

QUEEN JADWIGA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

by Sigmund John Sluska

A Contribution to the Study of the
XIV-XV Century History of Poland

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Sigmund John Sluska.

Sigmund John Sluska.

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis of this dissertation is to show and prove the outstanding Christian character of Queen Jadwiga of Poland, 1374-1399, in the light of history and in the characteristically interesting tradition of her nations, Poland and Lithuania, which to our time is pertinent. The work and the study of this problem met with many difficulties in the selection of primary and secondary sources, which were consulted from the point of view of

/A/ historical facts of the reign of the Queen;

/B/ their interpretation from the point of the personal life of the Queen and her personality.

These difficulties were caused mostly by the neutral approach to the source material, favorable to the Queen, which eliminated, as it seems, to a great extent, unfavorable references. The author was confronted with one-sided material to a great extent.

To avoid misunderstanding, the present author constantly kept in his mind that the study is not a psychological dissertation, but a historical insight into

the character and life activity of the Queen. However, the character of this work required by its necessity a personal understanding and interpretation by the present author of the work, and naturally he might meet with different interpretations of other scholars and their approaches, as well as other historians. This history is an individual interpretation of the past by the student, and naturally bears a strong character of individual understanding.

The great chronicler, Jan Długosz, 1400-1480, the first worthy historian of the life of Queen Jadwiga, was a contemporary of her times and, especially of the Queen's husband, Ladislaus Jagiello, recorded with sympathy, facts and events in the life of the Queen, but he, as I have noted, being sympathetic to the Queen, did not have any negative evidence relating to her personality. He, therefore, in spite of his outstanding authority, was partial.

Before Długosz, Janko z Czarnkowa, 1320-1387, left documentary evidence relating to the first ten years period of the Queen. He was again sympathetic to the young heiress of the throne of the Piasts, keeping in his memory the life of her maternal grandfather, King Casimir

the Great.

After Dlugosz and Janko z Czarnkowa, chroniclers, such as Joachim and Marcin Bielski, Maciej Strykowski, Marcin Kromer, and Bernard Wapowski, repeated the material accordingly, not adding any substantial new historical data.¹

Writers of the subsequent years built up a historical narration, rather than any objective studies of the Queen like J. Szujski, K. Szajnocha, and others, with the aim of consolation and remembrance of the past glory. Therefore, again they, however of high scholarly reputation, seem to be one-sided biographers of the glorious Queen.

The modern Polish historiography from the second half of the nineteenth century brought into light many unknown historical monuments directly or indirectly connected with the study of Jadwiga's period. To them we owe our attention and especially to F. Piekosinski, A. Bielowski, L. Dogiel, A. Przezdziecki, S. Kutrzeba, W. Semkowicz and others,² their editing of primary sources, re-

1 See Bibliography.

2 Ibid.

vived not only the modern studies of Polish history, but also gave a new interest into the life of Queen Jadwiga and the correlated subjects. To them we include such scholars as St. Smolka, L. Rydel, Bishop W. Bandurski, J. Narbutt, O. Halecki, J. Dabrowski, L. Kolankowski, A. Strzelecka, W. Maciejewska, H. Quillus, and others,³ who revived a new interest in the study of the Queen.

I can say with satisfaction that the life and the period of Jadwiga, the first wife of Ladislaus Jagiello, is substantially explored from the political and social points of view. My research, however, proved that the search in the historical understanding of the Queen's personality and character was not dwelt upon yet.

It is my aim to fill by this dissertation the lacuna in the studies of the above-mentioned scholars with the extensive use of already known primary and secondary source materials, in the national tradition and the cult to the Queen as an anthropological material, with the aim to explore them, from the point of view of this thesis.

3 See Bibliography.

Accordingly, we will approach the reign of the Queen at first from the historical background of her times, keeping the whole work on the chronological sequence of the Queen's life. It will help us to set logically the development of the public and private life of the Queen. It must be stressed, however, that it is difficult to say that Queen Jadwiga had any really private life, as she, being four years of age, was betrothed to Prince Wilhelm of Austria for strictly political reasons.

This early, important political event in the Queen's life shaped all her life and character thereafter. Naturally, chronological order seemed to be the only method acceptable in this study. In spite of its biographical character, it tended not to be such, it was attempted to keep it within the strict limitation of the thesis. It dwells, therefore, on the all-important and less-important events in the life of the Queen, illustrating essentials of her personality, as well as the posthumous fame which so vividly remained in the tradition. The last point will be treated as a document for its particular value. In the historical memory, one will see also, how documented history reveals itself in the legend and tradition of a nation.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF QUEEN JADWIGA'S ASCENSION TO THE THRONE

Toward the end of the year 1370, the year Casimir the Great of Poland died, Europe, and especially Eastern Europe, was in a remarkable state of disunity and disorder. The mass of its inhabitants from the Mediterranean to the Arctic Ocean and from the Balkan peninsula and the Ural Mountains to the islands of Ireland and Iceland thought of themselves as members of a Old World people, and as associates in a Christian commonwealth. They were chosen because they were Christians, and they had a name for their commonwealth. They called it Christendom.

Christendom had originated some fourteen hundred years earlier in the Asiatic provinces of the Roman Empire and for several centuries had been almost identical with that Empire spreading over Western Asia and northern Africa, as well as Eastern and Southern Europe.¹

1 Toynbee, Arnold J., A Study of History, abridged by D.C. Somervell, New York-London, 1947, pages 123-136.

cf. Cambridge Medieval History, Cambridge University Press, 1928, Volume 8, Chapter I, pages 3-23.

cf. Helmut, Hans, The History of the World, New York, 1902, Volume II, Chapters 3-4, pages 36-67.

cf. Europa Środkowa (Central Europe), Encyklopedia Nauk Politycznych, Warsaw, 1937, pages 127-129.

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But the rise and rapid extension of the Arab empire and the Moslem religion in the seventh century had served to deprive Christendom and the Roman Empire of its Asiatic and African provinces and to turn its expansive efforts northward in Europe. Christendom was extended over the Franks in the sixth century, over the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century, over the Germans in the eighth century, over the Moravians in the ninth century, over the Poles, Hungarians, or Magyars, Scandinavians, Finns and Kievians in the tenth century. For three hundred years prior to 1399, Christendom had been Europe and Europe had been Christendom.²

For many centuries the ideas had been prevalent in Europe that Christendom was a political as well as a cultural unit, and that its government should ultimately be directed by two great coextensive institutions, independent of each other but working in close alliance and

2 Cambridge Medieval History, Op. Cit., pages 72-83.

cf. The Historical Role of Central-Eastern Europe, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, New York, 1944, pages 9-18.

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alike commanding the allegiance of all Christians. One of these institutions was the Church, and the other was the Empire. The Church was the supreme spiritual power; the Empire was the supreme temporal power. Europeans owed obedience to both.

About the year 1369, the year before the death of Casimir the Great, the basic social and political institution in eastern and central Europe had been feudalism, involving the exercise on the part of a large number of landed feudal nobles, of direct and almost independent political and economic power over the people on their respective territories. Against this institution, various princes, or kings gradually made some headway, reducing the feudal nobles to royal obedience.

Opposing the Christian world was the Moslem Ottoman. They extended their sway over all the Moslem peoples in Asia Minor, and pushed further toward the West, so that in the second half of the fourteenth century they transferred their military activities and successes to southeastern Europe. The kings of Poland, and Hungary repeat-

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edly tried to stem the tide of Moslem conquest.³

North of Poland the Teutonic Knights raised havoc, and conquest of the peoples in what is now Prussia, Latvia and Lithuania.⁴ From the east, what is today Russia, the Tartar hordes raided and pillaged home and property in the Polish Christendom. It was the epoch of brutality and force, as well as pious supplication.

It was at about this time that King Casimir the Great, 1333-1370, appears as a great Polish Piast monarch in bringing order out of chaos, stopping wars and insuring prosperity for the populace, and stabilizing peaceful relations with neighboring countries. A contemporary chronicler records that Casimir found Kraków "a city of wood and he left it a city of brick!"

"Zastawszy Polskę glinianą, drewnianą, i nieschłudną, pozostawił ją Kazimierz, w murowaną, ozdobną i wspaniałą 5."

3 See Oskar Halecki, The Warna Crusade, 1444, Krakow, introduction.

4 Prochaska, Antoni, Z Dziejów Unii Jagiellońskiej, Wilno, 1927, Volume IV, page 43.

5 Długosz, Jan: Historiae Poloniae. Translated into Polish from the Latin by Karol Mecherzyński, Kraków, 1863. Volume IV, page 301.

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Finding Poland built of clay, wood and ugly, Casimir left it in splendor and beautiful brick.

King Casimir built a strong and prosperous realm, so that in 1363, a numerous congress of central European kings and princes convening in Kraków, gave expression to all Europe's recognition of the prestige and authority which Poland had attained.

The importance of Polish development under Casimir the Great as an equal opponent of the encroaching Teutonic Knights was doubly stressed by every historian of the past and present. In the following words the work of Casimir is noted by today's historiosophist:

"Ta potęga - polityczna, wojskowa, gospodarcza, kulturalna, duchowa, - której organizatorem był Kasimierz Wielki, stała się dopiero podstawą przyszłej politycznej i wojskowej rozprawy z zakonem Krzyżackim i wogóle ze światem teutońskim, do której krucha Polska łokietkowa była jeszcze na dalszą metę za słabą. Istotnym tworcą tych warunków, których owocem jest unia z Litwą i zwycięstwo grunwaldzkie, jest Kazimierz Wielki⁶."

6 Giertych, Jędrzej: Polityka Polska W Dziejach Europy. London: Montgomeryshire Printing Ltd. 1947, page 123.

Łokietek: Father of Casimir and King of Poland, 1306-1333. Defeated the Teutonic Knights at Radziejow and Płowce in 1331.

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"This power, - political, military, economic, cultural, spiritual, - whose organizer was Casimir the Great, became the essentials of the future political and military offense against the Knights of the Cross and generally against the Teutonic world which the weak Poland of the Lokietek lineage was in the long run far from strong. Truly, the creator of these conditions, whose fruit is the Union with Lithuania and the victory at Grunwald, is Casimir the Great.

Early in his reign, Casimir designated his nephew, King Lewis of Hungary, as his successor to the Polish crown to continue the Piast line, in case he should die without a male heir. In 1370 King Lewis became the ruler of Poland, and at his death, two years later, his daughter Jadwiga was crowned the monarch of Poland.

By 1370 conditions in Europe were in paradoxical contrast.⁷ The Church was rent with schism. Morals were lax. Crimes of violence stained the royal palaces, and were committed openly in the streets. War, whether foreign or civil, was part of the natural order of things. At the same time it was a period of great and living faith and piety. The echoes of the Crusades had not died away.⁸

⁷ Koneczny, Feliks, Dzieje Polski, Łódź, 1903, Volume I, page 103.

⁸ Problem Średniowiecza, (The Problem of the Middle Ages), Pamiętnik IV Zjazdu historyków polskich w Poznaniu, Warsaw, 1925, pages 1-7.

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Men had a high and chivalrous ideal before their eyes. If men and women were capable of treachery and of cruelty incredible to modern nations, they were equally capable of rising to the heights of self-sacrifice and heroic sanctity, yet the daily life of the Middle Ages was also full of gaiety. Europe resounded to song and prayer, to peace and war.⁹

It is against this background of light and darkness, of corruption and holiness, that the youthful Queen of Poland, Jadwiga of Anjou,¹⁰ stands out as a vision of loveliness and purity.

⁹ Cf. Cambridge Medieval History, Op. Cit., page 193.

¹⁰ Webster's Biographical Dictionary: Springfield, Mass.: 1910. P. 49. "Anjou: French noble family established in the ninth century. There have been several houses of Anjou: Third House: Kings of Sicily and Naples. Anjou given in 1246 by King Louis IX as appanage to his brother Charles, Count of Provence, later 1266-85, King of Naples and Sicily; succeeded as king by his son Charles II, 1285-1309. Charles II had five children, from whom descended five different but interrelated lines of European rulers: Hungary - from oldest son, Charles Martel, 1272-95, king in opposition, 1290-95, to Andrew III. Other members of the line include Charles Robert, founder of the Anjou line of Hungary, 1308-42; Louis the Great, King of Hungary, 1342-82; and King of Poland, 1370-82, and Mary, 1382-95, who married Sigismund, later Holy Roman Emperor. King Louis the Great had three daughters: (continued p. 8).

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The story of this maiden, who, at the price of her own happiness, brought a nation into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, and who led the life of a Saint, adds a page not only of singular beauty, but of romance, both to secular history and to that of the Church¹¹ upon whose altars it is the hope of the Polish nation to see her raised:

"Jak wiadomo, w Krakowie odbywa się proces informacyjny w sprawie beatyfikacji Królowej Jadwigi. Akta tego procesu, przy okazji swego przyjazdu do Rzymu przywiózł Kardynał Adam Sapieha, książę metropolita krakowski i złożył w św. Kongregacji Obrzędów¹²."

10 ... Catherine, who died in early youth; Maria, who became Queen of Hungary, and Jadwiga who was crowned the Polish monarch in 1384."

11 Vitae Sactorum Regni Poloniae Olim Sarmatiae, Kraków, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Dział, Manuskryptów, Bbb. I, 32, see. XVIII.

cf. Załuski, X.W., Żywot, Świętobliwej Jadwigi, Warsaw, 1901, pages 176-191.

cf. Janasiewicz, X. Florian, Matka Świętych Polska, Kraków, 1767, pages 80-97.

12 Inter-Catholic Press Agency, Rome May 20, 1950. Published in the May 26, 1950 issue of the Prze-wodnik Katolicki, weekly, New Britain, Conn. Also published in Dziennik Polski, daily, Detroit, Mich., June 12, 1950.

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As it is known, in Kraków an informational hearing in the matter of the beatification of Queen Jadwiga is taking place. Data for this hearing, on the occasion of his visit to Rome, was brought by Adam Cardinal Sapieha, Metropolitan of the Kraków Diocese, and was given to the Congregation of Canonization Rites.

That news of historical importance returns us to the death of King Louis, 1382, and the two years of interregnum before the ascension to the Polish crown by Queen Jadwiga over which political factions and wars brought disorder to Poland. Foreign princes sought the Crown of Poland, for example, Prince Sigismund of Luxemburg. Wars again divided the country into belligerent provinces, but the wisdom of the nation reasserted itself in the calling to the Kraków throne the young Queen Jadwiga, who brought order and opened a new period of prosperity to her nation.¹

1 Vide Halecki, Oskar, The Limits and Divisions of European History, London-New York, Sheed and Ward, 1950, Preface and Introduction, p.vii-xi by Christopher Dawson.

CHAPTER II

JADWIGA'S EARLY LIFE: FAMILY AND COURT

Jadwiga was the daughter of Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary and Poland, and of his second wife, Elizabeth of Bosnia. Jadwiga was the youngest of three daughters. Catherine and Maria were her elder sisters. Louis had hoped that with the birth of this third child to secure the ardently desired male heir to the throne of both Hungary and Poland.

Jadwiga was born at the Hungarian Court in 1374. There has been much dispute among chroniclers and later writers and historians as to Jadwiga's date of birth. Hungarian records from Louis' Court show that Jadwiga was born in 1374 according to a letter sent by Pope Gregory XI from Avignon, dated January 13, 1374, in which he sent greetings to King Louis and his wishes for a male heir.¹

1 Monumenta Hungariae Historiae: Acta Extera Andegavensis III, Nr. 56. Budapest, 1886, p. 146.
cf. Balzer, Oswald, O Następstwie Tronu W Polsce, studium Historyczne, Rozprawa Akademiji Umiejętności, Series 2, Volume II, 1897, pages 49-54.
cf. also - Throcz, Joannis de, Chronica Hungarorum, Ss. Rerum Hungariae, edited by J.G. Schwandtner, Budapest, 1879, pages 293-297.

Dlugosz did not specify any particular date, except for the fact that he included Jadwiga's birth in his chronicle notations for 1371. He records this fact as follows:

"Elżbieta, żona Ludwika króla Polskiego i Węgierskiego, po gorącym obojga rodziców i panów Węgierskich upragnieniu potomka płci męskiej, trzecim położeniem powiła córka na chrzcie świętym nazwano Jadwigą ²."

Elizabeth, wife of Louis, king of Poland and Hungary, after expectant hopes of both parents and Hungarian princes for a male heir, at her third birth she brought forth a daughter, who at Holy Baptism was named Jadwiga.

The day of the birth of Jadwiga is given as February 28 by the Benedictine Monks, who extracted facts from the Roman and other martyrologies and also from the Latin-written chronicles of the period in their book, THE BOOK OF SAINTS.³

2 Dlugosz, Jan: op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 320.

3 The Books of Saints: New York, Macmillan, 1947, Fourth edition. Compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine Abbey, Ramsgate.

"Jadwiga", p. 283. The compilers stated the birth of the Queen as February 28, 1374.

More precise notation as to the birth date of Jadwiga is emphasized by Queen Elizabeth, when offering Jadwiga as a candidate for the Polish throne in February, 1383, to the Polish magnates. Elizabeth suggested that the age of twelve, the "age of reason" would not be reached by Jadwiga and that her daughter be returned to her in Hungary for two more years after her coronation in Poland.

The dates of the births of King Louis' three daughters were settled by Jan Dąbrowski in an exhaustive study:

"Data urodzin Jadwigi jest ustalone na okres między 3- października, 1373, a 16- kwietnia, 1374⁴."

The date of Jadwiga's birth is set in the period of time between October 3, 1373 and April 16, 1374.

The importance of Jadwiga's date is important because "child marriage" couples were not permitted to sustain the fulfillment of marriage until they were twelve years old. The chronological order of events in *Jadwiga's Life* follows the years after 1374.

⁴ Dąbrowski, Jan: Ostatnie Lata Ludwika Wielkiego, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1918, p. 16.

Through her father Jadwiga belonged to the Anjou family, the most brilliant royal house in Europe of the Middle Ages, which at the time of Jadwiga's childhood was ruling over Poland, Hungary and Naples, and which had been sung by Dante, both in praise and with bitter invective.

The blood of Saints ran in Jadwiga's veins. St. Louis of France was among her ancestors.⁵ Another St. Louis, the young Bishop of Toulouse,⁶ was her great-great uncle. She was related to St. Elizabeth of Hungary.⁷

That galaxy of royal nuns who belonged to Poland, who forsook a court for a life of penance in the most severe religious orders of the Church -- St. Salomea,⁸ -- Bl. Kinga or Kunegunda,⁹ -- St. Iolanthe,¹⁰ -- and St.

5 Bitschnau, Książdz O., Żywoty Świętych Pańskich, Wrocław, 1895, Ludwik IX, król francuski, p. 821.

6 Ibid. Ludwik Biskup, 1299, pp. 799-800.

7 Ibid. Elżbieta, 1096, 1096-8.

8 Ibid. Salomea, księżna Halicka, 1269, pp. 1057-60.

9 Ibid. Kunegunda, księżna Polska, 1260, 712-15.

10 Ibid. Jolanta, księżna, kaliska, 1298, 599-601.

Jadwiga of Silesia¹¹ were all Jadwiga's kinswomen.

On the other hand if Jadwiga had a tradition of Saints behind her, she also had a no less strong inheritance of the passionate southern blood of the Anjous, that had impelled the less saintly of her kindred not only to deeds of violence, but to moral corruption which was so common a feature of the royal life of Jadwiga's day.

In appraising the character of Jadwiga one must always bear that fact in mind. Both from her father and mother, Jadwiga inherited the royal blood of the Piasts, Poland's earliest dynasty. This dynasty had ended with the death of Jadwiga's great uncle, Casimir the Great. He had reigned over Poland long and wisely, for 37 years. From his just treatment of the peasants he was bestowed the title of "the peasant king". On his death in the absence of direct male heirs, the crown passed to his nephew, the son of his sister, Elizabeth, Louis of Anjou,

11 Ibid. Jadwiga, księżna polska, 1243, 987-91.

the king of Hungary, the father of Jadwiga.¹²

Jadwiga's father was an outstanding figure in the Europe of his day. He had fought much and with distinction in many wars. He had made Hungary a great nation within and without, and was one of the ables politicians in Europe.

The Pope in Rome regarded him as a champion of the Church and called him "Rex Christianissimus".¹³ The eyes of those who still yearned to see the sepulchre of our Savior redeemed from the infidel hands turned to him. It was to him that St. Catherine of Sienna appealed in impassioned strains as the man who was called to defend the cause of Christ.¹⁴

For two happenings had filled the world with their repercussions. All Europe fixed its attention on the

¹² For an authoritative study of Casimir the Great see: Szujski, Józef, Charakterystyka Kazimierza Wielkiego, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1861. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 37-358. Halecki, Oskar, Kazimierz Wielki, Encyklopedia Polska, Kraków, 1920.

¹³ Monumenta Hungariae Historica--Acta Externa, Budapest, 1876, Part 3, p. 647.

¹⁴ See Gardner, Edmund, St. Catherine of Sienna, London: Alexander Ousley, 1724; pp. 120, et seq.

recent deaths of Pope Gregory XI and of Charles IV, Emperor of the Holy Empire. The Christians in the Church divided against itself, watched with conflicting interest the strange drama in progress in Rome. Two rival popes were thundering anathemas at each other, Pope Urban VI in Rome, and Clement VII at Avignon, the false pope. Hoping to win over the notorious Queen Joanna of Naples, ally of Clement, St. Catherine of Sienna wrote to Louis:

"Much good will result from your coming here. Perhaps the true cause will triumph without the use of physical force, and the deluded Queen may be rescued from her obstinate perversion either by fear or by love. You are well aware how the Christ has spared her hitherto, being unwilling to deprive her actually of that which by her conduct she has forfeited. He has awaited her repentance out of consideration of you and your family ¹⁵."

