

SOURCE PUBLICATIONS

1386: THE MARRIAGE OF JOGAILA AND JADWIGA EMBODIES THE UNION OF LITHUANIA AND POLAND

S.C. Rowell

Wolkowysk, 1386.01.11

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We Wlodko, lieutenant of Lublin, Piotr Szafraniec, sub-steward of Cracow, Mikołaj castellan of Zawichosc, and Krystyn warden of Kazimierz, make known to all those who examine these presents that on the Thursday within the octave of the Epiphany of the Lord in the year of that same Lord 1386 we came before the most victorious prince, Jogaila, by the Grace of God Supreme Duke of the Lithuanians and Heir to Rus', with a delegation of noblemen, dignitaries both higher and lower alike, and the whole Community of the Realm of Poland, bearing letters of credence, one from the most serene prince, Władysław by the same Grace of God, and another from the same noblemen and magnates of the said realm. Empowered by the said letters of credence and in the name of those same lords we have determined conditions with the aforesaid lord Grand Duke Jogaila and made such an agreement that we have chosen him in preference and assumed him as lord and king of the said realm, namely Poland, as our lord, and we have given and do give him, have conferred and do confer upon him the noble lady Jadwiga, most illustrious queen of Poland by natural right, to wed as his legitimate spouse in matrimony. This our ordinance, determination and contract, as stated above, we promise and pledge according to the rite of our delegation will be held by all the subjects of the aforesaid realm to be acceptable and

pleasing and to be preserved inviolably. Furthermore jointly with the same aforesaid lord, Supreme Duke Jogaila we have set, ordained and decreed that a general convention be held in Lublin during the next upcoming feast of the Purification of Mary, to which that same Lord Jogaila, oft-mentioned duke, and his brothers and subjects, of all estates, must come safely and securely and meanwhile he may send his ambassadors or messengers at this time to conduct his business freely throughout the confines of the Kingdom of Poland in all security. And we the aforesaid knights do promise on the command of our faith and honour on behalf of all the denizens of the Kingdom of Poland that the same afore-mentioned Lord Supreme Duke Jogaila with all his brothers and all his men who attend the same convention and his envoys who travel across the land of Poland before the aforesaid convention or attend it, may carry out all their business, removed from all deceit and fraud. As testimony and evidence of this matter we have commanded that our seals be appended to these presents. Done and granted in Volkovysk in the year and on the day cited above.

This document issued by representatives of the Polish Crown and Queen Elisabeth of Hungary, mother of the young queen of Poland, Jadwiga of Anjou, at Volkovysk in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (now on the territory of Belarus) confirms from the Polish side the ratification of an agreement between Elisabeth, the lords of Poland and Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania issued by the Lithuanian ruler at Krevo on August 14 1385. That document, known commonly as the Act of Krevo, provides Jogaila's ratification of the terms of an agreement made with the Poles by which he pledged to have himself, his pagan kin, nobles and subjects baptised according to the Roman rite, to use all his treasuries to restore the prosperity of both Poland and Lithuania, to marry Queen Jadwiga of Poland and pay compensation to her former betrothed, Wilhelm Habsburg, to restore all damage done to Poland from his own purse and to join his lands of Lithuania and Rus' to the Polish Crown in perpetuity.¹ At Volkovysk, a staging post along the route between Vilnius and Cracow, the Polish side

¹ *Akta unji Polski z Litwą, 1385-1791*, ed. S. Kutrzeba, W. Semkowicz (Cracow, 1932), nr 1, pp. 1-3; *1385 m. rugpjūčio 14 d. Krėvos aktas*, ed. J. Kiaupienė (Vilnius, 2002), pp. 17-20. For general bibliographical assessment of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, see the work of Błaszczuk (below n. 5 and 13). The latest assessment of the implementation of the so-called Union of Krevo is provided by J. Tęgowski, 'Wprowadzenie w życie postanowien aktu krewskiego w l. 1385-1399', *Studia z dziejów państwa i prawa polskiego*, 9 (2006), pp. 77-91.

announced Jogaila's pre-election as king of Poland and his arranged marriage with Queen Jadwiga. They guaranteed safe conduct for the new king and his kinsmen on their way to the coronation and marriage in Cracow.

