastern orthodox nobility. In 1483, he married Zoe Paialologina, the granddaughter of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II and adoptive daughter of Pope Pius II. Their daughter, Helena of Moscow (b. 1476 – d. 1513), had suitors from both Poland and the Holy Roman Empire. Moscow temporarily flirted with the idea of an anti-Polish alliance with the Habsburgs, but finally settled for peace on its western borders. Helena married the Polish prince and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Alexander Jagiellon, and became the queen of Poland following the premature death of her husband's brother, John I Albert, in 1501.

However, the conflict between Moscow and Poland was only resolved for a very short time, and its renewal resulted in the alliance between the Habsburgs and Moscow, which was then countered by the alliance between Poland, France and the Ottomans. Henryk Łowmiański writes that 'the dynastic expansion of the Jagiellonians was directed, ever since the times of Władysław Jagiełło (crowned 1386 – d. 1434) and Władysław Warneńczyk (crowned 1434 – d. 1444), towards the Hungarian and Czech territories, where it collided with the dynastic politics of the German Habsburgs'.[73] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the kings of Poland (Alexander I Jagiellon until 1506, then followed by Sigismund I the Old) and Hungary (Ladislaus II Jagiellon) were brothers, but by the end of the sixteenth

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University of California Press, 1976); H. G. Koenigsberger, G. L. Mosse, G. Q. Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Longman, 1999); F. Tallett and D. J. B. Trim, *European Warfare 1350-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[72] K. Chojnicka, *Narodziny rosyjskiej doktryny państwowej: Zoe Paleolog – między Bizancjum, Rzymem a Moskwą* (Cracow: Collegium Columbianum, 2008) pp. 32, 44-5, 113-4.

[73] H. Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006) p. 319.

century Hungary was under the control of the Holy Roman Emperors. The duo of Jagiellonian kings began to weave a network of alliances, which from the very beginning included France, fortifying their dominions against the Habsburgs. In 1500, Hungary, Poland, France, Rome and Venice signed a treaty 'against all common enemies', meaning in fact Emperor Maximilian I and Sultan Bayezid II, even if the Polish king was determined to bypass the treaty and remain on good terms with the Ottoman Empire.[74] Ladislaus married Anne of Foix (b. 1484 – d. 1506), the daughter of Gaston of Foix and Catherine of Navarre, in 1502. Anne was the cousin of the French queen, Anne of Brittany (b. 1477 – d. 1514), and the two women were close friends. Anne of Foix stayed with her royal cousin from the time of her betrothal until the beginning of her journey to Hungary in May 1502.[75] Anne of Brittany was the heiress to the Duchy of Brittany, which resulted in her marriages to two consecutive kings of France, Charles VIII and Louis XII. For similar reasons, Anne and Louis' daughter Claude became the queen consort to Francis I of France in 1515. Even though Poland and France were not linked by a dynastic marriage in the sixteenth century, the French and Polish queens consort were related by blood. Anne of Foix would later become the grandmother to two Polish queens (Elizabeth and Catherine of Austria) and a great-grandmother to another French queen (Elizabeth of Austria).

The conflict between the Jagiellonian brothers and Emperor Maximilian I was escalated by Sigismund's deliberate choice of his wife, Barbara Zapolya (b. 1495 – d. 1515), the daughter of a Hungarian, anti-Habsburg magnate Stefan Zapolya. The marriage linked the Jagiellonians to the Hungarian national party, which was Maximilian's worst nightmare realised. The wheels of politics turned again, when Moscow, realising that Poland was once again at odds with the Emperor, attacked Lithuania soon after Barbara and Sigismund's wedding in 1512. On the other side of the continent, France switched alliances and signed a peace treaty with England, which was sealed with a marriage between Louis XII and Henry VIII's sister, Mary of England (b. 1496 – d. 1533), in 1514, leaving Emperor Maximilian without a powerful ally. However, he quickly found another in the East. Following Barbara Zapolya's death in 1515 and the much-grieved loss of the city of Smoleńsk in the war with Moscow, the Polish king agreed to the Habsburg alliance. As a result of the Vienna congress (1515), at which Sigismund and Ladislaus met with Emperor Maximilian, it was decided that

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[74] It was the first ever treaty that Poland and France entered together: Łowmiański, *Polityka*, p. 447-8.

[75] C. J. Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477-1514* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) pp. 27-62, 321; for the family tree including Anne of Brittany and Anne of Foix, see: E. Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership,1274-1512* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) Chart 4.

Sigismund should marry into the Habsburg family. The Emperor arranged Sigismund's marriage to Bona Sforza (b. 1494 – d. 1557), his niece by marriage to Bianca Sforza, and daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella of the Neapolitan Aragons. After her husband's death, Duchess Isabella lost any hope of regaining control over the Duchy of Milan, which had been taken over by Lodovico and Massimiliano (il Moro) Sforza. Consequently, she was desperately searching for a powerful husband for her daughter, first relying on her cousin Ferdinand II of Aragon, and later on the emperor himself to arrange an appropriate match.[76] The marriage between Sigismund and Bona sparked the Polish interest in the Italian Wars, because Bona considered herself the heir to the Duchy of Milan and became the Duchess of Bari and Rossano following her mother's death in 1524.

Two other dynastic matches were made at the Vienna Congress of 1515, involving Ladislaus II and Anne of Foix's children, Anna and Louis. The latter was betrothed to Maximilian's granddaughter, Archduchess Maria, while Anna was married by proxy to whichever of Emperor Maximilian's grandsons would inherit the Austro-German dominions. Archduke Ferdinand married Anna in 1521, and inherited claims to Bohemia and Hungary from her childless brother, Louis II Jagiellon, who died in the battle of Mohács fighting the Ottomans in 1526.

Meanwhile the relationships between Poland and the Holy Roman Empire began to deteriorate again when Poland leaned towards an alliance with France following Emperor Maximilian's death in 1519.[77] In order to counter the growing influence of the Habsburgs in the region, Sigismund I the Old of Poland and Francis I of France signed a treaty in July 1524, which reversed the Polish alliance with the Habsburgs agreed at the Vienna Congress of 1515. Andrzej Wyczański, author of the only in-depth study of Franco-Polish relations in the sixteenth century, argues that they 'had a relaxed character since both sides treated each other as equals; as a result they did not obstruct each other in their individual plans and actions'.[78] As a result, Poland was spared the political consequences of Francis I's catastrophic defeat at the battle of Pavia in 1525, except for cancelling the plans for a marriage between Sigismund the Old's son by Bona Sforza, Sigismund August, and either of Francis I's two daughters. Instead, both Poland and France made peace with the Habsburgs, resulting in the betrothal between Francis I of France and Eleanor of Austria (b. 1498 – d.

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[76] M. Bogucka, *Bona Sforza* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1998/2009) pp. 42-5.
[77] Łowmiański, p. 458.
[78] A. Wyczański, *Francja wobec państw Jagiellońskich w latach 1515-1529* (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1954) pp. 153-154.

1558), the daughter of Philip and Joanna of Castile, according to the Ladies' Peace signed in 1529, and co-signed by England, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Denmark and Scotland.[79] However, the peace between the Emperor and France ended when the latter joined forces with Pope Clement VII against the Habsburgs. The new alliance was sealed in 1533 by a marriage between Francis I's son, Dauphin Henry, and Catherine de Medici (b. 1519 – d. 1589), the pope's niece as well as the daughter of Lorenzo II Medici, the Duke of Urbino, and Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne.

In the East, the peace was finally sealed with young Sigismund August's betrothal to Archduchess Elizabeth of Austria (b. 1526 – d. 1545), the daughter of Anne of Bohemia and Hungary and King Ferdinand (and Francis I's new wife's niece). It followed the negotiations for peace between King Ferdinand and the leader of the Hungarian national party, John Zapolya, at the Congress of Poznań in 1530. A peace treaty was only signed in 1538, which stated that after Zapolya's death, Ferdinand would inherit Hungary under a condition of fulfilling certain financial obligations to the Zapolya family. However, these plans were complicated when Sigismund, who might have been persuaded by Bona Sforza, offered his eldest daughter Isabella's hand in marriage to Zapolya. The couple married in 1539, and Isabella gave birth to John Sigismund in 1540, merely fifteen days before his father died of a prolonged illness.[80] The baby was promptly elected as the king of Hungary, which resulted in Ferdinand's military attack and Isabella's exile to Transylvania and later to Poland.[81]

Sigismund the Old died in 1548, leaving the crown to his son by Bona Sforza, Sigismund August. At the time, the latter was already the crowned king (*rex iunior*) of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, resulting from an election *vivente rege* in 1529. In 1552, the Ottomans allied themselves with Henry II of France and attacked Hungary, demanding the return of young John Sigismund Zapolya. At the same time, the Holy Roman Empire and France were once again at war in Italy. Poland considered an alliance with France and the Ottomans which would be sealed with Sigismund August's marriage to Princess Marguerite, Henry II's sister. However, Ferdinand threatened to ally himself with Moscow, ruled by Ivan the Terrible, and to support the latter's petition to the pope requesting that an imperial crown

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[79] J. G. Russell, *Diplomats at Work: Three Renaissance Studies* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992) pp. 134, 157; For the preceding Treaty of Madrid see: R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) pp. 188-9.
[80] Łowmiański, p. 465.
[81] ibid. pp. 464-6; H. Lapeyre, *Les Monarchies Européennes du XVIᵉ Siècle: Les Relations Internationales* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967) pp. 146-7.

be granted to him as the heir to the Byzantine Empire.[82] In 1553 Sigismund August agreed to the Habsburg alliance and married Ferdinand's daughter, Archduchess Catherine of Austria (b. 1533 – d. 1572), the sister of his first wife, Elizabeth of Austria. In order to support the Jagiellonian interest in Italy, newly allied with the Habsburg affairs, Sigismund's mother, Bona Sforza, lent 150,000 golden ducats in 1553 and another 450,000 in 1556 to Philip II of Spain.[83] Meanwhile, Henry II of France had ambitious plans for expansion not only in Italy, but also in the British Isles. In 1558 Dauphin Francis married Mary Stuart (b. 1542 – d. 1587), Queen of Scots, who became the queen consort of France in 1559, following Henry II's death. It was also in this year that the Italian Wars ended with the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. A decade later the queens consort of Poland and France were again related by blood. In 1570 Catherine of Austria's niece, Elizabeth of Austria (b. 1554 – d. 1592) married King Charles IX of France to make an alliance with Emperor Maximilian II.[84]

The relationship between France and Poland was finally sealed in 1573, when Charles IX's younger brother, Henry of Anjou, was elected king of Poland following Sigismund August's childless death in 1572. His marriage to Sigismund August's sister, Anna Jagiellon (b. 1523 – d. 1596), would have provided continuity and stability, but Charles IX died unexpectedly in 1574 and Henry fled back to France to claim the throne, evidently uncomfortable as the king of republican Poland. In 1576 Anna married the next king elected by the nobility, Stephen Bathory, the Duke of Transylvania and the leader of the Hungarian national party following John II Sigismund's death.

The similarities between the circumstances of the Polish and French queens did not end with their family connections and the political reasons for their marriages. Two sixteenth-century kings, Sigismund August as well as Henry I of Poland and III of France also married for romantic reasons. Sigismund August's affair with Barbara Radziwiłł (b. circa 1520 – d. 1551), the daughter of Barbara Koła and Jerzy Radziwiłł, the voivode of Kiev, castellan of Trakai, and hetman (military commander) of the Grand Duchy, probably started even before his first wife, Elizabeth of Austria, died in 1545.[85] The couple's secret marriage in the summer of 1547 was probably prompted by the manipulation of Barbara's brother, Mikołaj 'the Red' Radziwiłł, and cousin, Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł. Henry

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[82] Łowmiański, p. 595.
[83] Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, pp. 239-241.
[84] Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant?*, pp. 39-41.
[85] A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August: Król Polski i Wielki Książę Litewski, 1520-1562* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, 1996) pp. 78-80.

Valois, on the other hand, married Louise of Lorraine (b. 1553 – d. 1601) whom he met on his way to Poland after his election in 1573, because she reminded him of the deceased mistress he loved.[86]

Structure

Rather than being one of the many works adopting a biographical approach to explore the lives of the sixteenth-century Polish and French queens, this is intended as a comparative study of queenship, ritual, and ceremony in the sixteenth century. Because the thesis traces the process of becoming a queen, the structure reflects the chronology of the ceremonies. Betrothal, or a marriage by proxy, would usually be performed first, largely as an exercise in diplomatic protocol and expression of wealth carried by bridal trousseaus. This would be followed by a nuptial travel and first meeting of spouses, an underestimated ritual which was a crucial moment in setting the tone for the rest of the ceremonies and revealing personal anxieties of the future spouses. Chapter 1 (Royal Weddings: Protocol, Identity and Emotion) argues that a royal wedding combined the expressions of often multiple dynastic identities of the brides and family affection with dynastic protocol and international politics. Even though marriage and coronation were sometimes performed in a single ceremony, they are considered here in separate chapters due to the sheer amount of source material available. Chapter 2 (Coronation: Consort to Royal Power) argues that the ritual of a queen's coronation exemplified the shared characteristics of European royal culture which was underpinned by the symbolism of Christianity. The idea of European royal culture is then complicated by Chapter 3 (Civic or Civil? The Politics of Celebration and Criticism), which examines the subjects' reaction to these ceremonies at the intersection of cosmopolitan and local culture. Royal festivals would be accompanied by a royal entry, pageants, speeches and wedding poetry, all strongly infused with local flavours. Chapter 3 argues that the system of government had influenced the popular culture which determined how a royal marriage was celebrated and criticised. Chapter 4 (Conception, Childbirth and Motherhood: Performing a Royal Family) explores how the rituals of royal wedding and becoming a mother foster our understanding of the multiple facets of a royal family, as both a dynasty and a close circle of relatives and confidants. Each chapter will explore a smaller number of queens while covering the entire time-period (1495-1576), which allows for reflecting on the degree of

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[86] Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant*, p. 103.

change in the sixteenth century. The Polish queens will be featured more than others, because so little is known about them in English-language scholarship. European context will also be provided by considering secondary literature, including studies of English queens, holy roman empresses and the Polish princesses who became queens of Hungary and Sweden.

This thesis puts 'western' and 'eastern' queens into their larger European perspective by exploring connections and divisions between royal culture and ideas of queenship in the sixteenth century. These links were forged by shared European fashions and political interests, while the differences were shaped by the geographical remoteness of various European realms from each other, rather than defined by the compass rose separating Europe into West and East. The relationships between these countries impacted upon both the form of the ritual and the queen's role at court. In order to reach their destination as queens, and preferably mothers, the royal women would have to employ their education in order to master their new political and ceremonial surroundings, maintain positive family relationships, and transform themselves into hybrids of all things national and European.

Chapter 1

Royal Weddings: Protocol, Identity and Emotion

The repetitiveness of bridal exchange ensured that when members of the greatest European dynasties addressed each other 'Serenissime Princeps frater affinis et consanguinee nostre charissime', it was a fact, not an empty diplomatic formula.[1] The complex relationship between the Valois, the Jagiellonians and the Habsburgs serves as an example of such a continuously renewed link. This chapter explores betrothals, nuptial travels, first meetings and weddings to trace and compare the diplomatic protocol linked to the Valois and Jagiellonian royal weddings. The formal communications which accompanied the queen's transition between royal houses, including letters, marriage contracts, and lists of bridal trousseaus, were an expression of a shared European royal culture and their form often resulted from adapting and learning from each party's previous mutual dealings. Royal weddings accomodated various political interests and were the ultimate expression of dynastic craft that involved spinning the web of hereditary claims and alliances that spanned Europe. By including the three most influential dynasties on the continent this chapter provides a new perspective on the inter-dynastic connections in early modern Europe.

Queens were at the very heart of these politics as the agents of dynasticism. This chapter discusses the impact of dynastic marriages on queens, arguing that as brides, daughters and widows of European monarchs, they carried multiple imprints of dynastic identities. But within the paradigm of dynastic propaganda there was also space for queens to express family sentiment and belonging. Emotions were superficially written into the diplomatic protocol, but despite the recent progress in historicising emotions, historians still tend to assume that all expression of sentiment was staged.[2] This chapter demonstrates that taking account of human emotions and anxieties of queens and kings must be central to any attempt to make sense of the wedding ceremonies. As well as staged events, they were, according to Arnold van Gennep's classic definition, also a personal rite of passage for the bride and her family; awkward moments often reveal the emotional responses obscured by

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[1] Ferdinand, King of the Romans, addressing Sigismund August of Poland in 1543. The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 281, p. 394.

[2] S. Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016); J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, transl. K. Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

the ceremony.[3] This chapter demonstrates that even if the ceremony represented the union of two royal houses as an enlargement of a happy family, queens were always vulnerable. Whether it was the public exposure of their body parts during consummation by proxy, marriage contracts that left them financially dependant on their husbands' good will, the necessity to leave their children from previous marriages behind, or marrying a man of notorious reputation, the anxieties of consorts are both evident in their circumstances and, on rare occasions, betrayed by an unguarded reaction.

The royal weddings discussed in this chapter exemplify the importance of the shared diplomatic protocol, the role of family sentiment, and suggest that royal weddings were often clouded with personal anxieties. The marriage between Ladislaus IV Jagiellon of Hungary and Anne de Foix in 1502 ensured that the majority of players on the Franco-Austro-Polish political stage were related to each other (see: Introduction). The relationship can be traced throughout the sixteenth century, starting with Bona Sforza's marriage to Sigismund the Old (arranged by Emperor Maximilian I in 1518), and maintained by subsequent marriages between Sigismund August and two of Maximilian's granddaughters, Elizabeth (1543) and Catherine (1553). The quick succession of the two latter marriages, especially, suggests the ways in which protocol could be updated to reflect previous experiences. Analysis of the marriage ceremonies between Henry III of France and Louise of Lorraine, Eleanor of Portugal and Francis I of France, Catherine de Medici and Henry II of France, and their son Francis II and Mary, Queen of Scots, further asserts the complex and pan-European nature of royal networks. By contrast, some marriages were unique and their progress reveals that to be excluded from the European royal marriage market was to be excluded from Europe. This was particularly so with the wedding of Catholic Alexander Jagiellon and Russian Orthodox Helena of Moscow, the daughter of Grand Duke Ivan III of Moscow and Zoe Paialogina, in 1495. Cementing a connection between the Jagiellonian and the Rurik dynasties was never again repeated, as the Polish kings started to seek connections and alliances behind their western and northern borders.

This chapter addresses the gap in the scholarship which tends to look at royal weddings as separate events, resulting in very few substantial conclusions about the

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[3] A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, transl. M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul) pp. 116-145.

European nature of the diplomatic protocol and etiquette employed in these ceremonies.[4] Rather than looking at the process of a royal wedding, historians often focus on a particular aspect, such as costume or marriage contracts.[5] Even though these approaches are tremendously valuable in allowing for an in-depth analysis of specific documents, the sense of the wedding ceremonies as a symbolically logical sequence can be somewhat lost. This chapter attempts a broader comparative approach encompassing the whole wedding process to reconstruct the bride's experience and draw conclusions about the European nature of royal protocol and cultural exchange. It starts with a comparative overview of the entire wedding process and progressess to detailed discussion of diplomatic protocol, dynastic identity and sentiment in relation to the particular stages by analysis of marriage contracts, lists of bridal trousseaus, and descriptions of betrothals, nuptial travels, first meetings and weddings.

This chapter demonstrates three ways in which wedding ceremonies were related to dynastic identities. They reaffirmed dynastic links by reminding other royal houses of the

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[4] E. A. Sadlack, *The French queen's letters: Mary Tudor Brandon and the politics of marriage in sixteenth-century Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); R. Warnicke, *The marrying of Anne of Cleves: royal protocol in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For a similar approach see also: D. Stevenson, *Scotland's last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers LTD, 1997); S. Carpenter and G. Runnals, 'The entertainments at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the French Dauphin Francois, 1558: Paris and Edinburgh', *Medieval English Theatre,* 22 (2000), pp. 145-16; This is an interesting exception: M. M. McGowan, *Dynastic Marriages 1612/1615: A Celebration of the Habsburg and Bourbon Unions* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

[5] K. Turska, 'Wyprawy ślubne dwóch Jagiellonek: Jadwigi (1475) i Katarzyny (1562), *Kwartalnik Historii kultury Materialnej*, R.XL (1992), vol. 1, pp. 5-32; There has also been interest in trousseaus of Polish noblewomen: M. Koczerska, 'Wyprawa szlachcianki polskiej w końcu XIV i w XV wieku', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 25, no 3 (1977) pp. 375-388; K. Turska, 'Wyprawy ślubne dwóch Jagiellonek: Jadwigi (1475) i Katarzyny (1562), *Kwartalnik Historii kultury Materialnej*, R.XL (1992), vol. 1, pp. 5-32; There has also been interest in trousseaus of Polish noblewomen: M. Koczerska, 'Wyprawa szlachcianki polskiej w końcu XIV i w XV wieku', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 25, no 3 (1977) pp. 375-388; A. Brzeska, 'Klejnoty w wyprawie ślubnej Katarzyny Jagiellonki (1562), *Ibidem*, vol. 3 (2006) pp. 7-30; A. Brzeska, 'Vestes exteriores, vestes interiores. O modzie na polskim dworze królewskim w świetle inwentarzy wypraw ślubnych z XV i XVI w.', *Ibidem*, vol. 4 (2007) pp. 51-72; A. Brzeska, 'Inwentarze wypraw ślubnych kobiet z rodu Jagiellonów jako źródło do poznania wyposażenia wnętrz dworskich', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 56 (2008), no. 1, pp. 3-18; A. Brzeska, 'Inwentarz Zofii Jagiellonki jako źródło do poznania wyprawy ślubnej królewskiej córki', in A. Januszek-Sieradzka (ed.) *Curia Jagiellonica: Studia z dziejów dworu i kultury dworskiej w XV-XVI wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne i Drukarnia w Sandomierzu, 2009) pp. 121-151; R. E. Martin, 'Gifts for the Bride: Dowries, Diplomacy, and Marriage Politics in Muscovy', in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 38:1 (Winter 2008), pp. 118-145; K. Sypek, ' Zagraniczni goście na weselu Zygmunta Augusta i Katarzyny Austriaczki w świetle *Rachunków poselstw* z 1553 roku', in A. Januszek-Sieradzka (ed.) *Curia Jagiellonica,* pp. 101-121; A. Wintarz, *Polskie prawo majątkowo-małżeńskie w wiekach średnich* (Cracow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1898); A. Wintarz, 'Polskie prawo dziedziczenia kobiet w wiekach średnich', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 10 (1896) pp. 756-812; W. Spasowicz, 'O stosunkach majątkowych między małżonkami wedle dawnego prawa polskiego', in W. Spasowicz (ed.) *Pisma*, vol. 4 (Petersburg: Księgarnia Br. Rymowicz, 1892) pp. 4-49; U. Borkowska, 'Pacta matrimonialia domu Jagiellonów, *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, vol. 48 (2000), no. 2, pp. 45-60; C. Coester, 'Passages de frontières. Le voyage de la jeune mariée dans la haute noblesse des temps modernes (XVe-XVIIIe siècle)', *Genre & Histoire*, vol. 9 (Automne 2011) [accessed at: https://genrehistoire.revues.org/1469 on 11/02/2016].

family's position on the European political scene, provided a functional and rhetorical framework for making a first impression on the bride, and consolidated the dynasty's legitimacy at home. The politics of dynasticism, often indistinguishable from the race to extend hereditary claims to the furthest reaches of the continent, were predicated on shifting alliances, the primary reason royal families parted with their daughters. The phenomenon has garnered much interest in the field and has been long recognised as the driving force behind the complex actions of early modern royalty and high nobility.[6] Politics were not the only issue at stake. Matthew Vester has recently asked crucial questions: 'How did the family identities of Renaissance rulers affect their personal goals and sense of self? [...] Should scholars of dynastic politics abstract the individual from the dynasty and the state from the political?'[7] Royal weddings encapsulate dynastic craft, understood as both weaving a network of blood alliances joining European realms as well as creating a dynastic brand comprised of symbols, images and myths to give a ruling family a character while emphasising its legitimacy. The continuous application of the dynastic craft resulted in the development of a collective and individual sense of self – a dynastic identity. This chapter aims to broaden our understanding of the role family sentiment played in expressions of dynastic identities and suggests that behind the staged emotion there was real sentiment, anxiety, or family affection.

Some of the source material will be very familiar to a scholar of French and English royal ceremonies. Historians like Helena Watanabe-O'Kelly identify issues connected to analysis of festival books like that of Pierre Gringore of Simon Bouquet. She cautions against 'taking them at face value', because their main purpose was the glorification of the monarchy and the city that put up the pageants.[8] A source drawn on throughout the thesis is the account of Bona Sforza's wedding written by Ludwik Jost Decjusz, the royal secretary of Sigismund the Old. Although it closely resembles the French and English festival books, describing the queen's entry into the city in a similar way to Bouquet's account of Elizabeth of Austria's entry into Paris, it is a much more sophisticated medium of propaganda. His royally authorised account was printed by Hieronymus Wietor, who was appointed the royal

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[6] H. H. Rowen, *The King's State: proprietary dynasticism in early modern France* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980); P. E. Ritchie, *Dynasticism and diplomacy: the political career of Marie de Guise in Scotland, 1548-1560* (PhD thesis: University of St Andrews, 1999); P. S. Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria: the Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

[7] M. Vester, *Renaissance Dynasticism and Apanage Politics: Jacques de Savoie-Nemours, 1531-1585* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2012) p. 4.

[8] H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The early modern festival book: function and form', in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, p. 7.

typographer and printer nine years later.[9] The bias is obvious, but the issues relating to the content are much more complex. Decjusz's narrative is woven through with reproduced letters, for example, from the Polish ambassadors who were sent to Italy for the bride, as well as speeches welcoming Bona to various cities along her journey and lists detailing the various gifts she received. Royal sanction of the project must have allowed Decjusz access to the letters exchanged during the wedding process and to the people who delivered the speeches and gifts to the new queen. But whenever his compedium of Bona and Sigismund's wedding can be contrasted with another source, its inaccuracies become clear. Especially, his description of the couple's first meeting differs from that by Marcin Bielski (see p. 59) and the list of gifts Bona received from the Cracow city council does not match their financial records (see pp. 110-111). The most plausible explanation is that Decjusz was pressed for time to produce this detailed account while the wedding was still fresh in people's memory. Historians approaching this seemingly all-encompassing and exhaustive account must be doubly cautious of both the text's bias and its inaccuracies.

The Framework of Royal Weddings

Anne de Foix was eighteen years old when she received her marching orders: travel to the other side of the continent and marry Ladislaus IV Jagiellon, the Hungarian king more than twice her age. The match was arranged to seal the alliance between the trio of Jagiellonian brothers ruling Poland (John Albert), Lithuania (Alexander Jagiellon) and Hungary (Ladislaus Jagiellon), following the signing of the treaty 'against all common enemies', or Emperor Maximilian I and Sultan Bayezid II, in 1500 by Hungary, Poland, France, Rome and Venice.[10] The young bride's experience may serve as a guide to the basic pattern governing wedding ceremonies. It was documented in minute detail by Pierre Choque, Anne of Brittany's herald, and Jean d'Auton in his chronicle of Louis XII's reign.[11]

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[9] A. Hirschberg, *O życiu i pismach Justa Ludwika Decyusza, 1485*-1545 (Lviv: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1874); J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, 'Devices of Protestant Printers in Sixteenth-Century Krakow', in M. Walsby and G. Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth* Centuries (Leiden: Brill, 2011) p. 179; A. Mańkowska, 'Wietor Hieronim', in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku: Małopolska*, vol. 1, part 1 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977) pp. 325-357.

[10] H. Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006) pp. 447-8; The treaty transcribed in: A. Wyczański, *Francja wobec państw Jagiellońskich w latach 1515-1529* (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1954) Appendix.

[11] A. Le Roux De Lincy, *Discours des cérémonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, de la maison de France, avec Ladislas VI, roi de Bohême, précédé du discours du voyage de cette reine dans la seigneurie de Venise, le tout mis en écrit du commandant d'Anne, reine de France, duchesse de Bretagne, par Pierre Choque, dit Bretagne,*

Anne de Foix was not only one of the French queen's ladies, but also her maternal cousin. As Elena Woodacre has recently argued, on the 'particularly turbulent' political stage on 'the cusp of the fifteenth and sixteenth century', the marriage was part of ensuring that 'the House of Foix-Navarre was in the thick of this highly charged political climate'.[12]

According to d'Auton, portraits of two ladies, Anne and her cousin Germaine de Foix, were sent to Ladislaus with his ambassador Geroge of Versepel from Bohemia, whose report must have been instrumental in the king's decision.[13] A very similar exchange accompanied the marriage between Sigismund the Old and Bona Sforza in 1517. George then returned to France with another Hungarian ambassador, Stephen, the bishop of 'Ceremye' (Syrmia). They arrived in Orleans on 5 December 1501 to be greeted by Count Engilbert of Nevers, Jean d'Albert 'et autre grande compagnie' and led to Blois where Louis XII was expecting them.[14] The chronicler continues:

> Negotiating and concluding the said marriage were entrusted to the legate, cardinal d'Amboise, my Lord Guy de Rochefort, the chancellor of France; my Lord Pierre de Rohan, the marshal of France, and my Lord Valeran de Saints. The work had started beforehand, and when the ambassadors had what they asked, and the negotiations finished, Count Stephen, the Hungarian king's proxy, married the said Anne de Foix. After this was done, just as before, she held the royal status, as the queen to be, and afterwards she remained with the queen until mid-May.[15]

A ritual of consummation by proxy sometimes followed, as was the case with Catherine of Austria and Mary of England. The latter's was thus described by the Venetian ambassador in his letter to the bishop of Asti: 'The bride undressed and went to bed in the presence of many witnesses. The Marquis of Rothelin (Longueville) in his doublet, with a pair of red hose, but with one leg naked, went into bed, and touched the Princess with his naked leg.'[16] This would hinder any attempts of either party to wriggle out of the marriage, but it was an optional addition to wedding ceremonies.

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l'un de ses rois d'armes. Mai 1502. (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, 1861), henceforth referenced as Choque; P. L. Jacob (ed.), *Chroniques de Jean d'Auton, publiées pour la première fois en entier, d'apres les manuscrits de la Bibliothéque du Roi*, vol. 2 (Paris: Silvestre, Libraire-Éditeur, 1834), henceforth referenced as Auton.

[12] E. Woodacre, 'Cousins and Queens: Familial ties, political ambition and epistolary diplomacy in Renaissance Europe', in G. Sluga and C. James (eds.) *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics Since 1500* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016) p. 30.

[13] Auton, p. 80.

[14] Auton, p. 81.

[15] Auton, pp. 81-2.

[16] F. A. Mumby, *The Youth of Henry VIII* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913) p. 269.

There is very little description of Anne's parting with her family, but as both Bona Sforza and Mary of England's farewells demonstrate, the bride was likely to have been escorted by her relatives to the border. Chronicler Edward Hall reports that 'when all thinges were redy for the conueyaunce of this noble Ladye, the kyng her brother in the moneth of September with the quene his wife and his sayde sister and all the court came to Douer.'[17] The queen then set out on her nuptial travel (Fr. 'voyage matrimonial'), a term coined by French historians Régine Le Jan and Christiane Coester.[18] It was customary for royal brides to be received by the cities they passed through and particular consideration was given by the cities most affected by a newly sealed alliance. Venice, as a signatory of the 1500 treaty, welcomed Anne de Foix with spectacles put on in its vassal cities: Cresme (Cremona), Bresse (Brescia), Veronne (Verona), Vicence (Vicenza), and Padua. Since the marriage between Bona Sforza and Sigismund the Old was arranged to confirm the alliance between Poland, Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire, Bona was enthusiastically welcomed by a number of imperial cities, with the grand finale staged in Vienna (see Appendix 1).

The groom usually stepped onto the ceremonial stage when the bride was well within the borders of his kingdom. Sigismund the Old and Sigismund August both met their brides at Łobzów located approximately two miles north of early modern Cracow. Krystyna Turska points out that their Jagiellonian predecessors had done the same, which suggests that a traditional first meeting place could strengthen dynastic identity.[19] French first meetings, however, were purely dependant on the practicalities of the bride's arrival and sometimes staged as unplanned. Thus, while Mary of England met Louis XII in a forest outside Abbeville where he pretended to be hunting, Catherine de Medici met Henry, still the Duke of Orleans at the time, at Marseille. Just as important as dynastic continuity was the fact that Polish weddings were inseparably linked to coronations because they took place during the same mass; the marriage ceremony was written into Barbara Zapolya's coronation book in 1512.[20] This relationship between ceremonies required Polish weddings to take place in Cracow. In France, however, wedding locations were much more practical, dictated by the

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[17] Hall's Chronicle, p. 570.

[18] R. Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris: Picard, 2001) p. 42; Coester, 'Passages de frontières. Le voyage de la jeune mariée dans la haute noblesse des temps modernes', paragraph 3 [accessed at: https://genrehistoire.revues.org/1469] (online journal, no page numbers given).

[19] Turska, 'Stroje Jagiellonów podczas ceremoniału witania narzeczonych', p. 101-110.

[20] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', in O. M. Balzer (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Polonici. Sectionis 1. Privilegia, statuta, constitutiones, edicta, decreta, mandata regnum Poloniae spectantia comprehendentis. Vol. 3, Annos 1506-1522 contientis* (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1906) pp. 208-212.

direction of the bride's approach. This difference also had a direct impact on the level of public exposure. The unsystematic locations of French weddings, away from the governmental centre of gravity that was Paris, lent them a private atmosphere. They oscillated somewhere between the Polish weddings, with their air of a solemn state occasion, and Henry VIII of England's royal weddings which were often private, or even secret.[21] Partly motivated by location, the difference was bound to be linked to the monarch's status. Just as with Henry VIII's private marriage ceremonies, the French kings might have been demonstrating that their marriage was their business as proof of an absolute monarch's political fortitude. Masquerading behind the gravitas of the Polish weddings might have been the nobility's anxiety to control and sanction royal marriages, evident in the discussions surrounding Sigismund August and Barbara Radziwiłł's secret marriage (for an in-depth discussion of these, see Chapter 3).

Across Europe the grand finale was forced by the practical considerations behind a royal marriage. In both Poland and France a royal wedding night (see Chapter 4) was a public event; the consummation was eagerly reported on and acknowledged with gifts. For example, Bona and Sigismund were accompanied to a chamber by German and Italian ambassadors, Prospero Colonna and Kazimierz, the Margrave of Branderburg. According to Ludwik Jost Decjusz, the king and queen sat on their canopy bed decorated with cloth of gold, while desserts were served and the guests exchanged jokes. The little party ended when, on a given sign, the guests departed.[22]

Contracts and Trousseaus

Even though they may be divided into easily recognisable stages, the royal marriage ceremonies were remarkably adaptable. By its comparative approach, this section demonstrates that the structure governing them was conceived by political considerations, diplomatic protocol and the practicalities of the bride's separation from her old and incorporation into a new royal house. Marriage contracts, as documents forming the legal basis for the creation and renewal of royal networks, were both formulaic in structure and carefully composed to fit particular circumstances and anxieties surrounding each match. They begin by stating the signing parties and often provide names of ambassadors who negotiated a marriage. Unsurprisingly, in the time period considered by historians as the

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[21] S. Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) p. 79; J. M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
[22] Decjusz, p. 58.

peak of patriarchy, marriages were never contracted between husband and wife, but between husband and wife's guardian.[23] The contract between Sigismund August and Catherine of Austria signed on 23 June 1553 in Vienna begins with no less than eleven lines detailing Emperor Ferdinand's many titles followed by three of Sigismund's royal credentials. The contract continues by naming the Polish ambassadors responsible for the marriage: Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł, the Duke of Nieśwież, the grand chancellor and marshall of Lithuania and the voivode of Vilnius together with Jan Przerębski, the vice-chancellor of the Crown and the grand secretary of the Crown (meaning Poland as opposed to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). Even though the marriage was contracted on her behalf, Catherine is mentioned last, almost as an afterthought, as the Dowager Duchess of Mantua and the Archduchess of Austria.[24]

The formula governing French contracts was almost exactly the same. For example, the contract between Louise of Lorraine and Henry III of France signed on 14 February 1575 in Reims specifies that the marriage was contracted between the king, assisted by his mother (Catherine de Medici), Duke of Alençon (Henry's younger brother Hercule François) as well as other *princes du sang* and Prince Nicolas of Lorraine and his relatives including Duke Charles of Lorraine and a representation of the Guise family (Antoinette de Bourbon, Cardinal Louis of Guise) 'specifying for the high and mighty Princess Lady Louise of Lorraine his daughter present'.[25] Clearly, women were not allowed to sign for themselves, but, as the contract that sealed the marriage between Dauphin Henry (later II of France) and Catherine de Medici signed on 27 October 1533 in Marseille suggests, it could have been a question of rank as much as gender. The document specifies that the contract was between 'the most sacred father, Clement VII of his name, sovereign pontiff and the most excellent & mighty Prince Francis, the first of his name, most Christian King of France' for the marriage of Prince Henry, Duke of Orleans, and Princess Catherine, the Duchess of Urbino.[26] Each royal marriage was ultimately contracted between dynasties rather than individuals, requiring heads of families to be the signatories.

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[23] L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1977) pp. 151.
[24] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 219.
[25] F. Leonard (ed.) *Recueil des Traitez de Paix, de Treve, de Neutralite, de Confederation, d'Alliance, et de Commerce faits par les Rois de France avec tous les Princes et Potentats de l'Europe et autres depuis de Trois Siecles*, vol. 2 (Paris: Frederic Leonard, Premier Imprimeur du Roi, & de monseigneur le Daufin, 1703) p. 618; The original document: Bibliotheque Nationale de France, MS Dupuy 701, ff.148-150.
[26] Recueil, p. 391.

Financial considerations were at the very heart of this logic. The primary aim of marriage contracts was to regulate the money exchange between royal houses, so they needed to be signed by those providing the funds. Dowries were a universal concern, and contracts dealt primarily with the practicalities of delivering these to the husband and the inheritance of the queen's dowry. Catherine of Austria's dowry amounted to 100,000 Austrian florins (the usual amount for Habsburg women), to be inherited by her heirs. Sixteenth-century Jagiellonian dowries were usually handled by the Fuggers bank in Augsburg.[27] The Fuggers were fast substituting the Medicis as the most powerful European bankers. Lending to and handling the money of central European monarchs, they helped to finance the rise of the Habsburg dynasty to power.[28] Ferdinand committed to delivering 'the entire sum in one bulk on the day the marriage is consummated in the same place and time in golden Hungarian ducats or other currency of the same value and quality as Hungarian ducats, excellent and justly weighed, or thalers, because both ducats and thalers may be spent in the Polish kingdom'.[29] This careful phrasing of the contract suggests distrust between the Austrian and Polish side motivated by their previous marital encounter. Ferdinand was slow to dispatch the dowry of Sigismund August's first wife and Catherine's sister, Elizabeth of Austria. The trail of documents dated after the couple's wedding in 1543 reveals that the Polish king repeatedly promised to wait for the payment.[30] However, the Polish side was not the only one left dissatisfied with the exchange. In May 1545 Elizabeth was very ill and stayed in Vilnius while Sigismund travelled to Cracow where he was met by Sigismund von Herberstein with Elizabeth's 100,000 Hungarian florins. But as the Austrian diplomat remarked: 'After we delivered the money and left, the pious queen died on 15 June'.[31] The Emperor must have been distraught not only at his daughter's death, but also the loss of a significant sum of money.

Financial arrangements made by early modern dynasties were far more complex than the model of bridal exchange proposed by Amy Louise Erickson. She claims that

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[27] Bona's, Elizabeth's, Catherine's and Izabella's dowries were handled by them. U. Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów w Polsce* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2011) p. 248; M. Dogiel, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Litvaniae*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Ex Typographia Regia, et Reipublicae, Colegii Scholarum Piarum, 1763) pp. 134, 194, 228.

[28] G. Steinmetz, *The Richest Man Who Ever Lived: The Life and Times of Jacob Fugger* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2015).

[29] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 221.

[30] Documents relating to the delay in paying Elizabeth's dowry: The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 60, pp. 57-60, pp. 83-4, pp. 85-6, 87-88; MS 280, pp. f. 453, 509.

[31] A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August. Król polski i wielki książę litewski 1520-1562* (Cracow: Universitas, 2010) pp. 103-4.

'anthropologists distinguish between cultures which pay dowry (from the bride's family to the groom) and cultures which pay bride price (from the groom to the bride's family).'[32] The politically transactional nature of dynastic marriages necessitated European royals to be involved in mutual financial exchange. Contracts usually make provisions for the payment of 'contrados' or 'wiano' in Polish and 'douaire' in French. In France, following the queen's death these would revert to the husband's family. In Poland, however, these would be returned to the 'regnum', emphasizing both the state nature of royal marriages and the financial dependency of the Polish kings on the parliament. The amount given by the husband usually matched her father's contribution.[33] Sigismund August promised to endow Catherine with the equivalent of 100,000 Austrian florins in 'Polish dominions, cities, towns, castles, and other lands and goods which customarily belong to the most serene queens of Poland'.[34]

It seems that brides were well provided for, but Catherine of Austria's example demonstrates that there was an unspoken female vulnerability behind each royal marriage. This is very much in line with Stanley Chojnacki's argument that 'dowry practices were detrimental to wives. Patrilineal imperatives led the families that sent their daughters into marriage to treat the dowry as a way of honouring the inheritance of daughters in appearance, but denying them in substance; family needs led men to make instrumental use of women to advance the interests of the patriline, and to deprive them of a secure membership in either natal or marital family.'[35] Even though Catherine of Austria was seemingly well endowed by her husband, it mattered little when she was effectively repudiated and exiled to Radom, Vienna and finally Linz in 1567. The queen had to survive on very modest means, because her dowry, which would have been returned on the dissolution of marriage, proved to be unattainable despite Emperor Maximilian's somewhat half-hearted efforts.[36] Regardless of the provisions made by contracts, the wife was always dependant on her husband's good will in financial matters.

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[32] A. L. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) p. 91.

[33] For example, see Sigismund August and Elizabeth of Austria's contract: The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 60, p. 8.

[34] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 221. Original document: AGAD, Libri Legationum MS 14, ff. 157-160.

[35] S. Chojnacki, 'Getting Back the Dowry: Venice, c. 1360-1530', in A. Jacobson Schutte, T. Kuehn and S. Seidel Menchi, *Time, Space and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2001) p. 77.

[36] S. Cynarski, *Zygmunt* August (Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988) pp. 192-6.

The contract between Henry III of France and Louise of Lorraine broadens our understanding of how emotion was incorporated into these documents in the sixteenth century despite Lawrence Stone's argument that emotions do not find their way into the idea of contractual marriage until the seventeenth century. Only then, he argues, did marriage start to be perceived as a mutual contract where 'wives obeyed their husbands, but husbands cared for and loved their wives'.[37] But Henry and Louise's contract is an example of how adaptable to practical circumstances these documents could be, despite being formulaic. The document both indicated and provided for the unusual circumstances of the marriage. Henry met Louise on his way to Poland, following his election as the Commonwealth's king in 1573. His succession to the French throne in 1574 meant not only that he had to desert his Polish subjects, but also that, like every single man in possession of good fortune, he found himself in want of a wife. Louise was a good choice, not least because she was not selected by his mother, allowing the young king to assert his maturity and independence from the powerful old queen, who was watching the continuing rise of the Guises (Louise's relatives) with trepidation. The match was also potentially truly romantic, because she reportedly captured Henry with her resemblance to his deceased mistress, Marie of Cleves, Princess of Condé.[38]

While the text of the contract focuses on financial concerns, the carefully calibrated language reveals the underlying romantic sentiment. The contract mentions that the marriage was sworn 'on the honour and glory of God, who is the true manager of the good human deeds, and without whose grace they would not be able to live on, nor be guided to a happy ending'.[39] Even if the queen mother was unhappy about the match, it was orchestrated by God and out of the young couple's hands. The fairy-tale-like idea of a happy ending was reinforced by the date of signing the contract, Valentine's Day, an already popular feast traditionally celebrated with romantic ballads.[40] Considering the context, it was only appropriate that Henry promised his bride a gift of rings and jewels worth fifty million écus.

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[37] L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1977) pp. 239-46; I. Tague, 'Aristocratic Women and Ideas of Family in the Early Eighteenth Century', in H. Berry and E. Foyster (eds.) *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 186-7; See also: R. A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (London and New York: Routledge, 1984).

[38] R. J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574-89* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) pp. 39-41

[39] Recueil, p. 391.

[40] G. A. Rieger, *Sex and Satiric Tragedy in Early Modern England: Penetrating Wit* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) p. 50; A. A. Chapman, *Patrons and Patron Saints in Early Modern English Literature* (London: Routledge, 2013) p. 121; The date was considered appropriate to celebrate a marriage. For example, the wedding of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth took place on Valentine's Day 1613. J. Delsigne, 'Hermetic Miracles in *The Winter's Tale*', in L. Hopkins and H. Ostovich (eds.) *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) p. 102.

This could be seen as both the expression of true sentiment and an attempt to justify and legitimise a match that brought meagre advantage to the Valois dynasty. Even though Louise's dower was specified in great detail, including a yearly pension of 60 million livres, as well as lands with the right to appoint her own administration officers, her family made no commitment to paying the dowry.[41] Potentially, practical concerns, conditioned by previous experience, were also behind the seemingly romantic gift of jewellery. A similar gift was made by Louis XII to Mary of England, when he put the famous 'Mirror of Naples' around her neck during the wedding ceremony. Following his death a few months later, Mary refused to return the necklace causing Francis I to proclaim that jewellery given to French queens was state property.[42] Setting the 'rules' for the gift in the contract would prevent such diplomatic fiasco from occurring again.

Despite their primary consideration with financial matters, marriage contracts were an exercise in expressing and constructing dynastic identity by representing relationships between European ruling families and formulating inter-dynastic repositioning.[43] Family, its structures displayed and reaffirmed, was at the very centre of these politics on two levels. The first is revealed by the language of marriage contracts. Centuries of interactions between European royals fostered the development of a formulaic family rhetoric used in and carefully regulated by diplomatic protocol. Habsburg emperors and Polish kings traditionally addressed each other as 'Princeps frater, affinis et consanguinis noster charissime', or depending on the addressee's age and status, 'filius nostrus serenissimus', because of the repeated renewal of family links between them.[44] This produced the need to procure papal dispensations for further marriages, providing another opportunity for emphasizing dynastic closeness in marriage contracts. One example is Catherine of Austria and Sigismund August's contract, which states that the papal document dated 13 June 1553 was needed, because Catherine was Sigismund's first wife's sister as well as related to his paternal grandmother, another Elizabeth of Austria.[45] This type of language filtered into less formal communication between two families and was closely related to what Erin Sadlack calls the

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[41] Recueil, p. 391.
[42] CSPV II 508; Sadlack, *The French queen's letters*, p. 111.
[43] For another example see: M. Marini, 'From Arenberg to Aarschot and Back Again: Female Inheritance and the Disputed 'Merger' of Two Aristocratic Identities', in L. Geevers and M. Marini (eds.) *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) pp. 110-111.
[44] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 281, p. 394 and MS 68, p. 219.
[45] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 220.

'rhetoric of affection'.[46] In letters patent read out by Duke d'Longueville, Louis XII's ambassador in 1514, the king called Henry VIII of England a 'cousin' and professed 'sincere love' for his sister Mary.[47] Similar terms of address were amply employed in letters exchanged between Sigismund the Old and Duchess Isabella, Bona Sforza's mother. They never fail to call each other 'Our Dearest Lady Mother' and 'Our Most Obedient Son'.[48]

This family rhetoric was emphasised and materialised in the presence of relatives, who usually served as ambassadors negotiating the contracts. For example, Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł, the ambassador who arranged the marriage between Catherine and Sigismund was the latter's second wife's cousin. Similarly, the contract binding Catherine de Medici and Dauphin Henry (later II of France) states in the last paragraph that it was signed in 'la presence de plusieurs reverendissimes seigneurs & Cardinaux de Bourbon, Lorraine, & de Medicis, & autres barons, & seigneurs courtisans de la Cour desdits Princes & Seigneurs, assuré, & affirmé les choses dessusdites par ces presentes lettres.'[49] Important members of the family network could also issue separate documents ratifying the contract in order to emphasise dynastic identity by reaffirming inter-dynastic connections, as was the case with Emperor Maximilian's involvement in Bona Sforza and Sigismund the Old's marriage.[50] Plans to hold the marriage by proxy in Vienna failed due to Duchess Isabella's incessant scheming, the aim of which was to hold the ceremony in her native Naples, meaning that the emperor could not have been otherwise incorporated into signing the contract.

Alongside contracts regulating titles, money and land exchange, the *pacta matrimonialia* also includes itemised lists of bridal trousseaus, often under their Ancient Greek and Latin names: *paraphenalia* or *expeditio* (*expedimentum*).[51] As with all aspects of royal wedding rituals, bridal trousseaus were designed to project an image of dynastic pride, losing nothing of their family nature. Historians often discuss royal dowries in terms of their value, which reflected the status of a queen. Christina Antenhofer uses the late fifteenth-

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[46] Sadlack, p. 69.
[47] Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. 8, p. 407.
[48] AT IV 302, 327.
[49] Recueil, p. 395.
[50] Emperor Maximilian is also mentioned briefly in the marriage contract dated to 6 December 1517. '[...] interveniente tanquam auspice et autore eiusdem coniugii invictissimo caesare Maximiliano, Romanorum imperatore [...]', 'The wedding contract between Sigismund I and Bona Sforza', in W. Pociecha, *Królowa Bona: ludzie i czasy Odrodzenia*, vol. 1, (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Nauk, 1949), Appendix 2; The original is at The Vatican Archives, Armad. 49, vol. 3, ff. 92r-94v; The document ratifying the marriage: 'The document approving the marriage contract between Sigismund I and Bona Sforza', in Pociecha, Appendix 1; The original is at The Vatican Archives, Armad. 89, vol. 3, f. 88.
[51] Borkowska, 'Pacta matrimonialia', p. 58; Koczerska, 'Wyprawa szlachcianki polskiej XIV-XVw.', pp. 375-376.

century Giovanni Ambrogio de'Perdis' 'dowry portrait' of Bianca Maria Sforza wearing all of her bridal 'accessories, clothes, ornaments for the hair as well as jewels' to argue that 'cloths and jewels literally became part of the female body'.[52] Duchess Isabella demonstrated an ample understanding of these sartorial politics in sparing no expense. Bona Sforza's magnificent trousseau was on display at the Castel Capuano in Naples during the period of betrothal. Sigismund's ambassadors reported that 'the immense crowds of the local nobility were shown a bridal trousseau the likes of which no other queen of this age has brought into her husband's house.'[53]

The ostentatiously domestic aspect of the queen's role was emphasised by the furniture she received.[54] Bona's trousseau, described by Giuliano Passero, a Neapolitan merchant, contained bedroom furnishings: an impressive marriage bed made from gilded wood, four mattresses covered with blue silk, a counterpane cover of cloth of gold, a canopy of silk, black velvet and white satin embroidered with golden thread, as well as twenty-three curtains attachable to the canopy. Room furnishings included a rather extravagant silver table as well as wall decorations: room upholstery of white and amaranth brocade, fashionable Flemish tapestries, no doubt, to show off the Sforza family's good taste, and thirty-six rolls of cordwain with an ostrich egg motif.[55] 'Frequent ornaments in Mohammedan mosques' brought home by the Crusaders, ostrich eggs became the symbol of Virgin Mary's immaculate conception.[56] The cordwain emphasised that Bona's body, which they were designed to adorn and frame, was to ultimately fulfil its domestic role by producing children.[57]

The contents of her trousseau became part of the bride's body not just as expression of her financial worth, but also dynastic identity and family sentiment. Despite their domestic aspect, comparing the trousseaus of French and Polish queens allows us a glimpse

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[52] C. Antenhofer, '"O per honore, o per commodo mio": Displaying Textiles at the Gonzaga Court (Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries', in B. Lambert and K. A. Wilson (eds.) *Europe's Rich Fabric: The Consumption, Commercialisation, and Production of Luxury Textiles in Italy, the Low Countries and Neighbouring Territories (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)* (Farham: Ashgate, 2016) p. 55.