In the world of his day King Louis was looked upon as a type of chivalry. Yet, he had a keen eye for trade, and knew how to drive a hard bargain. He was at his worst as King of Poland:

"Za czasów króla Ludwika nie było żadnej stałości w królestwie polskim, ani żadnej sprawiedliwości. Albowiem starostwie i ich burgrabowie łupili ciągle dobra uboższych ludzi, a jeśli niektórzy z poszkodowanych, zastawszy swe majątki,

15 Gardner, Edmund, Op. Cit., p. 122.

jechali do Węgier i tam skargi do króla zanosili, król wydawszy im listy za które musieli w kancelaryi płacić wielkie pieniądze, odsyłał ich do domu, atoli starostwie żadnej uwagi na te listy nie zwracali i nie przestawali uciemniać ludzi. Lupienie na drogach publicznych kupców i innych przejeżdżających oraz kradzieże działały się nieustannie; starostwie zaś dbając jedynie o swoje zyski, ani hamowali, ani obiecali tego hamować 16."

During the time of King Louis, there was no security in the Polish kingdom, nor any justice. In fact the lords and the burghers constantly despoiled the goods from the poorer fold, and if some of the injured left their estates and rode to Hungary and there brought complaint to the king, the king issued letters to them for which they had to pay the treasurer huge sums, and then sent them home; despite this, the lords paid no attention to these letters and did not cease to burden the people. Stealing from the merchants and from others on the public highways continued without cease, the lords worrying about their gains, did not stop the depredations, nor promised to lessen them.

Louis cared little for Poland's interests. Although he ruled over her for twelve years, he had not learned her language. Knowing that his health was failing, his only concern with Poland was to secure the throne to one or the other of his children. Louis was a strict Catholic and extremely devout. He had a special devotion

16 Janko z Czarnkowa: Chronicon Polonorum, 1333-1384, Translated from Latin into Polish by Z. Zerbiński, Warsaw, 1905, p. 128.

to Our Lady, to whose protection he ascribed his deliverance from all dangers of his life, and all its prosperity.¹⁷ Although he loved the hunt and pomp and splendor, he had a turn for contemplation, and towards the end of his life delighted to wear the religious habit.

The royal qualities which were so prominent in Jadwiga's character were, in so far as they were inherited, derived mainly from her father. Her mother, Elizabeth of Bosnia, had little of the great lady about her. She was descended through her mother from the royal house of the Piasts,¹⁸ but her father, the Ban of Bosnia, for all his conversion to the Catholic faith and his subsequent zeal for its spread in his country, cut a mean figure in the history of the times.

In connection with Jadwiga's future Apostolic labors for the conversion of the Ruthenian Schismatics it is interesting to realize that it was through the instru-

¹⁷ Dąbrowski, Jan, Ostatnie Lata Ludwika Wielkiego, 1370-1382, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków, 1918, pages 63-70.

¹⁸ Balzer, Oswald, Genealogia Piastów, Kraków, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1893, p. 29.

mentality of her grandmother, a Polish princess, who married the Ban of Bosnia, that the Franciscan missionaries were brought into that country. Much of Jadwiga's ardor in her efforts to bring Schismatic subjects of her own into the Church may have been colored by what she had heard from her mother when a child.

In her youth Jadwiga's mother had been one of the ladies-in-waiting at the Hungarian Court of the Polish Queen, Elizabeth, Louis' mother. After the death of his first wife Louis married her. Beyond the fact that she, too, was a devout Catholic, hers was not a nature that could have impressed itself upon so strong and innately pure a soul as Jadwiga's.¹⁹

Elizabeth was possessed of no very high qualities. Double-dealing was her rooted characteristic. At times it carried her through her intriguing in a masterly manner. At others it was too crude to deserve the name of diplomacy. Her moral character was by no means superior

¹⁹ For life of the court consult: Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., pages 74-91.

cf. Franköi, Wilhelm, Die Heiratspolitik Ludwigs des Grossen, Ungarische Rundschau, 1913, number 3, pages 97-105.

cf. also Pray, Gregor, Commentarii Historici Bosniae, Serviae Ac Bulgariae Cum Regno Hungariae, edited by (see p. 20)

to that of the times, and the child who was to lead the life of a saint upon the throne had small incitement thereto from the example of her mother.

One story given by the pragmatical Polish chronicler, Dlugosz,²⁰ a contemporary of the times, as an example of Elizabeth's character is that after performing her devotions at the shrine of St. Simeon in Zara, she left the church hiding on her person a relic she had stolen, may be equally be accounted for by an excess of misplaced piety, and was not an uncommon practice in the Middle Ages.

It must be owned that the student of Jadwiga's history feels free to condone this lapse from honesty, or from good manners, because Elizabeth, being overtaken by faintness on leaving the Church, was frightened, brought back the relic,²¹ and in expiation had a silver shrine made for the remains of the Saint by an Italian artist. On the panel of the casket the Queen is represent-

19 ... G. Fejer, Budapest, 1908, pages 34-54.

20 Dlugosz, Jan; Op. Cit., Vol. IV, pp. 361-2.

21 Thalloczy, E., Studien Zur Geschichte Bosniens Und Serbiens Im Mitelalter, Budapest, 1873, pp. 49-55.

ed kneeling with three little girls, her daughters, Catherine, Maria and Jadwiga, the youngest of Elizabeth's children, then about six years old. This is the earliest iconographical representation of Jadwiga known. In after years Jadwiga remembering with admiration this offering of her mother's, presented a work of the same sort to the Cathedral in Kraków.²²

Elizabeth had far less to do with the education of her children than her father. Louis' little girls were brought up at his desire, not only very carefully and religiously, but also in all the courtly graces and accomplishments for which the House of Anjou was celebrated.²³

The court of Louis of Anjou, modelled after that of Naples, was one of the most brilliant in Europe, and was considered a school of chivalry and culture. From her early childhood Jadwiga lived in the great world, amidst the finest chivalric traditions of the age. The atmosphere

²² Lepszy, L., Kraków, 1906, Akademia Umiejętności, Krakow, page 203. Also translated by R. Dybowski, Cracow, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1912.

²³ Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., pages 162-4.

of the court was devout. The King always attended daily Mass, and expected the rest of the court to do the same. But it was also gay, "as ready to dance as to say the rosary", states an Old Polish proverb.²⁴

Possessed of great wealth which Jadwiga inherited, Louis entertained lavishly. He would have no strict etiquette or formality around him, and invited all the world to his table. Jadwiga's life was full of gayety and variety. Foreign statesmen and royal visitors along with Church dignitaries were often staying at her father's Court. The neighboring sovereigns sent their children, both boys and girls, there as a training in finished manners and accomplishment.²⁵ Jadwiga, had, therefore, a bevy of young princes and princesses, children of her own age, for playmates. Among these were two boys, who, in their different ways, had much to do with her future life: Sigismund of Luxemburg, son of the Emperor Charles IV, himself to become the Emperor of Germany, and William, son of Prince Leopold of Austria, a Hapsburg. These boys

24 "I do tańca i różańca", or "Do różańca i do tańca".

25 Kikullew, Johannes de, Chronica, edita J.G. Schwawdtner, SS. Rerum Hungaria, volume I, pages 112-3.

were betrothed respectively to the two little princesses, Maria and Jadwiga.²⁶

King Louis employed excellent tutors for his girls' training, to guide their studies, and insisted that they should learn Latin, the Court language. The Bishop of Veszprem and the poet, Suchenwirt, were Jadwiga's favorite teachers and story-tellers.

Jadwiga grew up knowing several languages. She spoke Hungarian, German and French. She knew Italian, than language so familiar to her house, which she heard when she accompanied her mother to any of the royal castles in Dalmatia. Polish was her second tongue.²⁷

Her grandmother, the Queen Mother Elizabeth, the sister of Casimir the Great, on her marriage to the King of Hungary, had brought with her a numerous Polish suite. The Hungarian court was crowded with Poles and Jadwiga had every opportunity to speak the language.

One of the earliest Polish manuscripts of this time was transcribed for Jadwiga and her sister Maria.

26 Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., page 45.

27 Dąbrowski, Jan, Czy Królowa Jadwiga Umięła Po Polsku?, Czas, Warsaw, December 24, 1923, page 6.

It is a copy of the famous Florian Psalter,²⁸ in which the Latin Psalms are followed by Polish and German translations. It is often been repeated that the original was written by a scribe engaged by King Louis. This fact has not been proved.²⁹

The beautiful pages are ornamented with the lilies of Anjou to which the princesses belonged. This is the main reason why bibliophiles often allege that it was a product of King Louis' interest in books.³⁰ Louis was fond of reading and contemplation, and had, what was for those days, a good library. Jadwiga inherited that taste. When later on, we shall find her as Queen of Poland collecting books and having translations made into Polish for the benefit of her subjects, she will be carrying on the tra-

28 Psałterz Florjański. It is called the first Polish book and was written sometime in the 14th century. It is a translation of 150 Psalms of David. The name for it comes from the fact that it was kept at St. Florian's Monastery.

29 Finkel, Ludwik: Bibliografja Historiji Polski, Lwów, 1904, Vol. I, Indexed in the chronological list.

30 Chrzanowski, Igancy: Historja Literatury: Niepodleglej Polski. Krakow, 1908, p. 13.

The Florian Psalter is believed to be still in Montreal Museum, Canada, after being brought there in 1940 for safekeeping from the Nazis.

ditions and predilections of her early education and pious upbringing.

Jadwiga also appears to have loved music. She always had musicians at her royal court, and her founding of a choir of psaltry in the Cathedral in Kraków, inspired by devotion to the service of God, is not likely to have originated with one who did not delight in song, both sacred and profane.³¹

The House of Anjou was the patron and friend of art and poetry. Jadwiga during her girlhood lived in rooms whose walls and ceilings glowed with Italian and French paintings. We know from the elaborately embroidered altar vestments with which she enriched the Polish churches that Jadwiga was artistically able with the needle.³²

Jadwiga and Maria were betrothed to princes almost in their infancy. With their wealth and their royal connections, with the crowns of Poland, Hungary and Naples as their dowry, the daughters of Louis of Anjou were not only personages of great importance in the political plans

³¹ Decius, I.I.L., De Jagellonum Familia, Chronicon, Regni Poloniae, Kraków, Nakład Uniwersytecki, 1701, pages 132-3.

³² Now preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Kraków.

of their father, but matrimonial prizes.

The eldest, Catherine, almost four years older than Jadwiga, was destined, had she lived, for the son of the King of France. Maria was engaged to the heir to the German Empire, Sigismund of Luxemburg, and Jadwiga to the Prince William of Austria. This is the reason for arranging this "infant marriage" alleged by a Polish chronicler:

"Ludwik, król Węgierski i Polski, czując się na siłach osłabionym i różnym słabościom podległym, jedną z córek swoich, młodszą wiekiem ale urodniejszą zaślubił Wilhelmowi księciu Austrii, synowi Leopolda, który z Austrii przysłany do Węgier, ciągle aż do śmierci Ludwika chował się na dworze teścia z czułością jak syn kochany i podejmowany 33."

Louis, King of Hungary and Poland, feeling weak in strength and other debilitating weakness, offered one of his daughters, the youngest and the loveliest, as fiancé to William, Prince of Austria, son of Leopold, who was sent to Hungary from Austria, and always until the death of Louis resided at the Court of his father-in-law as a loved and honored son.

Jadwiga was almost four years old when affianced to little Prince William, who was four years older than herself. Three years later the betrothal was given a more solemn character by one of the "infant marriages" or "marriages of the future", as they were called, which in

33 Dlugosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Vol. 4, p. 334.

Middle Ages, parents were permitted to contract for their children for reasons of state.

The parents of Jadwiga and William in drawing up the marriage pact between the two children, guaranteed that should either party refuse to carry out the marriage, the party that broke the agreement should pay the other 200,000 florins. The infant marriages, entered into for political and dynastic reasons, partook largely of the nature of business contracts between the parents on each side. They were abolished by the Council of Trent in 1563.³⁴

Jadwiga was about four years old, and her little fiancé eight, when the necessary ceremony of the infant marriage took place. It was performed at the Hungarian town of Haimburg on the Danube.³⁵

In the parish church which was thronged with dignitaries of Church and State, all in their ecclesiastical or court robes, the Cardinal Archbishop Demetrius

³⁴ Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae, IX, Col. V. Nr. 122, p. 225.

³⁵ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume I (Epistolae) page 259. cf. Katona, Hageni, Historica Critica Regni Hungariae, Budapest, 1872, pages 312-3.

joined the hands of the two little children before the altar. After the ceremony there was a banquet accompanied by the music and dancing without which no festivity of the Middle Ages was complete. The ceremony took place in June, 1378.³⁶

Jadwiga grew up looking upon this boy as her future husband. This was to bring personal tragedy into her life. According to ecclesiastical laws, this marriage had no meaning provided the couple did not consummate the marriage act at the age of reason. In this situation this act only extended cordial relations with the Habsburg House for King Louis.

During the first part of Jadwiga's childhood, there seemed no likelihood of her ever being Queen of Poland. After Catherine's death it was her sister Maria with her betrothed husband, young Sigismund, to whom Louis intended that the Polish nobles should promise the throne. The crown of Hungary was destined for Jadwiga. Louis

36 Codex Diplomaticus, IX, Op. Cit., pages 225-227.

cf. Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae-Ecclesiasticus Ac Civilis, G. Fejer, Budapest, 1834, volume IX, page 632.

ordained that Prince William, who had the prospect before him of reigning over Hungary as the husband of her Queen, should be educated at the Hungarian Court. It being also the custom after the infant royal marriage had been performed that the future bride should spend part of her life in the family of the boy who was to be her husband. Jadwiga was sent to the Court at Vienna, while William went to that of Hungary at Buda. Henceforth, until the last year of her father's reign, Jadwiga was a good deal of the time in Vienna.³⁷

During the first part of Jadwiga's childhood there seemed no likelihood that she would be so well informed of the Teutonic Knights in the North, and Lithuanian barbarians, until she entered the life in the Court of Vienna. As jadwiga grew older she listened to the songs and the stories rendered by the German poets and minstrels. She was a daughter of a family that was the patron of the arts, and the love of poetry and prayer was in her blood. She heard one of these poets at the Court in Vienna sing of a wild heathen land called Lithuania, on the boundaries

37 Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., page 193.

of Poland, over which her father reigned, which still remained the only pagan country in the midst of Christian Europe, where the people worshipped hand-made gods in their giant, primeval forests, the depths of which no human foot had penetrated.³⁸ This was the folk which warred again, and again upon Poland, and had done so ever since Jadwiga's birth. Suchenwirt, the poet, had himself fought the people of that land in the army of the Teutonic Knights, and from him and from picturesque Duke Albert III, William's dispossessed uncle, Jadwiga heard tales of the military monks whose history has so much to do with that of the nation whose queen she was to become.

The Polish novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz wrote the history of the work and depredations of these military monks in his famous novel, KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS.³⁹ This historical novel of this period had had no equal in such written records of these knights.

38 Chase, Thomas G., The Story of Lithuania, New York, 1946, Chapter 2, pages 27-43.

39 Sienkiewicz, Henryk: Krzyżacy, [Teutonic Knights], First published in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany", in 1897, as a book, in Warsaw, 1900, p. 589.

In recent times the following characteristic of these military monks is noted by an outstanding scholar Roman Dybowski:

"On the failure of the Crusades in Palestine the Knights of the Cross, or the Teutonic Order, left the Holy Land and settled in northern Europe, ostensibly to convert the heathen tribes there. This work they carried on with fire and sword. Later, summoned in an evil hour for Poland by Conrad of Mazowia, to help him in subjugating heathen Prussia, they exterminated the inhabitants of that country, whose actual name passed to them. They became masters of Prussia and the deadliest enemies of both Lithuania and of Poland. Lithuania being still a heathen country, under the pretext of converting her to Christianity, they ravaged the country with perpetual armed incursions ⁴⁰."

The cruelties the Knights perpetrated were such as to draw down upon them the condemnation of the Holy See. In the sixteenth century the Grand Master, and a few of his followers who were left, renounced their religious vows and embraced Lutheranism, and became the founders of modern Prussia⁴¹ and militarism⁴² that has come down to

⁴⁰ Dybowski, Roman: Outlines of Polish History, London, Unwin, 1925, "Between Tartar and Teuton", pp.21-3.

⁴¹ Kohn, Hans, The Idea of Nationalism, New York, Macmillan, "The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe", pages 262-280.

⁴² Voigt, Johannes, Geschichte Preussens vom dem Alttesten Zeiten Bis Zum Untergang der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens, Königsberg, 1927, volume 5, pages 116-9.

Hitler's war. In the days of Jadwiga, Western Europe was still blind to their true character, and held them for Crusaders.

Jadwiga's own father, like many a foreign knight and prince, had fought under the banners of the storytellers as they told of these knights in their white cloaks with the black cross embroidered on the back, riding into the forests of Lithuania and engaging in battle in the name of God, would only have heard of these men under a glamor of glory, with a halo of the Crusader about them.

Jadwiga would not have known that their zeal for conversion hid the lust of conquest, and that those they professed to be converting they either slew or carried into slavery. She could not have foreseen that years later she was to confront the Grand Master ~~of~~ the Order as a messenger of Divine vengeance.⁴³

The vision of this little maiden listening absorbed in the Court songs of the conflict between Lithuania and the Teutonic Knights, all unaware of the part that the

⁴³ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 492.
cf. Annalista Thoruniensis, SS. Rerum Prussicus,
Volume III, 1866, edited by Theodore Hirsch, pages 222-227.

Order and, above all, Lithuania were to play in her life, is in the light of subsequent events a very curious one. Nor did the child dream as she heard with a thrill of fear the stories of the wild Lithuanian land, that it was this land which was to be the tragedy and the glory of her own history.

In the Court of Vienna Jadwiga lived amidst a corrupt society. Those where were nearest to her, her future husband's family, were by no means models of virtue. Yet, this girl, in an immoral Court, surrounded by adulation and by all the temptations which beset a princess -- wealthy, of brilliant prospects, and, as all agreed, of an extraordinary beauty -- remained unsullied by the evil around her.

When Louis of Hungary and Poland felt his end approaching, he recalled Jadwiga back to Visegrad.⁴⁴ William was with her at the moment in Vienna, Louis summoned him also, because as it was a foregone conclusion that Jadwiga was to succeed to the Hungarian throne. She is mentioned repeatedly in documents,⁴⁵ of the period as

44 Długosz, Jan; Op. Cit., Vol. 4, p. 334.

45 Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae, IX, Op. Cit., pages 322-407.

the future Queen of Hungary -- her father intended to present the Prince and Princess together to the Hungarian magnates as their prospective sovereigns.

Louis died before he could carry out his wish. The question of the marriage and succession of his two daughters occupied his mind incessantly in the last years of his life. The meeting in July of 1382 at Zolmyn sapped his small strength.⁴⁶

There was another member of Jadwiga's family whose interest in the child's future was scarcely less than her father's, and who continually aided him with her advice. This was Jadwiga's grandmother, the Queen Mother, Elizabeth. In Louis' absence from Poland she acted as Regent in that country, but frequently returned to the Hungarian Court during Jadwiga's childhood.⁴⁷

Elizabeth was a woman of considerable political ability, and albeit she had her moments of feminine fears, strength of mind. As long as she lived her superior cha-

46 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Vol. 4, pp. 333-4.

47 Balzer, Oswald, O Następstwie Tronu w Polsce, Rozprawa Akademiji Umiejętności, 1897, volume II, pages 322-328.

racter and talent completely cast the younger Queen, Jadwiga's mother, into the background. There is small doubt that she had a great and lasting influence upon Jadwiga. She was devout, and a characteristic picture of her is given when she had had enough of the evening's entertainment at the Polish Court, calmly opening her huge breviary and performing the customary devotions while the younger people went on dancing and merry-making all about her.⁴⁸

Certain features of Elizabeth's piety, such as this steady performance of her religious exercises, whatever the tumult going on in her presence, her fondness for the breviary, her love of the Franciscans, were repeated in Jadwiga's history.

A quite unusual devoted love reigned between this mother and her son. "From early childhood", wrote King Louis, "my most admirable mother showered benefits on me with the tenderest love". It was to his mother that, when

48 Rydel, Lucyan, Królowa Jadwiga, Poznan, Wydawnictwo K. Kozłowski, 1910, pp. 48-57.

Rydel based his study on documents, but being a poet, he tended too much to the elegance of style.

dangerously wounded in war, he bade the Franciscan by his side to carry back his head and his heart in the event of his death.⁴⁹

The children of this loved son were very dear to her heart. She interested herself keenly in their education, and worked hand in hand with the King to ensure both their marriages and their thrones. She did not live to see either of them become queens. She bequeathed to each of her young granddaughters in her will a golden crown, richly encrusted with gems.⁵⁰

Among the correspondents of both Jadwiga's father and grandmother we find St. Catherine of Sienna. It is probable that Elizabeth would have read out to her little granddaughters the burning words of the Dominican nun who had the reputation of a Saint wherever she was known, and whose letter the recipient would have treasured as a relic and an honor, to be handed on to her descendants. In this letter St. Catherine urges the Queen Mother to use her in-

49 Dąbrowski, Jan; Op. Cit., pp. 61-3.

50 Balzer, Oswald, Op. Cit., page 376.

fluence with the King Louis to join the crusade that Pope Urban VI was then initiating:

"To you, most beloved and reverend mother in Christ Jesus, I write in the desire of seeing you lit and inflamed with the sweet and loving fire of the Holy Ghost, bethinking me that He is the love which taketh away all darkness, and giveth perfect light. He taketh away all ignorance, and giveth perfect knowledge".

"And truly, dearest Mother, when the soul gazes at the lamb fainting on the wood of the most Holy Cross for the ineffable love that He has for his creatures, it conceives so great a love towards the salvation of souls that it would give itself to a hundred thousand deaths to save one soul from eternal death. And you can make no sacrifice that would be more pleasing to God than this. Because you know that this banquet so pleased Him that He took no heed to any of its bitterness 51."

The essence of the above being that love cannot exist unless it embraces the love of our neighbor. These extracts are given for two reasons. First, because it seems very likely that Elizabeth with great reverence, read these spiritual counsels to Jadwiga, and that the girl who rose to heroic sanctity herself received them with a like veneration in her heart; later to put them into practice. And

51 Gardner, Edmund; Op. Cit., pp. 205-6.
cf. Montalbert, Charles de, Histoire de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie, Paris, E. Dentu, 1863, pages 263-269.

secondly, the above passage on the sacrifice of self for the souls of others is so extraordinary applicable to the sacrifice for souls that Jadwiga herself made, and which is the story of her life, that it might be written for her.

