

Same Kings, Different Narratives: Illustrated Catalogues of Rulers of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Karolina Mroziewicz*

SUMMARY

The popular early modern catalogues of rulers proliferated literary and visual representations of the shared Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian medieval kings that were specific and intelligible to a particular kingdom's political community. The article examines the dissimilar images of the two last Přemyslid kings, Wenceslas II (1271-1305) and Wenceslas III (1289-1306), as well as of Louis of Anjou (1326-1382) and Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437), the perception of whom differed along political lines. The textual and iconographic analyses of the corpus of 25 catalogues, written by Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Austrian and German authors of four different denominations, demonstrate that the representations of the shared kings, even if colored by current agendas and the changing interests and expectations of their readers, remained virtually unchanged throughout the centuries. The cohesion of their representations resulted from the selection and use of a limited number of sources and models, namely medieval chronicles (in the case of texts), and royal seals or other official royal representations (in the case of images), closely connected and relevant to the particular political communities. In the cases when stylistic features had changed and adjustments had been introduced into the iconography of the royal insignia and heraldic programs, the faces depicted in the catalogues, which were well known to the particular community, remained the same. The popularity and omnipresence of the catalogues in early modern East Central Europe facilitated the broad internalization of the kings' lives and likenesses and supported the differentiation of historical memory and national narratives in the kingdoms of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, which still resonate in the popular knowledge of Poles, Czechs and Hungarians about these kings today.

KEYWORDS: medieval kings, visual representations, national narratives, historical imagery, cultural memory, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia

* This article was written as a part of the 2015/16/S/HS2/00267 research project entitled "*Icones Regum*. Illustrated catalogues of rulers in the national narratives in Poland, Hungary and Bohemia," financed by the Fuga 4 programme of the Polish National Science Centre (NCN).

The early modern narratives about foreign rulers involved a certain paradox. Kings from abroad were generally advantageous to medieval political communities—being prone to agree to far-reaching concessions, introduce beneficial reforms, support overseas trade and stay away from the internal affairs of the estates. Personal and dynastic unions were a way of managing succession crises after the dynasties of the Árpáds, Přemyslids and Piasts died out and of maintaining the balance of power between the local lords. Even though a foreign ruler posed a possible threat of exploitation or neglect of his “second kingdom,” the indigenous noblemen were willing to accept him if they saw personal benefits and a chance to pursue their own agendas.¹ Yet these kings were mainly given a negative characterization in the national narratives. Especially the printed catalogues of rulers, which functioned as easily comprehensible historical compendia, tend to picture the foreign monarchs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as absentees, tyrants, serving foreign interests and promoting their own people.

The same king could be presented as a dreadful one in the catalogue of Polish rulers and the greatest of monarchs in the catalogue of Hungarian ones, as the perspective shifted depending on the political identity of the author, the interests of his community and the intended readership. In what follows, I attempt to discuss the polarized and conventional images of the shared Přemyslid kings Wenceslas II (1271-1305) and his son Wenceslas III (1289-1306), Louis of Anjou (1326-1382) and Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437), in order to show that the literary representations of these kings, supported by their consistent visual representations, participated in the gradual emergence of a normative historical imagery.

The studies concerning medieval kings in East Central Europe are traditionally a speciality of the national scholarship. It is in this context that the bipolar (or even tripolar) images of the shared rulers have been noted. Monographic works devoted to Wenceslas II, Wenceslas III, Louis of Anjou and Sigismund of Luxembourg mention the collisions in the perception of the particular rulers and their “black legends,” but rarely examine them in a more systematic and comparative ways that would explain the reasons behind the stability and long existence of these popular, contradictory images.² At the same time, scholars studying catalogues of Polish rulers observe their role in the consolidation of the historical memory of the diverse Polish political community.³ This raises the question of whether the catalogues were indeed a

¹ LONNIE R. JOHNSON: *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, Oxford 1996, pp. 47-49.

² The notable exception is: STEVEN B. VARDY, GÉZA GROSSCHMID et al. (eds.): *Louis the Great, King of Hungary and Poland*, New York 1986, which discusses several examples of the dissimilar perception of Louis of Anjou in Poland and Hungary, stressing the significance of historiography.

³ HANS-JÜRGEN BÖMELBURG: *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa: Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite einer humanistischen Nationalgeschichte*

Polish peculiarity or if their role was analogical in the neighboring kingdoms. Were they responsible for the long-lasting existence of the various literary-cum-visual representations of the shared monarchs? Hence, the main objective of this paper is to determine the role of illustrated catalogues in the differentiation of the historical memory about Přemyslid, Angevin and Luxembourg kings in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary.⁴ More specifically, this article investigates how the illustrated catalogues, as a form of official memory, referred to the medieval historiography and royal iconography. What was the role of text and image in the process of differentiation of historical imagery? To what extent were the representations of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century monarchs flexible and prone to reinterpretation, according to the current political, cultural and confessional circumstances as well as to the aesthetic expectations of their readers, without losing their role as anchors of collective memory?

1 The Illustrated Catalogues of Rulers

The corpus of studied sources encompasses 25 illustrated catalogues of Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian rulers published between 1540 and 1685,⁵ i.e. printed books containing series of rulers' images, the majority of which were accompanied by prose (historical commentaries) and/or verse (mainly epigrams or rhetorically elaborate elogia) characterizing a particular monarch and his reign.⁶ Latin texts predominate, but the vernacular catalogues, espe-

(1500-1700), Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 256-266; TERESA JAKIMOWICZ: Wizerunki władców polski w "Chronica Polonorum" Macieja z Miechowa. Problem kreacji i funkcjonowania źródła obrazowego [Images of Polish Rulers in "Chronica Polonorum" by Maciej of Miechów: Creation and Usage of an Iconographical Source], in: JERZY TOPOLSKI (ed.): Studia nad świadomością historyczną Polaków, Poznań 1994, pp. 68-70; EADEM: Temat historyczny w sztuce epoki ostatnich Jagiellonów [The Historical Theme in the Art of the Era of the Last Jagiellons], Warszawa 1985, pp. 81-90.

⁴ The perception of the shared Jagiellon and Habsburg kings is excluded from this study because it was highly involved in contemporary politics and influenced "from above" as part of the royal propaganda and legitimization strategies of the houses ruling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whereas the Vasas were keen on using the "Jagiellon genealogy" and self-fashioning as the heirs of their political legacy, the Habsburgs kept safe the *memoria* and *fama* of their family. As a result, the image of the Jagiellons and especially the Habsburgs, even if not identical, was not as radically polarized in the neighboring kingdoms as that of the Přemyslids, Angevins and Luxembourgs.

⁵ Two unillustrated catalogues of Hungarians rulers, i.e. JÁNOS ZSÁMBOKY: Reges Ungariae ab An(no) Christi 401 usq(ue) ad 1567, Viennae Austriae 1567, and JOHANNES SOMMER: Reges Hungarici, Wittenberg 1580, were additionally included in the studied corpus in order to provide more comparative reading for the sixteenth-century series.

⁶ Because of their variety of forms, the catalogues did not constitute a coherent literary genre: ROMAN KRZYWY: "Reges et principes Regni Poloniae" Adriana Kochana Wolskiego jako przykład wierszowanego katalogu władców ["Reges et principes Regni

cially German-language ones, become more popular from the beginning of the seventeenth-century onwards. Apart from Catholic, mainly Jesuits authors, who penned the largest group of the studied catalogues, Lutheran (Johann Christoph Beer), Calvinist (Salomon Neugebauer) and Utraquist (Martin Kuthen) writers also authored some series. What characterizes all these various catalogues is a programmatic attempt at completeness and a chronological arrangement of the images according to the succession, whatever these images' relationship to actual portraits might be and however historically accurate the accompanying text might be.⁷

Giving a promise of completeness, the catalogues were not free of omissions that had long-lasting consequences for the collective memory.⁸ Rulers not covered in the catalogues have often been permanently erased from the collective memory. The result of this particular form of *damnatio memoriae*, continues to shape the popular historical knowledge today. Two examples are provided by Bezprym and Wenceslas III, who were not included in the early modern catalogues of Polish rulers and were consequently omitted in the influential nineteenth-century catalogues, such as the most popular Polish series of all, *Poczet królów i książąt polskich* (1893) by Jan Matejko.⁹ Today, both Bezprym and Wenceslas III are not commonly perceived as rulers of Poland and have fallen into collective oblivion.

Being affordable, visually and literarily attractive and reproduced as hundreds of virtually identical copies, catalogues of rulers were a perfect medium to serve the purpose of propaganda and representation. As such they were

Poloniae" by Adrian Kochan Wolski as an Example of the Verse Catalogue of Rulers], in: *Acta Sueco-Polonica* 10/11 (2001-2002), pp. 95-119, here pp. 96-97.

⁷ MILAN PELC: *Illustrium imagines: Das Porträtbuch der Renaissance*, Leiden 2002, p. 2. See also: BÖMELBURG (as in footnote 3), pp. 256-257; JANUSZ PELC: *Słowo i obraz: Na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych* [Word and Image: On the Frontiers of Literature and the Fine Arts], Kraków 2002, pp. 101-109; EWA CHOJECKA: *Znaczenie kulturowe grafiki polskiej XVI wieku* [The Cultural Value of Polish Graphic Art in the 16th Century], in: STANISŁAW GRZESZCZUK, ALODIA KAWECKA-GRYCZOWA (eds.): *Dawna książka i kultura: Materiały międzynarodowej sesji naukowej z okazji pięćsetlecia sztuki drukarskiej w Polsce*, Wrocław 1975, pp. 86-114, here pp. 88-90; BARBARA MIOŁOŃSKA: *Władca i państwo w krakowskim drzeworycie książkowym wieku XVI* [The Ruler and the State in Cracow Woodcut Illustrations of the 16th Century], in: TADEUSZ S. JAROSZEWSKI (ed.): *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia: Materiały Sympozjum Naukowego Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce PAN*, Kraków, czerwiec 1972 oraz *Sesji Naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Kielce 1973, Warszawa 1976, pp. 45-96, here pp. 45-47, 62-64.

⁸ The word "catalogus," emphasized for instance in the titles of Martin Kuthen's and Teodor Zawacki's works, was used in medieval Latin to imply an attempt at completeness: Cf. JÓZEF SZYMAŃSKI: *Z zagadnień średniowiecznej biografistyki: Katalogi dostojnicze. Studium źródłoznawcze* [On Medieval Biographical Writing: Catalogues of Dignitaries. Source Study], Lublin 1968, p. 81.

⁹ JAN MATEJKO: *Poczet królów i książąt polskich* [Gallery of Polish Kings and Dukes], Wiedeń 1893.

handy in strengthening an aspirant's rights to the throne, especially when the dynastic succession was endangered or discontinued.¹⁰ They also played numerous other roles such as: satisfying the needs for royal images, historical information, moral teachings and religious encouragement of readers from various social strata. On the domestic level, the consumption of illustrated catalogues of rulers was an exploration of a shared history that, by strengthening the sense of belonging and reinforcing the loyalty and attachment to the king and the kingdom, trained the reader-viewer in an early modern form of patriotism. As export products, catalogues gave an easily comprehensible and memorable epitome of the history of a foreign kingdom. For a common user, they had a universal and practical value as a collection of exempla, while, for professionals, the catalogues offered valuable material to build upon with historical or poetical work. At the same time, the catalogues served as an overview of a neighboring land's political otherness that allowed for self-profiling by contradiction.

The most universal and direct models for illustrated catalogues of rulers were provided by biblical lineages, mainly lists of Christ's ancestors (Matthew 1:1-17; Luke 3:23-38), medieval *Amtsgenealogien* and various dynastic genealogies that demonstrated the antiquity and stability of the office and family connections.¹¹

More indirect links connect catalogues with Greek and Roman biographies of *virī illustres*, such as *Hebdomades* by Varro, Plutarch's *Bioi paralleloi*, Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* and *De viris illustribus*. Whereas *Hebdomades*

¹⁰ The exceptional proliferation of the Polish rulers' catalogues during the reign of the first Vasa on the Polish throne and their utilization to link Sigismund III to his Jagiellon predecessor illustrates this point: BÖMELBURG (as in footnote 3), pp. 256-266; JULIUSZ CHROŚCICKI: *Sztuka i polityka: Funkcje propagandowe sztuki w epoce Wazów 1587-1668* [Art and Politics: The Propagandistic Functions of Art in the Period of the Vasas 1587-1668], Warszawa 1983, pp. 35-45.

