THE JOYOUS ENTRY OF CASIMIR I AND IV INTO LITHUANIAN AND POLISH CITIES*

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ABSTRACT This article uses published and unpublished material to examine the entry of Casimir Jagiellończyk into various towns in Poland and Lithuania. Royal entry ceremonial demonstrated the social contract between the lord and his subjects: his legitimate and accepted position as dominus naturalis, his respect for his subjects' liberties, and in return his subjects' loyalty to their prince and acceptance of his legitimacy. There is a general format to entrées royales throughout Europe. The ceremonial has recognised overtones of religious ceremonial and the selection of dates for making a solemn entry was also connected with religious festivities. Lithuanian and Polish models are similar, as we would expect. Vilnius became a deliberate re-creation of Cracow with much centring on the Stanisław cult in the castle church-cathedral. However, Lithuania was not blocked out by Poland in this state theatre. Ceremonial under Casimir illustrates the diversity and unity of his realms. There is a colour for all participants – usually red with gold embroidery, sometimes green or indeed brown or black. However, just as Princess Jadwiga's golden carriage with the shields of Poland and Lithuania represented both the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy, so the style of clothing of her Polish, Lithuanian and Tatar retinue was distinctive and noticeably varied. Even the breed of horses ridden by members of an entry retinue could differ – but not in an uncontrolled way. Despite the fact that Lithuanian and Polish practice does not follow the French model exactly, it is part of a general European political culture.

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Like most European monarchs in the Middle Ages Polish and Lithuanian rulers were itinerant leaders, so-called *reges ambulantes*, who travelled from place to place re-enforcing their authority by meeting their subjects.¹ As they travelled from royal manor to royal manor they visited towns, where they would reside and from whose inhabitants they would require sustenance, or what in French we know as *gîte*. The ceremonial welcome of such lords is probably reflected by the continuing Russian tradition of welcoming guests with bread and salt. As for the rulers themselves, they would often use this opportunity to propagate their majesty in appearance, gesture and act. A royal *adventus* was often the occasion when city charters were granted or confirmed. In the case of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1447, Grand Duke Casimir's ceremonious departure from Vilnius was the occasion for the issuing of a charter redefining the rights of his subjects.²

The ceremonial entry of a prince into a city, which is known in Latin as *jocundus adventus* and more commonly in French as an *entrée joyeuse*, is an important part of mediaeval and early modern political ritual.³ The first time a prince enters his capital city, or his more common entries into other towns, the first entry of a ruler into a conquered city or the receiving of guests (other rulers or their ambassadors) by a prince were marked by elaborate and meaningful celebrations. The entry of kings of Poland and grand dukes of Lithuania into Cracow and Vilnius represented an elaborate theatricalisation or embodiment of the social contract between the subjects of both realms and their ruler. The best documented occasions

¹ A. Gąsiorowski, 'Długoszowe itineraria królewskie', *Roczniki Historyczne* 36 (1970), 109-126; idem, 'Podroże panującego w średniowiecznej Polsce', *Czasopisma Prawno-Historyczne*, 25:2 (1972), 41-67; idem, "Polskie itineraria późnośredniowieczne", *Zapiski Historyczne*, 50:3 (1985), 221-237.

² *Codex Epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti [CEXV]*, vol. 3, ed. A. Lewicki (Cracow, 1894), no. 7, pp. 14-16

³ B.A. Hainewalt, K.L. Reyerson, *City and spectacle in medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994). This topic is the subject of a considerable amount of scholarship, especially in Western Europe and North America. The reader should start from the work of B. Guenée (see n. 8), and P. Schramm. See too L.M. Bryant, *The king and the city in the Parisian royal entry ceremony. Politics, ritual and art in the Renaissance* (Geneva, 1986) and the essay collection, *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter. Paderborner Symposion des Mediävistenverbanden*, ed. D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut, H.-H. Steinhoff (Sigmaringen, 1991), esp. pp. 493-500.

date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴ Cracow is referred to as a 'theatrum' for the first time in *Cracovia civitas*, a cantata from the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵ Like the theatre, these ceremonies were intended to have both a spiritual and a physical impact on those taking part. Sight was enthralled by lavish costume, decorations and even enactments of small dramas. The ears would be assaulted by the sound of trumpets and singing. Speeches of welcome or entreaty would be made to impress the mind and emotions. Incense or the scent of flowers scattered before the processions would alert the nose to the on-going celebrations. As Długosz comments on the entry of King Casimir into Gdańsk in 1457, 'adventus regius in Gdansk sicut res Regni Polonie plurimum auxit, firmavit et correxit, ita magistri et Cruciferorum partes plurimum debilitavit at infecit'.⁶ Klaus Tenfelde refers to the phenomenon as 'ein Rechts- und Verfassungsakt, der die monarchische Allmacht und die Untertänigkeit des gegliederten Volkes symbolisiert'.⁷ Or, in the words of Bernard Guenée, the entry was 'l'occasion d'un dialogue' between the prince and his people, as well as a 'revelation of a "sentiment national" and a "sentiment monarchique"'.⁸ These events provided an opportunity for subjects to display their loyalty to their prince and obtain princely respect for their rights and liberties in return.

The *adventus* was known in France from the thirteenth century. French historians would like us to believe that their countrymen invented the practice, but this is hardly likely, even though the French and Burgundian examples were often the most elaborate and were imitated by others. The practice seems to have developed from the

⁴ *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich*, ed. M. Mar-kiewicz, R. Skowron (Cracow, 1999).