The Polish lords who took part in negotiations with Jogaila and his brothers and subjects between 1384 and 1385 are also the principals in this document: Włodko of Ogródzieniec and Charbinowice was for a long time cup-bearer of Cracow (1375-91) and for two years between 1385 and 1387 lord lieutenant, or *capitaneus*, of Cracow. Piotr Szafranec was also a knight from Małopolska, who held estates to the northwest of Cracow. He was a member of the circle of noblemen who maintained close contacts with the court of the dowager queen, Elisabeth, at Buda, and supported the Hungarian Angevin succession to the throne of Casimir III of Poland. Mikołaj Bogoria was castellan of Zawichość between 1375 and 1386 before becoming castellan of Wislica and marshal of the queen's court (1387). Krystyn of Ostrów became prefect of the queen's court in 1387 and was later castellan and palatine of Sandomierz (1392-1408, 1408-1409), and castellan and lieutenant of Cracow (1410, 1411-18).² At the end of the fourteenth century these men featured alongside Spytko of Melsztyn (palatine of Cracow, lord of Podolia) and Jan of Tarnow (palatine of Sandomierz), Piotr Kmita (castellan of Lublin) and the archbishop of Gniezno and bishops of Cracow and Poznań most frequently in the witness lists to royal documents. They made their careers under Angevin rule (Louis) and continued to prosper under Jogaila.³ They bear witness to a political continuity across the change in ruling dynasty from Piast to Jagiellonian.

It is worth noting that the Polish lords handed over to Jogaila their *queen*, Jadwiga. It has become a commonplace in Polish scholarship since in the nineteenth century to refer to the coronation of the Angevin princess as *king* of Poland. A typical example is provided by Jerzy Wyrozumski:

Współcześni jasno sobie zdawali sprawę, że przyjęli ja właśnie na króla, bo tak odnotował to nie tylko *Kalendarz krakowski*, ale również szereg innych źródeł.⁴

² S. Szczur, 'Negotiatorzy unii Polski z Litwą i ich kariery'. *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 19 (1987), pp. 181-205.

³ See G. Rutkowska, 'Urzędnicy królowej Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej. Spis', *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz (Poznań, 2000), pp. 367-391, esp. 385-386.

⁴ J. Wyrozumski, *Królowa Jadwiga między epoką piastowską i jagiellońską* (Cracow, 1997), p. 84.

The same line has been taken most recently by Gregorz Błaszczyk.⁵ In fact, Jadwiga, queen regnant of Poland (if that is what the chronicler meant by *rex*), never styled herself ‘king’ of Poland and the chronicle accounts, which refer to her coronation as ‘king’ rather than ‘queen’ are outnumbered by references to her accession to the kingdom (*in regnum*) or coronation as ‘queen’. Arguments over the kingship of Jadwiga are based on fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century additions to the thirteenth-century calendar preserved in the Chapter of Cracow Cathedral.⁶ However, the texts, which refer to her as king, do so only in some of their manuscript versions. In others *regnum* or *reginam* occur. Thus in the case of the Holy Cross Annals, which between 1370 and 1399 represent a court chronicle, some manuscripts do not have the reference to how she ‘recipitur in regnum Polonie’, while another notes that she was received ‘in reginam’. In a later clause the phrase ‘in regem Polonie’ is missing or reads ‘in reginam Polonie’ in certain manuscripts.⁷ Długosz, the most steadfast creator of the Jadwiga myth to outweigh the pretensions of Jagiellonian rulers notes that she was crowned queen.⁸ Fifteenth-century Polish historical traditions exist which even blank Jadwiga out of Polish history.⁹ However, the nineteenth-century nationalist glee over King Jadwiga (a reflection of the Union monument in Lublin which portrays Poland as husband and Lithuania as his bride?) has been taken up by ‘Women’s historians’ and is likely to continue to thrive in certain circles.

The Prince Władysław mentioned in the text is the duke of Opole, who in 1384 was made a special intermediary in relations

⁵ G. Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności. Tom I: Trudne początki* (Poznań, 1998), p. 205: ‘po koronacji Jadwigi na króla (ne królową) Polski’

⁶ ‘est in regem Polonie coronata ob defectum sexus masculini domini regis Lodovici’ - *Kalendarz krakowski, Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, series II, vol. 5 (Warsaw, 1978), p. 178.

⁷ *Rocznik świętokrzyski*, ed. A. Rutkowska-Plachińska [*Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, series II, vol. 12] (Cracow, 1996), p. 70-71. On the provenance of this chronicle, see M. Błaziak, ‘Rocznik świętokrzyski nowy – rocznikiem manjonarskim czy andegweńsko-jagiellońskim?’, *Studia Źródłoznawcze-Commentationes*, 37 (2000), p. 49-63

⁸ Joannis Długossii, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, Liber Decimus 1370-1405*, ed. D. Turkowska *et al.* (Warsaw, 1985), p. 141.