¹¹ JOAN A. HOLLADAY: *Genealogy and the Politics of Representation in the High and Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2019, pp. 4-8; JAN MALICKI: *Przemiany gatunkowe renesansowych icones* [Transformations of the Genre of the Renaissance Icones], in: IDEM: *Legat wieku rycerskiego: Studia staropolskie dawne i nowe*, Katowice 2006, pp. 114-129, here p. 116. On the literary catalogues of rulers in the Middle Ages, see for instance MARIE BLÁHOVÁ: *Středověké katalogy českých knížat a králů a jejich pramenná hodnota* [Medieval Catalogues of Czech Dukes and Kings and Their Value as a Source], in: IDZI PANIC (ed.): *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, Katowice 1999, vol. 1, pp. 33-63; EADEM: *Panovnícké genealogie a jejich politická funkce ve středověku* [The Genealogies of Rulers and Their Political Functions in the Middle Ages], in: *Sborník archivních prací* 48 (1998), pp. 11-47; JACEK BANASZKIEWICZ: *Historia w popularnych kompilacjach—tzw. poczet królów polskich* [History in Popular Compilations—the So-Called Catalogue of Polish Kings], in: BRONISŁAW GEREMEK (ed.): *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, Wrocław 1978, pp. 211-229; SZYMAŃSKI (as in footnote 8), pp. 173-178. On the visual realizations of institutional genealogies see inter alia ANDREW MARTINDALE: *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait*, Maarssen 1988, pp. 5-19.

were known only from the references in Pliny, the tradition of the latter works was revived in the fourteenth century by Petrarch in his *De viris illustribus* and Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*. Even before Petrarch, the images of emperors on coins and medals stimulated interest in the likenesses of the ancient and living rulers and were admired for their alleged accuracy as a historical source.¹²

The profile likenesses on ancient coins were convenient models for expressive black and white woodcuts and copperplates.¹³ "The fact that they carried inscriptions," John Cunnally observes, "made them even more compatible with the text of the printed page."¹⁴ Francis Haskell notes in turn that the procedure of copying ancient coins and medals was soon inverted: "When coins and medals acquired greater prestige, this process was usually reversed so that portraits derived from the most varied sources (including the imagination) were given a medallion format as a suggestion of authenticity."¹⁵ This was indeed the case of the series of illustrations of Martin Kuthen's of Šprinsberk *Catalogus regum et ducum Bohemorum* (1540) and Teodor Zawacki's *Porządek i rozrodzenie książąt i królów polskich* (1611) along with their numerous repetitions¹⁶, in all of which the *all'antica* form endowed the local rulers with something of the imperial gravitas and splendor.¹⁷

The bust images of the rulers in Kuthen's *Catalogus*¹⁸ indicate that the dynastic representations embellishing the hall of the Prague castle could have

¹² FRANCIS HASKELL: *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven—London, 1993, p. 26.

¹³ JOHN CUNNALLY: *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance*, Princeton/NJ 1999, p. 5.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ HASKELL (as in the footnote 12), p. 27.

¹⁶ MARTIN KUTHEN: *Catalogus ducum regumque Bohemorum in quo summatim gesta singulorum singulis distichis continentur*, s.l. 1540; TEODOR ZAWACKI: *Porządek y rozrodzenie książąt y krolow polskich* [The Order and Offspring of the Polish Dukes and Kings], Kraków 1611, 2nd ed. Kraków 1613.

¹⁷ EWA CHOJECKA: O tematach i formach antykizujących w grafice polskiej XVI wieku [On Antiquized Themes and Forms in the Polish Graphic Arts of the 16th Century], in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 32 (1970), 1, pp. 19-37; JERZY KOWALCZYK: Polskie portrety "all'antica" w plastyce renesansowej [Polish "all'antica" Portraits in Renaissance Art], in: MAGDALENA WITWIŃSKA (ed.): *Treści dzieła sztuki: Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Gdańsk, grudzień 1966, Warszawa 1969, pp. 121-136. The woodcuts illustrating Zawacki's catalogue were first included in Mikołaj Rej's *Zwierzyniec* (1574), where they functioned as depictions of ancient and medieval foreign rulers and *virii illustres*: PELC (as in footnote 7), p. 109; BARBARA GÓRSKA: Wstęp [Introduction], in: JAN GŁUCHOWSKI: *Ikones książąt i królów polskich: Reprodukacja fototypiczna wydania z 1605 r.*, Wrocław 1979, p. XI.

¹⁸ The set of woodcuts was first used to illustrate Kuthen's *Kronika o založení země české* [Chronicle of the Founding of the Czech Lands], where representations of Huss, Jerome of Prague and Jan Žižka were also included: MARTIN KUTHEN: *Kronika o založení země české*, W Starém Městě Pražském 1539. For a facsimile edition of the chroni-

been composed as ancient coins or medallions.¹⁹ In this way the printed series evoked not only associations with the royal series, but also with Roman emperors, and thus glorified and “classicized” the represented figures. Analogically, Zawacki’s *Porzqdek i rozrodzenie* imposed an *all’antica* costume on the Polish tradition of kingship. Whereas Zawacki’s Latin-language illustrated *Catalogus ducum atque regum Polonorum* (1609) “polonised” the visual content of the work by adding woodcuts deeply rooted in the Sarmatian imaginarium of the Polish noblemen, his Polish-language work used the round bust images evoking associations with the Roman emperors.²⁰

Royal seals, signs of a king’s identity and power, provided respected historical models for the royal likenesses and assured their “greater similarity,” i.e. the “ad vivum” status.²¹ Just as the coins, they were relatively easy to copy and compatible with the printed text, though adjustment of the round form into a rectangular page required highly developed compositional skills.

cle, see IDEM: *Kronika o založení země české*, ed. by ZDENĚK VÁCLAV TOBOLKA, Praha 1929.

¹⁹ The fact that the Prague images of rulers were used as models for kings’ representations in KUTHEN, *Catalogus* (as in footnote 16), is explicitly mentioned in the poem by Matouš Collinus opening the work by DAVID CRINITUS: *Disticha certis literarum notis annos a Christo nato experimentia [...] adiunctis iconibus eorundem ad vivum effigiat*, Pragae [ca. 1565]. The comparison of the illustrations to Kuthen’s work with the codex by Jan Zajíc of Házmburk (1496-1553), the so called *Hasenburg Codex*, which preserved (and interpreted) the iconography of the kings represented at the Prague castle, also proves the use of these models. Cf. PAVEL PREISS: *Cykly českých panovníků: K ikonografii českých knížat a králů* [Cycles of Czech Rulers: The Iconography of Czech Dukes and Kings], in: IDEM: *Kořeny a letorosty výtvarné kultury baroka v Čechách*, Praha 2008, pp. 107-125, here p. 108.

²⁰ The series of the woodcuts illustrating the work of TEODOR ZAWACKI: *Catalogus ducum atque regum Polonorum*, Cracoviae 1609, was originally executed for: *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach[ima] Bielskiego syna ieho wydana* [Polish Chronicle by Marcin Bielski, Newly Published by His Son Joachim Bielski], Kraków 1597, and two of them had been used earlier to illustrate the festival book: *Sigismundi tertii ingressus Cracoviam*, Cracoviae 1587, and then reimpressed in the catalogue by JAN GLUCHOWSKI: *Ikones książąt y krolow Polskich* [Likenesses of Polish Dukes and Kings], W Krakowie 1605, reprinted in Wrocław in 1979.

²¹ The anonymous author of *Sigismundi tertii ingressus* (as in footnote 20), fol. B1r, referred to the woodcuts, some of which were modelled after the royal seals, as “effigies ad vivum, quantum fieri potuit, expressae.” In the foreword to *Ikones książąt i królów polskich*, in which the majority of these woodcuts were reimpressed, Jan Januszowski explains that “a large part of [Icones] was taken from the royal seals because of their greater similarity” (“wielką część [Ikones] z pieczęci koronnych, dla własności podobniejszej wzięto”): JAN JANUSZOWSKI: *Krótki wywód tytułu tych ksiąg, do łaskawego czytelnika* [Short Explanation of the Title of the Books, to the Benevolent Reader], in: GLUCHOWSKI (as in footnote 20), not pag. Cf. JOANNA SIKORSKA: “None of Us Is the Zeuxis Heracleotes”: The Illustrational Dilemmas of Cracow Publishers, in: *Ikonothea* 27 (2017), pp. 171-186, here p. 182. All the translations, if not stated otherwise, are the author’s. I would like to thank Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun for her philological assistance.

Tomasz Treter used seals as the iconographic source for his depiction of Bolesław the Chaste, Leszek the Black and Przemysł II in *Regum Poloniae icones*.²² The woodcuts depicting Louis of Hungary, Ladislas Jagiellon and Casimir the Jagiellon in Jan Głuchowski's *Ikones*, reprinted four years later in Teodor Zawacki's *Catalogus*, show not only the heraldic programs and images of the enthroned rulers, but also the seal legends. Royal seals were also used as general models for the enthroned depictions of Hungarian kings in *Mausoleum regum et Ungariae ducum* (1664), such as for instance in the case of John Szapolyai or Sigismund of Luxembourg.²³

Along with the growth of the antiquarian and historical interests in the region, the range of iconographical sources used as models for the catalogues of rulers grew. The largest group among them were the illustrations of the earliest printed national chronicles such as *Chronica Hungarorum* (1488) by János Thuróczy and *Chronica Polonorum* (1519, 1521) by Maciej of Miechów, used as the main point of reference for Hungarian and Polish catalogues respectively, in the cases when no other historical sources were available.²⁴

²² GRAŻYNA JURKOWLANIEC: Sprawczość rycin: Rzymska twórczość graficzna Tomasza Tretera i jej europejskie oddziaływanie [The Agency of Engravings: Roman Graphic Œuvre of Tomasz Treter and Its Resonance in Europe], Kraków 2017, p. 273; BARBARA STAWIARSKA: Źródła ikonograficzne pocztu władców polskich Tomasza Tretera [Iconographic Sources of the Gallery of Polish Rulers by Tomasz Treter], in: Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk: Wydział Nauk o Sztuce 98 (1980) [1981], pp. 63-67; LESZEK KAJZER: Średniowieczne źródła pomysłów ikonograficznych Tomasza Tretera [Medieval Sources of Iconographical Ideas of Tomasz Treter], in: Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie (1972), 4, pp. 507-514. Treter's series was copied and popularized by the work of ARNOLD MYLIUS: *Principum et regum Polonorum imagines ad vivum expressae, Coloniae Agrippinae 1594*, and its subsequent repetitions in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century catalogues of Polish rulers.

²³ FERENC NÁDASDY, NICOLA AVANCINI: *Mausoleum Potentissimorum ac Gloriosissimorum Regni Apostolici Regum et Primorum Militantis Ungariae Ducum, Norimbergae 1664*. The Latin elogia were translated into German by Sigismund von Birken. Facsimile edition: *Mausoleum potentissimorum ac gloriosissimorum regni apostolici regum et primorum militantis Ungariae ducum*, Budapest 2005. For the comparison of Szapolyai's depiction on his seal and in *Mausoleum*, see: GYÖRGY RÓZSA: *Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok: Fejezetek a magyar vonatkozású grafikai ábrázolások múltjából* [Studies on the History of the Graphic Arts: Chapters on the History of Hungarian-Related Graphics], Budapest 1998, fig. 96-97. The seal of Sigismund of Luxembourg, used between 1433 and 1437 (GÉZA ÉRSZEGI (ed.): *Sigilla regum—reges sigillorum: Királyportrék a Magyar Országos Levéltár pecsétgyűjteményéből* [Royal Portraits from the Collection of Seals of the Hungarian State Archive], Budapest 2001, pp. 67-68) was most probably consulted as a source for the king's physiognomy and the general compositional schema for the engraving in *Mausoleum*. The majority of direct models were, however, provided by the woodcut illustrations to the Brno and Augsburg editions of János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* of 1488 (also loosely referring to the iconography of the seals) and *Der Weisskunig* (1526).

²⁴ JÁNOS THURÓCZY: *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brunne 1488; IDEM: *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg 1488. Facsimilia of the Augsburg edition: IDEM: *Chronica Hungarorum*, Budapest 1991. The critical edition of the chronicle with the commentary: JOHANNES DE

Less commonly copied were Gothic tombs, wall paintings or portraits (in the cases of later kings), but they were generally considered reliable models too.

The popularity of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century catalogues of rulers was due to the broader interest in the Renaissance portrait books, namely the series of *virī illustres* popularizing the likenesses of individuals, such as writers, philosophers, politicians or political and ecclesiastical officials, famous for their deeds and virtues.²⁵ There were however more general cultural tendencies that made the catalogues of rulers very timely and desirable products, including changes in the understanding of history and the role of the individual, the growing awareness of both the continuity of history and changes in the historical process, as well as searches for the origins of the present and for historical justifications of the current political aspirations.²⁶

2 The Přemyslid Kings and Their Crowns

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Polish, Hungarian and Bohemian kingdoms became closely and unprecedentedly linked by personal union. The death of Andrew III put an end to the male line of the Hungarian founding dynasty, and Wenceslas III of Bohemia, as a descendant of the Árpáds in the female line, was crowned king of Hungary in 1301. The father of the young monarch, Wenceslas II, already ruled in Bohemia and in most of a disunited Poland. After his death in 1305, Wenceslas III succeeded his father in Bohemia and Poland. For the first and the last time in their history, the three kingdoms had one and the same ruler. One year later, the reign of the last Přemyslid king met a sudden, unexpected and tragic end, opening the way to the thrones for the Luxembourg and Anjou dynasties.

The exemplar of the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* (1393), known also as *Zbraslavská Kronika*, contains a drawing depicting the idea of one monarch successfully holding two or three different royal offices (fol. 6r).²⁷ The depiction of Wenceslas II with two crowns and Wenceslas III with three crowns on his head is a part of a larger genealogical composition linking the Luxem-

THUROCZ: *Chronica Hungarorum*. I: Textus, ediderunt ELISABETH GALÁNTAI, JULIUS KRISTÓ; II.1: Commentarii. Ab initiis usque ad annum 1301, composuit ELEMÉR MÁLYUSZ, adiuvante JULIO KRISTÓ; II.2: Commentarii. Ab anno 1301 usque ad annum 1487, composuit ELEMÉR MÁLYUSZ, adiuvante JULIO KRISTÓ, Budapest 1985-1989. MACIEJ OF MIECHÓW: *Chronica Polonorum*, Graccouiae [1519]; IDEM: *Chronica Polonorum*, Craccouiae 1521. Facsimile edition: IDEM: *Chronica Polonorum*, Kraków 1986.