⁵ M. Wilska, 'La cour et la ville: leurs cérémonies et leurs jeux (en Pologne du XIVe au XVI siècle)', *Anthropologie de la ville médiévale*, ed. M. Tymowski (Warsaw, 1999), 141: 'tu reluces ut theatrum'.

⁶ Joannis Długossii, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Polonie, liber duodecimus, 1445-1461*, ed. D. Turkowska et al. (Cracow, 2003) [Długosz, *Annales, liber xii*], 278 s.a. 1457.

⁷ K. Tenfelde, 'Adventus: die fürstliche Einholung als städtisches Fest', *Stadt und Fest. Zu Geschichte und Gegenwart europäischer Festkultur*, ed. P. Hugger et al. (Stuttgart, 2000), 49.

⁸ L.M. Bryant, 'The medieval entry ceremony at Paris', *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. J.M. Bak (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1990), 88. See also B. Guenée, F. Leroux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515 [Sources d'histoire médiévales, 5]* (Paris, 1968).

Roman triumph and with time fell under the influence of ecclesiastical practice, especially the entry of a bishop to his diocese (*ingressus*) and the Easter liturgy, which recreates the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Similar processions are known from Byzantium and Rus' as well as Catholic countries. The grand masters of the Teutonic Order also made ceremonial entries into cities in Prussia and Livonia. From the fourteenth century urban Corpus Christi celebrations added extra dimensions to the ruler's celebration symbolism. A. Gąsiorowski asserted for some reason that this type of royal ceremonial did not exist in mediaeval Poland.⁹ The material available for studying the phenomenon is not profuse and certainly Sr Borkowska has not written about it, but others have broached on the subject, albeit in no separate studies.¹⁰ It is thought that Polish princes made such ceremonial entries this practice during the period of regnal disintegration in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when a Piast duke's entry into Cracow marked his presumed seniority among other Polish dukes. Bishop Wincenty Kadłubek describes the entry of Casimir II into Cracow as a messiah in 1177.¹¹ Z. Delawski surmises that the ceremonial may have taken on extra dimensions under the influence of foreign elected kings in the fourteenth century and that the influence of France or the Holy Roman Empire may have been felt in the fourteenth century.¹² Here we will attempt to examine the *jocundi adventūs* of Casimir Jagiellończyk in Lithuania primarily, but also in Poland.

The sources available to us for examining the entries of Polish and Lithuanian monarchs are certainly more sparse than those available to historians of western European realms. We do not have city ceremony books or the records of civic heralds, which are available for French, Flemish and Italian cities.¹³ However, in effect the nature of the source base is similar. We have chronicle accounts,

⁹ Gąsiorowski, 'Długoszowe itineraria', 120, n. 35.

¹⁰ Z. Delawski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremonial. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władzy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV wieku* (Warsaw, 1996), 210-215; P. Węcowski, *Mazowsze w Koronie. Propaganda i legitymizacja władzy Kazimierza Jagiellończyka na Mazowszu* (Cracow, 2004), 247-258.

¹¹ Delawski, *Władza*, 214; Magistri Vincentii, dicti Kadłubek, *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia [*Monumenta Poloniae Historica, nova series*, 11] (Cracow, 1994) iv, 6, p. 145: 'cateruatim undique turbe profluunt, exultant, gratulantur, saluatorem proclamant aduenisse'.

¹² Delawski, *Władza*, 213.

¹³ E. Muir, *Ritual in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), 240-241.

primarily Jan Długosz. Długosz has left several accounts of Casimir's entry into his new capitals (Vilnius in 1440 and Cracow in 1447) and submissive or conquered towns (in Prussia – Toruń, Gdańsk and Marienburg). However, from these we learn only the bare outline of what happened on specific (and certainly not every) occasion, for the Cracow canon was not a great propagator of royal splendour, unless it reflected directly on the splendour of the Kingdom of Poland.¹⁴ The second redaction of the Lithuanian-Belorussian chronicle provides us with accounts of Gediminas' entry into Kiev as a conqueror and the arrival of Sofia Vytautaitė in Moscow (as the local prince's wife). Here our knowledge is probably contaminated in so far as the accounts are late and it is difficult to know how much later detail is added from late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century practice. However, the accounts read like a typical entry of a Rus'ian prince into a Rus'ian city (the procession of clergy with icons, for example).¹⁵ From the records of the trial of the Bohemian heretic, Jerome of Prague (not to be confused with the Camaldolese monk, John Jerome of Prague, who also visited Lithuania) before the Council of Constance we learn that in 1413 (probably) Jerome was present when Vytautas entered the city of Vitebsk. Citizens of both sexes, allegedly five or six thousand in total, came out of the city walls to welcome the ruler *in adventu* with processions bearing crosses, relics and banners (in the Catholic case) and icons and 'perverse relics' (in the majority Orthodox case).¹⁶ The confessional diversity of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is also reflected in the reception of King Sigismund of Hungary and the Romans at Lutsk in January 1429, when processions of Catholic,

¹⁴ On the Cracow canon's opposition to music and games, secular public celebrations and royal entries, see M. Koczerska, 'Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości', *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 15 (1970), 111–112.

¹⁵ *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* [PSRL], 35 (Moscow, 1980), 96: 'shedshi a goroda so kresty igumeny i popi i d'iakony, i vorota ottvorili, i stretili velikogo kniazia Kgindimina chestno, i vdarili emu chelom ... i kniaz' Kgindimin pri tom zostavil i sam chestno u gorod Kiev uekhal'. Sofia's entry into Moscow – *ibid.*, 101. Compare the reception at Bogoliubovo of (the corpse of) Alexander Nevsky, as described by the Novgorod First Chronicle – PSRL, 3 (Moscow, 2000), 306.