[53] Cited in Pociecha, vol. 1, p. 207.

[54] Agnieszka Brzeska emphasises this aspect in her analysis of Duchess Sophie of Branderburg-Ansbach's trousseau. Brzeska, 'Inwentarz Zofii Jagiellonki jako źródło do poznania wyprawy ślubnej królewskiej córki', p. 123.

[55] G. Passero, *Giuliano Passero Cittadino Napolitanoo sia prima pubblicazione in istampa che delle storie in forma di giornali, [...]*, (Naples: Vicenzo Orfino, 1785) pp. 253-256; Cordwain refers to painted or gilded leather used instead of tapestries or room upholstery. A. Bochankowa, 'Kurdyban et Kurdwanów à Cracovie', in N. Balutet, Paloma Otaola and D. Tempère (eds.) *Contrabandista entre mundos fronterizos: hommage au Professeur Hugues Didier* (Paris: Publibook, 2010) pp. 401.

[56] G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation: Medieval Faith and Symbolism* (New York: Harper, 1958) p. 255.

[57] Coulton, *Art and the Reformation,* p. 255.

of relationships between European royal courts and challenges posed by handling multiple dynastic identities. Mary of England's trousseau highlights inter-dynastic collaboration, because its contents were jointly handpicked by Henry VIII and Louis XII. Dresses, especially, were prepared with unparalleled attention to detail, the ratio of style to numbers measured by political concerns. There were sixteen dresses in the French fashion, six in the Italian style, a tribute to Louis' title as the sovereign of Milan, and eight in the English style, a relatively minor nod to the cultural heritage of the princess.[58] Her brother's concern was 'for Mary to be appropriately dressed so that she cut a figure at her husband's court', while Louis' anxiety that the garments should be properly made highlights the contemporary ideas about the French elegance.[59] But Bona Sforza's trousseau suggests that the patterns of involvement were by no means regular, because there is no indication that Sigismund the Old took an interest in the trousseau. She received twenty-one dresses in a variety of expensive fabrics including brocade, velvet, cloth of silver, and silk. Made in the Italian rather than Polish style and complete with matching Italian headwear (scuffia), they were designed to carry a message of her dynastic identity. What is more, the trousseau contained garments to be worn by Sigismund. Among one-hundred and fifteen shirts, Bona carried three made of cloth of gold as a gift for her husband.[60] Making shirts was traditionally a wifely duty, but Bona would have brought them ready-made from Italy. By this subtle subversion of convention, the Sforzas cleverly emphasised Bona and Sigimund's newfound intimacy as husband and wife, while also gently planting the representation of their dynastic identity in the Polish royal wardrobe.

The lack of collaboration in compiling the trousseau's contents would often provide seemingly trivial outlets for tensions between courts. There were usually two sets of lists, one prepared at the bride's native court, the other after her arrival. This allowed for recording any items that arrived broken, such as one of three gilded spoons in Catherine of Austria's trousseau.[61] But rivalries between the Habsburg and Jagiellonian courts are revealed by the Polish scribe snubbing 'two older carriage covers of purple silk, simpler and made without skill', while their cultural differences are marked by tapestries with 'strange paintings'.[62] Other families were not so subtle and even provoked cultural clashes by attempting to

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[58] Mary's trousseau has been analysed by a number of scholars and its summaries may be found in these works: Hayward, *Dress at the Court,* p. 57; M. A. E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman conquest* (Lodon: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, & Brothers, 1857) pp. 35-6; Sadlack, pp. 63-4.

[59] Hayward, *Dress at the Court,* pp. 56-7.

[60] Passero, pp. 254-5.

[61] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 307.

[62] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 322, 315.

forcefully impose a dynastic identity, especially if there was a confessional difference between the spouses. Russell E. Martin notes that the bridal trousseau brought to Poland-Lithuania by Helena of Moscow in 1495 caused much controversy among Catholic Lithuanian lords. The list of items reconstructed by Martin from three partly surviving documents devotes a separate section to a remarkable number of fourteen gifts for Helena's betrothed, Grand Duke Alexander of Lithuania, each of them appropriate for the groom to use during the three-day Muscovite wedding.[63] The gifts seemed outlandish, because late medieval Poland was still largely enamoured with Western fashion.[64] Polish royal brides rarely travelled from the East, but the uniqueness of the marriage was dictated by Ivan's strict condition that Helena was forbidden to convert to Catholicism.[65] His gifts served as a rude reminder of that, but also allowed Ivan to make a larger political point about the shaky religious status quo in Lithuania and establish himself as the protector of the Eastern Orthodox Christians. Dispatches exchanged during Alexander's rule after the wedding confirm that Ivan continued to base his diplomatic dealings with Poland-Lithuania on his position as the defender of the Lithuanian Orthodox Christians.[66]

Royal trousseaus reveal that dynastic identities of royal women were complex, often multi-faceted and bound up with real family affection. Historians have rarely looked at trousseaus from this perspective, content to use them in analysis of fashion and politics at European courts. But reflecting the broader function of royal wedding ceremonies, bridal trousseaus had a personal aspect and revealed sentiment behind grand-scale politics. In her analysis of Catherine Jagiellon's trousseau, Agnieszka Brzeska concludes that the list of items 'confirms the Renaissance fondness for gemstones and decorating clothing and body with various precious items', but Catherine's bridal trousseau list deserves a more nuanced analysis.[67] One of the jewels taken by Sigismund August's sister to Sweden for her wedding to future John III of Sweden suggests that motivations behind compiling the bride's trousseau were more complex than a mix of politics and fashion. Catherine's coffers contained 'the eleventh necklace made of seven parts, each with two diamond panels and six pairs of pearls. A pendant in the shape of letter 'C' composed with diamonds, with a crown

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[63] Martin, 'Gifts for the Bride: Dowries, Diplomacy, and Marriage Politics in Muscovy', p. 124.
[64] Z. Żygulski, *Kostiumologia* (Cracow: Akademia Sztuk Pięknych, 1972) p. 76.
[65] Martin, 'Gifts for the Bride', p. 124.
[66] G. Mickūnaitė, 'United by Blood, Divided by Faith: Helena of Muscovy and Alexander Jagiellon' (Chapter Manuscript, 2016) pp. 6-10.
[67] Brzeska, 'Klejnoty w wyprawie ślubnej Katarzyny Jagiellonki', p. 30.

made of rubies on top. A pearl at the bottom. Valued at 800 talers'.[68] This necklace was made by a goldsmith from Nuremberg, Nicolas Nonarth, commissioned by Seweryn Boner on Sigismund the Old's behalf, alongside two necklaces destined for Catherine's sisters, Sophie and Anna, in 1546. All three sisters were painted wearing the jewels in the series of the Jagiellonian family portraits painted in the studio of Lucas Cranach the Younger in mid 1550s on Sigismund August's commission. By 1562 when Catherine's marriage took place, the necklace not only branded her as one of the Jagiellonians, but also marked her as belonging to a close family group – the trio of sisters who, despite making their marital stand in different countries, remained in close contact.[69] Furthermore, excavations in the Uppsala cathedral in 1833 revealed that Catherine remained a Jagiellonian until death. She was buried wearing the necklace, confirming the sentimental value of the jewel and the durability of Catherine's attachment to her dynastic identity as a Jagiellonian. Similarly, rather than proof of the Habsburg inability to provide new and expensive items for Catherine of Austria's dowry, the 'older' carriage covers might have been either added to the trousseau because they carried a personal significance as family heirlooms, or were slightly aged because the family often started compiling bridal trousseaus while their daughters were still little girls.[70] The trousseau also contained several items, including 'four older harnesses of purple silk with letters F and R interlacing each other and gilded'.[71] The letters stood for 'Ferdinandus Rex' and the harness was tangible proof of Catherine's belonging to the great House of Habsburg.

Catherine Jagiellon's trousseau also reflects the complexity of her dynastic identity. The list details that Catherine received seven gold chains with miniature portraits of members of the Sforza family including her formidable grandmother, Duchess Isabella of Aragon.[72] Brzeska suggests that this was perhaps brought to Poland by Bona Sforza in her trousseau, but Bona's trousseau list does not mention such an item. The princess carried with her to Sweden both her paternal and maternal descent suggesting that, at least in case of royal women, it is more appropriate to talk of an imprint made by multiple dynastic identities rather than a single identity defining an individual, as Matthew Vester suggests.[73] These identities were not necessarily passed on by the bride's parents. For example, Catherine of

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[68] ibid., p. 19.
[69] Numerous letters written by Anne, Catherine and Sophie to each other published in: Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki polskie*, vols. 1-5.
[70] Brzeska, 'Klejnoty w wyprawie ślubnej', p. 8.
[71] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 321.
[72] Brzeska, 'Klejnoty w wyprawie ślubnej', p. 23.
[73] Vester, *Renaissance Dynasticism and Apanage Politics*, p. 4.

Austria's trousseau contained 'An ermine with a golden head in which there are ten rubies and new diamonds with twelve pearls, and two pear-shaped pearls hanging from its ears, and it has an enamelled chain attached with twenty four pearls, its feet are made of enamelled gold'.[74] Pendants of this type were a popular gift from husbands to their wives. Considering that Catherine was the dowager Duchess of Mantua, it is possible that the ermine had been a wedding gift from her first husband, just as 'a gold chain of Mantuan make'.[75] These items served as mementos of her identity as, even briefly, member of the Gonzaga dynasty. Thus, Catherine's trousseau reveals her multi-faceted identity as the Habsburg daughter, Jagiellonian bride and Gonzaga widow.

Figure 2: Fragment of Albrecht Durer's Triumphal Arch, The British Museum, E, 5.1

Weddings

Signing and ratifying all of the documents belonging to the *pacta matrimonialia* was inseparably linked to the marriage by proxy (betrothal) ceremony, contributing to their family character. The Venetian ambassador to the English court, Nicolo di Favri, describes how on 13 August 1514 after the banquet he accompanied Henry VIII, Catherine of Aragon, Cardinal Wolsey, the Duke of Longueville, and two other French ambassadors to the lodgings given by Henry to Longueville. He further reports that 'there, the legal instruments were signed, and mutually ratified; after which beverages were served'.[76] Contracts are usually dated to the day of marriage by proxy: Bona's to 6 December 1517, Elizabeth of Austria's to 14 April 1543,

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[74] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 68, p. 299.

[75] ibid., p. 313.

[76] CSPV II 505.

Catherine of Austria's to 23 June 1533. But rather than a set custom, it seems to have been dependant on whether the bride's family were able to attend the wedding proper. Louise of Lorraine's (14 February 1576) and Catherine de Medici's (28 October 1533) contracts signed immediately preceding the marriage ceremonies proper, explicitly state that they were witnessed by the brides' families.

Kathleen Wellman argues that a consort's function was to present the monarch 'not simply as a ruler but also as a family man', but analysis of betrothals and weddings allows for making a more substantial argument about the ceremonial role of royal women in creating a dynasty's image.[77] The involvement of the bride's male relatives, especially in the first stages of marriage ceremonies including signing *pacta matrimonialia*, assembling a bridal trousseau and escorting the bride, contributed to their self-fashioning as 'family men' and to the representation of their dynasty as a healthy and well-connected family structure and a sound basis for their political fortitude. Albrecht Dürer's image (Fig. 2), produced as part of a monumental woodcut titled *Triumphal Arch* commissioned by Emperor Maximilian I, represents the double betrothal between Anne de Foix's two children, Anne (the mother of Elizabeth and Catherine of Austria) and Louis with Emperor Maximilian's grandchildren during the Vienna Congress of 1515 and encapsulates this type of family propaganda.[78] Three monarchs, Maximilian, Ladislaus IV of Hungary and Sigismund the Old of Poland accompanied by their coats of arms are linked in a fatherly embrace with the next generation of the region's rulers, demonstrating their kinship as the base for their alliance.

Weddings were a particularly potent medium for displaying power based on healthy relationships, because of their character as a universally human rite of passage related to family. Christiane Coester argues that the rituals of matrimony were in fact 'rituals of separation and admission'.[79] Marriage has been already conceptualised in a similar way by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep as part of his theory about rites of passage involving separation and incorporation. He argues that:

Marriage constitutes the most important of the transitions from one social category to another because at least for one of the spouses it involves a change of family, clan,

[77] K. Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013) p. 4.
[78] K. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989/2004) pp. 66-7, 127.
[79] C. Coester, 'Passages de frontières. Le voyage de la jeune mariée dans la haute noblesse des temps modernes', paragraph 7 [accessed at: https://genrehistoire.revues.org/1469] (online journal, no page numbers given).

village or tribe [...]. The change of residence is marked in the ceremonies by rites of separation, always primarily focused on the territorial passage.[80]

Demonstrations of emotion seem pivotal in these ceremonies, and two layers of emotional display developed as part of royal weddings. Owing to their public exposure, the first was regulated by diplomatic protocol. One example is the already mentioned familial phrasing of marriage contracts and other related documents. But John Adamson also comments on the importance of the non-verbal language of early modern courts arguing that 'relatively little attention has been paid by historians to the iconography of gesture: to understanding the symbolism of formalised actions'.[81] Gestures performed across all stages of the nuptial ceremonies were inexorably employed to convey sentiment in a highly staged way. Demonstrated by Mary of England and Louis XII's marriage and consummation by proxy, they could be as simple as touching each other's limbs:

> after a Latin speech by the Archbishop and John de Selva, and the reading of the French King's letters patent by the Bishop of Durham, the Duke of Longueville, taking with his right hand the right hand of the Princess Mary, read the French King's words of espousal in French. Then the Princess, taking the right hand of the Duke of Longueville, read her part of the contract in the same tongue. Then the Duke of Longueville signed the schedule and delivered it for signature to the Princess Mary, who signed Marye; after which the Duke delivered the Princess a gold ring [...].[82]

For the consummation Mary undressed in the presence of many witnesses, while the Duke of Longueville wearing his 'doublet and a pair of red hose, but with one leg naked, touched the Princess with his naked leg. The marriage was then declared consummated'.[83] The gesture accompanying the Italian-Polish ceremony of marrying Bona Sforza and Sigismund the Old by proxy was slightly more elaborate. Giuliano Passero, a merchant from Naples, who was present at the Capuano castle on 6 December 1517, describes how Sigismund's proxy, Castellan Stanisław Ostroróg, 'kissed two fingers of his right hand, and he put them against the forehead of the new Queen, and later he kissed them again, and he bowed respectfully'.[84] The difference between Mary and Bona's betrothal attests to the adaptability of the shape

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[80] van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, p. 116.
[81] J. Adamson, 'The Making of the Ancien Regime court, 1500-1700', in J. Adamson (ed.) *The Princely Courts of Europe* (London: Seven Dials, 2000) pp. 27-28.
[82] LP I 3146.
[83] Mumby, *The Youth of Henry VIII,* p. 269.
[84] Passero, *Giuliano Passero Cittadino Napolitanoo sia prima pubblicazione in istampa che delle storie in forma di giornali*, p. 251.

these ceremonies took. No consummation by proxy was involved, but the appropriate marital affection was expressed as the ambassador simulated a kiss.

Because these ceremonies seem so orchestrated by protocol and practicality, historians often assume that any expression of sentiment must have been staged. Maria Bogucka writes off Duchess Isabella's efforts, which included purposely evading Sigismund's ambassadors, to hold Bona's betrothal in Naples rather than Vienna as a ploy for the 'old nest of the Aragons' to witness her triumph and wealth.[85] This interpretation in line with the functionalist approach, which was thoroughly critiqued by John Adamson, seems somewhat simplistic.[86] Though projecting a political message to impress other Eropean rulers was crucial in building dynastic identity, dynasty was also a family. Duchess Isabella's explanation that she wished to 'honour her daughter' should not be discarded as a pretext for public display.[87] A similarly genuine concern might have motivated Anne of Brittany to commission her herald to follow Anne de Foix on her nuptial journey across Europe and report it in minute detail, including descriptions of cities, processions and foreign customs. Cynthia J. Brown argues that because of Anne of Foix's strong but futile opposition to the marriage, 'Anne of Brittany's decisive role in this decision and her commission of a festival book to commemorate the events surrounding Anne de Foix's marriage and coronation underscore her "complicity" in this royal world of ceremonies and socially dictated codes of comportment'.[88] However, this type of account, informative and unpublished, suggests that the family would have a strong wish to be included in the young bride's experience, to vicariously travel with her. The same desire was bound to at least partly motivate staging a 'mock' wedding, sometimes even including a 'mock' consummation, witnessed by the bride's family.

This is especially compelling when considering that these relatives parted often not to be reunited. Mary of England returned home, but Bona was never to see her mother again; Isabella died in 1524. After receiving her marching orders to marry Francis I following the Treaty of Madrid (1525), sealing the peace between France and the Emperor, Eleanor of Austria professed that 'she meant to do whatever should be commanded her by the Emperor,

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[85] Bogucka, p. 49.
[86] Adamson, 'The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court 1500-1700', p. 28.
[87] AT IV 301.
[88] C. J. Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477-1514* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) p. 61.

her lord whose will she would never dispute in anything'.[89] But she was leaving behind a small child. A daughter from her first marriage did not belong at Francis' court. That kind of emotional turmoil must have also been familiar to Anne of Foix. She was in love with young François II, Comte de Dunois, who was the main reason why she opposed the marriage. Jean d'Auton reports that 'because of all titles of virtues and laudable graces of this lady, the said Comte de Dunois had so much pleasure that [...] he wanted to take no other in marriage'.[90] Ralph Giesey argues that 'we may understand rationally the glorification of the monarch in painting, verse and polemic which have survived, but only with difficulty can we recapture the emotion which the ceremonial dramas of the past evoked'.[91] The same may be said about the private emotions behind the marriage ceremonies. Any genuine feelings brides might have had about the arranged marriages were usually carefully covered with rhetoric prescribed by diplomatic protocol in their responses.

For all brides betrothal was followed by a procession to where they would bid farewell to their families. According to Lorenzo Pasqualigo, Mary of England was accompanied not only by Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, but also '400 knights and barons, and 200 gentlemen with other squires' Ladies of the court and London merchants; the bride 'gave her hand to each of them'. Catherine was heavily pregnant and her presence attested to the importance of bidding farewell. During betrothal Mary wore a combination of cloth of gold and ash satin worn by her brother and Catherine, with purple worn by Longueville in his master's place.[92] For her farewell procession her costume changed to 'a gown in the French fashion, of wove gold, very costly', showing progression of the ceremony to another stage, a final act of separating her from her family.[93] Bona was escorted in a similar fashion to a seaport in Manfredonia by Duchess Isabella, Prospero Colonna, Francesco Ferrante de Avalos, and lesser nobility in large numbers.[94] Giuliano Passero, a Venetian merchant, reported that she was wearing a gown of sparkling brocade and a small hat with a crown of golden leaves, a subtle sign of her new status and separation from her family.[95]

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[89] CSPV III 1066.
[90] Auton, p. 161.
[91] R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1960) p. 77.
[92] Sadlack, p. 56.
[93] CSPV II 500.
[94] AT IV 301; Passero, p. 258.
[95] Passero, p. 259.

The iconography of royal gesture was carefully written into diplomatic protocol, but occasional spontaneity revealed very human anxieties and cultural differences between spouses. These rarely occurred during betrothal, perhaps because kings' proxies were usually experienced diplomats. They were the points of contact, 'mediators of cultural transfer', and skilled at the civilities and ceremonies which 'were one of the (and perhaps even the most) essential roles of an embassy'.[96] This was not the case with Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł, Sigismund August's proxy in the betrothal to Catherine of Austria in 1553, who only entered the world of large-scale politics following his cousin Barbara's marriage to the king in 1547. A diplomatic fiasco was only to be expected, and the incident that followed was too controversial to pass the nineteenth-century censorship.[97] Some modern Polish historians are still too careful to include it in their studies, and Urszula Borkowska mentions it in passing as 'distasteful'.[98] An account of it was delivered by Łukasz Górnicki, a poet and writer of political treatises, who was in the entourage of Jan Przerębski, the other ambassador sent to conclude the marriage negotiations. He reports that

> after the banquet there was dancing; King Ferdinand was dancing himself, and rather a lot. After dancing they went to the bedroom: there the King told the Voivode of Vilnius to lie down, saying that the usual custom has to be observed in our House: and when the Voivode of Vilnius lied down, as he was dressed, the King ordered his daughter to lie down beside him, but she was too embarrassed to do it. So her father caught her by the shoulders and said to his son: 'Maximilian, help me.' And Maximilian having caught her legs, they put her next to the Voivode. Immediately afterwards the Queen leaped out of bed, not without help, and the Voivode as well. There were other ceremonies too, but not accompanied by grand speeches as in our country.[99]

This moment of family tension raises two issues: the personal concerns the bride must have had about the marriage betrayed by her reaction, Radziwiłł's inexperience as a diplomat, and the ceremonial differences between Poland and the Holy Roman Empire. Górnicki reports

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[96] T. A. Sowerby, 'Negotiating the Royal Image: Portrait Exchanges in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Diplomacy', in H. Hackett (ed.) *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) p. 120; W. Roosen, 'Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach', in *The Journal of Modern History*. Vol. 52, No. 3 (Sep 1980), p. 457.

[97] This passage must have been considered controversial enough to be removed from the edition of the chronicle published in 1855 in Sanok – the part of Poland under Austrian rule following the partitions of the Commonwealth. Ł. Górnicki, *Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej od r. 1538 do r. 1572*, K. J. Turowski (ed.) (Sanok: Karol Pollak, 1855).

[98] U. Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów w Polsce* (Warsaw: PAN) p. 251.

[99] Ł. Górnicki, *Dzieie w Koronie Polskiey za Zygmunta I y Zygmunta Augusta aż do śmierci iego z przytoczeniem niektorych postronnych Ciekawości od Roku 1538 aż do Roku 1572* (Warsaw: Drukarnia J.K.M. y Rzeczypospolited Collegium XX Scholarum, 1754) p. 56.

that the voivode lied down 'as he was dressed', while the usual custom was for the ambassador to undress down to his shirt. Polish historians have even suggested that Catherine might have been appalled by Radziwiłł soiling the bed with 'his boots and spurs'.[100] Radziwiłł was clearly oblivious to the custom and Ferdinand had to give him instructions. Górnicki also alludes to the foreign nature of the ceremonies as the Emperor refers to the consummation as the custom of his house. The strangeness of the ceremony is emphasised by the lack of speeches, which were usually the main fixture of Polish ceremonies. Catherine's refusal to climb into bed with the Polish ambassador reveals the complexity of anxieties the bride must have felt. Górnicki tries to pass off her behaviour as maidenly embarrassment, especially evident when she lept out of bed almost fainting in the process. But perhaps the chronicler attempted to mask the more uncomfortable underlying issues of Catherine's behaviour. As a widow, she had been through the process before and maidenly embarrassment is a poor excuse for causing such a scene. While reminding Catherine that she would be plunged into a foreign royal court, Radziwiłł's boorishness was probably also not the most significant reason for her resistance. She was marrying the same man her sister Elizabeth had ten years previously, a man who notoriously neglected the elder Archduchess and made her deeply unhappy. Adding insult to injury, Radziwiłł was the cousin of Barbara Radziwiłł, Sigismund's mistress during his marriage to Elizabeth of Austria. That awareness must have contributed to Catherine's extreme reaction.

Catherine was not the only bride who was worried about her future husband's shortcomings. In July 1525 the Duke of Bourbon's agent, Monsieur de Lursi pleaded with Eleanor of Portugal to deter her marriage to the French king because

> she would pass under the yoke of Madame the Regent, who was a most terrible woman, and would treat her like a servant wench; that in the next place the King's amorous temperament would always render her the most jealous woman in the world, and that he moreover had been and was much diseased with pox, which the late Queen caught from him and died of it; that the children which the Queen of Portugal might bear the Emperor could not hope for high station, as on the King's death, the Dauphin, his successor, would seek to aggrandize his other brothers.[101]

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[100] E. Rudzki, *Polskie królowe: Żony Piastów i Jagiellonów* (Warsaw: Instytut Prasy i Wydawnictwo "Novum", 1990) p. 267.
[101] CSPV, vol. 3, 1066.

The ambassador was trying to persuade Eleanor to marry his master, third in line to the throne, by cleverly preying on her very human anxieties. Catherine of Austria's unguarded reaction suggests that brides could feel deeply emotional about their husbands' reputations even if these anxieties were obscured by diplomatic protocol. Maria Perry suggests that very little is known to us about true opinions and feelings of the brides, referring to Mary of England, who as reported by the Venetian ambassador 'was so pleased to be the Queen of France that she did not care for the King being old and gouty'.[102] The age difference was significant and widely commented on; shortly after the betrothal rumours spread around Europe that 'a feble old & pocky man should mary so fayre a lady'.[103] Louis also had a young heir, Francis, who was not his own son. The dauphin's mother, Louise of Savoy, commented in her journal that 'King Louis XII, being old and weak, left Paris, in order to meet his young wife, Queen Mary'.[104] Mary could not have been as pleased as she proclaimed. After all, following Louis XII's death, she eloped with Charles Brandon to evade another dynastic match.

Brides were anxious, but so were their husbands. A king's bad reputation could discourage an otherwise advantageous match, as was famously the case with Henry VIII of England and Christina of Denmark. This tension would often be released during the couple's first meeting, a chance for both spouses to make a positive first impression. Louis planned his first meeting with Mary primarily in answer to the snide comments made about his age. Having been received in Boulogne and Montreuil-sur-mer, following her landing in France, Mary found herself travelling through the forests of her new kingdom towards Abbeville where Louis was expecting her. Louis was informed of her approach by Francis, who was then sent back with instructions for Mary to wait outside the town and rest 'in good company'.[105] In the morning, 'the King went to meet them on the road, making it appear that he was going out hawking with his falcons; and, presenting himself to the Queen, implied that the meeting was accidental. Then he kissed her [...]'.[106] A Venetian letter to the bishop of Asti reports that Mary insisted on a ceremonial greeting when she 'kissed her own hand, a

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[102] M. Perry, *Sisters to the King: The Tumultuous Lives of Henry VIII's Sisters: Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France* (London: Andre Deutsh Limited, 1998) p. 89; CSPV II 482.
[103] Hall's Chronicle, p. 569.
[104] 'Mémoires ou Journal de Louise de Savoye duchesse d'Angoulesme, d'Anjou et de Valois, mere du grand roi François I [...]', in A. Bellier-Duchesnay (ed.), *Collection universelle des mémoires particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France,* vol. 16, (Paris: d'Anjou-Dauphine, 1786) p. 396.
[105] *Memoires du Maréchal de Florange: dit le jeune adventureux*, R. Goubaux and P. A. Lemoisne (eds.) (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1908) p. 155.
[106] CSPV II 509.

ceremonious proceeding which he did not understand'.[107] Cultural differences were at play again and Andrzej Gieysztor is right to argue that 'unlike other symbols, gesture must be immediately comprehensible. Its relative rapidity does not allow reflection and analysis'.[108] Mary demonstrated a courtly gesture expressing love, its popularity attested to by its inclusion in a mid-seventeenth century handbook for actors in the rubric titled 'Amoro'.[109] Another letter to the bishop of Asti reports that the king 'went up boldly to the Queen as if they had been on intimate terms, and having first kissed his own hand to her, he then threw his arm round her neck, and kissed her as kindly as if he had been five and twenty'.[110]

Louis has reached his goal, by cleverly playing on an old trope. The hero of a medieval French romance titled *Blancandin* leaves home to prove his prowess and defy his parents' conviction that he is too young to be a knight. In both extant versions of the legend, 'the hero performs his first act of prowess, which consists of stealing a kiss [...] from the heroine, the haughty Orgueilleuse d'amour as she rides through a forest with her retinue of courtiers'.[111] Louis was likely to have been familiar with the trope and used it to prove his youthful virility to Europe's gossips. Having sufficiently demonstrated his masculinity, he then chivalrously returned to Abbeville via a different route because upstaging Mary's entry into the city was not the main aim of his performance.

Whether their anxiety was caused by age or fear of being replaceable, kings would usually exploit the first meeting to showcase their authority. This was connected to displays of what Ying-hsiu Lu identifies as the dialogue between 'leadership masculinity' and 'homosocial manhood'.[112] Katherine Lewis provides an ample explanation of this phenomenon:

> Socially speaking, medieval manliness was defined not so much in opposition to women
> but more usually in relation to other men. Given the "natural" subordination of women
> they were arguably irrelevant to many men's sense of self as a man; far more important

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[107] CSPV II 508.

[108] A. Gieysztor, 'Gesture in the Coronation Ceremonies of Medieval Poland', in J. M. Bak (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990) p. 159.

[109] A. Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p. 101.

[110] CSPV II 511.

[111] R. Brown-Grant, *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality, Desire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) p. 40.

[112] Y. Lu, 'King Arthur: Leadership Masculinity and Homosocial Manhood', in F. K. H. So (ed.) *Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) pp. 85-102.

was where they stood on a spectrum of established masculine qualities occupied by other men, both above and below them.[113]

While Louis had to prove that his masculinity was not defined by his age in relationship to his young heir Francis, Sigismund the Old of Poland used his first meeting with Bona Sforza to showcase his authority in relationship to the emperor. The Vienna Congress of 1515 which resulted in Maximilian arranging the marriage has been widely acknowledged as a defeat of the Jagiellonian diplomacy; the dynasty effectively lost influence over the future of Bohemia and Hungary.[114] The first meeting of the couple was recorded by two chroniclers, Ludwik Jost Decjusz, the author of the official festival book, and Marcin Bielski. As we have seen, sixteenth-century Jagiellonians traditionally met their brides in Łobzów, an important component in the construction of the Jagiellonian ritual in contribution to maintaining dynastic identity. Bona arrived on horseback, accompanied by her entourage including Prospero Colonna, an Italian condottiero, and Casimir, the Margrave of Brandenburg, who acted as the Habsburg ambassador. According to Decjusz, the king emerged from his tent immediately to greet his bride. Bona curtsied and kissed his hand; he embraced her and pressed her head against his chest. In Bielski's account Sigismund waited until Bona was greeted with a speech by Piotr Tomicki to make his grand entrance onto the scene. The credibility of both accounts is subject to question, because Bielski might not have witnessed the event while Decjusz was writing an officially sponsored piece of propaganda. However, both of them record a greeting expressing Sigismund's authority whether in assuming control over the bride by pressing her head against his chest, or by making Bona and her entourage wait before he bid them welcome.

Sigismund and Louis symbolically claimed power over their brides, but the first meeting was also a chance to make an impression and express dynastic identity via clothing, especially by using a specific colour scheme. Even though Mary wore a French gown when bidding farewell to her family in England to emphasise her new status, she met Louis in a dress of 'cloth of gold in crimson with close English sleeves; her head tire consisted of certain gold ornaments in their fashion, with two large pearls on the left side'.[115] Maria Perry suggests that the couple coordinated their costumes, because Louis wore 'a short riding dress of cloth of gold on crimson', an apparel that would also emphasise his youthful virility.[116]

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[113] K. J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013) p. 7.
[114] Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów*, pp. 451-456.
[115] CSPV II 509.
[116] Perry, p. 96; CSPV II 511.

The account of the meeting is also a reminder that the royal couple was never isolated from their entourage in attempting to make an impression. The difference in ideas of elegance and style manifested as a cultural clash. The English attendants wore gold brocade and heavy golden chains, provoking some snide comments from the Venetians.[117]

Sigismund, perhaps wishing to avoid such clashes, had begun his preparations for receiving his bride in style a long time before she arrived in Poland. He sent Jan Boner to Venice early in 1517 to purchase red, crimson, white, brown and black satin, Venetian cloth called 'scarlat', red velvet, and altembas in red and crimson.[118] The letter specifies that the cloth was to be used for making two vests and a diploid, a military-style cloak fastened with a pin, but not the style of these garments; there is also no record of what the king wore during the wedding celebrations. However, because of his fondness for Italian fashions, Krystyna Turska speculates that the king might have worn an Italian doublet or a Polish gown.[119] She also suggests that he might have worn a costume in white and red, the colours of the Polish court to honour a medieval custom, still popular at some European courts in early sixteenth century.[120] Bona might have honoured her husband by wearing a similar colour scheme; one of the dresses in her trousseau was made of crimson cloth with a white collar.[121] The image must have been strengthened by the red cloth covering the ground. Red was also the colour of the tent in which Sigismund awaited Bona's arrival.[122] The Italian fabrics combined with the Polish colours signified that Sigismund was a fashionable king, proud of his dynastic identity. This was connected to the larger propaganda campaign of the Jagiellonians to create the image of their dynasty as forward-thinking, modern monarchs. Piotr Oliński and Christian Gastberger argued recently that the campaign started from the beginning of the sixteenth century and the composition of the *De institutione regii pueri*, which was aimed to portray the Jagiellonians as humanist rulers.[123]

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[117] CSPV II 508; CSPV II 511.

[118] AT IV 279; Altembas was very similar to cloth of gold but with one difference. Altembas' warp was silk and weft golden, while it was the other way round for cloth of gold. Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedja Staropolska ilustrowana,* vol. 1 (Warsaw: Laskauer i Babicki, 1902) under 'altembas'.

[119] K. Turska, 'Stroje Jagiellonów podczas ceremoniału witania narzeczonych', p. 106; on the fondess for Italian fashions see: M. Jendryczko, *Tysiąc lat ubiorów* (Warsaw: Arkady, 2003) pp. 44-50; I. Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw: IHKM. PAN, 1991) p. 8.

[120] ibid.

[121] Passero, p. 257.

[122] Decjusz, p. 28; M. Bielski, *Kronika Polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana* (Kraków: Jakob Sibeneyher, 1597) p. 539.

[123] P. Oliński and C. Gastgeber '"De institutione regii pueri" as an example of the humanist model of education in the light of courtly culture of the kingdoms in Central Europe ca. 1500', a seminar paper delivered on 3 February 2016.

While allowing the Italianisation of their court's material culture, the Jagiellonians kept the traditional white, red and green as a colour scheme running through the festivities. These were prescribed by Barbara Zapolya's *ordo coronandi*, written in 1512 and used until the mid-seventeenth century, as the colour-scheme for the decorations of the cathedral and its surroundings. The route from the Wawel palace to the cathedral was paved with red cloth.[124] The colours of the Polish court were also displayed inside the church, where two chairs covered with red velvet stood on a dais covered with the same cloth together with two kneelers upholstered with green cloth. Each chair was inscribed to remind the audience who was getting his happy ending at last: 'To Sigismund, the king of Sarmatia, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, honour, virtue, glory, peace and awaited good fortune'.[125] The gifts of jewellery received by Bona after the wedding night, delivered by Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, the grand treasurer of the Crown, with assurances of the king's warmest affections, also fit with the colour scheme. The bride received rings and necklaces with emeralds, pearls and rubies in the shapes of white lilies and red roses.[126] Bona's wedding was not isolated in displaying the Polish colour scheme. The list detailing the contents of Catherine Jagiellon's trousseau (1562), published by Agnieszka Brzeska, allows for suggesting that it was a continuing tradition, because eleven of seventeen necklaces in her possession had pendants of rubies, emeralds and pearls.[127]

The green colour expressed the nature of the royal wedding, symbolising affectionate love, the kind appropriate in marriage according to Jan Szczekna, a fourteenth century writer, professor of the Jagiellonian University and trusted diplomat to Jadwiga I of Poland.[128] Using it allowed the Jagiellonians to show their sophistication and ability to play on the subtle meanings of colours. Red and white, however, were part of a more intricate campaign for the dynasty's *raison d'être* and legitimacy on the Polish throne, further highlighting the complexity of the European dynastic identities. These were the colours of the Piast dynasty, the hereditary rulers of Poland from legendary times until 1385, originating from their coat of arms: a white eagle in a red field.[129] Zenon Piech is right to argue that the monarch's coat

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[124] Decjusz, p. 50.

[125] ibid. 'Divo Sigismundo, Sarmatiae Regi, Magno Duci Lithuaniae, honor, virtus, gloria paxque sperata fortuna.'.

[126] Decjusz, pp. 58-9.

[127] Brzeska, 'Klejnoty w wyprawie ślubnej', pp. 16-17.

[128] J. Wiesiołowski, 'Ubiór i moda', in B. Geremek (ed.), *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV-XV* (Warszawa: Semper, 1997) p. 38.

[129] H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski: z dziejów Słowian w I. tysiącleciu*, vol. 6, part 2 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985) p. 931; Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli i władzy Jagiellonów* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2003).

of arms was a potent way of displaying the character of his rule.[130] Using the Piast coat of arms and colours shows the potential for dynastic identities to be acquired in order to express continuity and legitimacy of a newly arrived dynasty. Adopting pieces of the old ruling dynasty's image was a wide-spread practice on the continent, one example of that being the Tudor rose, a legitimising blend of the Lancastrian and Tudor colours.[131]

The wedding ceremony made a complex display of merging the spouses' identities, or more commonly, of the wife adopting her husband's identity. Barbara Zapolya's *ordo coronandi* recalls the exact marriage vows: 'Ego Sigismundus Dei gratia rex Poloniae, magnus dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussaeque etc. dominus et haeres accipio te Barbaram [Bonam] in uxorem'.[132] What Michael Harney calls 'the idea of female consent as the definitive factor in both love and marriage' was present in the marriage ceremony as the bride responded: 'Ego Barbara accipio te Sigismundum Dei gratia regem Poloniae, magnum ducem Lithuaniae, Russiae Prussiaeque etc. dominum et haeredem in maritum'.[133] But the marriage vows erased the bride's dynastic identity, even if only symbolically, making her nobody's daughter and of no land, fully consumed by her husband's titles. Even though as we have already observed, queens retained a strong personal sense of their dynastic and family identity, the consort would be completely absorbed into her husband's family in public, except where the politics required her to retain a public sense of her own dynastic identity. This was the case with Mary, Queen of Scots, and Anne of Brittany, who were rulers of European realms in their own right. Another exception, as I have argued, was Anna Jagiellon, who used her dynastic connotations to the virtually extinguished Jagiellonian dynasty to play an active role in the royal elections of the late sixteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[134]

The spousal binding also took the tangible shape of items and gestures. Barbara's *ordo* specifies that prior to the wedding two rings were placed on the altar, among other

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[130] Z. Piech, *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów* (Cracow: Universitas, 1993) p. 83.
[131] K. M. S. Bezio, *Staging Power in Tudor and Stuart English History Plays: History, Political Thought, and the Redefinition of Sovereignty* (London: Routledge, 2016); Inventing parts of family history was a similar legitimacy building device as exemplified by the Nassau dynasty: L. Geevers, 'The Nassau Orphans: The Disputed Legacy of William of Orange and the Construction of the Prince of Orange (1584-1675)', in L. Geevers and M. Marini (eds.) *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) pp. 197-216.
[132] 'Ordinato', p. 209.
[133] M. Harney, 'Ludology, Self-fashioning, and Entrepreneurial Masculinity in Iberian Novels of Chivalry', in L. J. Simon, G. Wiegers and A. Schippers [et al.] (eds.) *The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World: Formerly Medieval Iberian Peninsula* (Leiden: Brill, 2015) p. 156 'Ordinato', p. 209.
[134] K. Kosior, 'Anna Jagiellon: A Female Politician in Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', in E. Woodacre (ed.) *Global Queenship: An Introduction* (Amsterdam: ARC Medieval Press, forthcoming 2017).

accessories needed for the imminent coronation.[135] Decjusz confirms that Bona Sforza's marriage was 'contracted' by the use of rings.[136] Both sources link the word 'eternal' to the rings, the *ordo* calling them 'the symbol of eternal love' and Decjusz reporting that they 'bound them in eternal matrimony'.[137] Exchanging rings tangibly binds a new family and Arnold van Gennep argues that

> among the rites of incorporation it is possible to isolate those which have an individual meaning and which unite the two young people to each other: giving or exchanging belts, bracelets, rings; [...]; touching each other reciprocally in the same way; [...] eating together (communion, confarreation) [...].[138]

Necklaces, it seems, should be added to this list of objects, as Mary of England received 'a necklace, in which were set two beautiful jewels, and his Majesty placed it around the Queen's neck'.[139] Both couples were bound to each other further by receiving communion together.[140] Mary of England and Louis XII also kissed repeatedly, once before the king put the necklace around his bride's neck and again after the 'pax'.[141] Kisses between the Polish royal couples were not recorded, but during their final blessing they kissed a paten, a plate on which the Eucharistic bread was placed, held by the archbishop.[142]

But, yet again, a comparative approach reveals that the patterns connected to royal weddings are irregular and ruled by particular political anxieties rather than organised by a strict prescription. Louis XII expected Mary of England to abandon her Englishness completely, starting with sending away her English attendants; an event that caused her evident emotional anguish as she wrote letters to her brother, Henry VIII, begging him in vain to remedy the situation.[143] The Venetian ambassador reported that for the wedding ceremony 'the most Christian King had the Queen dressed in French costume'.[144] Maria Hayward's interpretation is that by wearing 'a gown of French style of cloth of gold trimmed

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[135] 'Ordinato', p. 209.
[136] Decjusz, p. 52.
[137] ibid.; 'Ordinato', p. 209.
[138] van Gennep, p. 132.
[139] CSPV II 508; This was the famous 'Mirror of Naples' which Mary then refused to return after she was widowed. Francis I, not at all amused, proclaimed that jewellery given to queens of France was state property. Sadlack, p. 111.
[140] Decjusz, p. 52, CSPV II 508.
[141] CSPV II 508.
[142] Decjusz, p. 52.
[143] For an excellent analysis of this diplomatic conundrum, especially letters exchanged, see: Sadlack, pp. 72-8.
[144] CSPV II 511.

with ermine', Mary 'demonstrated her new allegiance to her husband and his country'.[145] Bona Sforza, on the other hand, wore the same costume made of blue Venetian satin and embroidered with golden beehives as during the betrothal. She wore an Italian garment, but more importantly, she broke out of the Polish white-red-green colour scheme, instead paying homage to the Sforza coat of arms – a blue serpent devouring an infant. Representing a similar symbolism to that of the colour green, the embroidered beehives signified the future happiness of the marriage by evoking the Renaissance interest in classical culture. Virgil writes in *Georgics* that the ancients considered bees to be family creatures, especially known for taking good care of their young.[146] The dress could also be interpreted as a subversive political statement. Origen, an ancient Greek theologian, wrote that 'bees have a leader, with followers and servants, and wars and victories and captures of the defeated'.[147] The idea of a beehive as a political organisation was taken further by Castiglione. Ottaviano, a character in *The Book of the Courtier*, argues that 'bees, almost as if they could reason, obey their royal leader'.[148] Wearing a metaphor for absolute monarchy framed by the Sforza colours on her wedding day was a bold and seemingly untamed statement of Bona's dynastic identity. Sigismund made no effort to stifle these displays, either by sending her Italian entourage away or meddling in her trousseau. On the contrary, the wedding feast started with an Italian dance, a further nod to Bona's cultural heritage.[149]

The differences between how the French and the Polish court accommodated identities of foreign brides cannot be attributed to national or even dynastic custom, but should be rather attributed to realpolitic that determined how dynastic identities were used to project political images. French monarchs occasionally allowed for flamboyant displays of their wives' dynastic identities. For example, during Mary Stuart and Dauphin Francis' wedding in 1558, an elaborate masque was staged and after twenty-five 'beautiful triumphing knights' with 'a young prince dressed in cloth of gold', seven planets dressed up as classical gods and a chariot full of singing musicians,

> 'marched twelve beautiful unicorns with young princes mounting them, dressed and
> prepared so richly that it seemed as though the cloth of gold and silver did not cost a
> thing. Afterwards went two other beautiful white unicorns which pulled another

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[145] Hayward, p. 57.
[146] Virgil, *Georgics*, transl. P. Fallon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 4.65-6, 139, 154, 200-1.
[147] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, W. Selwyn (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1876) 4.14-16.
[148] B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, transl. G. Bull, (London: Penguin Books, 1967) p. 297.
[149] Decjusz, p. 320.

beautiful triumphal chariot, made in antique fashion, on which there were nine Muses, with many pretty girls dressed in green satin, another in white velvet, another in crimson, another in blue-green, others in in cloth of gold and silver [...]'[150]

Margaret Beam Freeman points out that 'the unicorn is the sole supporter of the coat of arms on gold coins of James III of Scotland, about 1480' and further that 'a Flemish book of hours made for James IV about 1505 shows on one of its pages two unicorns supporting the royal arms'.[151] No less than fourteen living and breathing symbols of Scotland invading a French wedding were more than a strong nod towards the queen's identity. Young Francis had become the king of Scotland and confirmed his own status by such lavish displays of his wife's dynastic identity, suggesting that a king's identity could be just as multi-faceted as his wife's. Similarly, it was not exactly Sigismund's magnanimity that stayed his hand from stifling Bona's identity. The abovementioned clever propaganda of the Jagiellonians to represent themselves as Renaissance kings was the more probable cause. Contrary to claims made by some historians, including Zygmunt Wojciechowski, the wedding was not a 'cultural breakthrough' that brought the Renaissance to Poland.[152] The campaign started with the *Institutione Regii Pueri* and continued with classically inspired wedding songs composed for Sigismund the Old's first wedding in 1512 as well as remoulding the medieval Wawel into a Renaissance palazzo in 1516. Brides were expected to abandon their houses and families, but in the right political climate it was their husbands who needed to incorporate foreign symbols and culture into their own identities.

Despite a seemingly simple purpose as a ceremony, royal weddings were a sophisticated mix of protocol, ritual and human emotion. The comparative approach reveals that the main purpose of weddings was to reaffirm the belonging to European monarchy by displaying a king's access to the European marriage market. Even though there was a set of clearly recognisable stages of a European royal wedding, the interesting variations within these stages were caused by political considerations, dynastic tradition, and occasionally even chance. The flexibility to particular political circumstances, especially, provided a way of reaffirming dynastic legitimacy by showcasing the readiness of other European dynasties to make political deals with a particular monarch. The multitude of variables nevertheless

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[150] 'Mariage du Dauphin et de Marie Stuart', in Alexandre Teulet (ed.) *Relations Politiques de la France et de L'Espagne avec l'Écosse au XVIe siècle: Correspondances Françaises 1545-1560*, vol. 1(Paris: Librarie de la Societé de l'Histoire de France, 1862) pp. 310-311.

[151] M. B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983) p. 61.

[152] Z. Wojciechowski, *Zygmunt Stary* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1979) pp. 131, 136-137.

was a symbolically logical sequence serving to separate the bride from her dynasty and incorporate her into her husband's body politic and dynasty. Identities clashed and merged, suggesting the complexity of the processes in which early modern dynastic identities were acquired. Analysis of royal weddings suggests that it is more appropriate to talk of royal women's multiple dynastic identities, constructed of their maternal and paternal heritage, but also by remarriage. Ceremony allowed for consolidating these identities by means of public display, but the royal weddings allow a glimpse of the emotion and sentiment governing the world of early modern royalty. Identity was as much a tool for propaganda as a closely guarded sense of belonging to a family group. Queens cherished the families they left behind, as they embarked on a journey fraught with anxiety over the people they left behind and the husbands that awaited them. Most importantly, this chapter has demonstrated the extent to which the vulnerability of the royal brides was a universally European phenomenon, regardless of the political system these women were entering. Even though highly politicised, royal weddings were a rite of passage firmly planted in the larger human experience, very different from the royal coronation to be discussed in the next chapter. But the high profile of royal weddings allows for tracking the European nature of the royal, both political and personal, anxieties and flexibility of the continental protocol in accommodating them.

Chapter 2

Coronation: 'Consort to Royal Power'

A royal coronation was expected to be governed by a certain scenario: crowning, anointing and prayers were all fixed points and any manipulation of the ritual had to be subtle in order to preserve its symbolic coherence. This rigid form was a required demonstration of belonging to the European royalty. A queen's coronation, together with the accompanying celebrations, was the final product of months or even years of careful planning, negotiations, plotting, and purchasing expensive items of clothing. The preceding suit of wedding ceremonies which collectively formed the rites of separating the bride from her own family, and her simultaneous incorporation into her husband's family, usually found their culmination in this ceremony, formally integrating the king's wife into the political structures of his country. But while royal weddings asserted legitimacy by accomodating and displaying a varied range of political interests and connections, this chapter is the first comprehensive study of French and Polish coronation ritual to argue that a consort's coronation renewed the legitimacy resulting from pan-European Christian ritual. According to Ovid, metamorphosis was inflicted by the gods, but when thinking about princesses being transformed into queens, it is important to remember that there were a number of parties by whose will it was carried out, including God, the king, and in the Polish case, often the Parliament as well.[1]

Coronations of kings and queens regnant were designed to renew the cycle of royal power framed by the concept of the king's two bodies, including the mortal body natural (i.e. the monarch as a human) and the immortal body politic (i. e. the office of kingship) as famously defined by Ernst Kantorowicz.[2] However, the reasons behind crowning a queen consort, the function of the ceremony, and how it all fits into Kantorowicz's framework remain largely unexplored. This chapter argues that the coronation perpetuated and extended dynastic legitimacy by anointing the queen as the mother to the future king and incorporated her into her husband's body politic. Thus the queen's agency was ritually bound to her husband and children. The chapter is the first study to explore and compare the coronations

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[1] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, transl. A.D. Melville, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 1.2-3.
[2] E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) p. 9.

of the Polish queens: Barbara Zapolya (8 February 1512), Elizabeth of Austria (6 May 1543), Barbara Radziwiłł (9 December 1550),[3] and Anna Jagiellon (1 May 1576), and those of the French queens: Anne of Brittany (18 November 1504)[4] and Catherine de Medici (10 June 1549).[5] The coronation of Anna Jagiellon, whom Polish historians regard as a queen regnant of Poland, will be examined separately because of her unique circumstances.[6] As Sigismund Ausgust's sister, she was seemingly elected by the nobility as the 'king' of Poland in 1575. There is no equivalent of the term 'queen regnant' in Polish since the term 'king of Poland' was connected to the office rather than gender-specific. Consequently, Jadwiga I of Poland (of the Anjou dynasty, crowned 1384 – died 1399) and Anna Jagiellon were labelled as 'kings'. However, a joint analysis of the ceremony together with the parliamentary discussions accompanying the election and coronation preparations sheds a new light on Anna's status as queen.[7] It also allows us to draw conclusions about the role of sixteenth-century ceremony as a reflection of and a driving force behind early modern politics.