²⁵ PELC (as in footnote 7), esp. pp. 5-6, with detailed references to the earlier scholarship, provides a brief characteristic of the functions of the humanistic portrait books that shows their considerable similarity with the early modern catalogues of rulers.

²⁶ MIODOŃSKA (as in footnote 7), pp. 45-46.

²⁷ Státní okresní archiv Jihlava, Archiv města Jihlava, oddělení Úřední knihy a rukopisy 1359-1850 (1894) [District State Archive in Jihlava, Archive of the City of Jihlava, Department of Official Books and Manuscripts 1359-1850 (1894)], inv. no. 692.

bourgs to their Přemyslid predecessors (fol. 6r-v).²⁸ There is a clear hierarchy of dignities in the drawing: the title of the emperor overshadows that of the king and the title of the king of Bohemia goes before that of Poland and Hungary. Typological relationships between the depicted figures, their iconography, and characteristics expressed in the inscriptions highlight the blood-ties and genealogical affinity of the royal families. The images of the kings bearing two or three crowns glorify Wenceslas II, his family and successors.²⁹ The representations of numerous crowns fitted smoothly into dynastic narratives, but could become a source of conflict in the national ones.



Fig. 1:
Wenceslas II (woodcut incorrectly
impressed as Wenceslas III), in: KUTHEN,
Catalogus (as in footnote 16), fol. D2r.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München
(BSB), shelfmark Res/4 Austr. 34 h

In no other Bohemian or Polish series of royal likenesses is Wenceslas II depicted with two crowns. The Czech catalogues follow the iconographical canon of royal depictions established by *Catalogus* by Martin Kuthen, in which the representation of Wenceslas was modelled after the series of royal

²⁸ HELENA NEDBALOVÁ: Rukopis Zbraslavské Kroniky ze Státního okresního archivu Jihlava [Manuscript of the Zbraslav Chronicle from the District State Archive in Jihlava], in: ALENA PAZDEROVÁ (ed.): *Doba vlády Karla IV. a jeho rodiny v archivních dokumentech*, Praha et al. 2006, pp. 43-45, fig. 38-39; FRANTIŠEK HOFFMANN: *Soupis rukopisů Státního okresního archivu v Jihlavě* [List of Manuscripts of the District State Archive in Jihlava], Praha—Jihlava 2001, p. 30; JOSEF KRÁSA: *Die Chronik von Zbraslav*, in: ANTON LEGNER (ed.): *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350-1400*, vol. 2, Köln 1978, p. 745; ZAROSLAVA DROBNÁ: *Die gotische Zeichnung in Böhmen*, Prag 1956, p. 43, fig. 65-68; ANTONÍN FRIEDL: *Přemyslovci a Lucemburkové (Ikonografická řada českých králů středověkých)* [Přemyslids and Luxembourgs (Iconographic Series of Czech Medieval Kings)], Praha 1938, pp. 16-23, fig. 37-40; IDEM: *Přemyslovci a Lucemburkové: Ikonografická řada českých králů podle Zbraslavské kroniky města Jihlavy* [Přemyslids and Luxembourgs: Iconographic Series of Czech Medieval Kings according to Zbraslavská kronika of the Town Jihlava], in: BEDŘICH JENŠOVSKÝ, BEDŘICH MENDL (eds.): *K dějinám československým v období humanism: Sborník prací věnovaných Janu Bedřichu Novákovi k 60. narozeninám 1872-1932*, Praha 1932, pp. 119-147.

²⁹ The glorification of Wenceslas II, king of Bohemia and Poland, was mentioned as one of the main aims of the *Zbraslavská Kronika*: FRIEDL, *Přemyslovci a Lucemburkové (Ikonografická řada českých králů středověkých)* (as in footnote 28), p. 15.

depictions from the Prague castle (fig. 1).³⁰ In *Catalogus*, however, the image of Wenceslas II was erroneously impressed as a representation of his young son Wenceslas III.³¹ This mistake was corrected in most of the subsequent works such as Giulio Solimano's *Boemorum reges elogiis illustrati* (ca. 1628) and his *Elogia ducum, regum, interregum, qui Bohemis praefuerunt* (1629).³² Afterwards Solimano's verses were reprinted with the new set of copperplates (but observing the same iconographic tradition), engraved by Jan Adriaen Gerhardt de Groos, in the academic thesis by Michael Franz Ferdinand Althann entitled *Imago principum Bohemiae LXI* (1673).³³ The engravings by de Groos were in turn reimpressed in Bohuslav Balbín's *Miscellaneorum historicorum Regni Bohemiae. Decadis I. Liber VII.* (1687).³⁴

³⁰ The king's iconography corresponds to that in the *Hasenburg Codex* (cf. footnote 19). The list of the catalogues of rulers of Bohemia (as well as the selection of the series devoted to the kings of Poland and Hungary) does not take into consideration historical and juridical works, whose content was not focused mainly on and limited to the presentation of the reigns and lives of kings, even though they were illustrated with the rulers' images modelled after the early catalogues and thus testify and contribute to the consolidation of the historical imagery. Among the excluded sources are, for instance: *Theses canonico-legales* (1689) by Johann H. Turba and Georg Leopold Kessler, Jan František Beckovský's *Poselkyně Starých Přeběhův Českých* [Messenger of Old Bohemian Stories, 1700] and *Gloria et maiestas sacro-sanctae regiae* by Jan Florián Hammerschmidt (1700).

³¹ CRINITUS (as in footnote 19), who reuses the woodblocks impressed earlier in KUTHEN, *Catalogus* (as in footnote 16), and Bartosz Paprocki's *Diadochos id est succesio* (1602), in which Wenceslas II is modeled after Kuthen's work, repeat this mistake.

³² GIULIO SOLIMANO: *Boemorum reges elogiis illustrati*, s.l. ca. 1628; IDEM: *Elogia ducum, regum, interregum, qui Bohemis praefuerunt*, Pragae 1629. On the problems with dating *Boemorum reges elogiis illustrati*: JITKA KŘESÁLKOVÁ: Giulio Solimano a Praha [Giulio Solimano and Prague], in: VILÉM HEROLD, JAROSLAV PÁNEK (eds.): *Baroko v Itálii—baroko v Čechách / Barocco in Italia, Barocco in Boemia: Setkávání osobností, idejí a uměleckých forem. Sborník příspěvků z italsko-českého sympozia*, Praha 19.-21. dubna 1999, Praha 2003, pp. 394-395. The author of the engravings is unknown. The series was copied in JOHANNES CAMPANO: *Czechias, hoc est ducum et regum Czechicorum sciagraphia*, Gorlicii 1652.

³³ MICHAEL FRANZ FERDINAND ALTHANN: *Imago principum Bohemiae LXI*, Pragae 1673. The engravings, which were faithful (though mirrored) copies of the illustrations to Solimano's *Elogia*, were the signed works of Jan Adriaen Gerhardt de Groos and Karel Škréta: PETR VOIT: Groos, Jan Adriaen Gerhardt de, in: IDEM: *Encyklopedie knihy: Starší knižtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*, vol. 1, Praha 2006, pp. 316-317, with references to the earlier scholarship. According to Voit, Althann's academic thesis was published again in Nuremberg in 1681. I was not able to identify any copy of this edition.

³⁴ BOHUSLAV BALBÍN: *Miscellaneorum historicorum Regni Bohemiae. Decadis I. Liber VII*, Pragae 1687. The eighteenth-century edition of the catalogue by Balbín received a new set of full-page illustrations signed by Antonín Birkhardt, but the engravings of 1687 still served as their main model: IDEM: *Historia de ducibus ac regibus Bohemiae*, Vetero-Pragae 1735. The importance of *Miscellanea historica* for the Czech culture can hardly be overestimated: Cf. ZUZANA POKORNÁ, MARTIN SVATOŠ (eds.): Bohuslav

In all these catalogues the king is shown as a man in his prime with a long nose, mustache and curly, shoulder-long hair. In the woodcut illustrating Kuthen's *Catalogus* the king wears an open crown, but from Giulio Solimano's *Elogia* (1629, fig. 2) onwards it was replaced by the closed crown (not bearing much resemblance to the actual Crown of Saint Wenceslas). The *corona clausa*, referring to the sovereign nature of the royal power, was projected back onto the past to add more prestige to the medieval king and the status of his reign.

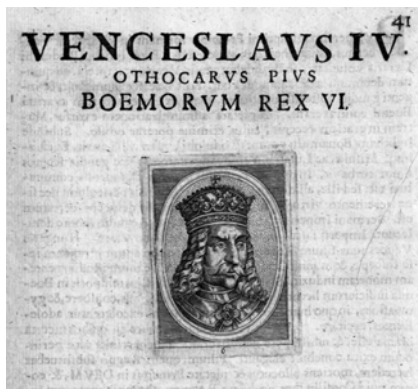


Fig. 2:
Wenceslas II, engraving in: SOLIMANO,
Elogia (as in footnote 32), fol. 41r. BSB,
shelfmark Res/4 Austr. 131

Two German-language books, namely Johann Zieger's *Des uralten Herzogthum und Königreichs Böhmen, kurze Regenten Beschreibung* (1685) and Johann Christoph Beer's *Der Herzogen und Königen in Böhmen Leben, Regierung und Absterben* (1685), aimed at the German-speaking audience, generally follow the iconographic tradition established by Kuthen's *Catalogus*, but reject the medallion-like form.³⁵ Whereas *Der Herzogen und Königen in Böhmen Leben, Regierung und Absterben* shows the busts of the Bohemian rulers, *Des uralten Herzogthum und Königreichs Böhmen, kurze Regenten Beschreibung* presents them full-figure, in a way that better corresponded to the expectations of the intended readership, well accustomed to the tradition of full-figure imperial portraits.³⁶

Balbín a kultura jeho doby v Čechách: Sborník z konference Památníku národního písemnictví [Bohuslav Balbín and the Culture of His Time in Bohemia: Proceedings from the Conference of the Museum of Czech Literature], Praha 1992; JAN KUČERA, JIŘÍ RAK: Bohuslav Balbín a jeho místo v české kultuře [Bohuslav Balbín and His Place in Czech Culture], Praha 1983.

³⁵ JOHANN ZIEGER: *Des uralten Herzogthum und Königreichs Böhmen, kurze Regenten Beschreibung*, Nürnberg 1685, and JOHANN CHRISTOPH BEER: *Der Herzogen und Königen in Böhmen Leben, Regierung und Absterben*, Nürnberg 1685. Beer's work was illustrated by Nuremberg engraver Johann Azelt.

³⁶ Cf. MARIA KUSCHE: *Der christliche Ritter und seine Dame: Das Repräsentationsbildnis in ganzer Figur zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Bedeutung des weltlichen Bildnisses von der karolingischen Buchmalerei über die Augsburger Schule bis zu Seisenegger*,

The characteristic of Wenceslas II in Bohemian medieval historiography is not monolithic, but generally positive. The most extensive is his description in the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, which has a hagiographic tone and presents him as an exemplary ruler.³⁷ The most important of the king's numerous virtues is piety, but the chronicle also lists other qualities of the ideal monarch such as generosity, honor, justice, peace-making, wisdom, physical strength and beauty.

Just as medieval chronicles focused on Wenceslas' piety, stressing theological virtues and omitting all other features of his character³⁸, the short epigram by Martin Kuthen also mentions only the king's exemplary religiosity, which in Solimano's *Elogia* and Jan Campanus Vodňanský's *Czechias* earns him the cognomen *pius*. According to Solimano, Wenceslas "preferred to venerate the fasces of power rather than use it."³⁹ He ruled personally in Poland, where he fortified Cracow and introduced the silver coin.⁴⁰ In Bohemia he codified the law and erected "a school [gymnasium], in which the noble young men cultivated the humanities."⁴¹

The seventh volume of *Miscellanea historica Regni Bohemiae* by Bohuslav Balbín goes a step further in praising the king's piety, as the Jesuit historiographer calls Wenceslas a holy king, and notes his devotion to the Virgin Mary. After a detailed biographical account, Balbín gives a lengthy moral teaching based on a didactic explanation of the king's deeds and events from his reign and life. The king's love for all the different peoples ("gentes diversae") over which he ruled, instead of favouring one nation above another, is claimed as one of the qualities that made him an exemplary ruler.

Tizian, Anthonis Mor und der spanischen Hofmalerschule des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, in: Pantheon 49 (1991), pp. 4-35; KURT LÖCHER: Das Bildnis in ganzer Figur: Quellen und Entwicklung, in: Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 42 (1985), pp. 74-82.

³⁷ ROBERT ANTONÍN: The Ideal Ruler in Medieval Bohemia, transl. by SEAN MARK MILLER, Leiden 2017, p. 52; MARKÉTA DLOUHÁ: Rex Pius et Largus: Das Bild Wenzels II. in der Königsaal Chronik, in: RUDOLF SCHIEFFER, JAROSLAW WENTA (eds.): Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Europa: Projekte und Forschungsprobleme, Toruń 2006, pp. 129-146.

³⁸ ANTONÍN (as in footnote 37), p. 203.