King Louis did not carry out the injunction of St. Catherine. Through Jadwiga thousands of souls, in a way never dreamed, were won to Christ. One may conjecture that these words written with the fire of a great Saint, may have returned to Jadwiga's memory when she was confronted with her great decision, and may have been one of the hidden sources that gave her strength to make it.

St. Catherine's letter to Jadwiga's father was one of the last she ever wrote. After a prelude, again inculcating upon him in impassioned strains the love of God, she implores him to take up arms in defense of the Church. "Sweet Jezus, Jezus Love", she ends. "Strengthen the Queen Louis' wife, Jadwiga's mother, on the part of Jezus Christ and on mine, and commend me to her 52."

52 Gardner, Edmund, Op. Cit., p. 206.

One may seek in vain for any message or blessing for Louis' children. His wife is greeted, not his little girls. The only allusion to them that could be constructed out of the letter is the phrase where St. Catherine writes that it would do honor to the king if he saw to it that justice were done, or did that justice himself, even if it should be to the detriment "of your child". The word "child" is in the masculine gender, but in the manner in which it is used only could refer to a daughter as well as a son. As a matter of fact, both Maria and Jadwiga were crowned as the "king" of their respective realms.

On the other hand, the reference may be to Jadwiga's cousin, Carlo Durazzo, who, after usurping the throne of Hungary from Jadwiga's sister, was murdered by her mother.⁵³ But, apart from the vain attempt to find any proof that St. Catherine sent a thought to the little girls, daughters of the sovereign upon whom she had placed her hopes, and placed them without result, one can see the

⁵³ Katona, H., Op. Cit., pages 257-9.
cf. Throcz, Joannis, Op. Cit., Chronica Hungarorum, pages 642-3.

blessing of the Saint for the father bearing fruit in the holiness of his youngest child and in the work she wrought for God's Church.

Casimir the Great had left in his will the stipulation that only Louis' male heirs should inherit the throne of Poland.⁵⁴ Louis had no sons, and the birth of his youngest child disappointed him in the hope of a male heir. All this time, while Jadwiga was pending her childhood in the Hungarian, or Viennese Court, studying, contemplating, learning the arts and manners of the time, playing with prince William, or with Maria, her father was carrying on a protracted struggle with the Polish magnates to induce them to choose one or the other of his children for their sovereign.⁵⁵

At first the choice seemed to dip equally between the three girls, and for the other two there were the crown of Hungary and the crown of Naples. But after the death of Catherine, when Jadwiga was a child, her father

54 Monumenta Poloniae Vaticanae, Vol. 6, Acta published by Akademiya Umiejętności, Kraków, p. 11, 1370.

55 Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., page 287.

gave up the intention of placing one of his daughters on the throne of Naples, and devoted himself to the task of persuading the Poles to accept Maria as their queen. He chose her rather than Jadwiga, for whom he destined the far richer kingdom of Hungary, for the reason that both queens, his wife and mother, were violently opposed to the prospect of Maria's betrothed husband, German Sigismund of Luxemburg, whose family they cordially disliked, being the king of Hungary.⁵⁶

It was only after a prolonged contest in which Louis, as the price for his victory, was compelled to grant privileges to the Polish nobles that paved the way to the extensive power, they afterwards gained in the government of their country, that the Polish nation agreed to acknowledge Maria as his successor:

"In 1374, the Polish representatives, summoned to Koszyce in Hungary, found themselves obliged to guarantee the crown of the Piasts to whichever daughter of Louis should be named by the king. In return, the latter granted them a charter of great importance which, for the first time, guaranteed all the rights of the Polish nobility, while considerably extending them. Among other privileges

⁵⁶ Throcz, Joannis, Op. Cit., Chronica Hungarorum, page 332.

it was freed from all imposts with the exception of the infinitesimal tax, more of a symbolic nature, levied upon its landed property ⁵⁷."

Louis died in 1382. Both Jadwiga and Prince William were at his deathbed. It seemed as though he had left this child of his without a certain future before her, with both crown and husband assured to her. Jadwiga was to be Queen of Hungary, and the wife of Prince William of Austria.⁵⁸

King Louis had scarcely drawn his last breath, when the whole of Jadwiga's life took an utterly opposite direction from that which she had been brought up to expect. Three days after Louis' death, Maria was Queen of Hungary, elected in part through the intrigues of her mother, who hated Germans in general and Sigismund in particular. She had no mind to have a German son-in-law, and fondly hoped that the Hungarians would not accept Sigismund as their Queen's husband.

⁵⁷ Halecki, Oscar, A History of Poland, New York, Roy Publishers, 1943, p. 66.

⁵⁸ Balzer, Oswald, Op. Cit., page 129.
cf. Caro, Jakob, Geschichte Polens, Gotha, 1869, part 3, pages 176-179.

This move lost the Polish throne for Maria, and finally, though after many difficulties, gained it for Jadwiga. For the Poles had seen the evils of uniting the crowns of Poland and Hungary too clearly from the example of the late king to be willing to continue that union. After the death of Louis they resolved to give the crown to the daughter who would agree to reside in Poland. This meant the exclusion of Maria, now Queen of Hungary, and the passing of the crown to Jadwiga. It was therefore resolved by the most influential section of the Polish dignitaries to choose Jadwiga as their Queen.⁵⁹

Young Jadwiga was prepared to assume the manly responsibility.⁶⁰

59 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume 4, 1370, pages 332-4.

60 Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., Chapters 2-3, pages 37-61.

cf. Zimowski, Kazimierz, OKrólowej Polskiej Jadwidze, Lwów, 1900, pages 17-46.

cf. also Traulitz, A., Hedwig Konigin von Polen, Dresden, 1840, pages 3-61.

cf. also Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume 4, pages 321-331.

cf. also Szajnocha, Karol, Jadwiga i Jagiełło, Lwów, 1861, Volume I, chapters 3-4, pages 76-144.

CHAPTER III

QUEEN JADWIGA AN OBJECT OF POLITICAL MARRIAGE

The advent of Jadwiga, who was to bring benefits of her reign to Poland, was beset with so long a struggle and with such recurrent obstacles, that it seemed as though she were destined never to enter the country.

Many princes voiced themselves as claimants to the Polish crown. There was the turbulent young Piast, Prince Ziemowit of Mazowia, who was supported by Wielkopolska or Great Poland located in the northwestern Polish provinces. His intention was to marry Jadwiga, whose husband was then to be crowned King of Poland. There was Sigismund of Luxemburg, Maria's betrothed, who would not give up his hope of possessing the Polish throne. The adherents and opponents of Ziemowit fought. Sigismund quarreled. The country was rent with disorder and civil war.¹

This strife raged for two years. During these years Jadwiga lived with her mother. It is somewhat re-

1 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 327-8. cf. Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae, edited by L. Ryszczewski and A. Muszkowski, Warsaw, 1852, volume 2, pages 137-141.

markable that, in spite of that close and intimate contact, she remained untouched by her mother's deft diplomatic influence. Elizabeth of Bosnia now comes forward for the first time, to play a decisive part in her daughter's life. The elder Elizabeth, Mother Regent, with her far superior character and capacity, and Louis, who had been the ablest of politicians, being both removed from the scene, the younger Queen Elizabeth had now full scope to satisfy the inordinate love of power which finally brought her to her death, and to weave the intrigues, which narrowly escaped losing the crown of Poland for Jadwiga.

The Polish princes approached Elizabeth with the proposition that, instead of Maria, Jadwiga should be their queen. Elizabeth received the proposal most graciously, and dispatched her assent by her Hungarian envoys.²

The woman of promises engaged that her child should be sent to Kraków for her coronation by the following Easter, 1383. It was now the February of 1383. The agreement

² Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae, Op. Cit., p. 142. cf. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 334.

was made on the condition that Jadwiga should return to her mother for the next three years. Jadwiga was then a mere child, which explains this seemingly somewhat unpractical suggestion, which was never put into effect. Jadwiga did not go to Poland either that Easter, 1383, or at any other time within the year. When Jadwiga entered Poland she never returned to Hungary.

A Council was called to draw up the consent of the nation to the Queen Mother's proposition, and at this council Jadwiga's chance of becoming Queen of Poland came within a hair's breadth of falling to the ground.

The faction of the Polish nobles who upheld the candidature of Ziemowit was supported by Bodzanta, the Archbishop of Gniezno, the Primate of all Poland.³ The Primate had already risen and proposed to the assembly that Ziemowit should be king when one of the nobles present, Jasko Tenczynski, who will appear repeatedly in Jadwiga's life as her most loyal and devoted servant, called for silence and spoke thus:

3 cf. Długosz, Jan, Vitae Praesulum Regni Poloniae, Sub Bodzanta.

"Szlachetna bracio: Nie godzi się tak skwapliwie kończyć elekcje. Jesteśmy bowiem obowiązani zachować przyrzeczenie wierności uczyniowe Jadwidze, córce króla Ludwika. Dlatego, jeśli przybędzie do nas na bliskie Świętki Zielone i zechce bawić w Polsce ze swoim mężem i rządzić państwem, czekajmy jej przybycia. A dopiero, gdyby nie przyjechała, wybierzemy sobie króla ⁴."

Brother nobles! It ill beseems us to make this haste in the election of our prince, since we are bound to keep faith with Jadwiga, the daughter of Louis. If she arrives by Whitsunday and consents to dwell among us together with her husband and rule over us, let us wait for her arrival. Only if the contrary befalls, let us then decide the sovereignty for ourselves⁴.

This proposal was accepted. Elizabeth's Hungarian envoys were summoned and bidden to carry the decision of the council to the Queen Mother, to which was added the condition of the restoration to Poland of Red Rus or Ruthenia, which province Hungary had annexed.⁵

Elizabeth prepared to take the road for Poland with both her daughters. It was arranged that an embassy of the Polish crown magnates should start for Sącz, a

4 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 337.

5 SS. Rerum Hungariae, edited by J. Schwandtner, Budapest, volume I, page 301.

town not far at that time from the borders of Hungary and Poland, to await the arrival of the queens and to escort them to Kraków.

In those days of strife and intrigues, when Poland was seething with turbulent factions, this proceeding was not so simple. There was Ziemowit in the background. He formed the plan of kidnapping Jadwiga during her journey to Poland as she entered Kraków, marrying her, and ruling by her side as king.

The Primate, who favored Ziemowit, started apparently for Sącz, with an escort of 500 knights. It was rumored that among the warriors, disguised as one of them, rode Prince Ziemowit.

"Biskup Bodzanta pod tym samym pozorem wyprawił się z niezwykle licznym orszakiem, w którym ukrywał się Semko, do Krakowa. Mazowiecki Piast zamierzał naprzód opanować stolicę a potem porwać Loisową córę⁶."

"Bishop Bodzanta for the same reason set out for Kraków with a numerous train amongst which Semko disguised himself. The Mazowian Piast planned at first to conquer the city and then to kidnap Louis' daughter".

6 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 336.

The plot was discovered in time, because as they neared Kraków the secret leaked out, or rather became public, and they were given to understand by the inhabitants of the city that had been loyal throughout to Jadwiga that unless they left the town forthwith they would be sent out of it by force. Such were the perils of those times that attended a princess who was about to ascend a disputed throne.⁷

In the meantime the genuine deputation waited in vain at the castle of Sącz for the Queen and her mother. Presently a Hungarian magnate rode in with his knights, bearing excuses from the Queen Mother. The spring rains had flooded the roads in the mountains, and she and her daughter could not risk their lives by facing so dangerous a journey.⁸

The Polish nobles, therefore, must come and speak to Queen Elizabeth at the Hungarian Court, when a later date for the coronation could be fixed between them. This was feeble, as apparently the Hungarian envoys had not

7 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., pages 336-7.

8 SS. Rerum Hungariae, Op. Cit., Pages 302-3. Cf. Strykowski, Maciej, Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka i Wszystkiej Rusi do 1582, Warsaw, 1846, volume II, pages 225-231.

found the roads impassable nor would, presumably, the Polish envoys. But Elizabeth had been warned of Ziemowit's designs on Jadwiga, and caught at any excuse that served to put off her child's journey to Poland.

However, the Polish deputation agreed. It was arranged that Jadwiga should enter Poland the following November in time to be crowned on St. Martin's day, November 11-12, 1383.⁹

Elizabeth was marking time, but although a woman who liked crooked ways, she was not guilty here of the double-dealing that shortly afterwards nearly lost Jadwiga her throne. On this occasion her mother's heart spoke more strongly than all her attempts at diplomacy. Determined that one of her children should be queen of Poland, Elizabeth shrank from allowing her youngest child, a little girl not eleven years old, to leave her care for a throne in a new country where there was a party of strong opposition to her succession, where she would be given into the keeping of all-powerful nobles and princely magnates, in whose hands would be the choice of her marriage,

9 Dlugosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 336.

the conduct of her life.¹⁰

There is not[^]reason to doubt that Elizabeth was a tender mother. This is sufficiently proved if only by the fact that when both she and Maria were in imminent danger of assassination, her cry to her captors was that they should take her life and spare her child's:

"At Diakovar they were suddenly surrounded by Croats, and deserted by most of their attendants. Nicholas, however, to the end the loyal defender of King Louis' family, leaped on to one of the carriage steps to protect the queen with his body. But by a swift sword he was decapitated and his head thrown into Elizabeth's lap. With lifted hands, she implored John Horvathy, leader of the plot, to spare Mary, and let herself, alone, suffer for the crime ¹¹."

Elizabeth undertook that Jadwiga should be in Poland by Martinmas. To this the Polish nobles, anxious to save Jadwiga from any danger of being carried off by Ziemowit, and willing to please Elizabeth, consented.¹² It

¹⁰ Janko z Czarnkowa, Chronicon Polonorum, 1370-1384, Translated by Z. Zerbiński, 1905, volume 2, pages 233-238.

¹¹ Kellogg, Charlotte; Jadwiga - Poland's Great Queen, New York; Macmillan, 1932, p. 200. Miss Kellogg produced her monograph scholarly, however, omitted here and there, references to the sources.

¹² Janko z Czarnkowa, Chronicon Polonorum, Op. Cit., page 235.

was the purpose of the princes and the magnates of Poland to ensure the welfare of their country by choosing a husband for their queen themselves. Only a prince who would unify Poland and expand her territory was to be considered. Jadwiga was to serve as the innocent figure in their designs.

No Pole took Wilhelm's childhood engagement with Jadwiga seriously. They knew that the infant bridal was not binding. They had no intention of letting Wilhelm rule over Poland. At a very early stage of their proceedings they had fixed upon the man to whom they intended to marry Jadwiga.

Elizabeth who was ready enough, in fact more than willing to rid herself of her second prospective son-in-law of German lineage, gave the Polish envoys a sealed document, conferring upon the magnates of the nation a free hand regarding Jadwiga's marriage:

"Elżbieta udzieliła pozwolenie do wolnego opiekowania się zamężciem młodej królowej, czyli wolność wyboru króla 13."

Elizabeth offered her permission to name the husband, which meant the selection of a king.

Then Ziemowit swore he would take the crown by force, and ravage the lands of his opponents, while Sigmund came into Poland at the head of the Hungarian army and laid waste to the country and cities.¹⁴

The end of October had come. Martinmas drew near. Still there were no signs of the little queen's arrival. The girl round whose head these storms of war and diplomacy were being waged was at that moment spending the last hours of her childhood at the court in Dalmatia, in the company of her sister Maria from whom she was soon to part for ever.¹⁵ Here they shared for the last time their books, their music, their amusements, perhaps weaving together their fancies of what the future would bring to both of them, who were to be queens of two adjoining countries.

In the uncertainty of what the morrow would bring, one figure remained always the pivot of the life before her: that of her young fiancé and prince with whom she had played at the court of Vienna, who was going to be

14 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 336.

15 Katona, H., Op. Cit., page 309.

her husband. At the end of October 1383 a Polish noble, Sędziwoj of Szubin,¹⁶ rode in to the court accompanied by a band of Polish youths of the noblest houses of Poland who were to be left as hostages in Hungary against the return of Jadwiga for the three years of which her mother had spoken, but of which nothing more was to be heard. Sędziwoj carried the message that Jadwiga was expected in Kraków by Martinmas, 1383. Jadwiga must have known that her mother refused to send her. How much would she have heard of what happened next? How her mother kept the envoy and these Polish princes in Zara in Dalmatia while she, for fear of the Poles losing patience and bestowing the crown elsewhere, sent secret instructions to a confidant of hers to give Kraków over to the Hungarian soldiers who were in that city. How Sędziwoj, getting news of this, escaped from the Hungarian court and pursued Elizabeth's messenger like the wind to prevent her scheme from being carried out.¹⁷ How Elizabeth threw the young hostages into prison? It would be a matter of speculation but not of

¹⁶ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 337. of. Fessler, Ignace Aurel, Geschichte von Ungarn, Leipzig, 1869, Volume I, pages 170-184.

¹⁷ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 334.

documentary evidence of today's preserved historical monuments.

In March, 1384, a single horseman rode into the Hungarian court, and this time his message was a tart one: to the effect that unless Jadwiga was sent to Poland in the very near future the Poles would elect another king. May 8, 1384, was the date named for the arrival of Jadwiga in Krakow:

"Odbył się zjazd szlachty 2 marca 1384 w Radomsku, na którym zapadło ultimatum. Postanowiono przesłać Elżbiecie przez Przecława Wanwelskiego ostatnie upomnienie aby pod utratę korony wyprawiła córkę do Polski w przeciągu dwóch miesięcy 18."

A conference of nobles took place March 2, 1384 in Radomsk, where an ultimatum was drawn. It was decreed that Przecław Wanwelski go to Elizabeth with the final reminder that the crown will be lost unless she sends her daughter to Poland within two months.

Still Jadwiga's mother temporized even attempting to dispatch in Jadwiga's stead, as governor of the country, her hated future son-in-law, Sigmund, in the hope of leaving Maria free to marry a French prince, and of putting

18 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 335.

off the parting with her youngest daughter.¹⁹

May 8th passed and Jadwiga was still in Hungary. Her arrival was put off until May 29, and even on May 29th she was still at the Hungarian court. Then again Jadwiga saw Sędziwoj ride in. What he said to Elizabeth is not known, but he must have told her in straight language that the Poles would brook no further delay, and that if Jadwiga were ever to be Queen of Poland she must go there forthwith. Her mother saw that should Jadwiga not set out for Poland now, the crown would never be hers. She had gained some time. Two years, 1382-1383, had been taken up with her delaying tactics, evasions and deliberations. Jadwiga was now two years older than she had been when her father, King Louis, died in 1382. Elizabeth gave way. She consented to let the little princess go.

Thus was at last ended the long strife that had beset the ascent of this girl to the Polish throne,²⁰ upon

19 SS. Rerum Hungariae, Op. Cit., pages 304-6.

20 cf. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 331-337. Acta Externa: Monumenta Hungariae Historiae, 1876, Volume V, pages 423-427. Maciejewska, Wanda, Jadwiga Królowa Polski, Monografia, Kraków, 1934, pages 27-33. Miechowita, Maciej, Chronica Polonorum a Prima Propagatione ab ortu Polonorum usque 1506, Kraków, 1521, pages 312-314. Zaluski, X. W., Op. Cit., pages 69-72.

which Divine Providence had ordained that she should carry out a work for the kingdom of God which only her person could bring about. In October, 1384, Jadwiga started for Poland.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARRIVAL IN THE LAND OF HER FATHERS

JADWIGA CROWNED KING OF POLAND

October, 1384, Jadwiga left Hungary for Kraków, the capital of Poland. There were many tears at parting between mother and child she was not to see again. To the last, young Wilhelm found few words. He clung to Jadwiga's hand trying to delay her going. Little did the two know that this was parting for ever and the end of the "state betrothal".

Jadwiga's mother did not accompany her as she set out for Poland. Queen Elizabeth was kept in Hungary by the disturbed state of the country. She gave Jadwiga over to the charge of the venerable and universally respected Cardinal Archbishop Demetrius of Estergom,¹ the same cleric who had joined the hands of Jadwiga and Wilhelm at their infant bridal at Hainburg. He had been appointed Papal legate in Poland. The Cardinal had enjoyed the entire confidence of Jadwiga's father, and the young queen-

1 Eubel, Conrad, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi Sive Summarum Pontificum. S.R.E. Cardinalium Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series Ab Anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431, perducta e documentis tabulari praesertim. Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita, Editio Altera, Volume 2, 1915, pages 115-116.

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to-be, therefore, was in care of no stranger, but in that of an old friend.²

Jadwiga started on her journey to Poland under the escort of the said Cardinal Archbishop Demetrius, the Hungarian Bishop, John of Csanad, Doctor Radlica, Bishop of Kraków, and attended by a retinue of Hungarians nobles. The colorful procession rode through the Carpathians that barricaded Poland from Hungary.

Jadwiga was entering a land that was rent with disorder and dissension, because of her marriage and two years interregnum. Noble and magnate vied for offices and for possession of lands. Violence was uncommon and blood stained the hands of many nobles in power:

"Szlachta wadziła się między sobą, grabierz po grabieży i najazdy rozprzęgły życie na wsi, w dodatku zlatywali się za zerem z dalekich stron drapieżnicy. Magnaci i szlachta gnębi; się wzajemnie grabieżą i pożogą i jest takich niemało w Królestwie Polskim, którzy dążą do tego, aby nie mieć żadnego króla, lecz sobie samym przywłaszczając dobrą koronę. Stało się wreszcie! Na wzburzone niebo Polskie weszła poranna gwiazda Jadwigi³."

2 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 336.

3 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 336.
cf. Szajnocha, Jan: Op. Cit., Volume 2, pp. 22-5. cf.
Katona, H., Historia Critica Regni Hungariae, Op. Cit.,
pages 173-6.

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The nobility quarreled among themselves, looting and raiding disordered the life of the peasant, in addition, raiders from far off areas joined in the attacks. The magnates and nobles oppressed with fire and loot, and there were a few who agreed not to have any king in the Polish realm, but to keep the benefits of the crown for themselves. At last it happened. Upon the stormy skies of Poland arose the shining morning star, Jadwiga.

Jadwiga, eleven years old, was to serve as herald of peace to the warring nobles. Little did she realize the mission intended for her hand as the Queen of Poland. The factions and fighting that had rent the country for two years now died at the approach of her who came to bring the reign of peace and prosperity to the land.