¹⁶ Herman von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantinense consilium de universali ecclesiae reformatione*, quoted in A. Šapoka, 'Jeronimas Pragiškis ir jo kelionė Lietuvon', *Praeitis*, 2 (1933), 282–283. This text is discussed briefly in: G. Mickūnaitė, *Making a great ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania* (Budapest–New York, 2006), 27.

Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish citizens came out of the city to welcome Vytautas' imperial guest on his way to a *splendida cena*.¹⁷

Details of ceremonial are highlighted by references we can pick up from the Polish royal account books and from Inscriptions Book Four of the Lithuanian Metrica, which provide data concerning the livery of royal staff and courtiers. Court accounts reveal payments for red and brown livery for the Polish embassy to Prussia in 1476, which Długosz did not see fit to mention.¹⁸ The account books also reveal practical information, which deals with events before the ceremony itself. Royal entries were organised by the court first and foremost. The court would send representatives to inform citizens of when the royal personage would come and pay for certain objects. Thus we read from Casimir's accounts that on February 28 1478 one Obalek received three groats for expenses when he went to Nieszczółów to report on the intentions of Queen Elisabeth to come to the town. A week later (March 6) a messenger was given three groats 'qui vadit enunciare adventum serenissime domine regine in Nieszczółow'. When Casimir's son Władysław was about to set off for Bohemia to be crowned king, the notary, Nicholas was sent to Prague with 500 florins 'pro adventu domini Wladislai regis Bohemie comparandis necessariis et ordinandis'.¹⁹ From the other wing of the theatre, the cities, we have certain information from the Cracow city accounts. The books of municipal expenditure have separate sections for royal expenditure, including the cost of gifts (1391-1487), the requisition of wagons and carriages for royal use (1431-89) and expenditure on banquets and receptions.²⁰

A Cracow formulary preserves a command from Bishop Oleśnicki to his leading clerics to gather in the episcopal palace that day, the

¹⁷ Długosz takes pains to assert that the emperor venerated the Catholic relics presented by Bishop Andrew of Lutsk, while neglecting the 'sectaries' - Joannis Długossii, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, liber undecimus, 1413-1430*, ed. D. Turkowska et al. (Cracow, 2000), 247-248.

¹⁸ Długosz, *Annales, liber xii*, 374-375 and K. Turska, *Ubiór dworski w Polsce w dobie pierwszych Jagiellonów* (Wrocław-Warsaw, 1987), 65-69.

¹⁹ *Rachunki królewskie z lat 1471-1472 i 1476-1478*, ed. S. Gawęda et al. (Wrocław-Cracow, 1960), 223, 224, 89.

²⁰ S. Kutrzeba, 'Finanse Krakowa w wiekach średnich', *Rocznik Krakowski*, 3 (1900), 27-132. On p. 104 we read of the punishment meted out to Cracovians who failed to provide horses for Jogaila's entry into the city in 1403. See too F.W. Carter, *Trade and urban development in Poland. An economic geography of Cracow, from its origins to 1795* [Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, 20] (Cambridge, 1994), 26.

Friday after St Dorothy's day in 1454, to obtain instructions on how to arrange the procession of secular and religious clergy to welcome the new queen into Cracow the next day:

*Mandatum episcopi pro excipienda regina: Mandat reverendissimus in Christo pater, dominus Sbigneus miseratione divina etc Sancte Prisce presbiter cardinalis et episcopus cracoviensis omnibus ecclesiarum collegiatarum, parrochialium et conventualium prepositis, rectoribus et guardianis, quatenus hodierna die, videlicet feria sexta, hora vicesima secunda ad curiam sue paternitatis episcopalem conveniantur, audituri commissionem et instructionem, quali modo et ordine sint die crastina serenissimam dominam Reginam Elizabeth cum processionibus recepturi. Datum Cracovie. Feria sexta post Sancte Dorothee, anno Domini 1454, eiusdem domini cardinalis sub sigillo.*²¹

Further narrative accounts are provided by reports from foreign missions (the Teutonic Order, and the Venetian ambassadors Barbaro and Contarini most prominently) and diplomatic correspondence.²² The treatment of diplomatic missions and foreign visitors and the way in which they are met outside the royal city and conducted to their residence reflects in a minor key the formal entries of the monarch (especially where retinue, clothing, speeches and trumpeters are concerned).

Western historians have access to important manuscript illustrations, frescoes, paintings and other works of art.²³ The depictions of royal entrées available for Poland and Lithuania are much more restricted until the sixteenth century. For Casimir's time we may have a Lublin fresco, a frieze from the Dwór Artusza in Gdańsk and a famous, or rather infamous depiction of the entry of St John Capistrano into Cracow in 1453 in a Vilnius copy.²⁴ It gives the basic format: a great

²¹ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 7759, fo. 105r. For more details of the actual welcome, see Długosz's account as noted below, p. 96, 102.

²² Barbaro and Contarini – E. Ch. Skrzhinskaia, *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii. K istorii italo-russkikh sviazei v XV v.*, 207-208; grand master's 1483 entry into Trakai – S.C. Rowell, "Trumpos akimirkos iš Kazimiero Jogailaičio dvaro: neeilinė kasdienybė tarnauja valstybei", *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis 2004/1* (Vilnius, 2005), 51-54.

²³ See the depictions of the Parisian entrees of kings Charles V and Charles VII and the imaginary depiction of the entry of Louis IX into Antioch reproduced in Bryant, 'Medieval entry', 92-93, 95.