³⁹ SOLIMANO, *Elogia* (as in footnote 32), fol. 41v: "Imperii fasces venerari maluit, quam tractare."

⁴⁰ Wenceslas' monetary reform in Bohemia and its consequences for the Polish kingdom are discussed in JAN LIBOR: Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci [Wenceslas II and the Structures of Rulers' Power], Brno 2006; BORYS PASZKIEWICZ: Reforma monetarna króla Wacława II w Polsce [The Monetary Reform of King Wenceslas II in Poland], in: Wiadomości Numizmatyczne 45 (2001), pp. 23-44.

⁴¹ SOLIMANO, *Elogia* (as in footnote 32), fol. 41v: "Statuerat [...] gymnasium, in quo humanitatis artibus ingenui excolerentur adolescentes." The attempts to reform the juridical system and found a *studium generale* in Prague, which in fact failed, are here presented as the ruler's great achievements.

The *Miscellanea* were among the main sources for Zieger's and Beer's volumes from 1685. The biographies of Wenceslas included in these two handy books were very informative and less laudatory (especially in Zieger's case). Similarly to Balbín, Zieger and Beer describe the arduous youth and beginning of Wenceslas' reign in Bohemia, his coronation in Prague, ascension to the Polish throne and Hungarian coronation of his son, but add more details about the issues concerning the German lands and their rulers, which were of interest to their German-language readers.

The image of Wenceslas II as a priestly king was valid in all sixteenth- and seventeenth-century catalogues of Bohemian rulers regardless of their authors' confessions and the intended readership. In the post-Tridentine era in the Jesuit narratives, the king's piety means devotion to the Virgin Mary, and is promoted to holiness. Also, numerous historical facts and events are added to the description of Wenceslas' reign, but even though they are historically more accurate, their interpretation is vividly coloured by the national optics and interests.

The increase of the national colouring in the characteristics of the king's life and reign is also visible in the Polish sources. The piety is not mentioned in any of the Polish catalogues, instead his monetary reform (referred to as the introduction of *czeskie grosze*), and, more seldom, the fortification of Cracow are presented as the king's main achievements, which are however often overshadowed, as in Teodor Zawacki's *Catalogus*, by the ruler's misdeeds, such as manning Polish offices with Czechs, his return to Prague and subsequent abandonment of the Polish kingdom.⁴² Also Wenceslas's beauty, known from the Czech sources, is not listed among the king's characteristic features. In fact, in Jan Głuchowski's verse entitled *Wacław, the Czech King*, the ruler explains that if there is anything irregular in his likeness, it is not his fault, but the fault of nature's neglectfulness.⁴³

The *Annales Poloniae Maioris* praise Wenceslas for his peaceful and just reign.⁴⁴ Długosz stresses that the king introduced peace and order in Poland, and Maciej of Miechów, who based his chronicle on Długosz' *Annales*, shows him in a positive way too. Later on, Klemens Janicki (Clemens Ianicus) in his immensely popular *Vitae regum Polonorum* humorously and sympathetically describes Wenceslas' reform, thanks to which the money did not

⁴² ZAWACKI (as in footnote 20), fol. I2r. Cf. Facsimile edition of *Catalogus* with Polish translation of the Latin verses: IDEM: *Katalog królów i książąt polskich* [Catalogue of the Polish Kings and Dukes], ed. by JAN MALICKI, Katowice 2004, p. 19. The same author presents a wittier and more favorable characteristic of the ruler, which focuses on Wenceslas II's monetary reform, in his *Porządek i rozrodzenie* (as in footnote 16), fol. E1r.

⁴³ GŁUCHOWSKI (as in footnote 20), p. 73.

⁴⁴ BRYGIDA KÜRBIS, GERARD LABUDA et al. (eds.): *Roczniki wielkopolskie* [Annales of Greater Poland], Warszawa 1962, p. 54.

rot as it did in the times of the forefathers.⁴⁵ Jan Głuchowski's poem presents the king as a virtuous ruler and says that he held "the Czech sceptre" and "Polish crown on his head [...] which the Poles willingly offered him."⁴⁶

Lechias ducum, principum ac regum Poloniae (1655), a series of elaborate and eloquent elogia and odes devoted by the Jesuit Albert Ines to all Polish rulers, presents Wenceslas as a good and peaceful ruler, who calmed the situation down after the raids of Władysław the Short.⁴⁷ But once he returned with his wife to Prague, he neglected Polish laws and customs. Ines' main conclusion is that "a foreign ruler should above all avoid acting as a foreigner in his kingdom."⁴⁸ He uses a series of abridged quotes that are easy to memorize such as: "One work is performed by one person" and "it should not be commanded that one man plays tibia and makes shoes" (Aristotle) to illustrate this point.⁴⁹ The historical lesson, given in the elogium and ode, served Ines to teach political thoughts based on Lipsius' concept of a good citizen⁵⁰, and the post-Tridentine idea of a strong monarchy.

Two Latin-language catalogues of Polish rulers, printed in Germany, *Principum et regum Polonorum imagines* (1594) by a publisher and editor from Cologne, Arnold Mylius, and *Icones et vitae principum ac regum Poloniae* (1620) by Salomon Neugebauer, a Calvinist historian from Royal Prussia, circulated widely both in Poland and abroad.⁵¹ A few decades later, Johann Melesander's *Schau-Platz Polnischer Tapferkeit* (1684), even though aimed primarily at the German readership, did not substantially differ in the way it

⁴⁵ KLEMENS JANICKI: *Vitae regum Polonorum*, in: IDEM: *Carmina: Dzieła wszystkie*, ed. by JERZY Krókowski, Wrocław 1966, p. 240. On the early modern editions of *Vitae regum Polonorum* see: *ibidem*, pp. XIII-XX.

⁴⁶ GŁUCHOWSKI (as in footnote 20), p. 73: "Abych nie jedno Czeskie sceptrum miał przy sobie, / Ale też y Koronę Polską miał na głowie, / Którą mi dobrowolnie Polacy zlecieli / Y zwykłą mi poddaność zaraz uczynili."

⁴⁷ ALBERT INES: *Lechias ducum, principum ac regum Poloniae ab usque Lecho deductorum elogia historico-politica et panegyres lyricae in quibus compendiosa totius historiae Polonae epitome exhibetur*, Cracoviae 1655. The work was also published in 1680 in Frankfurt (Oder) and in 1733 in Poznań, but without depictions of rulers.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 200: "Nihil tam cavendum peregrino Regi, quam ne in Regno suo agat Peregrinus."

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*: "Unum opus ab uno perficitur." The other citation, that follows the quote from Aristotle, reads: "Nec iubendum est, ut unus tibia canat idemque calceos conficiat" (*ibidem*).

⁵⁰ BÖMELBURG (as in footnote 3), p. 132.

⁵¹ MYLIUS (as in footnote 22); SALOMON NEUGEBAUER: *Icones et vitae principum ac regum Poloniae omnium*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1620, 1644; German translation: IDEM: *Kunstreiche eygentliche Bildnüssen und Contrafeyt aller und jeder Fürsten und Könige in Polen, von dem uralten Lecho an biss auff die jetzregierende königliche Mayestät Sigismundum III, sampt einer kurtzer chronologischen und historischen Beschreibung ihres Lebens*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1626, 1644. Salomon Neugebauer is listed by INES (as in footnote 47), not pag. among the main authors whom he consulted for his *Lechias*.

presented Wenceslas from the two earlier works.⁵² All these prosaic biographies are in fact more focused on Władysław the Short than on the Czech king. Only Mylius lists the king's two greatest achievements at the end of his biography: the erection of walls around Cracow and the introduction of the silver coin in Poland.



Fig. 3:
Wenceslas II, woodcut in: MACIEJ OF
MIECHÓW (as in footnote 24), p. CXCI.
Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (BN)
[Polish National Library], shelfmark SD
XVI.F.642 adl.

In all the above-mentioned catalogues of Polish rulers, Wenceslas is depicted in one of two ways: full-figure or a half-figure bust, both based on the woodcut illustrating *Chronica Polonorum* (fig. 3) by Maciej of Miechów. The

⁵² JOHANN MELESANDER: *Schau-Platz Pohlnischer Tapfferkeit oder der Tapffermütigen Pohlnischen Könige und Fürsten, Leben, Regierung, Thaten und Absterben von dem ersten Herzogen Lecho an, bis auf den itzt-regierenden Helden-mütigen Könige Johann den III entworfen*, Nürnberg 1684, Sultzbach 1685, 1688.

woodcut impressed in the chronicle shows the king full-figure, in his middle age with curled hair, mustache and beard. Wenceslas is depicted standing, with a *corona clausa* on his head and girdled sabre, which he touches with his left hand. The ruler wears a coat with five decorative buckles over a long-sleeved tunic. He is accompanied by a lion lying at his feet.



Fig. 4:
Wenceslas II, engraving in: TRETER (as in footnote 53), plate 30. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, shelfmark 70, 158 01245 S-1977

This woodcut was reimpressed in Bartosz Paprocki's heraldic work *Gniazdo cnoty* (1578) and used as a model by Tomasz Treter in his *Regum Poloniae icones* (1591).⁵³ On the thirtieth plate of the series (fig. 4), Treter depicted Wenceslas in half-figure, faithfully copying the king's physiognomy and outfit. The main difference is that, instead of a sabre, the ruler holds a sceptre in his left hand (the allusions to his Bohemian rule are omitted), which corresponds better with the iconography of regalia on the other copperplates. In so doing, Treter adapted the king's depiction to the schema introduced throughout the series which stressed the continuity of the Polish kingdom and the integrity of its political traditions. The inscription is also slightly changed so the king is identified by his ethnonym as *Venceslaus Bohemus*.

⁵³ BARTOSZ PAPROCKI: *Gniazdo cnoty* [The Nest of Virtue], Kraków 1578, p. 1078. TOMASZ TRETER: *Regum Poloniae icones*, Romae 1591, plate 30. The series is known mainly from its later, late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century, impression; on the problems with their dating see KAROLINA MROZIEWICZ: "Regum Poloniae icones" Tomasa Tretera ze zbiorów Biblioteki Królewskiej w Sztokholmie i szwedzkie wątki w losach serii [Tomasz Treter's "Regum Poloniae icones" from the collection of the National Library of Sweden and the Swedish threads in the history of the cycle], in: *Folia Historiae Artium* 15 (2017), pp. 25-34.

Wenceslas is named analogically in the majority of the subsequent catalogues. Treter's series was popularized from the end of the sixteenth century onwards by Mylius' *Imagines*, which in turn served as a model for further depictions of the Polish kings in Neugebauer's *Icones*, Melesander's *Schau-Platz Polnischer Tapferkeit*, Augustyn Kołodzki's *Tron ojczysty* illustrated by Antoni Swach (1707) and several images in Antonio Barbey's *Series ducum ac regum Polonorum a Lacho I ad Augustum II* (1702).⁵⁴



Fig. 5:
Wenceslas II, woodcut in: *Kronika polska*
Marcina Bielskiego (as in footnote 20),
p. 206. BN, shelfmark 26 III Cim.

The second variant of the image was introduced in Marcin and Joachim Bielski's *Kronika Polska* (1597, fig. 5). The anonymous *Formschneider* working on the woodcuts for this chronicle modelled the king's physiognomy, garment and all costume details on the illustration to Miechowita's *Chronica Polonorum*, but highlighted the references to the king's titles to the Polish and Bohemian kingdoms, as well as signalized his involvement in Hungarian affairs by adding the coats of arms of these three kingdoms on the banners. In the hierarchy of dignities references to the Polish crown had a superior place, as was the case in all other illustrations in the series, which supported the narrative of the Polish nobility.

⁵⁴ ANTONIO BARBEY: *Series ducum ac regum Polonorum a Lacho I ad Augustum II, Romae 1702* (republished in an altered version after 1763); AUGUSTYN KOŁUDZKI: *Thron Ojczysty abo Pałac Wieczności* [The Ancestral Throne or the Palace of Eternity], Poznań 1707.

3 Wenceslas III: The Anecdotal King of Three Kingdoms

Wenceslas III generally had a bad press. Even though he was a crowned king of Hungary (1301-1305) and Bohemia (1305-1306) and used the title of king of Poland (1305-1306), only a drawing in *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* depicts him as a king of the three kingdoms. The same *Chronicon*, as Karel Maráz points out, presented a negative assessment of the king and his reign that influenced historiography well into the twentieth century.⁵⁵

Martin Kuthen's epigram in *Catalogus* describes him as living an idle life in luxury.⁵⁶ In a similar tone, Jan Campanus Vodňanský refers to Wenceslas briefly as "degenerate" or a bad king of the Czechs.⁵⁷ In his verses, Giulio Solimano laments Wenceslas III's premature death as bringing an end to the "most illustrious" family of the Přemyslid. In his prose biography he writes that the young ruler received the Hungarian crown as a twelve-year old at the initiative of his father, but the next year, he rejected it. After Wenceslas II's death, he took over the rule in Bohemia, but reigned too fiercely. He made a military attempt to obtain the Polish crown after his father, but it was impeded by the king's assassination in Olomouc.