Processions of clergy, nobles and populace came out to meet her, carrying banners, crosses, and relics of the Saints. As Jadwiga neared Kraków the Polish princes of State rode up with clashing swords and further swelled the splendid procession.⁴

If certain of these haughty lords had had no mind to swear allegiance to a woman, they were so carried away by admiration for the girl they saw that forgetful that they were men they were not ashamed of paying the most

4 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 406-407.

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humble obedience to so noble and virtuous a woman.⁵ Her life was opening before her with the fairest promise.

Although Jadwiga had never set foot in Poland, she was entering no foreign country, but one she had learned to know and love from her childhood. Not only was her mother partly of Polish descent, as we know, but she also had learned much about Poland from her grandmother and from the Poles who had followed the elder Elizabeth on her marriage and settled permanently in the Hungarian court.

Her father, Louis, had been absentee King of Poland, and until his death she had been brought up to look upon her sister Maria, and for the last two years upon herself, as the future Queen of Poland. Poland belonged to her family via the Piast lineage.⁶ Although of mixed nationality, there was more Polish blood in her veins than any other.

The prospect of seeing this country, which was now her kingdom, strongly attracted Jadwiga. Both Elizabeths

5 Monumenta Poloniae Historiae, Pomniki Dziejów Polski, Wydawca A. Bielowski, Lwów-Kraków, 1865, Volume II, page 379.

6 Balzer, Oswald, Op. Cit., pages 170-9.

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trained her in Polish traditions. In Jadwiga's subsequent conduct as Queen of Poland, she entered Poland as no alien sovereign, but as one returning to something that was her own, one who devoted herself heart and soul to that country's cost to herself, her own desire to those of her country.

Nor could any sensitive and impressionable girl, and Jadwiga was both, have failed to be moved by the signs of welcome and rejoicing with which she was hailed at every step of her entrance into her new kingdom:

"Za zbliżeniem się królowej wszystkie chorągwie głęboki oddawały jej pokłon. Za czym szła zwyczajna ofiara podarku powitalnego. Składał się on pospolice z drobnostki, mając jedynie wartość symboliczną, jako znak hołdu i danniczności ⁷."

With the arrival of the queen all the standards were flown to show her deep respect. After this came the traditional presentation of the greeting gift. It was commonly a small item, having a symbolical value, the mark of homage and tribute.

Coming as she did from a long line of kings, a throne would have presented her nothing new, but a position to which she stepped into with the dignity, and ease

⁷ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Vol. 4, p. 416.

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of one who had sovereignty in her blood. She had parted from her mother and with her sister, but separation from her family was so often in her life. If she were leaving her mother she was going to the husband for whom she had always been destined, who would join her in Kraków, and ascend the throne with her. Wilhelm was not a stranger, but a childhood playmate in the Buda Court of Hungary. Jadwiga respected the religious character of this infant betrothal.

Nor can one judge Jadwiga's feelings in embarking upon this new and untried phase of her existence by the standards of a thirteen years old child of our days. Not only did girls develop so early in that epoch that twelve was the age at which they were sought in marriage, the "age of reason", but Jadwiga also belonged, in part at least to the Bosnian people, a southern race, whose children mature more rapidly than those in the northern climes.⁸

⁸ Kutrzeba, Stanisław, Ideał i Życie Kobiety w Polsce, Ateneum Polski, 1908, Number I, Volume 4, Warsaw, pages 61-2.

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Jadwiga was scarcely more than a child facing two equally untried ventures, that of a throne and marriage, for both of which according to our notions she was much too young, she was already a queen and brought up to be a queen since she could remember. Jadwiga was a girl who was capable of conjugal love. She had a strong will and courage due to both her Anjou ancestry and of the Polish race. Evidences of this will arose in her reign with King Jagiello.⁹

She was mature for her years and when she came to Poland, she was tall and stately. She would not have reached her full growth at the time of her entry into Poland, but when she attained to full womanhood she was of a height above the average in height for her sex at that epoch. Conscientious care, good food, rest and proper exercise aided in reaching a fuller growth. Jadwiga's charming beauty had gained for her the reputation of being one of the loveliest princesses in Europe.¹⁰ Her radiant and splendid beauty was famed through every part of the

⁹ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 420.

¹⁰ Iconographical Reference: Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., Illustration, page 61.

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world.¹¹ Precise details of her looks are lacking to us. From Matejko one may surmise that they were of the state-ly type, softened especially as the years went on by a winning sweetness, and yet at the same time, there was humility, pride, and great modesty in her bearing.¹²

At the opening of Queen Jadwiga's grave for restoration work in 1891, from the remains in the sarcophagus, Jan Matejko noted the following elements of Jadwiga's beauty:

"Królowa Jadwiga posiadała promienistą piekność. Była z wysokiego wzrostu, miała długą minę, jajnikową głowę, prosty i długi, a ale cienki nos i szerokie pewne usta ¹³."

Queen Jadwiga was of radiant loveliness. She was tall, had a longish face, oval head and a straight, narrow but thin nose, and a wide firm mouth.

The first representation of Jadwiga that the Polish nation ever had was made from the sketch that the historical artist Matejko had made at the work in resto-

¹¹ De Contemplatione et Vita Activa Regni Jadwis, Manuscript no. 2424 in the Jagiellonian Library, Kraków, Poland.

¹² Bandurski, X. Władysław, Jadwiga Święta Królowa Na Polskim Tronie, Zbąszyn, 1910, volume 2, 1910, page 189.

¹³ See page 66.

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ring the Polish Pantheon in the Wawel Cathedral. He painted Jadwiga from this sketch and she appears in the "Poczet Królów Polskich" as the only Polish crowned queen. Jadwiga's beauty is legendary and we have but one Polish chronicler's note as to her growth and beauty of character:

"Zaledwo bowiem wyszła z lat dziecynnych, taki już okazywała rozsądek i dojrzałości, że cokolwiek mówiła albo czyniła, wydawało się jakby sędziwego wieku powagę 14."

Although she had hardly left the childish age, judgment and maturity were noted, so that whenever she said or did something, it was as if from one of profound judgment and of dignified age.

13 Antoniewicz, J.B.: Matejko: Studia i Szkice, Kraków, 1938, Gebethner i Wolff. p. 79.

The sketch Matejko made of Jadwiga at this event is available in London today priced at \$400. It is a small sketch on 6 by 9 inches almost single sheet. This item is confirmed by Capt. Stanisław Worowski of the Polish Art Studios, New York, who is an agent for this item.

14 Długosz, Jan; Op. Cit., Volume IV, 1384, p. 422.

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From the few sources in history and literature that remain today,¹⁵ only the virtue of modesty and humility stand out today as the Queen's prime virtues. Record of her learning and patronage also show that she was a queen of charity. As a founder of churches and religious institutions which were aided by her purse and interest, she also had the virtue of apostleship. But her sacrifice of her personal happiness to wed the Lithuanian Jagiello so that the Cross of Rome would be brought to the Lithuanian people, shows Jadwiga's apostleship of sacrifices for her Faith.

A little more than a hundred years earlier, in 1236, another saintly queen, Blessed Kunegunda, or, as the Poles still call her, St. Kinga, had also travelled from Hungary by the same road that Jadwiga now took to marry

15 De Contemplatione, Op. Cit., Manuscript no. 2424.

cf. Rydel, Lueyan, Czy Nie Święta?, Przegląd Powszechny, 1905, Warsaw, Number 22, pages 63-79. cf. also Czernak, W., Jadwiga Królowa Polski, Lwów, 1887, Chapters 3-4, pages 76-102.

cf. also Dąbrowski, Jan, Królowa Jadwiga, Przegląd Powszechny, Warsaw, 1935, pages 47-54. cf. also Decius, I.I.L., Op. Cit., pages 3-19.

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one of Jadwiga's predecessors, Boleslaw the Chaste. On her way to Kraków, Jadwiga halted at the convent of Poor Clares, of Stary Sącz, where St. Kinga had ended her life in religion, and knelt in prayer at her tomb:

"W r. 1257 św. Kinga otrzymała jako wiano ziemie Sandecką od męża; w r. 1279 w Starym Sączu złożyła klasztor Klarysek, w którym mieszkała aż do zgonu w r. 1292 l6."

In the year 1257 St. Kinga received from her husband as a gift the Sandecki lands; in the year 1279 at Stary Sącz she founded the Convent of the Poor Clares, where she lived until her death in 1292.

Jadwiga, a young girl, riding like the heroine of a romance to a crown and, as she believed, to a handsome prince, did not at that moment know that she too was to lead a life of austerity and sacrifice not dissimilar to that of her saintly kinswoman in the midst of her court. Her great-uncle, Kazimierz, was the last of the Piast line and that she was the end of the Piast progeny, and would be the foundress of a new lineage in Poland with Jariello, the Lithuanian House.

16 Skarga, Ksiadz Piotr, TJ. Żywoty Świtych Polskich, Kraków; Krakowska Drukarnia, 1812, p. 113, also Wilno: Zakład Uniwersytecki, 1579, p. 113.

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Jadwiga knew that it was through St. Kinga, who loved and labored for Poland, that the great Polish salt mines at Bochnia and Wieliczka were opened for the benefit of the country:

"Ojca swego nawiedzając, uprosiła u niego górę jedną soli i tam w nią pierścien swój wrzuciła. A potem gdy się w Bochni w ziemi Krakowskiej żupy otworzyły, w pierwszym bałwanie który wykopano, pierścien się on jej znalazł; który ujrzaszy Kunegunda i poznawszy, dziękowała Panu Bogu, czyniącemu cuda tym, którzy go miłują 17."

Visiting her father, she asked and was granted a salt cave into which she threw in her signet ring. Shortly in Bochnia near Kraków, when the salt mines were opened, in the first pile that was dug, her signet ring appeared, and when Kunegunda saw it, she thanked God for the Miracles He performs for those that love Him.

These mines have been worked ever since, and the Polish miners still invoke St. Kinga as their patron. Jadwiga was aware of the miraculous doings of her kinswoman. Jadwiga knew that during the fearful inroads of the Mongols in 1253, the prayers of St. Kinga went up to God like incense for the deliverance of her nation.

Had Jadwiga heard the popular legend that, in the first of those Mongol invasions, as Kinga, then a

17 Skarga, Książ Piotr, Op. Cit., p. 111.

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girl of seventeen^N, fled from the invaders up a mountain white pinks sprang from her tears and red pinks from her bleeding feet, and that her foot resting on a rock left its imprint there?

"Uciekając z Sącza do zameczka w górach w Pienianach, tam gdzie padły łzy białe kwiatuszki porosły, a tam gdzie kropli krwi ziemię plamiły, czerwone kwiatki wyrosły. /z r. 1287/ 18."

"Escaping from Sącz into the mountains to the small castle in the Pieniany region, there where tears fell, white flowers bloomed, and there where drops of blood stained the earth, red blossoms grew.

Jadwiga was to meet in her own life a similar story to this tradition, but in her case with something deeply profound behind it. Jadwiga must have been familiar with every detail, both truth and legend, concerning a saint in the family. The points of likeness between these two princesses with at least one cardinal difference, for it was the desire of Jadwiga's heart to raise up heirs to her great inheritance, are so striking that it sets one to wondering whether, when Jadwiga definitely embraced her life of penance and of self-devotion

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to the welfare of her subjects, she had in her thoughts the spiritual ideal of the saint at whose grave she had prayed on entering her Polish kingdom.

The entourage reached the gates of Kraków and halted. Jadwiga was handed the keys of the City on a golden platter.¹⁹ She entered the town. Every living soul thronged the streets which presented a riot of color to the Queen's eyes as she passed through them. Processions of the clergy in their robes, of the nobles in rich and gorgeous silks girded with silver belts from which hung short swords, and wearing high peaked velvet caps, and of the burghers and the guilds, poured forth to welcome the young princess.²⁰

Each procession carried banners and as Jadwiga approached every flag and banner was dipped with the sound of the swishing wind. The guilds, that characteristic feature of the Middle Ages, walked each under their own banner, emblazoned with the representatives of their pa-

19 Janko z Czarnkowa, Chronicon Polonorum, Op. Cit., page 272.

20 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 416-7.

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tron saint. The painters carried the figure of St. Luke, the carpenters of St. Joseph, the potters Adam and Eve, an allusion to the clay whereof we are made, and so on.²¹

Trumpets, flutes and pipes made shrill music, and young girls dressed in white greeted the young Queen, singing and chanting. All those taking part in the procession carried torches. Bonfires lit up the streets, and all the bells of the city clashed and pealed their joyous sounds of greeting. Jugglers and acrobats played antics and cut capers as the royal procession went by, but in this instance, more by way of amusing the very youthful queen:

"Przy odgłosie licznych dzwonnów krakowskich witała zwyczajnie przybywających do miasta królów strojna procesya najnadobniejszych dziewcząt, ubranych w barwę radości, w biel, z zapalonemi świecami w rękę, w wesołym śpiewem na ustach.... Najulubieńszem atoli godłem uciechy bywały niezmiernie gęste światła i świece, jarzące się w rękę duchowieństwa i ludu, w powieszonych przed domami latarniach, owszem, w ogromnych stosach ogniowych, nieconych swawolnie po ulicach i placach miejskich... Śród takich oznak radości, tem zapewne weselszych,

²¹ Chmiel, Adam, Cechy Krakowskie, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, Monograph, 1907, number 2, pages 43-6.

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iz młodocianą, prawie jeszcze dziecinną powitać
i zabawić miały królowę 22."

To the peals of the numerous church bells in Kraków, ordinarily sounded to announce the entry of the king to the city, a procession of the prettiest maidens, dressed in white and with colored ribbons flying, with lighted candles in their hands, and with joyous song on their lips, thus they greeted the queen. One of the most cheerful elements of joy was the unusual number of torches and candles carried by the clergymen and people, also lantern lights were hung on the houses, huge bonfires on the streets and in the squares brightened the scene. Amidst such marks of expressed joy, all most surely happy, so that the almost child-like queen should be entertained and welcomed.

Kraków seethed with excitement. The first woman to be crowned Queen of Poland's history in her own right, arrived in the capitol city.

Jadwiga was escorted up the Wawel hill to the Cathedral on the summit, close to the royal castle. Outside the cathedral the clergy met her, carrying relics, and then conducted her into the great church, the Pantheon of Poland, the burial place of her kings, where Jadwiga eventually herself was to find a sepulchre.

Jadwiga knelt and prayed before the High Altar, then rose and laid offerings upon it. Having paid her

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devotions to the tomb of the martyr Bishop, St. Stanislaus, whose body lay in the Cathedral, as it still does even today, Jadwiga was led into the noble fortress palace that towers on the cliff over the plain washed by the Vistula River and framed in the distance by the Carpathians. This was now Jadwiga's home. Its walls were to be the witness of the tears which none ever saw, of the prayers that no human but Divine ear heard, which gave her strength to bear the burden which, unknown to herself, was soon to descend upon her.²³

Two days later, on October 15, 1384, Jadwiga was crowned.²⁴ It was the feast day of her patron Saint, St. Jadwiga, Duchess of Silesia, the aunt of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. To her also, Jadwiga, through her Polish Piast blood, was related. Like St. Kinga, St. Jadwiga retired into a convent, that of the Cistercians, there to end her days. She never took the religious vows, as she wished

22 ... cf. Szajnocha, Karol, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 30-1.

23 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 417-418.

24 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 421.

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to retain the luxury, with her a passion, of giving alms. The poor were always guests at her table, whom she served on her knees, kissing the ground on which they had trod, in memory of the Feet of Christ, who had been poor with them.²⁵

St. Jadwiga so pitied prisoners, even the personal enemies of her husband, that she continually visited the prisons, bringing prisoners food, clothing, and lights to relieve the darkness of their cells. It was during her life that the first appalling Tartar invasion swept over Poland. Her son, Henry the Pious, was disastrously defeated and slain at the Battle of Lignica. While the battle was raging St. Jadwiga called her lady attendant and said: "Demunda, I have seen my only son, who with the flight of a bird has flown from my sight". When the news of his death was brought to her, she thanked God for a son who had never given her one moment's of sorrow and who had shed his blood for Christ:

"Dziękuję, Tobie, Panie, iżś mi takiego syna dał, który, mi się nigdy nie uprzykrzając, teraz na obronie wiary chrześcijańskiej, za rzeszpospo-

25 Skarga, Książdz Piotr, Op. Cit., page 76.

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lita przeciw krzyża Twego nieprzyjaciółom
walcząc, gardło swe położył 26."

"I thank You, Lord, for granting me such a good son, who never caused sorrow, and now in defense of the Christian faith of the nation fighting the enemy of Your Cross, he lay down his life.

Such is Queen Jadwiga's patron Saint. It is to be observed that of the two saintly Jadwigas of Poland, it is not the canonized Saint, in whose detachment from the things of earth there was a certain harshness, but the other, the Queen, who has gained the first place in the heart of the Polish nation.

Students of Jadwiga's history cannot fail to see clear signs of the inheritance that the royal nuns, and far distant relatives at that, handed down to her, apart from what may have been conscious imitation on her part. Jadwiga too attired herself later, and this in the full bloom of her early womanhood, in penitential garb, and practiced great austerity among the gaieties of her court.²⁷ But, if in this respect she was true to the tra-

26 Skarga, Ksiądz, Piotr, Op. Cit., page 77.

27 Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., page 127.

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ditions of her family on both sides, it must be emphasized that there was likewise another and equally strong inheritance in Jadwiga's blood.

It was that of royal sovereignty. Jadwiga was equally true to this hereditary influence as to the other saintly inheritance of her forebears. This double strain in Jadwiga's mentality is a very remarkable feature in her character. Whatever the penances she practiced on her throne, there is no sign, not the slightest hint, that she ever dreamed of renouncing her estate, as the saintly women of her Piast race had done.

On the contrary, Jadwiga loved her throne, and her sense of the dignity of her calling as queen, her intense care for the stability and honor of her crown, are among her most strongly marked characteristics of virtue.

Jadwiga was the first queen of Poland to sit on the Polish throne in her own right. There were forty-six monarchs, and only Jadwiga was the lone woman to rule by her own hand. Jadwiga was crowned 'king' of Poland. The chronicler Jan Dlugosz records this scene from

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the pergamimum court and Church records of the day:

"Dnia piętnastego października, w którym u Polaków obchodzi się uroczystość św. Jadwigi, w kościele Krakowskim, przez sprawijącego obrządek Bodzantę, arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego, tudzież Jana Krakowskiego, biskupów, w obecności rzeczzonego kardynała arcybiskupa Granu, i liczного zebrania panów i rycerstwa obu królestw Polskiego i Węgierskeigo, ukoronowali ją i namaścili na króla Polską, oddawszy jej władze zupełną zarządzenia królestwem póki jej nie obmyślono i nie przydzono sposobnego do rządów małżonka. I nie dziw: wiedzieli bowiem że tak piekność przymioty serca, czystość dziewiczą sławę, a łagodność i słodycz obyczajów ród zacny przewyższała 28."

On October 15, which the Poles observe as St. Jadwiga's name day, in the Kraków Church, under the ceremonial direction of the Gniezno Archbishop, also Bishop, John of Kraków, in the presence of Cardinal, the Archbishop of Gran, and numerous lords and nobles of both kingdoms, Poland and Hungary, crowned and anointed her and named her as king of Poland, giving her complete authority to rule the Polish kingdom, until a husband is proposed and united to aid in ruling the realm. And there is no wonder: they knew that such beautiful attributes of the heart, the fame of her chaste purity, her piety and sweet meekness, she towered above all in her illustrious nation.

The ceremony was carried out with all the solemnity of the ritual that held the sovereign to be anointed

28 Długosz, Jan; Op. Cit., Volume IV, 1384, page 422.

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of God. As the Queen was about to leave the royal palace to traverse the few steps that separate it from the cathedral, the Bishop of Kraków, Jan Radlica, her father's physician and old friend, sprinkled her with holy water. The royal procession then moved.

She was led by the Polish Primate, Bodzanta, now reconciled to the present order of events, and by the Hungarian Cardinal Archbishop and Papal legate, Demetrius, to the Cathedral.²⁹

Within the Cathedral the throne had been erected in front of the High Altar. It was covered with gold brocade, and its foot and sides blazed with the coats of arms of all the provinces of Poland. The royal insignia were laid upon the altar. The Queen took her stand at the foot of her throne, and High Mass began. When the moment came for the Gospel to be sung, the girl Queen with all the dignity of her royal blood advanced to the altar and knelt before the Primate. He administered to her the coronation oath.

²⁹ Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae, Op. Cit., volume I, page 467.

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Would she maintain all the laws, liberties and privileges of her kingdom? Would she govern and defend the kingdom that God had entrusted to her?

Placing her hand on the book of the Gospels presented to her, she uttered her solemn oath: "I will". And if ever a sovereign kept that vow, she who looked upon her kingship as a charge for which she was answerable to God kept hers.³⁰

Her oath pronounced, her attendants slipped the cloak and dalmatic from her shoulders, and the Archbishop annointed her right shoulder with the holy oils. Jadwiga's garments were replaced. The Archbishop took the crown from the altar, laid it on the head, and put the sceptre and the golden apple in her hands. The trumpets blew, and the Cathedral rang with the shouts that proclaimed the new King of Poland. After the Gospel had been sung the Queen was led back to the throne. For the first time she ascended the steps and seated herself.³¹

³⁰ These are all documentary descriptions and on the following pages are excerpts taken from the chronicle of Długosz, senior canon of the Cathedral of Kraków, pragmatic historian and chronicler, Vide, Op. Cit., volume IV, 1384, pages 420-426.

³¹ (See page 81)

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Jadwiga's crown, studded with precious stones, was worked in a cunningly woven design of golden lilies, stalks and buds, and according to French fashion streamers of ribbon floated from it. Though far lighter than the crown of Poland's kings, yet it was so heavy for the very young head beneath it that while the Mass proceeded two of the Crown officers stood on either side of the Queen holding it above her head.

After the Credo the Queen descended the throne, and laid bread and wine in golden vessels on the altar for the offertory. Returning to her seat, she left it once more at the "Domine non sum dignus", and kneeling received Holy Communion. What she in those moments promised the Lord no one knows, but from the course of her history one can surmise. The Mass ended. Again the trumpeters and flutists shrilled forth, and the procession escorted the Queen back to the castle in the same order as that in which it had left. The ceremony had been a long and exacting one.³²

31 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 427.