Sixteenth-century Europe witnessed a variety of regional patterns in conducting queenly coronations. The most familiar model seems to be that of England, where four out of six sixteenth-century queens consort were not crowned, which was partly due to the notorious number of Henry VIII's wives, but also because England was ruled by a young boy and two queens regnant for the second half of the century.[8] However, the further east we look, the smaller the ratio of uncrowned queens. Out of nine sixteenth-century French consorts three were not crowned, while in Poland only one out of eight queens was denied the rite. The chapter also discusses the circumstances and status of two uncrowned queens,

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[3] There is some discussion as to the exact date of Barbara's coronation. B. Paprocki, *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego* (Kraków, 1584), claims that she was crowned on the 7 December, while Rysiński MS gives the date of the Tribute as the 10 December. Baliński argues that Barbara was crowned on the day before, on the 9 December. Possibly in connection to the feast of the Immaculate Conception – 8 December – practiced in Poland since the XV century – might have been chosen to remedy Barbara's reputation as 'the Great Whore of Lithuania' M. Baliński, *Pisma Historyczne*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Drukarnia Seppewalda, 1843) p. 186.

[4] This was Anne's second coronation as the queen consort of France. She had previously been married to Charles VIII of France.

[5] The day after the Pentecost: *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* (Paris, 1549) [accessed at http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0014&strPage=8 on 17/09/2014].

[6] M. Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1994) p. 134.

[7] I will publish an in-depth discussion of Anna's political career as: K. Kosior, 'Anna Jagiellon: A Female Politician in Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', in E. Woodacre (ed.) *Global Queenship: An Introduction* (Amsterdam: ARC Medieval Press, forthcoming 2017).

[8] For circumstances surrounding marriages and coronations of the sixteenth-century English queens see: Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*; D. Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Vintage Books, 2003); R. M. Warnicke, *The marrying of Anne of Cleves: royal protocol in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

the Polish Helena of Moscow and the French Mary Stuart to weigh the importance of crowning a queen consort in France and Poland.

None of these ceremonies have been studied in detail before except for Anne of Brittany's coronation, discussed by Cynthia Brown who has a particular interest in the manuscripts associated with the occasion and by Elizabeth McCartney, who focuses on the ways in which Anne's coronation reflected and was connected to the French law.[9] Even though scholars of queenship have studied a large spectrum of phenomena associated with the role, such as representation, both self-fashioned as well as created by other people, and patronage, coronations of queens consort remain largely neglected. Volumes examining the chronological history of French and Polish coronations, such as those produced by Richard Jackson or Michał Rożek, as well as other large works on court ceremony, such as *Europa Triumphans*, focus firmly on the coronations of kings.[10] Coronations of English queens consort have been studied by Alice Hunt, J. L. Laynesmith and Maria Hayward, but a chronological or thematic history of these ceremonies in early modern France and Poland is still lacking.[11] Detailed examination of the rite of coronation, which incorporates the rhetorical and legal frameworks within which queens consort operated, inevitably provides us with a deeper understanding not only of royal ceremony but also of the queen consort's role within her husband's government. Rather than looking at these coronations chronologically, similarly to Chapter 1, this chapter will first provide an overview of the coronation and then comparatively discuss the stages of the ceremony to demonstrate that the queen consort's coronation created a narrative of her status and role in a particular political setting by subtly adapting its form to suit absolute and elective monarchy.

The methodological challenge in the analysis of early modern European coronations is reconciling differing terminologies applied to the rite across the continent. Even though 'the French and the English coronation ceremonies had so much in common that they were

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[9] C. J. Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477-1514* (Philadelphia: University of Pensylvannia Press, 2011) pp. 15-62; E. McCartney, 'Ceremonies and Privileges of Office Queenship in Late Medieval France', in J. Carpenter and S. MacLean (eds.) *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995) pp. 178-220.

[10] R. A. Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); M. Rożek, *Polskie Koronacje i Korony* (Cracow: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1987); J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*, vol. 1-2 (Aldershot: MHRA and Ashgate, 2004).

[11] M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney, 2007) ; Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation...*; J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Some ideas connected to coronations of queens consort may be found in: L. Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (eds.) *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval and Early Modern* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009).

able to borrow freely from each other over the ages', Richard Jackson points out that the French usually refer to the coronation as the *sacre*, a consecration, emphasizing its ecclesiastical and liturgical aspect, while the English usually use the word 'coronation', which emphasises the constitutional aspect of the ceremony.[12] The Polish language makes equal use of both *sakra* and *koronacja*, while Polish literature defines the rite of coronation as a rare moment when the '*regnum* was linked to the *sacerdotium*' through the collision of canon and secular law. However, even though coronations are by their very nature a religious rite with a separate liturgy, 'the rite of coronation has never been classified by the Catholic church as one of the sacraments, as a result of the everlasting power-struggle between secular and ecclesiastical authority'.[13] Of course, such terminology and definitions were invented to describe coronations of kings, and this chapter will explore how they fit into coronations of queens consort. Michał Rożek isolates four stages of the Polish coronation: the burial of the predecessor, the expiatory procession to the Skałka church on the eve of the cornation, the coronation proper, and the city's homage to the new king in Cracow's main square.[14] As will become clear, the coronation of a queen consort followed a different rhythm and Rożek's 'four stages' are not applicable to these ceremonies.

Ordines Coronationis

The majority of sources consulted in this chapter may be separated into three groups: various accounts of the ceremony written by eyewitnesses, chronicles and *ordines coronationis*. Problems resulting from examining chronicles are perhaps the most familiar, such as the chroniclers' notorious habit of pretending to have witnessed events. Helena Watanabe-O'Kelly is also right to argue that taking festival books 'at face value would be a grave mistake', because accounts of such events written by eyewitnesses were imbued with hidden agendas.[15] Elizabeth McCartney argues that the account of Anne of Brittany's coronation in 1502 written by her secretary André de la Vigne as a gift for the occasion contains a hidden manifesto on the legal rights of widows.[16] The identity of the author

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[12] Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation*, p. 3.
[13] Rożek, *Polskie Koronacje*, p. 50.
[14] Rożek, p. 58.
[15] H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form', in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Europa Triumphans*, p. 7.
[16] McCartney, 'Ceremonies and Privileges of Office: Queenship', p. 185.

provides clues as to his agenda, but reasons behind anonymous reports, such as the one describing Barbara Radziwiłł's coronation, are more difficult to untangle.[17]

Ordines coronationis are less susceptible to hidden agendas of the kind described above. They were an instruction on how the coronation should be carried out, especially with regards to prayers and orations which had to be delivered during the ceremony. Because the Latin term *ordines coronationis* used in French and Polish literature expresses their function so well, it will be also employed here rather than 'coronation books', which is the English equivalent. Due to their nature, *ordines coronationis* provide us with a different, perhaps a more technical, insight into coronation ceremonies. The presence of these texts across Europe since the early Middle Ages, as well as the fact that they stemmed from the shared European experience of rulership, suggests that coronation was a highly European ceremony in character.[18]

However, it is often difficult to match an *ordo* to a particular coronation. This problem concerns particularly the French coronations, since there are no extant *ordines* for crowning sixteenth-century French queens consort. The coronations of Anne of Brittany and Catherine de Medici might have been carried out according to either, or a mixture of Charles V's (1365) and Louis XI's (1461) *ordines*, so they will be used as supplementary evidence to other accounts of these ceremonies.[19] Whenever the *ordines* and the contemporary descriptions of coronations differ from each other, it is difficult to distinguish whether it was merely an oversight, an adaption of the *ordo*, or whether a non-extant *ordo* was used for the occasion. In order to assert any of the above with certainty, clear points of comparison between the *ordines* and the eyewitness accounts have to be found, which is challenging since the French *ordines* tend to contain only prayers rather than prescribing movements and gestures, while eye-witness accounts completely disregard prayers in favour of describing the visual aspects of the ceremony.

Barbara Zapolya's *ordo coronandi* is unique, because it is certain that it was written especially for her coronation in 1512, as it specifically mentions Barbara and her husband

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[17] Polish National Library Special Collections MS 6614.

[18] Michał Rożek on the shared Early Medieval ancestors of European *ordines coronationis*: Rożek, *Polskie Koronacje i Korony*, p. 57-8.

[19] *The coronation Book of Charles V of France (Cottonian MS Tiberius B.VIII)*, E. S. Dewick (ed.) (London Harrison and Sons, 1899) pp. 44-50; 'Ordo of Louis XI', in R. A. Jackson (ed.) *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995) pp. 523-554.

King Sigismund I the Old of Poland by name.[20] It was composed because an earlier *ordo* written for the coronation of Sigismund the Old's mother, Elizabeth of Austria, in 1454 was thought to be lost at the time. Barbara's *ordo* was discovered by Oswald Balzer, a historian of the Polish law, at the Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter and published in 1906. However, Balzer did not attempt to analyse the text, and it remains neglected even today. It provides us with an excellent start to an analysis of sixteenth-century coronations of Polish queens consort, especially since we know that it was used even as late as the mid seventeenth-century for the two coronations in 1646 and 1649 of Marie Louise Gonzaga, who married Władysław IV and Jan II Kazimierz.[21]

The existence of *ordines coronationis* is a common denominator in the European royal tradition, but there are interesting differences between the Polish and French texts. For example, the Polish *ordines* are considerably more specific in prescribing movements and gestures to be performed by the main actors in the ceremony. In his work on French coronations, Richard Jackson distinguishes between the term *ordo*, defined as a compilation of the prayers, hymns, and anthems used in religious ceremony, and directory, which is a set of directions for application of the *ordo*.[22] The Polish *ordines* combine the functions of both 'ordo' and 'directory' into one. Stanisław Kutrzeba also argues that late medieval and early modern Polish *ordines* are unique because they were adapted to the particular Polish circumstances, especially with regards to the physical surroundings of the ceremony provided by Wawel Cathedral in Cracow.

Coronation Sites

Regardless of whether they were specifically mentioned in the *ordines*, the function of the coronation sites as royal sacred spaces was paramount in both France and Poland. Their role was twofold in both displaying the coronation to the congregation and shielding it from the view of ordinary subjects gathered outside. They also lent legitimacy to the important monarchic rite of passage, and this legitimacy of place was a consequence of

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[20] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', in O. M. Balzer (ed.) *Corpus Iuris Polonici. Sectionis 1. Privilegia, statuta, constitutiones, edicta, decreta, mandata regnum Poloniae spectantia comprehendentis. Vol. 3, Annos 1506-1522 contientis* (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1906) pp. 208-212.

[21] S. Kutrzeba, 'Ordo coronandi regis Poloniae', in *Collectanea ex Archivo Collegi Historici*, vol. 11 (Cracow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1909-1913) p. 147.

[22] Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation*, p. 24.

repetition; coronations were performed there for hundreds of years. Having a coronation performed in the traditional place, where generations of previous kings and queens had been crowned, completed a link in this spinning wheel of legitimacy, because it suggested the political stability of the realm and asserted the fitness of the monarch to rule.

The choice of a coronation cathedral was firmly based in national traditions. The cathedral in Gniezno had been the first site of Polish coronations ever since the first Polish king, Boleslav the Brave, was crowned there in 1025. In sixteenth-century Poland this function was fulfilled by Wawel Cathedral in Cracow, which was originally built in *circa* 1000 following the Polish conversion to Christianity in 966. The cathedral perished in a fire in 1305, and was then rebuilt in the gothic style. Coronations were performed there from 1320, after the Polish kingdom was reunited from the feudal partition. Eventually the building became so strongly associated with royal legitimacy that coronations continued to be performed there even after the court moved permanently to Warsaw in 1609.[23] While Polish kings and queens were crowned in the same cathedral, an entirely different arrangement developed in France. French kings were crowned at Notre Dame Cathedral in Reims, some ninety miles north-east of Paris, where the first Christian king of Frankia, Clovis, was baptised. The symbolism emphasised the sanctity of the French monarchy, but was not altogether appropriate for a consort's coronation. French queens consort were crowned at Saint Denis Basilica located six miles to the north of Paris. This could have been partly because the Basilica was conveniently nearby (Fig. 3). The symbolism was also fitting as the original church was build by St Genevieve, the female patron saint of Paris. The gothic structure completed in

Figure 3: Map representing the spatial relationship between St Denis and Paris

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[23] For a more detailed history of the Wawel Cathedral see: M. Rożek, *Krakowska Katedra na Wawelu* (Cracow: Petrus, 1976).

1144 traditionally housed the tombs of the French monarchs, and held the coronation regalia in its treasury.[24]

On the morning of the coronation, usually on a Sunday, both Polish and French queens were led to the church in a procession of nobility and ambassadors.[25] The locations of Wawel Cathedral and St Denis Basilica are essential to an analysis of royal coronations, because they contributed to the development of the French and Polish ceremonies. For example, in Poland both the cathedral and the royal palace stand on Wawel Hill, so in order to reach the cathedral's main entrance, the queen would merely have to leave the palace

Figure 4: Panoramic view of Cracow in 1576. Wawel Hill is on the right, the city's main square on the left, in front of the church with two towers. Image taken from: *Constitucie, Statuta y Przywileie na walnych Seymiech Koronnych od Roku Pańskiego 1550 aż do Roku 1581 uchwalone* **(Cracow: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1581) p. 158**

courtyard through the gate and immediately turn right. Even at processional pace, the queen's walk from her apartments to the cathedral lasted only a very short amount of time in which the gathered populace would be able to admire her. This close proximity of the coronation site to the royal domestic space marks a particularly distinguishing characteristic of the Polish coronation, namely its private character.

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[24] S. M. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from Its Beginnings to the Death of Surger, 475-1151* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1987).

[25] Prior to that, the queens would be dressed in their apartments, but there is not enough extant material for comparison on the Polish side. It does not seem, however, that the tradition of wearing a specific set of coronation robes developed in Poland. It is certain that Bona Sforza wore the same dress as for her marriage by proxy (see previous chapter). There is also the coronation portrait of Anna Jagiellon, but it is not certain that she wore the garment she was painted in to her coronation. The existence of a traditional set of coronation robes, except for wearing a cloak, in France is also put to question by the descriptions of Anne of Brittany and Catherine de Medici's coronations. The first wore a cloak of violet satin split in the front to show the garment of cloth of silver underneath. Catherine, on the other hand, wore 'a corset, a tunic of ermine, a mantle cloak, a head ornament, and other royal garments, and her coat was made of velvet embroidered with fleurs de liz of gold and lined with ermines.' A. de la Vigne, 'Le Sacre de Anne de Bretagne et son entrée a Paris en 1504', in P. Gringore, *Les Entrées Royales a Paris de Marie d'Angleterre (1514) et Claude de France (1517)*, C. J. Brown (ed.) (Geneve: Librarie Droz S.A., 2005) p. 219; *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* (Paris, 1549) [accessed at http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0014&strPage=8 on 17/09/2014; For English coronation robes see: M. Hayward, 'Dressed to Impress', in A. Hunt and A. Whitelock (eds.) *Tudor Queenship: the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) pp. 81-4.

Wawel Hill was located on the edge of sixteenth-century Cracow (Fig. 4), and away from its main square, which was the centre of the city's public life. Therefore, coronations of Polish queens were removed from the public space of the city and enclosed within the confines of Wawel Hill. This further emphasised the private character of the event, especially since the queen did not ride through the streets of the city, as Polish kings did after they were crowned. Instead, the people had to come to Wawel Hill in order to see their new queen.[26] The lack of sufficient space for the spectators could sometimes cause unpleasant incidents, such as the fight which broke out between the Tartar guards and the people crowding in order to get a glimpse of Bona Sforza during her pre-coronation walk to the cathedral on 18 April 1518.[27]

While the Polish ceremonies were stationary, with both the wedding and coronation being performed on Wawel Hill in Cracow, the French wedding ceremonies were usually performed in various places outside Paris, as described in the previous chapter. Anne of Brittany travelled to St Denis from the royal residence in Vincennes, while Catherine de Medici arrived at St Denis three days before her coronation.[28] The Polish queens also usually arrived in Cracow three days before their coronations, which might suggest that like their husbands they were required to fast in preparation for the symbolic metamorphosis.[29] In Christianity, the number three is symbolic of transition into another state of being; Jesus traditionally came back from the dead after three days. The distance between the French coronation site and the royal palace in Paris necessitated a post-coronation procession through the city (discussed in the next chapter), which became an important feature of the French coronation and marked its public character. It was partly due to the old French tradition that an uncrowned queen was not allowed to ceremonially enter Paris.[30] But French

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[26] On public ceremonies accompanying coronations of Polish kings see: Rożek, *Polskie Koronacje*, pp. 58-9.

[27] L. J. Decjusz, *Diarii Et Earum Qvae Memoratu digna in […] Sigismundi Poloniae Regis Et […] Bonae Mediolani Bariq[ue] Ducis Principis Rossani nuptiis gesta […] Descriptio* (Kraków: Hieronim Wietor, 1518) p. 50.

[28] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* (Paris, 1549) [accessed at http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0014&strPage=8 on 17/09/2014]; André de la Vigne's original manuscript: Waddesdon Manor MS 22; a detailed description of the manuscript: L. M. J. Delaissé, J. Marrow, and J. de Wit (eds.), *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: National Trust, 1977); the text of the manuscript printed in: P. Gringore, *Les Entrées Royales a Paris de Marie d'Angleterre (1514) et Claude de France (1517)*, C. J. Brown (ed.) (Geneve: Librarie Droz S.A., 2005) Appendice II; A. de la Vigne, 'Le Sacre de Anne de Bretagne et son entrée a Paris en 1504', H. Stein (ed.) in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, vol. 29 (1902) pp. 268-304

[29] It was a royal custom for the Polish kings to fast, confess, and give alms to the poor on the Saturday before coronation: Rożek, p. 54.

[30] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, p. 57.

queens must have been allowed to 'unofficially' enter the city, because they often had to wait several years for a coronation, until the time seemed right to put on a costly processional display. This was certainly the case for both Anne of Brittany, who waited three years after her marriage, and Catherine de Medici, who was crowned two years after her husband's accession to the throne. The Polish custom was to perform the ceremony swiftly and a queen consort would usually be crowned within a few days of entering the country or jointly with her husband, if the couple were already married at his accession.

Coronation Processions

A comparative approach to royal ceremonies reveals that in their distinctive ways, Polish and French processions to the cathedral were an important way of displaying the relationships between the local nobility, foreign allies, and the royal body. The envoys of Duke Albert of Prussia, who walked in the procession to Barbara Radziwiłł's coronation in 1550, arrived especially to renew the Prussian Tribute.[31] First delivered by the same Duke twenty-five years earlier, the Tribute confirmed the secularisation of the Teutonic Order, and the Duke of Prussia's state of vassalage to the Polish kings. The renewal of the Prussian Tribute was partly a clever trick on Sigismund August's part, in order to lure the Polish nobility to Cracow for the coronation. Because of their disapproval of the marriage between the king and his mistress, the nobility might have otherwise boycotted the event.

Polish coronation processions reflected the complex geopolitical situation in Central and Eastern Europe. For example, Barbara was led to the church by two Silesian Piasts, Duke Wacław III of Cieszyn and Fryderyk III of Legnica.[32] The Piast dynasty ruled Poland from approximately 960 until 1370, including the period of feudal partition when Poland was divided between Boleslav III the Wrymouth's sons in 1138. Even though most Polish lands were reunited under King Wladislav I the Elbow-Tall in 1320, Silesia was annexed by the Kingdom of Bohemia in the mid-fifteenth century, and continued to be governed by the

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[31] The Duke was expected to come himself, but he reportedly became ill while on his way to Barbara's coronation, and returned to Królewiec (also known as Königsberg and Kaliningrad): *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, vol. 63, C. Lanckorońska (ed.) (Rome, 1973-4) p. 163; see also the description of the Tribute: Baliński, *Pisma*, vol. 2, p. 190, The Polish National Library Special Collections MS 6614, fol. 175v-176v.
[32] Przeździecki, p. 257; Mentioned in the manuscript describing Barbara's coronation as 'barons' and 'magnates'. The Polish National Library Special Collections MS 6614, fol. 174r.

Piasts as feudal rulers.[33] The Silesian Piasts were given a prominent role in the procession in order to strengthen the ties with the rulers of the region which was considered part of the *regnum Poloniae*, but became part of the Holy Roman Empire alongside Bohemia in 1526.[34]

Lists of the foreign guests and ambassadors provided by the Polish chroniclers and other eyewitnesses are usually rather short, but on occasion, such as in case of Elizabeth of Austria's coronation in 1543, the guest list may be supplemented from the meticulously-kept royal financial accounts. They provide details of foreign ambassadors received as well as an insight into how politics influenced reports of such events.[35] For example, the German account of Elizabeth's coronation focuses on the German lords and ambassadors sent by the Habsburgs, such as the Count of Salm, Lord Sigismund of Herberstein, Margrave George of Branderburg-Ansbach 'and in addition many Bohemian and Silesian Lords.'[36] There is no mention of Hungarian ambassadors, because of the sensitive nature of the region's politics. Since 1538 King Ferdinand, the bride's father, claimed the title of the king of Hungary, which was contested by the queen regent of Hungary, Isabella Jagiellon, Sigismund August's sister. She ruled on behalf of her infant son John II Sigismund elected by the Hungarian parliament in 1540. The Polish financial accounts state clearly that 'the Queen of Hungary' sent her own ambassadors including Antonius Vrancius (Antun Vrančić), a prominent Hungarian diplomat.[37] This suggests a difference of opinion between the Polish and the Austrian court as to who was the rightful ruler of Hungary. The coronation both incorporated Elizabeth into the international context of her husband's court and introduced her to the intricacy of the Jagiellon-Habsburg politics fraught with family and political tensions.

Barbara Zapolya's pre-coronation procession in 1512 reveals a similarly complex political landscape, which she would have to navigate following her marriage to Sigismund the Old. She was accompanied by Duke Bartłomiej of Silesia and Duchess Anna of Masovia, the Polish rulers of two regions, which were not under the direct control of the Polish crown

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[33] K. Orzechowski, *Historia ustroju Śląska 1202-1740* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 2005) pp. 48-56.

[34] H. Persson, 'Viadrina to the Oder-Neisse Line: Historical Evolution and Regional Cooperation', in S. Tagil (ed.) *Regions in Central Europe: the Legacy of History*, transl. J. Aimaq (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1999) p. 221.

[35] *Kurtze Beschreibung der Hochzeit des Jungen Königs aus Polen mit Römischer Königklicher Mayestat Ferdinandi Tochter mit mancherley gepreng vnd Ceremonien geschehen den iii. May vnd etlich tag hernach. Anno. M. D. xliii*; The original text: The Polish National Library Special Collections XVI.Qu.1767; The Princes Chartoryski Library 408 I; printed and translated in: *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, pp. 394-397.

[36] *Kurtze Beschreibung*, in *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, p. 395.

[37] AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, Dział 1, MS 112, f. 21.

at the time.[38] The presence of the bishop of Wrocław, as the ambassador of the king of Bohemia and Hungary, Vladislav II, who was Sigismund I the Old's brother, emphasised the strength and unity of the Jagiellonian family network in central and eastern Europe. It was further represented by the presence of Margrave Frederick I of Branderburg-Ansbach, who was married to Sigismund the Old's sister, Sophia. This show of unity was particularly important since Barbara Zapolya's marriage to Sigismund the Old was a statement of Polish support for Hungary against the Holy Roman Empire. The chronicler of the event, Ludwik Jost Decjusz, also provides names of other foreign ambassadors such as Duke John of Saxony, and the patriarch of Constantinople, but his description, similarly to other Polish sources, neglects to list the names of the local nobility present at the event.[39] If the Polish nobles are mentioned at all, it is regarding their role in carrying the king's regalia, which were placed on the altar for the consort's coronation, into the church. The manuscript describing Barbara Radziwiłł's coronation mentions that Sigismund August's crown was carried by the castellan of Cracow, the sceptre by the palatine of Cracow, and the orb by the palatine of Poznań.[40]

Conversely, the French accounts of pre-coronation processions provide us with detailed lists of the French nobility attending the ceremonies, reflecting the political situation in France. Particular attention was paid to the *princes du sang*, the agnatic descendants of the Capetian dynasty, since their presence broadcast a message of dynastic unity and stability in France. For example, Anne of Brittany was escorted by Duke Charles of Alençon. The account of Catherine de Medici's coronation in 1549 published by Jean Dallier mentions two *princes du sang*: Antoine de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, and Louis de Bourbon, Count of Anguyen (Enghien), who had the honour of carrying the laps of the queen's cloak.[41] Richard Jackson argues that Catherine's husband's coronation in 1547 marks an equilibrium between two prominent forces in French politics, the peers of France representing 'the medieval principle of a ruling consortium of king and great barons', and the *princes du sang* who represented 'royal absolutism's dynastic principle'. He further points out that during the fifty years after Henry II's coronation the princes of the blood would win complete precedence in

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[38] Masovia returned to Poland in 1526, after the death of the last Masovian Piast, Duke Janusz III.

[39] L. J. Decjusz, *De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber*, W. Czermak (ed.), (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1901) pp. 57-8.

[40] The Polish National Library Special Collections MS 6614, fol. 174r.

[41] For the complete lists see: P. Gringore, *Les Entrées Royales a Paris de Marie d'Angleterre (1514) et Claude de France (1517)*, Appendice II; *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France*, [accessed at http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0014&strPage=8 on 17/09/2014].

royal ceremony.[42] Their growing prominence and need to display their position at the queen's coronation is clearly reflected in the description of Catherine's coronation taking place two years after Henry's.

In both countries the pre-coronation procession also reflected the complex relationships unique to each court, which dominated the bride's married life. For example, due to the particular circumstances described in the introduction, mid-sixteenth century Poland had not one but two legitimate kings, Sigismund I the Old together with his son Sigismund II August as the *rex iunior*. Karin Friedrich argues that 'in the wedding celebration of 1543 [...] dynastic legitimation of the ruler was still taken for granted in Poland', but Sigismund the Old and Bona Sforza's need to manipulate the nobility into an election *vivente rege* in 1529 suggests that the continuation of the Jagiellonians as Polish kings was already in question.[43] This complexity of the royal body was accounted for in the processional arrangements for Elizabeth of Austria's coronation. As it was described by a member of the German retinue:

> [...] the young King came into the church with a crown on his head and with the Duke of Prussia at his side: the old King followed, carried in a chair. The young Queen came after His Royal Highness, according to the German custom, and then the old Queen with her three daughters following.[44]

Each person walking in this procession had their unique thoughts and feelings towards the ceremony and the political situation it represented. For example, the old queen, Bona Sforza, was widely known to have despised Elizabeth of Austria, because the young queen symbolised the Polish alliance with the Habsburgs.[45] She would have preferred to see a French princess on the Polish throne, and she was probably not thrilled that both she and her daughters had to walk behind Elizabeth in the procession. Elizabeth might have taken some pleasure in this temporary spotlight, even if later accounts claim that she was sweet and innocent, but shy and terrified of her formidable mother-in-law, who still held both the

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[42] Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation,* pp. 156-7.
[43] K. Friedrich, 'Royal Entries into Cracow, Warsaw and Danzig: Festival Culture and the Role of the Cities in Poland-Lithuania', in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans,* vol. 1, p. 387.
[44] *Kurtze Beschreibung der Hochzeit des Jungen Königs aus Polen,* in: *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, pp. 394-397; A. Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki Polskie: obrazy rodziny i dwory Zygmunta I i Zygmunta Augusta Królów Polskich*, vol. 5 (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1868) p. 106. The old queen's daughters were Anna, the future queen of Poland, Sophie, who was to become the Duchess of Brunswick, and Catherine, the future Queen of Sweden.
[45] M Bogucka, *Bona Sforza* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1998, 2009) pp. 142-3.

Polish court and her son in an iron grip at the time.[46] The German member of Elizabeth's retinue recognised that the procession was conducted according to the 'German custom', which also suggests that coronation ceremonies, while being highly traditional and based in national custom, were also susceptible to adopting other European fashions in order to honour the bride's native traditions.

The emotions underlying such ceremonies could also have a purely personal cause rather than a political one. Catherine de Medici's pre-coronation procession, for example, included the woman who had been Catherine's nemesis in the sixteen years of her married life prior to the coronation. She is mentioned in the festival book as the Dowager Duchess of Valentinois processing in a place of honour as the third behind the queen and the king's sister, Marguerite, the French princess who almost became Sigismund August's wife. The dowager duchess is better known as Diane of Poitiers, Henry II's long-term mistress, on whose account Catherine was repeatedly humiliated throughout her married life. Even the coronation was a minor triumph. Kathleen Wellman points out that it was Diane who persuaded Henry to have Catherine crowned because it would not be to her benefit for the king to find a new wife, who might provoke his romantic interest.[47]

Coronation Space

Once French and Polish queens entered respectively St Denis Basilica and Wawel Cathedral, they would find that the interior of the church had been transformed in order to cater to the particular needs of the coronation and reflect the ceremony's character. Barbara Zapolya's *ordo* (1512) is very particular as to how Wawel Cathedral's space was to be adapted for the occasion. Firstly, the queen would find a number of sacral and royal objects placed on the main altar, including the queen's regalia comprised of the crown and sceptre. Other items included two wedding rings (emphasizing that a queen's coronation was an inseparable part of her wedding), the oil used for anointing, together with the silk used later for bandaging and wiping the anointed body parts. A special closet or dais was erected for the king and queen's use whenever they were not performing at the main altar. The *ordo* specifies only that this dais was to be constructed in an 'appropriate place', but is quite clear about the fact that it should not be higher than the main altar, and should be positioned so

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[46] Letter from Masurpin to King Ferdinand: Przeździecki, vol. 1, pp. 121-2, 172.

[47] K. Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013) pp. 203-4, 208.

that the royal couple would have a clear view of the main altar and the archbishop performing the mass. This information gives us an idea as to the dais' location, especially since the seats for the assisting bishops were to be prepared right in front of the main altar.[48] The royal dais was probably located in front left or right of the main altar, as was the ceremonial practice in France. For example, the royal dais constructed for Catherine de Medici's coronation stood in front and to the right of the main altar.[49]

There were two main differences between the Polish and French space prepared for a consort's coronation. In the Polish ceremony the space was prepared for the king's open presence as a spectator and actor, in sharp contrast to the French coronation, where the king would be an invisible witness. Prior to Catherine de Medici's coronation, a special dais, higher than the others and covered with cloth of gold and red velvet was constructed in St Denis Basilica 'for the King to see the said coronation, without being seen from the outside'.[50] It was a game of appearances designed, just as in the case of Mary of England's entry to Abbeville, to ensure that the king's presence would not steal the queen's spotlight on her special day. It is possible that a similar tradition developed in England, as suggested by Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1533 when a special seat was prepared for Henry VIII, but Alice Hunt observes that his 'presence during the service is not mentioned in any of the extant accounts. Henry as the Christ-like king beckoning Anne to her heavenly coronation was duly emphasised'.[51] Similarly, the covered seat, where Catherine de Medici's husband may or may not have sat, implies the king's presence at and approval of the ceremony. This was not an issue in Poland, possibly because of a slightly different context in which the ceremony took place. While, as Kathleen Wellman points out, in France the coronation elevated the status of the king's wife, the Polish coronation was a natural and automatic continuation of the marriage ceremony. It connected the consort's status as the queen to her new position as the wife, which was represented by the king's visible presence.[52] Rather than beckoning from afar, as the French and English monarchs did, the 'German custom' used at Elizabeth of Austria's coronation implies that Polish kings sometimes explicitly led their wives to the altar.

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[48] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', pp. 208-9.
[49] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* [accessed at: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0014&strPage=3on 29/05/2014].
[50] ibid.
[51] Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation,* p. 51.
[52] Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses*, p. 208.

The decorations transforming the cathedral into the coronation site also point to the difference in the ceremonial role played by the local nobility. The Polish *ordo* makes no mention of a special space being prepared for the nobility, just as the Polish chroniclers usually neglect to mention the local nobles taking part in the procession to the cathedral, emphasizing the nobility's role as witnesses rather than actors in the ceremony and highlighting the sense of privacy surrounding the Polish coronation. The French nobility, on the other hand, were the backbone of a queen consort's coronation, which is reflected in reports of the procession, as well as in the decoration of St Denis' Basilica. In preparation for Catherine de Medici's coronation separate seats were provided for noble ladies such as the Duchess of Estouteville, Countess of Saint Pol (Marie of Bourbon-Vendôme), the Duchess of Montpensier (Jacqueline de Longwy), and Madame la Connestable (Madeleine of Savoy), as well as the abovementioned *princes du sang*, and captains of the royal guard, among others.[53]

Participation of the Nobility and Clergy

Comparing the coronations in an absolute monarchy and a noble democracy reveals that the systems governing political life in France and Poland determined how the nobility participated in the queen's coronation. In her discussion of Henry VIII of England's court, Jennifer Loach argues that 'by serving the monarch on formal occasions, the noble emphasised the age and grandeur of his title and his family, and he associated himself with those mystical attributes of monarchy which were emphasised by the ceremonial'.[54] The tension which arose between the peers of France and the princes of the royal blood over who was to take precedence in royal ceremonies proves that this was the case also in France. The public character of the queen consort's coronation allowed for displaying the king's favour towards members of the nobility.

However, by the beginning of the sixteenth century the status of the Polish nobility was less dependant on the monarch, but rather granted by various acts of the parliament, especially the *Nihil novi nisi commune consensu* (nothing new without common consent) act

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[53] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* [accessed at: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0014 on 29/05/2014].

[54] J. Loach, 'The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII', in *Past and Present*, no. 142 (1994) p. 44.

adopted by the parliament in 1505, as well as the *pacta conventa* each Polish king had to sign before his coronation since 1573. Karin Friedrich argues that Poland's 'distinctive system of parliamentary rule and dominance of the noble estates, which, in contrast to other early modern estate systems in Western and East Central Europe, survived and even gained in strength, also found expression in the festivals, and in the ceremonies and rituals connected to the king'.[55] The performance of the Polish nobility in the king's coronation was linked to upholding the elective principle of the monarchy. However, while the nobility turned upstaging the Polish kings on public occasions into a peculiar form of sport by the seventeenth century, the coronations of sixteenth-century Polish queens were less vulnerable to such disruption partly because of their relatively private character. There were better ways for the nobility to showcase their strength, for example, in the complex ceremonies associated with the Polish parliament.[56] The strong position of the nobility is also evidenced in Sigismund August's battle to gain permission for Barbara Radziwiłł's coronation (the subject of the next chapter) and his need to use the renewal of the Prussian Tribute as bait to lure the reluctant nobles to Cracow for the ceremony.

The clergy would be an important part of the ceremony in both countries. For example, Andre de la Vigne gave a special mention to Cardinal Georges of Amboise, a papal legate as well as an influential French politician, who performed the act of crowning Anne of Brittany.[57] He was assisted by, among others, the most prominent clergymen in France, such as the archbishop of Sens, Tristan de Sallezard, and the bishops of Bayeux, Paris, Nantes, Troyes, and Lodève.[58] Catherine de Medici was crowned by Cardinal Charles de Bourbon-Vendôme, a *prince du sang*, who advanced to the status of cardinal in January 1548, eighteen months before the coronation.[59] This expansion of the Sacred College was motivated by the recent alliance between France and Pope Paul III, reminiscent of an earlier alliance which resulted in Henry and Catherine's marriage sixteen years earlier. Charles was the correct

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[55] K. Friedrich, 'Festivals in Poland-Lithuania from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century: Preface', in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans,* p. 373.

[56] J. A. Chróścicki, 'Hołdy Lenne a Ceremoniał Obrad Sejmu', in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum Ceremoniale na Dworze Książąt i Królów Polskich: Materiały Konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Zamek Królewski na Wawelu i Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dniach 23-25 marca 1998* (Cracow: Zakład Poligraficzny 'Cenzus', 1999) pp. 165-182; J. Seredyka, 'Nabożeństwa Sejmowe w Dawnej Polsce. Norma Prawna czy Ceremoniał?, in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum Ceremoniale na Dworze Książąt i Królów Polskich,* pp. 255-264; J. S. Dąbrowski, 'Wjazdy na sejmy w okresie panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy', in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum Ceremoniale*, pp. 277-290

[57] McCartney, 'Ceremonies and Privileges of Office', p. 179.

[58] de la Vigne, 'Le Sacre de Anne de Bretagne et son entrée a Paris en 1504', in P. Gringore, *Les Entrées Royales,* pp. 223-4.

[59] R. J. Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici* (London: Longman, 1998) p. 42.

choice politically, not only to reflect France's new allegiances, but also as the symbol of the growing importance of the *princes du sang* at the French court.

While it was not the French custom for a clergyman of a particular office to crown the queen and the choice was largely motivated by trends at court, in Poland this privilege belonged to the Archbishop of Gniezno. The manuscript describing Barbara Radziwiłł's coronation describes how the couple 'met at the church with the Archbishop of Gniezno, whose hand is appropriate for crowning kings and queens of Poland'.[60] Barbara Zapolya was crowned by Archbishop Jan Łaski, Elizabeth of Austria by Archbishop Piotr Gamrat, and Barbara Radziwiłł by Archbishop Mikołaj Dzierzgowski.[61] The archbishop of Gniezno was also the primate of the Polish church as well as a senator, and enjoyed many privileges. For example, since 1572 he always acted as an *interrex*, or regent, from the time of king's death until the election and coronation of his successor. This close union between the state and the church certainly had disadvantages, especially within an elective monarchy, where the archbishop was a member of the Senate with the right to his own vote in the royal elections. For example, in the 1575 election, which concluded with a joint election of Anna Jagiellon and Stephen Bathory, Archbishop Jakub Uchański was one of the fiercest supporters of the couple's main opponent, Emperor Maximilian II. On 12 December 1575, the Archbishop went as far as to proclaim the emperor the king of Poland.[62] As the coronation of the royal couple approached, the Senate negotiated with the archbishop, in order to persuade him to perform the rite, no doubt in an attempt to project the image of a united country.[63] Unfortunately, their efforts were in vain and Archbishop Uchański resigned his office as the *interrex*. The coronation ceremony was performed by the next *interrex*, the bishop of Kujawy, Stanisław Karnkowski, who became the archbishop of Gniezno after Uchański's death in 1581.[64]

Liturgy

It is at the beginning of the coronation ceremony that the differences between France and Poland are most pronounced. Having entered the Wawel Cathedral, the Polish queens sat

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[60] The Polish National Library Special Collections, MS 6614, f. 173v; see Appendix 1 for transcription and translation.
[61] *Jodoci Ludovici Decii De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber, 1521*, W. Czermak (ed.) (Cracow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1901) p. 56; Przeździecki, vol. 1, p. 109; The Polish National Library Special Collections MS 6614, fol. 173v.
[62] Ś. Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia ksiąg ośmioro czyli Dzieje Polski od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta r. 1572 aż do r. 1576*, vol. 2, W. Spasowicz (ed.) (Petersburg and Mohilew: Bolesław Maurycy Wolff, 1856) p. 335.
[63] Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia*, vol. 3, p. 189.
[64] ibid., p. 231.

down together with their husbands on the abovementioned dais. While *Gloria in excelsis Deo* was being sung, the king and queen approached the altar and the archbishop married them using the prepared rings, after which the couple returned to their seats.[65] The only sixteenth-century exception to this rule was Barbara Radziwiłł, who was already married to Sigismund August. The manuscript describing her coronation indicates that the archbishop continued with the mass until 'Alleluia' before the proper coronation ceremony begun.[66]

The French tradition was not as consistent regarding the beginning of the ceremony. Anne of Brittany's coronation (1504) began with the queen sitting on her dais, while the bishop of Nantes, assisting Cardinal George d'Amboise with the mass, 'asked for the queen's wedding ring, which he received and carried to the said Lord Legate who blessed it.'[67] This act reminded the gathered nobility and ambassadors of Anne's wedding to King Louis XII, which took place three years before the coronation. Elizabeth McCartney argues that the queen's secretary André de la Vigne called the necessity of Anne's second coronation into question since widows 'could enjoy their husband's privileges and honours freely because French law recognised no distinction between the marital rights a wife enjoyed during her husband's lifetime and those which she enjoyed after death'.[68] Through this symbolic gesture, Louis XII might have intended to establish that Anne, who was previously married to King Charles VIII and crowned in 1492, was his queen owing her status to her second marriage. Anne approached the altar only after the blessing of the ring, accompanied by Duke Charles of Alençon and Count Charles of Montpensier.[69]

Catherine de Medici, on the other hand, approached the main altar immediately after entering the church and kissed a reliquary (probably of St Denis) presented to her by the Cardinal de Bourbon-Vendôme. Afterwards she was escorted to her seat and the entire congregation sat down on the prepared daises, only to rise again when the queen approached the altar the second time 'after a little time passed'.[70] This moment of pause presumably added gravity to the following ceremony, but also gave the nobles and ambassadors a chance to take notice of where everyone else was seated. Catherine was escorted back to the altar by

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[65] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', pp. 208-209.
[66] The Polish National Library Special Collections MS 6614, f. 174r.
[67] de la Vigne, 'Le Sacre de Anne de Bretagne et son entrée a Paris en 1504', in P. Gringore, *Les Entrées Royales a Paris,* p. 225.
[68] McCartney, 'Ceremonies and Privileges of Office: Queenship', p. 185.
[69] de la Vigne, 'Le Sacre de Anne de Bretagne', p. 225.
[70] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* [accessed at: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0014 on 29/05/2014].

Cardinal Charles de Bourbon-Vendôme and the Cardinal of Guise, while Duke Antoine I of Vendôme and the Count Louis of Anguyen (Enghien) carried the laps of her royal cloak. Duke François III of Longueville carried the cushion on which Catherine would later kneel, and the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency, walked in front of them.[71] It is entirely possible that the Constable, who was the king's 'second in command', was another visual representation of his master's implied, presence beckoning the queen to be crowned.

After the marriage ceremony, the Polish queens were similarly escorted to the altar by two prelates, or in Elizabeth of Austria's case by Margrave George of Branderburg-Ansbach and one of the Silesian Piasts, Duke Frederic II of Legnica.[72] Compared to both French coronations, the Polish ceremonial also provided ways of building tension before the act of coronation. Until the archbishop put a crown on her head, according to Barbara Zapolya's *ordo*, the queen was referred to as *regina electa*.[73] In order to further emphasise the importance of the ceremony, Elizabeth of Austria was even made to stand beside her seated husband (either another German custom or perhaps a little humiliation designed for her by the vindictive old queen).[74] After the Polish queen approached the archbishop's seat in front of the main altar, she touched her head to his knees and kissed his hand in supplication. Then the archbishop stood over the prostrate queen and submitted a formal request to God on behalf of the king to allow the queen to be crowned.[75]

At this point in the ceremony both Polish and French queens would be in a submissive position (kneeling or prostrate) before the main altar. The Polish *ordo* prescribes a very specific prayer to be spoken by the Archbishop at this moment, asking that the queen might exhibit some specific characteristics, which were illustrated with examples from the Old Testament. According to this prayer the perfect queen was 'blessed and famous as Sarah, fertile as Rebecca, fortified against the monsters of human vices as Judith, and chosen to direct royal power as Esther'.[76] Although André de la Vigne's and Jean Dallier's descriptions of French coronations are not altogether clear as to which prayer was spoken at that point, the medieval French *ordo* of Charles V refers to these women thrice, in the first two orations,

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[71] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* [accessed at: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0014 on 29/05/2014].

[72] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', p. 209; *Kurtze Beschreibung*, in *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, p. 397.

[73] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', p. 209

[74] *Kurtze Beschreibung*, in *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, p. 397.

[75] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', p. 210

[76] ibid.

and in the closing speech of the cardinal. The first speech of the French *ordo* mentions them in the context of fertility, wishing that the new queen might be given a 'fruit of her fertile womb' just as these biblical women had.[77] Esther (Hester) was also mentioned in relation to her intercession on behalf of the Hebrew people.[78] The concluding speech of the cardinal was designed to be a review of the queenly virtues conceded by God to the new queen. Among them there were 'wisdom, prudence, understanding, being a guardian to custom and piety', followed by exactly the same formula as the one included in the Polish *ordo*.[79]

References to biblical women have been present in *ordines coronationis* at least since Hincmar composed the ordo for the coronation of Charles the Bald's daughter Judith in 876. Lois Huneycutt is right to argue that 'influential churchmen of the medieval period used biblical imagery in an effort to direct individual queens to use their power wisely and effectively'.[80] It seems significant that the queen would be either kneeling or in a prostrate position while listening to the orations closely preceding the act of the coronation. The posture represented the queen to the audience as humbly reflecting on the example of her biblical predecessors, and taking the ideals they embodied to heart. For those members of the congregation who had trouble understanding spoken Latin, or were positioned far away from the altar, this pose would still be a powerful sign of the queen submitting herself for unction and crowning. The biblical symbolism connected to intercession and motherhood survived well into the sixteenth century, and was also present in the popular imagination concerning queenship, as will become clear in the next chapter.

After this prelude, both French and Polish queens were anointed before they were invested with the regalia. However, while the French custom was to anoint on the head and chest, the Polish *ordo* indicates that the queen was anointed on her right arm from her wrist to her elbow and her back.[81] This rule does not seem to have been set in stone. For example, the account of Elizabeth of Austria's coronation states that:

> the queen was led before the altar and her head was completely uncovered, and when
> she was standing there without any hairbands or pins in her hair, or anything else on her
> head, the archbishop, according to the old tradition, anointed her on her chest and

[77] *The coronation Book of Charles V of France (Cottonian MS Tiberius B.VIII)*, p. 45.
[78] ibid.
[79] *The coronation Book of Charles V*, p. 48.
[80] L. Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos', in J. Carpenter and S. MacLean (eds.) *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995) pp. 127-9.
[81] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', p. 211.

between her shoulder blades, while the litany *ora pro nobis* was being sung, which lasted for two hours.[82]

The manuscript describing Barbara Radziwiłł's coronation provides a different account of the queen's anointing. After the Archbishop's prayer spoken with 'a loud voice', two assisting bishops delivered the same prayer in a 'moderate voice'. The Archbishop then anointed Barbara on her head, breast, and shoulder.[83] Uncovering the queen's body was a ritual in itself, and similar to other parts of the French coronation, the nobility played a large role in it. Catherine de Medici's head was revealed by Henry's sister, Madame Marguerite, while the Dowager Duchess of Vendôme, Françoise d'Alençon, together with the Duchess of Estouteville (Adrienne d'Estouteville, or more probably Marie d'Estouteville) uncovered the queen's chest.[84]

While there is no doubt that unction and coronation of a king was a rite of apotheosis, marking a physical transformation into a monarch, there is some debate as to the purpose and meaning of anointing a queen consort. Elizabeth McCartney argues that because queens were not anointed with the same oil as their husbands, the act was a symbolic gesture to ensure divine providence for the dynasty, rather than to bestow the divine right to rule onto the queen.[85] However, according to Barbara Zapolya's *ordo* the Archbishop prayed for the queen to be blessed but also consecrated.[86] It seems that the arguments of Nicolas Menin, an eighteenth-century historian of French coronations, were relevant to the Polish queens as well as the French. He explains that the act of anointing the new queen

> was considered, at least on a popular level, to have been blessed with a substance capable of endowing her with fertility. But more relevant to Christian beliefs about anointing, the queen was blessed with the Grace of the Holy Spirit, that which had descended upon the Virgin at the moment of her conception of Christ.[87]

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[82] Przeździecki, vol. 1, p. 109.

[83] The Polish National Library Special Collections, MS 6614, f. 174v.

[84] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* [accessed at: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0014 on 29/05/2014].

[85] McCartney, 'Ceremonies and Privileges of Office' p. 183.

[86] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', p. 210.

[87] N. Menin, *A Description of the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of France* (London: S. Hooper, 1775) p. 161.

This is especially relevant in the context of the prayer mentioning biblical women famous for their fertility spoken just before the unction. Both Polish and French queens were anointed on their breasts which symbolised their fertility. In order to strengthen the symbolism of the act, the loose hair of the Polish queens, the sign of their virginity, was afterwards braided by two matrons.[88] This suggests that although the queens chosen for this chapter were not likely to have been pregnant at the time, there was a definite shift in their status between the act of anointing and coronation. It signified that, regardless of whether they were virgins or already had children, they have become prospective mothers just like Virgin Mary after the annunciation. The rite of the queen's unction conferred the ability to bear children, and as the next chapter will reveal, this rite was strongly connected to

Figure 5: Marcello Bacciarelli, Portrait of Jadwiga I, 1768-1771, The Royal Castle in Warsaw Museum

the popular expectation that the queen would give birth to a Christ-like heir to the throne. Even in Poland's elective monarchy, this ritual retained authority at least until 1572, the death of Sigismund II August, because the king's son was still likely to have been elected as the grand duke of Lithuania.

After the rite of unction, Polish and French queens would remain kneeling, awaiting the act of coronation. The Polish queens received the crown first and afterwards the sceptre. The orb was usually missing from the queen's regalia in order to emphasise that a queen consort was not a sovereign. All queens of Poland, with a couple of exceptions, were crowned with the so-called queen's or Jadwiga's crown, at least after the beginning of the sixteenth-century, as it first appears in the inventory of the Treasury of the Crown in 1510. But Michał Rożek suspects that it had been used for coronations since 1320.[89] All Polish crowns, sceptres, and orbs were stolen from the Treasury of the Crown in Cracow by Prussian soldiers in 1795, not long before Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Secret Prussian documents confirm that the regalia were destroyed in 1809 in

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[88] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum Poloniae observandum', p. 211.
[89] Rożek, *Polskie Koronacje*, p. 80; Various inventories of the Treasury of the Crown containing all Polish regalia printed in: ibid. pp. 77-95.