²⁴ M. Bogucka, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk i jego czasy* (Warsaw, 1981), ill. 17 – the frieze is a sixteenth-century interpretation of Casimir's entry into Malbork, R. Janonienė, 'Šv. Jonas Kapistranas prieš Kazimierą Jogailaitį: faktai ir interpretacijos', *Istorinė tikrovė ir iliuzija: Lietuvos dvasinės kultūros šaltinių tyrimai [Vilniaus Dailės akademijos Darbai, 31]* (Vilnius, 2003), 61, 63.

leader arrives with his suite of twelve companions (deliberately modest and Christ-like) and is received before the gates by the king, the dowager queen, and all the dignitaries, secular and official, of the city, as the citizens look on. The modesty of St John Capistrano is no less impressive than the effulgent wealth and splendour of Casimir's official entries – excessive luxury and demonstrative poverty are two sides of the same coin.

There are various kinds of entry: the post-coronation entry of a new ruler for the first time or his first entry before his coronation into his capital (Władisław Warneńczyk, 1434, Casimir 1440, 1447 in Cracow and Poznań); the entry of a conqueror or new lord into a subject town (Casimir's entry into Toruń, Marienburg and Gdańsk during the Thirteen Years' War).

A basic format developed to entries, and, as Cauchies has remarked, the *mise-en-scène* was important.²⁵ When Elisabeth of Austria came to join her husband Casimir in 1454 she was held up for three days in Skawina outside Cracow, causing the Austrian envoys to fear that the Jagiellonian ruler had changed his mind. The reason for the delay was that the king's garments – of red and gold silk and valued at 40,000 florins – had not been finished. Similarly a special day was chosen for major entrées, often with the help of an astrologer,²⁶ and usually coinciding with a church feast so as to obtain the largest festive audience and harness liturgical splendour to the royal show. Thus Jan Olbracht entered Gniezno for the first time on April 23 1493, the feast of St Adalbert, patron of Poland and Gniezno, where the cathedral was home to his relics.²⁷ Jogaila also appreciated the benefits of using holy days as dates for entering cities – not only because he was a convert, as Wilska notes.²⁸ Jogaila also understood the need to organise his show properly, hence his anger in 1403 at the failure of the citizens of Cracow to ring the town bells upon his stately arrival. Thus when he entered Cracow on August 7 1412, the Sunday before St Laurence's day (Laurence was also a patron saint of royalty) he had the crown regalia, which he had regained from

²⁵ J.-M. Cauchies, 'La signification politique des entrées princières dans les Pays-Bas: Maximilien d'Autriche et Philippe le Beau', *Fêtes et cérémonies aux XIV-XVIe siècles*, ed. J.-M. Cauchies [*Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe siècles)*], 34] (Neuchâtel, 1994), 19-35, esp. p. 28.

²⁶ Długosz, *Annales liber xii, 1445-1461*, 47.

²⁷ M. Wilska, 'La cour', 144.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

Hungary displayed openly (*in patulo*) before him as he entered the city, showing the people that he, Poland's natural lord, had regained the treasures of the Polish Crown (the sword, orb, sceptre and jewels). He was received 'with great joy'.²⁹ This compares well with the placing of the royal seal on the back of a white horse to precede Charles VII during his entry into Rouen in November 1449.³⁰ Streets would be levelled, cleaned, covered with cloth, reeds, straw or flowers. Thus we read that during Władysław III's procession to his coronation in Cracow in 1434, 'illum usque ad ecclesiam Cracoviensem per viam constratam pannis variis deducunt'.³¹ Similarly, when Alexander Jagiellończyk's bride, Elena Ivanovna came to Vilnius in 1495 for her marriage, she was met outside the city by the grand duke, who ordered crimson cloth to be laid before her. Understanding the significance of this ceremony, the Muscovite envoys laid cloth trimmed with gold on top of the Lithuanian material. Thus, as Fennell aptly notes, the Rus'ian princess may not have been on Muscovite soil but she approached her future spouse on Muscovite cloth.³² The city of Kazimierz (now part of Cracow) in its account books notes in 1419 the purchase of a 'good vase' and trumpet to celebrate the coronation of Queen Elisabeth Granowska, Jogaila's third wife.³³ In 1405 councillors complained that Queen Anna's servant, Raphael, had not returned the carriage the city had provided for the Queen during Holy Cross (September 14).³⁴

²⁹ Joannis Dlugossii, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, Liber decimus et liber undecimus, 1406-1412*, ed. D. Turkowska (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 207-208. On the feast of the Assumption (Aug. 15) the same regalia were displayed above his stall in St Mary's parish church.

³⁰ Guenée, Leroux, *Les entrées royales*, 25.

³¹ Joannis Dlugossii, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, liber undecimus et liber duodecimus, 1431-1444*, ed. D. Turkowska, (Warsaw, 2001), 136.

³² See *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva* 35, No. 31, p. 159-171; comment in J.L.I. Fennell, *Ivan the Great of Moscow* (London, 1961), 155-159.

³³ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 1045 vol. II, fo. 53r: 'pro bono vase, quod erat receptum ad coronacionem. Item iii pf marc. pro trumpa, quam recepimus ad coronacionem regine'.

³⁴ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 1045 vol. I, fo. 96v: 'Item Raphael servitor domine regine non restituit currum, quem sibi civitas accomodavit in exaltacione sancte crucis actum'. Entries are also made for provision of carriages for Jogaila in 14098 (1045 / I, fo. 180r, 211 r), Vytautas and Švitrigaila on their way to Bochnia and Hungary in 1419 (1045 / II fo 58 v.) and for Prince Žygimantas Kęstutaitis and his servant Nicolaus Jesczata in 1425 (ibid., fos 104v and 103r respectively).