32 Szajnocha, Karol, op. cit., Vol. 2, "Koronacja", pp. 334-48.

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Much dispute as to the coronation ceremony has waged as to date of day as well as to its actual descriptions. Several old chroniclers have noted that the actual ceremony took place on Saturday, October 15, 1384. There is no dispute about the year and even Dlugosz compares alike. Court and Church records of the time give the time and details:

"A.D. 1384 die dominico Hedwigis est in regem Poloniae coronata 33."

In 1384 Queen Jadwiga was crowned the monarch of Poland.

Another chronicler following the pattern of facts as recorded by Długosz recorded the coronation in these words:

"Wiele panów i rycerstwa wyjeżdżało i procesyje wychodziły z wielką radością na dzień s. Edwigi z Krakowa. Tam zarazem przyjachawszy pomażana jest za króla Polską przez Bodzentę, arcybiskupa Gnesńskiego, i przy tychże posłach Węgierskich i przy innych biskupiech Polskich i Śląskich, której dano

33 Lętowski, X., Katal. Biskupstwo Krakowskiego
IV, Dodat. p. 101.

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moć sprawować królestwo Polskie do tego czasu,
póki małżeństwie nie będzie podana 34."

Many lords and knights arrived for the procession which joyously took place on the day of St. Jadwiga of Kraków. As soon as she /Jadwiga/ arrived, she was annointed king of Poland by Archbishop Bodzanta of Gniezno in the company of ambassadors from Hungary and other Polish and Silesian bishpps, and to her was given power of the Polish monarchy until such time as she will be given away in marriage.

After the colorful ceremony of coronation the usual banquet followed, at which Jadwiga presided, sitting at the table on a throne.

The following day, in accordance with the time-honored Polish custom and tradition, the Queen in her crown and royal robes rode down in state to receive the homage of the burghers of the town. Kraków was a Hansa town, and was a center of trade for east and central Europe, carrying its merchandise far and wide. Foreign merchants, Scots, Armenians, Tartars, Jews, Hungarians, and preponderant in numbers and influence, Germans, crowded the streets of the gay and noisy Kraków capital.

34 Strykowski, Maciej; Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmudzka I Wszystkiej Rusi Do r. 1584, Published by L. Glueksberg, Warsaw, 1846, Volume 2, page 73.

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Kraków, the city, the capital of Poland, has enraptured many people, then and even today. These inspiring words were written by a modern:

"O Kraków, Kraków - what beauty is thine and what glory! What sorrow, too, and penance and tears. Yet from this Wawel court as one looks over the town one knows that right will come again to restore thee to those who love thee and cherish thee, and feel for thee as a father feels for his children 35."

The Queen and her escort swept round the market place till they reached the throne set up in front of the town hall. Evidently Jadwiga looked upon the magnificent Church of St. Mary, with its huge nave, one of the highest in Europe, which was then in the process of building. She passed the Cloth Hall, the famous Polish landmark, Sukiennice, in the market place, where every merchandise that came into that capital city was obliged to be taken and weighed.

Jadwiga was seated on the throne prepared in front of the town hall, the stronghold of the Kraków burghers,

35 Kelly, Eric, P., From Star To Star: A Story of Kraków, New York, J.B. Lippincott, 1942, p. 206.

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and with all the ceremonial peculiar to the city a procession of burghers and townsfolk led by the chief city functionaries filed before her, kneeling and offering her their homage. The town officials and chief councillors were dressed in long, wide cloaks, hats with three silver balls, a wide belt edged with silver holding a sword in a silver sheath. These were merchants in silver coats. The pageantry of this time was so colorful that a lasting impression was recorded by Dlugosz and later by Szajnocha for posterity:

"W okazałym pochodzie uderzyli czołem przed nią burmistrz, dwudziestu czterech rajców czyli konsułów apostolskich, grono jedenastu sędziów-lawników z dwunastym wojtem na czele, i wszystką wreszcie pospolność miejską, wiedzona przez swoich starszych, których bywało czterdziestu 36."

In a special ceremony, the mayor, four councilmen, who were Apostolic counsuls, a group of eleven jurists and the twelfth, the bailiff at the head, and the rest, the ordinary townsmen known to the elders of which there were forty, paid homage to her.

Queen Jadwiga's first duties after her coronation were the signing of various decrees bestowing royal lar-

36 Długosz, Jan; Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 423.
cf. Szajnocha, Karol; Op. Cit., Vol. 2, p. 345.

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gesses, rewarding those who had loyally adhered to her claim and support to the Polish throne. The list of her favors went on to those who had earned her gratitude and to those who, formerly hostile to the accession of a woman, had now reconciled themselves to a queen. Jadwiga rewarded with royal munificence all who had done her any service or shown her loyalty. The vice of ingratitude to a faithful adherent was unknown to her.

Pious donations were among the earliest of the Queen's acts. Casimir the Great had founded an altar dedicated to Our Lady's Assumption in the Castle. Jadwiga confirmed that foundation. She established a Dominican church and convent in the town of Bochnia in answer to the request of its inhabitants.³⁷ These gifts were but the prelude to the building of the many churches which she was to raise to the honor of God in Poland. It is for these things, works of charity, and for the sacrifices and self-denial that came later, that the cause of beati-

37 Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., pages 163-4.

Cit. cf. De Contemplatione, Manuscript no. 2424, Op.

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fication today is so accentuated.³⁸

After Jadwiga was crowned and sceptered on the throne in the Cathedral and before the throne before the city hall, questions were arising in the people's minds: Who will sit with her as king? For most Poles wanted a king, a strong king, one who would protect them against the more powerful nobles of their own nation, and the entire country against the dreaded invasions of the military Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians in the north. Perhaps outside of Jadwiga, very few were thinking of the fourteen year old Prince William of Austria at this time.³⁹

The life and work of Jadwiga up to this period were but a preparation for the tremendous challenge of spirit that she was to face. The decisions that she was to render and the course of history of Poland and Christianity that she was to be the focal point were just beginning to form.

³⁸ Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., pages 63-66. cf. W Sprawie Kanonizacji Królowej Jadwigi, Komminikat, Koła Przyjaciół Naszej Przeszłości, edited by Jan Bobrzyński, Nasza Przyszłość, pages 17-29.

³⁹ Balzer, Oswald, O Kilka Kwestjach Spornych z Historji Nastroju Polski, (see page 88).

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As Poland's first Queen to be crowned in her own right, Jadwiga made a noble and a saintly picture. Since the day of coronation in 1384, the question of being the "chosen" one has been dwelled upon by the clergy and poets and historians. Even today, 551 years later, the question of Jadwiga as being the "chosen one" is still fresh in the Polish and the Christian world's mind.

Jadwiga the saintly and generous person that the world knows best, even though this world is now only limited to a few Polish clergy, Cardinals and the Holy See in Rome, this is the person whose place on the holy altars of Poland is being sought.⁴⁰

39 ... Kwartalnik Historyczny, 1907, Warsaw, Number 21, page 59.

40 Bandurski, X. Władysław, Jadwiga Święta Królowa Wa Polskim Tronie, Zbąszyn, 1910, Volume III, pages 212-254. cf. Bobrzyński, Jan, Największy Cud Królowej Jadwigi, Warsaw, 1909, Nasza Przyszłość, Number 29, pages 17-28. cf. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 326-423. cf. Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae, Op. Cit., pages 136-145.

cf. also: Fessler, Ignace, Op. Cit., pages 186-211. cf. also: Ładzina, Wanda, Jadwiga Królowa Polski, Nakład Autora, Paris, 1950, pages 83-128.

cf. also: Libri Antiquissimi Civitatis Cracoviensis, Edited by F. Plekosiński and Józef Szujski, Kraków, Volume IV; Mon. Medii Aevi Hist. Series, pages 183-196.

CHAPTER V

QUEEN JADWIGA'S CHARACTER REVEALED DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF RULE

The Council of the Crown was the real governing body with the Queen as their spokesman and representative. The ten year old Queen, alone, for her mother and sister remained in Hungary and did not attend the coronation ceremony, had many problems of statehood to settle after the interregnum period. The former king, her father, King Louis, had offered various generous treaties and agreements to the magnates in Poland. From these came many new problems for the state that had to be solved by the Queen and the Council.

Historians still recall that the first act of Jadwiga as Queen as the confirmation of the right of a man of the middle class, a man named Sidel, to certain land properties he had purchased.¹ This was the period when the common man was seeking to establish her personal and public rights. The conflicts between wealthy burghers,

¹ Bandtke, John: Jus Polonicum. Warsaw, 1931, p. 73. Etiam, Goyski, Marja, Tytuł Prawny Posiadania i Legalności Zastawu, Przegląd Historyczny, 1906, Warsaw, Volume II, number 2, pages 63-4.

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merchants and guild and trade organizations were intensified as competition for trade was intense at this period. Krakow was the chief focal city for central European trade. It was a part of the Hanseatic commercial league's main outposts.²

Taxation and discipline were the two main problems faced by Jadwiga as had King Casimir in the earlier years. Casimir³ named one of these merchantmen a royal counselor, a position generally awarded only to a knight. The problem of collecting revenues from public sales, taxes from the silver and gold smelting works, house rents etc. was an early problem that the young Queen had to face.

As Jadwiga began her rule, the economic condition of Poland was prosperous. Since her father had also treated the Krakowians generously, the people expected the same benefices from the Queen. The coffers of the state treasury were normal at her coronation, and that did not

2 Ulanowski, Bolesław, Antiquissimi Libri Judicales Terrae Cracoviae, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków, 1886, pages 221-3.

3 Balzer, Oswald, Op. Cit., volume 3, pages 127-130. etiam: Acta Consularia Casimiriensis, Wydat Adam Chmiel, Kraków, 1932, volume 2, p. 263.

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necessitate the imposing of new or added taxes. The records of this period noted in the Wawel archives,⁴ indicate that modest sums were spent for the upkeep of the Castle retinue and the state.

At this time, 1384, the German language was also the language of business. The Germans were the controlling group in Krakow. There was also a large Italian element in various important commercial posts. For example, one directed the mint, at Olkusz⁵ another the Bochnia salt mines. From these the crown drew vital revenues. Competition between Kraków and other cities as Gnezno, Poznan, Lublin, Lwow, and Wroclaw was at its greatest. Vistula River was the main stream that coursed through Krakow to Danzig and to the open world beyond. Thus, the various commercial caravans which made stop in Krakow were those of the Teutonic Order's from Konigseberg and

4 Rachunki Dworu Królowej Jadwigi, Edited by F. Piekosiński, Kraków, 1896, pages 21-22.

5 Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych Krajów Słowiańskich, editorial Staff Bronisław Chlebowski, Józef Krzywicki, Filip Walewski, volume 10, 1901, page 213.

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Marienburg.⁶ Constant complaints from these knights was one of the main problems that Jadwiga met during her first year. The Knights always complained of Krakow obstruction of their trade through customs duties and various detentions. The Queen learned early that the control of Danzig and the "eye to the sea" will always be important to Poland's future.

With each passing day Queen Jadwiga learned of some new interest and conflict which faced her Nation. Powerful wills were forced upon her in the various disputes for decision. She bore up well and rapidly matured to a stature of queen. The members of the court and clergy saw in her a remarkable figure of character and wisdom. Often they remarked how often and how long she has down on her knees in the royal chapel seeking spiritual counsel and moral support in prayerful supplication. Each day was begun with the attendance at Mass.⁷ The courtiers accompanied the Queen in this task. Among her

6 Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus, edited by John Voigt, Königsberg, 1853, volume 3, page 92.

7 Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., volume 2, pages 195-6.

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friends in the court was Catherine, the wife of the governor of Eastern Lwow, and Elizabeth, a friend of her Hungarian days, now married to Spytko, governor of Krakow.⁸ It was no doubt to Elizabeth that young Queen Jadwiga had poured out the innermost secrets of the heart.

Jadwiga's love for music is a tradition often repeated in books and biographies. At the time of her coronation some twenty-eight instruments were played by the Poles, with the trumpet and flute, the two most popular. A large court orchestra was retained by the Queen. After vesper prayers in the evening, concerts were held featuring holy and profane scores. Jadwiga loved these temporal pleasures.⁹

The ladies of the court had many idle moments, and the excess of vanity is often noted in the fact that some Wawel court lady had as many as three hundred clay pots of creams and perfumes. Since this was the period

⁸ Federowicz, K., Dostojnicy i Urzednicy wojewodztwa Krakowskiego, 1374-1566, Krakow, 1884, page 88.

⁹ Szajnocha, Karol, Op. Cit., Volume 2, pages 322-329.

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of the founding of new churches and chapels, too many chalices to cover and altars to decorate were abreast to employ the women to knit and to stitch.¹⁰

Queen Jadwiga interested herself in the decoration of the high altar of the Cathedral as well as the altar of the royal chapel. One of her pastimes was to embroider cloths and vestments for these edifices. In 1385 Jadwiga's efforts were centered on a silk rationale.¹¹ Today it is a treasure in the Wawel Cathedral. Using gold threads twice twisted, Queen Jadwiga embroidered on the white silk in 42,000 seed pearls the Cross and the symbol of the Anjous.¹²

As a hostess Queen Jadwiga maintained the old Polish custom: when guests or visitors arrived, they were entertained with magnificent banquets and specta-

¹⁰ Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., Volume I, page 92. Etiam Kellogg, Charlotte, Op. Cit., chapter XII, pages 134-145.

¹¹ Kruszyński, Stanisław, Racjonal z daru Królowej Jadwigi w Skarbu Katedry Wawelskiej, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1927, chapters 3, pages 38-42.

¹² Bartosiewicz, Kazimierz: Wawel: Przeszłości Skarbnica Siedziba Piastów i Jagiellonów, Kraków, Wyd. Salon Malarzy Polskich, p. 6.

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cles. The palace housekeeping was a formidable enterprise. From the court accounts we read even today of the following items: five hundred chickens were cooked in one day, green peas out of season, gilded cakes and quantities of hydromel, a drink made from honey.¹³

If Jadwiga made a journey to the surrounding country, she might be accompanied by as many as two or three thousand knights. The Queen was a valued person and she was never out of sight of the guard.

From the viewpoint of education there is another story to record. Although in a whirl of daily meetings with foreign ambassadors, papal envoys, sitting with the royal council, presiding at banquets, daily Queen Jadwiga attended the schools of the Church and state. The council of the crown taught her the lessons of the state, and the various priests and Church dignitaries directed the lessons of the Church. All found in Jadwiga an unusual mind to deal with that was keen, intuitive and logical in its thinking. Jadwiga was an accomplished theologian and she surprised the councilors with her knowledge of economics

13 Rachunki Dworu, Op. Cit., page 35.

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and history. Even the townsfolk knew that they were dealing with an astute monarch. One of Jadwiga's first acts was to reaffirm the privileges of the townsmen:

"Jako pierwszą oznakę łaski otrzymali mieszczanie zwykle potwierdzenie dawnych przywilejów i praw¹⁴."

As the first mark of her favor the townsmen received confirmation of the old privileges and laws.

Pious donations and charitable gifts were among the earliest of the Queen's acts. Earlier, King Casimir had founded an altar dedicated to Our Lady's Assumption in the Wawel Castle. Jadwiga confirmed that foundation. She established a Dominican church and convent in the town of Bochnia¹⁵ in reply to the imploring requests of its inhabitants. These gifts were but a prelude to the building of the many Churches which she was to raise in the honor of God in her country.

King Louis, her father, was a devout and humble admirer of Our Blessed Lady, and he handed on this devotion to his daughter. The shrine of Our Lady of Czesto-

14 Długosz, Jan; Op. Cit. 1384, p. 422, vol. 4.

15 Łętowski, X. Op. Cit., p. 106.

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chowa¹⁶ has for centuries been the most venerated place of pilgrimage to the Polish nation. Kings and patriots have knelt before the famous painting honored there which is called the "Black Madonna" because of the scorched soot that borders the figure. In 1655 when the Swedes had conquered Poland and the Polish King had fled, it was the heroic defense of that little fortress shrine by a handful of monks against the great army of the Lutheran besiegers that ended by hurling the invaders out of Poland.¹⁷ The Poles after that victory solemnly committed their country to the patronage of Our Lady of Czestochowa as the Queen of Poland, by which title they invoke her to this day. The picture of the Madonna of Czestochowa may be seen in every peasant home, in the scores and in the street wayside chapels. To Her intercession again the Polish nation ascribes the Miracle of the Vistula, when in

16 Zapomniane, Jędrzej, Op. Cit., pages 3-4.

17 Sienkiewicz, Henryk, Potop. The Deluge, Warsaw, 1899, Second volume of The Trilogy, beautifully described the invasion, however, imaginary.

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1920 the armies of the Bolsheviks, aiming at the destruction of Christianity and civilization, were driven back from Warsaw.¹⁸ All this history goes back to Jadwiga's reign as Queen as it was in 1384-5 that numerous miracles were ascribed to the Lady at Jasna Gora. At the time a great trend to Our Lady was being manifest by both royalty and the peasant. Queen Jadwiga encouraged the pilgrimages to the monastery on top of the white hill. The possibility of the cloister and placing of the painting for the altar piece is the work of Prince Wladyslaw Opolski, prince of Kujawy. Returning from Ruthenia, he brought an ancient painting of the Virgin and Child done on wood in Bizantine style, believed to come from Freece and often alleged to have been painted by St. Luke.¹⁹

Prince Opolski paying great heed to the devoted idea in the painting, sought a cloister where due homage

18 "The Miracle of the Vistula" took place near Warsaw in August, 1920, when the Polish armed forces repelled the invading Bolsheviks. Dyboski, Roman, Outlines of Polish History, London, Allen and Unwin, 1925, pages 258-259. Etiam: Halecki, Oskar, A History of Poland, New York, Roy, 1943, pages 275-289.

19 Zapomniany, Jędrzej, Op. Cit., pages 12-14.

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would be rendered. He selected the Pauline monks who had a small church on top of a hill in Czestochowa to take charge of the proper veneration. On August 9, 1382, Prince Opolski signed the founding papers for the cloister house, and in the following year Prince Opolski brought in Pauline monks to serve as guards for the St. Luke painting:

"Książę Opolski sprowadził szesnastu OO. Paulinów na Jasną Górę i wybudował im drewniany klasztor, który aktem erekcyjnym z dnia 9 sierpnia 1383 r., z wsiami Częstochowka i Kawodź! nadał, nakładając na nich obowiązek, aby stali na straży świętego obrazu i pełnili duchowną obsługę w kaplicy Maryi 20."

Prince Opolski brought sixteen Pauline fathers to Jasna Gora and erected a wooden cloister for them. In the founding papers dated August 9, 1383, he deeded the hamlets of Czestochoka and Kawodrz to them, and gave them the responsibility that they serve as protectors of the holy painting and that they perform the religious duties in the Holy Mary Chapel.

All this came from Prince Opolski's dream during a foray to the principality of Belz. Finding the painting, he received permission from the King to bring it to his do-

20 Nagłowski, Tomasz: Jasna Góra. Częstochowa, 1933, p. 13.

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main. When the time came to move the painting from the Belz castle, no one or group of men were able to move it. That night Prince Opolski had a dream in his prayers. The vision stated that if he promised to erect a church in Jasna Gora, then he would be able to move the painting.²¹

Tradition also states that King Louis was conscientiously concerned that from the old Polish crown he had taken so many Polish castles and riches, that many of the benefactors was Prince Opolski, a relative that it would be proper for the prince to assuage his conscience by erecting a church. But, a month after the founding of the Church at Jasna Gora, King Louis died and the Polish princes seized the Opolski holdings and returned them to the crown. Queen Jadwiga became interested in the cult to Our Lady at Częstochowa, and offered assistance in its development.

Queen Jadwiga's concern for the smaller subjects, far more than her charities, was manifest throughout the

²¹ Długosz, Jan, Historia Poloniar, Volume 10, Page 72.

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whole country. She was a tender-hearted and a most merciful Queen. Never a day passed without some sufferer appealing to her charity. No one was turned away. Queen Jadwiga was not content merely to endow altars, hospitals and hospices, she longed to offer personal attention and service. There are numerous legends that indicate Queen Jadwiga talking with the aged, offering mite to the poor, lifting and cheering up the sick child, and encouraging the hopeless. Pity and mercy welled from her young, lonely heart. No one worked more diligently than the girl queen. She spent the days in council meetings, her various relief and charity programs, lessons in State and Church matters, a huge program for a young teen year-old girl.

At the moment of her coronation and in the beginning of her reign, Jadwiga, pure of heart as she was always, was not yet a saint. She had not yet reached the height of sanctity to which she afterwards attained. Seeming older in her years, and dignified in her outward bearing, yet she was at heart a girl, and a girl full of gaiety who, with the zest of her epoch and in the spirit

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of her lively new capital, loved amusement and the dance and song. Jadwiga was a girl who could do rash things, and who could be wedded to her own way, who had her young and foolish even childish caprices. To think of her as a prematurely serious woman or as one of those youthful saints, like her canonized namesake, St. Jadwiga, of whom it is said that she was grave from childhood and shunned play,²² would be an utterly erroneous estimation of Jadwiga's character.

In truth, Jadwiga seemed created for joy. Yet it was not by joy that she reached the inner life with Christ. The trial of the soul by which she was to be molded was drawing near.

Legends about Queen Jadwiga's beauty and purity and other earthly virtues spread far and wide. The Council of the Crown were in constant meeting as to the selection of the proper king for such a queen of seemingly huge value and potential promise. The time for the "Age of reason" was drawing nigh, and Queen Jadwiga longed for the

²² Skarga, Ks. Piotr, Op. Cit., Żywot Św. Jadwigi, page 80.