Berlin, with the gold melted down into coins and the gems sold.[90] Michał Rożek might be right to claim that Marcello Bacciarelli's eighteenth-century portrait of Jadwiga I (1373-1399), the first Polish queen regnant, is the only surviving representation of the crown, because the artist was allowed to sketch looking at the original regalia (Fig. 5).[91] Anna Jagiellon was painted at the end of the sixteenth century wearing a very similar crown, worn with a hat underneath, but the quality of the image does not allow any certain conclusions (Fig. 7).
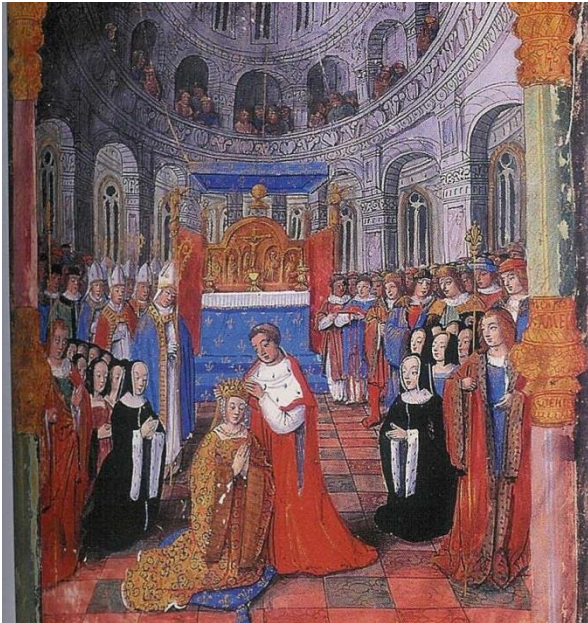
Figure 6: Andre de la Vigne, *Description of the Coronation of Anne of Brittany, her Entry into Paris and Coronation Banquet, Paris c. 1505*, James A. de Rothschild Collection, MS 22, p. 2

The order of the ceremony was different in France, since both Anne of Brittany and Catherine de Medici received first a ring, which in Anne's case was her wedding ring, then a sceptre and hand, or rod, of justice, a uniquely French piece of the regalia, and finally a crown. Through comparison with the illustrations in Charles V's *ordo* and André de la Vigne's text, Elizabeth McCartney was able to assert that the miniature depicting Anne of Brittany's coronation (Fig. 6) was to a large extent inspired by the miniature depicting Jeanne de Bourbon. However, she notes that 'unlike the illustrator of Jeanne of Bourbon's coronation, the artist of the sixteenth-century manuscript chose to depict the "official" crown, which Vigne described as the "crown of St Louis" ("couronne de Saint Louis").'[92] Jean Dallier's account of Catherine de Medici's coronation, on the other hand, is altogether unclear as to which specific crown was used for her crowning, describing it only as the 'grande couronne'. The great crown was held above Catherine's head by the Duke of Vendôme and the Count of Enghien, and 'a small crown completely covered and decorated with diamonds, rubies, and pearls of greatest price and excellence' was placed on her head.[93]

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[90] ibid. pp. 101-6.
[91] ibid. pp. 90-1.
[92] McCartney, p. 184.
[93] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* [accessed at: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0014 on 29/05/2014].

Both the French and the Polish *ordo* are clear that the queen's regalia symbolised her new status and role. They also contain the exact same formula spoken by the archbishop or cardinal while crowning the queen: 'Accipe coronam [...] ut scias te esse consortem regni' (accept the crown [...] in order that you may know that you are a consort to royal power). The crown also symbolised the queen's new duty to provide her husband's subjects with 'good counsel' and her role as a 'guardian of humility and custom'.[94] In both *ordines* the sceptre also had a similar symbolic meaning, representing the queen's motherly duty to protect the poor, widows, children, and especially orphans.[95] The ring received by the French queens was a symbol of the Trinity, so that the queen might be able to shun heretics and 'lead uncivilised men to truth with her virtue'.[96] In both Poland and France the orb was only bestowed on kings, because it symbolised the sovereign powers of his office. However, this was not universally true for the whole of Europe. For example, the orb was added to the coronation regalia of the Swedish queens consort after the coronation of Karin Mansdatter, the wife of Erik XIV, in 1568.[97] Together with the rite of anointing the symbolism of the regalia sent a message about the gendered nature of the queen's power as a mother and mediator. Although the coronation ceremony was a relatively private event, it was a spectacle of power, and Aleksander Gieysztor's argument that the king's ceremony was filled with 'ritualistic and theatrical geometry', the receptivity of which was 'rooted in the logic of symbols' shown to the congregation, also applies to coronations of queens consort.[98] The queen's coronation symbolically established a new connection in the chain of authority and government by emphasizing that the queen was henceforth married not only to the king as a man, but also to the body politic.

The concept of the king's two bodies, which according to Kantorowicz framed the cycle of succession, the perishable body natural and the everlasting body politic, was not merely a western concept.[99] It was also a well-established framework for understanding kingship in Poland, though power was transfered by means of election rather than birth, even if the king's son had a high chance of being elected. As Joachim Bielski comments in the

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[94] *The Coronation Book of Charles V,* p. 47; 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum', p. 211.
[95] *The Coronation Book of Charles V of France,* p. 47; 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum', p. 211.
[96] *The Coronation Book of Charles V*, p. 47; LP I 3424.
[97] E. F. Twining, *European Regalia* (Batsford: 1967) p. 216.
[98] Gieysztor, 'Gesture in the Coronation Ceremonies of Medieval Poland', in J. M. Bak (ed.), *Coronations,* p. 152.
[99] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies,* p. 338.

introduction to his father's chronicle, 'the royal person dies, the crown does not'.[100] With regard to queens regnant, the subject has been analysed in detail by Rachel Weil and Regina Schulte, who argue that the femaleness of a queen's body limits her participation in politics, and 'its political strength seems to require the proximity of a male body'.[101] It was particularly important in France, since the Salic law barred women from taking the throne.[102] Even though the queen consort's powers were by no means as great as those wielded by her husband, she was an important component of his body politic. As John Carmi Parsons points out, the act of coronation supported the image of Marian queenship, where the queen's role was to act as a messenger between the king and his subjects. He claims that it marked the queen's intercession as a 'site of role inversion, a liminal state common to rituals of rulership that emphasises the necessity of preserving order by manifesting chaos as the inevitable alternative and allays distrust of power by revealing the ruler's goodness'.[103] During Polish coronations the compatibility of the king's and queen's powers was emphasised by the fact that both the king's regalia, carried in by the nobility, and the queen's regalia, awaiting on the main altar, were present in the church, symbolising the full extent of the powers belonging to the body politic. Even though the idea of the body politic as a composite was only fully conceptualised by Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* in 1651, it had already been alluded to by Henry VIII in his speech to the Parliament in 1542: 'We be informed by our judges that we at no time stand so highly in our estate royal as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together in one body politic'.[104] A similar framework for thinking about the queen's body is provided by Sid Ray. She writes about the legal fiction of 'accolated bodies' and 'marital coverture' in early modern royal marriages, where 'the husband "covers" the wife, absorbing her into a single marital body that then legally becomes the husband's'.[105] This may also be employed in representing the royal couple as a political unit, and the Polish ceremony reflected and

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[100] Bielski, p. 3; translation into English by: A. Gieysztor, 'Gesture in the Coronation Ceremonies of Medieval Poland', p. 153.

[101] R. Schulte, 'Introduction: Conceptual Approaches to the Queen's Body', in R. Schulte (ed.) *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006) p. 1.

[102] R. Weil, 'Royal Flesh, Gender and the Construction of Monarchy', in in R. Schulte (ed.) *The Body of the Queen*, p. 89; also mentioned by J. Bayard, *Sacres et Couronnements,* p. 206.

[103] J. C. Parsons, 'The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England', in J. Carpenter and S. MacLean (eds.) *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995) p. 160.

[104] T. Hobbes, *Leviathan or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (London: Andrew Crooke, 1651) [accessed at: www.eebo.chadwyck.com, 08/06/2014] See especially the front page which represents the king as a composition of smaller human figures; Henry's speech cited in: S. Ray, *Mother Queens and Princely Sons*, p. 1.

[105] S. Ray, *Mother Queens and Princely Sons: Rogue Madonnas in the Age of Shaespeare* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) p. 5.

visualised this by, for example, presenting the congregation with the sight of the king and queen sitting together in 'their majesty' following her crowning. Ralph Giesey argues that the king's coronation inaugurated his rule, and as the evidence collected here suggests, a queen consort's coronation marked her assimilation with her husband's body politic and institutionalised her duties as part of that body.[106]

After the act of crowning, both French and Polish queens retreated to their seats. By the time of Catherine de Medici's coronation in the mid-sixteenth century, French ceremonial was elaborated by the nobility's active participation. While the abovementioned nobles held the 'grande couronne', the Duke of Montpensier held the sceptre, and Charles de Bourbon, the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, held the hand of justice. The procession then retreated to the queen's seat with the gentlemen holding the regalia. While the Cardinal continued celebrating the mass, the nobles holding the regalia would be continuously at Catherine's side, arrayed in a theatrical representation of queenly majesty. Cynthia Brown argues that the crown being held over the queen's head by a nobleman emphasised the queen's dependence on the French nobility.[107] However, through the interaction of the nobility, the French queens were formally incorporated into the French political system and body politic.

While the regalia were highly symbolic of the queen being the weaker vessel, there might also have been a more practical reason for the queen needing assistance, namely the regalia's significant weight. The description of Anne of Brittany's coronation takes account of the fact, mentioning that in front of her seat there was a special cushion on which she could place the crown 'if it was too heavy'.[108] The Polish queens did not have the comfort of noblemen holding the crown above their heads which resulted in an unusual situation during Elizabeth of Austria's coronation. The incident seemingly confirms the practical reason behind the French custom. When the mass carried on following the coronation, Sigismund the Old, who seems to have been genuinely fond of his new daughter-in-law, being unable

> to conceal the love he felt for her, sent Lord Sigismund of Herberstein to Her Majesty
> several times to tell her that, were the crown too heavy for her, she should take it from

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[106] *Kurtze Beschreibung der Hochzeit des Jungen Königs aus Polen*, p. 397; R. E. Giesey, 'Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials', in J. M. Bak (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1990) pp. 35-45.
[107] Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany,* p. 22.
[108] Gringore, p. 226.

her head and put it to one side; she did not want to do this, and so she sat next to the young King, both in their majesty, until the Mass was over.[109]

Elizabeth, prepared for her new ceremonial role by her education at the Habsburg court, clearly knew better than to display bodily weakness at her defining moment as the queen of Poland. The regalia's hefty weight was a sensitive issue, since the queens had to actively participate in the mass after their crowning. Performing in the ceremony must have been particularly difficult for Barbara Radziwiłł, who, since the beginning of 1550, was already very ill. She suffered from an unknown gynecological affliction, in the king's own words, manifesting as 'an enormous ulcer on her vagina', which would kill her soon after her coronation.[110] Even in her infirmity she understood the importance of the coronation in completing and legitimising the secret marriage from the summer of 1547, as well as in elevating and confirming her status as queen. Stanisław Orzechowski observed that Barbara 'did not wish for anything else but to live even one day after her coronation.'[111]

After the queens returned to their seats it was time for the ritual of making an offering to the church. The forms this ceremony took differed considerably between France and Poland. The Polish queens and their husbands approached the main altar, where they made an offering of gold to the archbishop as symbolical payment for the archbishop's 'arbitration'.[112] The French ceremony, on the other hand, was much more elaborate. An offering of bread, wine and gold was made at the altar of *Notre Dame*. During Anne of Brittany's coronation these objects were first passed by the queen's chief lady-in-waiting, Mathurine du Perier, to Madame de Bourbon, who then passed them to Anne of Brittany. The offering made during Catherine de Medici's coronation demanded an even more intricately choreographed process.

> After the gospel and the Credo were said, three ladies ordered to carry to the lady of honour the bread, the wine, the candle with gold for offering, stood at the bottom of their little dais, [...], they were the Mareschalle of Sainct André, Lady Silvia, the daughter of the Count of Mirandole, and the Countess of Sainct Aignan, the offerings having been received from the hands of the Lord of Chemault, the provost of the order, and the master of ceremonies, they climbed the great dais one after the other. First, the

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[109] *Kurtze Beschreibung der Hochzeit des Jungen Königs aus Polen*, p. 397.
[110] Przeździecki, vol. 1, p. 259-260.
[111] Przeździecki, vol. 1, p. 256; *Annales Stanislai Orichovii Okszii*, T. Działyński (ed.), vol. 2 (Poznań: J. K. Żupański, 1854) p. 58.
[112] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum', p. 212.

Marschalle of Sainct André with two loafs of bread, one of gold and the other of silver. After her Lady Silvia with the wine, and third, the Countess of Sainct Aignan with the candle of virgin beeswax, to which were attached three pieces of gold. [...] Then they bowed twice at the entrance to the said great dais, one bow towards the great altar and the other towards the lady of honour, they passed to the said lady of honour the offerings, which were presented at the measure at which she received them, the loaf of bread which was golden was given to the Duchess of Guise, the other loaf of bread which was silver to the Duchess of Nivernois the young, the wine to the Duchess of Aumale, and the candle to which were attached the said three pieces of gold to Lady of Valentinois. [All of the said ladies then accompanied Catherine, together with the noblemen carrying the regalia, to the altar of *Notre Dame* where she made the offering]'[113]

This description of the offering demonstrates how prominent the noble ladies were during the French queen's coronation, revealing the extent to which it was a gendered ceremony. The comparison with the relatively simple ritual accompanying Anne of Brittany's coronation also suggests how the French court ceremonies became increasingly elaborate in the sixteenth century with the progressing transformation of the French monarchy into absolutism.

After the offering the Polish *ordo* mentions another ritual connected to the regalia, reminiscent of the double crowns used during Catherine de Medici's coronation. The queen approached the altar alone and returned the coronation regalia to two prelates, after which she was given a different crown and sceptre.[114] The same custom could be observed in England, where at Anne Boleyn's coronation 'the bishop toke of the croune of saint Edward beyng heavy and sette on the croune made for her.'[115] Because there was only one crown named as the queen's in the inventories of the Treasury of the Crown from the sixteenth until the end of the eighteenth century, the regalia given to her at the end of the ceremony might have become her private property.[116] This custom also suggests that the coronation regalia were considered too valuable to be carried outside of Wawel cathedral. The Polish queens were then led back to the palace in order to prepare for the coronation feast. The French

[113] *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis*, [accessed at http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0014&strPage=8 on 17/09/2014].
[114] 'Ordinato caerimoniarum in coronantionibus reginarum', p. 211-212.
[115] Cited in: Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 52.
[116] Rożek, pp. 77-95.

queens were similarly led outside St Denis Basilica where they were greeted joyously by the gathered crowds.[117]

The Elected Queen Consort's Coronation

Throughout Europe, regardless of whether monarchy was elective or hereditary, there was a set way of becoming a queen consort by marriage and coronation. There was, however, one extraordinary exception. Anna Jagiellon (b. 1523 – d. 1596) was the daughter of King Sigismund the Old of Poland and Bona Sforza. Her political career started in 1575 when the Polish nobility elected her queen of Poland and grand duchess of Lithuania alongside her husband and king, Stephen Bathory (b. 1533 – d. 1586). As the sister and only successor of the last Jagiellonian king of Poland, Sigismund II August, she provided continuity and financial stability to the Commonwealth torn by two tumultuous interregna since Sigismund's death in 1572. Anna's rise to power was so unusual that there is some confusion as to her status among modern historians. Her most prominent biographer, Maria Bogucka, claims that she was elected queen regnant and 'anointed as the king, not as queen'.[118] As I argue in my forthcoming essay, Anna was indeed a queen consort, but a close look at the Polish parliament's election and post-election debates of 1575-1576 also provides a valuable insight into the importance of the manner of crowning for the queen's status.[119] The discussions concerning Anna Jagiellon's coronation were recorded in detail by Świętosław Orzelski, a member of the Parliament, who documented what he described as the

Figure 7: Martin Kober, Portrait of Anna Jagiellon in coronation robes, 1576, Wawel Cathedral in Cracow

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[117] de la Vigne, 'Le Sacre de Anne de Bretagne', p. 227; *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre [et] couronneme[n]t de treshaulte [et] tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis,* [accessed at http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0014&strPage=8 on 17/09/2014].

[118] There is no equivalent of 'queen regnant' in the Polish language and the noun meaning 'king' describes a genderless office. Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka,* pp. 134, 139-140.

[119] K. Kosior, 'Anna Jagiellon: A Female Politician in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', in E. Woodacre (ed.), *Global Queenship: An Introduction* (Kalamazoo: ARC Medieval Press, forthcoming 2017).

'*interregnum*' lasting from Sigismund August's death in 1572 until 1576.[120]

After the deadline for Henry Valois' return to Poland passed on 12 May 1575, the Polish nobility convened near Warsaw. Any nobleman could take active part in choosing the new king in an election *viritim,* as it was confirmed by Sigismund the Old's statutes of 1530 and 1538.[121] At the beginning, the Senators read letters and listened to ambassadors from other European kings, who either provided general council on who to elect (no doubt to serve their own interests), or submitted themselves as candidates. Anna's name was first mentioned in the proposition of King John III of Sweden, who provided a statement of support for his sister-in-law's election, and mentioned Elizabeth I of England as a positive example of a queen regnant's rule.[122] The senators agreed that if they were to elect a local noble, Anna should be given precedence over other candidates.[123] It was decided that were she to be elected, she would be given the Voievode of Sandomierz and the Voievode of Bełżec as her protectors; she would also swear not to take a Habsburg husband.[124] The senators also secured the coronation regalia from the Grand Treasurer of the Crown, Hieronim Bużeński.[125] Due to the large numbers of nobles who arrived in time, they first voted by voievodeship, and the results from each group were proclaimed by representatives. Following the conclusion of the election parliament, a decree was issued, stating that Anna was elected as the queen and 'Stephen Bathory was given to her as a husband'.[126] However, the letter sent to Bathory outlining the conditions of the election stated that the couple was jointly elected. Perhaps because of the ambiguous way in which the first statement was phrased, Polish historians argue that Anna was elected as the 'king of Poland', but a closer view of the debate surrounding the manner of her coronation renders this claim inaccurate.[127]

The debate focused on whether Anna should be crowned separately, in case Bathory did not arrive in Cracow on time, because some of the nobility proclaimed Emperor Maximilian II the king of Poland and there was the danger of his supporters staging an armed rebellion. The supporters of Anna's separate coronation argued that her timely coronation was necessary for keeping peace in the realm, that the cities would be more willing to pledge

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[120] Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia Ksiąg Ośmioro,* vol. 3.
[121] W. Sobieski, *Trybun ludu szlacheckiego* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1978) p. 60.
[122] Orzelski, vol. 2, p. 191.
[123] ibid., p. 235.
[124] ibid. 326.
[125] Orzelski, vol. 3, p. 97.
[126] ibid. p. 333.
[127] Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, p. 134; - There is no equivalent of the phrase 'queen regnant' in Polish. Consequently, Jadwiga I of Poland (c. 1384 – d. 1399) and Anna Jagiellon were labelled as 'Kings'.

their loyalty to a crowned queen, and that if Anne was not crowned, the Emperor's supporters might take control of Cracow and stage his coronation. They also pointed out that there was precedent for such a ceremony. Jadwiga was crowned alone as the king of Poland in 1384, and the edicts of the election parliament did not forbid such a ceremony.[128] However, others argued that, Anna being crowned before the king would grant her the status of a queen regnant. This would be counter to Parliament's decision that Anna should be wed to 'Bathory, the King Elect, as he was the main person [elected].'[129] They also pointed out the dangers of having a queen regnant on the throne, because it was possible that the Emperor might coerce the queen to marry his son Ernest. The nobles who opposed Anna's separate coronation evoked the symbolism of the queen consort's body as incorporated into the body politic of her husband. They argued that: 'Today the Commonwealth has opened not only the gates, but also the most splendid rooms of the royal castle to the Infanta, so that she may stay there waiting for the arrival of her husband, who is her head and her body'.[130] Both parties agreed that whether she would be a queen regnant or a consort, her position should be strongly grounded in the rite of coronation. One of the senators even claimed that there should be no marriage ceremony, unless followed directly by a coronation.

Finally, the nobility decided to wait for the king who arrived on 22 April. There were some further discussions as to whether the couple should be greeted together as they were elected, but it was decided that this would send a message that they had equal powers, and so the king was welcomed separately. On 1 May the couple was married in the palace which was rather unusual, but allowed to emphasise that Anna entered the cathedral as Bathory's wife. To highlight Anna's position as a consort, Bathory was crowned first, while she waited in the quire, attended by two dwarves, her trusted companions. Although during the king's coronation the Marshall asked the gathered nobility whether they wished the king to be crowned, incorporating an element of election, during Anna's coronation he merely announced that she was about to be crowned.[131] Anna was already over fifty years old at the time, so the prayers regarding the queen's fertility would probably have been a futile fulfilment of tradition. Anna's coronation portrait might not have been a faithful representation of her coronation attire, but it suggests that measures might have been taken to avoid putting too much emphasis on the queen's fertility. Instead of displaying her hair, the

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[128] Orzelski, vol. 3, pp. 135-6.
[129] Orzelski, vol. 3, p. 141.
[130] ibid., p. 142.
[131] Orzelski, vol. 3, p. 228-231.

symbol of her virginity, fertility and health, she was painted wearing a short veil (Fig. 7). Wearing it during the coronation would spare Anna the ritual of braiding her loose hair after the unction, which was the part of the ceremony signifying the queen consort as a future mother. It might also have been designed to spare the queen's vanity, by covering any grey hair, which would not be entirely fitting with the ceremony's language and symbolism.

Despite the conviction of Polish historians that Anna was an elected queen regnant, she and her husband were elected jointly as the king and queen consort of Poland. The carefully controlled language of the letters announcing the election to Anna, Stephen Bathory, and other interested parties suggests that Anna's election and coronation were aimed at strengthening the Polish elective system. She had hereditary claims to the Polish throne meaning that her election would be well understood by the powerful candidates who could take a forceful action to seize the Polish throne, such as the emperor or the grand duke of Moscow. At the same time Anna was over fifty years old and her marriage to Bathory was extremely unlikely to produce a potential heir to the Polish throne. Just like in Elizabeth of York's coronation in England in 1487, all traces of Anna's hereditary claim to the throne were removed from her coronation.[132] She entered the church as Bathory's wife, and was crowned as the king's consort. In the portrait, however, Anna is holding an orb, a piece of the regalia not bestowed on Polish queens consort. The key to that puzzle might be the person who commissioned the painting. If it was Anna herself, the portrait might have been an attempt to create a narrative of the coronation that was flattering to her own claims to the Polish throne, rather than in line with the nobility's agenda.[133]

Uncrowned Consorts

If coronation was so important in sacralising the queen's ability to bear children and incorporating her into the political structures of her husband's kingdom, a question remains about the status of an uncrowned queen consort. Paradoxically, there does not seem to have been a particular difference in the face-value status of a crowned and uncrowned queen in France, and the coronation made only a symbolic difference. It might have been because

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[132] J. Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York: mother of the Tudor dynasty', in L. Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (eds.) *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval and Early Modern* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009) p. 48.
[133] The attempt to diminish the importance of Anna's hereditary claim to the Polish throne ran against the popular perception of her election as suggested by the next chapter's analysis of the speeches welcoming Anna to Cracow. For example: The Polish National Library Special Collections MS III 6640 f. 104r-104v.

there was a lack of interest in both the ceremonial and ideological aspect of queens' coronations during the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Elizabeth McCartney points out that Andre de la Vigné had to consult medieval chronicles and Charles V's *ordo coronandi* to understand the meaning of the ritual, in order to prepare for writing his description of Anne of Brittany's coronation.[134] Nevertheless, he focused on the general grandeur of the moment, rather than the ceremony itself. For example, he provides only a brief description of the rite of the queen's crowning and no description of her anointing. Dallier's description of Catherine de Medici's coronation, reporting the intricate choreography of the queen's movements and gestures, ornamented by the nobility's attendance at Catherine every step, suggests that the ceremonial aspect had regained importance by the mid-sixteenth century, which cannot be said for the ideological aspect. One explanation could be that the new-found ceremonial grandeur of the French coronation suited the increasingly absolutist character of the French monarchy, and the queen's coronation became merely one of the ways for the king's magnificence and favour to some members of the nobility to be displayed. For example, even though Mary, Queen of Scots, was never crowned in France, she started enjoying the privileges due to a French queen when her young husband, Francis II, acceded to the throne in 1559. She attended his coronation and was seated in the royal closet together with the king's sisters and Catherine de Medici. She also received the most prized possession of the French queens, the crown jewels, which at the time were rather curiously in Diane of Poitiers' possession, revealing that 'state' property was in fact the king's private possessions.[135] One explanation why Mary was not crowned might be the couple's young age at their wedding in 1559 (she was seventeen, Francis fifteen), and that he died fifteen months after his coronation. Since the French custom was to crown a queen consort a few years after her husband's accession to the throne, the marriage simply did not last long enough for such a ceremony to be organised for Mary.

However, the status of a Polish uncrowned queen consort was always prone to questioning, as suggested by Helena of Moscow's circumstances. After five years of marriage to Aleksander Jagiellon, Helena remained Eastern Orthodox, as confirmed by a letter from her husband to her father, Grand Duke Ivan III of Moscow, in 1500.[136] Because of her religion, Pope Alexander VI expressly forbade Helena's coronation in his letter to the Archbishop of Gniezno, Cardinal Frederic Jagiellon, the king's brother, and even urged

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[134] McCarney, p. 184.
[135] J. Guy, *'My Heart is my Own': The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004) pp. 101-4
[136] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 24, doc. 31.

Alexander Jagiellon to repudiate her, if she refused to convert.[137] Helena was not even allowed to witness her husband's coronation in 1501 and joined him in Cracow only in 1502. Even though she officially adopted a royal title, she was recorded as 'Kniechini', a Ruthenian title meaning 'Duchess', in the Libri Legationum (Books of Envoys) in 1511.[138] Even more interesting is how she was represented for posterity after she died in 1513. The Jagiellon family tree in Jost Ludwik Decjusz's chronicle published in 1521, where Helena is the only Polish queen portrayed without a crown, is an excellent example that the coronation was an important milestone for a Polish queen.[139] Coronation was a significant issue in Poland because there was a continuous interest in the ideological function of the coronation. This is suggested by the fact that after Elizabeth of Austria's *ordo coronandi* (1454) was thought to be lost, it was recreated for Barbara Zapolya's coronation with very few differences. Furthermore, except for occasional minor differences between coronations of particular queens consort, the ceremony did not change throughout the sixteenth century as was the case in France. Almut Bues argues that, for seventeenth-century Polish kings 'this very adherence to old traditions provided the elected monarchy with the fiction of continuity and stability.'[140] Even as the importance of producing royal children faded after 1569, the year when Poland and Lithuania were linked by a constitutional union, the ceremony of crowning a queen consort remained unchanged well into the seventeenth century.

The significance and cultural context of the French and Polish coronations of queens consort differed considerably in the sixteenth century. While in Poland it was not enough to be the king's wife in order to be perceived as the queen, the French coronation elevated the queen's status only symbolically. Unlike coronations of kings, coronations of their wives could have a range of different functions. They were used for legitimation of marriage, and could be deliberately employed to elevate, or on occasion even decrease the queen's status – something we do not usually observe with coronations of kings. However, a foreign bride could still expect that the framework of the ceremony would be familiar, since there were very few ceremonial differences between the Polish and French coronation. It was a truly European ceremony, rooted deeply in the shared experience of monarchs from the continent, but while the Polish coronation adopted foreign customs on occasion, for example German

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[137] M. Duczmal, *Jagiellonowie. Leksykon biograficzny* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1996) p. 254-5.

[138] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 29, doc. 200.

[139] J. L. Decjusz, *De Vetustatibus Polonorum, De Iagiellonum Familia, De Sigismund Regis Temporibus* (Cracow: Hieronim Wietor, 1521).

[140] A. Bues, 'The Elections, Coronations and Funerals of the Kings of Poland (1572-1764), in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans*, vol 1, p. 381.

processional arrangements, as a form of paying homage to the queen's native identity, this does not seem to have been the case in sixteenth-century France. Even though there were only minor liturgical differences, a contrast in the atmosphere of the ceremony was significant, created through the location of the coronation site, as well as the king's and the nobility's function. While the French coronation was grandiose and suited the increasingly absolute monarch, especially by the mid sixteenth century, the Polish ceremony was private and simple reflecting the nature of the Polish monarchy, while still containing intricate detail delivered by gestures. The queen was subtly instructed about her future role in ceremonies, which in France was public and on display, while in Poland it was usually concealed from the public eye. Coronation encapsulated the ideological constructs concerning the queen consort's political and domestic role, as an intercessor and a mother to the king's subjects as well as the potential male heir to the throne. These were conveyed through gestures, symbolising submission and subtle changes of status throughout the ceremony. Like their husbands, the queens consort were consecrated into their office. However, there is some evidence that the Polish ceremony displayed a surprising ability to adapt, for example, when an older consort was crowned, perhaps in order to sustain the ideological integrity of the ceremony. Various aspects of the coronation, such as the processions and seating arrangements, also served as a means of displaying various relationships of the monarch and the local nobility, various allies and the geopolitical situation. The queen was formally incorporated into the Polish or French body politic, but the image of the Polish and French politics reflected by the queen's coronation is slightly distorted. According to the narrative created by coronations the French absolute ruler is invisible while the relatively weak nobility masquerade as the queen's guardians throughout the ceremony. In Poland, on the other hand, the strong nobility, who were able to influence the queen's coronation or even elect her for the job, not only did not play a role in the queen's coronation, but also scarcely appear in the reports of the ceremony, while the relatively weak king was very much on display. The age old rule: 'do not upstage the bride' seems to have been at work already in the sixteenth century, but rather than relating to bridesmaids, it applied to the people holding the bulk of political power, hence the 'hidden presence' of the French kings and the Polish nobility. But the coronation had its own set of rules, and as the next chapter will demonstrate, the balance of power between the various politically significant individuals and groups had a different effect on the way a royal wedding was celebrated and criticised. In this subtle and twisted way, the queen was instructed about the political reality that she would have to navigate from the moment of her wedding and coronation.

Chapter 3

Civic or Civil? The Politics of Celebration and Criticism

Only the most powerful few were able to witness a royal wedding and coronation in person, but these ceremonies were also experienced by the general public. The previous chapters have shown how weddings legitimised monarchy by displaying its power manifested in political alliances and dynastic connections associated with their brides, while coronations demonstrated that Polish and French monarchs belonged to the shared European royal culture steeped in Christian liturgy and symbolism, which conceptualised queens consort in terms of fertility, motherhood and virtue. Even if slightly infused with regional nuances, these ceremonies were similar in many ways. However, there was a significant difference in what awaited the new queen outside the cathedral and palace. In France, the queen's welcome was firmly based in civic processions and pageants, while the Polish celebrations featured Latin speeches and poetry prepared by members of the nobility. This chapter is the first study that demonstrates the impact of the French and the Polish political systems on the way in which a royal marriage and coronation were celebrated or criticised. Absolute monarchy and 'noble democracy' determined the varying balance of power between two social groups whose symbolic consent was traditionally required, burghers and nobility. Through celebrating a royal marriage and coronation, monarchs sought to assert their legitimacy in a way that was most accessible to the most significant social group, burghers in France and the nobility in Poland. The Polish king's marriage was a matter of state, and Poland's unique socio-political context gave the nobility licence to freely criticise it.

This chapter demonstrates that, even if the forms of expression were different, the canon of rhetoric and representation of queenship used to celebrate or criticise points to the connections within the European royal culture. Poland is often thought of in modern English-language scholarship as outlandish, but Polish and French queenship functioned similarly as an idea conceived by the politics of dynasticism and Christian liturgy, despite the cultural differences. To wear a consort's crown was to be subjected to a similar public scrutiny throughout Europe, even if it was of varying emotional timbre and forms of expression. This chapter will explore the patterns of celebration and criticism associated with the weddings

and coronations of the Polish queens: Bona Sforza (1518), Elizabeth of Austria (1543), Barbara Radziwiłł (1548 and 1550) and Anna Jagiellon (1576), as well as the French queens: Mary Tudor (1514) and Elizabeth of Austria (1571).

While the established historical practice in the study of royal festivals is to examine entries and pageantry, this chapter will discuss the connections and differences as part of the larger cultural reactions to royal marriages encapsulated in Polish wedding poetry, parliamentary speeches and pamphlets. It is not the intention to duplicate the interpretations of French pageants according to the functionalist and liturgical approaches, adopted, for example, by Gordon Kipling, where the first emphasises entries as means of displaying power and wealth and the second focuses on their role in the sacralisation of the monarchy, but the intersections between them will be highlighted.[1] English and French language historical literature on royal ingresses is limited in scope due to its focus on western entries, thus producing an unbalanced image of the spectacle surrounding royal marriages and coronations in Europe.[2] Sixteenth-century Poland is often excluded from these accounts, except for Karin Friedrich's discussion of Polish kings' entries through her examination of German sources.[3] Focusing on absolute monarchy, historians have developed a way of

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[1] J. Adamson, 'The Making of the Ancien Regime court, 1500-1700', in J. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe* (London: Seven Dials, 2000) p. 28; Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 289-356.

[2] J. Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime* (London: Seven Dials, 2000); R. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1973/1984); J. R. Mulryne, M. I. ALiverti and A. M. Testaverde (eds.), *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); G. Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*, vols. 1-2, (Aldershot: MHRA and Ashgate, 2004); J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (eds.), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); C. J. Brown, 'From Stage to Page: Royal Entry Performances in Honour of Mary Tudor (1514)', in A. Armstrong and M. Quainton (eds.) *Book and Text in France 1400-1600: Poetry on the Page* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) pp. 49-72; J. Chartou, *Les Fêtes solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance, 1484-1551* (Paris: les Presses universitaires, 1928); J. Jacquot, (ed.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956); N. Russell and H. Visentin (eds.) *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image and Text* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007).

[3] K. Friedrich, 'Festivals in Poland-Lithuania from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly and M. Shewing (eds.) *Europa Triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*, vol. 1, (Aldershot: MHRA and Ashgate, 2004) pp. 371-462; Jacek Żukowski also discusses ephemeral architecture in entries of seventeenth-century Polish kings: J. Żukowski, 'Ephemeral Architecture in the Service of Vladislaus IV Vasa', in J. R. Mulryne, M. I. ALiverti and A. M. Testaverde (eds.) *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) pp. 189-220; Polish literature on the subjects is also limited to Karolina Targosz's discussion of two late sixteenth-century entries and literary criticism on the Polish wedding poetry by Jan Nowak-Dłużewski and Katarzyna Mroczek. K. Targosz, 'Oprawa artystyczno-ideowa wjazdów weselnych trzech sióstr Habsburżanek (Kraków 1592 i 1605, Florencja 1608), in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich* (Cracow: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1999) pp. 207-244; J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Czasy Zygmuntowskie* (Warszawa: Pax, 1966); K. Mroczek, *Epitalamium staropolskie: między tradycją literacką a obrzędem weselnym* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989).

looking at celebrations through the double aspect of civic processions and pageants, i.e. how the message about royal marriage and queenship was accessible to the educated wealthy and the ordinary subjects gathered to see the queen's entry. This duality was emphasised in studies by Antoinette Huon and very recently J. R. Mulryne, who explains how the 'iconography of power' was 'an attempt by the governing class to create or sustain political and social consent, a 'common voice' among the élite of a society [...] and by consensual or trickle-down effect to root that consent among the common people'.[4] Historians agree that seeking this type of legitimacy was the main aim of civic processions and pageants. This was enabled by the development of printing technologies, which allowed accounts of these events to be disseminated, thus creating additional audiences. The 'governing class' was able to reach the ordinary subjects through festival books, which in France were printed in French, while in Poland they were usually in Latin, limiting the wider audience to those who could understand the language of the Polish parliament. Sigismund August's marriages to two Austrian archduchesses, Elizabeth and Catherine, also provoked particular interest in the Holy Roman Empire, resulting in some surviving German publications. The pamphlet describing Elizabeth's wedding and coronation is discussed by Karin Friedrich. While the pamphlets written in German would have been accessible to Cracow's merchants, as it was one of the city's administration languages, the use of Latin in the royally commissioned publications and the lack of pageants imply that early sixteenth-centry Polish entries in particular were aimed at a more elite audience than French ones. The question of who controlled and witnessed the ceremonies in some areas of early modern Europe is much more complex than suggested by Mulryne's division between 'governing class' and 'common people'. This chapter starts with a comparative overview of royal festivals and moves on to an in-depth discussion of how celebrations were financed, spectatorship, and how the rhetoric of queenship was used in celebration and criticism.

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[4] A. Huon, *Le Thème du Prince dans les Entrées Parisiennes au XVIe Siècle*, in J. Jacquot, (ed.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956) p. 22; J. R. Mulryne, 'Ceremony and the Iconography of Power', in J. R. Mulryne, M. I. Aliverti, A. M. Testaverde (eds.) *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) p. 1.

The English-language literature's focus on pageants and ephemeral architecture is motivated by its bias towards western festivities where these were the key of the programme. The survival of a great variety of festival books detailing the meaning of the imagery presented to the public and providing descriptions of objects used is also a contributing factor. They reveal the meticulous planning of the message displayed, but also, on rare occasions, how the latter could be a haphazard product of rushed preparation, as was the case with Elizabeth of Austria's entry to Paris in 1571. But in Poland, only at the end of the sixteenth-century, what Jacek Żukowski recently called 'a spectacle of state' and 'a theatre of memory' became Italianised by the employment of triumphal arches and other ephemeral architecture.[5] They first appeared for Anna of Austria's entry in 1592 and were consistently used throughout the seventeenth century.[6] The Polish way of celebrating royal marriages earlier in the sixteenth century simply does not fit with the model presented in English-language scholarship, which makes drawing comparisons a trying task.
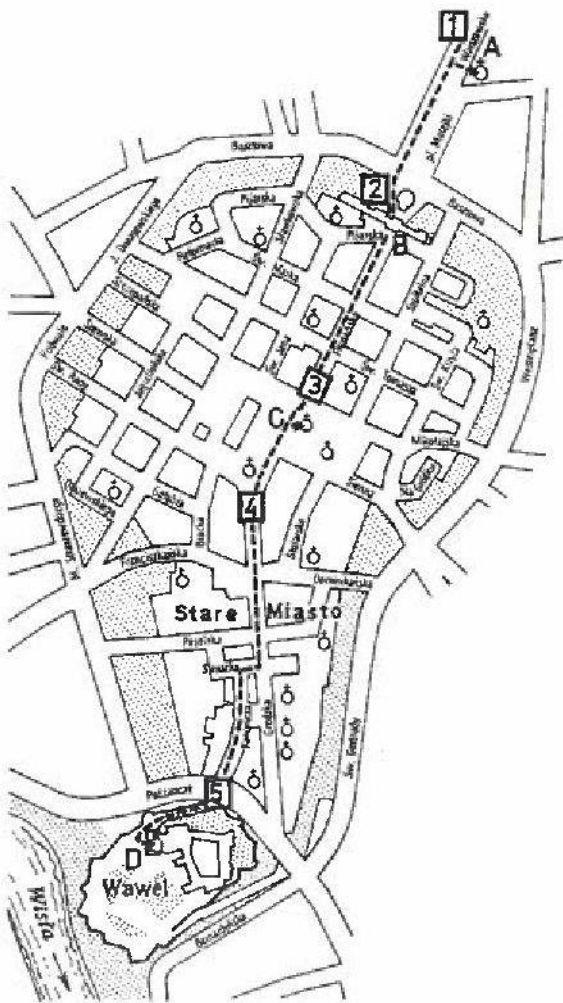
Figure 8: This map represents the processional route in Cracow. The numbers relate to the triumphal arches erected in 1592 and 1605 for two weddings of Sigismund III Wasa. K. Targosz, *Królewskie uroczystości weselne w Krakowie i na Wawelu 1512-1605* (Cracow: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2007) Fig. 12

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[5] Żukowski, 'Ephemeral Architecture in the Service of Vladislaus IV Vasa', p. 189.

[6] Targosz, 'Oprawa artystyczno-ideowa wjazdów weselnych trzech sióstr Habsburżanek (Kraków 1592 i 1605, Florencja 1608), pp. 207-244; The baroque entries to Cracow were also discussed in: M. Rożek, *Uroczystości w barokowym Krakowie* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1976).

In both Poland and France the new queen was displayed to the capital city and led on a guided tour. The Cracovian processional route was unchangeably grounded in tradition and even though the majority of sixteenth-century Polish queens entered Poland from the South via Olomouc, they circumnavigated the city to make their entry from the North via the Kleparz Gate.[7] This necessitated their procession through the entire city in order to reach the royal palace located in the southernmost edge of Cracow. Bona Sforza's entry to Cracow immediately followed her first meeting with Sigismund the Old on 15 April 1518 in Łobzów, where she was welcomed with a speech by Jan Łaski, the archbishop of Gniezno. The fashion of her advent can serve as a model until the end of the sixteenth century. Ludwik Jost Decjusz, Sigismund's secretary, provides a detailed description in his royally authorised festival book printed by Hieronymus Wietor, who was appointed the royal typographer and printer nine years later.[8] Decjusz reports that the procession consisted of the retinues of the senators as well as other prominent Polish and Lithuanian noblemen – voivodes, castellans, starostas (aldermen) and bishops. Foreign guests included Cardinal d'Este, Prospero Colonna, ambassadors from Hungary, the Holy Roman Empire as well as the Piast dukes of Silesia and Masovia. Bona was first welcomed with a speech from the chancellor of the Jagiellonion University, Stanisław Biel, at the Kleparz Gate where a crowd of burghers gathered to witness the salve of no less than seventy cannons. Next on the programme was a brief tournament match between Stanisław Tęczyński, Podkomorzy (Chamberlain) of Sandomierz, and Hieronim Jarosławski, one of Sigismund's courtiers. After both gentlemen chivalrously inflicted sufficient injuries upon each other, the procession moved among the delegations of the city council and guilds until it reached the Floriańska Gate. However, the queen was not directly approached by the city representatives until the coronation feast a few days later.

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[7] Olomouc was the traditional place for the Polish delegation to first welcome the new queen. Barbara Zapolya, Bona Sforza, Elizabeth of Austria and Catherine of Austria entered Poland that way. For example, Samuel Maciejowski's speech welcoming Elizabeth of Austria to Olomouc: The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 280, no 178 and MS 281, no 181.

[8] A. Hirschberg, *O życiu i pismach Justa Ludwika Decyusza, 1485*-1545 (Lviv: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1874); J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, 'Devices of Protestant Printers in Sixteenth-Century Krakow', in M. Walsby and G. Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth* Centuries (Leiden: Brill, 2011) p. 179; A. Mańkowska, 'Wietor Hieronim', in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku: Małopolska*, vol. 1, part 1 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977) pp. 325-357.

Cracow, nevertheless, made an impression on foreign guests. As Colantonio Carmigiano, an Italian poet accompanying Bona, wrote, awestruck: 'Then we saw the city with beautiful churches and houses like temples, it is difficult to describe what we
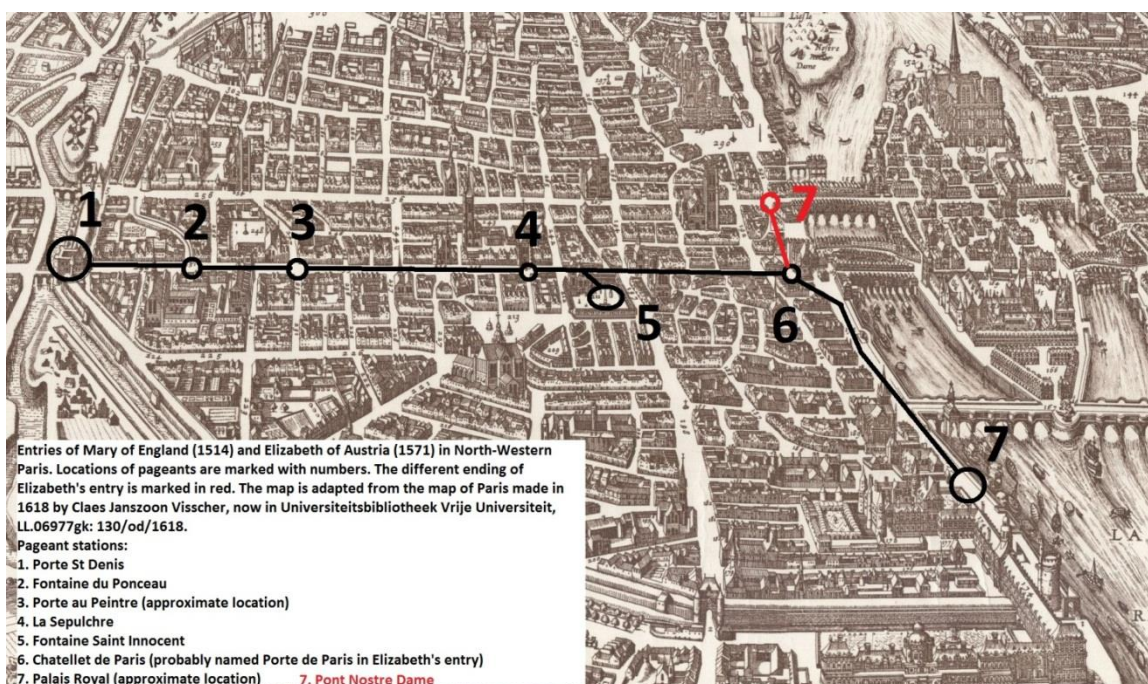
Figure 9: Map of Paris showing processional routes of Mary of England's and Elizabeth of Austria's entries.

observed'.[9] There were no officially commissioned ornaments, but that minor detail would not stop Cracovian burghers from displaying astounding initiative in decorating their streets and houses with tapestries and embroidered fabrics.[10] Just as Lucia Nuti observes with regards to the Roman possessi, so the Cracovian 'urban space was moulded according to ceremonial/processional needs'.[11] Even if it was private initiative, Sigismund's subjects displayed what Retha Warnicke called in reference to royal entries into Edinburgh, their 'gift for ceremonial extravaganza'.[12] Having passed the Floriańska Gate, Bona progressed through the main city square and followed Grodzka Street down South until she reached the Wawel Hill and the cathedral. There she was welcomed with another speech from Piotr Tomicki, the bishop of Przemyśl, and Jan Konarski, the bishop of Cracow.[13] Even though she progressed through its space, the queen was only formally recognised by the city council with gifts

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[9] W. Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557): czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 1 (Poznań: Państwowe Zakłady Szkolnych, 1949) p. 232.

[10] ibid.

[11] L. Nuti, 'Re-moulding the City: the Roman possessi in the first half of the sixteenth century', J. R. Mulryne, M. I. Aliverti, A. M. Testaverde (eds.), *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe*, p. 113.

[12] R. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p. 127.

[13] Decjusz, pp. 32ff; Summarised by Władysław Pociecha: Pociecha, vol. 1, pp. 231-2.

during her coronation feast. It took place behind closed doors rather than with public pomp and circumstance, emphasising the private nature of the Polish coronation.

The programme of the Polish entry, consisting of three speeches and a short tournament, seems miserably meager in comparison to the flamboyant spectacles contrived by the French. Upon reaching the city following their coronation, the French queens were welcomed outside the gates of Paris by a delegation of the city fathers. Simon Bouquet, an échevin of Paris, supervisor of the pageants of Elizabeth of Austria's entry in 1571 and author of the festival book printed with royal privilege, devotes two pages to a generous list of the Parisian citizens in attendance. There were the chancellor of the University of Paris, Michel Marescot, together with other lecturers and the Prévot des Marchands, Claude Marcel, with his four Echevins, Bouquet included, and many others.[14] During Mary of England's entry in 1514 the city's finest citizens symbolically assumed control over the entry by carrying a 'canopy of cloth of gold embroidered with fleurs-de-lis and red roses', the Valois and Tudor flowers, over the queen's head. The canopy was then offered by the 'bourgoys marchans' to the 'nostre dame de paris' according to 'ancient customs'.[15] Like the Polish burghers, the French also took the opportunity to display their individual flair for extravaganza. For Mary of England's entry, 'all streets were decorated with valuable embroidered cloth and tapestries'.[16] Unlike in Poland, the French queens' entries were signposted by pageants organised and paid for by the city. However, the route taken by Mary and Elizabeth followed only roughly the same course. Both were greeted with the first pageant at the Porte St Denis, and then processed to the Fontaine du Ponceau, Porte au Peintre, the Sepulchre, and the Fontaine Saint Innocent. Mary was then taken to the Chatellet (sic) de Paris and Palais Royal, while Elizabeth was led to the Porte de Paris, which might have been another name for the Chatellet, and finally to the Pont Nostre Dame (Fig. 9).

Financing Celebrations

Only by comparing the French and Polish royal festivals is it possible to claim that the very specific pecking order of welcoming the queen was motivated by the contrasting

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[14] S. Bouquet, *L'ordre tenu a l'Entrée de tres-haute & tres-chrestienne Princesse Madame Elizabeth d'Austriche Royne de France* (Paris: Olivier Codoré and Denis Du Pré, 1571) ff. 13r-14v.
[15] H. Cocheris (ed.), *Entrées de Marie d'Angleterre, femme de Louis XII à Abbeville et à Paris: publiées & annotées par Hipp. Cocheris* (Paris: Aubry, 1859) p. 26; *Lentree de tresexcellente Princesse dame marie dangleterre Royne de france en la noble ville cité & université de paris faicte le lundy .vi. iour de novembre lan de grace mil.ccccc.xiiij*, in C. R. Baskervill (ed.) *Pierre Gringore's Pageants for the Entry of Mary Tudor into Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934) p. 23.
[16] *Lentree de tresexcellente Princesse dame marie dangleterre Royne de france en la noble ville cité & université de paris*, p. 23.

French and Polish balance of power between the nobility and the city. The Polish nobility welcomed the queen to Cracow while the city's official recognition was reduced to an entertainment somewhere between banquet courses. Contrastingly, the French city fathers assumed a leading place in the procession. The city of Paris exercised a much greater control over the festivities than Cracow, even though both were endowed with special significance as the main residences of the Polish and French royal courts.

The particular power balance is reflected in the financial accounts for organising the celebrations. In France, the ritual of the queen's entry had the quality of amorous advances; it created a public relationship between her and the city based on producing deliberately attractive appearances. The city dressed in its finest to communicate an utterly fabricated image of perfection as well as exaggerated expectations to the queen. Flamboyance was a costly business. The registers for Elizabeth of Austria's entry on 25 March 1571 allow us to glimpse the financing of the entry. They specify that the city paid 49,439 *livres*, 10 *solz*, and 1 *denier tournois* for the props for pageants designed under Simon Bouquet's supervision and covered the cost of costumes of city officers for the procession, the queen's banquet and presents.[17] The gifts were inventive and often extravagant. Elizabeth was offered a buffet of six 'grandes pieces de relief aussi de sucre' representing scenes from antiquity and classical myth. It was placed on a table made of 'silver and red gold, chiselled, of great value', which was the actual gift, even if tactfully hidden beneath the dessert.[18] The city's coffers were usually not the only ones being emptied. Only three of the seven pageants designed by Pierre Gringore for Mary of England's entry in 1514 were paid for by the Paris municipality, the other four being sponsored by the Confrères de la Passion, the *fripiers* (cloth merchants)*, bouchers* (butchers), Officials of the Châtelet, and the Chambre des Comptes (Chamber of Accounts).[19]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the city of Cracow only paid for the gifts presented to the queen by the city's representatives during the banquet. The financial accounts state that Bona received a silver bowl and a matching water-jug, which cost the city 300 florins, as well as three Hungarian jugs and two other jugs described as 'large' and

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[17] V. E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria 1571* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) Appendix IV, ff. 89r-89v, 128r-128v, 95r-95v, 100v-102v.
[18] S. Bouquet, *L'ordre tenu a l'Entrée de tres-haute & tres-chrestienne Princesse Madame Elizabeth*, ff. 14r-16r
[19] Gringore, *Les entrées royales à Paris,* pp. 24, 41, 97.