⁹ Cracow, Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich, Ms 1399: ‘et fuit in Polonia disturbium. Ideo confugerunt Poloni ad Lithvaniam et receperunt supremum ducem Lithvae Jagyelo in regem Polonie’, published in: S.C. Rowell, ‘Fifteenth-century Poland-Lithuania in the light of an anonymous Kraków notebook’, *Quaestiones medii aevi novae*, 8 (2003), p. 324.

between Poland and the queen of Hungary.¹⁰ Historians have thought that, given the coincidence of Christian names, Opolczyk was Jogaila's godfather, but it now seems evident that the Silesian prince did not raise the Lithuanian ruler from the font. Opolczyk appears to have been elsewhere than in Cracow when Jogaila was baptised in the spring of 1386. It is more probable that he was named Władysław purely after the restorer of the Polish kingdom, Władysław Łokietek (1320-1333).¹¹ Opolczyk was well-known to, and in one case the feudal lord of those nobles who took part in negotiations with Jogaila in 1384-86.¹²

On February 2 1386 Polish nobles convened in Lublin, where, as they had promised, they elected Jogaila as their king. The Polish and Lithuanian party then progressed to Cracow, where on February 12 Jogaila made his solemn entrance into the city. He was baptised in the cathedral on February 15 and three days later on February 18 he was crowned king of Poland.¹³ Much mischief has been caused by malicious assertions concerning Jadwiga's relationship with Wilhem Habsburg. These claims date from at least the death of Jadwiga in 1399, when the Teutonic Order attempted unsuccessfully to provoke Wilhelm into claiming the Polish throne and ousting the widower king. Jan Długosz wove a tale of ill-starred love into his account of events of 1385-1386. Recent work by the Poznań scholar Jarosław Nikodem has shown that the account of Wilhem's secret visit to Cracow in 1385 and consummation of his betrothal to Jadwiga, which we read in Długosz, is riven with internal textual inconsistencies and impossible assumptions made by the Cracovian cleric in his expansion of data from contemporary Austrian chronicle records.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. I, part I, ed. A. Sokolowski, J. Szujski [*Monumenta mediaevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, II] (Cracow, 1876), No. 2, p. 2. Cf. J. Sperka, 'Władysław Jagiełło i Jadwiga oraz ich zaplecze polityczne wobec Władysława Opolczyka i jego zwolenników', *Księżę Władysław Opolczyk. Fundator klasztoru Paulinów na Jasnej Górze w Częstochowie*, ed. M. Antoniewicz, J. Zbudniewek (Warsaw, 2007), 349.

¹¹ S.A. Sroka, 'Czy Władysław Opolczyk był ojcem chrzestnym Władysława Jagiełły?', *Nasza Przeszłość*, 74 (1990), pp. 297-300; Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków*, I, pp. 233-234.

¹² Szczur, 'Negocjatorzy unii', pp. 197-198.

¹³ Długosz, *Annales... liber decimus*, 151-155; *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. II (/). Nos 7, 9.

¹⁴ J. Nikodem, 'Gniewosz-Jadwiga-Wilhelm: Krytyka przekazu 'Annales' Jana Długosza', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 98 (2007), pp. 175-196.

Jogaila was thrice endowed with the crown of Poland: by election (in accordance with the will of the nobility of the Kingdom of Poland), by marriage (to the young Queen Jadwiga) and by adoption (by his mother-in-law, Elisabeth of Bosnia, Queen of Hungary). The document quoted here in translation marks midpoint in a process, which changed the face of eastern and central Europe in the late middle ages. The document reporting conditions agreed by Jogaila's representatives with Queen Elisabeth and leaders of the Polish nobility and ratified by Jogaila at Krevo in August 1385 on the Lithuanian side finds its Polish counterpart in this safe-conduct issued by Polish representatives for Jogaila at Volkovysk on January 11 1386, guaranteeing Lithuanian princes and their ruler secure access to the Polish capital. After March of that year members of the Lithuanian ruling House of Gediminas (in its Algirdaitis, Kęstutaitis, Koriataitis, Liubartaitis and Narimantaitis lines) swore allegiance to Jogaila as king, to his queen Jadwiga, to their children and heirs (*pace* those who would deny the dynastic implications of the Jagiellonian Union) and to the Crown of Poland. These documents, acts of homage, issued over a period of more than seven years under different circumstances, sometimes repeatedly by the same prince, are held by some Polish historians to reflect the incorporation of Lithuania into the Polish Crown, as pledged in the Act of Krevo, even if that incorporation was more documentary than real.¹⁵

Such acts were required for several reasons: Jogaila sought to obtain pledges that his kinsmen, his 'electors' in Lithuania, would remain loyal to him as king of Poland. He had promised to use all his lands and treasuries to help restore war-damaged Poland, a feat he could not achieve or hope to show himself willing to achieve without wider support. That the support he sought was largely personal than territorial is shown by the allegiance of Semen Lengvenaitis Narimantaitis, prince of Novgorod the Great, whose promises could be binding only on the prince himself as Novgorod was an independent republic and not a component part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. We should also not overlook the oaths of allegiance sworn to Jogaila at Jadwiga's behest by communities within Poland. Here we have in mind the homage paid to Jogaila in 1386 by the cities of Cracow and Olkusz.¹⁶ The

¹⁵ The state of research is summarised conveniently in: G. Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich, Tom II: Od Krewa do Lublina, Część I* (Poznań, 2007), pp. 26-30.