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day when she would be united with Prince William. She observed her father's desires and deathbed promises. She had to deal with a mother to whom the condition of the state was far more important than personal happiness. The hour of decision was approaching for Jadwiga.²³

No records remain that tell of the thoughts, the dreams, the fond hopes nourished in the breast of the girl queen. A few spotty historical records²⁴ remain today that tell of her material works for the nation and for the Church. Several authors and poets have tried to capture her youthful spirit, but it is the trial of conscience and her decision for the Greater Cause that they bards celebrate. It is Jadwiga with tears and heartaches that the reader best remembers the girl queen. In light of today's happenings, the figure and character of this young Queen conjures the most romantic notions. The thoughts always remain that this queen was sheltered and

23 Cf. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume 4, pages 381-423.

24 Rydel, Lueyan, Op. Cit., pages 68-69.

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surrounded by councilors and clergy who attempted to give their best counsel and advice. The final decisions rested in the bosom of the young queen.²⁵

25 Cf. Ładzina, Wanda, Jadwiga Królowa Polski, Nakład Autora, Paris, 1950, pages 96-128.

cf. Szlagowski, Antoni, Święta Polska Orędowniczka, Spuścizna Dziejowa Królowej Jadwigi, Kraków, 1933, P.A.U., Zbiór Przemówień, pages 46-73.

CHAPTER VI

CONSUMMATIO MATRIMONI

THE QUESTION OF WILHELM'S BETROTHAL

RIGHT AND ITS FULFILLMENT

While Queen Jadwiga was busily engaged with matters of the court and needs of the subjects, the Council of the Crown and court magnates were arranging delegations to the Lithuanian prince. The reasons of state were prevailing in their arguments, for with the prospects of a union of Lithuania and Poland, the Teutonic Knights will be stronger opposed with this single front.

Thus, as talk of a consort for the Queen was increased, the more conscientious became the spirit of the young queen. She was of a profoundly religious and conscientious nature. Jadwiga held herself morally bound by her "infant marriage" to Prince William. The most powerful nobles of the Polish kingdom were against this marriage upon which Jadwiga was so conscientiously resolved.¹

Jagiello, hearing of the beauty and virtue of the young Queen, and realizing that his kingdom was in a pra-

¹ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 426.
Cf. Smoleński, Władysław, Dzieje Narodu Polskiego, Kraków, Anczyć, 1921, page 79.

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carious state, longed for a marriage to cement the two kingdoms to resist the German Knights.² He sent a deputation to present his hand to the young Queen. While the Lithuanian deputation was actually on its way to Troki, Jagiello's capital, carrying the royal consent, that is, the consent of the royal councillors to the Lithuanian Grand Duke,³ Jadwiga still did not give up hope and still intended to marry William.

Prince Leopold, William's father, uneasy at what he heard concerning the Lituanian Duke's proposal of marriage, went to Buda to urge Elizabeth to bring about the fulfilment of the marriage of his son to Jadwiga as it had been contracted at Haimburg. Elizabeth drew up a fresh declaration, signed among others by Jadwiga's sister, Maria, now Queen of Hungary, by the Palatine Gara, who since the death of Louis, had been Elizabeth's advisor,

2 Halecki, Oskar, Dzieje Unii Jagiellońskiej, Polska, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków, 1919, Volume I, pages 36-9.

3 Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., Volume I, page 43.
Cf. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV.

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and Prince Ladislas Opolski, undertaking that the marriage between Jadwiga and Wilhelm should be fulfilled:

"My, obiedwie królowe, dajemy tobie książę Władysławie Opolski, zupełną moc i władzę, iż-bys to zamierzone małżeństwo przywiódł w spełnienie i przyrzeczoną córkę i siostrę naszą Jadwigę, oddał książęciu Wilhelmowi w stać i uscisł małżeńskie, zapewniając im sposobność połączenia się i małżeńskiego z sobą pozycia, bez żadnej pod jakimkolwiek pozorem zwłoki ⁴."

We, both queens, grant you Prince Ladislas Opolski, full power and authority, that you arrange the promised marriage, and to give Jadwiga, betrothed daughter and sister, to Prince William for fulfilment in the conjugal relation, insuring him the arrangements of the union of marriage without any further delay.

Opolski was dispatched to Krakow by the Queen Mother to see the affair through. How far Elizabeth ever meant to carry out her word is doubtful. She had given Duke Jagiello's representatives her approval of his proposal. And she still hated her other undesired prospective German son-in-law.⁵

⁴ Fejer: Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae; Op. Cit., Volume I, Number 75, Page 141.

⁵ Throcz, Joannis de, Chronica Hungarorum, Op. Cit., volume I, pages 271-2. Cf. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume 4, pages 425-426.

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Jadwiga knew that Opolski was coming to Krakow to assist her marriage with William. Much depended on the celerity with which William could reach Poland. A rumor spread through Krakow that Jadwiga had sent her confidential messenger, the Chamberlain Gniewosz of Dalewice, to Vienna to urge Prince William to join her with no delay.⁶ Gniewosz was in the pro-William group and was interested in furthering his personal fortune as events later showed. William set off for Krakow and appeared at the Wawel Castle.

Prince William rode into Krakow scattering largesse among the crowds that observed him enter. He arrived in the City in all the glory and elaborate trappings as befitted a Habsburgian prince of the time. From old chronicles and court and Church records, a twentieth century Jadwigiana authority, Lucyan Rydel, writes:

"Wjechał Książę Wilhelm na grójec krakow-
owski wcale nie chyłkiem, ani kryjono, jeno

⁶ Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae Minoris, 1178-1386,
Edited by F. Piekosiński, Kraków, 1876, Volume IX, in Mon.
Medii Aevi, Hist., page 537.

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głośno, świetnie, uroczyście, jak przystało
potomkowi Habsburgów i prawemu królowej mał-
żonkowi ⁷."

Prince William arrived in the Krakow capi-
tal without any furtiveness nor hiding, but
noisily, gloriously, festively as it behooved
a Habsburg heir, and with rights of a husband
of the Queen.

People saw a youth, rather a boy of some sixteen
years of age, handsome and gallant of composure and bear-
ing. His appearance indicated that he was in the perfect-
ion of fashion, his hair dressed according to the latest
fashion, booted in the very best style and his garments
in most colorful perfection. Hearts of the populace went
out to him. It was desired that he look as the most
finest-looking boy of all the courtiers in attendance.
Perhaps the plan was to rekindle the childish love of
Jadwiga into a deeper flame on seeing this handsome boy
Prince.

So courtly were William's manners that his name
has gone down in history as "William the Courteous",

⁷ Rydel, Lucyan: Królowa Jadwiga, Poznań, Wydał
K. Kozłowski, 1910, Page 97.

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"William the Elegant", and when not under the less complimentary title, "William the Ambitious". Szanjnocha crystallizes the physical looks and character of the Prince in these words:

"Nazywano go "ambitnym", "ceremonialnym", "dworskim", "wytwornym". ..Słowa swarliwe, mowy oszczerwsze, zwłaszcza przeciw księżom i kobietom miotane, były mu tak obmierzłe, iż nikt nie śmiał obrażać niemi uszu księżęcych 8."

He was called "ambitious", "pompous", "lordly", and "elegant". Curse words, defamatory speech, especially addressed against the clergy and women, were so distasteful to him, that no one dared to insult the Prince's ears with them.

If the Prince's manners at that moment, when he must have particularly desired to please and create a tasteful impression, were the pink of courtesy, But later, the language he applied to Jadwiga when disappointed in his quest for the bride and the throne, was something less than courtly. His appearance warmed the hearts of those who knew him.

Since negotiations by Jagiello at this time were

8 Luniński, Ernest, Szanjnochy Jadwiga I Jagiełło. Warszawa, M. Arct, 1905, pages 74-75.

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in the state of rapproachment as Jadwiga had accepted provided her mother, Elizabeth in Hungary also approved, Prince William battled for time and accomplished fact, if he could consummate the marriage and thereby become the king of Poland by marriage. The magnates in the Wawel Court were divided as to the selection of a king.⁹ Earlier, they extracted a promise from Queen Elizabeth that the Polish throne will go to Jadwiga provided that the Councillors be free to elect a king of their own choice. Elizabeth had reserved, for Jadwiga was but ten years old, and the age of twelve was called at that time, the "age of reason", "Lata Rozumu". Jadwiga was only eleven years old and the Haimburg "child marriage" stipulated that William could complete the "consummatio matrimonii" when she had reached the age of twelve. The voices of the Wawel Court were heard in Vienna, and perhaps through Gniewosz of Dalewic, an urging to William to fulfill his duty, was made doubly urgent since delegations

⁹ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 425-426.

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from the Lithuanian Duke appeared to be successfully reaching their desired end.

There was no complete agreement among the Polish princes, magnates and Churchmen as to who should be the King and husband to Jadwiga. The chronicler Dlugosz records this fact in the annals of the year, 1385 in these words:

"Jedni zyczyli sobie Ziemowita, ksiązęcia Mazowieckiego, drudzy Wilhelma, ksiązęcia Austrii, inni Władyskawa, ksiązęcia Opolskiego 10."

Some desired Ziemowit, the Prince of Mazowia, others William, the Prince of Austria, and the rest Ladislas, the Prince of Oppeln.

Some Polish princes wished no king at all, but to maintain the rule themselves with the young Queen as a figurehead. As to Jadwiga, she head of these various plans and candidates for the throne and her bed. She kept counsel to herself and quietly awaited developments. These matters came to a sudden turn in August, 1385. An agreement was signed at Krewe on August 14, 1385,¹¹ between the

10 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume 4, page 426.

11 (see page 113).

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Polish and the Lithuanian princes that Jagiello would be the Polish King through marriage with Jadwiga. Elizabeth of Hungary had sent Prince of Oppeln to Vienna with the agreement that William was to marry Jadwiga by August 15, 1385.¹² This two-faced policy of Elizabeth often crept into the various state matters that confused and bungled a positive action. Jadwiga patiently waited for the developments, surrounded with a large court of ladies-in-waiting, and counselled by the Clergy and princes.

Prince William in his very best retinue and so polished in manner and mien in order to further pass in Jadwiga's favor, quickly received his first rebuff. The Polish noble who held the office of guardian of the Wawel royal castle and of the Queen's person, Dobieslaw of Kurozwenki, and in due consideration that the majority of the nobles of the Polish kingdom had accepted Jagiello as

11 Halecki, O., Dzieje Unii Jagiellońskiej.
Kraków, Akad. Umiej., 1919, Volume I, page 86.

12 Codex Diplomaticus, Vol. X, Part 3, Nr. 31.
Hungariae. [^]
op.cit.

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the Queen's husband and King of the Polish realm, refused to admit the German prince in into the castle, and barred the gate doors against him. This deed has been recorded in the following words:

"Dobiesław z Kurozwęk, kastelan krakowski, pod ów czas zamek krakowski dzierzący w swojej straży i sprawujący wielkorządy, Wilhelmowi, Książęciu Austrii, nie dozwolił bywać w zamku i bronił do niego przystępu¹³."

Dobieslaw of Kurzowenki, chamberlain of Krakow, protecting the Castle under his guard, and acting as the vice-regent, forbade William, the Prince of Austria, to enter the Castle, and guarded it from bein entered.

Prince William had no choice left to him but to accept the hospitality offered to him by Gniewosz of Dalewice, and to stay as his guest in Krakow until Prince of Oppeln should arrive in Krakow as the Queen Mother Elizabeth's representative with her authorization for the fulfillment of the marriage.

Queen Jadwiga did not permit any matter as the barring of Castle gates to separate from her man whom she had looked upon as her prospective husband. To Jadwiga

13 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume 4, page 429.

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this was a sacrament and a deathbed promise. The child nuptials were performed years earlier in Haimburg and she looked upon this moment as correct and in keeping with her virtuous conscience. Now that William was so close at hand, she would arrange somehow to see him. It would be possible to see the young Prince outside the Castle.¹⁴

Dibieslaw was the guardian of the Castle and there his jurisdiction ended. He had not control over the young Queen's movements, nor had anyone the right to keep from meeting the Prince elsewhere if she so chose. With the help of courtiers friendly to William Jadwiga arranged to meet him outside the Castle.

14 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 430.
Cf. Luniński, Ernest, Op. Cit., pages 72-89.
etiam: Jadwiga Królowa Polski, Wydawca D. Wegner, Poznań, 1899, pages 61-79.
etiam: Szajnocha, Karol, Op. Cit., Volume IV, Wilhelm, pages 67-99.
Maciejowska, Wanda, Jadwiga Królowa Polski, Mongraph, Warsaw, 1935.
In this thesis Maciejowska blames Szajnocha's Book (Cf. pages 6-9) for misunderstanding of the Wilhelm Affair by Jadwigiana writers since 1863.

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The Franciscan monastery in Krakow was selected as the meeting place. In this epoch the layfolk of every class repaired to the monasteries for meals, for rest during a journey, for news and for meetings. This was an act of hospitality on the part of the monks, which was begun as an act of charity. On this occasion the refectory or dining room and the quest-rooms were thrown open to the royal couple and their friends.

In front of the eyes of the Franciscan Friars the lovers met in gaily decorated quarters. The Friars put out their colored carpets and most decorative tapestries in their honor. William was escorted by his German retainers and by some Polish nobles who favored his suit. Queen Jadwiga was accompanied by numerous troop of Court ladies, in their brilliant gowns. Musicians, especially flutists and trumpeters, accompanied the Queen and the Prince both. A fragment of this scene has been recorded:

"Królowa Jadwiga często z drużyną swoich dworzan i panien służebnich schodząc do klasztoru z Wilhelmem, Książęciem Austrii, zabawała się krotofila i tancami, skromnie jednak a z

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największa przyzwoitość¹⁵."

Queen Jadwiga with a group of courtiers and ladies-in-waiting, often met William, the Austrian Prince, to be entertained with jokes, conversation and dances, however, modestly and with the greatest decorum.

Led to the refectory the young couple and the courtiers were served with the best Rhenish, French and Italian wines, beer and the famous Polish mead. The young Queen also sipped her wine, but with a large measure of added water. The drinks were accompanied with dishes and dainties of the time, such as tarts, pastries, comfits over which a layer of gold dust was scattered, figs, melons. According to the custom, Jadwiga and William ate from the same plate.

Throughout the meal instruments played that delighted Jadwiga's ear. Then the company danced, accompanied by the loud, sonorous piercing strains of trumpets, lutes and pipes, to which the dancers frequently joined in song. Jadwiga¹⁶ watched this scene with throb-

¹⁵ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 430.

¹⁶ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 430.
(See page 118).

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bing heartbeats and dazzling eyes. This was the happiness for which she had longed for.

The couple had last met as children two years ago at the deathbed of King Louis in 1382. Jadwiga treasured this memory dearly as that of her playfellow and betrothed, and with whom she was to spend her life. William had grown from childhood into manhood, for a boy of fifteen in the Middle Ages to all intents and purposes, was termed a man. Jadwiga had grown since he had seen her into a maiden of such surpassing beauty that there were those who travelled to Krakow only to look upon her lovely face.¹⁷

Jadwiga had not only thought of William as her childhood companion, but she clung to his memory, because she believed to be bound to him in the sight of God. Jadwiga was a scrupulous and conscientious person and all acts that had the blessing of the Church were of prime impor-

16 ... Etiam: Grzegorz z Sanoku, Nagrobek, Funeral poem, 1399.

17 Jan Matejko: Studja i Szkice, Op. Cit., page 52.

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tance in her mind and heart.¹⁸

Now, Jadwiga, with the fire and ardent passion of her southern blood, fell desperately in love with this youth, who had every eternal quality to attract a girl, and especially a court maiden, who prized accomplishments and graceful manners.

As these two sat side by side, enabled by the revelry going on all around them, and it is an ageold Polish tradition, that weddings, engagements and Christenings, be celebrated with huge fanfare, the young couple had the opportunity to speak in secret, exchanging words of love, vows of fidelity to the engagement which had been arranged for them in their childhood, and which opened before their eyes a long vista of happiness as husband and wife, and to the young Prince the prospect of a crown and a realm to which he was by no means indifferent.

After the dance and rendezvous were over, wine and sweets were handed around, which was the sign that the

¹⁸ Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., Volume II, page 229.

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festive meeting was to end, and everyone must depart. To the blare of the trumpeters, who preceded both of the royal processions, Jadwiga and William each returned as they had come to their respective dwellings. The girl Queen re-entered her Wawel apartments with the most joyful anticipation of the joyous future that lay before her. Her betrothed had taken her heart by storm. Her mother's consent to the marriage would arrive in a few weeks,¹⁹ she would be united to William before long for ever.

These festive meetings were repeated several times during the first weeks of August. For Jadwiga they held the greatest earthly happiness and joy that Jadwiga was ever to experience. At these meetings Jadwiga was radiating beauty, love and gaiety, surrounded by music and song, laughter and color, youth and wine. Little did she surmise what her heart was to suffer and to decide. The Way of the Cross was slowly approaching her numbered days

¹⁹ Hageni, Gregori, Chronicon Austriae, SS. Re-
rum Austriae, edited by Pezel, 1873, page 1043.

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of seemingly carefree youth.²⁰

Days went on, and Elizabeth's envoy, Ladislas, the Prince of Oppeln, tarried. Until he arrived, the Wawel Castle was banned to the bridegroom-to-be. Had the messenger who knew which was the winning side ever meant to come? Had the Queen Mother Elizabeth ever meant to have the agreement delivered to the Polish princes? There are no records of the fact, but it is surmised that Elizabeth had secretly given instructions that the marriage between Jadwiga and William was never to take place. The envoy for whom Jadwiga was anxiously waiting did not appear until Duke Jagiello's suit had been nigh accomplished. With the hate of Germans evermost in the Queen Mother's heart, there is strong likelihood that delay tactics were employed to thwart William's suit.²¹

²⁰ Borowski, Aleksander, Królowa Jadwiga na Wawelu, Warsaw, 1935, pages 63-6.

²¹ Hageni, Gregori, Chronicon Austriae, SS. Rerum Austriae I, Wien, 1893, volume I, page 634.

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Meanwhile, Jagiello had signed the agreement for his marriage which now awaited only the signature of both the young Queen of Poland and the Queen Mother of Hungary. Thus, Jadwiga was placed between two suitors, both in haste to obtain her hand, One whom all her heart went forth, but one whom the Polish princes did not favor. The other, the choice of the Council of the Crown, whom she regarded with fear and repulsion, but who carried with him as a wedding pact, the fate of two countries and Christianity for one.²²

Jadwiga's position in the latter part of 1385 was unusually unique in history. She was growing uneasy and the Court talk was varied. Jadwiga's character was not one that would wait passively now on the course of events. The meetings at the monastery were carried out in complete publicity. All Krakow knew of them, the burghers as well as the princes.

22 At Krowo, August 14, 1385, A Treaty was signed by the Polish and Lithuanian princes that Jagiello would be King of Poland after he marries Queen Jadwiga.

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Jadwiga had manifested to all the world where her choice lay, and that William being her promised husband, her place was by his side. The whole plan now was to invent a plan to get William into the Wawel Castle and to consummate the child marriage to enforce the Haimburg troth as an accomplished fact.

At one of the meetings, August 21, 1385, in the Franciscan monastery Jadwiga and her courtiers would admit William to the Castle. The details of how this scheme was effected are not known. Either through bribery, or over the advantage of Dobieslaw's absence from the Castle, and with the assistance of the pro-William clique, the German Prince rode up the hill to the Castle. The gates were opened before him, and he entered with his retinue.

The reasons why Jadwiga wished to accomplish this deed which was promised to her dying King-father, are recorded in Dlugosz's chronicle of the day. Thus, on August 23, 1385, on St. Bartholomew's Eve, the marriage consummation plan was to be executed:

"Jadwiga tak dalece brzydziła się związkami z Jagiełłą, księżęciem Litewskim, iż bez

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względu na przeciwnie rady i przelozenia panów Polskich, nie chcąc oddać ręki Jagiele postanowiła w tym właśnie czasie, kiedy wieść się rozeszła że Jagiello dla objęcia rządów królestwa z zaślubienia Jadwigi, jechał do Polski, związki ślubne z Wilhelmem, Książęciem Austrii, od dawna z woli ojca Ludwika jawnie w kościele zawarte, w obecności swoich dworzan i przychyl-nych panów uzupełnić sprawą małżeńską ²³."

Jadwiga so despised the union with Jagiello, the Lithuanina Prince, and stading firm against the advice and entreaties of the Polish lords, not wanting to offer her hand to Jagiello, decided during this time when news reached that Jagiello was journeying to Poland to take the rule of the Kingdom and to wed Jadwiga, she planned to accomplish the matter of the marriage with William, the Prince of Austria, who was thus betrothed by the will of her father, Louis, and performed in the Church, with the aid of the lords and those in her favor.

William was made welcome with the ceremony that is appropriate to the entrance of the royal consort by those attendants and magnates of the Queen who were in the secret. A banquet was spread.

The unusual sounds from the Queen's apartments attracted the attention of the Wawel guard. The secret leaked out. The Councillors of the Crown, who were watch-

23 Długosz, Jan: Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 430.

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ing over the Queen, discovered what was going forward. They hurried to the Queen's quarters. As to what transpired, all accounts of the time are varied. Polish, Austrian and Ruthenian documents present an unusual deduction. Depending on the motives there is question as to facts that are alleged. This particular incident is perhaps most responsible for the continued proceedings of approbation for the beatification in Rome from the first time in 1421 when they were initiated, until 1909, when beatification moves were attempted to be re-introduced.²⁴ Today, the identical issue is re-studied.²⁵ The source of data of this event comes from first-hand Polish documents. Dlugosz records the following facts:

"Gdy Wilhelm wbiegł na zamek gdzie miał z królową Jadwigą wejść to lożnicy, z rozkazu i za sprawą panów Polskich, którym takowe pokładziny wielce się nie podobały, nie dopuszczony do komnaty sypialniej i z zamku sromotie

²⁴ Staich, Władysław, Budzenie Świętej, dzieje Kultu Królowej Jadwigi, P.A.U., Krakow, 1933.

²⁵ Inter-Catholic Press News Agency, News Bulletin, May 19, 1950.

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wypychnięty, sprawy cielesnej z królową zanie-
chać musiał 26."

When William entered the castle where he and the Queen were to lie in the bed-chamber, against the commands and arrangements of the Polish lords, to whom such an act of bedding greatly did not suit, did not allow him to enter the bedroom and from the castle was ignominiously ejected, having to forbear the carnal deed with the Queen.

The various chroniclers of the time have changed the facts of the rendezvous in the Wawel. Depending on the political affiliations as well as the national leanings, many diversified accounts have been left for posterity. The problem of the accomplished fact, that the child marriage was fulfilled in this act of consummation matrimonii, still puzzles the contemporary historians and authors.