In both Cracow and Vilnius a traditional route developed for royal ingresses. In Cracow rulers approached from the Kleparz side and visited the market place en route to the castle and the cathedral. By the sixteenth century it was traditional for monarchs to enter Vilnius by the Rūdninkai Gate and then take Rūdninkai St., Didžioji St. and Pilies St. (to give them their modern names) to the the castle and cathedral, taking the ruler past the town hall, the parish church of Vilnius (St John's), (and later, the University), and the houses of merchants and noblemen on his way to the cathedral to give thanks.³⁵

The ruler would stop first of all outside the city gates, perhaps as much as a mile or two away. This would not only give the king time to prepare but also the town to make sure that all was ready to receive its guest in the proper style. The ruler would be met by townsmen and local clergy and notables before making his entry.³⁶ This is reminiscent of the mediaeval origin of the ceremony in the king's right to demand food and lodging from townspeople.³⁷ This provided an opportunity for the ruler to give his oath to respect the rights of the citizenry and obtain proof of loyalty in return. The reception of gifts at this point reminds us of the original *gîte* purpose of the meeting between ruler and ruled. A procession through decorated streets, where both the arriving and welcoming parties would be dressed in special clothes or livery, would then ensue to the chief church of the city, where the ruler thanked God for his safe deliverance and made an offering. During this time the clergy would sing the *Te Deum*, the most solemn of hymns in praise of God and his kingship (which would naturally rub off on the monarch). The *Te Deum* was regarded as recognition of the natural right of the ruler to govern and of his legitimacy. Another liturgical hymn taken over by royal ceremonial was the *Benedictus (qui venit in nomine Domini)*. Then came presents, oaths, prayers, speeches (especially from the University, or in the case of Poland, the sons of the ruler), dinners, dancing, and various kinds of sports and entertainment. The event

³⁵ A. R. Čaplinskas, *Vilniaus gatvių istorija. Valdovų kelias, pirma knyga, Rūdninkų gatvė* (Vilnius, 2001), 7-11, 21, 25.

³⁶ Bryant, 'Medieval entry', 91 remarks that in France the clergy took part in these ceremonies outside the walls regularly only after 1431. Clerical participation seems to date back earlier in Eastern Europe where the liturgical aspect of the ceremony was more important, especially in Rus'.

³⁷ On this extension of the *gîte*, see Guénée, Leroux, *Les entrées royales*, 9 and Cauchies 'Signification politique', 28.

was supposed to be a celebration for the populace as well as by the populace.³⁸

In the following analysis of entries from the time of Casimir I and IV we will see how the Polish and Lithuanian practices fit in with the general European format and concentrate on the symbolism of dress, vehicles (horses, and carriages), the royal escort. First we will look at Casimir's first entry into Vilnius in June 1440 and his ingress at Cracow in June 1447.

When Casimir left Cracow in May 1440 to take control of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, he was equipped with suitable royal attributes, including horses, wagons or carriages, vestments and jewels. His retinue contained princes, dukes and lesser nobles. He entered the New Town of Korczyń on Whitsunday, and it was following Trinity Sunday that he chose to enter Sandomierz. At Dubno he was joined by Lithuanian princes, dukes, nobles and boyars. It became traditional for Casimir to be welcomed into his realms by their chief prelate and nobles. Thus in 1456 the bishop of Vilnius and a group of noblemen met Casimir and Elisabeth on the banks of the Narew tributary of the River Bug.³⁹ Casimir then continued his journey to Vilnius. He was met outside the city, probably on June 24 1440, St John the Baptist's day by the Bishop (Matthias), the castellan, Kristinas Astikas, the palatine and lieutenant of Vilnius, Jonas Daugirdas and all the clergy and people (*omnique clero et populo*). He was welcomed on his way to the castle with utmost honour, joy and reverence and the sounding of trumpets.⁴⁰ The use of music in ingress ceremonies is typical of both Lithuania and Europe as a whole. Trumpeters also feature as a separate category in the Jagiellonian accounts.⁴¹ Długosz even notes that Gediminas's daughter Aldona-Anna was preceded everywhere by music.⁴² A late Muscovite source, the Nikon or Patriarchs' Chronicle, asserts that in 1396 when Vytautas entered Smolensk, preceded by a cross, pipes played, 'po litovskomu obychaiu'.⁴³ According to Martine Clouzot, it was common practice in France and Burgundy to employ trumpeters for special occasions at court,

³⁸ Guenée, *Les entrées royales*, 7-29.

³⁹ Długosz, *Annales, liber xi et xii*, 252, Długosz, *Annales, liber xii, 1445-1461*, 266.

⁴⁰ Długosz, *Annales, liber xi et liber xii 1431-1444*, 252-253.

⁴¹ *Rachunki królewskie*, 211 – five trumpeters were given five florins each.

⁴² Joannis Długossii, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, Liber ix*, ed. D. Turkowska (Warsaw, 1985), 213 s.a. 1339.