'gilded', which cost 487 florins in total.[20] These accounts have not been previously examined in the analysis of Bona's entry, and Władysław Pociecha, who extracted his information from Ludwik Jost Decjusz's description of the feast and mentions the bowl, the water-jug and two (sic) Hungarian jugs.[21] The difference between the accounts might result from the chronicler's misinformation and should serve as a further warning against 'taking festival books at face value', to borrow Helena Watanabe-O'Kelly's phrase.[22]

The rules of welcoming the new queen became blurred in 1543, when the city's accounts first recorded the expenses for decorations purchased for Elizabeth of Austria's pre-coronation entry on 5 May 1543. The Polish queen was the aunt of Elizabeth who entered Paris in 1571; Joseph Patrouch even suggests that the younger Elizabeth was named after her relative.[23] The accounts suggest that, at least in Poland, the queen's coronation was not a prerequisite for the city to financially contribute to the official welcome. The document specifies that the city paid

> to the embroider for 5 pounds of gold by 3 florins and 7.5 grosz; for the city banners, with which the soldiers were preceded when queen Elizabeth was received, item for 2 pounds of gold for the same banners and for the making of the same banners 14 mr. and 10.5 grosz – for 144 els of 'czindalin' for putting together of the city banners when their royal majesties were received 12 florins, to the artisan for making of these 24 grosz, item for the pole and silk to the same artisan 14 grosz, in total 8 mr. and 14 grosz.[24]

Furthermore, the accounts report that after the ambassadors of foreign princes had bestowed their gifts, the city presented six silver clocks, three to each newlywed, three days after Elizabeth's coronation. The devices were a costly gift, their worth amounting to 686 florins 24 grosz and 429 mr 12 grosz.[25] Clocks might seem a strange choice for a wedding present, but Cracow's representatives thought carefully about how to advertise the best the city had to offer. Clocks were becoming fashionable throughout Europe in the 1520s and 1530s; Henry

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[20] The National Archives in Krakow, MS 1598, *Regestrum Rationis Expositorum ad annum domini 1518,* f. 182
[21] Pociecha, p. 237.
[22] H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The early modern festival book: function and form', in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, p. 7.
[23] J. F. Patrouch, *Queen's Apprentice: Archduchess Elizabeth, Empress Maria, the Habsburgs, and the Holy Roman Empire, 1554*-1569 (Boston: Brill, 2010) p. 53.
[24] F. K. Piekosiński (ed.), *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa (1507-1795)*, vol. 1 (Cracow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1885) p. 991.
[25] Piekosiński (ed.), *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa,* p. 991.

VIII of England even deemed them a gift worthy of his leading lady, Anne Boleyn.[26] The gift suggested that Cracow was technologically advanced and on trend. Similarly to pageants, trade was part of civic culture and the gift was calculated to show off the clock-making and metal craftsmanship which were becoming the city's forte at the time.[27]

The Polish example suggests that the relationship between the city and royal ceremony could gradually develop over time, late into the sixteenth century, from purchasing gifts to also paying for decorations. Any substantial conclusions about how these ceremonies evolved in terms of financing are elusive, because we often lack sources for medieval entries. The Polish example complicates the model of financing entries usually adopted by English historians. Even when the documents detailing the split of expenses between the king and city do not survive, scholars tend to assume that the city's contribution was larger than the monarch's, such as is the case with Lucinda Dean's analysis of Margaret Tudor's entry into Scotland in 1503.[28]

Accounts for Elizabeth of Austria's entry to Cracow suggest that the city was gradually taking a more significant role in financing the queen's entry, but by the middle of the sixteenth century, there was still a significant difference in the Polish and French ways of establishing the relationship between the city of entry and the new queen consort. Making exact comparisons between money spent by Paris in 1571 and Cracow in 1543, or even between the value of Cracow's gifts in 1518 and 1543, is difficult because of the constant currency devaluations in the sixteenth century as well as multiple changes in Poland's complex monetary system.[29] However, while Paris put on a tremendous and costly display, Cracow's role was relatively insignificant. This was partly caused by the weak position of the Polish cities and burghers in comparison to the French. By 1550, French cities had become a force to be reckoned with, taking into account the rapidly rising percentage of

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[26] D. Starkey, *Henry VIII: a European Court in England* (London: Collins and Brown, 1991) pp. 135, 152; N. H. Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expences of King Henry the Eighth from November 1529 to December 1532* (London: William Pickering, 1827) p. 311.

[27] In-depth studies of late medieval and early modern metal-working in Cracow: A. Bochnak and J. Pagaczewski, *Polskie rzemiosło artystyczne wieków średnich* (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1959); J. Dąbrowski (ed.) *Kraków: Jego dzieje i sztuka* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1965).

[28] L. H. S. Dean, 'Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities, c. 1449-1590', in J. R. Mulryne, M. I. ALiverti and A. M. Testaverde (eds.) *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe*, p. 281.

[29] F. C. Spooner, *The International Economy and Monetary Movements in France, 1493-1725* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) p. 19; J. A. Szwagrzyk, *Pieniądz na ziemiach polskich X-XXw.* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1990).

urbanisation leading to towns becoming central to the economy.[30] Furthermore, they exercised influence over the French monarchs via the numerous merchant-bankers extending credit to the state. Janine Garrisson is right to point out that in France 'in this period of inflation in both power and the public display of power, princes could not rely on their ordinary revenues (from Crown Lands) or even on their extraordinary revenues (from taxation) to cover expenditure: they had to borrow'.[31] Paris was particularly important as an economic centre and by the mid sixteenth century the largest city in the Christendom. But despite its tax exemptions and economic influence on the king, it had no municipal autonomy and was legally subjected to him.[32]

Elizabeth of Austria's entry in 1571 highlights the complex relationship between the court and city. In order to celebrate their bearer of grace and 'Celestial Mediatrix', the city fathers decided to finish with a grand flourish at the Pont Nostre Dame, visualising the city as 'a great ship made of silver [...] with its sails stretched out and filled by the Northern wind from Germany' and guided by the Great and Small Bear constellations.[33] This imagery could refer to the Franco-German alliance in general, but Elizabeth was the wind which would bring prosperity to the city. The city fathers spared no expense to get on the queen's good side and depict the desired relationship between the queen and Paris. However, the context of the entry paints a different picture. Originally, an entry for Elizabeth, who was reportedly ill and whose pregnancy had become common knowledge in England was not planned. Pageants for her husband, Charles IX, who had not entered the city formally since his accession in 1560, were prepared instead.[34] Robert Descimon suggests that staging Charles' entry on Mardi Gras might have been his attempt to subvert the city's tax privileges and extract the customary 'free gift' from the city to pay for the German mercenaries contracted for the civil war which ended with the Saint-Germain peace in 1570.[35] However, Elizabeth's entry followed unexpectedly on Thursday, 29 March, after her coronation on Sunday, 25

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[30] P. Benedict, 'French cities from the sixteenth century to the Revolution', in P. Benedict (ed.) *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005) p. 7.

[31] J. Garrisson, *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598*, transl. Richard Rex, (London: Macmillan, 1995) p. 38.

[32] S. Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages*, transl. J. A. McNamara (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003/2009) pp. 83-4; R. Descimon, 'Paris on the eve of Saint Bartholomew: taxation, privilege, and social geography', in in P. Benedict (ed.) *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005) p. 68.

[33] G. Kipling, 'He That Saw It Would Not Believe It': Anne Boleyn's Royal Entry into London, in A. F. Johnson and W. Hüsken (eds.) *Civic Ritual and Drama* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997) p. 52; S. Bouquet, *L'ordre tenu a l'Entrée,* f. 14r.

[34] *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. 6 (H.M. Stationery Office, 1867) no. 1532, 1546.

[35] Descimon, 'Paris on the eve of Saint Bartholomew', p. 72-3.

March. One could be forgiven for thinking that giving the city fathers a two-week notice to prepare the spectacle might have been Charles' ploy to show the city its place. Lucinda H. S. Dean argues regarding Scotland that 'the extent to which the king controlled the entries themselves is debatable, given the level of burgh involvement that persisted into the sixteenth century'.[36] But while the prominence of Paris was duly acknowledged by its role in the recognition of a newly crowned queen consort, it was clear that the court gave the orders regarding the ceremony. This reveals the unequal nature of what Roy Strong calls 'the alliance of court and city'.[37]

Paris was placed in the awkward position of having to impress a throng of distinguished ambassadors who had arrived for Elizabeth of Austria's coronation by reusing the props prepared for the king's entry. The anxiety is echoed throughout Simon Bouquet's festival book, perhaps because of his personal stake in the entry as both the echevin and supervisor of pageants. He does not fail to mention that 'this entry gave as much or more cause for admiration to the foreigners than that of the king.'[38] The attempt was successful, even if Bouquet says so himself, but it was not without causing turmoil among the city fathers, artists, artisans and poets who were tasked with preparing the queen's entry at such short notice. Bouquet repeatedly comments on the fact that there was not enough time to finish the designs to the standard expected from royal ceremonies and that the decorations from the king's entry were substantially altered.[39] For example, he felt the need to explain at length that

> at the Porte au Peintre stood a great triumphal arch in the Corinthian style with two facades, with nearly similar architecture to the one which was prepared for the king's entry, except that it was enriched even more with the cornice frieze and the architrave made in a different fashion, a more exquisite moulding and more resembling the classical style.[40]

It was not unusual for decorations such as flags and ephemeral architecture to be carefully stored for years and re-used in order to emphasise the legitimacy of the dynasty. The decorations used for the coronation entry of Vladislaus IV of Poland in 1633 serve as an example, since they were recycled from the entry of his father, Sigismund III Vasa, in

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[36] Dean, 'Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities', p. 284.
[37] Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 109.
[38] V. E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria 1571* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) p. 76.
[39] Bouquet, *L'ordre tenu a l'Entrée*, f. 1v.
[40] ibid. f. 5r.

1587.[41] Decorations and other objects could also be reused in order to send a certain message as was the case with the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533, for which Catherine of Aragon's barge and crown were requested to prove that Anne was substituting her as the queen consort.[42] However, Bouquet's text paints a picture of the city's attempt to turn a potential embarrassment into a show of wealth and power.

Civic control over ceremonies was problematic and tenuous in sixteenth-century France, but even that degree of authority was unattainable in Cracow. Seemingly, Cracow was more autonomous, because it was founded on the Magdeburg Law which guaranteed municipal autonomy; in legal disputes Cracow would refer to its 'mother city'.[43] It was also a royal city, built on lands belonging to the Polish crown, and its weak position reflects the weakness of its master. However, Cracow was less important economically and had a looser grip on the monarch because economies of the sixteenth-century West and East developed differently in a phenomenon known as economical dualism: Polish historians draw the division line on the river Elbe. The West saw the rise of what Maria Bogucka called, using a somewhat communist-inspired terminology, 'early capitalism' when the nobility started participating in new methods of production promoted by influential burghers, while eastern Europe remained the stronghold of the old feudal system.[44] According to Rutkowski's theory, this phenomenon was caused by the unique natural conditions which allowed Poland-Lithuania to generate and export large quantities of agrarian produce to the West. The economy's focus on the countryside bolstered the importance of the landowners: the nobility.[45] This meant that the king borrowed money from wealthy noblemen, many of whom were influential senators, by mortgaging the crown lands.[46] The exaggerated claims of Polish historians that the nobility's influence deterred the development of the cities might

[41] Żukowski, 'Ephemeral Architecture in the Service of Vladislaus IV Vasa', p.207.
[42] Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 53.
[43] H. Lück, 'Aspects of the transfer of the Saxon-Magdeburg Law to Central and Eastern Europe', in *Rachtsgeschichte*, vol. 22 (2014) p. 81; M. R. Munzinger, 'The Text and Textualization of Codex BJ 168: Legal Culture in Transition at the High Court of Magdeburg Law at the Castle of Kraków', in *Krakowskie Studia z Historii Państwa i Prawa*, vol. 4 (2011) pp. 21-41.
[44] M. Bogucka, *Historia Polski do roku 1864* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1999) p. 109.
[45] J. Topolski, 'Zagadnienia gospodarki w Polsce', in A. Wyczański (ed.) *Polska w epoce odrodzenia: państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura* (Warsaw: Wiedzia Powszechna, 1986) pp. 163-4; L. Radvan, *At Europe's Borders: Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities*, transl. V. Cirdei (Boston: Brill, 2010) pp. 33-35.
[46] A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Odbudowa Domeny Królewskiej w Polsce, 1504-1548* (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2nd edition, 2007).

have been shaped by the communist theory of class struggle, but Polish cities were overshadowed by the extensive privileges of the nobility.[47]

Polish ceremonies mirrored this socio-political status quo, allowing the nobility a more significant role in celebrating a royal marriage and coronation. But the purpose of the public spectacle was, first and foremost, to assert the legitimacy of the government. Cracow, as the site of royal coronations, had an important role to play as a location rather than a socio-political organisation. Almut Bues argues that the ceremonies of the seventeenth-century Polish elective monarchy relied more on the legitimacy provided by space than hereditary monarchy, because it was less based on the legitimacy coming from birth.[48] Even though until 1572 the Polish monarchy functioned de facto as a hereditary monarchy because of the personal union with Lithuania, the legitimacy provided by Cracow was still paramount. But the importance of city space was rooted in tradition and was not necessarily aligned with the facts of its government or economic status. Consequently, Cracow remained the site of royal ceremony after the royal court moved to Warsaw in 1609, even though as Karin Friedrich argues, the Prussian cities were becoming 'the economic and financial power-houses of the Commonwealth.'[49] However, Cracow's prominence was primarily symbolic rather than fortified by its influence on the king, as was the case with Paris. This may explain the relatively minor involvement of Cracow's city council in the ceremonies surrounding royal weddings and coronations.

Spectatorship

A comparison between elective and absolute monarchy is the first to reveal that their different socio-economic structures determined who controlled, watched and understood royal festivities. The French pageants were deeply rooted in civic ritual and culture as a form of acclamation and instruction for the monarchs via pageants.[50] By the time of Elizabeth of Austria's entry in 1571, the French entries had become dominated by embellished triumphal

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[47] Radvan, *At Europe's Borders*, pp. 170-172, 185-6; Karen Friedrich mentions that the Polish cities were not as repressed as some historians believe: K. Friedrich, 'Royal Entries into Cracow, Warsaw and Danzig: festival culture and the role of the cities in Poland-Lithuania', in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, p. 386.

[48] A. Bues, 'The Elections, Coronations and Funerals of the Kings of Poland', in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Europa Triumphans*, vol. 1, p. 376.

[49] ibid. p. 387.

[50] G. Kipling, 'Wonderful Spectacles: Theatre and Civic Culture', in J. D. Cox and D. S. Kastan (eds.) *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) pp. 153-172.

arches after the Italian fashion, clearly developing in the same direction as the Polish entries, but losing none of their instructive purpose. There was an element of collectiveness in both of these forms, pageants and ephemeral architecture, because they were put on in public spaces that were intimately familiar to burghers in their everyday lives. This deemed the spectacles visually accessible to the people by tying pageants to their spatial experiences and memories of the city, but also verbally because both Latin and the vernacular were used in all sixteenth-century Parisian entries. This was part of the 'double aspect' of Western royal entries emphasised by Antoinette Huon and J. R. Mulryne.[51] In France, the Latin text was usually written on a *tableau* attached to the stage or triumphal arch, while the *expositeur* would recite the French translation. Even those who could not read would therefore be able to understand the message communicated by the city. The forms of representation were in tune with who controlled the shape of the celebrations and the intended audience: the burghers of Paris.

Cracow's civic culture, based on primarily religious pageants and processions just as in France and England, was suppressed by the civil culture of the Polish nobility who controlled the ceremonies.[52] This is why the dominating forms of celebration were speeches, as it is to be expected considering the strong parliamentary traditions of the social group which held political rights. Another celebratory form was a Renaissance phenomenon, *epithalamia*, or classically inspired wedding songs. As in the western realms, the sixteenth century saw Polish festivities at the intersection of the medieval and the Renaissance. The Renaissance trends manifested differently in the East, developing from the existing tradition of playful wedding songs, represented at primarily by humanist verbal, e. g. wedding songs and orations, rather than visual, e. g. pageants and ephemeral architecture, means.[53] *Epithalamia* were a pan-European custom, well-developed in central Europe and sifting into England over the course of the sixteenth century, but they were especially important in Poland as the main form of celebrating a royal marriage.[54] The epic *epithalamia*, long poems narrating the royal couple's rather formulaic 'love story' with a classical twist, were first

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[51] Huon, *Le Thème du Prince dans les Entrées Parisiennes au XVIe Siècle*, p. 22; Mulryne, 'Ceremony and the Iconography of Power', in J. R. Mulryne, M. I. Aliverti, A. M. Testaverde (eds.) *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe*, p. 1.

[52] T. Michałowska, *Średniowiecze* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1995/2000) p. 245.

[53] Mroczek, *Epitalamium staropolskie*, p. 60.

[54] V. Tufte, *The Epithalamion in Europe and its Development in England* (Los Angeles: Tinnon-Brown, 1970); C. M. Schenck, *Mourning and Panegyric: The Poetics of Pastoral Ceremony* (University Park and London: The Pannsylvania State University Press, 1988); I. D. McFarlane, *Renaissance Latin Poetry* (New York: Barnes & Noble) pp. 240-241.

composed to celebrate Sigismund the Old's marriage to Barbara Zapolya in 1512. They blossomed as a literary genre in time for Sigismund the Old's second marriage to Bona Sforza in 1518. At least five such songs were written for Sigismund and Bona by the most prominent Polish poets, including Jan Dantyszek and Andrzej Krzycki as well as German Laurentius Rabe (Corvinus), Kaspar Ursinus Velius and Joachim Vadian. Polish scholars agree that at Bona's wedding the *epithalamia* were recited during the feast, even though there is no evidence to support that claim.[55] With time, the visual and vocal aspects of the Polish epithalamia might have developed. For example, during the wedding of Princess Jadwiga, Sigismund the Old's and Barbara Zapolya's daughter, to Joachim II Hector, the Elector of Branderburg, the *epithalamia* were accompanied by a singing and dancing chorus.[56]

The epithalamia were printed, but in small numbers; Katarzyna Mroczek estimates that it was usually between 100 and 500 copies.[57] In 1518, four out of five extant poems written to celebrate Sigismund and Bona's wedding in 1518 were printed. The two known printers, Jan Haller who printed Andrzej Krzycki's *epithalamion* and Hieronymus Vietor who printed Laurentius Rabe's *epithalamion* as well as Jost Decjusz's festival book, were both in royal favour. Even though the general populace would not have seen the performance of the poems, whether recited or sung, they could have bought the books later. However, the already restricted access to these texts was limited further because, until late sixteenth century, they were written almost exclusively in Latin. The speeches welcoming the queen to Cracow were also delivered in Latin, suggesting how little of the Western 'double aspect' was carried by the Polish festivities. They were aimed at those who could attend the royal court, afford to buy a booklet and understand Latin. While only magnates, i.e. senators, would be able to witness the performance of these texts in person, the lower nobility, i.e. those who could be elected to the Chamber of Representatives, would be able to purchase and read the pamphlets. Latin was the language of the Polish parliament and foreign ambassadors to Poland repeatedly commented on how easy it was to communicate in it with nobles across the country.[58] This suggests that the Polish nobility not only controlled the festivities, including the civic entry, but also were the main audience for the festive propaganda.

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[55] Mroczek, *Epithalamium staropolskie*, p. 61.
[56] ibid., p. 61.
[57] Mroczek, pp. 61-2.
[58] P. Jasienica, *Ostatnia z rodu* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1965) p. 53.

Despite the differences in how and to whom the celebration was disseminated, the French and Polish festivities employed similar imagery revealing that queens were thought of and imagined in a similar way across the continent. Images of intercession and fertility, adapted from the pan-European rhetoric of the queen's coronation were framed by the elite culture in Poland and the civic culture in France. The familiar virtues of queenship were visualised in the pageant put on for Mary of England at Saints-Innocents in 1514 representing the 'garden of France'. On the upper stage, Mercy, Truth, Fortitude and Pity guarded the French lily, while below Peace banished Discord from the garden. Two male figures, The Grand Pastor and The Single Wish of Princes, blessed a rosebush, from which a female figure ascended towards the lily and the four Virtues on the upper scaffold.[59] The image was strengthened by the lines spoken by an actor: 'Truth and Pity protect the lily from discord, and Mercy guards and rules, through Fortitude it reinforces the throne'.[60] The pageant was a metaphor for Mary's coronation as the queen of France with the blessing of the church and by her husband's wish, elevating her to the virtues of queenship which she was to employ in bringing peace to the realm.

Mary of England was also compared to the Virgin Mary, the figure epitomising both intercession and fertility. Pierre Gringore could not resist making puns on her name, saving a direct reference until the grand finale at the Palais Royal. Gringore's manuscript reports that the scene of annunciation was performed on a large scaffold. On the lower level, Louis and Mary were seated on a throne with their coats of arms held by a porcupine and a lion. Justice stood on the right holding a sword, while on the left was Truth 'holding peace', which was represented by a small shield with a cross depicted on it. The shepherds standing below the scaffold sang about how they had acquired 'Mary in heaven and Mary on earth'.[61] Cynthia Brown presents an excellent analysis of how the lyrics of the song, employing the '*Comme... ainsy*' grammatical structure to divide strophes into equal parts, and sustaining the *–arie* rhyme in the second stanza, emphasised Mary's similarity to the Virgin Mary.[62]

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[59] ibid. p. 8-9.
[60] ibid. p. 8.
[61] *Pierre Gringore's Pageants for the Entry of Mary Tudor into Paris: an unpublished manuscript*, C. R. Baskervill (ed.) (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934) p. 15.
[62] C. J. Brown, 'From Stage to Page: Royal Entry Performances in Honour of Mary Tudor (1514)', p. 59

According to Gordon Kipling, this pageant marked the queen as an agent in the king's epiphany and stressed that 'her status, power, indeed her very identity, depends upon the powerful King and Saviour who has chosen her for his mother and bride'.[63] However, a more nuanced reading of the pageant is possible, taking into account its relationship to the symbolism of the queen's crowning and anointing. The king beckons Mary to be crowned, but the annunciation scene visualises and adapts the sophisticated metaphor of the coronation ritual for the masses, cleverly oscillating between scholarly and popular levels of perception. It unobtrusively conjures up the association with childbirth and emphasises the importance of the royal heir, but also invokes, in the more educated members of the audience, the complex nuances relating to the sacralisation of monarchy and virtues of queenship carried by the coronation ritual. The Polish pre-coronation entries similarly refer to the symbolism of the ritual, foreshadowing what was to come. Stanisław Biel, the chancellor of the Jagiellonian University who welcomed Bona at the Kleparz Gate, compared Bona to Hester, who was mentioned in both the French and Polish coronation prayers with regards to intercession.[64] Jan Łaski, the archbishop of Gniezno, compared Bona to the Virgin Mary, and punned on her name in Latin by saying 'et sicut nomino Bona es, sic te semper nobis bonam' (and just as you are Bona by name, may you always be good to us).[65]

Both the Polish speeches and the French pageants also referred to the king's role in his wife's ascent. In French and English ceremonies, the king was merely beckoning, often accompanied by quoting from the Canticles: 'Veni amica mea veni coronaberis' (Come my love, come, you shall be crowned), as was the case in the pageant performed for Mary of England at the Port au Peintre in 1514.[66] Alice Hunt argues that the king was metamorphosed into a Christ-like figure, strengthening the image of Marian queenship.[67] The Polish ceremony made this even more explicit, since the queen was crowned on the direct request of her husband. This was reflected in the speeches prepared by the nobility. Jan Lubrański, the bishop of Poznań, quoted a passage of the Psalms when he greeted Bona in Olomouc just

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[63] Kipling, *Enter the King,* p. 307-8.

[64] Decjusz, p. 40; The French queens were also asked for patronage by the University of Paris. For example, Mary of England: Sadlack, p. 86; The original manuscript entitled *Discours adressé au nom de l'Université de Paris à Marie [...]*, BnF MS Français 5104, is available online at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7200014d.planchecontact.f.25.langFR accessed on 22/08/2013]; The kings entering Paris were also addressed by a representative of the university: L. M. Bryant, 'The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris', in J. M. Bak (ed.) *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990) p. 99.

[65] Decjusz, p. 32.

[66] *Pierre Gringore's Pageants,* pp. 6-7; Canticles 4. 8.

[67] Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 68.

before she crossed the border to Poland: 'Audi, filia, et vide et inclina aurem tuam, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam!'[68] This is an abbreviated passage from the Psalms: 'Listen daughter, and behold, and incline your ear, and leave your people behind, and the home of your father, because the king has set his heart upon your beauty, so he is now your Lord.'[69] This passage encapsulates the role of the king as the one who wills his bride to be incorporated into his country, culture, political system and body politic.

Martin Butler observes that the function of early modern panegyric was to act 'as a channel of counsel, a medium through which advice, exhortation and even criticism might tactfully be articulated.[70] This was embedded in both the French and Polish festivities as the queen was subtly instructed via examples of biblical and classical women. The educational function was somewhat neglected during the French Elizabeth of Austria's entry in 1571, perhaps because of the rushed preparations, or the fact that the props were originally designed to epitomise the masculine characteristics of Charles IX's kingship. The one pageant directly instructing Elizabeth about her new queenly duties was performed at the Fontaine du Ponceau. But while Mary and Bona were given the Virgin Mary as an example, Elizabeth was to follow in the footsteps of a more contemporary woman. The paragon of queenly virtue, Catherine de Medici, was represented as a statue wearing 'habits Roiaulx' and holding a crown made of fleurs de lis, which she was to bestow on Elizabeth's head. The crown symbolised 'the times of great burdens and unbearable affairs which she has had to endure for the preservation of this state'.[71] It was a metaphorical baton which the queen mother was passing on to the next contestant in the royal race to power and timely childbearing. It is worth noting that Catherine, who gave birth to ten children, was also to be considered Elizabeth's role model regarding fertility. Despite the presence of the three graces, Thalia, Aglia and Ephrosina, to lighten the mood, the pageant's meaning was clear: being a queen would be an arduous challenge for the seventeen-year-old who was replacing Catherine. The latter's political fortitude was duly emphasised in this image of the living queen mother crowning her successor. While instructing the new queen, the city was also

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[68] Decjusz, p. 22-3.
[69] Psalm 44. 11-12.
[70] M. Butler, 'Ben Jonson and the Limits of Courtly Panegyric', in K. Sharpe and P. Lake (eds.) *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1994) p. 92.
[71] Bouquet, *L'ordre tenu a l'Entrée*, f. 4r.

seeking favour with the old; Claude Marcel, the Prevot des Marchands, was, after all, Catherine's trusted advisor and personal treasurer.[72]

Paris advised the queen directly and before its citizens, but Cracow's only opportunity was to discreetly convey a message through gifts. It is in line with Gordon Kipling's suggestion that 'in a symbolically conventional way the city accepts the queen as its *virgo mediatrix* by offering her a valuable gift', which constitutes a symbolic homage.[73] The Latin inscriptions decorating the clocks presented by Cracow to Sigismund August and Elizabeth of Austria in 1543 are an example of the way in which the city was impersonated and given a voice via objects of material culture relating to royal ceremony. Sigismund's clocks were inscribed with a typical platitude in Latin: 'King August! Cracow presents to you these gifts and celebrates by wishing you joy'. The inscription on the queen's clocks, however, read: 'Cracow, wishing to express joy, presents this gift to you, new Elizabeth!'[74] This short sentence resembles both the annunciation and the Catherine de Medici pageant, because it emphasised fertility while comparing the bride to a former Polish queen. The inscription punned on Elizabeth's name by comparing her to a former Polish queen, another Elizabeth of Austria (b. 1436 – d. 1505), the wife of Casimir IV Jagiellon and grandmother to Sigismund August. She was famed for her fertility, having given birth to thirteen healthy children. Four of her six sons became kings, and her daughters were married off to the greatest dynasties of central Europe, hence her nickname as 'the mother of the Jagiellonians'.[75] The high expectations of the marriage between Sigismund and Elizabeth were based on the popular belief that the Jagiellonians and the Habsburgs were compatible to procreate effectively, starting with the first Elizabeth of Austria. The inscription also suggests the extent to which the panegyric propaganda was successful in mythologising the queens of old for posterity. The fact that the message was written on not one, but three clocks, constituted an allusion that Elizabeth was to follow her predecessor's footsteps in a timely fashion.

The city limited its instruction regarding the queen's fertility and marital duties to a metaphor, just as the French and English cities had used the metaphor of entwined branches

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[72] B. B. Diefendorf, *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth-Century: The Politics of Patrimony* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) p. 95.
[73] Kipling, *Enter the King*, p. 320.
[74] Piekosiński (ed.), *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa*, p. 991.
[75] E. Rudzki, *Polskie królowe: żony Piastów i Jagiellonów* (Warsaw: Novum, 1990) p. 134.

and flowing fountains.[76] Polish noblemen fortified, no doubt, by their political rights and as the main party controlling and witnessing the ceremony, were not so subtle, however. Andrzej Krzycki, a notorious debauchee who became Bona's secretary and eventually the archbishop of Gniezno, linked what Marian Filar calls 'Renaissance natural sexuality' and the traditionally Polish form of playful wedding songs.[77] He wrote a *Hymenaeus*, another classically inspired literary genre, which took its name from the ancient Greek god Hymen, the patron of happy wedding feasts.[78] Władysław Pociecha, who otherwise provides summaries of the wedding poetry in his biography of Bona Sforza, merely mentions that 'there is a wedding song entitled *Hymenaeus,* which was intended to be sung during the wedding celebrations.'[79] When Pociecha's work was published in 1949, it was still probably considered indecent to print a translation from the song's original Latin, or even a summary. Krzycki indicates that 'absent from the chorus is Vesta, the protector of chaste life and Diana the guardian of pure virgins'. However, Venus, the goddess of conjugal life, is very much present together with Apollo and his Muses to set the romantic mood for the royal couple. Then follow the instructions for the king to abandon chastity and remove his belt, so that he may remove 'his wife's blossom'. The poet gives voice to the anxiety surrounding the marriage and reminds the audience that the wedding night was supposed to 'quickly' make Sigismund into a parent to 'offspring, who would capture the people's hope and your [Sigismund's] glory'. Krzycki also addresses Bona: 'Virgin, do not resist your husband, with whom you are firmly united by love'. He advises her not to cry and lectures her: 'You were named the Queen of a mighty kingdom, and your greatest glory [comes] from your offspring'.[80]

The song delivers a remarkably strong message about gender roles in a royal marriage, and the explicit image of the queen as 'a collection of organs', to borrow Hilary Mantel's phrase, clearly stands out even among other sixteenth-century Polish wedding poetry.[81] As demonstrated by Mary of England's annunciation pageant, royal fertility was

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[76] Gringore, *Les entrées royales à Paris*, p. 49; J. Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York: mother of the Tudor dynasty', in L. Oakley-Brown and L. J. Wilkinson (ed.) *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009) pp. 52-3.
[77] M. Filar, 'Liberalizm i rygoryzm seksualny w różnych kulturach. Zarys historyczny', in K. Imieliński (ed.) *Seksuologia kulturowa* (Warsaw: PWN, 1984) pp. 246-7; Mroczek, *Epitalamium staropolskie*, p. 60.
[78] K. K. Hersh, *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2010) pp. 236-262.
[79] Pociecha, vol. 1, p. 253.
[80] AT IV, pp. 290-1.
[81] H. Mantel, 'Royal Bodies', in *London Review of Books*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (21 February 2013) [accessed at http://www.lrb.co.uk/v35/n04/hilary-mantel/royal-bodies on 18/10/2015].

usually framed by the paradox of Marian queenship which emphasised the queen's virtue and purity to moderate the sexual aspect of a consort's role. However, in the *Hymenaeus,* purity disappears from the equation to leave Bona as a submissive wife who patiently suffers the pains of procreation and takes pride solely in raising her sons to be the spitting image of their father, a dominant and controlling figure. While Gordon Kipling's argument that the annunciation pageant was designed to 'put Mary in her place' seems exaggerated, it could certainly apply to how Bona's role was portrayed in the song.[82] Firmly grounded in contemporary Polish conventions regarding marriage and women's position in the society, this was a reminder that the queen was not only subject to her husband's will, but also to the close scrutiny of the strong Polish nobility.[83] The case of Bona Sforza's eventual political downfall, as I have argued previously, demonstrates that the statements about gender roles and motherhood were not mere platitudes, but demands which could be enforced within the extraordinary Polish parliamentary culture.[84] This anxiety-driven strong imagery may seem peculiar in an elective monarchy where succession depended on election, rather than royal procreation. However, the long-term prosperity of the Jagiellonian dynasty within that political system was based on their position as the hereditary rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Władysław Jagiełło's accession to the Polish throne in 1386 as the husband of the Polish queen regnant of the Anjou dynasty, Jadwiga I, established a personal union between the Grand Duchy and the Polish kingdom. In order to preserve the union, the Polish nobility elected members of the Jagiellonian dynasty for two-hundred years. Until a constitutional union was established in 1569 at the Lublin parliament, the survival of this complex political system depended on the efficiency of the queen's womb.

The nobility's strong message was moderated by the mythical context of the epithalamic narrative, clearly exhibiting the humanist trends that became widely popular in Western Europe at the end of the sixteenth century. This contrast is especially interesting when considering the claims of some English-language historians about the cultural otherness and 'ostentatious barbarity' of Poland.[85] It only serves to emphasise that something is amiss in the representation of the European Renaissance in English-language scholarship,

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[82] Kipling, *Enter the King*, p. 309.

[83] M. Ferenc, 'Czasy Nowożytne', in A. Chwalba (ed.) *Obyczaje w Polsce od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2004) p. 129.

[84] K. Kosior, 'Outlander, Baby Killer, Poisoner? Rethinking Bona Sforza's Black Legend', in E. Woodacre and C. Fleiner (eds.) *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Eras* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) p. 203.

[85] U. Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) p. 146.

where an entire region is effectively excluded.[86] While the French and English entries, albeit increasingly classical, relied heavily on biblical references and the liturgical approach in sacralising both monarchy and the city itself, transforming it into 'New Jerusalem', the Polish wedding poetry metamorphosed a political match into a classical myth as early as in 1512.[87] The Hymenaeus written by Andrzej Krzycki for Bona Sforza was an accompaniment to his epithalamion, printed in Cracow by Jan Heller. Critics disagree over the aesthetic value of the poem. It was heralded as 'awkward' and 'unnecessarily bizarre' by Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, while Władysław Pociecha claims that it was one of Krzycki's best poems.[88] Sigismund and Bona's love story is revealed to the poet by Erato, the goddess of lyric poetry, who indicates that the muses had moved from Italy to bestow their arts on Poland. Even though Poland was already experiencing the influence of the Renaissance, Bona was expected to consolidate the new cultural movement by bringing the latest Italian fashions as well as artists and craftsmen.[89] Erato further reports that following Zeus' consent for the match, three goddesses were dispatched: Juno to Poland, Athena to Vienna and Venus to Italy. Like the biblical characters in coronation and Western pageantry, the Olympians serve as intellectual signposts. Juno, the goddess of marital bliss, prepares the ground in Poland, Athena, associated with wisdom, arranges the match with the Emperor in Vienna, and Venus bestows beauty and charm on the bride. Due to the latter's efforts, the sight of Bona's portrait made Sigismund's 'heart bleed'.[90] Love manifests as an extreme bodily reaction, reminiscent of the corporal imagery produced by Krzycki in the *Hymenaeus*. The gods ultimately succeed in bringing the couple together, but as Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski argues, 'even the second part of Krzycki's epithalamion, the lyrical part, which constitutes a continuation of the classical epic epithalamion, even though melodious with a graceful Catullan chorus, is also weighed down by the topical, old-fashioned decorativeness'.[91] Literary critics focus on Krzycki's skill as a poet, but to a historian of royal courts, his fantastical description of the wedding featuring Phrygian table cloths, wine from Sirmium

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[86] N. Davies, *Europe: a history* (London: Pimlico, 1996/2010) p. 25.

[87] Similar epithalamia were composed for Barbara Zapolya's wedding to Sigismund the Old in 1512. The imagery of 'New Jerusalem': Kipling, *Enter the King*, p. 15.

[88] Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce*, p. 82; Pociecha, vol. 1, p. 251.

[89] The extent to which she was successful is debatable. Marek Werde points out that Bona was not a great patron of the arts herself and the wedding was not quite the 'breakthrough' heralded by Zygmunt Wojciechowski. Poland was exposed to the Renaissance trends coming from South Germany via the Jagiellonian University. Z. Wojciechowski, *Zygmunt Stary* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1979) pp. 131, 136-137; M. Werde, *Królowa Bona: między Włochami a Polską* (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1992) pp. 41-42.

[90] The original manuscript: J. Dantyszek, *Epithalamium Reginae Bonae*, The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 101; For a detailed analysis of the content see: Pociecha, pp. 253-257.

[91] Nowak-Dłużewski, p. 82.

and Arabian perfume, all things fashionable at the court of classical Roman emperors, is significant for how it contributes to the representation of Sigismund's court as keeping up with Renaissance fashions.

While usually rather formulaic and banal as pieces of literature, epithalamia could be used deliberately as a political tool. Stanisław Koszutski's epithalamion written in 1548 to commemorate the secret marriage between Barbara Radziwiłł and Sigismund August conjures similar images of classically inspired bliss. In his otherwise comprehensive study of the Polish panegyric, Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski neglects to even mention this poem, which survives in the author's manuscript dated to March 1548. It could be because, like the *Hymenaeus*, Koszutski's epithalamion has never been translated from the original Latin. The poet describes how nature is in spring to celebrate the marriage: 'newly grown violets adorn the river banks' under the rays of sunlight sent by Phoebus (Apollo), accompanied by his Muses.[92] Even though this epithalamion is not as sexually explicit as the *Hymenaeus*, it is clear about gender roles in a royal marriage. The poet first instructs the king that 'if he wanted to be a good husband, he would be the head and control the fragile ones with the art of reason'.[93] Then he addresses Barbara's responsibilities by saying that 'the wife shall remain subjected to the man and a pleasure restoring inferior to her husband'.[94]

But Koszutski's poem is unique because it includes references to real politics which are in sharp contrast to other epithalamia which tend to cover politics with a romantic veneer of classical myth. He addresses Sigismund: 'listen to the nobles, the brightest light of the Sarmatian land!'[95] The exhortation might seem an odd addition, especially considering the fierce opposition of the nobility towards the marriage. But the poem cleverly places Barbara and Sigismund's marriage in the context of socially acceptable marital roles, propriety, romanticised references to classical myth and the Polish parliamentary culture. Because the poem coincided with the announcement of the marriage during Lent 1548, it might have served as a propaganda stunt to avert a political storm. Koszutski employed a poetic form the nobility were used to witnessing as part of royal wedding celebrations to flatter them and broadcast the marriage's legitimacy.

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[92] Kórnicka Library, MS BK 00478, f. 4v.
[93] Kórnicka Library, MS BK 00478, f. 6r.
[94] ibid. f. 8v.
[95] ibid. f. 5v.

The rhetoric of queenship, so carefully sacralised by the coronation ritual, could also be used, especially in Poland, to criticise and subvert the monarchy. The parliament held in Piotrków between 3 October and 12 December 1548 to discuss the secret marriage between Barbara Radziwiłł and Sigismund August provides us with examples of how the rhetoric of queenship could be adopted to prove a political point. Parliaments were at the very heart of Polish politics, and the nobility were well versed in creating and responding to the parliamentary cultural output. The surviving parliamentary sources related to the secret wedding between Sigismund August and Barbara Radziwiłł are fascinating because of their unusual directness in publicly expressing outrage at the king's marriage.

First are the speeches made by members of the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate recorded in collections known as parliamentary diaries. In the seventeenth century, they became official documents recording the proceedings, but in the sixteenth century they were usually written by courtiers of magnates or by members of the parliament themselves. The diary that describes what happened when the nobility and the king gathered specifically to discuss his marriage to Barbara is the earliest surviving document of this type.[96] The diary quotes the speeches word for word, which raises the question of its accuracy, if the speeches were reconstructed from notes taken by scribes or interested noblemen. The speech made by Piotr Boratyński, a member of the Chamber of Representatives, on 10 December to summarise the arguments made by the Chamber before the king and the Senate reveals the rhetoric surrounding the royal marriage (Appendix 7).[97]

The second surviving source is a pamphlet which was distributed during the 1548 parliament and contains a slanderous dialogue (Appendix 8). The first challenge associated with the analysis of it is the anonymity of its author. This is the first surviving instance of the literary genre in Poland, which suggests that the author was a well-educated and perhaps a widely travelled man.[98] His opposition to the marriage is clear, but that leaves us as historians with too many suspects, including Boratyński himself. Some modern historians suggest it was Stanisław Orzechowski, a prominent politician, historian, thinker and

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[96] Original at: AGAD, Zbiór Branickich z Suchej, no 47/61.

[97] 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech asking the King to renounce his marriage, as the representative of the Chamber of Representatives at the Parliament held in Piotrków in October-December 1548', in *Diariusze sejmów koronnych 1548, 1553, i 1570*, in J. Szujski (ed.) *Scriptores rerum polonicarum*, vol. 1 (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1872) pp. 201-8.

[98] Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Średniowiecze*, p. 59; Surviving in a nineteenth century copy: Library of the Princes Czartoryski, MS 66.101.

reformer.[99] Whoever wrote the pamphlet must have been present at the parliament, because the text cleverly summarises and ridicules the arguments reported by the parliamentary diary. The author mixes the individuals and groups taking part in the parliamentary debate with a number of allegorical characters. The pamphlet features a number of prominent senators, representatives and couriers, including the archbishop of Gniezno, the castellans of Cracow and Poznań, the bishops of Kujawy and Cracow, Radziwiłł and Kieżgajło. The Duke of Prussia is given a solo performance, while other interested foreign parties feature as names of the realms: Germany, Hungary and Italy. Sigismund, his family and newly wedded wife, Barbara, also make an appearance. The allegorical characters are perhaps the most amusing and give us a flavour of the discussion outside of the parliamentary chamber. Gossip, Whores, the Public, the Equestrian Estate and the Estate of Honest Women suggest the gendered polarity of the arguments made. There is a discernible skill in the composition of the dialogue, which is made genuinly funny by the clever one-liners exclaimed by the characters in a manner resembling a tragic Greek chorus.

Analysis of these two sources must take into account the unique cultural context in which they were conceived. While in monarchies like France or England the authors of courtly literature were acutely aware of the consequences of overstepping their boundaries when writing about kings and queens, including inprisonment, the Polish culture of critique and subversion was strongly grounded in the nobility's strong political position and was an established way of communicating with the monarch.[100] For example, when Barbara expressed a wish to accompany her husband to Poznań in the summer of 1549, her brother, Mikołaj 'the Red' Radziwiłł, famously remarked that 'if she comes, they will stick so many pasquillos onto her coach, that we'll have to hire additional grooms just to peel them off.'[101] Pasquillos were short satirical verses, usually written in Latin, which migrated to Poland from Italy by the mid-sixteenth century.[102] Grzegorz Knapski defined the genre in his *Thesaurus Polono-Latino-Graecus* (1643) as 'a short, offensive piece of writing about someone'.[103] The pamphlet containing the 1548 dialogue is entitled a 'pasquillo'. The

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[99] Nowak-Dłużewski, pp. 180-1; More on Orzechowski: S. Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) pp. 169-172; D. Z. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2001) pp. 100-1.
[100] Butler, 'Ben Jonson and the Limits of Courtly Panegyric', p. 93.
[101] A. Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI wieku*, vol. 1, (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1868) p. 228.
[102] D. H. Griffin, *Satire: a Critical Reintroduction* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1994) pp.156-7.
[103] H. Dziechcińska, 'O staropolskim paszkwilu imiennym i jego odmianie epigramatyczej', in *Pamiętnik Literacki*, vol. 64/4 (1973), pp. 23-42.

authors of such texts could rest easy without fear of serious repercussions. A letter from Barbara's brother, Mikołaj 'the Red' Radziwiłł, to her cousin, Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł, suggests that by 12 July 1550 the author of the pasquillo had been identified. 'I bring important news to Your Lordship', Mikołaj writes, 'that the author and instigator of these pasquillos is uncovering himself little by little, [...] and God will reveal the rest of these offenders of propriety'.[104] The culprit is not named, but, more importantly, the letter does not contain as much as a suggestion of punishment or retribution.

Within this culture of open criticism, only inclusive of the nobility, the speech and dialogue reverse the imagery found in the wedding celebrations to prompt a complex debate about royal marriage and the characteristics to be exemplified by a queen consort. This suggests that the rhetoric of the coronation was not composed of mere platitudes, but could be a template for attacking the queen and through her the king. The ready-made set of accusations focused on Barbara's lowly birth and questionable virtue. It was customary to praise the new queen's distinguished and noble birth. In 1518, Stanisław Łaski expressed the people's happiness to have a queen from such an illustrious family in his speech welcoming Bona Sforza.[105] Similarly, the pageants welcoming Elizabeth of Austria to Paris in 1571 personified her royal heritage; Germania and Gallia were represented holding a laurel wreath over the king and queen's coats of arms.[106] In his critical speech of 1548, Boratyński reversed this rhetoric by saying that a marriage between a king and his subject is not valid and, furthermore, that:

> Your Royal Highness, with Your Royal Majesty's pardon, deigned to greatly humiliate your own royal status and that of your subjects by marrying one of them, especially from such a family and people who accepted the true Christian faith *ex summa et inculta barbarie* only a hundred and fifty years ago, and in this short time accepted knighthood and crests of arms given to them by us, Poles.[107]

The Polish nobility could snub Barbara on two grounds: she was Sigismund's subject and came from one of the Lithuanian boyar families baptised following the first Polish-Lithuanian union of 1385 signed in Krewo. The Radziwiłłs were also allowed to adopt one of

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[104] M. Baliński, *Pisma Historyczne*, vol. 2 (Warsaw: M. Chmielewski, 1843) pp. 156-7.
[105] AT IV, p. 307.
[106] Bouquet, *L'ordre tenu a l'Entrée*, ff. 2v-3r.
[107] 'from the worst and vulgar barbarism'; 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech', p. 204.

the Polish crests of arms resulting from the Horodło union of 1413.[108] The pamphlet addresses the issue of Barbara's ancestors' recent paganism via the line spoken by Gossip: 'The wedding took place in Lithuanian Vilnius, but Jesus was not invited', and her lowly birth even more explicitly through the words of Stanisław Kieżgajło: 'No one whose hands touched a plough in the past is suitable for authority'.[109]

The fact that Kieżgajło was a prominent Lithuanian nobleman reveals the discontent at the marriage felt by both nations of the Commonwealth. Barbara was not a princess to bring the union closer, and every Lithuanian father was presumably asking himself why his daughter could not be queen. As England had witnessed earlier in the sixteenth century, when Henry VIII married four of his subjects in relatively quick succession, such matches could tip the scales of internal politics in one family's favour.[110] Boratyński voices the concern that 'by marrying your subject, Your Royal Highness created as many kings of Poland as your wife has relatives in Poland and Lithuania'.[111] Barbara's lowly birth was thought dangerous primarily because the influence of her brother, Mikołaj 'the Red' Radziwiłł, and cousin, Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł, on the king had been growing since he had assumed governance of Lithuania in 1545.[112] The dialogue represents Radziwiłł familiarly addressing the king with 'Friend! Do it quickly!', and Sigismund admitting that 'I am only a king's shadow. I accepted the beauty of my subject in my stupidity'.[113]

The nobility was fiercely opposed to the marriage not only because it upset the Commonwealth's internal balance, but also because it failed to secure advantage in foreign politics. Clarissa Campbell Orr rightly argues that 'queens were usually chosen for their 'dynastic capital', which either cemented repeated alliance patterns between interlinked families, or helped to create fresh ties when new political and diplomatic alliances were forged'.[114] The distinguished descent of queens was praised as a virtue and a necessity. Even

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[108] J. Bardach, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski: do połowy XV wieku*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965) p. 569; Z. Kowalska-Urbankowa, 'Unia Polski i Litwy w latach 1385-1413 w najnowszej historiografii polskiej', *Analexta Cracoviensia*, 19 (1987) pp. 207-221; R. Gozdalik, 'Polityka dynastyczna Władysława Jagiełły a unia horodelska 1413r.', in M. Wagner and J. Wojtasik (eds.) *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów i jej tradycje* (Siedlce: Wydawnictwo AP, 2004) pp. 43-8.
[109] The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 66.101.
[110] For example, see the rise (and swift fall) of the Boleyn family: R. M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) pp. 6-48.
[111] 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech', p. 204.
[112] A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August: Król Polski i Wielki Książę Litewski, 1520-1562* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, 1996) pp. 65-66, 86-93.
[113] The Princes Czartoryski's Library, MS 66.101.
[114] C. Campbell Orr, 'Introduction', in C. Campbell Orr (ed.) *Queenship in Europe, 1660-1815: the Role of the Consort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p. 12.

though Bona's Sforza side of the family were thought thugs and bandits only a few generations before she was born, it was her connection to Emperor Maximilian I that Łaski refers to in his speech.[115] Bona's aunt, Bianca, was Maximilian's second wife. Similarly, the pageants welcoming Elizabeth of Austria to Paris in 1571 celebrate in equal measure her coronation and the alliance between France in Germany. In the Sepulchre scene, for example, Juno, the goddess of marriage, holds a Gordian knot 'which the ancients deemed indissoluble, symbolising that so will be the alliance of these two nations'.[116] The irony that the mythical knot was eventually cut in half by a sword must have escaped Bouquet in the fervour of rushed preparations. According to the scene displayed at the Porte au Peintre, the alliance would be so powerful that 'these two united nations will dominate the whole world, both the West and the East', and as represented at the Porte de Paris: 'Jupiter will capture Asia because of Elizabeth'.[117] In contrast, the Polish dialogue cleverly represents the expected international reaction to Sigismund's marriage. The Commonwealth mourns that 'we are held in disgrace by our neighbours', while the Duke of Prussia is greatly amused as he exclaims: 'I praise you in this, well done!'. The Castellan of Poznań hits the nail on the head by saying: 'unless you dismiss her, you are not Caesar's friend'. By marrying the woman with whom he committed adultery when married to Elizabeth of Austria, the king contributed to the deterioration of the already precarious relationship with the emperor.[118]

Barbara could not escape being compared to Elizabeth, because as Boratyński argued:

> Gracious King, everyone could see that your first marriage brought many advantages, much dignity, and an alliance with a foreign people, all of which were since lost because this marriage to the daughter of the Roman king and niece to the Emperor allowed you to expand the Polish borders from Moscow to Africa. It brought about the period of peace and prosperity to the Crown that people came to Poland seeking honest advice, but since Your Royal Majesty's unequal marriage was made public, foreign nations are mocking us.[119]

The fact that Sigismund's first marriage brought meagre political gains and was quite a defeat of the Polish diplomacy in restricting the opportunity of the Jagiellonian dynasty's

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[115] M. Bogucka, *Bona Sforza* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2009) pp. 21-2.
[116] Bouquet, *L'ordre tenu a l'Entrée*, f. 8r.
[117] ibid. f. 7r and 11v.
[118] Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August: Król Polski i Wielki Książę Litewski, 1520-1562*, pp. 78-80.
[119] 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech', pp. 205-6.

return to the Hungarian throne mattered little, as Boratyński used Elizabeth to emphasise the importance of a royal bride's prestige.[120] The latter was directly connected to her education in court etiquette and her ability to behave appropriately in public. The Palatine of Cracow's remark in the dialogue urging Sigismund to 'dismiss her because she screams at us' is a reflection on her low status and consequent lack of decorum. However, a letter from Barbara's cousin to her brother suggests that the pasquillo's accusations were not necessarily untrue. Radziwiłł 'the Black' writes that 'our sister's temper is worse than the old queen's [Bona's], and her stupidity prevents her from interfering in politics. There is nothing more to her, but hysteria, feminine bullheadedness, and vulgar manners'.[121] Because Barbara's family was not as distinguished as Elizabeth's, her parentage could have easily been called into question. A rumour that Barbara was the illegitimate daughter of Sigismund the Old was disseminated during the parliament and found its way into the dialogue alluded to in the exclamation of the Remaining Senators: 'You cannot have your father's daughter!'[122]

Barbara's Lithuanian birth also precluded her from exemplifying the characteristics of Marian queenship expressed in the coronation ritual. The Polish attitude to the virtue of Lithuanian women is alluded to in the dialogue by the Palatine of Sandomierz as he questions: 'Have you never known the love of Lithuanian girls?'[123] Barbara gained a notorious reputation for loose morals, as Maria Bogucka argues, largely because of Stanisław Orzechowski's two pamphlets entreating the nobility to oppose the marriage. He accuses her of witchcraft and that she was born and raised 'dishonourably', referring to her questionable parentage, to be 'adept at all kinds of debauchery and poisoning [...] All around there are men who committed lewd acts with that Thais. Senators, noblemen, rich, poor, famous, obscure, even friars, burghers, peasants, craftsmen – anyone who was accomplished at depravity would lie with her even against his will.'[124] Slandering the queen's virtue in a parliamentary speech before the king was perhaps a bit much even within the extraordinarily outspoken Polish culture and Boratyński dutifully calle her 'a virtuous lady' in his speech. The dialogue suffered from no such limitations. Gossip proudly exclaims to Whores that 'I announce you great joy, because given to us today was a king, Sigismund August, in the state of Lithuania.' The author of the pamphlet parodies a Biblical verse (Luke 2.10) to

[120] H. Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006) pp. 460-8.
[121] Cited in: M. Bogucka, 'Barbara Radziwiłłówna', in Z. Stefanowska and J. Tazbir (eds.) *Życiorysy historyczne, literackie i legendarne* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985) p. 69.
[122] The Princes Czartoryski's Library, MS 66.101.
[123] ibid.
[124] Cited in: M. Bogucka, 'Barbara Radziwiłł', p. 73.

reverse the usual imagery of annunciation associated with a queen's coronation and suggests that the king has given himself over to a whore. At the end of the dialogue the Whores rejoice 'on the day a feast is celebrated in Venera's name', while the Estate of Honest Women lament that 'prostitutes and whores precede us in the Polish kingdom.'[125] Venera is another name of Venus and the genesis of the word 'venereal' associated with sexually transmitted diseases. The subversive texts not merely reversed, but perverted both the liturgical symbolism associated with the coronation ritual and the classical imagery drawn on in the Polish wedding poetry. The unnatural nature of the union was emphasised to also suggest that just as the queen was instructed during her coronation to lead others to virtue, so Barbara was a threat to the moral values of Sigismund's subjects.