Detailed and more nuanced, but not free of the national bias, is the king's biography written by Bohuslav Balbín. The Jesuit historiographer narrates the story of a young, religious, handsome and well-educated man, who wore the Bohemian, Hungarian and Polish crowns. According to Balbín, Wenceslas "knew the languages of all his subjects as if they were his natural one" and was fluent in Latin.⁵⁸ Once he got to Hungary, however, he suddenly changed under the influence of young Hungarian noblemen and became wanton and a drunkard. He exercised little power and never dared to claim more of it. His death concluded the history of "the most glorious Přemyslid family, which through 38 dukes and 7 kings gloriously ruled Bohemia uninterruptedly from around the year 400 up to 1306."⁵⁹

Zieger presents the life of Wenceslas III within a broader historical context, mentioning the political situation in Poland and Hungary. The ruler is characterized above all as a king of Bohemia, who only temporarily ruled in the Hungarian Kingdom, and, under the influence of his advisor residing in

⁵⁵ KAREL MARÁZ: Václav III: Poslední Přemyslovec na českém trůně [Wenceslas III: The Last Přemyslid on the Czech Throne], České Budějovice 2007, pp. 13-16.

⁵⁶ KUTHEN, *Catalogus* (as in footnote 16), fol. D2r.

⁵⁷ CAMPANO (as in footnote 32), p. 74: "Wenceslaus V degener sive malus Rex Boh. VII."

⁵⁸ BALBÍN, *Miscellaneorum historicorum Regni Bohemiae: Decadis I. Liber VII* (as in footnote 34), p. 131: "[Franciscus Canonicus Pragensis narrat] omnium subjectorum populorum calluisse linguas, velut si in omnibus natus esset."

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*. The whole fragment reads: "In hoc itaque Wenceslao gloriosissima Przemysli stirps, quae non interrupta serie ab anno Christi 400. circiter, usque ad annum 1306 in XXXVIII ducibus et septem regibus gloriosissime Bohemiam rexerat, virtutibus Regiis et gloria ad invidiam omnium Regnorum Europae floruerat, caduco ad extremum flore exaruit."

Poland, undertook the campaign to earn the Polish crown. Zieger's wider optics is also clear in the closing fragment of Wenceslas' biography, in which the last male Přemyslid is listed along with the last Árpád king of Hungary and Piast king of Poland.⁶⁰ Beer's *Der Herzogen und Königen in Böhmen Leben, Regierung und Absterben* in turn focuses on the flaws, misdeeds and excesses of the young king and, similarly to Zieger, presents the expedition to Poland as instigated by bad advisors.



Fig. 6:
Wenceslas III (woodcut incorrectly
impressed as Wenceslas II), in: KUTHEN,
Catalogus (as in footnote 16), fol. D2r.
BSB, shelfmark Res/4 Austr. 34 h

In all the catalogues of Bohemian rulers Wenceslas is depicted in accordance with the woodcut illustrating Kuthen's work (fig. 6), loosely based on the king's likeness known from the *Hasenburger Codex*.⁶¹ The ruler is shown as a young man with rather plebeian facial lines wearing an open crown. This schematic image, which began its broad and long-lasting circulation after Kuthen's *Catalogus*, has hardly evolved over time.

The king was pictured differently in the series of Hungarian rulers. János Thuróczy's chronicle presents Wenceslas as involved in the struggles for the throne with another minor, Charles Robert. As in the case of his young rival, Wenceslas' reign was nominal only. Learning this, Wenceslas' father came with his army to Hungary, continues Thuróczy, and took his son back along with the Hungarian crown.⁶²

The episode with the Holy Crown of Hungary did not change the anecdotal place of Wenceslas in Hungarian history. The concise and unillustrated *Reges Ungariae* by János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus, 1567) passes Wenceslas

⁶⁰ ZIEGER (as in footnote 35), p. 447.

⁶¹ In the codex by Jan Zajíc of Házmburk the king is characterized as a different physiognomical type with a moustache and is differently dressed. The mirror-like compositional schema and analogical embellishment of the crown however suggest a connection between the image of Wenceslas III in KUTHEN, Catalogus (as in footnote 16), and the Codex.

⁶² THURÓCZ, *Chronica Hungarorum* (as in footnote 24), I: Textus, p. 143. This fragment was a part of the earlier, fourteenth-century chronicle.

over in silence.⁶³ Transylvanian author Johannes Sommer (Iohannes Sommerus) in his *Reges Hungarici* (1580) devotes a short distich to Wenceslas, in which he mentions that Wenceslas was colligated with the Árpáds, but implies that Bohemia was his fatherland.⁶⁴

The didactic elogium devoted to Wenceslas III by Niccolò Avancini in *Mausoleum regum et Ungariae ducum* opens with a lamentation on the death of the last Árpád king, Andrew III.⁶⁵ Wenceslas II, the king of Poland and Bohemia (“Polono-Bohemus rex”), “because he considered himself not able to cope with three crowns, either modest or lacking courage, he gave his son Wenceslas to the Holy Crown.”⁶⁶ Yet, the son’s conflicts with his rivals, Albert and Charles Robert, caused the young ruler to leave Hungary and his life ended soon as he was killed by an unknown assassin.

The presentation of Wenceslas in Johann Adam Schad’s *Effigies ducum et regum Hungariae in applausum oblatae* (1687) is in fact a mere compilation of Thuróczy’s *Chronica Hungarorum* and *Mausoleum* which does not add much to the king’s picture.⁶⁷ A more detailed account was given in Johann Christoph Beer’s *Der Hertzogen und Königen in Hungarn Leben, Regierung und Absterben* in which Wenceslas III is one of the actors participating in the struggles over the crown after the death of the last Árpád ruler.⁶⁸

⁶³ ZSÁMBOKY (as in footnote 5). This catalogue was also included in ANTONIO BONFINI: *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor*, Basileae 1568, pp. 890-896.

⁶⁴ SOMMER (as in footnote 5). The catalogue, including poetic biographies of Hungarian historical rulers from Stephen I to John Szapolyai and Ferdinand I, was written around 1567, but published along with Sommer’s other pieces as *Ioannis Sommeri Pirnensis Reges Hungarici et Clades Moldavica* in 1580. The work was reprinted in: *Delitiae Poetarum Hungaricorum*, Francofurti 1619, pp. 355-404. None of these works was illustrated. More on the author and his poetic oeuvre: LORE POELCHAU: Johannes Sommer (1542-1574), in: *Journal of Neo Latin Studies* 46 (1997), pp. 182-239, with references to the earlier scholarship.

⁶⁵ NÁDASDY/AVANCINI (as in footnote 23).

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 240. The whole fragment reads: “Itum ergo, libertate praeside, in humana vota: / Quibus Venceslaus rex ab Ungaris salutatus, / Cum se tribus imparem coronis, / vel modestus vel pussillanimis crederet, / filium Venceslaum sacrae coronae concessit.”

⁶⁷ JOHANN ADAM XAVIER SCHAD: *Effigies ducum et regum Hungariae in applausu[m] oblatae*, s.l. 1687.

⁶⁸ JOHANN CHRISTOPH BEER: *Der Hertzogen und Königen in Hungarn Leben, Regierung und Absterben von dem ersten Herzogen Keve an biss auf den iztregirenden König Leopold den I, Nürnberg 1683, 1684, 1685.*



Fig. 7:
Wenceslas III, engraving in:
NÁDASDY/AVANCINI (as in footnote 23),
p. 238. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
Wien (ÖNB), shelfmark 64 A 11

As the literary image, the visual representation of Wenceslas in Hungary remained consistent and virtually unchanged from the late fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The engraving in *Mausoleum* (fig. 7) showed the enthroned Wenceslas III as a young man with bright, neck-long hair, wearing a long coat buckled with a four-leaf brooch. The king was depicted in a closed crown loosely resembling the Crown of St. Stephen and with the orb in his left and sceptre in his right hand. The architectural structure of the throne is embellished with two decorative columns surmounted with two putti, each bearing the crest of Hungary (alternating stripes on the king's right side and the double cross on the left). Also, the inscription under the image identifies the ruler only as a king of Hungary: *Venceslaus XXIII Rex Hungariae*. The same engraving was reimpressed in Schad's *Effigies ducum et regum Hungariae* in an allegorical frame with the depiction of the Holy Crown and personifications of virtues and was unskilfully copied for Beer's popular compendium.

The place of Wenceslas III was marginal in the catalogues of Polish rulers, in which he was not given a separate entry nor a visual representation. The biographies of his father included sparse references to Wenceslas III's pretence to the throne and assassination in Olomouc. In fact, only the catalogues of Czech rulers brought Wenceslas III into prominence, as the last king from the native dynasty of the Přemyslid, whose death closes an important chapter of the political history of the kingdom. Polish and Hungarian sources focused on the circumstances of the king's death, because the sensational details of his assassination made for a thrilling coda to Wenceslas III's short and turbulent life.

4 The Polish-Czech Go-Between: Works by Bartosz Paprocki

The works by Bartosz Paprocki occupy a separate place in between the Polish and Czech literary and iconographic traditions in general, and between the Polish and Czech representations of Wenceslas II and Wenceslas III in particular. The Polish nobleman played the role of an influential (and somewhat restless) cultural mediator.⁶⁹ Not only did he often change his place of residence, but also his political views. Wherever he was, he adhered to the local patrons, and focused on the genealogical and heraldic research concerning this particular region and its nobility.

The catalogues of rulers were included in Paprocki's *Gniazdo cnoty*, printed in Cracow, as well as in *Ogród królewski* (1599) and *Diadochos id est successio* (1602), both published in Prague.⁷⁰ The first of these books, illustrated with the woodblocks originally impressed in *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów and with numerous typified images of members of the Polish nobility and their coats of arms, presents the history of the kingdom and its rulers within a broader narrative of the Polish political community.⁷¹ The nobleman's perspective is dominant. It establishes a close relationship between the king and his noble subjects and reshapes the ways in which the rulers, especially the foreign ones, were appraised in *Gniazdo cnoty*. In the case of Wenceslas II, it was God's providence, favorable to the Poles, that brought an

⁶⁹ HENRYK GMITEREK: Filiacje polsko-czeskie w historiografii Odrodzenia (XVI—początek XVII wieku) [The Polish-Czech Filiations in Renaissance Historiography (16th—Beginning of the 17th Century)], in: ANTONI BARCIAK, WOJCIECH IWAŃCZAK (eds.): *Piśmiennictwo Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i we wczesnej epoce nowożytnej*, Katowice 2006, pp. 153-156; MARIE SOBOTKOVÁ: Trzy powroty Bartosza Paprockiego do naszych czasów [Three Returns of Bartosz Paprocki to Our Times], in: MARIAN KACZMAREK (ed.): *Dawność kulturowa w literaturach słowiańskich drugiej połowy XX wieku: Materiały konferencji naukowej, Opole 19-20 X 1993 r.*, Opole 1993, pp. 223-228; JANUSZ PELC: Europejskość i polskość literatury naszego renesansu [European-ness and Polishness of the Literature of Our Renaissance], Warszawa 1984, p. 596; JAN ŚLASKI: Tłumaczenia doby renesansu i pogranicza baroku (szkic problematyki) [Translations of the Renaissance Era up to the Verge of the Baroque (Outline of Problematics)], in: *Problemy literatury staropolskiej* 3 (1978), pp. 145-186, here pp. 161-162; JOSEF BEČKA: Polské písemnictví ve světle českých překladů [Polish Literature in the Light of Czech Translations], in: MILAN KUDĚLKA (ed.): *Česko-polský sborník vědeckých prací*, vol. 2, Praha 1955, pp. 165-168; JOSEF MACŮREK, VLADIMÍR KYAS: Vzájemná výměna kulturních hodnot v oblasti jazyka a literatury [Mutual Exchange of Cultural Values in the Field of Language and Literature], in: JOSEF MACŮREK (ed.): *Cesi a Poláci v minulosti*, vol. 1, Praha 1964, pp. 265-279, here pp. 277-278.

⁷⁰ BARTOZ PAPROCKI: *Ogród królewski* [Royal Garden], w *Starem Miescie Praskiem* 1599; IDEM: *Diadochos id est successio*, w *slawnem starem meste Pražském* 1602. A reprint of *Diadochos* was published in Brno in 2005. Paprocki's *Panosza. Tho iest wysławienie panow y paniqt* [Panosza: Meaning a Eulogy of the Chivalry and Their Progeny], published in Cracow in 1575, also included a catalogue of Polish rulers, but it was incomplete.

⁷¹ Cf. BÖMELBURG (as in footnote 3), p. 244.

end to the king's life and reign. Wenceslas "wished the Kingdom of Bohemia better and left Poland to Czech governors." "God," continues Paprocki, "who did not want foreign people here, obviated the pride of the stubborn king / and when he left to Prague / he was defeated by death / and the famous Kingdoms went under the power of others."⁷² The rather unimportant place of Wenceslas in *Gniazdo cnoty* is also marked by the fact that the ennoblement of only one family, namely the Grabies who came to Poland from the Czech lands during Wenceslas' reign, was tied to him.