More realistic to facts is the Polish version as recorded by the great chronicler Długosz, and historian of outstanding authority, who collected the facts and data during Jagiello's reign, husband of Jadwiga:

26 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 430.

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"Przekroczony przez księcia zakaz wstępu na zamek upoważnił zapamiętałców to targnięcia się na jego własną osobę. Każda chwila ociągania się groziła niebezpieczeństwem, niewolą. Sama Jadwiga upominała do czempreńskiej ucieczki. Piętnastoletni obłubieniec musiał ustąpić. Ocalał go tenże sam sposób, jakim przed kilku laty panie i panny fraucymeru starej królowej Elżbiety podczas rzezi Węgierskiej ratowały ściąganych na zamek Wegrów. W koszu na linach spuszczonego młodzianca przez okno za mur zamkowy ²⁷."

Prince William violating the commands not to enter the castle, so maddened some of the frenzied Poles so as to place his own person in extreme danger. Each moment of delay brought even greater danger. Jadwiga herself urged him to flee quickly. The fifteen year old lover gave in. He was saved in the same way as years earlier the lords and ladies-in-waiting of the old Queen Elizabeth during the Hungarian butchery saved those being attacked in the Hungarian castle. The youth was lowered in a basket held by ropes from the window and over the castle wall.

A Viennese chronicler²⁸ stated, probably the tale was devised by members of William's retinue after his return from Krakow, that the nobles and Polish magnates had burst into the room and attempted to murder William then

27 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 431.

28 Paltramus, Chronicon Austriae, 1385.

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and there.²⁹ Since William had laid himself open to arrest for having forced himself into the castle against the orders, the more probable version is that the nobles threatened him with imprisonment, and that he, who was only a young boy and in a most extraordinary difficult situation, yielded to their violent threats and with Jadwiga's plaintive entreaties, fled to save his person. All agree that Queen Jadwiga saved him from whatever awaited him by letting him down in.

The Germans often considered Jadwiga and William in an unusual romantic light, but the German's nationalism always is triumphant. One of these novels, JADWIGA by Karl Busse, portrays the Polish heroine and its German hero as two oaks, whose crowns might meet in the storm of passion but whose trunks and roots could never unite. A fragment of this book referring to the fantastic conversation between the two, leaves its own meaning. William is always the superior hero:

²⁹ Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus, John Voigt, V.3, Part 2, Königsberg, 1853. etiam Gregori, Hageni: Cujusdam Germanicum Austriae Chronicon. SS. Rerum Austriae, Pezel I, pp. 1043-4.

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"To her pleading, the erstwhile German lover finally cried: "What! I become half a Pole? But you cannot be in earnest; nay, dear child, there is one thing that is greater for me than my love and everything else, and that is my Germanity. Before I let that be wholly of half torn from me, I would let everything else be dashed asunder 30."

The above excerpt indicates to what lengths the theme of Jadwiga has been drawn. This phase of the Polish-German antagonism is further repeated and recorded for old and new posterities to see. The origin of this idea stems to the failure of the mission of the Prince of Austria to win the Queen for his wife and the Polish crown too. In reality the youthful enterprise, more romantic than prosaic, was an outburst of an impulse that achieved failure in its desired end.

On the other hand, the Ruthenian version is even more brutal and defamatory, if not downright insulting to the true esteem and nobility of character of the Queen. From one of Ukraine's scholarstatesman, the following ver-

30 Busse, Karl, Jadwiga, Roman Aus Dem Osten Des Reiches, Stuttgart, 1899, page 98.

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sion is what this Slavic branch thinks of Jadwiga and Prince William's escapade, and in general, of the Polish Queen:

"The Polish nobles devoted their efforts to arranging the marriage of Yagello to Yawdiga, but they encountered many obstacles. In the first place the mother of Yawdiga notified Wilhelm, who hastened to Cracow, married Yawdiga, and lived with her as her husband at the castle of Cracow. In order to separate them the nobles expelled Wilhelm from Cracow; Yawdiga followed her husband in the hope of overtaking and bringing them back, but she was compelled to return home. Her marriage was proclaimed void and the Polish priests tried to persuade her that for the sake of Poland and Catholicism she should marry Yagello; in the end they were successful and Galicia was thus united to Poland 31."

Primary sources reveal an entirely diverse view of what transpired. Prince William after the escape from the Wawel castle, hid himself in a house of a friend in

31 Hrushevsky, Michael, A History of the Ukraine, L.C., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pages 129-130.

W.E.D. Allen in The Ukraine - A History, Cambridge University Press, 1940, makes no reference to Wilhelm. Of Yawdiga he writes: "An event which was to have a decisive effect upon the future of Lithuania and the Russian Lands comes as a surprise. This event was the marriage of Olgerd's son Jagiello (Yageylo) with Yawdiga of Anjou and Hungary heiress to the throne of Poland", p. 44.

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the market place and for a time continued to communicate secretly with the Queen by means of messengers favorable to the two. William lingered in Krakow for several months and eventually left for good. Długosz records this last stay of William in these words:

"Widząc wreszcie rzeczony Wilhelm, że ani królestwa Polskiego ani Jadwigi królowej nie podobna my było odzyskać, pojął w małżeństwie Joannę, córkę niegdys Karola Durazza, a siostrę Władysława, królow Sycylijskich, z którą żył bardzo krótko, a którą po jego śmierci wróciwszy do Sycylii, i długie lata przeżywszy w stronie wdowim, poszła powtórnie za Jakoba margrabia w królestwie Neapolitańskim 32."

Eventually Prince William realized that he would gain neither the Polish crown nor Queen Jadwiga, he took for a wife, Joanna, onetime daughter of Charles Durazzo and sister of Ladislas, king of Sicily, with whom he lived a short time, and after William's death, returned to Italy living a long while as a widow, married again to Jacob, the margrave in the Naples kingdom.

Too many historians do not read these primary facts. This data reveals an entirely different account.

32 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 432.

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Queen Jadwiga's position after Prince William's escape from the Wawel castle was one pathetic to contemplate. She had now seen clearly with her own eyes and with tragic force the nature of the opposition against which she had to contend. The catastrophe of that evening in the castle with its moment of agonizing fear and of bitter disappointment would have shaken a less courageous girl's determination and impulse to perform the right thing.

There was no one to aid her. Her mother Queen Elizabeth had played her false. The great lords of the kingdom intended to override her will, and her fiancé was nearby in the city, hiding, creeping stealthily in disguise from one concealment to another about the area of Krakow.³³ What could young Jadwiga do against these forces arrayed against her? There was nothing that would shake her indomitable resolution. Each week that passed by

33 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 432.

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brought the arrival of the other suitor from Lithuania nearer. Jagiello was on his way to Krakow, and Jadwiga knew that the magnates of her kingdom had presented him with the document accepting him as the King of Poland, and giving him, so the act runs, their "most illustrious Queen in honorable marriage."³⁴

Jadwiga then resolved a desperate move. She determined to escape from the castle, join William she considered to be her husband from the Haimburg ceremony, and if the castle were still barred to him, to escape with him from Krakow. Word was sent to that effect to the young Prince through Gniewosz.

There follows the famous and often-recounted scene. Jadwiga in the dead of night stole down the stairs that wound from her apartments down a corner tower of the Wawel which led to a small wicket gait in the thick wall. This gate was seldom used and the Queen had chosen it for that

³⁴ Codex Diplomaticus Lithuaniae, Edited by Edward Raczyński, Breslau, 1845. p. 83.

Treaty of Krewo, signed August 14, 1385, accepted Jagiello as the King of Poland.

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reason. A few of her courtiers and ladies who were in her confidence crept cautiously behind her. She reached the gate, but it was now barred with a heavy oaken bolt and iron padlocks, and a sentry armed with an axe was standing on guard before it. The young Queen bade him open. This is the conversation that the chronicler Długosz has recorded:

Straż odparła:
"Nie wolno.
Kto zabronił?
Panowie.
I mnież zabronia! Królowej?
Podajcie topór 35."

The guard replied:
It is not permitted.
Who forbids you?
The lords.
And they forbid me? I am the Queen!
Hand me the axe.

Instinctively the guard obeyed. Jadwiga tore the axe from his hand, and exerting all her girlish strength struck at the gate. It was a fatal, ringing blow. The sound rang through the castle as the sound of first

35 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 433.

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thunder in the quiet of night. It aroused an old noble, Dymitry of Goraj, the crown treasurer. He came hurrying to the spot. Dymitry had been a devoted servant of Jadwiga's father King Louis and he saw Jadwiga grow up. Jadwiga had family trust in and faith in this old man.

The white-haired Dymitry threw himself at the feet of the girl Queen whose father he respected and loved, and kissing her white hand, he entreated her with tears, for the love of God, "na milosc Boska", to desist from her intention and to go back to her chambers.³⁶

How long Jadwiga did stand weighing in the words? How long did she waver? She listened to her conscience and eventually made the greatest sacrificing act of her life. She yielded. She yielded and turned back, realizing that now all was over between her and her young lover. She now knew that if her were discovered where he was hiding, disguised, he would be thrown into prison, or for that matter, be mortally wounded or even killed by the Polish

36 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page

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nobles. Jadwiga, therefore sent William one last formal note that he should leave Krakow. William did so, to play in after years a peculiarly ungallant part in his attempts to slander and vilify Jadwiga to avenge himself for not having obtained either bride or the throne.³⁷

Jadwiga passed the night weeping and praying at the foot of the Crucifix in the Cathedral. This was the final act of her sacrifice. Jadwiga sobbed through the solitude of the night before the image of her Crucified Redeemer, abandoned and alone, weeping for a lost love, shuddering before the sacrifice demanded of her, and it has been traditionally said the Christ spoke to her from the Cross, and that from that hour her decision was taken. Jadwiga renounced every mundane dream of love.³⁸ She accepted a marriage that could bring her no personal joys,

37 Lulęski, Ernest, Op. Cit., pages 100-101.

38 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 503. Grzegorz of Sanok wrote Nagrobek in 1399 wherein he relates the life and suffering of the young Queen.

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and only a union for the sake of her faith and the Polish nation.³⁹

³⁹ This particular phase in the Life of Jadwiga inspired poets and dramatists to memorialize this part of Jadwiga's life. Among the Polish authors are Stanislaw Wyspiański's play, Hedvigis, A. Przedziecki, Jadwiga, 1884, F. Faleński, Królowa, 1910, X. L. Łętowski, Jadwiga, Zona Jagiełły, J. Szujski, Jadwiga, J. U. Niemcewicz, Spiewy Historyczne and drama, Jadwiga Królowa Polski, and a novel by J. I. Kraszewski, Senko.

Cf. Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., pages 189-216.

Etiam: Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, 1385, pages 424-506. Etiam: Szajnocha, Karol, Op. Cit., volume 3, chapters 13-14, pages 1-93.

Etiam: Maciejowska, Wanda, Op. Cit., pages 3-49.

Etiam: Paltrami seu Vatzonis Chronicon Austriae, Pezel I, SS. Rerum Austriae, Wien, 1842, pages 179-216.

CHAPTER VII

JAGIELLO OF LITHUANIA:

A POLITICAL GROOM

The burning question of Jadwiga's marriage was the main affair that occupied the attention of the Council of the Crown. Those nobles who had summoned her to the throne had already determined upon a marriage for her, which was a masterpiece of national policy. Their intention was to marry Jadwiga to Jagiello, the Grand Duke of Lithuania.¹ This marriage would unite two neighboring realms that were frequently at war with each other, and which thus united would present one common barrier to their greatest enemy on the west, the Teutonic Order, and to the growing threat of Muscovy on the east. Lithuania would be brought into the Catholic Church, and Poland would become the most powerful state in eastern Europe.² All this depended on the word of the girl of twelve: would she personally consent?

1 Treaty of Krewo, August 14, 1385.

2 Kucharzewski, Jan, The Origins of Modern Russia, New York, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1948, pages 240-244.

Etiam: Halecki, O., Op. Cit., volume I, pages 7-22.

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On the whole the Polish magnates did not take Jadwiga's "infant marriage" into serious account. Such contracts meant nothing unless the young couple chose to ratify them when the girl reached the age of twelve, the age of reason at that time. They were merely a provisional arrangement. A marriage with Prince William of Austria could bring no good to the country. As early as the beginning of 1383, during their negotiations with Elizabeth concerning Jadwiga's succession to the throne, the nobles had approached Jagiello on the subject of his marriage with Jadwiga.³

After Jadwiga's coronation they sent a deputation to the Grand Duke offering him Jadwiga's hand and the crown of Poland on condition of his accepting the Roman Catholic faith. Although Jagiello was a heathen, his mother Julianna, a Ruthenian princess of Twer, had belonged to the Schismatic Church, and he had shown some inclination to be baptized into her religion, but fearing to

³ Codex Diplomaticus Regni Poloniae Et Magni Ducatus Lithuanae, Dogiel, Wilno, 1758, Part I, pages 45-7.

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alienate his pagan subjects had refrained.⁴

When Jagiello received the proposition of the Polish nobles his position was a precarious one. He had just been at war with the Teutonic Knights and with his cousin Witold, the most turbulent member of a turbulent house, whose father there is little doubt Jagiello had murdered, and whose restless ambition played into the hands of the Knights always watching from their fortress at Marienburg, on the western side of the Lithuanian borders, for a pretext to invade that country.⁵

The character of these leaders is quite evident from the following excerpt which reveals the family background of the progeny:

"Das erste do uns fater verloren wart uns
lederater, do gap her vff syne stad czu hers-
chen, die grosse herschafft czu der wille
/Vilna/, Jawnutem, vnde jagaln fatis algarden
di herschafft czu witawis /Vitebsk/ vnde minem
fatir herczogen kinstutten czu Troken, vnd als

4 L. Kolankowski, Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Warsaw, 1930, page 120.

Etiam: Smoleński, Op. Cit., page 84.

5 Kolankowski, L., Op. Cit., page 126.

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feter, herczog algart vnd herczog kinstutt, von jogunt haben sy begunst czu leben fruntlich, nu dirsagen si jn von herczogen jawnuten ertzliche unrechte; und si versprochen sich vor eyn, herczog algart mit vnsm fater herczogen Kinstutten, das sy mit ichte mochte di Ville /Vilna/ besiticzen vnd jawnuten vscutriben vnd goben jn ehnen tag, wlechen tag sy solden syn vor der wille; vnd vns vater Kinstutt der quam uff den tag vor das hus czur wille, und herczog algart der kinde nicht kommen, und vns vater herczog kistutt der besas di wille vnde treib jawnuten dorvs, vnde di lantlutte all hilden sich an jn, vnd alle ander huzer gaben sie jm dor noch quam herczog algart ken der wille czu vnssm fater und vnss fater durch des alders wille, als her sin elderster Bruder was vnde borge das teilten sy jn all czu molle enczwei; vnd globten den ander, was man mochte jn andern landen gewinnen /vnd gegenot vnd das teilten/ das solde man alls entzweit teilen; als man jn russchen lande vil huzer hat gewonnen vnd gegenot, das teilten sy jn alczu mol jn di helfte und woren jn mit enender jn grossen truwen 6."

Before our grandfather died, he handed over the supreme power in Wilno to Javnutis, to Algirads, father of Jagiello, he gave dominion over Vitebsk, and to our own father, Kestutis, he gave over Troki. And since our two ancestors, Algirds and Kestutis, had lived from childhood in great amity and were aware of certain injuries done them by Javnutis, the

6 Alminauskas, K., Vytauto Skundas, /The Accusations of Vytautas/, Archivum Philologicum, Vol. VIII, Kaunas, 1939, pages 204-205.

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two men agreed to occupy Wilna and expel him. They appointed a day on which they should meet near Wilna, and Prince Kestutis arrived but Algirdas did not come. Our ancestor Kestutis seized Wilna and drove out Javnutis. All the inhabitants of the land supported him, and all the strongholds submitted to him. Shortly after this Algirdas arrived at the palace in Wilna and Kestutis recognizing his right as the elder brother, surrendered the supreme power to him. They divided the other lands half and half, agreeing that everything they might receive in the future in other countries should also be divided. After they had made a count of the strongholds and the lands in White Ruthenia territory, they divided these also, and lived side by side in complete amity.

The Lithuanians felt a more brotherly attitude toward the Poles than to any other Slavic group. The early history is rich in lore and tradition. The fact that certain cruelties were carried to excess does not indicate that this was the general practice throughout their nation. This was the traditional manner to rid the state of all opposition, and the tales of violence are as old as the story of Cain and Abel.

If the marriage of Jadwiga with Jagiello promised much for Poland, it promised no less for Lithuania. Jagiello sent an embassy consisting of two of his twelve brothers and of Lithuanian nobles to Krakow to demand

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formally the hand of the young queen. A certain number of the Lithuanian nobles were Christians, but these belonged to the Russian Greek Church. One of the Grand Duke's brothers who took part in this deputation, Skirgiello, had been baptized in the Greek schism. He had spent most of his life wandering between the courts of Germany and that of the Teutonic Knights. Compared with his brother, Jagiello, he was a courtier, and externally was the most cultured and most presentable of the Lithuanian prince's family. On January 12, 1385,⁷ the deputation arrived in Krakow. The Lithuanians were conducted through the Wawel castle to the Queen's apartments. There, surrounded by the Crown officers and by Church dignitaries, among whom stood her friend, the Bishop of Krakow, and attended by her ladies, the girl Queen was seated on her throne. The Lithuanians bowed to the ground before her in Eastern fashion. Skiergiello spoke in the following words:

7 Codex Diplomaticus Lithuaniae, Op. Cit., p. 87.

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"Od dawna już czasu wielcy a przewazni książęta i królowie znalegali na Jagiełłę, najpotężniejszego książęcia naszego i władce Litwy ażeby wyrzekłszy się swojej i od ojców przekazany sobie wiary, przyjął wiarę chrześcijańską, nigdy jednak do tego nie zdołały go skłonić ani ich namowy, any wojny wydawane my tylekroć przez Krzyżaków Pruskich, gdy snadź Bóg Najwyższy tobie samej, chwalebna i najdostojniejsza królowo, i królestwu Polskiemu zachował ten zaszczyt, który ma w wieki potomne. Jeżeli Wielmożność Twoja rzeczonego pana naszego, Jagiełłę Wielkiego książęcia Litewskiego, poślubić raczy na małżonka, nie tylko korzyści, które w przyjęciu przezeń wiary chrześcijańskiej inni królowie i książęta zdobyć usilowali, ale i innych wiele i nader ważnych książę ten obiecuje. Jakoż przyrzeka przedewszystkiem wiarę Katolicka Rzymska, te. która ty i twoje królestwo wyznawa, ze wszystkimi bracia swemi książęty Litewskimi, panami starszyzna i całym narodem Litwy i Zmudzi, przyjąć: Przyrzęda nadto wszystkich jeńców Chrześcijańskich a ziwaszcza s królestwa Polskiego uprowadzonych, i prawem wojennem w niewoli trzymanyh uwolnić. Przyrzęka wszystkie swoje kraje dziedziczne Litwy i Zmudzi, i niektóre ziemie Ruskie orężem podbite, do królestwa Polskiego wiecznym węzłem przyłączyć i wcielić 8."

Already many of the Christian rulers and princes have striven and desired to conclude an alliance of lifelong kinship with the Grand

8 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 423-424.

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Duke of Lithuania, Jagiello, the son of Olgierd. Even the wars of the Knights of the Cross did not force him to forego the faith of his fathers. It is to the person of your Majesty that Almighty God reserved the attainment of this design. Therefore, out of respect to so salutary an ordinance of the hidden decrees of God, may your royal Majesty design to accept the aforesaid Grand Duke of Lithuania for your husband. For, when this desired object shall be accomplished, there will result in great abundance the glory of God, profit for souls, earthly honor and power for the kingdom. The Grand Duke Jagiello together with all those of his brothers not yet baptized, also together with all the nobility and inhabitants of his land, from the highest to the lowest, consent and desire with all their hearts to receive the Catholic Faith in the holy Roman Church. To which end, as it has been already said, many emperors and princes have labored, but until today they have not been able to bring to pass. It is to your royal Majesty that Almighty God has reserved this honor. Likewise with the greatest sincerity and solemn assurance of his word, the same Grand Duke Jagiello promises to devote his treasury to the reparation of all the losses suffered by both the States, that is, of Poland as well as of Lithuania, if your majesty will offer him your hand. Furthermore, the Grand Duke promises to liberate all Christian prisoners, and in particular those taken according to our custom from Polish territories. Finally he promises to incorporate all the Lithuanian and Ruthenian countries into the Polish State for all time.

Few girls could ever have been called upon to listen to a more remarkable proposal of marriage, promising, as it did, the conversion of one nation, and a

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vista of extraordinary power for another and that of her own nation. Queen Jadwiga heard the proposal calmly, and with a dignity which forbade her to show any perturbation. Within she had no real apprehension. The proposed marriage seemed to her too impossible to deserve consideration. She looked on her young William as her coming husband. It never crossed her mind that so terrible a sacrifice could be asked of her as that of giving herself to a man three times her age, a man whom she considered as a barbarian, and who was so in comparison with a with the highly accomplished princes of one of the greatest houses in Europe.

She had not intention of marrying either him or anyone else except her young betrothed. She replied to the Lithuanian princes with courtly courtesy. She told them that she was affianced by an "infant marriage" to Prince William of Austria, and could not break faith with him. If she did so, it would expose her mother, Elizabeth of Hungary, to serious trouble with Prince Leopold. She therefore referred the envoys to Queen Elizabeth.⁹

⁹ Monumenta Hungariae Historica. (See page 147).

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This answer was an admirable piece of diplomacy. It would even be more diplomatic had Elizabeth been a different sort of woman. Although Jadwiga had been surrounded by the game of diplomacy since her childhood, and had seen at close quarters the art of gaining time as practised by her mother and others, it is unlikely that this young girl made this answer on her own initiative or unaided.

Jadwiga may have acted on the advice of those of her counsellors who were favorable to her marriage to William, and these were far from being the best and most disinterested among those to whom she could look for guidance.