An attack on his wife was always directed against the king and there was usually an alternative agenda behind it. This was also the case with accusations made on Barbara's virtue, since as Peggy McCracken argues, 'the queen's body becomes a symbol of royal sovereignty, and a proof of her chastity guarantees her husband's authority while a proof of guilt would indicate his weakness.'[126] Even though the dialogue slanders Barbara, it represents the Equestrian Estate warning Sigismund that he was 'the beginning of destruction.'[127] The young king had to be taught a lesson for overstepping his bounds by marrying without the parliament's approval. Boratyński refers to this repeatedly in his speech, creating an explicit image of the relationship between the king and the Commonwealth:

> Most gracious King, may God help you understand that where marriage is concerned your duty is first to be obedient to your parents and that you swore to the Crown to obey its laws, one of them being that Your Royal Highness cannot do anything without the permission of the Crown Senate. And by the oath you swore upon your anointing to the throne, Your Royal Highness, you are a slave to the Crown.[128]

Rather than a metaphor for royal power, the 'Crown' was used to distinguish between Poland and the Grand Duchy. It was a reminder that the parliament and effectively the nobility quite literally owned the king. Despite Bona Sforza's efforts to buy out the crown lands, property of the Polish monarch's office, taken for debts and convert them into private Jagiellonian

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[125] The Princes Czartoryski's Library, MS 66.101.
[126] P. McCracken, *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998) p. 54.
[127] ibid.
[128] 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech', p. 203.

property, the majority of them remained in the hands of the magnates, many of them senators, as guarantees for loans. This relationship is reminiscent of that between the French monarchs and Paris. The issue was on trend in 1548, as the nobility were campaigning for the magnates to return these lands to the crown, which would lighten the economic grip of the higher nobles on the king.[129]

The events in the parliamentary chamber took a dramatic turn when Boratyński reminded Sigismund that 'even though the Polish Crown does not have silver or gold, it has such knights whose only passion is to spill blood for their honest Kings and Lords, as well as their honour and deserved liberties'.[130] Although Polish parliaments were a highly ceremonial succession of elaborate Latin speeches, Sarmatian tempers were quick, resulting in the occasional unruliness of these gatherings.[131] Sabres were sometimes drawn and shots fired in the midst of passionate political arguments. Boratyński's statements about spilling blood to defend their honour and liberties could be read as a thinly veiled threat, especially in the context of his earlier remarks about how the nobility had been humiliated by the marriage. However, at this crucial moment, members of the parliament and senators felt inspired to kneel, 'many of them wiping tears, displaying their sorrow, even though there was not one in all Crown Councils who would normally willingly kneel before their Lord'.[132] Because this happened just as Boratyński was saying 'the loyal knights appeal to you by the grace of God and kneel before you with distressed hearts', it could be the case that the event was orchestrated as a crude ploy to manipulate the young monarch.

Sigismund refused to acknowledge the act, displaying his political stamina and understanding of how the values and rhetoric of queenship cherished in the queen's coronation often seemed to have little substance outside the cathedral and could be used to merely prove a political point. The 1548 dialogue contains only one sentence in Polish spoken by the bishop of Cracow, Samuel Maciejowski: 'Oh, I don't know much. What God

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[129] Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów*, pp. 609-611.
[130] 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech', p. 207.
[131] Parliamentary ceremonial: J. A. Chróścicki, 'Hołdy lenne a ceremoniał obrad sejmu', in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich* (Cracow: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1999) pp. 165-182; J. Seredyka, 'Nabożeństwa sejmowe w dawnej Polsce. Norma prawna czy ceremoniał?, in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron (eds.) *Theatrum ceremoniale*, pp. 255-266; J. S. Dąbrowski, 'Wjazdy na sejmy w okresie panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy', in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron, pp. 277-289; M. Markiewicz, 'Ceremoniał rad senatorskich w czasach saskich', in M. Markiewicz and R. Skowron, pp. 291-296. For example, the Lviv rokosz of 1537: S. Cynarski, *Zygmunt August* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossoliński, 1988) p. 33.
[132] 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech', p. 207-8.

joined together, let no one separate'.[133] Nowak-Długewski is right to suggest that this sentence, probably spoken by the bishop at the parliament, became a running joke.[134] A similar proclamation is made by the Palatine of Poznań: 'Marriage is honourable between all'.[135] The dialogue very clearly pokes fun at the platitudes used to defend the king's marriage, also putting into question the reversed rhetoric used to attack Barbara. Ultimately realpolitik, not the queenly virtues, put a consort's crown on a woman's brow. Barbara not only remained Sigismund's wife, but was also crowned in 1550, despite the Voivode of Sandomierz's remark that he would rather see Suleiman I in Cracow than her.[136] Henryk Łowmiański suggests that this was because the magnates realised that by siding with Sigismund, they would undermine the nobility and obstruct their movement to execute the return of the crown lands.[137] By 1550 it was also increasingly obvious that Barbara was terminally ill, which made her coronation a minor concession.

The Polish nobility was allowed to explicitly and openly comment on or even subvert a royal marriage, due to their politically and economically formidable position. However, on occasion, the nobility could find themselves subverted by the seemingly most unlikely of opponents in the Polish socio-political context: the burghers. By the end of the sixteenth century, the nobility would not take any risks with royal marriages, resulting in the double election of Stephen Bathory and Anna Jagiellon. She arrived in Cracow on 27 February 1576, in time for the coronation parliament. Bathory postponed his arrival in Poland and the controversy of Emperor Maximilian's coronation for the Polish king in Vienna in December 1575 was still looming. The parliamentary discussion surrounding Anna's status was discussed in the previous chapter, but its outcome and the style of her coronation strongly suggest that she was elected as a queen consort. On the day of her entry to Cracow, she was welcomed with a speech, surviving in a manuscript in the Polish National Library's Special Collections, by the 'burghers of Kazimierz'. The latter was Cracow's sister city founded in 1335 on the Magdeburg Law by King Casimir the Great to increase Cracow's protection

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[133] The Princes Czartoryski's Library, MS 66.101.
[134] Nowak-Długewski, p. 180.
[135] The Princes Czartoryski's Library, MS 66.101.
[136] Nowak-Długewski, p. 172.
[137] Łowmiański, p. 610.

from the south; it later became a centre of Jewish settlement following the escalation of conflicts between Polish and Jewish merchants.[138]

Even though the nobility decided that Anna should be assigned a queen consort's status both ceremonially and politically, the speech seeks favour with her in ways more appropriate for a reigning monarch than the king's wife. The crucial difference lies in the source of her legitimacy. The burghers referred to her not as the bride, but rather as the heir to the Jagiellonian dynasty, stating that: 'With great joy we have awaited the arrival of Your Royal Highness, our gracious and most illustrious Princess Maiden and Mistress, as the descendant of the famous, enlightened and most illustrious late Polish Kings of the House Jagiellon, our Lords and gracious benefactors, and even more so because Lord God almighty in his sacred favour deigned to mark and appoint Your Royal Highness in their place as the Queen of Poland'. The speech continues to make explicit allusions to Anna's status by referring to the homage cities would usually pay to the king after his coronation: 'we offer Your Royal Highness our loyalty, obedience, honesty and allegiance as did our ancestors to Their Royal Hignesses our valiant Kings according to custom'.[139]

While praising the queen's distinguished family was customary, the rhetoric of legitimacy used by the burghers would usually be carefully avoided, if there was even an indication that a queen consort might have hereditary rights to the throne. For example, Jacqueline Johnson argues that this was the case with the imagery created around Elizabeth of York.[140] After her marriage to Henry VII, she was always carefully represented as his wife, and not the potential heir to Edward IV. Rather than being appropriate for a queen consort's entry, the arguments made by the burghers resemble the symbolism of Elizabeth I of England's coronation pageants. The very first pageant put the queen regnant's hereditary right on display by representing her grandparents and parents.[141] Alice Hunt rightly claims that 'the genealogical tree pageant appeals to Elizabeth's blood and lineage: it is this that places Elizabeth on the throne, despite the irony implicit in the representation of Anne and

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[138] F. Leśniak, 'Król i jego miasta w województwie krakowskim (od wieku XVI do pierwszej połowy XVIII), in R. Skowron (ed.) *Dwór a kraj. Między centrum a peryferiami władzy.* (Cracow: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2003); S. Świszczowski, *Miasto Kazimierz pod Krakowem* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1981).
[139] The Polish National Library Special Collections MS III 6640, ff. 104v-104r.
[140] Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York: mother of the Tudor dynasty', in L. Oakley-Brown and L. J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship*, pp. 49-51.
[141] R. Mulcaster, 'The Queen's Majesty's Passage through the City of London to Westminster the Day before Her Coronation', in A. F. Kinney, *Renaissance Drama: an anthology of plays and entertainments* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 23-4.

the anxieties underlying Elizabeth's legitimacy'.[142] There are two possible reasons for this type of rhetoric used in welcoming Anna. Following her and Bathory's double election as well as Emperor Maximilian being proclaimed the king of Poland, there might have been some confusion as to Anna's status. However, it is more plausible that just as the city fathers of Paris produced an unconventional image of Catherine de Medici crowning her successor in order to flatter the old queen in 1571, the burghers of Kazimierz exaggerated Anna's status to, in their own words, 'humbly ask Your Royal Highness that you keep your loyal subjects in your favour and protection'.[143] The rules of her welcome might have been blurred because she was already a familiar figure as the Polish princess, which emboldened the burghers to seek advantage over the nobility by flattering her.

The previous chapters demonstrated the existence of the shared European royal culture, shaped by the mutual political dealings, religion and similar ways of expressing legitimacy. This chapter shows how the pan-European ceremonies were adapted to the particular political, social and economic circumstances of France and Poland. Celebrations of royal marriages and coronations were shaped by the practicalities of staging the royal ceremonies and addressed matters of legitimacy particular to every European realm. The difference between the cultural reaction surrounding royal marriages in France and Poland was primarily motivated by who controlled and witnessed the festivities or was able to voice criticism. While the coronation ceremony represented the importance of the nobility and the king in reverse, excluding the cities, the festivities produced an accurate image of each country's power structures. The French cities held a more prominent role, which resulted in the great extent to which the celebrations were infused with civic culture, wrapping the rhetoric of coronation in flamboyance and staging it as a public show of wealth. In Poland the nobility, the social group which held political rights, was given priority to rejoice and criticise in their parliamentary and humanist style by speeches and classically inspired wedding songs. The themes used in both suggest that European queens were thought of in a similar way across the continent, as virtuous, fertile, noble and beautiful. The rhetoric of queenship, however, was often a set of platitudes that could be used to prove a political point or criticise the ruling monarch. Subversion walked hand in hand with celebration: in France, it was evident in staging an unexpected entry to show the city its place, allowing the king to undermine the rich merchants of Paris, but the matter was much more complicated in Poland.

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[142] Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, p. 167.
[143] The Polish National Library Special Collections MS III 6640, ff. 104v-104r.

Thanks to the nobility's strong position, they could openly criticise the king's marriage with a degree of impunity unimaginable under absolute monarchy. The arrival of a new consort brought to the fore the political tensions particular to each realm and allowed for the public to voice these tensions. Most importantly, queens sealed foreign alliances, but also allowed the monarch to renew his alliance with his subjects. Royal weddings foreshadowed the future of the realm in the anticipated birth of its future king, or at least a viable candidate in the royal elections.

Chapter 4

Conception, Childbirth and Motherhood: Performing a Royal Family

Royal weddings and coronations carefully crafted new family links by means of contracts, exchange of gifts, money and land, solidified by the symbolic authority of ritual. However, they were fleeting arrangements if not consolidated with the birth of a royal child, and historians tend to agree that bearing children had a considerable impact on a queen's life. Janet L. Nelson summarises the prevalent view that 'the birth of a daughter proved, at least, the queen's fertility' and 'the birth of a son secured a queen's position, immediately enhanced her standing, and offered hope of long term power within and through the family'.[1] This was also the vision of queenship performed at royal weddings and coronations. Previous chapters demonstrated how queenship was conceptualised and institutionalised in terms of biological motherhood, but this chapter argues that royal family relationships were much more complex. By analysis of conception, childbirth and motherhood, this chapter reconstructs the dynastic and family networks at the courts of the Jagiellonians and the Valois. When analysing royal ceremonies, historians rarely juxtapose the ceremonial image of queenship with its realities.[2] This thesis tests the idealised image of queens as biological mothers, crafted by marriage and coronation ceremonies, against the realities and perils of early modern motherhood. The liturgy, pageants, speeches, wedding songs and contracts insisted on fertility, but a queen was anointed regardless of her body's reproductive capabilities and her motherhood sometimes remained non-biological. The chapter traces the ways in which biological motherhood, non-biological motherhood and infertility were acknowledged and remembered in public and private. It demonstrates that a queen's agency was unequivocally shaped by her ingenuity in interpreting and exercising her motherhood as well as her ability to maintain positive family relationships.

Ruling sixteenth-century Europe was a family business. This chapter examines conception, childbirth and motherhood by treating 'family', meaning an emotionally

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[1] J. L. Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', in L. E. Mitchell (ed.) *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999/2011) p. 194.
[2] G. Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); U. Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów w Polsce* (Warsaw: PWN, 2011) pp. 229-259.

connected group of people, and 'dynasty', meaning relatives connected by political interests, as distinct categories of historical analysis. Historians have tended to conflate the two, treating family as no more than a vehicle for the advance of dynasty, thus reducing family to a largely political phenomenon. Historians such as Robert Knecht, David Loades and Andrew Wheatcroft, juxtapose the word 'family' with phrases like 'embodying the empire', 'kings of France' and 'in search of an heir', in their mono-dynastic histories. This chapter is the first study that uses conception, childbirth and motherhood for a cross-dynastic exploration of how a royal family was both performed in public for dynastic purposes and perpetuated in private by affectionate rituals and exchanges.[3] Just as writing about emotion in royal weddings, so tackling the royal family is problematic because historians often assume that emotion was staged for political gain and integral to the politics of dynasticism. When analysed in the context of dynastic hegemony, expressions of emotion can be reduced to a tool for 'manufacturing dynastic identity' and family members merely 'actors' determined to make their mark.[4] For example, Julia Marciari Alexander locates the seemingly affectionate portraits of Charles I of England's family within 'the visual program that fashioned Charles's personal rule'.[5] And yet, by carefully reading the source material it is possible to discern traces of love and affection that co-existed with dynastic interests. Sources related to royal childbirth and motherhood allow us two perspectives on dynastic politics and identities, those crafted by public connections as well as those conceived from and cultivated by intimate family rituals. The sources reveal that royal families were both an organised structure governed by diplomatic protocol as well as a network of organic relationships, both with a queen and her birthing body at its centre.[6]

While the concepts of royal family and dynasty are closely bound, they should not be treated as synonymous. Family served to build dynastic identity, propaganda and political programme, but the joys and burdens of royal parenthood were often private. It is too often assumed that at the royal court 'private' was just another type of 'public', despite the calls of

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[3] R. Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France 1328-1589* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2nd edition, 2007); D. Loades, *The Tudors: History of a Dynasty* (London: Continuum, 2012); A. Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire* (London, Penguin, 1996).

[4] L. Geevers and M. Marini, 'Introduction: Aristocracy, Dynasty and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1520-1700, in L. Geevers and M. Marini (eds.) *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) p. 18.

[5] J. M. Alexander, ' Portraiture and Royal Family Ties: Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses in Caroline England', in N. J. Miller and N. Yavneh (eds.) *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) pp. 209-210.

[6] 'Birthing body' is a phrase coined by K. D. Read, *Birthing Bodies in Early Modern France: Stories of Gender and Reproduction* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

some historians, like Kevin Sharpe, for 'a refiguring of the private and public' in the royal context.[7] This chapter examines the symbolism of rituals and ceremonies connected to royal childbirth to demonstrate that the dynamic between these two spheres was much more complex. The chapter takes a two-dimensional approach to royal family. It explains how royal ceremonies associated with children, both biological and bestowed, were used to stage dynastic relationships, while challenging our understanding of royal families as predominantly staged by demonstrating that some interactions and networks were personal and private. At the heart of a royal dynasty there was always a family, the dynamic of which, dependant on personal relationships and animosities, was ultimately responsible for the dynasty's success or failure.

The binary public-private dynamic underpinned ceremonies of motherhood starting months, or even years before childbirth. This chapter begins with discussing how the royal couple's wedding night located the potential conception within the appropriate context of dynastic expectations continued by pregnancy and preparations associated with the delivery. Birth itself was accompanied by celebration, churching and baptism, including the highly politicised task of appointing godparents. The chapter then moves on to exploring motherhood. While not explicitly marked by a ceremony, becoming a stepmother or adopting other forms of political motherhood was suggested by display during royal weddings, Polish elections, and, especially, in exchange of letters. This chapter brings together sources connected with the only two sixteenth-century Jagiellonian queens to have become mothers: Barbara Zapolya (Jadwiga – 15 March 1513 and Anna – 1 July 1515), Bona Sforza (Isabella – 19 January 1519, Sigismund II August – 1 August 1520, Zofia – 13 July 1522, Anna – 18 October 1523, Catherine – 1 November 1526, Albert – 20 September 1527) as well as French Catherine de Medici (Francis II – 19 January 1544, Elizabeth – 2 April 1545, Claude – 12 November 1547, Louis – 3 February 1549, Charles IX – 27 June 1550, Henry III – 14 May 1553, Margaret – 14 May 1553, Francis – 18 March 1555, Victoria and Joan – 24 June 1556). However, early modern childbirth was often shadowed by miscarriages, stillbirths and infertility as exemplified by the Polish Catherine of Austria and Anna Jagiellon, as well as the French Anne of Brittany and Eleanor of Austria. Their examples illustrate the complex mechanics behind building a royal family with little prospect of the tangible binding that a baby would provide.

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[7] K. Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) p. 232.

Conception

As the wedding feast slowly started to wind down, there was one more public duty left for any European royal couple – to stage the intimacy of their marriage on the wedding night. Public to a varying degree, the act of sex was ritualised by being witnessed to consolidate dynastic relationships. Bona Sforza and Sigismund the Old's marriage was consummated on 19 April 1518, the day after the coronation and wedding, following a second round of feasting. Unlike the French custom, which spared no time in consummating a royal marriage, the Polish ceremonial schedule allowed an extra day as an opportunity for further lavish and symbolical festivities. Ludwik Jost Decjusz, our faithful guide to Bona and Sigismund's wedding, reports that the evening started with a feast and dancing. He devotes much attention to describing how the banqueting hall was decorated with Italian vaults, and the columns studded with gems as well as golden roses in the Italian style. These decorations nodded to the queen's cultural heritage, symbolised the union of the Jagiellonian and the Sforza dynasties and contributed to projecting the image of the Jagiellonians as fashionable kings.[8] Reflecting the nature of Polish royal weddings, the consummation was explicitly performed as an affair of state. A group of people accompanied the couple to the bedroom where Bona sat on the left side of the bed while Sigismund took the right. Refreshments were served and jokes were exchanged after which at a discreetly given sign the guests departed.[9] They might not have gone far, because, according to Pierre de Bourdeille (seigneur de Brantôme), 'everyone was eavesdropping, as is the custom'.[10] However, Retha Warnicke's argument that the lack of extant records hinders any assessment of 'just how much eavesdropping English royal couples had to expect on their wedding night' can also be applied to the Polish royal weddings.[11]

In the context of dynastic politics, rituals associated with conception and birth used family as a framework to solidify existing political links and create new ones. The select group of people who led a Polish royal couple to the bedroom on their wedding night helped to close the process by witnessing the consummation and represented the public and

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[8] L. J. Decjusz, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna in splendidissimis... Sigismundi... et... Bonae...nuptiis gesta*, in Acta Tomiciana IV, p. 320.

[9] Decjusz, p. 321.

[10] P. De Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantome, *The Lives of Gallant Ladies*, transl. A. Brown (London: Elek Books, 1960) p. 240; R. M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p. 161.

[11] Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, p. 162.

international dynastic connections of the Jagiellonians. Each of the guests invited to the staged privacy of Bona and Sigismund's bedroom had or represented an interest in the possible outcome of the wedding night, especially considering that tensions over the potential conception of a Jagiellonian heir were inter-dynastic and more wide-ranging than the Polish-Lithuanian succession. Decjusz takes special care to name two people, Margrave Casimir of Branderburg-Ansbach and Duchess Anna of Masovia, among 'other Polish, German and Italian lords', who encapsulated the dynastic politics of the region.[12] In 1518 the Jagiellonians were thin on the ground. Sigismund the Old failed to father an heir in his first marriage to Barbara Zapolya and the death of Vladislaus II Jagiellon in 1516 left a teenage boy, Louis II, who was already proving a weak king, on the throne of Bohemia and Hungary. The latter's marriage to the Holy Roman Emperor's granddaughter, Mary, signified Hungary's switch from the Jagiellonian to the Habsburg sphere of influence.[13] The birth of a Jagiellonian prince stood to topple the delicate balance of central European politics by strengthening the failing dynasty.

Casimir, the Margrave of Branderburg, was related to Sigismund by blood as the son of his sister, Sophie, and named after Sigismund's father, Casimir IV Jagiellon of Poland. That made him a good choice for Emperor Maximilian I's special ambassador to emphasise that family links between the Habsburgs and the Jagiellonians ran deeper than the latest marriage match. As well as representing his master's stake in the Hungarian succession, Casimir might also have had his own interest in the outcome of Bona and Sigismund's consummation. Had the marriage failed to produce an heir to the Grand Duchy, Casimir might have staked his own claim as Sigismund's nephew (much like Sigismund III Vasa as Sigismund II August's nephew in 1586). In the early sixteenth century the shortest way to the Polish throne led through being the Grand Duchy's heir, because the union between the two was still dependant on the Jagiellonian dynasty. Robert Frost is also right to argue that 'the problem of composite monarchy is not one that should simply be viewed from above, from the point of view of the monarch and dynasty'. Political communities (in this case the Polish nobility) asserted their rights to be involved and were often driven by sentiment for a

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[12] Decjusz, p. 321.

[13] K. Teszelszky, 'Crown and Kingdom in the Republic: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of Early Modern Hungary in the Low Countries (1588-1648)', in G. Almási, S. Brzeziński and Ildikó Horn [et al.] (eds.) *A Divided Hungary in Europe: Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541-1699*, vol. 3 (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014) pp. 150-1; A. Bárány, 'Queen Mary of Hungary and the Cult of King Louis II in the Low Countries', in E. Bozzay (ed.) *Tortenetek a melyfoldrol: Magyarorszag es Nemetalfold kapcsolata a kora ujkorban* (Debrecen, 2014) pp. 362-397.

particular dynasty.[14] Casimir's presence also symbolised the interests of his brother, Albrecht Hohenzollern, the grand master of the Teutonic Knights, Poland's unwelcome neighbours to the North, who would anxiously await the wedding night's result.

Bona and Sigismund's wedding night is representative of the particular tensions around succession in an elective monarchy, where a politically appealing claim could be more important than blood ties to the predecessor. These tensions were encapsulated by another special guest, Duchess Anna of Masovia. She did not become a duchess in the conventional English sense by marrying a duke, but was the sister of Duke Janusz and Duke Stanisław, daughter of Duke Konrad.[15] Masovia, together with the modern capital of Poland, Warsaw, remained under the rule of the Piasts, the hereditary Polish rulers preceding the Jagiellonians. This was the result of the feudal partitions of Poland in 1138. Masovia was divided into smaller duchies and as the Masovian Piasts were dying out their territories were reunited with Poland. The relationship between the two political entities was complex, escaping the definition of composite monarchy united by one ruling dynasty. Their connection could be defined as a regnum, a set of territories united by the idea of belonging to the same crown, even if ruled independently by other dynasties. Even though Anna and Sigismund were not blood-relatives, their bodies politic were related by virtue of belonging to the same regnum, granting the Masovian Piasts access to the wedding night. Had Sigismund the Old died childless, it would have given the Piasts the opportunity, counting on the lingering sentiment for the olden days, to return to the Polish throne as elective kings. Tension in the room must have been palpable, considering that the Jagiellonian heir to the Polish throne was to be conceived under the old Piast banners, the Piast eagle and colours white and red were used by the Jagiellonians to fortify their legitimacy.[16] The birth of a son would strengthen the Jagiellonian grasp on the region and compel these inter-dynastic, political relatives to adjust their political strategies.

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[14] R. Frost, 'The limits of dynastic power. Poland-Lithuania, Sweden and the problem of composite monarchy in the Age of the Vasas, 1562-1668', in T. Andrade and W. Reger (eds.) *The Limits of Empire: European Imperial Formations in Early Modern World History: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Parker* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) p. 152.

[15] For more on the Masovian Piasts see: J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich: studia nad dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytulacją i genealogią książąt* (Kraków: Avalon, 2012); A. Salina, *Polityka książąt mazowieckich wobec władz Kościoła od początku XIV wieku do 1526 roku* (Poznań: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2011); M. Wilska, *Mazowieckie środowisko dworskie Janusza Starszego. Studium społeczne* (Warsaw: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2012).

[16] Małgorzata Kaganiec argues that the Masovian and Silesian branches of the Piast dynasty kept various versions of the royal Piast eagle as their coats of arms. M. Kaganiec, *Heraldyka Piastów Śląskich, 1146-1707* (Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie, 1992) p. 25.

The difference between the Polish and French wedding nights lies in the degree of familial relationships between royal couples and their chaperones. The ritual accompanying the French wedding night reflects the legitimacy that comes from close family connections as well as tensions resulting from hereditary monarchy. The bride was usually accompanied by a woman closely related to her husband rather than a group of political relatives as was the case in Poland. For example, a letter addressed to the bishop of Asti reports about Louis XII and Mary of England's wedding in 1514 that 'The most Christian King had the Queen dressed in the French costume, and they gave a ball, the court banqueting, dancing, and making good cheer; and thus at the eighth hour, before midnight, the Queen was taken away from the entertainment by "Madame" [the king's daughter Claude], to go and sleep with the king'.[17] Claude was not only Louis' daughter, but also the wife of his heir, the future Francis I of France. Descended from the Angoulême side of the family, Claude's husband had little chance of becoming king, should the consummation be successful.

While Bona and Sigismund's wedding demonstrates the importance of staging a royal marriage for inter-dynastic relatives, Catherine de Medici and Dauphin Henry's wedding night in 1533 suggests that dynastic tensions often manifested as close family concerns. The new dauphine was led to the bridal chamber by her husband's stepmother, Eleanor of Austria. The Milanese ambassador, Antonio Sacco, reports that Henry's father, Francis I, stayed behind 'to see them [Henry and Catherine] jousting, and indeed each of them did joust beautifully'.[18] Clearly outranked by his father, young Henry had little to say in the matter of his sexuality as a married man, though privately he remained unchecked in his affairs with multiple mistresses. Inappropriate as the father watching his son consummate his marriage may be to us now, Francis wanted to ensure that the marriage was consummated and legitimate. When the groom was allowed to decide, wedding nights tended to be more private affairs, even if not all resorted to such dramatic devices as Charles I of England who bolted seven doors on his wedding night with Henrietta Maria to ensure privacy.[19] The lack of reports suggests that Mary of England and Louis XII managed to preserve a similar degree of seclusion. Among early modern kings, Henry VIII was notoriously reluctant to invite ambassadors to his chamber on his multiple wedding nights, although he never hesitated to

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[17] CSPV II 511.

[18] 'Lettre italienne écrite de Marseille au Duc par un témoin des cérémonies qui curent lieu pour célébrer le mariage de Catherine de Médicis avec Henri d'Orléans', in A. de Reumont, *La Jeunesse de Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1866) pp. 319-24; K. Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015) p. 229.

[19] Warnicke, p. 162.

put the sexuality of his wives, and by extension his own, on public trial provided that it served his interests. His marital problems had a ripple effect on other European monarchs and potentially contributed to Francis I's anxiety that Henry's marriage was consummated. Henry Milton Waldman argues that the pressure put on Dauphin Henry and Catherine de Medici to consummate their marriage on the wedding night was 'in accordance with a proviso expressly inserted in the contract by the Pope: for he had an exceedingly troublesome annulment suit on his hands at the moment, that of the King of England, Henry VIII, against his wife, Catherine of Aragon, and thought it best to take every possible precaution to avoid another.'[20]

Even if the act of sex was private, the consummation was always proven by public acts of recognition, although sparing the pope paperwork was hardly the main reason. The legitimacy of both marriage and children was ensured equally by boasts and tokens of affection delivered on the morning after. Following Bona and Sigismund's wedding night, the staged intimacy continued when the latter played the role of satisfied husband by showering Bona with gifts. Even though delivered seemingly in private, the expensive jewels, studded with pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds, and pieces of cloth were described in minute detail by Ludwik Jost Decjusz. The chronicler emphasised that according to custom the messenger, Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, the grand treasurer of the crown, was to assure Bona of Sigismund's affection and respect. A much more direct verbal expression was usually expected in France and England. Louis XII's appreciation for Mary of England was reported by a Venetian letter addressed to the bishop of Asti: 'the next morning, the 10th, the King seemed very jovial and gay, and in love, [to judge] by his countenance'. This suggests that the groom's behaviour would be closely watched by his wedding guests for signs of displeasure. The same letter contains what must have been the king's own boast that 'thrice did he cross the river last night, and would have done more, had he chosen'.[21] Erin Sadlack argues that 'it was in both Louis and Mary's interest to confirm the health of their marriage, and by extension, the health of the alliance between England and France'.[22] Similarly, Sigismund's 'affection and respect' were directed at the emperor as much as at the new Polish queen. The monarch's family represented royal authority, signifying dynastic strength or weakness. The seemingly disrespectful boasts indicated that

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[20] M. Waldman, *Biography of a Family: Catherine de Medici and her Children*(London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937) p. 4.

[21] CSPV II 511.

[22] E. Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters: Mary Tudor Brandon and the Politics of Marriage in Sixteenth-century Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) pp. 70-1.

the couple's personal union, the basis for the future family, was robust and healthy. Catherine of Aragon discovered their potency as proof of consummation when Prince Arthur's words were presented as evidence in the trial which eventually confirmed the validity of that marriage: 'Willoughby, bring me a cup of ale for I have been this night in the midst of Spain' and 'masters, it is a good pastime to have a wife'.[23] It might have been the case that both Sigismund and Louis really did like their new wives, but because the ritual of marriage consummation was performed in public, whether understood as witnessed by ambassadors and inter-dynastic relatives or described in print, it functioned primarily within the politics of dynasticism. The ritual used the families, which I will argue below were connected by real sentiment, as a framework for consolidating political connections.

Childbirth

If sex resulted in conception, there was a variety of public and private ways of announcing the news. Maria Hayward notes that Jane Seymour and Mary I of England chose to reveal their pregnancies visually by means of clothing. Mary appeared 'richly apparelled and her belly laid out, that all men might see that she was with child' in 1554, while the Lisles were informed in 1537 that Jane 'is great with child, and shall be open-laced with stomacher betwixt this and Corpus Christi Day'.[24] Closer to the date, preparing the room for the queen's confinement and childbirth was often the confirmation to the ever watchful eyes of courtiers. Sigismund the Old was away when Bona was eight months pregnant in July 1520, but he sent Marcin Wolski, his treasurer, to oversee the furnishing of the *puerperium*.[25]

Royals were generally cautious in announcing pregnancies, because of the uncertainty and risk involved. Karen Hearn and Pauline Croft argue that this is precisely why pregnancy portraits were so rarely commisioned in the early modern period, as there was a good chance that they would be commemorating a family tragedy.[26] The news was often spread privately, which makes letters concerning childbirth an excellent source for tracking the network of personal relationships at European courts and identifying the monarch's trusted inner circle. For example, the letter sent by Sigismund to Barbara Zapolya, his first

[23] A. Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) p. 168.

[24] Hayward, 'Dressed to Impress', in A. Hunt and A. Whitelock (eds.) *Tudor Queenship*, p. 85.

[25] AT V p. 280; For more on Marcin Wolski (and Sigismund's other Masovian courtiers) see: M. Bogucka, 'Mazowsze na mapie Polski i Europy w XVI-XVII w.', in *Rocznik mazowiecki*, vol. 15 (2003) p. 12.

[26] P. Croft and K. Hearn, '"Only matrimony maketh children to be certain...": Two Elizabethan pregnancy portraits', *The British Art Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Autumn 2002) pp. 19-24.

wife, in the spring of 1515, before the birth of their second daughter, Jadwiga, reveals his concern that:

> Regarding the nurse for our child, may your royal highness deign to take council with our sister, if you wish, so that with your joint counsel a nurse might be selected well in advance of the child's birth, so that she is waiting for the child rather than the other way round. We are also writing to the famous Jan Boner, the burgrave and city councillor of Kraków, to take every care with bringing and setting up the nurse chosen by your royal highness and our sister.[27]

Jan Boner, a German-born Polish merchant, made a remarkable career in the nobility-dominated Poland-Lithuania to become one of its wealthiest men.[28] But Sigismund contacted him as his personal financial advisor and trusted friend, rather than in his official capacity as the city council's representative. Their relationship remained close, and Sigismund sent Boner to Italy in 1517 as his unofficial ambassador to procure the fashionable cloth required for his second wedding to Bona Sforza (see Chapter 1). Friendships were important, but being related by blood fostered the creation of special ties at the Polish court. Little has been written about Sigismund's youngest sister Elizabeth, but Sigismund's trust could hardly be ascribed to her experience with children, because she was unmarried. Besides entrusting her with guiding his wife through pregnancy, the king's brotherly feelings manifested as little tokens of affection, such as sending some Lithuanian bison meat for her table in 1513. Przeździecki argues that bison meat was greatly valued in the sixteenth century, counting Pope Leo X (Catherine de Medici's uncle) among its die-hard fans.[29]

The complex interplay between the public and private in the family life of the last Jagiellonians can similarly be mapped by letters exchanged between Sigismund August and Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł in the spring of 1554 when the king's second wife, Catherine of Austria, became pregnant. Sigismund and Mikołaj became friends shortly after Sigismund took over governance of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from his father, Sigismund the Old, in 1543 and then family when Sigismund secretly married Mikołaj's cousin, Barbara Radziwiłł, in the summer of 1547. The king was blunt in sharing his concerns on 6 April 1554:

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[27] AT III, p. 372; Przeździecki, vol. 1, p. 31.

[28] D. Z. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001) pp. 79-80.

[29] Przeździecki, vol. 1, p. 24.

Today her highness the queen, our wife, let us know of her very bad health and for that reason we sent our doctor Baża to her royal highness, but today, this very hour we have received letters from doctors of the dangerous state of her royal highness' health, and finally from the queen herself, in which she asks us with great urgency to come as soon as possible. So tomorrow we will go to her royal highness early in the morning, leaving all of our matters behind. And having spent Sunday there, we will go to Lublin on Monday on our business.[30]

The letter confirms that Sigismund and Mikołaj's friendship was close and at the same time reveals that there was real concern for the queen's health. Radziwiłł continued to receive detailed day-to-day updates of Catherine's wellbeing. On 11 April the king wrote that she 'is in good health, not even anxious, and she is constantly feeling the baby in her womb'.[31] The situation became dire again on 16 April when:

The Queen her highness our wife had some *post hunc fluxum sanguinis* [bleeding afterwards], and is not entirely well, especially since she feels the *metum foetus* [anxiety of the foetus], the further along her highness is the more ill she feels. And because women better understand these things than anyone else, even doctors, and your lordship deigned to mention Ms Kozicka who *in hoc artis genere est bene probata* [is proficient in this kind of skill], we demand that your lordship sends her without delay to Parczów so that she may see what is happening. And having done that, we demand that she let us know via our chamberlain, *omne hoc, quod sit* [all of it as it is], and the hofmeister will pass Ms Kozicka's letter on to us. Your lordship will do us a great service with this.[32]

This letter reveals the complex and often idiosyncratic balance between public and private relationships at the Polish royal court. Sigismund informs his friend of his wife's health, but then assumes his royal authority to 'demand', though sparing no politeness, a service from his subordinate. The request for Ms Kozicka to examine the queen was made in private, but an alternative channel is suggested for receiving her reply. By marking the boundary with his household officer, Sigismund asserts his authority as a monarch and that Catherine's pregnancy was a matter of state.

The means of spreading the news might have been subtle, but giving birth to a royal child was a performance, even if shared only with the closest family. There are no extant

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[30] *Listy orginalne Zygmunta Augusta do Mikołaja Radziwiłła Czarnego*, S. A. Lachowicz (ed.) (Vilnius: T. Glücksberg, 1842) p. 78.
[31] *Listy orginalne Zygmunta Augusta,* p. 78.
[32] ibid. p. 79.

sources describing what happened inside the Polish birthing chamber, but there is evidence to suggest that the queen was granted little privacy. In the same letter that informed Bona of Marcin Wolski's mission to furnish the *puerperium*, Sigismund also writes that 'we wish to come to your majesty so that we might be present during the delivery'.[33] The Polish king was not isolated in his desire to witness his child's birth. When Catherine de Medici finally gave birth to Henry's first son at the chateau de Fontainebleau on 19 January 1543, the dauphin was not only present in the room, but also noted the circumstances 'accompanying the birth connected to understanding the future of the baby: the dauphine suffered all day on the 19th and the baby was born "au coucher du soleil, mais quand l'astre était encore sur l'horizon de la Terre"'.[34] Nightfall was associated with fear of the devil and his servants, such as demons and witches, in early modern superstitions fostered by Christianity and human fear of the darkness.[35] For that reason the chronicler takes great care to mention that the sun, which symbolised the prince, was still just shining over the horizon. This liminal state between day and night emphasises the liminal state of birth, but it is also an early example of the typically French metaphor for kingship. By the seventeenth century the image of the court as a celestial phenomenon was well established. Nicholas Faret in *L'honneste-homme; Ou, L'art de plaire a la court* (1630) describes the court with the sun king at its centre: 'princes and great men are about a king like goodly stars, which receive all their light from him'.[36]

The light-dark axis of Catherine de Medici's delivery resonates well with the symbolism of the French baptism ceremony. The French custom was to perform these ceremonies close to sunset and ritualise the act of holding torches to brighten the twilight. The baptism of Francis I and Claude of France's first son on 25 April 1518 'took place at night, but it was as bright as day because of the large number of torches being held.'[37] The surviving description of the baptism of Henry II and Catherine de Medici's second son devotes an entire section to the event's illumination. A hundred white burning torches were held by noblemen, and a hundred yellow burning torches were held by archers; torches of various colours were also strategically positioned in various points of the chapel and the bedroom from which the little prince was processionally carried by his father.[38] The

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[33] AT V p. 280.
[34] I. Cloulas, *Catherine*, p. 71.
[35] D. Oldridge, 'Foreword: Something of the Night', in V. Theile and A. D. McCarthy (eds.) *Staging the Superstitions of Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013) pp. xvii-xx.
[36] Cited in C. Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 124.
[37] Godefroy, *Ceremonial francais*, vol. 2, p. 140.
[38] ibid. pp. 154-5.

importance attributed to the lights suggests that they were a highly symbolic part of the ceremony, evocative of innocence. This impression is reinforced by the traditional colour-scheme in which the baby was dressed: white cloth of silver lined with ermine fur, 'signifiant virginité'.[39] By emphasizing the baby's purity, the ritual represented him as the Christ-like king bringing new light to the realm. The French baptism also symbolised another liminal aspect of royal power – just as the sun sets cyclically in anticipation of another day, so the body politic is passed on from one body natural to the other in a seemingly eternal cycle of legitimacy. Henry's death was inevitable, but his mortality is symbolically averted by the birth of his son, who would keep the Valois body politic alive and well.

The French custom was to wait as long as a few months before baptising a royal new-born, which allowed international guests enough time to arrive and often for the mother to participate following her churching. Claude of France watched her son Francis' baptism on 25 April 1518 (two months after giving birth) from behind a curtain together with her husband Francis I.[40] The question of status also played a role in selecting the baptism date. The description of Dauphin Henry and Catherine de Medici's first son's baptism makes clear that it took place on 'the day ordained by the king'.[41] Just as during his wedding night Dauphin Henry was again outranked by his father, King Francis I. Less than a month passed between the delivery and the baptism on 10 February 1543, not allowing enough time for the dauphine's churching. But even though she was absent, she was symbolically inserted into the family context of the ceremony. The passageway from the bedroom to the chapel was decorated with 'les armoiries du Roy, & de Moseigneur le Dauphin, & de Madame la Dauphine'.[42] Catherine could not be on display, but she was present nevertheless. The room from which the baby was taken to be baptised was 'adjoined and adjacent to the Madame Dauphine's chamber', so that a private moment with her son before the official ceremony could be possible.[43]

The baptism's description only hints at the family's intimacy, because, similarly to the ritual of royal marriage consummation, the ceremony's main purpose was to put the family's public connections on display. The list of nobility present at the baptism of Catherine's first son is unsurprisingly reminiscent of that recording the attendance at her

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[39] Godefroy, vol. 2, p. 140.
[40] Godefroy, vol. 2, p. 142.
[41] ibid. p. 144.
[42] Godefroy, vol. 2, p. 145.
[43] ibid.

coronation in 1549, while taking account of the shifting inter-dynastic alliances. In 1542 the Italian Wars were in full swing again. Francis allied himself with Venice and the Ottoman Empire against the Holy Roman Emperor. Accordingly, the Venetian ambassador served as the prince's godfather and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was mentioned as the papal legate designated to advise on a potential peace treaty.[44] The godparents chosen for Francis and Claude's son in 1518 similarly had been carefully considered to reflect both the political connections and blood relationships of the Valois in western and central Europe. The purely practical considerations behind the birth-baptism interval were clear to all present:

> The reason for the long postponement of the baptism was that the Sacred Father, Leon, and the King of Sicily, the Duke of Lorraine, were to become godparents, and they were both in countries far away; the said Duke of Lorraine came in person. The Sacred Father sent his nephew, the magnificent Lorenzo Duke of Urbino. The godmother was the Duchess of Alençon.[45]

Crafting alliances was a generational relay-race. The ceremony sealed the uneasy alliance with Pope Leo X by the presence of Catherine de Medici's father and reaffirmed the long-standing friendship with Antoine, the Duke of Lorraine, who fought alongside Francis I in the Italian Wars. It also confirmed the role of the king's sister, Marguerite of Navarre, as an in-case-of-emergency guardian of Francis' children, a role she fulfilled for her nieces following Claude's death, and the friendship between Francis and Henry of Navarre in one swift stroke.

We know little about Polish royal baptisms, except that much like in England, they usually took place very soon after the birth and prior to the queen's churching, excluding her from attending. The liturgical books of Wawel cathedral suggest that the standard mass was augmented with exorcisms performed by the bishop, including prayers and gestures, such as blowng into the baby's face, placing a stole on its chest, putting salt in its mouth and pouring water onto the baby.[46] Nothing seems to suggest that the liturgy was adapted in any way for a royal child, except for the tradition of placing the baby on St Stanisław's altar at the end of the mass. The first performance of this tradition was recorded at Władysław IV's baptism in 1595, but it might have been performed earlier, especially since we know that offering a newly-baptised child to a saint in a similar way was a well established tradition at the

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[44] ibid. pp. 144-5.
[45] Godefroy, vol. 2, p. 139.
[46] Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów*, p. 256.

English court.[47] Wawel cathedral was the usual site for royal baptisms, but practical considerations dictated otherwise on occasion. Sigismund the Old's first wife Barbara Zapolya gave birth to Jadwiga on 15 March (Good Friday) 1513 in the bishop's palace on Ostrów Tumski, an island located on the Warta River as it flows through Poznań. The princess was baptised on the following Tuesday (19 March), three days after Sigismund sent the following letter to Mikołaj Lubrański, the voievode of Poznań and his wife, Jadwiga (née Żychlińska):

> The Most Illustrious Queen our most beloved Wife delivered Our daughter yesterday; herself remaining in perfect health. We have decided to have her baptised next Tuesday. For this reason we invite your lordship to come in haste with the lady voievodina, your wife and by holding our daughter for baptism to become our *kum* [blood relative] with that pious act. It would bring us great pleasure.[48]

In comparison to the careful French considerations, the Polish selection of the voivode and voivodina of Poznań for Princess Jadwiga's godparents seems rushed, suggesting that the convenience of proximity was the motivating factor. It could also suggest that the baby's ill health might have required an expeditious ceremony and equally emphasises the importance of making alliances with the local nobility within the context of the Polish parliamentary system. Most importantly, the disparity between who the godparents were and who the royal couple counted on to take care of the baby reflects how divergent the displayed idea of royal family was from where real royal affection and trust were placed. Two months after their baby's birth, Sigismund and Barbara left Poland for Lithuania where a new war with the Muscovites was brewing. Rather than leaving their daughter with her godparents in Poznań, the royal couple entrusted her to Sigismund's sister Elizabeth. Sigismund was also prompt to inform Elizabeth of her future ward's birth. The letter was sent with the same post as Lubrański's, but the tone it strikes is much more personal. The king writes:

> Most illustrious princess, dearest sister. We inform your most illustrious self to your comfort that our most serene wife has delivered our daughter and is well herself. Of which we inform your most illustrious self so that you might rejoice with us and take off

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[47] Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów*, pp. 256-7.
[48] AT II, p. 181; Printed in: W. Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI wieku. Obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I i Zygmunta Augusta Królów Polskich*, vol. 1 (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1868) p. 14.

the mourning clothes you have worn on our account. For the almighty God lifts old woes and bestows fresh misery.[49]

As the head of the family, it was the monarch's prerogative to decide when his relatives were allowed to finish mourning, but Sigismund gently instructs Elizabeth in a truly brotherly manner, revealing the closeness of their relationship. Mourning could have been on account of the death of their sister, Sophie Jagiellon, Margravine of Branderburg-Ansbach and mother of Albrecht Hohenzollern, in October 1512. More importantly, however, the letter suggests that just as the French ceremony of baptism was a public reminder of the mortality of kings, the birth of their children evoked similarly gloomy thoughts in private.

Correspondence relating to children allows for exploring the complex personal relationships between the last Jagiellonians and arguing that affection was often unevenly distributed within the family. The difference in familiarity between the siblings is revealed when comparing Elizabeth's letter, filled with affectionate guidance, to the letter Sigismund sent to his older brother, Ladislaus of Hungary, together with his ambassador, Jan Zborowski, who delivered a speech:

> Most illustrious, beloved King! His lordship the king of Poland, my most beloved lord, bid me deliver his assurance of friendship and a brotherly greeting, so that your royal highness would be happily satisfied to be his royal highness' friend and wish him first good health and happiness and then a long reign as a lord and his beloved brother.

> His royal highness, my most beloved lord, deigned to send this letter to your royal highness and when it is read his royal highness asked me to summarise to your royal highness.