⁴³ *Patriarshaia ili Nikonovskaia letopis'*, PSRL 12-13 (Moscow, 1965), 162.

including entries because ‘la clinqunce des trompettes est le bruit du pouvoir, afin de dominer les espaces et les hommes, le temps d’une entrée solonelle ... voir le duc, l’entendre, c’est percevoir l’étendue de sa puissance’.⁴⁴ When reaching the castle Casimir went first to the Church of St Stanisław, that is to say the cathedral. Just as at Cracow the ruler goes to the cathedral to honour St Stanisław, patron saint of Poland and particular favourite of the Jagiellonians.⁴⁵ Vilnius, like a mini-Cracow, had a valuable relic of the Saint. Casimir thanked God for his many gifts, especially the safe delivery of himself and his army to Vilnius. This phrase, *eum incolumem et et exercitum suum illuc perduxit* has the ring of a triumphant entry. In his account of Casimir’s entry to Gdańsk in 1457 Długosz uses the same phrase.⁴⁶ As a sign of his joyous entry (Długosz uses just those terms – *leticie adventus sui clemencia*) the clergy sang the *Te Deum*. A few days later (*aliquot diebus*), on June 29 Casimir was installed as grand duke of Lithuania.⁴⁷

A similar itinerary, except this time in reverse, was followed when Casimir left Vilnius for Cracow in 1447. On Wednesday June 21 Casimir was met in Korczyń New Town by Bishop Oleśnicki and Jan Tęczyński, palatine of Cracow. Długosz reports that Casimir entered the Polish capital itself attended by great popular celebration (*cum magna populi solennitate*) on the afternoon of Friday June 23 in preparation for his coronation on Sunday June 25.⁴⁸ The chronicler mentions how all the *processiones* (a term which has very many

⁴⁴ M. Clouzot, ‘Le son et le pouvoir en Bourgogne au XVe siècle’, *Revue Historique* 619 (2000), 625.

⁴⁵ On Jagiellonian devotion to St Stanisław, see in particular Z. Piech, ‘Darstellungen des Heiligen Stanislaus als schutzheiligen des Herrschers, des Staates und der Dynastie der Jagiellonen’, *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Age et à l’époque moderne. Approche comparative*, ed. M. Derwich, M. Dmitriev (Wrocław, 1999), 125-160. Queen Sofia was crowned near St Stanisław’s tomb (p. 129), Casimir was crowned at the Stanisław Altar in Cracow – Długosz, *Annales liber xii 1445-1461*, 46.

⁴⁶ Długosz, *Annales liber xi et xii 1431-1444*, 252 and idem, *Annales xii, 1445-1461*, 277: *pro incolumi suo et sui exercitus adventu*. In the case of 1440 only one manuscript out of four contains the reference to the army.

⁴⁷ Długosz, *Annales liber xi et xii 1431-1444*, p. 251-52; *Zdarzenia godne pamięci*, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* III, p. 312.

⁴⁸ Długosz, *Annales liber xii, 1445-1461*, p. 45. That evening Casimir left the city once more to meet envoys from the grand master of the Teutonic Order one mile away – Berlin, GstaPK XX OBA 9631 fo. 2 r.

more ecclesiastical connotations rather than secular ones⁴⁹) of the city came out to meet him. These groups included the university, and Archbishop Wincenty of Gniezno and his fellow bishops. All this great and solemn multitude preceded Casimir to the Wawel, where he entered St Stanisław's cathedral, paid adoration before the cathedral's relics and made an offering of fifty florins before proceeding to his apartments.⁵⁰ On Casimir's entry to the city the university orator, Jan of Ludzisko, gave an address in his honour, which has been preserved in a manuscript copy under the rubric 'hec oratio collecta est pro domino Kazymiro duce magno Lithwanie pro suscepcone eius, quando Cracoviam venit ad coronandum super festum sancti Johannis Baptiste, anno domini MCCCCXLVII per magistrum Iohannem de Ludziczsko'.⁵¹ The orator took time to praise Casimir's magnificent Lithuanian origins, his good rule in the Grand Duchy and the need to remove injustices inherent in relations between the Polish peasantry and local landlords. The text is both a magnificent neo-classical speech of praise for the new ruler and a request for specific action in the kingdom. Jagiellonian princes themselves were trained to deliver addresses to visiting dignitaries. In November 1470 Princes Olbracht, Władysław and Alexander welcomed the papal nuncio, Bishop Alexander of Forlì with expressions of joy and piety: 'jocundus gratusque nobis est, venerande pater et domine, paternitatis tuae ad nos et in regnum hoc adventus...'. On a similar occasion two years later Prince Casimir treated the newly-arrived papal legate to Hungary and Poland, Cardinal Mark, with a short dissertation on the devotion of his ancestors to crusade ideals.⁵²

When St John Capistrano entered Cracow in 1453 *cum magno triumpho* he was met outside the city in the suburb of Kleparz by the whole city, the king, Queen Sophia, Casimir's mother, Bishop Oleśnicki and knights and clergy.⁵³ Casimir did not issue or confirm any charters on this occasion, but he had confirmed the rights of his Lithuanian subjects before his formal departure from Vilnius.

⁴⁹ Pomp, religious meeting, religious procession, funeral procession – J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus, abbreviationes et index fontium* (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1993), 855.

⁵⁰ Długosz, *Annales liber xii, 1445-1461*, p. 45. A typical offering from the Jagiellonians in the fifteenth century was – 1-2 fl. or even less – *Rachunki królewskie*, 182, Rowell, 'Trumpos akimirkos', 39.

⁵¹ BJ 126, fo 112, CEXV, iii, No. 8, p.16.

⁵² CEXV, i.2, ed. A. Sokołowski, J. Szujski (Cracow, 1876), 338-343.

⁵³ Długosz, *Annales liber xii 1445-1461*, p. 71 s.a. 1453.