Ogród królewski, the compendium devoted to the Holy Roman Emperors, the kings of Austria, Poland and Bohemia as well as to the dukes of Silesia, Prussia, Lithuania and Ruthenia, is an incoherent compilation of Paprocki's texts that offers a kaleidoscopic perspective showing the same ruler differently in parts of the work devoted to different polities. *Ogród królewski* is illustrated with generic (often repeatedly used) images of kings, which only loosely and selectively respected the iconographical tradition of each land. In the section focused on rulers of Bohemia, Wenceslas II is described as a truly Christian king, reliable in his judgments and decisions. The ruler's biography, included in the section on Poland, informs about the facts important for the political history of this kingdom: the unanimous election of Wenceslas, his coronation in Poznań and animosities between the native dukes. We learn that Wenceslas was advised to marry the daughter of Przemysł II in order to strengthen his rights to the Polish crown, and he willingly did it. The only achievement of the king which Paprocki mentions is the location of Nowy Sącz. After the king's death Władysław the Short was elected king of Poland, but Wenceslas' son, who titled himself king of Poland and Bohemia, intended to march to Poland with an army to get the kingdom back. Only fifty pages later, the section devoted to the rulers of Bohemia abounds with details of Wenceslas III's characteristics concerning his look, mentality and devotion. In this section Paprocki describes a young king who had a "very beautiful face, noble manners, knew the German, Latin, Hungarian and Czech languages."⁷³

Diadochos, a Czech-language compendium on Bohemian history aimed primarily at Bohemian nobility, lists kings, bishops, monasteries, the most important battles, noble families and towns of the Kingdom. The book is richly illustrated with an inhomogeneous set of representational and narrative woodcuts, a large number of which were already impressed in *Ogród królewski*. All the likenesses of historical rulers were composed as medallions set in

⁷² PAPROCKI, *Gniazdo* (as in footnote 53), pp. 1078-1079: "Przeto iż więcej życzył Królestwu Czeskiemu / Czechy Gubernatory zostawiał Polskiemu. / Bóg, który tu niechciał mieć narodu innego / Zabiegł takowey dumie Krola upornego / Skoro wyiachał do Pragi śmierć go zwoiowała / A tak sławne Królestwa inszym w moc poddała."

⁷³ IDEM, *Ogród królewski* (as in footnote 70), fol. CLXXXIXv: "Pan barzo piekney twarzy y obyczajów pańskich; niemiecki, laciński, węgierski, czeski ięzyki umiał."

decorative frames.⁷⁴ The rulers from Bořivoj I to Wladislas the Jagiellon were modelled after Kuthen's *Catalogus*⁷⁵, whereas the images of Louis II and the Habsburg rulers were based on the kings' official iconography. The remaining depictions of the legendary rulers had the form of narrative images and followed the iconography of the illustrations to Polish and Czech printed chronicles.

The images of Wenceslas II and Wenceslas III closely follow the tradition established by Martin Kuthen's *Catalogus* (repeating even the confused order of the woodcuts). Also the text accompanying them is deeply immersed in Czech historiography in accordance with Paprocki's declaration expressed in his dedication to Rudolf II, in which he claims to follow the memoirs, testimonies and accounts of other Czech historians.⁷⁶ *Diadochos* summarizes the reigns of the last Přemyslids, focusing on the events significant to Bohemian kingship and Czech readers of Paprocki's book.

5 Louis the Great or Louis the Hungarian

Louis of Anjou, son of Elisabeth of Poland, the sister of Casimir the Great, with Charles Robert had the perfect ancestry for occupying the Hungarian and Polish thrones. After his coronation as king of Hungary (1342), Louis proved to be a militant Christian and efficient diplomat who contributed to the economic, cultural and social growth of the kingdom. In 1370, Louis succeeded Casimir the Great on the Polish throne, but rarely visited his "second kingdom," handing over his powers to the appointed regents.⁷⁷ Residing mainly in Buda, he supported trade and the growth of the cities. In order to secure the succession of one of his daughters, the king granted a series of privileges to the Polish nobility that guaranteed significant freedoms and influence on decision-making in the kingdom.

János Küküllei (Iohannes de Kikullew), who authored the fourteenth-century *Chronicon de Ludovico rege*, the first known secular biography in Hungary, gives a description of the king's looks and devotes much attention to all his military campaigns. He refers to Louis as a prudent ruler, who was both successful in wars and talented in the arts and the sciences.⁷⁸ According to

⁷⁴ Most of the woodcuts were signed with the monogram VS standing for Virgil Solis the younger: PETRA VEČEŘOVÁ: *Diadochos Bartoloměje Paprockého z Hlohoh a Paprocké Vůle* [Diadochos by Bartosz Paprocki], in: ANEŽKA BAĐUROVÁ (ed.): *Sborník k 80. narozeninám Mirjam Bohatcové*, Praha 1999, pp. 347-372, here p. 358.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 360-361.

⁷⁶ PAPROCKI, *Ogrod krolewsky* (as in footnote 70), not. pag.

⁷⁷ On the circumstances of Louis' succession to the Polish throne see ROBERT FROST: *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania. Volume I: The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385-1569*, Oxford 2015, pp. 6-8.

⁷⁸ STEVEN B. VARDY: *The Image of Louis in Modern Historiography*, in: IDEM/GROS-SCHMID (as in footnote 2), pp. 349-369, here p. 352. The text of Küküllei's *Chronicon*

Kükülle, the king “defended the liberties, customs and laws of his countries, lands and his subjects [...] and shielded them with his victories.”⁷⁹ As such Louis is presented as an ideal ruler, who is not only a champion of Christianity and a victorious defender of his people, but also an exemplary governor in a time of peace who fully deserved to be called Louis the Great.

Among the accounts on the king’s wars, there is a chapter devoted to the military assistance which Louis provided to Casimir during John of Luxembourg’s aggression in Poland. A separate, one-sentence chapter is also devoted to Louis’ election and coronation in Poland. Louis’ blood ties with Casimir, mentioned twice in this brief account, highlighted the legality of Louis’ claim to the Polish throne, which in fact was mainly based on legal principles.

The *Chronicon de Ludovico rege* delimited the ways in which Louis is presented in the catalogues of Hungarian rulers. All of them glorify Louis for his military successes and declare him one of the greatest rulers of the kingdom. *Reges Ungariae* by János Zsámboky focuses on listing his military achievements, as does Johannes Sommer’s *Reges Hungarici*, which also highlights the king’s piety. Johann Christoph Beer’s *Leben, Regierung und Absterben der Herzog und Königen in Ungarn* presents all Louis’ campaigns, year by year, and does not pay much attention to other events of his reign (one sentence is devoted to the Polish episode in the king’s life). *Mausoleum* applauds him in a post-Tridentine manner as a triumphant king who distinguishes himself with religiosity; an ideal monarch of lands and seas who rules over vast territories and is feared by all enemies and heretics. No less laudatory is Johann Adam Schad’s *Effigies* which combines Avancini’s verses with passages of Kükülle’s *Chronicon*.

As much as Louis is praised in the Hungarian sources, mainly for his foreign policy, he is criticized in the Polish ones for domestic reasons. The unfavorable picture of Louis’ reign and his mother’s regency in Poland is rooted above all in the chronicle by Janko of Czarńków, who, deprived of power by the pro-Angevin faction, was hostile to the very idea of the Anjou rule in Poland.⁸⁰ In the account on the obsequies of Casimir the Great, Janko ex-

de Ludovico rege was preserved in Thuróczy’s *Chronica Hungarorum* and Buda chronicle. Later it was included in JOHANN GEORG SCHWANDNER (ed.): *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, Vindobonae 1766. The Hungarian translation of the chronicle: JÁNOS KÜKÜLLEI / JOHANNES DE KIKULLEW: *Lajos király krónikája / Chronicon de Ludovico rege*, ed. by GYULA KRISTÓ, Budapest 2000.

⁷⁹ VARDY (as in footnote 78), p. 352. After THUROCZ, *Chronica Hungarorum* (as in footnote 24), I: Textus, p. 187, the original quote reads: “regna sua, terras et subiectas sibi nationes in suis libertatibus, consuetudinibus et legibus in bona pace et tranquillitate conservavit [...] et ab omnibus emulorum insidiis et incursibus, precipue autem paganorum victoriosissime defensavit [...]”

⁸⁰ On Janko of Czarńków’s negative attitude towards the Angevins see MAREK DERWICH: *In Polemik gegen den Hof Ludwigs von Anjou: Die historiographische Tätigkeit Johannis von Czarńków (Janko z Czarńkowa)*, in: SCHIEFFER/WENTA (as in footnote 37), pp. 161-170.

presses the fear that “the foreigner who had been elevated to the kingship would act according to the customs of his country and would seek to change the customs and practices of the Poles. He would elevate his relatives, unknown in this country, above its people, and would thereby do away with the rights and freedoms of Poles. This would call hatred down upon him and would equally sow mutual discord.”⁸¹ Later on, summarizing Louis’ reign, the chronicler adds that, during this time, there was neither stability nor justice in the Polish kingdom. Yet, the key component of his criticism (repeated later by Długosz) was the king’s absence and aversion to the “Polish climate.”⁸²

The negative attitude to Louis based on his rare visits to the Polish kingdom had a long literary tradition and dominated the king’s representations in the catalogues of rulers. Perhaps the strongest judgment was expressed in *Gniazdo cnoty*, in which Paprocki writes that “Nothing good happened during his reign in Poland / He lived in Hungary / and his Polish kingdom remained empty, / but for his governors [...]. / A huge oppression, lasting for the twelve years of his reign / harassed Polish freedoms and corrupted laws / And because of his poor conduct in the kingdom he acquired, / he was called wicked throughout the whole of Christendom.”⁸³ In his later work published in Prague, Paprocki criticises the king in a slightly more moderate tone, placing part of the blame for the poor governance on Queen Elisabeth. The only virtue of Louis mentioned by Paprocki is piety.⁸⁴

Klemens Janicki, generally cautious in his judgments, states in his *Vita regum Polonorum* that the reason why Louis’ reign was ill-fated was not a flawed character, but rather the fact that he loved his Pannonian land more than Poland, which he left in the hands of “ferocious wolves.”⁸⁵ Even though

⁸¹ JAN SZLACHTOWSKI (ed.): *Kronika Jana z Czarnkowa* [The Chronicle by Janko of Czarnków], in: AUGUST BIEŁOWSKI (ed.): *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1961, pp. 601-756, here p. 648: “Nam inter caeteros pejores eventus istud evenire formidabant, ne priusquam de stirpe regum Poloniae rex in Polonia deo favente ordinaretur, alienigena in regem sublimatus, qui mores suae nationis sequi cupit, Polonorum mores et consuetudines immutare anhelabit, ignotos suos patriotas regnicolis praepone re contendet, sicque jura et libertates Polonorum ad nihilum redigere conabitur, ex quibus contra se odia et rixas regnicolarum concitabit, hique, qui regno fuerant propinqui successores suis progenitoribus succedere conabuntur.” Translation after JERZY KŁOCZOWSKI: Louis the Great as King of Poland as Seen in the Chronicle of Janko of Czarnków, in: VARDY/GROSSCHMID (as in footnote 2), pp. 129-154, here p. 136.

⁸² SZLACHTOWSKI (as in footnote 81), p. 681: “aura Poloniae.”

⁸³ PAPROCKI, *Gniazdo* (as in footnote 53), p. 1125: “Za tego sie dobrego nic w Polsce nie działo, / Mieszkał w Węgrzech, a to tu iako puste stało / Co po sobie zostawił w nim gubernatory, / Zwali ubodzy ludzie z nich dyspensatory, / Wielki ucisk dwanaście lat iako panował, / Dręczył polskie wolności, praw wszystkich napsował, / A iż sie tak zachował zle w nabytym Panstwie, / zwan był za to nikczemnym po wszem Chrześcijaństwie.”

⁸⁴ IDEM, *Ogrod krolewsky* (as in footnote 70), fol. CLXVv.

⁸⁵ JANICKI (as in footnote 45), p. 242. Mentioning ferocious wolves (“saevi lupi”), Janicki alludes to Długosz’ account, in which the chronicler relates Louis’ alleged hesitation to

there were numerous laws issued by the king, continues Janicki, they were not properly respected as nobody enforced them. Jan Gluchowski's verse presents an analogical assessment, published next to the poem by Janicki in *Ikones książąt i królów polskich*. The king was absent, involved in his military campaigns with Italians, Bosnians and Serbs, and his men, with Elisabeth's consent, caused only harms, robberies and unrest that led to the murder of Cracow starost Jaśko Kmita. In revenge, the Poles cruelly murdered numerous Hungarians.

Teodor Zawacki in *Catalogus* tackles Louis' foreign origins by mentioning that "he was soon hated by Poles, because he was not only different from Casimir the Great, but also he could not even speak without a translator [...]. During the reign of this king there was a great license: force was used instead of the law; the courts did not issue any sentences or ruled unjustly, favoring the mightiest against the poor."⁸⁶ An argument in Louis' favor was his religiosity and the fact that he was equally supportive towards the commoners and the nobility and went in disguise into the towns and villages to hear what people said about his tax-gatherers, officials and himself. This story was also referred to in Salomon Neugebauer's *Icones*.⁸⁷

The information about the king's unfamiliarity with Polish given by both Janko of Czarnków and Jan Długosz coincided with the growth of importance and prestige of this language.⁸⁸ In his comparison of the native Casimir with the foreign Louis, Długosz mentions that all people present at the funeral of the last Piast king, both noble and common, anticipated future misfortunes and complained that, because there was no offspring of the Polish kings, they would be subjects of a foreign monarch, who would have to speak to them through an interpreter and be difficult to access as he resided in a distant land. The gathered crowd also recalled all the disasters and calamities that happened after the death of Przemysł II, when foreigners strived for the Polish throne. The death of Casimir, concludes Długosz, brought an end to the old family of the Polish kings and, because of various misdeeds and violations, the Polish crown went by a rightful verdict of God from the true and natural

accept of Polish throne. According to Długosz, Louis explained to Polish envoys and his Hungarian advisors that one shepherd cannot keep two flocks, which are far away from each other, safe from the wolves' fangs: JOANNIS DLUGOSSII: *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber decimus: 1370-1405*, ed. by [KRYSZYNA] PIERADZKA et al., Varsaviae 1985, p. 14.