¹⁶ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa, cz. I (1257-1496)*, ed. F. Piekosiński [*Monumenta mediae aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, V] (Cracow, 1879);

Polish nobility swore allegiance to the king *en masse* at his coronation. It is amazing, albeit understandable, that historians are constantly on the search of evidence of the subordination of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or its subjects to the Crown of Poland but tend to ignore evidence of the subordination of the Polish parts of the Crown of Poland to Jogaila as their king.

In 1387 Jogaila proceeded to Vilnius to oversee the official conversion of his pagan subjects to Roman Christianity. In February of that year he established a cathedral in Vilnius, for which the Franciscan friar, Andrew of Seret, who had once been chaplain to Jogaila's mother-in-law was appointed bishop in 1388.¹⁷

In recent years one more scholarly problem has arisen in connection with the position of Jogaila as king regnant (as opposed to king consort, a status he never held) in Poland. A hundred years or more ago it was realised that Jogaila-Władysław II did not lose his right to rule Poland after Queen Jadwiga died in 1399.¹⁸ In his recent study of the Tęczyński clan, Janusz Kurtyka claimed that after the death of Jadwiga Jan Tęczyński adopted the title of vice-regent, evidence that Jogaila was not a king regnant.¹⁹ While it is true that the Polish lords renewed (*uffs nuwe*) their allegiance to Jogaila after Jadwiga's death, this served to confirm the status quo, not change the Lithuanian monarch's status.²⁰ After Jadwiga's death

Index actorum saeculi XV ad res publicas Poloniae spectantium, ed. A. Lewicki [*Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, XI] (Cracow, 1888), No. 39, p. 6 (Olkusz, Aug. 13 1386).

¹⁷ For a recent Lithuanian summary of the Baptism of 1387 see *Krikščionybės Lietuvoje istorija*, ed. V. Ališauskas (Vilnius, 2006), pp. 49-148 (texts by D. Baronas and L. Jovaiša).

¹⁸ F. Piekosiński, 'Czy król Władysław Jagiełło był za życia królowej Jadwigi królem polskim czy tylko mężem królowej?', *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, wyd. historyczno-filozoficzny, 35 (1897); T. Silnicki, *Prawo elekcji królów w dobie jagiellońskiej* (Lvov, 1913), pp. 12-14.

¹⁹ J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu* (Cracow, 1997), 229-250.

²⁰ The same grand master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Jungingen, who attempted to provoke Wilhelm Habsburg into claiming the Polish throne in 1399, notes in another letter from that year that "noch dem tode der seligen frawen konigynne von Polan, die Polan *uffs nuwe* Jageln swuren und holdten" – *Codez diplomaticus prussicus. Urkundensammlung zur älteren Geschichte Preussens*, ed. J. Voigt, vol. 6 (Königsberg, 1861, Osnabrück, 1965), no. 87. On this matter see: J. Nikodem, 'Problem legytimizacji władzy Władysława Jagiełły w 1399 roku', *Nihil superfluum esse*, pp. 393-401.

Jogaila sought to renew his matrimonial links with the descendants of Casimir the Great. He also renewed the union between Poland and Lithuania to reflect and confirm his new status and that of Vytautas, whose position as grand duke of Lithuania became *stronger* after his dramatic but politically rather insignificant defeat on the banks of the River Vorskla in 1399.²¹

²¹ The traditional view of the impact of Vorskla is reflected in Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków* II.1, p. 177-186. A somewhat different analysis, made from the broader context of Polono-Lithuanian cooperation in crusade and ecclesiastical union policy with Byzantium and Hungary, is offered in: S.C. Rowell, 'Naujieji kryževiai: LDK ir Bizantijos santykiai XIV-XV a. sandūroje. Ar Vytautas Didysis buvo Lietuvos kryžiaus žygių prieš turkus bei totorius pradininkas?' *Kryžiaus karų epocha Baltijos regiono tautų istorinėje sąmonėje*, sud. R. Trimonienė (Šiauliai, 2007), pp. 182–206.