Długosz does not devote many words to royal splendour unless he has an ulterior motive – such as to show how Vytautas welcomed Jogaila in great pomp to his planned coronation in October 1430 (in Długosz's eyes Jogaila was the superior of Vytautas), or better still how Casimir Jagellończyk kept his bride waiting while he had garments of red embroidered with gold thread to match his saddle, bridle, stirrups and saddle cloth, all of which were ruined in the end by heavy downpours. Also destroyed was the clothing of certain noblemen who sought to emulate Casimir's attire: 'emulati sunt et nonnulli barones Polonie hunc splendorem, qui et seipsos et familiares et equos splendidis ornamentis auro et purpura superbe vestierant'.⁵⁴ Elisabeth entered Cracow on Saturday February 9 1454 at around nine or ten o'clock in the morning (*terciarum hora*), when Casimir, the clergy and the kingdom's notables rode out to meet her. Casimir 'magnificus fuit et plurimum spectatus ... in splendore suorum apparatusum', but the rain which fell heavily from morning until evening ruined the scene because no one from *omnium processionum* of all estates could stay in place and everyone fled for shelter. The inclement weather stopped the royal bride from entering the cathedral to give thanksgiving until the evening. This reminds us of the ruination of the attire of Charles the Bold of Burgundy and his entourage at Trèves later in the century.⁵⁵ The new queen had to travel to the Wawel in a covered carriage accompanied by trumpets. Długosz gives more details of Casimir's entry into Gdańsk and Toruń during the Thirteen Years' War.

The entry of Casimir and his Polish paladins into Gdańsk on May 1 1457 is one of the best documented such ceremonies from the reign and fits the model offered by French and other western European courts. On Saturday April 30 Casimir and his entourage of 6,000 spent the night 'in villa quadam uno milliari distante' so that they could enter the city in splendour early the next day, Sunday May 1, the Feast of the Apostles SS Philip and Jude, at Terce (around 8 or 9 a.m.). The first to come out of the city to greet the king was the exiled ruler of Sweden, Karl Knutson, who had taken refuge in Gdansk. Next emerged *omnes processiones* from all the city's churches, people of all estates and of both genders came out to meet their new sovereign in his effulgence. The citizens themselves were

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 178.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 177 s.a. 1454; cf. The 1473 Trèves fiasco – Muir, *Ritual*, 242.

attired in 'ornamentis prestancioribus et fulgentibus'. Długosz realised that such a city and sea port was used to fine shows and even visiting Germans and Bohemians came out to look at Casimir. They were all, Długosz asserts, struck not so much by admiration as stupefaction, so grand was the spectacle. The king was gracious and kind to people of every degree and he even descended from his mount to embrace the Swedish exile as his equal. It is clear that Casimir wished all to see that kingly rank was to be respected regardless of circumstances. His gestures were calculated carefully to reflect his own status and that of those around him. The physical gesture is an embodiment of linguistic practice. Honourable friends and well-born fellows may not be that literally but social discourse requires such *politesse*. The decorated streets were packed with onlookers. Games and displays took place in every square along Casimir's route to the city's most important church, St Mary's. In that church he gave thanks for the safe arrival of his own person and his army. He was 'in magna leticia et tripudiis a Gdanensibus absumptus'. Games, spectacles and tournaments were held in the king's honour for the delectation of the populace. In order to feed the city's swollen population an appeal was made to the burgrave of Bydgoszcz and 150 galleys of corn were sent to meet requirements.⁵⁶

Clothing was an important part of entry celebrations not just for Casimir and other princes, but also for ambassadors and citizens who welcomed royal masters to their city.⁵⁷ Casimir sent out embassies and marriage parties (for his daughters), which were carefully organised (or should we say, orchestrated) to reflect his power and status and the nature of his realms. When his daughter Jadwiga went to Bavaria in 1475 to marry Duke George, she had a retinue (male) of around 600 riders, a figure quite normal for the fifteenth century. Długosz tells us who made up her *comitiva* but we get more information from German sources which reveal that the princess wore cloth of gold and rode in a golden carriage decorated with four lions, two fore, two in the rear, bearing shields in their claws displaying

⁵⁶ Długosz, *Annales liber xii 1445-1461*, 276-278. Berlin GstaPK XX OBA 14889 (May 4 1457) and M. Biskup, *Stosunek Gdańska do Kazimierza Jagiellończyka w okresie Wojny Trzynastoletniej* (Toruń, 1952), 114-115. On tournaments, see A.R. Chodyński, 'Uzbrojenie turniejowe z Dworu Artusa w Gdańsku. Turnieje rozgrywane w miastach w XIV-XVI wieku', *Porta Aurea. Rocznik zakładu historii sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, 1 (1992), 69-71.

⁵⁷ Bryant, 'Medieval entry', 101-102.

the arms of Poland and Lithuania. Her horses were white and caparisoned in red cloth; a similar carriage conveyed her ladies in waiting. The horsemen were dressed in red. This colour scheme is already familiar to us from Długosz's account of Elisabeth Habsburg's entry to Cracow in 1454. Jadwiga's marshal was a Lithuanian nobleman, the palatine of Novgorodok, Albertas Jonaitis Mantvydas, whose short *Župan* was embroidered with gold. On his head he had a tall hat with a silk scarf. The author of the description notes that this was the style of his, Mantvydas', country. He had a personal entourage of fifty men on fifty horses. Behind the princess' carriage were four Lithuanians, wearing red kaftans and riding small horses (Tatar mounts or *Žemaitukai*?): 'Sie waren in ein rot-goldenes Gewand derartig gehuellt und gekleidet wie die Turken' and carrying weapons in the Turkish style.⁵⁸ It may be that these 'Lithuanians' are in fact Lithuanian Tatars who form a component part of official ceremonial alongside Christian Poles and Lithuanians in Casimir's reign. Casimir's account books record payment to the Lithuanian court treasurer, Soltanas, for 14 ells of red cloth for Lithuanian envoys. Young men in green uniforms carrying oriental-looking weaponry also take part in the Polish and Lithuanian mission to Mantua in 1458.⁵⁹ Such details are important. Clothing was (and remains) a visible sign of the social standing and self-image of the wearer. Casimir's court was not only rich and colourful, it was proud of the diversity of its lord's dominions. The two coats of arms on Jadwiga's coach and the correlated variety