⁸⁶ ZAWACKI (as in footnote 20), fol. K1r: "[M]ox inuisus Polonis, quod non modo dissimilis Casimirio esset, sed ne aloqui poterat sine interprete [...]. Sub isto Rege magna fuit licentia: vis tum non ius valebat; udcia silebant penitus vel potentiorum iniuria contra tenuiores suffragabantur." Interestingly, the issue of language is not raised in Zawacki's Polish-language catalogue, which focuses mainly on the negative consequences of the king's absence in Poland.

⁸⁷ NEUGEBAUER (as in footnote 51), p. 94.

⁸⁸ ZENON KLEMENSIEWICZ: *Historia języka polskiego [History of the Polish Language]*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 71-73.

lords (“principes naturales”) to foreign kings.⁸⁹ According to the chronicler, Louis of Anjou could not meet the expectations of his subjects, especially because he was absent and felt no attachment to the Polish kingdom.⁹⁰

His weak bonds to Poland were further emphasized in the period when “Sarmatian” culture flourished and the Polish language acquired the status of *Staatssprache*.⁹¹ Albert Ines draws in *Lechias* a negative image of the king, stating he preferred to be called *Hungaricus* than *Polonus*. Similarly, as in the biography of Wenceslas II, Ines stresses the impossibility of reconciling two royal offices with the king’s physical presence in only one of them. “It is not good when one sun shines above two hemispheres; as whenever it rises above one, it goes down in the other.”⁹²

Less tendential were the views of German authors Arnold Mylius and Johann Melesander. The first begins by pointing out that Louis was the successor designated by Casimir himself, then describes why Poles were discontented with his rule and his mother’s regency. At the end he briefly characterizes Louis’ looks (similarly to Küküllei) and lists his military successes. Melesander, who follows Długosz’ chronicle in most of his account, praises the king for his charity and generosity to scholars, especially to astrologists, and mentions his secret walks through streets and towns.⁹³

The depictions of king Louis in the Hungarian and Polish catalogues of rulers evoke his representations in sphragistics. The significant differences between the Hungarian and Polish iconographic tradition are the king’s physiognomy, and more importantly, the heraldic programme. The engraving accompanying the king’s elogium in *Mausoleum* (fig. 8) and reimpresed in Schad’s *Effigies* shows Louis en trois quarts sitting under a baldachin on a throne with decorative armrests and a Hungarian crest attached to it. He is depicted as a rather young, beardless man with slightly curled hair wearing a long mantle trimmed with fur. Analogically to his sphragistic representations, he has an open crown and holds a sceptre in his right hand and an orb in his left. On the background a marching army is depicted, a motif that *Mausoleum* reserved for victorious and bellicose rulers such as Attila or Matthias Corvinus.⁹⁴ Beer’s catalogue, addressed to the readers less accustomed with the

⁸⁹ DLUGOSSII (as in footnote 85), pp. 20-21.

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

⁹¹ JANUSZ TAZBIR: Język Polski a kultura narodowa [Polish Language and National Culture], in: *Nauka* 2 (2011), pp. 7-16, here p. 8.

⁹² INES (as in footnote 47), p. 217: “Non bene unum Solem duobus hemisphaeriis praese. / Nam quoties uni oritur, alteri occidit.”

⁹³ MELESANDER (as in footnote 52), p. 419.

⁹⁴ KAROLINA MROZIEWICZ: *Imprinting Identities: Illustrated Latin-Language Histories of St. Stephen Kingdom (1488-1700)*, Frankfurt a. M. 2015, p. 75.



Fig. 8:
Louis of Anjou, engraving in:
NÁSADY/ AVANCINI (as in footnote 23),
p. 255. ÖNB, shelf mark 64 A 11



Fig. 9:
Louis of Anjou, woodcut in: MACIEJ OF
MIECHÓW (as in foot note 24),
p. CCXLVIII. BN, shelfmark SD
XVI.F.642 adl

king's iconography, illustrates a mirrored and simplified copy of the image, which omits this military theme. The inscription under both images refers to Louis as the king of Hungary only.

The Polish coat of arms is depicted above the king's head, whereas the Hungarian one is placed at the feet of the enthroned Louis on the woodcut illustrating *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów (fig. 9). The king is shown en face as an older man, approximately at an age corresponding to his Polish coronation, with a moustache and a thick beard, wearing a closed crown and a long mantle with a fur collar. The heraldic programme (noticeably without Anjou lilies) and physiognomy of the king correspond to Louis' depiction on his Polish seal.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ DEZSŐ DERCSÉNYI: Nagy Lajos ikonográfiája [The Iconography of Louis the Great], in: *Szépművészet* 2 (1941), pp. 239-242, here p. 240, fig. 4; FRANCISZEK PIEKOSIŃSKI: *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich. Część I: Doba Piastowska* [Polish Seals of the Middle Ages. First Part: The Piasts' Era], Kraków 1899, pp. 259-260, fig. 313.



Fig. 10:
Louis of Anjou, engraving in: MYLIUS
(as in footnote 22), p. 49. BN, shelfmark
SD XVI.F.377

The physiognomy and facial expression of Louis in Tomasz Treter's copperplate (and its subsequent copies beginning with Mylius' *Imagines*, fig. 10) bears resemblance to the king's Hungarian seal. Also, the "HVNGARVS" in the identifying inscription clearly points out the foreign origins of the king. This ethnonym became inseparably linked with the king's name in the Polish historical tradition.

There are also several other depictions which contaminated the visual pattern initiated by the woodcut in *Chronica Polonorum* with the iconography of the king popularized by Treter and Mylius. The king's representations in Neugebauer's *Icones*, Ines' *Lechias* and Melesander's *Schau-Platz Polnischer Tapferkeit* all show Louis with beard and moustache and in the long coat trimmed with fur. In this way the physiognomy differentiated the seventeenth-century Polish depictions of the king from that in the *Mausoleum* and its subsequent repetitions.

Another iconographical variant is exemplified by the woodcut in Głuchowski's *Ikones* (fig. 11), which is the most accurate repetition of the sphragistics model and involved a meaningful shift. It closely repeated the iconography and Hungarian heraldry of the seal, which Louis used between 1364 and 1382, but modified the titulature.⁹⁶ As the seal was executed before the king's Polish coronation it does not include the "rex Poloniae" title. Hence

⁹⁶ The *Formschneider* most probably had no access to the Polish seal of Louis, which was rarely used: PIEKOSIŃSKI (as in footnote 95), p. 260.

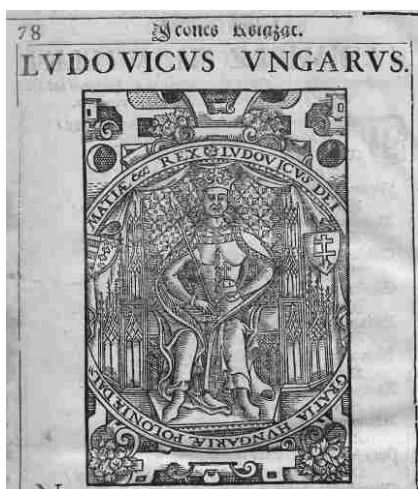


Fig. 11:
Louis of Anjou, woodcut in: GLUCHOWSKI
(as in footnote 20), p. 78. Zakład
Narodowy im. Ossolińskich [National
Ossoliński Institute], shelfmark XVII-
15.407

the *Formschneider* changed the original legend so the new inscription read: “REX LVDOVICVS DEI GRATIA HVNGARIAE POLONIAE DALMATIAE ETC.” Yet, the inscription above the image, which identifies the king as Louis the Hungarian, and the Hungarian coats of arms clearly signaled the foreign origin and dignities of the king.

6 The Luxembourgs' Claims

The Luxembourgs were Kings of the Romans, Holy Roman Emperors as well as Kings of Bohemia and Hungary. Charles IV's father, John the Blind, a famous chivalric king of Bohemia and husband of Elisabeth, the younger daughter of Wenceslas II, claimed the rights to the Polish crown after the death of Wenceslas. Eventually, Casimir the Great paid John to withdraw his claims in 1335, but until then he used the title *rex Poloniae* and was treated abroad with all respects due to the Polish monarch. Charles IV's son, Sigismund, married to Louis' older daughter, ruled for half a century in Hungary and for two brief periods in Bohemia (1419-1420 and 1436/37).⁹⁷ He was also designated by Louis as his successor to the Polish throne and actively intervened in Polish matters, but eventually the Polish nobility opted for the younger daughter of the deceased king whom they married to Wladislas the

⁹⁷ On Sigismund's rule in Hungary see ISTVÁN DRASKÓCZY: Sigismund von Luxemburg und Ungarn, in: IMRE TAKÁCS (ed.): Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437. Ausstellungskatalog, Mainz 2006, pp. 11-23. ELEMÉR MÁLYUSZ: Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn 1387-1437, Budapest 1990. On his reign in Bohemia see especially FRANTIŠEK KAVKA: Poslední Lucemburk na českém trůně [The Last Luxembourg on the Czech Throne], Praha 1998.

Jagiellon.⁹⁸ The widespread image of Sigismund in Polish historiography is that of an active supporter of the Teutonic Knights and a fierce enemy of Poland. Jan Długosz describes in detail his—for the most part negative—characteristics, highlighting his numerous cunning and cynical promises as well as deceitful political manoeuvres. These descriptions influenced later accounts.⁹⁹ Apart from ascribing to Sigismund most of the features of a bad ruler, Długosz praises Sigismund for caution, foresight and prudence.¹⁰⁰

Teodor Zawacki's catalogues of Polish rulers were the only ones that included Sigismund among the Polish monarchs. His *Catalogus* and *Porządek i rozrodzenie* claim that Sigismund was not accepted as a successor of Louis of Hungary to the Polish throne mainly because he despised the Poles. As a result, he returned to Hungary and in his stead Hedwig was brought to Poland and crowned queen of Poland.

Sigismund's Polish iconography was accordingly generic. In *Catalogus* the king is portrayed by the representation of a warrior impressed earlier as John Albert in the Polish translation of the chronicle by Alessandro Guagnini (Aleksander Gwagnin).¹⁰¹ In *Porządek i rozrodzenie* verses devoted to Sigismund are accompanied by a schematic image of an antique ruler used previously to illustrate Alexander the Great in Mikołaj Rej's *Zwierzyniec*.¹⁰²

The Hungarian historiography of the late medieval and early modern era presents Sigismund of Luxembourg as a ruler full of color and differentiates between the early years of his rather nominal reign and an effective and strong rulership after his election as the king of the Romans. János Thuróczy depicts him as troubled by numerous misfortunes, such as a series of revolts and unsuccessful campaigns, and as a king who was rather despised by his subjects. Even as a “solemnly anointed and crowned king, after the fashion of the other kings of Hungary,”¹⁰³ Sigismund acts in the shadow of the odious

⁹⁸ More on Sigismund's relationship with the Polish nobility: JÖRG K. HOENSCH: König/Kaiser Sigismund, der Deutsche Orden und Polen-Litauen: Stationen einer problembeladenen Beziehung, in: Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung 46 (1997), pp. 1-44.

⁹⁹ WOJCIECH IWAŃCZAK: Postać Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w ujęciu Jana Długosza [Sigismund of Luxembourg from the Perspective of Jan Długosz], in: Historie—Otázky—Problémy 7 (2015), 1, pp. 102-112; ZENON HUBERT NOWAK: Obraz Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w polskiej historiografii: Funkcjonowanie stereotypu [The Image of Sigismund of Luxembourg in Polish Historiography: The Life of a Stereotype], in: Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici: Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Historia 24 (1990), pp. 115-124.

¹⁰⁰ NOWAK (as in footnote 99), p. 118.

¹⁰¹ ALEKSANDER GWAGNIN: Kronika Sarmacyey Europejskiej [The Chronicle of European Sarmatia], transl. by MARCIN PASZOWSKI, Kraków 1611, p. 114.

¹⁰² MIKOŁAJ REJ: Zwierzyniec [Bestiary], [Kraków] 1574, fol. 4r, 20r.

¹⁰³ THURÓCZ, Chronica Hungarorum (as in footnote 24), I: Textus, p. 208: “[I]pse Sigismundus [...] ceterorum Hungarie regum adinstar magno cum tripudio in regem solenniter inunctus extitit pariter et coronatus.” Translation after: JÁNOS THURÓCZY: Chroni-

reigns of the queens Elisabeth of Bosnia and his wife Mary.¹⁰⁴ His Moldavian campaign is presented as disciplining the Moldavians, who “showed contempt for the queen’s authority and they were not yet sensible enough to support King Sigismund.”¹⁰⁵ In turn, the defeat at Nicopolis (1396) and the king’s alleged misconduct, lustfulness, promiscuity and debauchery, were a source of discontent for the Hungarians.