> Most beloved King! His royal highness the king of Poland, my beloved master, has sent me to your royal highness to announce that her highness the queen deigned to deliver a daughter, healthy in all her limbs, at four in the afternoon on Good Friday, and her highness is in good health herself, thank God. This brought great comfort and joy to his royal highness and he has complete trust that your royal highness will be glad of this news and will also rejoice as suits a brother of the same blood.[50]

The letter mentions the close family connection between the brothers, but otherwise is filled with platitudes more appropriate in staged relationships between European rulers, not

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[49] AT II, p. 181.
[50] AT II 181-2.

dissimilar to the rhetoric of affection traced by Erin Sadlack in letters exchanged relating to Mary of England and Louis XII wedding.[51] This could have been partly because Sigismund was addressing Ladislaus in his professional capacity adhering to royal diplomatic protocol, where any change in a letter's formula might have been read as a statement.[52] Intimate friendships of rulers can sometimes be mapped out by reading their correspondence, but letters exchanged by the two Jagiellonian brothers around the time of Jadwiga's birth deal primarily with the Muscovites and the Turks.[53]

The Polish and French baptisms reflected the peculiarities of the two divergent political systems. Both the Valois and the Jagiellonians used the ceremony to make public alliances in the guise of accepting new family members. Similarly to royal coronations, the French nobility were on display, but the honour of godparenting was most often granted to foreign ambassadors. A surviving letter confirms that another politically significant group, the merchants of Paris, was informed after Henry II's second son was born in 1548. The constable of France wrote to the Prevot des Marchands and the Eschevins of Paris that 'the queen gave the king a beautiful son, to whom she gave birth last night'.[54] Having tightened his alliance with the voievode of Poznań through the princess' baptism, Sigismund the Old informed the rest of the significant Polish nobles by writing to the parliament that

> Any gift received from above should be graciously accepted. God gave us a daughter happily delivered by Her Royal Highness and he deigned to keep her [the queen] in good health. We give thanks for this to God and our Patron Saints and announce it to your lordships to your happiness.[55]

Slightly apologetic for leaving the question of the Lithuanian and thus Polish succession unanswered, Sigismund performed a role familiar to any king, that of the father trying to conceal disappointment at his daughter's birth, regardless of how he actually felt about having a baby-girl. The reaction was staged in similar ways by kings across the continent.

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[51] Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters*, pp. 3-8.
[52] For example, see Rayne Allinson and Geoffrey Parker's analysis of formulaic wordplay in letters exchanged between Philip of Spain and Elizabeth I of England: R. Allinson and G. Parker, 'A King and Two Queens: The holograph correspondence of Philip II with Mary I and Elizabeth I', in H. Hackett (ed.) *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Farham: Ashgate, 2015) pp. 103-6.
[53] For examples see: AT II, pp. 182-4.
[54] Godefroy, vol. 2, p. 155.
[55] Przeździecki, vol. 1, p. 15; AT II, p. 181.

For example, a similar mantra was repeated by Henry VIII of England after the birth of his daughters.[56]

Even if often formulaic, the joy expressed at the delivery of healthy royal children was one of becoming a parent, as well as that of securing the future of the dynasty. Explicit expressions of such private happiness occasionally survive in the sources. Sigismund the Old's prayer book, made in 1524 in the workshop of Stanisław Samostrzelnik, contains such an explicit and private expression of joy at becoming a father. Prayer books were portable and personal, carried in the pockets of their owners as convenient family albums and scrapbooks. Sigismund's prayer book contains personal marginalia, such as a handwritten recipe involving the use of scorpion oil and uplifting proverbs, but he used it primarily to record the births of his children in his own hand. About the birth of his daughter, he writes: 'On Tuesday, when four in the evening was still ringing, on 18 January 1519, in Cracow was born the most illustrious lady Isabella of Casimir's line, I wish [to let you know] that you are regarded most lucky and passionately desired'.[57] Similar sentiment accompanies Sigismund's entry about the birth of his second daughter Sophie 'most lucky and desired', and Sigismund's joy in his old age for which he was grateful to god.[58] This affectionate message to his daughters reveals that the mantra of kings presented with daughters instead of sons was not necessarily a staged response. Sigismund addresses his daughters in the second person of present tense, suggesting that she might have been able to read the entry. Sentiment expressed in private seems more genuine, but the reaction was still chiselled to match the baby's gender. For example, Sigismund's comment on his only son's birth focuses on his future role as 'the king and heir, favoured by the stars for our state, authority, happiness and desire'.[59]

The shared ownership of the book with his wife, Bona Sforza, also makes it a rare testament to a royal couple's relationship.[60] Because births of the Jagiellonian children were recorded in two hands, the earlier ones in Latin the later in Italian, it is highly likely that Bona Sforza at some point overtook the family record-keeping. This reflects not only that the

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[56] J. Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) p.19.
[57] BL, MS add. 15, f. 222.
[58] BL, MS add. 15, f. 221.
[59] ibid. f. 222.
[60] BL, MS add. 15, f. 281; Z. Ameisenowa, *Cztery rękopisy illuminowane z lat 1524-1528* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1967); B. Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, "Auriga" Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1983); B. Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe, 1320-1540* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993).

family identity of the last Jagiellonians was crafted in part by private rituals, but taking over each other's personal things also suggests that the arranged marriage was perhaps not entirely superficial. In an attempt to avoid the awkwardness of forgetting his wife's birthday, Sigismund also dutifully recorded the date; the prayer book was an all-encompassing family record-book. The royal couple's shared prayer book paints an intimate picture of the royal family with affectionate rituals at its centre. But the Jagiellonians were not unique in their private ways of keeping family records. A similar object belonged to the medieval Piasts of Przemyśl, and Charles V of France, whose prayer book included notes left by his aunt Margaret as well as sisters Eleanor and Maria.[61] Anne Boleyn's book of hours also suggests that Sigismund and Bona were not the only royal couple to pass their prayer book back and forth. Henry VIII famously left affectionate comments in French in Anne's book when they were courting.[62]

If we allow ourselves a carefully empathetic reading of the less explicit sources, it is possible to suggest that behind the facade of image politics, royal parents bestowed affection and care on European princes and princesses. The above-mentioned private exchange between Sigismund August of Poland and Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł is only one example. Catherine de Medici and Henry II repeatedly expressed concern over their children's health in numerous letters. Leonie Frieda points out that the children were often removed to areas less likely to be affected by the plague, for example, 'to a pavilion by the water where they will be better lodged'. Anxiety over dynastic continuity is hardly a sufficient explanation. Genuine affection is suggested in a letter sent by Henry to Charles d'Humières after the dauphin had suffered from smallpox: 'Keep your eye upon him for anything that he requires and keep me constantly informed about the health of my daughter'. A similar intensity of feeling is detected in Catherine de Medici's constant desire for new portraits of her children. She wrote to d' Humières: 'I would like to have paintings of all the children done [...] and sent to me, without delay, as soon as they are finished'.[63] A set of miniature portraits representing both alive and deceased members of her family was included

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[61] For example, book of hours belonging to Kunegunda and St Agnieszka of the Przemyślid Piasts include 63 notes taken between 1200 and 1250. Borkowska, pp. 45-6. Original held at Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Facsimile: M. Harrsen, *Cursus Sanctae Mariae. A thirteenth Century Manuscript, Now M. 739 in the Pierpont Morgan Library Probably Executed in the Premonstratensian Monastery of Louka in Moravia at the Instance ofthe Margravine Kunegunda for Presentation to Her Niece Saint Agnes* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1937); Charles V's book of hours: *Das Gebetbuch Karls V. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex vindobonensis 1859 der Österrechischen Nationalbibliothek*, Einführung von H. K. von Lichtenstein (Graz, 1976).
[62] BL, Kings, MS 9.
[63] All cited in: L. Frieda, *Catherine de Medici* (London: Phoenix, 2005) p. 109.

in her prayer book commissioned not long after 1572. Her surviving children are portrayed with their spouses: Charles IX with Elizabeth of Austria, Elizabeth with Philip II of Spain, Francis II with Mary Stuart, except for Francis, Duke of Anjou, Elizabeth I of England's unsuccessful suitor. Henry III is also portrayed separately from his wife, Louise of Lorraine, probably because the book was commissioned prior to their marriage, or perhaps due to Catherine's displeasure at the disadvantageous match. The deeply personal nature of the prayer book is suggested by the two images of Marguerite, one with her husband Henry, the other a more intimate portrait, where she is represented in her smock, looking in a hand-held mirror (Fig. 10).[64] Despite the often tense relationship between mother and daughter, Catherine was clearly proud of Marguerite on

Figure 10: Marguerite of Navarre, BnF, MS. Nal. 82, fol. 151v

two levels. In terms of dynastic politics, Marguerite's marriage secured an important alliance with Navarre, but the miniature captures Catherine's personal pride of the daughter who was considered the belle of the French court, described as 'discreet, beautiful and graceful'.[65]

The miniatures representing Catherine de Medici's family are unique in signifying pride in her inter-dynastic connections and affection for her children, because family portraits were not part of the canon of representation in prayer books, usually including pastoral and biblical scenes.[66] But among the set elements to be included, such as a calendar or psalms, prayer books provide a rare insight into private family rituals and anxieties surrounding the birth of royal children. Prayer books could be perceived as objects designed to display wealth and status, but John Harthan is right to argue that 'in the Middle Ages piety was an important means of self-expression, obligatory for the professed religious, unquestioningly accepted by the vast majority of layfolk. With piety often went display;

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[64] *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Médicis*, BnF, MS. Nal. 82, fol. 151v.

[65] Knecht, *Catherine*, p. 42.

[66] U. Borkowska, *Królewskie modlitewniki: Studium z kultury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku)* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1999), pp. 32-38.

luxury cannot be kept out of religion'.[67] Their association with childbirth was connected to their identity as objects of Marian worship. Charity Scott-Stokes argues that prayers to Virgin Mary were guaranteed to 'bring the greatest rewards imaginable, including safety in childbirth'.[68] The link was also visual as 'medieval paintings usually represent Virgin Mary holding a book of hours in her hand, especially in annunciation scenes to emphasise that she was praying when the archangel came to her'.[69] In the royal context, this would almost certainly evoke associations with the annunciation metaphor of the queen's coronation and entry pageants.

Child Loss

Not all pregnancies ended in healthy deliveries and not all children survived to adulthood. The most striking miniatures in Catherine de Medici's prayer book are those of her children who died in infancy (Fig. 11). Louis, whose baptism in 1548 required the meticulous light placement described above, died in October of the same year. The little boy is pictured in Catherine's prayer book next to his two sisters who are portrayed as tightly swaddled new-borns.[70] One of the twins, Joan, was a stillborn, while the other, Victoria, died a little over a month after being born on 24 June 1556. This suggests that royal prayer books were not primarily used to project dynastic success, but as personal ways to remember. The grief of royal mothers could manifest in other ways too. Anne of Brittany, who spent close to two decades attempting to deliver an heir to the French throne, developed her own ways of remembering her babies who failed to survive beyond childhood. Michael Alan Anderson argues that Anne's wish to remember manifested in the commissioning of Mouton's *Celeste beneficium/Adjutorium nostrum* following her delivery of another stillborn son in 1508.[71] The acts of remembrance could also be visual and public, while retaining a sense that child loss was a private family tragedy. Patricia Phillippy demonstrates how the funeral monument for Sophia Stuart, daughter of James I and Anne of Denmark, who lived only two days, represents her sleeping in her cradle, turned away and shielded from casual glances of the

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[67] J. Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (Golborne: Thames and Hudson, 1977) p. 32.

[68] C. Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected Texts Translated from Latin, Anglo-Norman French and MIddle English with Introduction and Interpretive Essay* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006) p. 159.

[69] Borkowska, p. 50.

[70] *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Médicis*, BnF, MS. Nal. 82, f. 156v.

[71] M. A. Anderson, *St. Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) pp. 159-163.

public and 'bespeaks the privacy and intimacy of her birth and death, perceived as appropriate even to the royal family. Her death, though marked in the public forum, is experienced as a private sorrow'.[72]

Miscarriages were rarely accompanied by official announcements, rather occupying the realm of private revelations, gossip, and speculation of the court. It was often kept secret to such an extent and any details recorded were so vague that historians disagree, for example, as to the number of Catherine of Aragon's miscarriages.[73] While her first pregnancy ended on 31 January 1510, King Ferdinand, her father, was informed months later in a letter from her chancellor dated 25 May. As he describes it, 'The last day of January in the morning her Highness brought forth a daughter ... this affair was so secret that no-one knew it until now except the King my lord, two Spanish women, a physician and I'.[74] The reason given for this secrecy was that the physician thought Catherine likely to have been carrying another baby in her womb. Some miscarriages were known about, but were perhaps too painful to record in private. There is no mention in the Jagiellonian prayer book of the incident that, according to modern Polish historians, was the 'catastrophe' that ended the dynasty.[75] In 1527 Bona Sforza was five months pregnant again and Marcin Bielski reports in his contemporary chronicle that the royal couple travelled to Niepołomice, their countryside residence, in order to hunt a bear. The animal had been brought from Lithuania especially, and Bona 'could not deny herself her favourite diversion which was the hunt', as Bogucka pointed out.[76] The queen kept to the side as the bear unsaddled and wounded several men.

Figure 11: Louis, Joan and Victoria. BnF, MS. Nal. 82, f. 156v

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[72] P. Phillippy, 'A Comfortable Farewell: Child-loss and Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', in N. J. Miller and N. Yavneh (eds.) *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) pp. 24-25.

[73] J. Dewhurst, 'The Alleged Miscarriages of Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn', *Medical History*, vol. 28 (1984), pp. 49-51.

[74] Dewhurst, 'The Alleged Miscarriages', p. 50.

[75] P. Jasienica, *Polska Piastów i Jagiellonów* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1986) p. 335; Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, p. 139.

[76] Bogucka, p. 138.

Then the beast unexpectedly charged at her and Bona was thrown off her horse. The boy she miscarried was hastily christened Albert and buried on the same day.[77] In a world where, as Avra Kouffman argues, 'women feared dying in labor, miscarriages and stillborn babies were common and infants took ill with alarming frequency', the perils of motherhood were inseparable from royal courts both in their dynastic consequences and private forms of grief.[78]

Where there was grief caused by child loss, there was also hope, if the mother remained alive and reasonably well. By commemorating their successes as well as failed pregnancies, royal mothers emphasised their fertility, even if babies were stillborn or only lived a short while. This hope for new pregnancies is sometimes expressly reflected by their prayer books, which could be tuned to asking for divine assistance in conceiving. Anne of Brittany's prayer book was composed in gratitude for successfully giving birth to her daughter Claude as well as to seek god's further grace in having a boy. Kathleen Kimerick suggests that St Leonard's prayer included in Anne's private devotions may have been a 'prayer of gratitude that speaks of the queen as having been freed from her difficulties in childbirth'.[79] Dated to the year Claude was born, the prayer recalls the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary by her mother Anne, emphasizing 'God's ability to grant children unexpectedly or after a period of sterility'.[80] However, Harthan also argues that 'In its emphasis on St Anne, St Margaret, and St Leonard's prayer for childbirth, the Newberry manuscript also alludes back to the circumstances and Book of Hours of Anne's mother, Marguerite de Foix. As noted earlier, Marguerite's manuscript contains a childbirth prayer – specifically a request for a son to safeguard the future of the duchy'.[81] Anne's prayer book also located her in a broader dynastic context, because as Elizabeth L'Estrange argues, by 'the implied conflation of the two queens, Anne and Clothilde, Anne de Bretagne was able to insert herself into a royal lineage going back centuries'.[82] Just as the births of their children reminded royal fathers of their mortality while bestowing satisfaction from renewing the

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[77] M. Bielski, *Kronika Polska nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana* (Cracow: Jakob Sibeneicher, 1597) p. 569.

[78] A. Kouffman, 'Maternity and Child Loss in Stuart Women's Diaries', in K. M. Moncrief and K. R. McPherson (eds.) *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007) p. 171.

[79] K. Kamerick, 'Patronage and Devotion in the Prayer Book of Anne of Brittany, Newberry Library Ms 83', *Manuscripta*, no. 39 (1995) p. 47.

[80] E. L'Estrange, 'Penitence, Motherhood, and Passion Devotion: Contextualising Anne de Bretagne's Prayer Book, Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 83', in C. J. Brown (ed.), *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne: Negotiating Convention in Books and Documents* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010) p. 91.

[81] Harthan, p. 124.

[82] ibid. p. 92.

cycle of legitimacy, so queens were also reminded that perpetuating European dynasties was a series of personal struggles carried on by generations of royal women.

Political Motherhood

Political motherhood, meaning the use of institutionalised royal motherhood as a position of political power, is a well-established concept, but historians and literary critics have applied it primarily to how queens used their own children to establish and exercise their political power. This can be seen in Katherine Crawford's seminal article explaining how Catherine de Medici played the contemporary tropes of motherhood to build a base for her political power.[83] The following section aims to problematise the notion of political motherhood, because some queens were never to have children, and yet adapted their role in various imaginative ways to not only exercise political agency, but also become affectionate mothers. The term 'political motherhood' is also associated with the notion of female success in politics. However, little is said about queens who failed to exercise their 'political motherhood' on their own children as well as those who made a political success out of non-biological motherhood. One notable exception is Elizabeth I of England, whose self-invented image as England's virgin mother has for decades now fascinated scholars, most prominently Carole Levin and Gloria Olchowy, who used the phrase 'incarnational motherhood' to describe Elizabeth's phenomenon.[84]

Easily adaptable to practical needs, royal weddings allow us to trace complexities of royal family relationships, including stepmotherhood, the most common variety of political motherhood. Queens died in childbirth with a frequency which often required subsequent wives to 'inherit' children and become mothers before their biological bodies were given the chance to conceive. Royal step-mothering was a sensitive task, for a young bride would be closely scrutinised after arriving at her husband's court. Her behaviour could neutralise the stereotype of the 'wicked stepmother', made a trope in dynastic narratives by Roman and

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[83] K. Crawford, 'Catherine de Médicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXI/3 (2000), pp. 643-673.

[84] C. Levin, 'Power, Politics, and Sexuality: Images of Elizabeth I', in J. R. Brink, A. P. Coudert and M. C. Horowitz (eds.) *The Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1989) pp. 95-110; G. Olchowy, 'Murder as Birth in Macbeth', in K. M. Moncrief and K. R. McPherson (eds.) *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007) p. 198; S. Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); L. C. Orlin, 'The Fictional Families of Elizabeth I', in C. Levin and P. A. Sullivan (eds.) *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) pp. 84-110.

medieval chroniclers such as Gregory of Tours who famously remarked that causing their stepchildren trouble was 'the way of stepmothers'.[85] But Volker Honemann is right to argue that the stereotype could merely be a useful tool in crafting political narratives and cautions against taking these tales at face value.[86]

Undoubtedly, staging an affectionate relationship with children of their husbands around the time of the wedding was well received as an early indication of the new queen's mothering instincts. Bona Sforza assumed her duties as the mother to Sigismund the Old's two daughters, Jadwiga and Anna, from his first marriage to Barbara Zapolya the night before the marriage was consummated on 19 April 1518. Ludwik Jost Decjusz reports in his festival book that during the coronation feast 'the queen dressed the king's daughters beautifully according to custom; all the while she kept them close, embracing the older one at her side in a display of a particularly maternal gentleness and kindness as if driven by most pious virtues'.[87] This passage reveals two crucial components in building the image of a royal mother: knowledge of local custom and displaying the feminine virtues valued so highly by a consort's coronation. However, other examples suggest that establishing a relationship with stepchildren, especially adults, came in a variety of patterns. For example, the night before Mary of England and Louis XII's wedding '"Madame", the King's daughter, wife of Monseigneur d'Angoulême, went to visit her, and they gave a ball'.[88] 'Madame' was Claude of France and she played an active role on the couple's wedding night. As previously mentioned, fifteen-year-old Claude led her new stepmother, who was a year older, to the bedroom to sleep with Louis. This suggests that grown-up children could on occasion take charge of establishing a public relationship with the new stepmother, thus contributing to the image of a healthy and robust royal family.

Primarily, political circumstances made building relationships with stepchildren problematic, though some historians give more importance to 'popular medieval stereotypes

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[85] E. T. Dailey, *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite* (Leiden: Brill, 2015) p. 87; D. Noy, 'Wicked Stepmothers in Roman Society and Imagination', *Journal of Family History*, 16 (1991), pp. 345-61; M. J. G. Grey-Fow, 'The Wicked Stepmother in Roman Literature and History: An Evaluation', *Latomus*, 47 (1988), pp. 741-57.
[86] V. Honemann, 'A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary', in A. J. Duggan (ed.) *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London April 1995* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997) p. 117; Jo Eldridge Carney also points out that the stereotype served primarily to create stories of beauty-based rivalry between two women. Carney, *Fairy Tale Queens*, p. 94.
[87] Decjusz in AT IV, p. 324.
[88] CSPV II 508.

of stepmothers as malicious women'.[89] As already mentioned, the relationship between Claude and Mary of England would have been complicated by Claude's husband's claim to the throne, which would have been rendered void if the elderly Louis fathered a son. The consummation of Louis XII and Mary of England's marriage bore no fruit, leaving Francis and Claude to perpetuate the Valois dynasty. Following Claude's death, the disastrous defeat at the battle of Pavia (1525) and Francis' capture by Emperor Charles V, the French king was only released in exchange for the couple's two sons, Francis and Henry, who remained hostages until July 1530. According to the Ladies' Peace signed in 1529, Francis I was to marry the emperor's sister Eleanor, the queen dowager of Portugal.[90] A letter dated 5 July 1530, the day after the marriage by proxy, addressed to the Signory details the various impediments in releasing the young princes. The Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian reports that Francis I 'had received a letter from the Queen [Madame Eleanor of Portugal], apologizing for the delay in the consignment of his children, which had been caused by the Emperor, her brother, and implying tacitly that it proceeded from the Pope; and that she had given 3,000 ducats to the Spaniards, not to detain her and the French Princes'.[91] Even before her marriage was consummated, Eleanor started displaying motherly care for her stepsons. Francis

Figure 12: Claude of France and Eleanor of Austria. BnF, MS NAL 82, f. 100r

and Henry escorted their new stepmother to the border, where their father was awaiting at Roquefort. The Venetian ambassador writes that Francis 'did not choose the ambassadors, or others, to go thither, postponing their congratulations until the time of the entertainments in

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[89] L. B. St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) p. 118.
[90] J. G. Russell, *Diplomats at Work: Three Renaissance Studies* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992) pp. 134, 157; For the preceding Treaty of Madrid see: R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) pp. 188-9.
[91] CSPV IV 585.

Paris'.[92] This suggests the extent to which the king still felt ashamed of his defeat and the ensuing consequences, which partly explains his later treatment of Eleanor as a wife of purely political convenience.

However, even despite difficult beginnings, queens could play truly affectionate mothers to their stepchildren. Eleanor of Austria fulfilled the ceremonial role of the close female relative by leading Catherine de Medici to the bedroom where Henry, Eleanor's stepson, one of the hostage princes, was waiting on the couple's wedding night. There is further evidence that even though the marriage between Francis I and Eleanor was almost exclusively for show, the king much preferring the company of his mistresses, his children considered her truly part of the family. Among the portraits of the closest members of her family, Catherine de Medici's prayer book, Eleanor of Austria is portrayed in the same miniature as Henry's mother, Claude of France (Fig. 12). The latter wears the French royal blue embroidered with gold fleurs-de-lis as she sits surrounded by her daughters Charlotte, Madeleine and Marguerite and her sister Renée. Eleanor sits towards the back dressed in white as befits the queen dowager of France.[93] Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier rightly observes that Eleanor is the only one who does not quite fit in the portrait and yet the only one who engages the spectator.[94] She fails to notice that the sequence of motherhood is established by portraying the biological mother of the princesses, the aunt they lived with following Claude's death, and the foreign stepmother who, as Rosalind Marshall argues, 'took them into her own household and looked after them affectionately'.[95] The miniature records the Valois family dynamic as well as a sense of a lioness-like collectiveness about raising royal children, where both biological and bestowed motherhood mattered in public and private.

A similar relationship formed between Bona Sforza and the two Polish princesses born out of Sigismund the Old's first marriage to Barbara Zapolya. While some historians claim that Bona was a cold and uncaring mother towards her daughters, I have argued elsewhere that there is evidence to support a more nuanced vision of this relationship.[96] Even if Decjusz's description of the royal couple's wedding feast oozes staged mothering, genuine

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[92] CSPV IV 585.
[93] *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Médicis,* BnF, MS NAL 82, f. 100r.
[94] K. Wilson-Chevalier, 'Patronnes et Mécènes au Coeur de la Renaissance Française', in *Le Moyen Age*, No. CXVII (2011/3) p. 586.
[95] R. K. Marshall, *Scottish Queens, 1034-1714* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003) p. 101.
[96] Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, p. 137-8; K. Kosior, 'Outlander, Babykiller, Poisoner? Rethinking Bona Sforza's Black Legend', in C. Fleiner and E. Woodacre (eds.) *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) p. 201.

affection developed between the stepdaughters and their father's bride in the following years. When Princess Anne died in 1519, Sigismund the Old wrote to Bona mourning his daughter, but also to 'thank Your Royal Highness for bestowing on her your affectionate maternal care, resulting from duty consistent with your virtue and our mutual love', suggesting that Bona looked after the princess during her illness.[97] This private expression of gratitude suggests the extent to which Bona quickly became a caring mother at the centre of the Jagiellonian family. Numerous other examples of successful stepmotherhood suggest that it was a potent way for a queen who failed to conceive to establish herself politically. Two of Elizabeth I's stepmothers, Anne of Cleves and Catherine Parr, played a significant role in her upbringing. During Mary I's coronation procession Anne rode together with Elizabeth and the two women sat next to each other during the feast, Elizabeth as the 'heiress-presumptive' and Anne as 'the third lady in the land', as Antonia Fraser observes.[98] John N. King argues that Catherine Parr's influence on Elizabeth was prominent during her education as well as later when she became queen.[99]

However, having stepchildren was not the only way of exercising political motherhood. Within the context of the Polish elective monarchy one Polish queen found an unusual way of channelling her power of political mothering. As mentioned in Chapter 3, following the joint election of Anna Jagiellon and Stephen Bathory to the Polish throne, there was little promise of royal conception, because the bride was already over fifty years old. Bathory, ten years his wife's junior, shunned her bed, and Anna waited for him to visit her bedroom for as long as seven hours.[100] Occasionally the couple spent more time together, such as in January 1579, when the papal nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari reported that 'We are very pleasantly spending time here. The king and queen love each other, eat, sleep together and converse often, to everyone's happiness. The queen looks so fresh and healthy that I would not consider it a miracle if she became pregnant.'[101] But the queen was already fifty-five and these attempts were doomed to fail.

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[97] Letter reproduced in: Pociecha, vol. 2, p. 108.

[98] A. Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992) p. 409.

[99] J. N. King, 'Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr', in M. P. Hannay (ed.) *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1985) pp. 43-60; J. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) pp. 7, 215-217; Maria Dowling then argued against: M. Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986) p. 235.

[100] Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, p. 140.

[101] Quoted in Bogucka, p. 143.

Following Bathory's death in December 1586, the nobility started calling for electing a 'Piast', meaning either a Pole or someone related to the Jagiellonian dynasty. At this point Anna had little ambition remaining for herself, but decided to throw the weight of her wealth and position as the last Jagiellonian princess behind the candidature of her nephew, Sigismund Vasa, son of Catherine Jagiellon (see Chapter 2) and John III of Sweden. Maria Bogucka argues that Anna became the symbol of the 'Sigismundian' prosperity, the golden age of her father's and brother's rule'. Her political activity in support of her nephew consisted mainly of sending out letters to praise his resemblance to his Jagiellonian mother and devotion to the catholic faith.[102] She also became the guarantor of Sigismund's promise to transfer Livonia to Poland in exchange for his election. As a close female relative, Anna adopted the role of Sigismund's mother, which seemed appropriate considering that the king was twenty-one at the time of his election in 1587. Their public relationship is evident in a letter dated to 3 February 1591 she addressed Sigismund as 'Most-Illustrious King, Nephew, our most beloved Son' and signed it as 'your affectionate aunt and mother, Anna, the Queen of Poland', but the real emotion is felt in the letter's contents: 'It is not good sonny, that you do not write to your mummy [...] it would please us greatly'.[103]

There is no doubt that planting her nephew on the Polish throne allowed Anna to maintain her prominent status and continue her high-level political agency. She often pleaded with Sigismund on behalf of her confidants. However, after a period of estrangement from her brother and a failed marriage to Bathory, Anna found family affection with Sigismund and his sister, Anna, the older relative's namesake who followed the king elect to Poland. Sigismund often corresponded with the elderly aunt, politely enquiring after her health, as she suffered from kidney stones, and invited her to court ceremonies, such as his wedding to Anna of Austria or Christmas, to which she always replied enthusiastically, for example: 'we shall not only come, but we shall hurry.'[104] The family remained in close contact until Anna's death on 9 September 1596. Maria Bogucka observes that at the end of her life, Anna's thoughts were constantly with her family. In April 1596, she confessed that she loved Sigismund's children as her own and sent fruit from her garden 'for dearest little Hanusia' – Anna Maria Vasa, the couple's first daughter who was plausibly named after the elderly great aunt.[105] Despite being unfortunate in her own marriage, Anna Jagiellon

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[102] AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, MS 3045; Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, p. 160.
[103] AGAD, Zbiór Dokumentów Papierowych, Oddział I, MS 883; Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, p. 168.
[104] AGAD, Zbiór Dokumentów Papierowych, Oddział I, MS 895; Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, p. 170.
[105] Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, pp. 177-8.

navigated the particularities of the Polish political system to re-invent herself as a mother-figure to her nephew and niece, managing to sustain positive relationships within the family until her death.

While some queens were able to exercise effectively their non-biological motherhood, some biological mothers failed to turn their motherhood into a politically successful one. While Bona Sforza was able to remain close to her three daughters (Sophie, Anna and Catherine), she allowed her relationship with Sigismund August to grow cold, causing her political ruin. I have discussed elsewhere how Bona's political activity was continually punished by the Polish nobility attacking her on the grounds of bad motherhood, because her 'mingling' was considered unbefitting a Polish consort.[106] Just as in Marie Antoinette's case an accusation of being a bad mother signified a failure in being a 'failed mother to the nation'.[107] These meant little as long as Bona remained close to her son, but following his scandalous secret marriage to Barbara Radziwiłł, revealed in 1548, Bona demonstrated her disapproval by a self-imposed exile to Masovia together with her loyal daughters, spoiling family relationships for the decades to come. Sigismund started believing the most preposterous rumours, for example, that Bona was a poisoner, which made him wear gloves to their meetings. Confessing the latter in a letter to Mikołaj 'the Red' Radziwiłł, Barbara's brother, in 1552 Sigismund also revealed that his mother often deserted him as a child and was never missed.[108] Defeated, Bona left Poland in 1556 in the grim atmosphere of suspicion and died a year later, poisoned by the most trusted members of her household. One of her last meetings with Sigismund reveals much about the extent to which their relationship had deteriorated. In 1552 he reported to Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł that:

> Today we set out from Kozienice for a hunt and she deliberately planned to meet us on the road. And so she did. She was in a German-style carriage, made for her in Warsaw and designed to imitate Kieżgajło's carriage, because Kieżgajło's carriage was transported from Germany via Warsaw. So when we met on the road in the forest today, we conversed of nothing else except for her praising the carriage. We remained there for a little moment, and having talked of nothing else but the carriage, we parted ways.[109]

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[106] Kosior, 'Outlander, Babykiller, Poisoner?', pp. 199-223.
[107] C. Harris, *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) p. 149.
[108] Raczyński Library, MS 73, f. 14.
[109] *Listy Zygmunta Augusta do Mikołaja Radziwiłła Czarnego*, pp. 26-7.

This image of an awkward meeting on the road with a few words begrudgingly exchanged could not be further from the image of healthy family promoted within the context of royal ceremonies. No matter how much fortified by financial and political provisions, every queen's position depended on her family relationships. Private dispute with her son achieved what a public accusation could not, leaving Bona's carefully crafted political power base in ruins.

Kings and queens tended to be talented political actors, adept at crafting the visions they wished to display as they set upon making their dynasty a success. They used their children to build far-reaching networks of alliances both at home and abroad for reasons of peace, land acquisition, to project an image of strength, or other dynastic gain. However, this chapter has demonstrated that to consider displays of parental affection as staged for political reasons would be to simplify the family dynamic of early modern Polish courts. Sources related to royal children also allow for mapping the circle of people the royal couple trusted and cared for. Sometimes these were the people they performed with as a family in public, but often they were the less glamorous relatives and members of the court. The queens had the difficult task of both performing the staged relationships as well as building personal ones, on which their power ultimately depended.

But, as historians, we are usually careful in suggesting that emotion had a part to play at European royal courts, because the relationship between public and private was never straightforward. The fate of Sigismund and Bona's prayer book, originally an object of personal piety and family scrapbook, suggests that the following generations could use intimate rituals of their predecessors in building their own image. The book came into the possession of King Jan III Sobieski of Poland as part of the treasury of the crown in 1674, and was then taken by his granddaughter, Maria Klementyna, to Rome when she married James (Old Pretender) Stuart in 1719; it was finally found in the possessions of her son Henry Stuart, Duke of York.[110] This suggests two things. The object involved in private rituals of the last Jagiellonians served as a building block in the authority of later elective monarchs, kept in the treasury of the crown for the centuries to come. Thus a personal object gained state value. Then, transferred to personal belongings a Polish king's great-grandchild at the twilight of another dynasty, it was kept as a dynastic artefact, signifying the Stuarts' connection to the powerful kings of Poland. It was not unusual for prayer books to be passed

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[110] Borkowska, *Królewskie modlitewniki*, p. 99.

down for 'generations and even centuries' within families and kinship groups, Eamon Duffy argues, but Sigismund and Bona's book suggests that royal office could be just as binding as blood.[111] The afterlife of a family tradition reveals the extent to which royal privacy could be easily encroached upon in the realm of kings, queens and their dynastic schemes.

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[111] E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006) p. 23.

Conclusion

Let us relinquish the company of sixteenth century queens as they travel the breadth of Europe to foreign lands and settle into their destinations as wives and mothers. A recent special issue of *Past & Present* offered arguments for 'sliding the geographical scale of historical inquiry' and transcending 'approaches based solely on local or national comparisons and more towards models that emphasise transnational connections'.[1] A more holistic approach to conceptualising European royal culture reveals its previously unrealised variety and demonstrates the danger of limiting our understanding by considering the well-known Tudor or Valois queens and ceremonies the European norm. This thesis is the first study to show that rather than being 'outlandish' or 'barbarous', the Polish royal court was part of the richness of the European royal culture's fabric. Royal ceremonies were European primarily because they showcased the political, cultural and dynastic connections between royal courts. The importance of bridal exchange in marking the boundaries of Europe cannot be overestimated. To be left out of this exchange like the Ottoman Empire or Muscovy, except for the marriage between Alexander Jagiellon and Helena, was to be outside Europe.

The repeated movement of brides created the shared pan-European royal culture, reflected in the similarities of royal ceremonies throughout Europe. The comparative analysis of royal weddings, coronations and motherhood demonstrates that each stage of the process focused on displaying a particular type of legitimacy. Royal betrothals and weddings emphasised the international connections encapsulated in the diplomatic protocol of bridal exchange as well as dynastic identities transferred by means of titles, lands, clothes and objects. Coronations transcended the inter-dynastic dealings in politics to demonstrate the shared royal culture stemming from Christianity which institutionalised and conceptualised queenship in terms of virtue and fertility. The similarities were dictated by the shared liturgy and the alertness of European monarchs to fashion, whether relating to entertainments, clothes, decorations or literary trends which was motivated by their anxiety and wish to remain part of the shared royal culture. They were guided by a deep understanding of how to govern on the European continent, where very little power could ever come from cultural and political isolation.

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[1] C. J. Campbell (ed.) 'Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in *Past & Present*', *Past & Present* (May 2016) p. 8.

This by no means excluded local flavours from entering royal ceremony. This thesis has been the first to compare the impact of two different types of monarchy on the ways in which each regime consolidated its legitimacy through staging royal weddings and coronations. Subtly distinctive customs, such as a traditional first meeting place, specific colour scheme, or preparation of a royal entry, were dictated by the practicalities of staging the royal ceremonies and addressed matters of legitimacy particular to every European realm. The balance between the nobility, clergy, and burghers determined the shape of the celebrations. In some western realms including France, where cities occupied a politically significant role, royal festivals were animated with the city culture based in pageants and processions. Even though the culture of the Polish cities was similarly based in religious processions and plays, the nobility's political importance meant that their culture based almost exclusively in Latin poetry and speeches dominated the festivities until the late sixteenth century. Royal ceremony was subject to and driven by local politics in Poland and France, but Poland was unique in the extent to which the political system also enabled open criticism of the king's marriage and the politics behind it. However, the shared canon of representation and rhetoric based on classical and biblical models of feminine behaviour reinforces our understanding of the ways in which shared European culture determined how queens were thought of and imagined. Further exploration of the impact of various types of monarchy (absolute, elective, constitutional) on popular culture would continue to develop our understanding of cultural exchange and diversification in early modern Europe.

Early modern queens spun the thread that connected Europe. This thesis has demonstrated that there was no recognisably 'eastern' and 'western' style of queenship. Royal brides were plunged into foreign European courts and had to do their best to use their education to learn how to navigate the particular politics of each realm. The role of European queens was mystified, mythologised and conceptualised by the ceremony that represented them as the virgin mothers of the coronation as well as the sexual objects of the wedding poetry and pageants. Even though Poland in the sixteenth century was transforming into an elective monarchy, the Polish-Lithuanian union meant that the hereditary principle of the monarchy and the reproductive role of the Polish queens were still alive and well. This transformation allowed opportunities for women like Anna Jagiellon to exploit them, as I argue elsewhere, but her particular circumstances were by no means the norm.[2] A similar

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[2] K. Kosior, 'Anna Jagiellon: A Female Politician in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', in E. Woodacre (ed.), *Global Queenship: An Introduction* (Kalamazoo: ARC Medieval Press, forthcoming 2017).

study of queenship and ceremony post-1572 is needed to nuance our understanding of how queenship functioned within the context of the free elections. Both Polish and French sixteenth-century queens were similarly imagined as mothers and wives, indicating what lay at the heart of their queenship. Armed with diplomatic protocol, names, lands and objects, they brought to European monarchs alliances, their native culture and royal blood. Their identity was often multiple and as they became daughters, wives, and often widows of European monarchs, they carried imprints of their ancestors and relatives.

Queens left their most lasting impact by actively promoting their dynastic identity in the way they brought up their children. The rituals relating to motherhood consolidated the queen's status and legitimised the monarchy by displaying the robust royal family at its centre. By a carefully emphatic reading of the sources, this thesis reveals that beneath the ceremony, a royal family existed as an emotionally connected group of people. Sentiment had a significant part to play in the perpetuation of dynastic identities. For these queens this identity was often bound up with objects of personal remembrance, such as Catherine of Austria's old carriage covers, Catherine Jagiellon's matching necklace with her sisters, or an old prayer book, passed from the Jagiellonian golden age through generations of elective Polish monarchs. Showing off royal magnificence was all well and good, but worth little without healthy family relationships. While European royals were more than able to perform for the public and keep a poker face in front of their political partners, royal courts were governed by affection and animosity as much as diplomatic protocol. As historians we analyse the 'rhetoric of affection' or emotions as staged for political gain, but we need to retain a strong sense of these systems of representation as often reflective of embodied feeling. In her plenary lecture at the 'Dynasty and Dynasticism, 1400-1700' conference, Paula Sutter Fichtner presented an innovative approach by applying the findings of modern psychology in her analysis of the relationship between three early modern Habsburg siblings, Mary, Charles and Ferdinand. Mutual love, respect, acceptance and letting bygones be bygones, she argued, were the secret to the strength of their dominion.[3] More discussion of emotion at early modern courts is required, because even though highly staged, royal weddings put on display the model of an emotionally connected royal family that was ultimately crucial to its success measured by the stability of the realm.

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[3] P. S. Fichtner, 'Habsburg Sibling Bonding and Defending Dynasty: A Sixteenth-Century Template', *Dynasty and Dynasticism, 1400-1700* (Conference at Somerville College, University of Oxford, 16-18 March 2016).

The Polish-French comparison shows how these two completely different monarchies were delicate constructs both ideologically and in practice. This thesis has demonstrated the extent to which they were influenced by the world of high politics with its changing alliances and the consequent practicalities of diplomatic protocol. Most importantly, however, the comparison has clearly shown that the high court ceremonies of France and Poland were strongly influenced by the popular culture of their subjects and the respective political systems of these realms. In essence, monarchy, the system of government and popular and court culture co-existed in a dynamic where the disturbance of one element would have a ricocheting effect on the others. More generally, each European monarchy developed its own sophisticated ways of asserting its legitimacy that ran alongside their shared Catholic practices. A question raised by this thesis which requires more research concerns whether popular culture was affected in turn by the connections between the French and Polish courts. The slow emergence of the festival book and, by the end of the sixteenth-century, of ephemeral architecture suggests that the Polish-German and Polish-Italian connections did make an impact on how the Polish monarchy interacted with its subjects. To study the effect of Polish-French connections, one would have to move into the seventeenth century, the period after the Valois election of 1572 and the first successful Polish-French marriages, the first between Vladislav IV Wasa and Marie Louise Gonzaga in 1645 and the second between Jan III Sobieski and Marie Casimire Louise de La Grange d'Arquien in 1665.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

'Sliding the scale of inquiry' thus reveals subtly interwoven personal and dynastic histories, with a pan-European royal culture the connecting thread. As English-language historians continue to speak of 'women who made Europe', meaning in fact England and France, this thesis demonstrates that every European centre had its periphery, rather than the rest of Europe being the periphery of England and France.[4] To speak of Europe in any other way is an oversimplification. The analysis of royal weddings and motherhood attests to the complexity and importance of royal networks created by the repeated exchange of brides that bound the continent together. The afterlife of Sigismund the Old and Bona Sforza's prayer book, which they treated as their private family record book, is a testament to the durability of the networks traced in this thesis.

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[4] S. Gristwood, *Game of Queens: The Women Who Made Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

Attached to the manuscript of Sigismund I of Poland's prayer book is a reader's letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* published in July 1845. The mysterious M., identified by someone's handwritten note as the palaeographer Sir Frederic Madden, corrects a letter published in the May 1845 issue from W. H. Clarke, whose primary interest was Scottish heraldry. Clarke claimed of 'the young Pretender' that 'it will appear from a manuscript now in the British Museum, called a Prayer Book of Sigismond the First, King of Poland, that his names at full were "Charles Edward Lewis Casimir Stuart"' and that 'in it are entered the births of the children of James and Clementina, the parents of Prince Charles'.[5] Madden, as a scholar employed by the British Library, clarified that 'there are no entries in it of a date later than the sixteenth century, and that they all refer to the Queen and family of Sigismond I'.[6] But the remaining question is why the Jagiellonian prayer book caused such controversy in 1845, even if easily contained within the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The clue lies in another letter published in the same issue as Clarke's. A certain J. R. wrote to remind the public that 'the great John Sobieski, when he delivered Vienna from the impending grasp of the Vizier Kara-Mustapha, in September 1683, - a service immense in obligation to all Europe, though reluctantly acknowledged by the Emperor Leopold, the most directly benefitted by the consequent security of his capital, and general protection of his threatened hereditary states. [...] Our young Pretender Charles Edward Stuart was this monarch's maternal great-grandson.'[7] It was the centenary of the Jacobite uprising of 1745 and the Stuarts together with their Polish and Catholic

Figure 13: 'Clementina Sobiesky' in Museo Nacional del Prado (P02275)

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[5] M. [F. Madden], 'Prayer-book of Sigismond I of Poland', in S. Urbanus (ed.) *Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1845) p. 25.

[6] ibid.

[7] J. R. 'Extraordinary Longevity', in S. Urbanus (ed) *Gentleman's Magazine* (May 1845) p. 491.

connotations, manifest in the provenance of the resurfaced Jagiellonian prayer book, were once again on people's minds.

The British Library acquired the prayer book from the sale of the late Duke of Sussex's possessions on 31 July 1844 for £73 10s – a considerable sum of money. The Duke, or Prince Augustus Frederick, the ninth child of King George III of England, was gifted the book by Chevalier Gregoire de Berardi, best known as an investor in the Great Central Sardinian Railway, who purchased it in 1838 or 1839 from Sigismondo Malatesta, Cardinal York's secretary and executor of his will.[8] The Cardinal was Henry Benedict Stuart, Bonnie Prince Charlie's younger brother, who despite styling himself King Henry IX remained on good terms with the Hanoverians, bequeathing upon his death in 1807 the Sobieski ruby ring (now at Edinburgh Castle) and the Sobieski book of hours (now in the Royal Collection, different from the Jagiellonian prayer book) to the Prince of Wales, perhaps in gratitude to George III for granting him an annual pension of £4,000. The reconciliation of the two branches of the same royal family, who considered themselves different dynasties, was further sealed by the Hanoverian purchase of another jewel belonging to Cardinal York – the Sobieski sapphire, once upon a time mounted on his bishop's mitre and now on the reverse side of the Imperial State Crown.[9]

These items connect the Jagiellonian, Sobieski, Stuart, Hanoverian and Windsor dynasties with a thread of shared royal culture and dynastic identity, demonstrating the durability and complexity of royal networks. Steeped in the Christian liturgy, just as was the coronation ritual, these objects reminded monarchs that they were links in the chain of legitimacy that perpetuated the governance of pre-modern Europe. Myths of ancestors were tied with the deeds of their descendants and filtered into modern history as symbols legitimising national pride or failure. But the Jagiellonian prayer book's afterlife demonstrates another aspect of royal culture and power. Cardinal York neglected to bequeath it to the Prince Regent (future George IV) together with other objects of dynastic significance. To the Stuart prince living in the comfort of his exile in Italian Frascati (now a suburb of Rome), the prayer book might have become an object of personal remembrance associated with his mother, Maria Klementyna Sobieska. In a portrait now housed in Museo Nacional del Prado (Fig. 13), the exiled queen of England, Scotland and Ireland was painted

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[8] Chevalier Gregoire de Berardi is mentioned in: 'Advertisements', *The Economist* (19 July 1845) p. 691; 'Advertisements', *Bradshaw's Railway Gazette*, vol. 1 (1845) p. 64.
[9] E. Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719-1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 383.

by an anonymous artist holding white and red flowers next to her heart and an imperial crown close to her hand. The old Piast colours which witnessed the conception of the Jagiellonian children were united with this symbol of the British imperium.

Appendix 1: Map of Queens
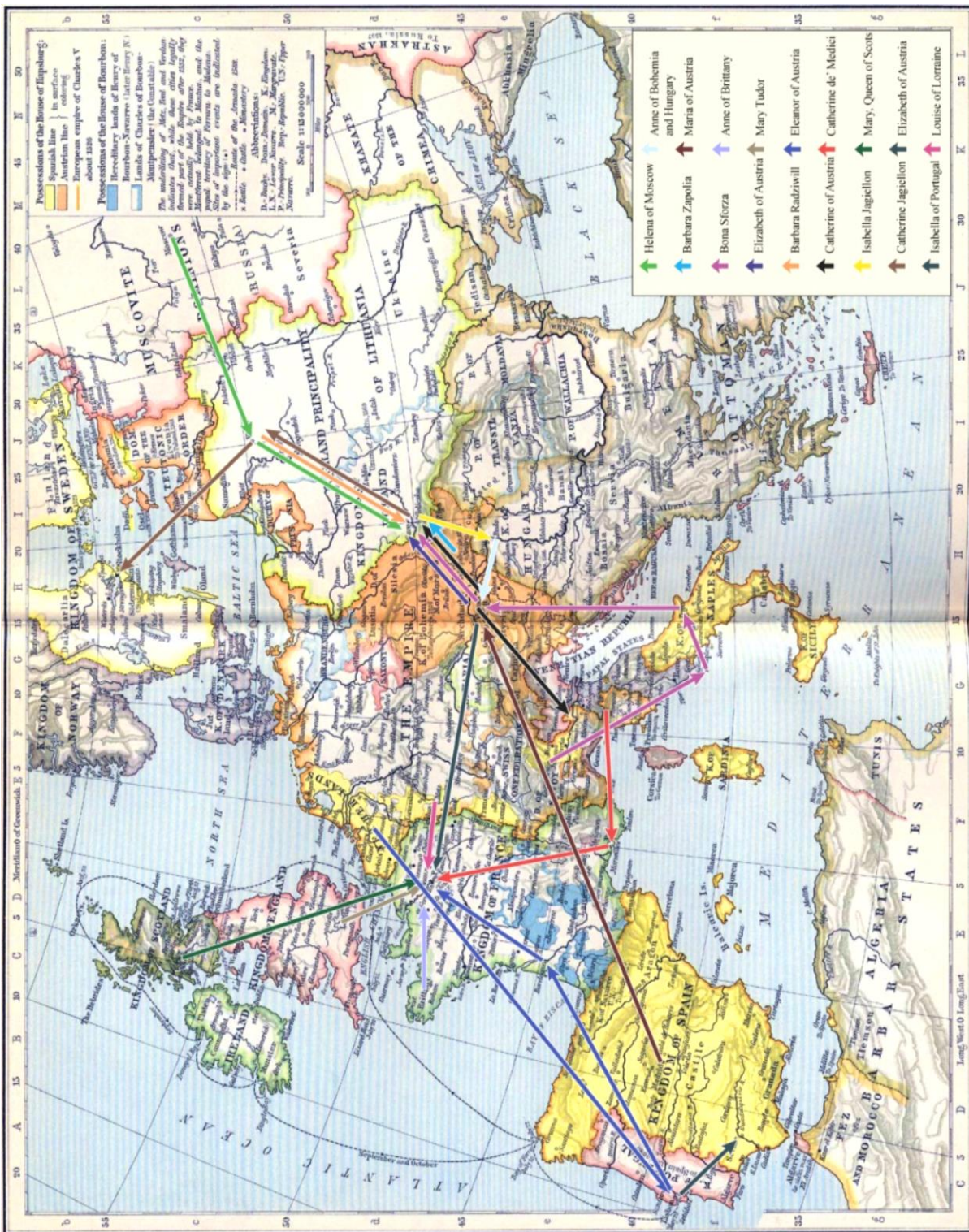
The map of queens represents the movements of some of the queens mentioned in the thesis across Europe and is intended primarily to represent the extent to which Europe was connected dynastically and politically. Each colour represents a different queen, while the arrows demonstrate the stages of their travels to where the marriage and coronation ceremony took place (these were often separate). Some of these queens were married more than once. The arrows were superimposed onto a map by: W. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1911)

Appendix 2: Family Tree of Polish and French Queens

Appendix 3: Information Table: Wives of European Rulers

This table contains information about European queens consort and wives of other autonomous European rulers.

Appendix 4: List of Catherine of Austria's Trousseau

Note on transcriptions and translations: Expansions of abbreviations are underlined, unexpanded abbreviations are italicised. Folio numbers are given in square brackets and any breaks in the text are recreated. The spelling of Polish texts has not been modernised.

The Princes Czartoryski Library MS 68, pp. 295-323

[p. 295]Copy of the original at the royal archives

List of things which the Most Serene Princess and Lady Catherine the Queen of Poland brought with her to Poland, written in Cracow on the 8th of August Lord's year 1553

Necklaces

A large necklace with one diamond, three rubies, three emeralds, fourteen pearls with one pendant which has three large emeralds and one diamond and a large pearl pendant in the shape of a pear fruit.