⁵⁸ 'Vor dem Wagen der Königin gingen im Schritt zwei Pferde mit Knaben darauf, die in rote Seide gekleidet waren ... Dahinter ritten vier Litauer auf kleinen Pferden. Sie waren in ein rot-goldenes Gewand derartig gehuellt und gekleidet wie die Türken, mit Köcher und Bogen und anderes türkischen Geräten' – S. Hiereth, 'Herzog Georgs Hochzeit zu Landshut im Jahre 1475. Eine Darstellung aus zeitgenössischen Quellen', *Landshut in Wort und Bild*, ed. M. Ammer, Bd. 2 (Landshut, 1965), 113; *Rachunki królewskie*, p. 108: 1476.04.18, pro quatuordecim ulnis panni machalensis rubei coloris, quem dedi in manus Soltan pro nunciis de Lythwania.

⁵⁹ Rowell, 'Trumpos akimirkos', 32-34. 'Pręcipue vero in se omnium convertit oculos regis Polonię legatio, quam proceri iuvenes eleganti facie ac flavis crinibus post tergum vento dimissis in veste viridi non pauci pręcedebant, aliis ac prepinguibus insedentes equis, manubalistas more gentis uno ex latere, et alio gladium et pharetram ex pelle Libystidis urse sagittis plenam gestantes; super crines aut levem pileum viridi colore pennatum, aut ex floribus serta tulere. Supra humanam speciem visa iuvenum forma, qui appropinquante pontifice ab equis desilientes proni in terram cum legationis principibus Salvatoris vcarium adoraverunt, quem antea nunquam viderant'. *Pii Secundi pontificis maximi Commentarii*, ed. I. Bellus, I. Boronkai (Budapest, 1993), 324-325.

of her entourage's clothing and mounts reflect the composition of the Jagiellonian monarchy and show once more that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (unlike Crown Rus' or Mazovia, whose arms do not appear in such displays) was not subsumed by the Kingdom of Poland.

When Casimir received foreign dignitaries too such as the Venetian ambassador Contarini, who returned to Lithuania from Muscovy in 1477, careful attention was paid to how ambassadors entered Lithuanian towns and how they were dressed. Contarini was met outside Trakai by a party of noblemen, given red damasc and sable clothes and led to his residence in Trakai. In 1483 the grand master of the Teutonic Order came to Trakai to discuss international issues with Casimir. He was met by two of Casimir's sons, the palatine of Vilnius, Rus'ian princes and a Tatar troop. These with 1,100 horses accompanied the grand master to his residence near the parish church as trumpets sounded. This is reminiscent of the way that the papal legate was welcomed by the clergy and 1,000 mounted citizens to Cracow in 1448.⁶⁰ All of this is on a smaller scale than royal entries but it is in the same style.

What conclusions can we draw? First of all, this ceremonial, however luxurious, was not plain vanity. The entry ceremonial demonstrated the social contract between the lord and his subjects: his legitimate and accepted position as *dominus naturalis*, his respect for his subjects' liberties, and in return his subjects' loyalty to their prince and acceptance of his legitimacy. There is a general format to *entrées royales* throughout Europe. The ceremonial has recognised overtones of religious ceremonial (especially when a canopy is carried over the ruler as over the Blessed Sacrament) and this was done deliberately. The selection of dates for making a solemn entry was also connected with religious festivities. As one writer has noted, the Fête-Dieu became the Fête-Roi.⁶¹ Secondly, Lithuanian and Polish models are similar, as we would expect. Vilnius became a deliberate re-creation of Cracow with much centring on the Stanisław cult in the castle church-cathedral. However, Lithuania was not blocked out by Poland in this state theatre. Ceremonial under Casimir illustrates the diversity and unity of his realms. There is a colour for all participants – usually red with gold embroidery, sometimes green or indeed brown or black. However, just as Princess Jadwiga's golden

⁶⁰ Dlugosz, *Annales, liber xii, 1445-1461*, 65.

⁶¹ Guenée, Leroux, *Entrées royales*, 18.

carriage with the shields of Poland and Lithuania represented both the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy, so the style of clothing of her Polish, Lithuanian and Tatar retinue was distinctive and noticeably varied. Even the breed of horses ridden by members of an entry retinue could differ – but not in an uncontrolled way. In effect Princess Jadwiga was acting as her father's proxy and thus her accoutrements reflected those of her father's realms. Getting ceremonial right was essential to getting the right message across – as when the entry of Cardinal Isidore and his Catholic Uniate clergy into Novgorod in the 1440s with the 'wrong' crosses, wrong mitres and wrong vestments doomed their attempts to win Rus' for Rome right from the start. Despite the fact that Lithuanian and Polish practice does not follow the French model exactly (in so far as we can tell from surviving evidence, there was no exchange of gifts at the royal entry, no books of ceremonies to record the necessary actions and accoutrements, no civic heralds) it is part of a general European political culture.

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DŽIAUGSMINGIEJI DIDŽIOJO KUNIGAİKŠČIO-KARALIAUS
KAZIMIERO JOGAILAIČIO ĮŽENGIMAI Į LIETUVOS BEI
LENKIJOS MIESTUS

Santrauka

S. C. ROWELL

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