Thuróczy’s narrative changes at the point when Sigismund succeeds in securing his authority in Hungary and gains the eminent title of the king of the Romans (1410). The new dignity gave him more say in the international affairs. He actively intervened in the Hussite issue, a pestilential and wicked heresy, as the chronicler calls it¹⁰⁶, and in anti-Ottoman crusades. The epilogue of the chronicler’s narrative about Sigismund and his political career was the imperial coronation in Rome by Eugene IV, which made him “worthy to be called by his people not only king or emperor, but king and emperor.”¹⁰⁷ Still, Sigismund’s authority was not absolute, as during his absence both in Hungary and Bohemia new unrest ensued. To ensure peace he issued new laws and constitutions, but died not long afterwards. On his deathbed he managed to express his love towards and care for the Hungarians in his retinue as well as warning them against Bohemians who supposedly hated both Sigismund and the Hungarians. He died in Znojmo, far away from his Hungarian fatherland.¹⁰⁸

Thuróczy draws a portrait of the monarch in his late years: “a quite suitable man, as far as concerned the features of his countenance and the size of his person, having been endowed by the supreme creator of the world with a handsome face, curly grey hair and a look of calm assurance. He wore a luxuriant beard, out of admiration for those Hungarians in the past with long

cle of the Hungarians, ed. by PÁL ENGEL, transl. by FRANK MANTELLO, Bloomington 1991, p. 41.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. JÁNOS M. BAK: Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary, in: ANNE J. DUGGAN (ed.): Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King’s College London, April 1995, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 224-233.

¹⁰⁵ THURÓCZ, *Chronica Hungarorum* (as in footnote 24), I: Textus, p. 209: “[D]um res Hungarice femina duce gravi fluctuabant guerra, Molduani pariter et partes Transalpine reginali dedignato sceptro necdum resipiscentes regi Sigismundo favebant.” Translation after THURÓCZY, *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (as in footnote 103), pp. 44-45.

¹⁰⁶ THURÓCZ, *Chronica Hungarorum* (as in footnote 24), I: Textus, pp. 221-222. A separate chapter (no. 209) is devoted to the Hussite movement and its origins.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 230: “Propter quod ipse rex Sigismundus iam non solum rex aut imperator sed rex et imperator a suis vocari dignus est.” Translation after THURÓCZY, *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (as in footnote 103), p. 92.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. THURÓCZ, *Chronica Hungarorum* (as in footnote 24), II.2: *Commentarii*, pp. 287-288.

beards.”¹⁰⁹ This characteristic corresponds to his woodcut representations in the Brno and Augsburg editions of the chronicle, which opened the section devoted to the king. On both he is depicted in full majesty as an old man with just such a physiognomy. He sits on the throne and holds the sceptre in his right and the orb in his left hand. His closed crown symbolizes the crown of Saint Stephen, above it are the crown of Bohemia and the imperial crown. In the Augsburg woodcut the imperial dignity is also signaled by the coat of arms with the black two-headed eagle placed above the crest with Hungarian and Bohemian coats of arms (fig. 12). The general iconographic formula and the physiognomy resembles Sigismund’s sphragistic representations used after 1411, but it does not directly follow any of the known seals.



Fig. 12:
Sigismund of Luxembourg, woodcut in:
THURÓCZY, *Chronica Hungarorum*,
Augsburg 1488 (as in footnote 24),
fol. o2v. BSB, shelfmark 4 Inc.c.a. 607

Johannes Sommer elaborates on the defeats and victories of Sigismund, putting most of the information given by Thuróczy into verses. János Zsámboky in his *Reges Ungariae* calls Sigismund a “Brandenburgian” who clashed with Moldavians, Wallachians and the Ottomans and persecuted the Hus-sites.¹¹⁰ The shift in the perception of Sigismund comes with *Mausoleum*, in which the Hungarian ruler is presented as a champion of Christianity whose numerous virtues brought peace and political stability to Hungary, as well as the integrity of the Catholic faith. Sigismund’s unsuccessful struggles with

¹⁰⁹ THURÓCZY, *Chronica Hungarorum* (as in footnote 24), I: Textus, p. 231: “Fuit imperator Sigismundus homo in sui vultus qualitate et persone quantitate satis idoneus, pulcra facie, crinibus crispis et glaucis ac sereno intuitu a summo rerum conditore adornatus. Hic in favorem Hungarorum quondam longas barbas deferentium prolixam barbam deferabat.” Translation after THURÓCZY, *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (as in footnote 103), p. 96.

¹¹⁰ ZSÁMBOKY (as in footnote 5), fol. B3r.



Fig. 13:
Sigismund of Luxembourg, engraving in:
SCHAD (as in footnote 67), not pag. BN,
shelfmark A.676/G.XVII/IV-11

the Ottomans are mentioned along with their long-lasting financial consequences, namely thirteen pawned towns in the Spiš (Zips) region.¹¹¹

More triumphant yet is the description of the emperor as a victorious ruler and exemplary Christian “devoted to the Orthodoxy of faith,” which appears in the pro-Habsburgian *Effigies*.¹¹² All that did not correspond to this picture was omitted in Schad’s work. The defeat at Nicopolis and the flaws of his domestic and foreign politics are overshadowed by Sigismund’s military achievements and his artistic patronage. The title of the Holy Roman Emperor is raised above the dignity of the Hungarian and Bohemian king. The significance of the imperial crown is also highlighted in his depiction. The engraving representing Sigismund in *Effigies* (fig. 13), impressed originally in *Mausoleum*, is modelled after Sigismund’s imperial double-sided seal of majesty, commissioned to Arnold Boemel in 1417 in Constance and used until 1433.¹¹³

The sphragistic representation shows Sigismund wearing the imperial crown

¹¹¹ NÁDASDY/AVANCINI (as in footnote 23), p. 278.

¹¹² SCHAD (as in footnote 67), not pag.: “Multa in Boëmia Orthodoxae fidei amore bella gessit, coërcuit haereticorum rabiem, et quantum in se fuit, Hussitarum sectas represit.”

¹¹³ ERNŐ MAROSI: Das doppelte Majestätssiegel Sigismunds von Luxemburg als Kaiser, in: TAKÁCS (as in footnote 97), pp. 186-187; IDEM: Die Persönlichkeit Sigismunds in der Kunst, in: JOSEF MACEK, ERNŐ MAROSI et al. (eds.): Sigismund von Luxemburg: Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa 1387-1437. Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400. Vorträge der internationalen Tagung in Budapest vom 8.-11. Juli 1987 anlässlich der 600. Wiederkehr seiner Thronbesteigung in Ungarn und seines 550. Todestages, Warendorf 1994, pp. 255-270, here pp. 259-261.



Fig. 14:
Sigismund of Luxembourg, engraving in:
BEER, *Der Herzogen und Königen in
Böhmen* (as in footnote 35), not pag.
Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek,
shelfmark Bio 4507

by troops from the Reich lands. What we learn in particular about Sigismund is that he took the crown jewels from the time of Charles IV from Karlštejn to Nuremberg during the Hussite war, that he held learned people in great esteem, spoke seven languages and was buried next to St. Ladislav in Großwardein (Nagyvárad, today Oradea).¹¹⁶

The perception of Sigismund is more ambivalent in the catalogues written by Bohemian authors, where his reign is shown as brief and rather nominal. Martin Kuthen presents him in a short epigram as waging a civil war, but ultimately defeated.¹¹⁷ Still, the Utraquist historian is more moderate in his judgement than the fifteenth-century Hussite writers, who, as the anonymous author of *Povstaň, povstaň, Veliké Město pražské*, call Sigismund “king of Babylon” or the “Hungarian king,” a man of little virtue and honor.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ ZIEGER (as in footnote 35), pp. 499-525.

¹¹⁷ KUTHEN, *Catalogus* (as in footnote 16), fol. D3v.

¹¹⁸ BOHUSLAV HAVRÁNEK, JOSEF HRABÁK et al. (eds.): *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské* [A Selection of Czech Literature from the Hussite era], vol. 1, Praha 1963, pp. 322-323. Cf. MAROSI (as in footnote 113), p. 260; KAVKA (as in footnote 97), p. 49.

The Jesuit authors mainly stress his role (and limited success) in struggles with the “Hussites’ superstition,” as Giulio Solimano calls it.¹¹⁹ Balbín’s description of Sigismund’s life begins with the information that as a boy he was designated to succeed the throne after Louis of Anjou as husband of his daughter Mary and was sent by Charles IV to learn the Hungarian habits and language. Apart from the kingdom of Hungary, he also obtained the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Especially troublesome were the beginnings of his reign in Bohemia. Instead of calming the outbreak of tumults and the “ferment of heresy” in Prague, he allowed the situation to deteriorate. Eventually he realized his mistake, gathered the troops of all the German princes and besieged Prague, where he was finally crowned and anointed king of Bohemia. Balbín considers it to be execration that silver, gold and gems, which were taken from the reliquaries, especially from the golden casket of St. Wenceslas and from the reliquaries of Ss. Sigismund and Adalbert, along with other silver and gold paraments, were given as pawns to the princes and patricians of the Reich. The castles of Točnik and Karlštejn, whose treasures were first emptied, were also pledged. Then Sigismund left Bohemia to receive the imperial crown and to attend the council in Basel, leaving the kingdom in the hands of Albert of Germany (whom he granted Moravia), his electors and chieftains. Their army, however, suffered numerous defeats and Sigismund used correspondence, in which he lauded the virtues of the Bohemians, mainly bravery and valor, to rouse the nobility to take up arms to fight the Hussites. After their victory, Sigismund was invited to Bohemia and staged a triumphal entry into Prague. The *Compactata*, promulgated at the council of Basel, also contributed to ending the disputes. Sigismund introduced peace and order and died gathering an enormous army against the Ottomans. “A misfortunate, but magnificent ruler,”¹²⁰ still good looking in his late age, wise, speaking many languages, courteous and eloquent, capable of ending the schism and acquiring the Bohemian throne by peaceful manoeuvres, but unlucky on the battlefield and in marriage. Balbín finishes his characteristic by referring to Bonfini’s description of Sigismund’s looks and to the copperplate (based on Albrecht Dürer’s portrait of Sigismund), which illustrated *Hussiten Krieg* (1621) by German Lutheran clergyman Zacharias Theobald.¹²¹

Sigismund of Luxembourg, being a ruler of transnational importance, involved in the confessional controversies and anti-Ottoman crusades, among the main political actors of the time, hardly fitted into the formula of the catalogues of rulers. Still, the dissimilar visual representations and the shifts in the emphasized events and motifs supported the polarization of his image according to cultural, political, and to some extent also confessional, lines.

¹¹⁹ SOLIMANO, *Elogia* (as in footnote 32), fol. 48v.

¹²⁰ BALBÍN, *Miscellaneorum historicorum Regni Bohemiae: Decadis I. Liber VII* (as in footnote 34), p. 182, indexing text on the margin: “Infelix fuit Princeps, sed praeclarus.”

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 182.

Hungarian authors noted his Hungarian-styled beard, whereas the Czechs stressed his connection to Bohemia via his lineage. Even the infamous permanent shortage of money and irresponsible spending were presented differently, according to the main threat they posed—to the integrity of the kingdom (pawned territories) in one case and to its political tradition (pawned reliquaries of the patron saints of the Bohemian kingdom) in the other. A comparative reading of the catalogues of rulers offers a very nuanced image of the king. Even though he was perceived with some reservation in the Hungarian, Czech, and especially Polish, historiographies, he eluded easy labels of a good or a bad ruler, and was pictured differently in both word and image in each of the lands he ruled.

Conclusions

The early modern catalogues of rulers proliferated literary and visual representations of the shared medieval kings that were specific and intelligible to the particular political community. The subjectivity of their narratives is exemplified by the images of the two last Přemyslid kings, Wenceslas II and Wenceslas III, as well as Louis of Anjou and Sigismund of Luxembourg, the perception of whom differed along political lines. The popularity and omnipresence of the catalogues in East Central Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries facilitated the broad internalization of these kings' lives and likenesses and supported the differentiation of historical memory and national narratives in the kingdoms of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. In contrast to numerous other contemporary media that participated in this process, the catalogues operated with chronologically arranged and easily comprehensible images and texts, focalized around the figures of rulers, that were constructed on the basis of the medieval chronicles and royal iconography of each kingdom.

The literary and visual representations of the kings highlighted the matters important for the prosperity, political interests and traditions of a particular kingdom. The set of justifications revolved around such topoi as absence of the ruler or his abandonment of the kingdom, manning offices with foreigners, but also a lack of command of his subjects' language, disliking the people and local climate. The catalogues by Bartosz Paprocki demonstrate how difficult it was to navigate between and negotiate different loyalties and traditions.

The different portraits of the shared rulers, even if colored by current agendas and the changing interests and expectations of their readers, evolved little and did not lose their consistency throughout the centuries. The stability of their representations resulted from the selection and use of a limited number of sources and models, namely the so-called national chronicles (in the case of texts), seals of majesty or other official royal representations (in the case of images), closely connected and relevant to the particular political communities. The kings' likenesses were often presented in an *all'antica* form in order

to give the local rulers some imperial splendor. Even if the stylistic features had changed and adjustments had been introduced into the iconography of the royal insignia and heraldic programmes, they contained the same faces, well known to the particular community. Both the stability of the literary and visual representations and the discrepancies between the Polish, Bohemian and Czech traditions were maintained by the popular catalogues of rulers. They supported the conflicting memories of shared kings. The consequences can still be witnessed in popular knowledge, in which Louis remains the Great among Hungarians only, and Wenceslas II is considered an outstanding and exemplary ruler exclusively by the Czechs, up to the present day.