A smaller necklace with two diamonds, three rubies, and two emeralds, it has a pendant with an emerald, ruby and a carved diamond and a dropping pearl.

A necklace with three rubies, two diamonds, two rubies and seven pearls, it has a pendant with three rubies, one emerald, one diamond and three dropping pearls.

A necklace with eight ruby roses and seven diamonds and fifteen dropping pearls.

A small necklace with six small diamonds and four rubies and new pearls.

[p. 296]A necklace with 12 enamelled gold parts, three pearls in each one.

A necklace with fourteen enamelled gold parts.

A bracelet, with black, white and gleaming enamel.

A gold bracelet with ten knots, one of them enamelled in black, others in bright red, and very few enamelled in pale blue.

A gold bracelet finished with red and white enamel.

A gold necklace finished according to old custom.

A gold necklace finished on top with black knots made to look like strawberries.

An armlet with four large baleses[1], and four big sapphires, and eight medium emeralds, and sixteen pearls of equal size.

Pendants

A pendant a large diamond and ruby and with a large pearl in the shape of a pear fruit dropping down.

[p. 297]A small cross pendant with six diamonds tabulatis having four carved diamonds and three pearls in the shape of pear fruit.

A pendant with four carved diamonds tabulatis and one carved diamond, beneath which hangs one pear-shaped pearl.

A pendant with a large emerald having four rubies tabullatos and four diamonds with a pear-shaped pearl dropping down.

A pendant with a ruby and three diamonds and one emerald having a large pear-shaped pearl.

A pendant in which there is a diamond rose inserted, and around which there are four diamond lilies.

A pendant with an emerald and two rubies and two diamonds.

A pendant with an emerald and four diamonds tabulatis, under which hangs a large pearl.

A pendant with a diamond rose with three rubies and three pearls.

A pendant in the shape of Jesus made from diamonds with three large pearls.

A pendant with a diamond image of St Christopher [p. 298] with nineteen small rubies and two small diamonds and one large emerald, one sapphire, one with another sapphire hanging down and two pearls hanging down.

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[1] a type of ruby

A pendant with a large carved diamond, a cherry ruby with a pear-shaped pearl hanging down with a diamond rose and with a hanging pearl.

A pendant with a large bales and diamond and with five pearls.

A pendant with a round bales with three emeralds and three pearls .

A pendant having fourteen diamonds with one round pearl hanging down, the pendant is cross-shaped.

A pendant with five rubies with one diamond and four pearls with one hanging pear-shaped pearl.

A pendant in the likeness of the cross with six diamonds and four pearls.

A pendant with a large bales and three diamonds tabulatis having three pearls hanging down and two fixed onto it.

A cross pendant with seven [p. 299] small diamonds and one hanging down pearl.

A sable with a golden head in which there are ten rubies and new diamonds with twelve pearls, and two pear-shaped pearls hanging from its ears, and it has an enamelled chain attached with twenty four pearls, its feet are made of enamelled gold.

Rings

A ring with a large ruby.

A ring with a large diamond.

A ring with a medium emerald.

A ring with a carved diamond.

A ring with a large diamond.

A ring with a large diamond.

A ring with three diamonds.

A ring with three small emeralds.

A ring with a small diamond.

A ring with a small diamond.

A ring with a small ruby.

A ring with a small ruby.

A ring with a ruby without a leaf(?).

A ring with a large diamond.

A hundred large pearls on a thread.

Medals

A gold medal with a vase with diamond flowers [p. 300] and five pearls with small blood coloured stones.

A gold medal with enamel having the motto of St Christopher: Death will be my life.

A biretum of black velvet having six rubies and twelve diamonds with the appearance of an Italian medal finished with diamonds with small pearls attached inbetween.

A biretum of black velvet having thirty three roses finished with pearls and in each rose there are five pearls, it has a broach hanging down with new diamonds, rubies and an emerald.

A biretum with forty roses and three pearls, in each rose three pearls, and with a medal which has a rose finished with rubies.

A biretum of black velvet decorated with small gold chains, having twelve small rubies made into shapes of roses, and twelve pearls finished in the shape of a rose with a pendant and three diamonds, a ruby and three pearls.

[p. 301]A biretum with twenty four pairs of gold pontals[2] enamelled and twelve knots or buttons attached inbetween with a gold medal.

A biretum of purple velvet with twenty four pairs of pontals with blue enamel with eight buttons.

Chains

A quite long, small, gold chain with forty enclosed links.

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[2] a short of a decorative knot

A chain with knots with dark blue casting and two pearls inbetween.

A gold chain with knots and six pearls, and other knots with red and blue casting.

A chain having single pearls in its rings and columellas (small columns?) with black casting.

A gold chain with knots interwoven with pearls and knots with garnets.

A chain having pairs of pearls alternately cast in rings and twelve adamant knots decorated with double rubies.

A chain with black casting [p. 302] and bigger stones.

A chain with twenty eight garnets and just as many pearls inserted alternately.

A chain with dark blue casting with black casting in intervals.

A chain with black casting with six intervals.

A Spanish chain opening in the shape of a fabric snake.

A chain with bigger gems with black casting with eight longer black intervals.

Belts

A gold belt with ten sapphires and new baleses and nineteen smaller rubies and twelve medium pearls and three large ones hanging down.

A gold belt with green casting and 150 round, straight, large rubies and pearls, having forty round pearls cast in gold.

A gold belt with transparent crystals with a thread pendant with many small pearls.

[p. 303]A gold chain with lapis lasuli hanging from it.

A gold chain with garnets.

A gold chain with agates.

A gold chain with red casting.

A gold chain of Mantuan make.

A gold chain of Spanish make with four knots decorated densely with large pearls.

A gold chain with gold knots.

A gold chain with black casting and the same type of knots.

A gold belt with sixteen gold knots in the shape of an hourglass.

A gold belt of French make.

A gold belt structured with monastic-type knots.

A gold belt with all kinds of casting and fifteen bigger knots.

A gold belt with black knots in shape of black strawberries.

A gold belt interwoven with satin.

All of these belts have their hangings except for the last one and the one with fifteen large knots.

[p. 304]Knots or puntales[3] not attached to garments.

50 pairs of gold puntales with white and blue enamel.

21 pairs of puntales with white, green and blue enamel.

18 pairs of gold puntales with white and purple enamel.

18 pairs of puntales with white and black enamel and round, 18 gold knots or as they are called buttons.

Buttons in the Spanish fashion finished with gold with white and blue casting.

A large, gold knot decorated with enamel in various colours in which adornments are cast.

40 gold knots finished in the Spanish style, each one with three pearls.

223 gold roses with small pearls, in each one a medium garnet.

26 gold roses.

[p. 305]14 gold roses of which 10 have diamonds and the remaining 4 have rubies.

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[3] Zygmunt Gloger claims that Catherine brought the fashion for knots to Poland.

70 pairs of puntales with small pearls and 30 knots with three pearls in each one.

300 roses with precious pearls, one pearl in each rose.

A handkerchief with 8 knots, each knot containing six pearls and has purple enamel.

A fragrant handkerchief interwoven with gold buttons and eight variously decorated intervals.

Silver utensils for dining

58 large bowls, weighing 108 marcs and 7 lots.

12 medium bowls weighing 52 marcs, 4 lots.

6 small bowls weighing 24 marcs, 1 lot.

6 even smaller bowls weighing 17 marcs, 4 lots.

[p. 306]10 small silver vases, weighing 28 marcs, 12 lots.

16 square silver plates, weighing 27 marcs, 12 lots.

12 round plates, weighing 27 marcs, 11 lots.

A silver covered bowl with a handle and with a gilded jug weighing 27 marcs, 12 lots.

4 gilded bowls weighing 11 marcs, 2 lots.

4 pateras with legs weighing 15 marcs, 10 lots.

4 pateras for heating up dishes, weighing 24 marcs.

A disk-shaped tray with 4 legs for keeping small knives in the credenza, weighing 7 marcs, 3 lots.

A gilded tray for offering a towel to the queen, weighing 4 marcs, 15 lots.

A patera for the credenza, weighing 6 marcs, 9 lots.

[p. 307]A dish for storing eggs, weighing 6 marcs, 8 lots.

2 gilded saltpans, weighing 1 marc.

4 gilded drinking cups with covers, weighing 15 marcs.

7 gilded spoons weighing 1 marc, 11 lots.

7 little gilded forks, weighing 1 marc.

3 gilded spoons, one of them broken, weighing 11 lots.

A gilded fork.

2 large flasks, weighing 24 marcs, 8 lots.

A flask weighing 11 marcs, 7 lots.

A small flask weighing 4 marcs, 10 lots.

3 candlesticks weighing 4 marcs 10 lots.

A gold drinking cup weighing 3 marcs, 1 lot.

2 knives in sheaths for the credenza, with other smaller ones.

2 knives.

Silver for the chamber and for the use of nobility and officials

A large flask [p. 308] weighing 15 marks, 2 lots.

26 spoons weighing 6 marcs, 12 lots.

Drinking cups of all kinds weighing 22 marcs, 1 lot.

Silver for the chapel

2 candlesticks and 2 containers for wine for wine and water, weighing 12 marcs, 14 lots.

A cup with patina weighing 2 marcs, 8 lots.

A vase for holy water with a holy water sprinkler and a bell, weighing 9 marcs, 8 lots.

A gilded crucifix weighing 4 marcs, 5 lots.

A reliquary weighing 1 marc, 2 lots.

Silver for the chambers

A bowl and jug for washing hands, 13 marcs, 6 lots.

4 candlesticks, 14 marcs, 14 lots.

A container for drinking water, 2 marcs, 9 lots.

[p. 309]Outer garments

An overhead garment in the Spanish fashion of black velvet with 315 gold branches, 6 pearls inserted over each one.

A garment in the Spanish fashion made from black velvet with 54 small Hungarian gold chains, having gold buttons, 3 pearls inserted in each one.

A garment of purple velvet, another in Spanish fashion, made with golden spikes (tribulis) of value, of which there are 100 gilded, and in these spikes inserted 9 pearls.

[p. 310]A garment of black velvet having fringes made from gold thread and purple silk, onto which garment are inserted 49 roses.

 A garment of crimped gold brocade with red silk.

A garment of gold brocade similar from both sides.

A garment of blood red haras, knitted top down with gold and silver.

A garment of purple velvet with a fringe of gold thread.

A red garment with a gold cord going around it.

A garment of purple gold brocade with a fringe embroidered with pearls.

A garment of purple haras embroidered with pearls all over.

Garments lined with fur

A garment of crimped brocade line with sable fur.

A garment of brocade interwoven with blue silk, lined with sable fur.

Sable fur enough for one garment.

A garment of purple haras which is lined with marten fur.

Inner garments which are called Italian

A dress of crimped brocade similar from both sides, the sleeves have 24 diamonds and 26 gold buttons with pearls.

A dress of silver thread with a gold fringe and 69 new puntales with gold enamel on its long sleeves.

A dress of gold cloth with gold coloured silk.

[p. 311]A dress of red haras interwoven with gold.

A fuller dress of brocade.

A dress of brocade finished with various colours.

A dress of silver cloth finished with red silk with gold thread.

A dress of gold cloth with a fringe of red velvet with a gold cord.

A dress of silver cloth with golden cords.

A similar one.

A dress of green brocade.

A dress of the same brocade.

A dress of purple haras finished all over with gold and silver in the likeness of branches.

A dress of red haras all made with gold thread.

A dress of red velvet finished in the likeness of bones of gold and silver all around.

A dress of white damask with 100 buttons with gold enamel.

A dress of red velvet with a fringe (sive liotis) of gold thread.

A dress of purple velvet with a fringe of brocade.

A dress of pink velvet (circumdata passo manis).

[p. 312]A dress of purple haras with silver cords.

A dress of white haras made with two fringes of cloth of gold, sleeves have 100 enamelled pontales all around.

A dress of red velvet with two fringes of cloth of gold, sleeves have 100 pontales.

A dress of red haras with embroidery finished in the likeness of bones, sleeves having 180 buttons with gold enamel.

A dress of blood-red haras with two fringes made from gold thread, sleeves have 100 pairs of pontales.

A dress of saffron-yellow haras, with a fringe with cords of gold thread.

A dress of purple crimped brocade, sleeves with 70 pairs of gold enamelled pontales.

A dress of red brocade, sleeves with 88 pairs of gold pontales.

A dress of silver brocade, with finished with embroidery in the likeness of bones.

[p. 313]A dress with panels of silver cloth.

A dress finished with gold and silver.

A dress of cloth of silver with a fringe of gold leaf.

A dress, sleeves have 74 pairs of pontales.

A dress of red haras interwoven with gold and blue and green silk.

A dress of purple haras interwoven with gold.

A length of red velvet with flowers.

Two smaller lengths of greyish flowery velvet.

Collars

A collar with gold and silver.

A collar with gold and white silk and a neck collar with pearls in the likeness of roses.

A collar from gold and silver with knots of purple silk.

A similar collar with knots of red silk.

A collar with gold roses and knotted pearls with a veil.

A knotted collar with a veil over which are golden roses with gold enamel.

A collar finished in the checked pattern, with gold roses.

A collar of silver and gold.

[p. 314]A collar from gold and shreds of red silk.

A collar of white silk with gold and a collar made of pearls.

A collar knotted with pearls.

A collar finished in the fashion of bones, an Italian pattern with pearls.

2 collars of gold and silver thread.

4 ornaments of gold thread.

Ornaments for the head, called scophios in Italian

A scophio finished with gold thread with large pearls.

A scophio of silver with red silk with knots which are called fioci with rubies and large pearls.

A scophio finished with hair(?) with large pearls and gold roses.

A scophio of gold thread with small fioci of blood red silk and embroidered with small pearls.

A scophio of gold thread with purple silk fioci with pearls.

A scophio finished with pearls with fioci of purple silk.

A scophio of gold and silver thread finished over a cushion on which women work with pearls.

[p. 315]A scophio finished with fioci of red silkand small pearls.

A scophio finished with fioci of black silk and small pearls.

A scophio of gold thread and fioci with pearls.

Another similar.

A gold scophio with knots of gold and silver thread.

A scophio of gold and silver thread.

Another similar.

A scophio of silver thread with enamelled pontales.

A scophio of gold thread with pendants.

A scophio of gold thread with fioci of silver and red silk.

A scophio of gold and silver thread with black and red silk and pendants.

A scophio of Spanish gold and silver thread.

A scophio of gold and silver with fioci and white veil.

A scophio of Spanish gold thread.

<div align="center">24 tapestries</div>

8 depicting virtues.

5 with strange paintings.

[p. 316]8 green with various animals depicted.

3 small ones.

<div align="center">Coverlets</div>

A coverlet for the table of red crimson velvet made of 4 parts.

Another similar coverlet.

A third coverlet made of 4 parts, but truly smaller for a round table from crimson red velvet.

A coverlet of black velvet for covering a table, made of 4 parts.

7 green curtains with representations of 7 virtues, namely faith, hope, charity, justice, prudence, moderation and bravery.

6 curtains with characters of Old Testament.

6 green curtains with flowers and animals of one length and width.

A similar curtain, but indeed longer and wider.

[p. 317]A similar curtain, but smaller.

A curtain of gold cloth with red silk in the fashion of a coverlet made of 5 parts.

2 large Turkish coverlets.

A very similar coverlet, but smaller.

Altar cloths

2 of red velvet, one with 2 cushions for the place of prayer.

1 of black velvet with a cushion for the place of prayer.

2 of red velvet with a gold cross.

Mass vestments of red velvet with a gold cross.

Mass vestments of gold.

2 altar canopy, 1 of red velvet and the other of gold.

A stola and maniple of red velvet.

A stole and maniple of gold

A mass alb ornate with red velvet and with its extensions.

An mass alb ornate with gold and its extensions.

2 opercula for mass, 1 of red velvet and the other of gold.

[p. 318]A mass cushion of red velvet.

2 purses of gold.

2 cushions for pace (peace?), 1 of red velvet and the other of gold.

5 coverings for the altar.

1 for the mass.

A stone extending over the altar.

Things for the bed

A new bed frame with golden columns.

A new bed with a new mattress.

A covering for the bed of purple cloth of gold finished in the likeness of leaves all around.

Of the same cloth of gold as if made for the same bed with a fringe of pendants which are called fransas.

2 as if walls of the bed surrounding from the same cloth of gold.

2 other from purple damask.

Bottom of the bed encircled with a damask garment.

Carriages and saddles

[p. 319]A golden carriage at the same time with reins covered with black silk and 4 cushions of black silk and leather horse covering and six harnesses to fit the horses.

Tools of black silk fringe thread finished with silk.

A saddle for the queen of flowery black silk, 1 with a horse blanket and in addition an upper harness, all of which are finished with a fringe.

2 trappings for the horse's head of black silk for the queen from the same black silk with the silk fringe all around.

7 harnesses for the ladies' horses with black silk thread fringe around, to which 14 trappings lined with black silk decorated with the same fringe.

A harness for her royal majesty from black silk with lower and upper lining, and a halter fringe of thread from gold thread.

[p. 320]A harness of purple silk with a purple coverlet with a fringe of gold thread woven around for the use of her majesty.

An old horse ornament of purple with its coverlet decorated with gold and fringe of gold thread finished all around.

7 older for calm horses decorated with red silk for the ladies.

An old purple ornament with a lower covering and decorated with gold fringe.

An old ornament of red silk with a lower and upper covering decorated with a gold fringe.

An ornament for a calm horse from black silk decorated with gold.

An old ornament of black silk decorated with gilded knobs for a calm horse.

[p. 321]3 pairs of golden stirrups among which one is made of solid gilded silver, all of the for the queen majesty's use.

1 pair of gilded stirrups for the stable groom.

1 gilded spur for the stable groom.

8 gilded iron bridles.

3 bridles, which are applied for snappish horses.

Carriage harnesses

6 carriage harnesses of purple silk with a fringe of gold thread decorated with gilded rings and chains for six horses for the queen's carriage.

4 older harnesses of purple silk with letters F and R interlacing each other and gilded.

4 harnesses of yellow silk with all its things.

Carriage coverings

A large covering of purple silk [p. 322]and interwoven with gold decorated with a fringe of gold thread all around and pulled from under inside with gold cloth, besides a purple covering and of the same kind 4 cushions.

A large old covering of purple silk and gold and red and interwoven elaborately and with a golden wider fringe in a circle spread out through the entire golden cloth line, 1 with 2 silk coverings.

An old carriage cover of yellow silk lined with yellow damask and 3 silver fringes going around, one with covering of yellow silk and 4 cushions of the same colour silk.

2 older carriage covers of purple silk simpler and made without skill.

An old carriage cover of gold cloth, teleta damask and lined with red silk, 5 connecting parts with a fringe of red silk and gold lined with red cloth.

An old carriage cover of silver teleta and crimson red velvet made of 5 parts with an ornamental fringe of silver thread and red silk.

[p. 323]Ropes of red and white silk to which the same veil is attached.

An old cover of gold damask sewn onto brown silk with crimson red velvet, with its decorative fringe of gold and brown silk.

Ropes of red and brown silk.

An old covering of black velvet with its parts and ornaments of black silk, the upper part of the veil of black cloth which is affixed to the walls is missing.

3 iron chests closed with its bolts and three locks.

Catherine, the Queen of Poland

[In Polish]

This copy was copied from the original written on paper and with a seal around which these words are written: 'Catherine by the grace of God Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania etc.' on the day 13th June 1783.

Appendix 5: 'The Manner of Queen Barbara's Coronation'

Note on transcriptions and translations: Expansions of abbreviations are underlined, unexpanded abbreviations are italicised. Folio numbers are given in square brackets and any breaks in the text are recreated. The spelling of Polish texts has not been modernised.

The Polish National Library Special Collections, MS 6614 ff. 173r-175r

[173r]Modus coronacionis Barbarae Reginae Poloniae

Anno domini 1550

Dominico die quo regina Coronanda erat, ornatus chorus scenis maioris Cracoviensi aula Stalla ornavit priora panno aurico reliquo vero tapetjis(smudged ending) Consternitque chorus parmo rubco

Ea vero pars chorj, quae est ante maius altrare ornata erat cum *rpo* altarj solemni apparato. In altari corporis Celebrandi statuta erant Candellabra cum Candelis ardentibus [173v]interqui positum erat oleum Cathecumenorum pelvis cum gutumis et mappa, ampulae cum vino et aqua et pixide hostiaria ac alia turis. Ante altare autem positum erat faldistorium Archiepiscopo et aliud in quo Regina accumbat

Hora consucta convniunt ad eclesiam cum Archiepiscopo Gnesnensis cuius manus proprium est Coronandorum. Regum et Reginarum Poloniae; ornatusque erat Archibiscopus cum ministris altaris solennibus ornamentis; Episcopi vero stollis supra Rocheta pluuialibus et mitris admissi sunt etiam et Abbates; ei qui erant ibidem ornati.

Peracta deinde processio absente Rege; et intrante Archiepiscopo cum ministris et Episcopis cum his qui eis baculos proferebant. Aeliqui exclusi sunt.

Parata est etiam ex compactis asseribus in medio Chorj inferioris exaduerso maioris altaris; duobus gradibus ellatus thronus qui panno rubio constersus est in cuius parte extrema posita sunt duo sedilia magno ex veluto rubio cum globis inauratis ante ea vero positi sunt cuffini panni aurej rubej, in quibus Rex cum Regina [174r] accumbebant

Peracta processione venit rex in templum hoc ordine. ornatus est veste ellegantissima. impositaque euis capiti Corona Regiae. ac procedentibus aulicis et senatu. tres Marsalci cum scipionibus eos sequnti sunt. post quos veniunt Castellanus Cracoviensis gestans Coronam. Palatinus Cracoviensis sceptrum. Palatinus vero Posnaniensis pomum. quos sequtus est Rex inter principes et legatos ei qui aderant. Regem sequtus magister curiae Reginae cum scipione. eum vero Regina inter principes vel legatos principis ac Senatores cum Choro matronarum et virginum ingressique Sunt Chorum templi porta Australi, que Sepulchro divi Stanislai est coniuncta

Ascendit autem Rex thalamum a dextra parte Regina vero a sinistra sederuntque ad sedilia parata. principibus vero si qui erant vel legatis. datus est locus pro dignitate cuiusvis

Procumbentibus autem omnibus. Archiepiscopus recepit Confessionem et procedit in Missa usque ad Alleluia. Episcopus vero Cracoviensis aut si is abesset Wladislaviensis Posnaniensis et alter quivis senior aspersit Regem deinde reginam

[174v]Alleluija finita. descendit Rex de thalama et precedentibus Marsalcis et Consiliariis cum insigniis actessit ad Archiepiscopem et dixit haec verbae: Reuerendissime in christo pater postulamus ut consortem nostram nobis a deo coniunctam benedicere et coronare dignam ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri Jesu Christi

Regi assurgit Archiepiscopus, et iubet Epicopes reddeunti Rege ad thalamum ut Reginam deduerant Acceperunt itaque eam duo Episcopi Cracoviensis [word smudged] et

Vladislaviensis vel Seniores isti adsunt , et dedurerunt ante maius altare debit autem regina deduci capillis resolutis et promissis que postque reuerentiam Metropolitano fecit procubuit apud faldistorium sibi ad hoc preparatum; ad sinistram Metropolitani qui et ipsi apud suum faldistorium procubuit, et interea Litania canitur; qua finita surgit Archiepiscopus et detecto capite dixit orationem clara voce; quam dicunt submissa voce alii Episcopi Dictis orationibus duabus inungit Archiepiscopus caput Regniae in modum Crucis oleo sancto, deinde in pectore et in Scapulis dicens; In nomine patris etcetera Dixit deinde orationes sequentes duas; maxque finitis oracionibus dat illi in manum sceptrum dicens. Accipe virgam virtutis et aequitatis et isto pauperibus misericors et affabilis viduis et pupilis; diligentissimam curam exhibeas; ut omnipotentus deus augeat tibi gratiam suam; qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum

[175r]Imposuit ei demum annulum dicens actipe etcetera cum oracione sequenti

Benedixit postea coronam dicens deus tuorum corona etcetera quam postea imposuit cum oracionibus infrascriptis quem adiuuabant alii Episcopi

Quo finito cantabatur, Te deum Laudamus Archiepiscopo incipiente et Regina ab Epscopis et Baronibus ad sedem suam deducta est prosequitur deinde Chorus cantum usque ad Ewangelium

Quo finito primus Episcopus qui aspersit Regem et reginam descendit ab altari et thurifficat regem et reginam ac deinde utrique librum Ewangeliorum exhibuit osculandum; interea vero Credo Cantatur Offertorio cepto Regina precedentibus Baronibus Wit ad altare et offert aurum pro arbitrio suo

Dum agnus incipitur iterum regina deducitur a magnatibus ante maius altare ante quod in medio gradu procumbens deposita Corona communicavit de manu Archiescopi et post

ablucionem [a word crossed out] imposita Corona deducta est ad sedem suam et conduditur missa

Rex Petit reginam benedici et Coronati a Metropolitano his verbis

Reverende pater postulamus ut consortem nostram nobis a deo coniunctam benedicere et Corona Reginali decorare dignam ad Laudem et gloriam saluatoris nostri Jesu Christi

Translation:

The Manner of Queen Barbara's coronation

In the year of our Lord 1550

On the Lord's Day on which the queen was to be crowned, the choir having been decorated with great stages, the court of Cracow was first decorated with cloth of gold, the rest indeed with decorative cloth, and the choir was covered with red cloth.[1]

Indeed part of the choir, which is on the opposite side of the main altar, was decorated with [unexpanded abbreviation] on the main altar having been prepared according to custom. On the altar of celebrating the body, candle holders were placed with burning candles between which the baptismal oil was placed in basins with jugs and a napkin, flasks with wine and water and a small box with an offering and other incense. Opposite the main altar the archbishop's seat was placed and another in which the queen sat.

At the agreed time they met at the church with the archbishop of Gniezno whose hand is appropriate for crowning kings and queens of Poland, and the Archbishop was attired together with other attendants of the altar in the customary adornments. The bishops indeed wore stoles over rochets flowing down and mitres, and the abbots were admitted as well, they who were at that very place attired.

When the procession finished with the king being absent and the archbishop entered with attendants and bishops with him who carried his staff, some were excluded.

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[1] By 'the court of Cracow' the author probably means the courtyard of the Wawel palace and the path leading from it to the cathedral.

Furthermore it was prepared from attached beams in the middle of the lower choir on the opposite of the main altar, a throne elevated by two steps, which was covered with red cloth, on the outside of which two great chairs were placed from red velvet with golden orbs, against them were placed pillows of red cloth of gold, in which the king sat with the queen.

After the procession was finished, the king came into the church in this manner, attired in the most elegant vest and the royal crown was on his head, and with his courtiers and members of the Senate. Three marshals with their staffs followed. After them came the Castellan of Cracow holding the crown, the Palatine of Cracow carrying the sceptre and the Palatine of Poznań holding the orb, the king followed them, between princes and legates who were present, the master of the queen's court following the king with a staff. The queen followed him walking between princes and legates of princes and senators with a chorus of matrons and maidens. And they entered to the church's choir through the south entrance, which is connected with St Stanisław's grave.

The king ascended the dais on the right and the queen on the left, and they sat on the prepared seats, a seat was given according to status to the princes if someone was present or the legates.

When everyone was prostrated the archbishop received the creed and proceeded with the mass until Alleluia. The bishop of Cracow, or supposing that he is absent the bishops of Kujawy and Poznań, and whoever is the elder sprinkled the king and afterwards the queen.

When Alleluia finished, the king descended the dais and with proceeding marshals and councillors with the regalia, he approached the archbishop and said these words: most reverend father in Christ, we ask that you to bless and crown our wife married to us by God, worthy of the praise and glory of our lord Jesus Christ king.

The archbishop stood up and ordered the bishops to return the king to the dais so that they may escort the queen. Therefore accepting her, the bishop of Cracow [word smudged] and of Kujawy or their elders present, and they led to the opposite of the main altar. The queen allowed to be led with her hair unbound and hanging down, and after which the metropolitan bishop said a prayer and prostrated himself before his seat prepared for this reason. On the left the metropolitan bishop who prostrated himself before his seat as well. In the meantime a Litany was being sung. After it was finished, the archbishop rose and the head having been uncovered, he said a prayer in loud voice, which was repeated by other bishops in moderate

voice. Having said two prayers, the archbishop anointed the queen's head in the manner of a cross with the sacred oil, afterwards on her breast and on her shoulders saying: in the name of father and so forth. Afterwards he said two following prayers. After the orations were finished, he gave the sceptre into her hand saying: accept the sceptre of virtue and justice and with which may you display most diligent care, compassion towards the poor and kindness towards widows and children, so that all-powerful God may honour you with his grace, he who lives and reigns for ever and ever.

Finally he placed the ring on her saying: accept and so forth with a prayer following.

Afterwards he blessed the crown saying: God your crown and so forth, which he then placed with the prayers written below with which the other bishops assisted.[2]

After it was finished, Te Deum Laudamus was sung, started by the Archbishop, and the queen was led by bishops and barons to her seat and afterwards the chorus followed singing until the gospel.

After it was finished, the first bishop who sprinkled the king and queen descended from the altar and burned incense onto the king and queen and after which he produced both books of the gospel for kissing. Meanwhile credo was sung. At the offertory, the queen, with proceeding barons came to the altar and offered gold for his arbitration.

While Agnus Dei was begun the queen was escorted again by the magnates in front of the main altar opposite of which on the middle step prostrating, the crown having been deposited, she received communion from the archbishop's hand and after the ablutions, the crown having been placed, she was led to her seat and the mass continued

The king asks for the queen's blessing and crowning of the metropolitan bishop with these words:

Reverend father we ask that you decorate with the royal crown and bless our consort married to us by God, worthy of praise and glory of our saviour Jesus Christ.

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[2] The prayer written 'below' is the king's request for the queen to be crowned, rather than the prayer accompanying the queen's crowning.

Appendix 6: 'Speech welcoming Queen Barbara to Kazimierz'

Note on transcriptions and translations: Expansions of abbreviations are underlined, unexpanded abbreviations are italicised. Folio numbers are given in square brackets and any breaks in the text are recreated. The spelling of Polish texts has not been modernised.

The Polish National Library Special Collections MS III 6640 f. 104r-104v

Panow Kazimierzanow do Krolewney Je<u>j</u> M<u>oś</u>ci przywitanie ktora do Krakowa przyiechała dwudziestego siódmego lutego 1576

[104r] Z wielką radością Naiasnieysza Królewno Panno i Pani nasza miłościwa czekalieśmy prziechania W<u>aszej</u> K<u>rólewskiej</u> M<u>oś</u>ci iako potomka ongiś znanych oświeconych y Naieśyśnych Świętey pamięci Królow Polskich Domu Jagiełłowego Panow i Dobrodzieiow naszych Miłościwych, a tym więcey że Waszą K<u>rólewską</u> M<u>oś</u>ć P<u>an</u> Boh wszechmogacy zasobliwey Łaskiey swey Swiętey na mieysce ich za Krolową Polską a nam za Panią naznaczyć y powołać raczył, sczego my vierni poddani W<u>aszej</u> K<u>rólewskiej</u> M<u>oś</u>ci miasta Kazimierza dziękuiąc iego I<u>ego</u> M<u>iłoś</u>czi raduiemy się y veselemy. A przeto W<u>aszej</u> K<u>rólewskiej</u> M<u>oś</u>ci wierność posłuszeństwo ućciwość y poddaność od przodków naszych zawsze w całości niestrudzenie Ich Mi<u>ło</u>ściom Krolom P<u>anom</u> P<u>anom</u> naszym Meznym zachovać y wyrządzać zwykle ofiaruiemy prosząc [104v] pokornie aby W<u>asza</u> K<u>rólewska</u> M<u>oś</u>ć na vierne Poddane sve własce a wobronie swey chować raczyła. a my za W<u>aszą</u> K<u>rólewską</u> M<u>oś</u>ć Pana Boga wszechmogacego prosząc ustawicznie, iakoszmy powinni będziemy. Aby on złaskiey swey Swiętey W<u>aszą</u> K<u>rólewską</u> M<u>oś</u>ć w dobrym zdrowiu na wszelakich pociechach wsczesliwym panowaniu, y pokoiu chować raczył ku czci swey świętey a nam ku pociesze y obronie.

Translation:

The welcoming of the Lady Princess who came to Cracow on 27 February 1576 given by the Masters of Kazimierz[1]

We have awaited the arrival of Your Royal Highness with great joy, our gracious and Most Illustrious Princess Mademoiselle and Mistress, as the descendant of those who used to be

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[1] Kazimierz was located just outside of sixteenth-century Cracow. It was inhabited by Jewish merchants.

famous, enlightened and Most Illustrious, the late Polish Kings of the House Jagiellon, our Lords and Gracious Benefactors, and even more so because Lord God almighty in his Sacred Favour deigned to mark and appoint Your Royal Highness in their place as the Queen of Poland and our Lady, about which we, the loyal subjects of Your Royal Highness of the city of Kazimierz, are happy and joyful, giving thanks to His Grace. Nevertheless we offer Your Royal Highness our loyalty, obedience, honesty and allegiance, as did our ancestors to Their Royal Highnesses our Valiant Kings according to custom, and we humbly ask Your Royal Highness that you keep your loyal Subjects in your favour and protection. And as it is our duty, we will pray persistently to Lord God almighty for Your Royal Highness, that he, in his Sacred grace, may deign to keep Your Royal Highness in good health and happiness, joyous rule and peace for the sake of his sacred respect and for our comfort and protection.

Appendix 7: 'Piotr Boratyński's third speech...'

Note on transcriptions and translations: Expansions of abbreviations are underlined, unexpanded abbreviations are italicised. Folio numbers are given in square brackets and any breaks in the text are recreated. The spelling of Polish texts has not been modernised.

'Piotr Boratyński's third speech asking the King to renounce his marriage, as the representative of the Chamber of Representatives at the Parliament held in Piotrków in November-December 1548, printed in 'Diariusze sejmów koronnych 1548, 1553, i 1570', in Józef Szujski (ed.), *Scriptores rerum polonicarum*, **vol. 1, , Kraków 1872, pp. 201-208**

From now on, most illustrious, gracious King, all of those who thought that your ascendance to the throne would bring Poland's downfall and humiliation should know that they were wrong, because it is clear now that Your Royal Majesty's decisions come from obeying the will of God rather than human temper. Since, being the Lord and head of this Crown,[1] you do not trust your own judgement of your own person and indeed because of the appeal presented to you by your knights as well as the wise-man's words: *ubi multa consilia, ibi multa salus*,[2] you graciously allowed your Councils to openly urge you to rectify that which would come from Your Royal Highness against the dignity of Your Royal Majesty and against the good opinion of the Polish nation in the eyes of strangers. And since these suggestions of the Royal Councils and the constant appeals from the equestrian estate are in accordance with displaying kind love towards Your Royal Majesty, their Lord, they took place; everyone can easily believe that such agreement and persistence among such a large and diverse group of people in the parliament was granted by the Holy Spirit. As Your Royal Highness has heard that the Crown Council said how they feel bitterly sorry for this incidental marriage and how they condemn it, but at the same time the Crown Senate gave account of such ways and customs according to which Your Royal Majesty could easily dissolve such a secret marriage contracted between two unequal individuals, and the Crown Senate provided such legal fortifications for this divorce that you would break neither the

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[1] Whenever Boratyński mentions 'the Crown', he means Poland as opposed to the Grand Duchy. Similarly, when he speaks about 'the Crown knights' he means the Polish nobility.
[2] Where there is much advice, there are many ways of salvation.

marriage law nor offend Christian conscience, gracious King, and even though with this marriage you humiliated your royal dignity, insulted and grieved your Crown knights and encouraged the enemy of the Crown, you would compensate that to common happiness. Gracious King, these reasons which Your Royal Majesty deigned to give to your loyal subjects for this lamentable marriage, do not appear valid to the citizens of the Crown, with Your Royal Majesty's pardon, for a variety of reasons. Since one reason mentioned was that the king should decide about his own marriage as any other man would and listen to God rather than to other people in this matter. It was also mentioned that the crown law only specifies the election of kings rather than queens. Your Royal Highness also reminded us that Your Royal Highness, having married a woman equal to your subjects but unequal to yourself, increased and dignified her low status with his royal position. And this was also given as one of the reasons that since every man is allowed to choose his wife, the king should not be forbidden from doing so. Most gracious King, having turned to God in your heart, deign to understand that where a marriage is concerned, your duty is first to be obedient to your parents and that you swore to the Crown to obey its laws, one of them being that Your Royal Highness cannot do anything without the permission of the Crown Senate. And by this oath which you made when you were anointed to the throne, Your Royal Highness, you are a slave to the Crown first and foremost, and you cannot outweigh that oath with this insignificant marriage which binds you with one person to the humiliation of your dignity and the downfall of the Crown. In this way, gracious King, since according to both God and reason the matter of more importance, necessity and moral standing should be put first, Your Royal Highness should keep your first oath, which Your Royal Highness took *ad diadema regni*[3] by God's will and calling, and this insignificant marriage, as something that took place in secret, against your parents' will and council of the Crown Senate, and that took place *contra canones de clandestinis matrimoniis*,[4] and especially according to this proverb: *in periculoso ac turpi periculo rescindere votum*:[5] such marriage, gracious King, should be dissolved *sine onere conscientiae*[6] for the good of the Commonwealth, and with it you will prove to be obedient to God when you love the wellbeing of a common Christian man over your own pleasures. And the fact that there is not a law on choosing the king's wife is only because our Polish ancestors had such faith in your ancestors, that they considered it a national virtue. They also did not spy on their king to guard him from secretly

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[3] to the royal crown
[4] against the canons of clandestine marriage
[5] revoke a vote taken in dangerous and scandalous circumstances
[6] without a burden of conscience

doing something to humiliate his dignity. However, gracious King, you swore to uphold not only the written laws, but also all of the glorious *consuetudines Regni*,[7] among which there was a custom loyally upheld by the Polish Kings that a Polish King could not marry without the permission of the Council of the Crown, against his parents' and the Councils' will and knowledge, as evidenced by the example of one of Your Royal Majesty's ancestors, King Casimir. For example, it is not specified in the crown law, gracious King, concerning the murder of a husband by a wife *et e coverso*,[8] or *apud Spartas Lycurgi legibus*[9] was it provided concerning how an *adulter*[10] was to be punished, but because it is not specified in the law, such a cruel man does not escape punishment in Poland. But this is specified in the liberties of the Crown, which say this about the king: *nullos contractus aut inscriptiones, quae communem regni laederent honestatem suscipiemus neque tenebimus*.[11] And in a different passage the crown law does specify with regards to marriage in these words: *Nemo de stirpe ducum in hoc inclyto Regno Poloniae dignitates, officia, castra, munitiones possideat*.[12] And because Your Royal Highness married your subject, you created as many kings of Poland as your wife has relatives in Poland and Lithuania. Thus, gracious King, even though there is nothing in the law *expresse*[13] concerning marriages of kings, according to these clear arguments and old customs, which are rightly upheld in the Crown concerning marriages of kings, the marriage between Your Royal Highness and the subject is not valid: and since it is also said about this marriage that the low status of that wife was increased by Your Royal Highness' status, everyone must admit, most gracious King, that your Royal Highness deigned to dignify this lady's status, but Your Royal Highness, with Your Royal Majesty's pardon, deigned to humiliate your own royal status and your subjects greatly, by marrying your subject and especially from such a family and people who accepted the true Christian faith *ex summa et inculta barbarie*[14] only one hundred and fifty years ago, and in this short time accepted knighthood and crests of arms given to them by us Poles.[15] Thus, most illustrious and gracious King, since for the citizens of the Crown the matter is not about

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[7] customs of the kingdom
[8] and the other way round
[9] among the laws of Spartan Lycurgus
[10] adulterer
[11] we shall not acknowledge or uphold any agreements or documents which betray the common honour of the kingdom
[12] no one from the duke/ruler's family may possess status, offices, castles or fortifications in this illustrious kingdom of Poland
[13] expressly
[14] from the highest and unpolished barbarism
[15] According to the union of Horodło in 1413, the Polish nobility shared their crests of arms with the Lithuanian boyar families, in order to make them equal to themselves.

that Lady which Your Royal Highness deigned to marry, but the *res agitur*[16] concerning the insult of the Crown estates, and so the marriage can never redeem itself in the eyes of the Crown citizens, since afterwards the *nobilitas genitorum*[17] causes the honest man's *morum*.[18] Also regarding the matter of the King choosing his own wife like any other man, indeed, most illustrious gracious King, it would be a perverse arrangement, for the person who is the provider and defender of liberty not to be able to enjoy it, since even the queen bee, also known as the mother, because she does not work for it during winter, she shares the food with others to such an extent that she would rather die of hunger than allow for it to happen to any other bee: however, gracious King, it is reasonable to utilise this freedom to choose a wife from among those who are equal to oneself regarding status in order for the people to forgive rather than punish. Since it is against *honestis moribus*[19] when someone from the noble or equestrian estate marries a peasant girl, his subject, or even a burgher's daughter from some great city, even though he would not insult or hurt anyone else only himself, thus the offence of *publicarum personarum*[20] insults the *honestas institutiones Rerumpublicarum*[21] much more, because all subjects should follow the leader's example. Since, most illustrious gracious King, when someone *publicam personam gerit*,[22] this state of actively insulting and harming those who gave him his title and enthronement, such as the Polish king who is designated by Poles, he cannot act like this nor take any other actions not suitable to his station, since it is not proper for him to indulge in destructive things at all. We know that for a man of low station it is not humiliating to wrestle with animals or weave with distaff and spindle, but both King Sardanapalus because he weaved with distaff and spindle among women and Emperor *Comodus* of Rome because he wrestled with animals insulted and humiliated their reputation in the eyes of the world. Not because of anything else, gracious King, these kings were remembered so badly by posterity, but because wise men who wrote down their histories advised that each king should understand all of his comforts, pleasures and goods, so that he loves those which bring honour and advantage to his country and subjects rather than pleasure to himself. And because of that, most illustrious and gracious King, recognising that such liberty may only be given to those who are not dear to the people rather than those who are their superiors, Your Royal Highness would be right not

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[16] matter discussed
[17] the produced nobility
[18] custom
[19] honest customs
[20] public people
[21] honest customs of the Commonwealth
[22] conducts oneself as a public person

to deign to usurp such liberty for himself which would especially humiliate the royal species and destroy the usefulness of his wealth in the Commonwealth. It could also be said about that marriage, gracious King, that no king among Your Royal Highness' ancestors or other kings of the world had to abandon his wife because of the Commonwealth's will and reputation. But the facts of the matter are that the late Vladislav, the king of Hungary and Your Royal Highness' uncle, divorced Matthias' queen for the good of both his countries.[23] So Your Royal Highness' recently departed father had to cancel his marriages to two honourable princesses, one of Mecklenburg and the other of Masovia, for the good of the Commonwealth and by his Council's advice. It is also known about the Macedonian King that he did not allow his son to marry the alderman's daughter. There are also clear accounts, gracious King, that King Masinissa married *Syphacis Regis*,[24] also a queen, and it is known that the Roman commander Scipio told him that such a marriage was a humiliation to his royal status, because he married the queen of an imprisoned king, and soon Masinissa out of the love for his royal status renounced that marriage telling his wife that the reason for this divorce was that he first swore to the Romans that he would not become entangled *cum Siphace Rege*[25] without their consent; and because of this the queen greedily reached for her good husband and died from an unspeakable poison. Indeed, gracious King, this virtuous lady, for all her love for you, honourable and good, as well as the Commonwealth, will not be pleased having learned by such diligent efforts of Your Royal Highness' subjects that patriarch Abraham's wife, Agar, was exiled together with her son because of a God sent-vision that she was unequal to Abraham; so that she does not stop at the first voievodeship parliament (dietine) which is the best way for expanding one's network and reputation among the other knights. Furthermore, gracious King, everyone could see that your first marriage brought many advantages, much dignity, and alliance with a foreign people, all of which were since lost, because, gracious King, this marriage to the daughter of the Roman king and niece to the Emperor allowed you to expand the Polish borders from Moscow to Africa; it was so peaceful and prosperous for the Crown that not only the nobility, but also Your Royal Majesty's subjects came to Poland looking to learn honest advice, which they cannot do now because since Your Royal Majesty's unequal marriage was made public, the foreign nations are mocking us. And since it came to that, most illustrious and gracious King, with your royal permission the royal councils in your royal presence and that of the entire

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[23] Matthias Corvin's widow, Beatrice of Aragon. His two countries were Bohemia and Hungary.
[24] Syphax's queen
[25] with King Syphax

parliament agreed unanimously concerning their votes that this royal marriage also contributes towards the humiliation and downfall of Your Royal Majesty's subjects; and the Crown Senate employing the privileged *autoritatem suam senatoriam*[26] advise Your Royal Majesty and ask, as a Christian Lord and King, that Your Royal Highness deigns to give up that lamentable marriage, since both the clerical and the lay Council take it upon their conscience that Your Royal Majesty will not offend his Christian conscience: and so the representatives of the Crown knights, the loyal subjects of the most illustrious and gracious King, stand with the Lords of the Crown Council, the guardians of the Polish Commonwealth's wellbeing, and understand this marriage to be the downfall of the Crown, on which subject the Lords of the Crown Council gave their various *sententiae*,[27] and admonish their Lord hoping for your royal pardon and Christian love that you first deign to perceive that marriage, which is disgusting to the people, with a repentant heart and understand that God sent this sadness over that marriage as punishment either for yours or your subjects' sins, and with it God admonishes every man against sinful pride, and to return to his senses and having abandoned his own impetuous will, to convert to God in loving his neighbour. In their subjection to you, their Lord, the Crown knights also admonish you, most illustrious and gracious King, to graciously receive the council of the most loyal Senate, who are kind-hearted towards you in their wisdom and devotion, as Your Royal Majesty's recently departed father did and left many glorious things behind in this world, so can you with their council and help, Your Royal Majesty, just as their council helped bring you to the Polish throne while your father still lived. The Crown knights, the loyal subjects devoted to your good reputation, gracious King, would like to humbly remind you that Your Royal Majesty should deign to consider that even though the Polish Crown does not have silver or gold, it has such knights whose only passion is to spill their blood for their honest Kings and Lords as well as the honour of their nobility and deserved liberties, which equal the Crown to any other kingdom, but the matter of your royal marriage reduces the status of the Crown in the eyes of foreign nations. Considering all of this, the Crown knights ask Your Royal Majesty, as their gracious Lord, that Your Royal Majesty deigns to give up this marriage, for the sake of your love towards the reputations of your ancestors such as *Wladislai, Kazimiri, Sigismundi regum* and other Kings, and because the Senate agreed unanimously for this divorce, and most importantly for the sake of the grace of God, your creator, who admonishes you through the appeals of your people. Most illustrious King and gracious

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[26] their senatorial authority
[27] points of view

Lord! Thus the loyal knights appeal to you by the grace of God and kneel before you with distressed hearts.

[And at that moment all Crown representatives as well as those members of the court who were present and other lords kneeled, many of them wiping tears, openly displaying their sorrow, even though there was not one of them in all Crown Councils who would usually willingly kneel and look at their Lord, although there were many members of the court present as well. To which the King (displaying a great ingratitude) began to shake his head and say 'Stop them! Stop! Is that necessary?! But Boratyński continued his speech.]

May you, Your Royal Majesty, not turn away from the will of God, the kind council of the Senate and the appeals of your subjects, given without cunning or discord but with honest and humble tears, but may you deign to dissolve this secret marriage to a person of lower status than your own, for the sake of your love towards God and the good of your royal person and your countries. If you do this, Your Royal Majesty, you will soothe the people's hearts, and remedy that with which you, our gracious Lord, humiliated your royal dignity, insulted and bitterly disappointed your friends and knights, and with which you, Your Royal Majesty, encouraged the enemies of the Crown, all of this you can rectify by abandoning this marriage. And with it, Your Royal Majesty, you will match the glorious memory of other formerly famous kings of the world, when you, Your Royal Highness, deign to indulge your subjects rather than the short lasting pleasure of your marriage. And with it, gracious King, you will deign to gain even more loyal support from your subjects who are already loyal to the point of spilling blood in your name.

Appendix 8: 'Libel against the second marriage of King Sigismund August'

Note on transcriptions and translations: Expansions of abbreviations are underlined, unexpanded abbreviations are italicised. Folio numbers are given in square brackets and any breaks in the text are recreated. The spelling of Polish texts has not been modernised.

Library of the Princes Czartoryski, MS 66.101

Libel against the second marriage of King Sigismund August of Poland, at Piotrków, 1548

Radziwiłł: Friend! Do what you do more quickly!

Kieżgał: No one who placed a hand near a plough in the past is suitable for authority.

The King: I am in the shape of a King. I could have been accepting the beauty itself of a subject from my stupidity.

Barbara the Wife: I remained what I was and I received what I was not.

Gossip: The wedding took place in Lithuanian Vilnius, but Jesus was not invited.

Gossip to Whores: I announce you great joy, because given to us today was a king who is Sigismund August in the state of Lithuania.[1]

The King's Parents: Son, why have you done this to us? Behold your father and I, your mother, lamenting have been inquired concerning you.[2]

The King's Royal Sisters: Lord! May your mercy be done upon us, who trust in you completely.

The Duke of Prussia: I praise you in this, I praise!

The Archbishop of Gniezno: Let us break up their bond.

The Bishop of Cracow: Oh, I don't know much.[3] What God joined together, let no one separate.

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[1] Luke 2.10
[2] Luke 2.48

The Bishop of Kujawy: Lord! If it is possible, transfer this disgrace away from us.

The Bishop of Poznań: May he dismiss her and give her a pamphlet of divorce.

The Other Nobles: Do not give sacred things to dogs!

The Castellan of Cracow: It is better to marry than to burn.

The Palatine of Cracow: Dismiss her because she screams at us.

The Palatine of Poznań: Marriage is honourable between all.

The Palatine of Sandomierz: Have you never known the love of Lithuanian girls?

The Castellan of Poznań: Unless you dismiss her, you are not Caesar's friend.

The Remaining Senators: You cannot have your father's daughter![4]

The Commonwealth: Therefore we are held in disgrace by our neighbours.

Germany: Hail the King of Poland! They gave him a boxing on the ear too.

Hungary: Are you not the great Sardanopalus, whom you make yourself into?

Italy: The flesh desires opposing the spirit.

The Public: Therefore you are the King!

The Equestrian Estate: You are the beginning of destruction!

The Estate of Honest Women: I say this honestly: prostitutes and whores precede us in the Polish kingdom.

Whores: Let us rejoice on the day a feast is celebrated in Venus' name!

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[3] The only sentence in the dialogue recorded in Polish. Possibly something the bishop actually said during the parliament.

[4] One of the most outrageous claims that surfaced during the parliament was that Barbara was actually Sigismund the Old's illegitimate child.

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