But there also remains the pathetic fact that the young girl, too young to be parted from her mother, and to be surrounded by men, too young to deal alone with responsibilities thrust upon her, in the first crisis which awaited in her new life and which affected all her happiness, turned instinctively to her mother -- and that mo-

9 ... Acta Externa, Budapest, 1876. Volume VII, pages 342-343.

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ther was a weak reed upon which to depend. Jadwiga must have been convinced in her heart that her mother would never take a step disastrous to her daughter's happiness. Doubtless, it never occurred to her that her mother would fail her. Moreover, she knew that both her parents had destined her for Wilhelm, even had brought her up to consider him as her future husband, and had repeatedly signed documents to that effect.¹⁰

Skirgiello hurried back to Lithuania, for the Teutonic Knights were again threatening war. The other Lithuanian deputies rode off to the Hungarian Court, accompanied by envoys from the Krakow magnates, to lay their proposals before the Queen Mother. Germans were highly out of favor in Hungary just then. Elizabeth had never especially liked or loved them, and was at the moment attempting to break her other daughter's, Maria's, "child marriage" with Sigismund of Luxemburg, and marry her to a French prince.¹¹

¹⁰ Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae, Budapest, 1834, Vol. 9, pages 73-4.

¹¹ Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae, Volume X, page 82.

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However, Elizabeth was too wary to compromise herself openly with Prince William's House of the Habsburgs. She gave the envoys the following answer: "The young Queen and the Polish lords must act according to what the welfare of Poland and the Christian commonwealth demand."¹²

The Lithuanian deputation rode back accompanied by Elizabeth's Hungarian messengers to Lithuania, namely Father Szczepan, pastor of Czanada, and Ladislas de Kaza, castellan of Potok. They stopped on the way to Krakow. There a council was held at which it was resolved to accept Jagiello's proposal and to give him the hand of the Queen. With this the Lithuanian, Polish and Hungarian deputies departed well content for Lithuania:

"Gdy zatem wielmoże krakowscy dowiedzieli się, że w Budzie zdano wybór męża Jadwigi w ręce narodu i królowny, zwolali zjazd szlachecki, rodzaj sejmu, do stolicy, i postarali się złożyć go ze swoich stronników. Wreszcie po swarach i sporach zwyciężyli popierający Jagiełłę: sejm postanowił mu oddać piastowskie berło ¹³."

12 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Page 424.

13 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Page 424.

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When the respectable Krakowians learned that the selection of the husband for Jadwiga was in the hands of the nation and the Queen, they called in Krakow a meeting of nobles in a form of a congress /sejm/, and began to pack it with their favorites. After disputation and argumentation, those favoring Jagiello were victorious: the Congress resolved to offer to him the crown of the Piasts.

What could have been the feelings of Jadwiga at this point? The fighting spirit of a girl who owed among her ancestors on one side St. Louis, and on the other Boleslas the Brave, who had ridden as a conqueror into Kiev and smote upon the gate with his sword, was roused. One is accustomed to look upon this saintly Queen of Poland as a vision of purity and of unbounded tenderness, and one is right. But one must not forget that, in addition to these qualities that alone made her a saint, she united a tenacity of will and courage that shrank at nothing. It was no weakness of will on her part that led her to give up her love for ever, but its strength. Probably at this moment Jadwiga did not realize that she was embarked on a desperate personal conflict of conscience that called to her best spirit to perform the summum bonum -- the greatest good.

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The final phase of Jadwiga's struggle between her personal happiness and the good of the Church and of her country now sets in. She had been brought up under the influence of Lithuania's enemies. She had been used to consider its inhabitants as savages. She was well aware that the majority of them were pagans. She had heard the worst accounts of the husband her nation had chosen for her; that Jagiello was old and hideous, that he had ordered servants to kill his uncle, Witold's father, that he was a heathen and a pagan. He came from a violent family in which murder was no unknown weapon. Yet this man had sworn that if she married him he and his nation would enter the one true Church, that lands would be added to the Polish crown which would be her country's defense against its enemies and would open a glorious future before it.

Jadwiga's religious scruples regarding the binding nature of her child marriage added to the anguish of her soul. The Polish prelates, especially Bishop Bo^zanta, reasoned with her. She had interview after interview with her confessor, Father Wysz. They succeeded in reassuring

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her as to the rules of the Church on the matter:

"Prawo to uznawalo, ze wzgledu na koniecznosci panstwowe sluby miedzy maloletnimi, lecz zadalo po dojsci u nich do pelnoletnosci swobodnego objawienia woli i rzeczywistego malzenskiego zamieszkiwania. Be tych warunkow wszelkie poprzednie przyrzeczenia nie mialy miec wagi. Pod tym wzgledem normy koscielne uspakajaly sumienie biednej Jadwigi 14."

The law recognized the fact that marriages of infants for reasons of state could be contracted, but it also demanded that when the couple reach the age of reason and will, live as husband and wife. Without meeting all these factors, all former promises have no validity. Because of these regulations of Church law, poor Jadwiga's conscience was salved.

Since Jadwiga had not met all of the Church's infant marriage regulations, the fact there was no consummation of marriage with William, her conscience was free to do the correct thing next. This fact has caused more dispute than any other incident in the entire life of the Queen.

The Polish nation, represented through the various princes, lords and Church dignitaries, desired her marriage to Jagiello. The entreaties of the great nobles were in Jadwiga's ears all day long. Ziemowit of Mazowia,

14 Codex Epistolaris Saeculi. XV, Wyd. Lewiczki, Kraków, 1891, Volume II, page 118.

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once the violent claimant for both her hand and throne, now her loyal subject, added his persuasion to theirs. A deputation of the Polish lords was about to ride out to meet Jagiello on his way and escort him to Krakow.

Then Jadwiga as most girls in her situation would have done, privately told one of her most trusted advisers Zawisza, on whose judgment she could rely, to go out with these nobles to see with his own eyes what Jagiello was like, and return with all speed to her. With a touch of wisdom which experience of court life had taught her early, she forbade the accepting of any presents from the Lithuanian Prince.¹⁵

The envoy went, met the Grand Duke, who was traveling in the company of ten Lithuanian princes of his own blood, with a fabulous train of wagons heaped with treasures for the Queen. Jagiello was not ill-looking. His manner was courteous and even courtly, and he had a sufficiently dignified bearing. He so loaded Jadwiga's messenger with polite attentions that it is not surprising to learn that the noble returned to Jadwiga with a favorable report.

15 Szajnocha, Karol; Op. Cit., Volume 3, page 191.

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Jadwiga's conscience was now satisfied that she would commit no wrong in marrying this man. Jadwiga knew that the conversion of a nation depended upon her consent, and that her country's good demanded it. Against the cry of her heart she yielded.

The decision of the Queen viewed in historical documents is reflected in the well-established national tradition which for the sake of correlation, we refer here to. It is no need to stress from the strictly methodical point of view that that tradition is of much value, however, as our search of material illustrating the psychological element of the Queen's problems, we think it would be inadvisable to stress that point also.

The entire decision rested with Queen Jadwiga as to the selection of the King because she was the last person whose consent was required for the fulfillment of the desires of the Polish Council of the Crown. She knew that the conversion of a nation of pagans depended upon her assent.¹⁶

¹⁶ Codex Diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni ducatus Lithuaniae, L. Dogiel editor, Wilno, 1758, volume II, page 36.

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This moral struggle was trying and after Prince Wilhelm was ejected from Wawel, and her plans to escape had been thwarted, Dymitry of Goraj escorted Jadwiga to the Wawel Cathedral and through the night and next day Jadwiga communed with the Lord.¹⁷ A terrible spiritual struggle went on inside her. The problem wavered as to the merits and importance of converting a nation or maintaining a betrothal pact.

All Jadwiga's implorings were directed to the famous crucifix, originally made from the wood of a lime tree. It now hangs over the side altar in Wawel Cathedral.¹⁸ Here knelt Jadwiga who prayed, and according to legend, heard the voice of Christ speak to her from the Cross, and from that moment she resolved her decision to renounce Wilhelm and to marry Jagiello to bring Catholicism to a nation. Only her Faith and her nation were supreme now. This was the resolution of her sacrifice.

17 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 425.

18 Tondos, St., and Kossak, Wojciech, Wawel Przeszłości S Karbnica, Kraków, Anczyć, 1897, Chapter 15, (unnumbered pages).

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The Crucifix today is one of the places of pilgrimage. Underneath it runs this inscription cut in gold letters:

"This image of our Crucified Redeemer, Jesus Christ, which is preserved on this altar with the reverence due to it, spoke, according to ancient tradition, to the holy Polish Queen, Jadwiga, daughter of Louis, King of Hungary and Poland, the first wife of Ladislas Jagiello, famed during her life for exemplary piety, after death her many miracles. Thou, too, oh, passer-by, hearken to the wounds, and bethink thyself if thou has hitherto shown thy gratitude to them 19."

Ex-votos hung around the Cross, testify to the peace, healing and consolation the prayerful have received through the intercession of Jadwiga.²⁰ Whether this account is legendary or fact, whether Jadwiga heard the voice of our Savior speaking to her from the Cross or not,

19 Gardner, Monica, Queen Jadwiga of Poland. Westminster, Ousley, 1941, p. 84.

20 Zajączkowski, Józef, Wawel, Grobowce, Pomniki i Trumny Królów, Wieszczów Polskich, Łódź, 1927, p. 182, states: "Jak głosi Legenda, a także i podanie zapisane na ołtarzu; Królowa Jadwiga doznała przed nim szczególnej łaski: Raz, gdy długie tu spędzała, chwile na żarliwej modlitwie, Zbawiciel świata miał donieść Kryż przemówić,- Podobna Legenda przywiązana jest również do Księżnej śląskiej św. Jadwigi".

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the truth behind it remains. Jadwiga did indeed hear the voice of the Christ speaking to her soul. Jadwiga did indeed receive the call to renunciation which in its mingled austerity and sweetness, beat down her last resistance and brought her for ever nearer to God. It seems as from the time she received and obeyed this Divine command, she in some degree changed.²¹

Jadwiga accepted the task to which she was summoned with the heroism of sanctity. She cast no backward glance upon what might have been, and what she wished to have been. Jadwiga entirely fulfilled that most exacting vocation of a saint upon a throne, the more difficult in her case from the fact that her heart never went out to her husband.

Therefore, whether one chooses or not to believe this legend of the story of the Cross, the conclusion is forced from the evidence of Jadwiga's whole subsequent his-

21 Załuski, X. W., Żywot Świątobliwej Jadwigi, Warsaw, 1901, p. 162.

cf. De Contemplatione, Op. Cit., Manuscript no. 2424.

cf. W sprawie Kanonizacji Królowej Jadwigi, Op. Cit., pages 23-28.

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tory that at the crisis of her fate her soul underwent one of those spiritual visitations of which we read in the lives of the Saints,²² from which Jadwiga emerged to give herself wholly to God.

Jadwiga's legend of the Cross has inspired many poets to consider the theme.²³ One of these, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz in his book, SPIEWY HISTORYCZNE -- Songs from History, reveals the inner Jadwiga whose spiritual and life of piety the world has come to talk about 551 years after her death. In a representative Polish poem, the poet describes the inner struggle that the Queen so pitiably suffers for the victory that was to come to two nations:

22 The Lives of the Saints, Op. Cit., The Book, 708 pages.

23 Grzegorz z Sanoku, Tu Leży Jadwiga, in Długosz's Chronicles for 1399 in Opera Omnia, volume IV, pages 502-504. See also: Wyspiański, Stanisław, Hedvigis, a play, Warsaw, 1901. Kraszewski, J.I., Semko, novel, Warsaw, 1887.

And historical dramas by F. Faleński, A. Przedziecki, L. Łętowski, J. Szujski, and S. Twardowski.

Also poems by Klemens Janicki, Jan Kochanowski, Wespazjan Kochowski and Marja Konopnicka.

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"Wejrzyj Ty mnie miłosiernie z krzyża,
Królu boleści ... We łzach tu przychodzę,
Bo kielich męki mojej się przybliża:

A ja truchleję i omdlewam w trwadze,
Odwróć go Boże, spełniać mi go nie każ,
Miej litości, iżem udręczona srodze ...

Lękam się cierpieć! ... Ty który ociekasz
Krwia Przenajświętszą na krzyżowym drzewie,
Bolesny duchów bolejących lekarz:

Ty mnie od nóg Swych nie odrzucisz w gniewie
Ze ja tak swojej niemocy się trwozę,
I że się we mnie jeszcze tle zarzewie:

Pragnień dziewezęcych, co jak złote zorze
Ranek żywota mego różowiły,
I wzrok oderwać od nich się nie może.

Ani ja ducha, ani dość mam siły
Bym się wyrzekła szczęścia i pod brzemie,
Ciężkie nieznosne dała kark pochyły ...

Niech słuchajże mych słów! Nie karajże me
Za taką mowę, Chryste Gospodynie.
Ty mnie nieść dajesz na pogańską ziemię.

Swój krzyż, mnie licha za Swych Lask naczynie
Zwolić raczyłeś, a ja z bolu krzyczę,
Iż moje biedne, ziemskie szczęście ginie!

Przed oczy Twoje, przed Twoje oblicze
Załością wszystkich ludzkich smutków czarne
Kładę łzy moje i serce dziewicze.

Pragnienia błahe i tęsknoty marne
I to, co trwoży mnie, i co mnie boli,
I do przebitych nóg Twoich się garne ...

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O tam jak martwa rzecz bez własnej woli
Na Twoje tylko posłuszna skinienie:
Rzuć mnie, jak siewcz ziarno do swej roli -

A kłosem wznijdzie; tchnij - w ptaka się zamienie
I szlakiem woli Twojej rozpuszcze loty;
Każ, bym zgorzała jarzące płomienie.

Wystrzeła ze mnie i w jasność złotej,
Będę Ci płonąć aż się w ogniu strawie;
Każ - łez potokiem poplyne z Golgoty!

Przemówił do mnie ... przemówił na jawnie.
Patrzył ... ustami poruszał widownię
I głos słyszałam konającą prawie.

W tym przerażenia i szczęścia ogromnie
I nie jak ongi na Synaju górze
W błyskawic blasku przemówił i w gromie,

W czerwieniejącej żywym ogniem chmurze
Lecz raj był cały w każdym jego słowie:
Jak srebrne gwiazdy, jak niebiański róże

Z moim Chrystusem, żyć tu jeszcze muszę
W ciałą glinianem więzieniu zamknona
Lecz jakoś kazał - w puszczy litewskich głusze.

Krzyż Twój poniosę ... Oto na ramiona
Biorę go Panie, całym sercem biorę
Już mnie cierniowa nie rani korona
Bo żar miłości Twojej we mnie płonie 24.

24 Niemcewicz, Julian Ursyn, Śpiewy Historyczne,
Paris, 1828, Wydanie Autora.

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Look mercifully upon me from your Cross
O King of Grief ... Tearfully I have come
Now that I drink the cup of my sufferings.

I am faint with fear and trepidation,
Take this Chalice from me, order me not to drain it,
Have mercy upon me as I am sorely tortured.

I am afraid to suffer! I address my appeal to you
Whose Most Precious Blood stained the wooden Cross,
To You, suffering healer of the weebegone spirits.

You will not cast me away in anger,
When I doubt so much my own strength,
Because within me there is yet a spark of hope.

Maiden desires, like the golden dawn,
Were made rosy in the morning of my life.
And I cling to the memories of that happy time.

Neither spirit nor strength enough have I
To reject earthly happiness, and to shoulder this
Unbearable yoke with my already bowed frame.

Listen sympathetically to my supplications -
Do not punish me, O Lord, That I so speak.
You give me this Cross to carry into pagan lands.

You deigned to permit me to be the unworthy
Receptacle of Your Grace, but I cry out with pain,
That my small earthly happiness must vanish.

Before Your eyes, before Your visage,
Which has been darkened by all sad human pains.
To You I make an offering of my maiden heart and tears.

My vain desires and empty longings
And that which makes me hurt and fearful,
To Your Feet, nailed to the Cross, I humbly come.

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I will be like matter without will power,
I will be completely obedient to your bidding,
Cast me like a germinating seed into Your fertile land.

And I will become a sturdy creature -
I will be transformed into a bird, flying there,
Where You will command me even to searing fire.

Flames will burst from within me, until in flames
I will be consumed, Or command,
That my tears flow as a flood from Golgotha.

He spoke to me - clearly and distinctly, He spoke to me.
He looked at me ... visibly His lips formed words,
And His voice I heard, this veritably close to death.

I was overcome by mingled emotions of fear,
And extreme happiness, and not as He spoke on Mt. Sinai,
Midst thunder and lightning which fired the clouds,
But now, each word contained a Paradise.

Like silver stars or heavenly flowers
Tell His precious words -
And angels visited my welcoming soul.

After this communion with my God, I was saddened
Only because I must continue my life here,
Imprisoned by the bonds of earthy flesh and blood.

But it is as You command, into the Lithuanian wilderness
Will I carry Your Cross wholeheartedly,
I bear it O Lord. No longer does the crown of thorns
Cause me any pain, for Your all-consuming love within
me burns.

In the above verses Jadwiga pleads for strength
to bear the Cross for which she is destined. This Crucifix
today is a shrine to those from displaced homes in
Lithuania, Wilno lands, and from the Lwow area. Prayers

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for the conversion of the enemy are still being entreated, and especially now, through the intercession of Queen Jadwiga. For more than five centuries of troubled and tragic history this scene on the Wawel has remained secure in Polish memory. For Poland the figure of Jadwiga possesses much of the vivid and vital significance that Joan of Arc has for France. Called to splendid sacrifice these two maids, one a princess and the other a peasant, have become the symbols of the noblest in national hopes and in the Christian faith.

This crucifix has inspired and consoled many for past centuries since Jadwiga wept and prayed at its base. The greatest services to Christianity and to Poland are related to this Cross. A latter author states this fact in these words:

"O wdzięczności pokoleń za łaski odeń
doznane, świadczą mnogie wota, wśród których
świeci u stóp Chrystusa Pana szczerozłote strzemie
wezyra, Kara Mustafy, przysłał z pod Wiednia i
tu zamieścić kazał Jan III. Tak łączą się pod
tym krzyżem dwie największe zasługi Polski wobec
Chrześcijaństwa i Europy, jednoczą się dwie ofia-
ry najczystsze Bogu na chwałę złożenia 25."

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Numerous votos for favors granted show the gratefulness of generations among which shine at the feet of Our Lord Jesus are gold stirrups of Vizor Kara Mustapha which John III Sobieski ordered sent from Vienna. Thus, related to this Cross are two great Polish acts for Christianity and Poland, sacrifices rendered for God's honor that unite all.

Jadwiga's sacrifice then is often the sacrifice of the many today. It is at the feet of this Cross that thousands in Poland pray today.²⁶

25 ... Poznan, Kozłowski, 1910, p. 120.

Note: Litwa is the Polish word for Lithuania. The English poet Geoffrey Chaucer in Canterbury Tales, XVIII canto, refers to "Leetuve" or Lietuva. This is one of the first appearances of the word in English.

26 General reference to Jagiello and events in 1385-1386: Maciejowski, Wacław, Pierwotne Dzieje Polski i Litwy, Warsaw, 1846, pages 97-182.

Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., Volume I, pages 3-65.

Marbach, August, Początek Unii Lubelskiej, Poznań, Żupański, 1872, pages 16-37.

Harrison, E.J., Lithuania Past and Present, London, Fisher Unwin, 1922, pages 43-75.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MARRIAGE OF JADWIGA WITH JAGIELLO AND THEIR MISSION TO LITHUANIA

On February 12, 1386, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagiello, entered Kraków as the chosen husband of Jadwiga, and therefore the King of Poland. He was accompanied by his brothers Wigund, Korygiello, and Skirgiello, Prince Witold, son of Kiejstut, a cousin, and other princes of the house. Jagiello rode through the cheering crowds to the Wawel Castle up the hill, and was led by the Polish lords, Dobieslaw, Piotr Kmita, Sedziwoj, Dymitry of Goraj, to the royal apartments.¹

The attention of the contemporary chroniclers is riveted on the first meeting between Jagiello and the Queen:

"Młodociana piękność, w koronie, otoczonym
licznem gronem panien i niewiast, przyjęła pok-
łon Jagiełły 2."

The young Beauty, crowned and sceptre in hand, surrounded by a group of lords and ladies, accepted the courtesies shown by Jagiello.

1 Monumenta Poloniae Historiae, volume III, pages 183-184.

2 Długosz, Jan., Op. Cit., volume IV, page 435.

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Jadwiga was sitting, ready to receive him, under a canopy on her throne, crowned, the sceptre in her hand, in royal robes. The greatest of the Polish magnates, including Prince Ziemowit, stood round her throne. So radiant was the vision of her youth and beauty that, so the chronicler³ says, Jagiello's eyes were dazzled by the sight of her. Jadwiga gave him her hand to kiss. Whatever the inward trepidation as Jadwiga looked for the first time on the man she was to marry, and did not wish to marry, she received him with no sign of agitation, and with the dignity customary to her.⁴

Jadwiga saw a man of unpleasing aspect, of medium height, Jagiello's eyes were small, dark and restless. His voice was rough, and he spoke rapidly. His speech was Rus, White Ruthenian (Bialoruski), and betrayed a rather primitive intellect writes the great and authoritative chronicler Duglosz.⁵ Jagiello's bearing was that

³ Strykowski, Maciej, Kronika, Op. Cit., volume II, page 72.

⁴ Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., page 192.

⁵ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 435.

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of one unused to the refinements of courts.

After Jagiello had commended himself to the Queen, his magnificent presents were laid before her by the Lithuanian princes. Jadwiga's manner was always sweet and gracious notes a contemporary historian.⁶ She made the Grand Duke a gentle answer.

On February 15, 1385, Jagiello was baptized in the Cathedral under the name of Wladyslaw or Ladislaus, along with his three brothers, who were not Christians. As his mother, Julianna, the Princess of Twer, had been a Christian under the Greek rite,⁷ Christian ordinances were not strange to him. Jagiello became soon and easily the devoutest of Catholics, although certain pagan superstitions clung to him always: such as putting out the right foot when he arose, or to make a complete turn and then to cast three straws into the wind for good luck for the day.⁸

6 Etiam, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 436.

7 Adamus, Jan, Państwo Litewskie W Latach 1386-1398, Wilno, 1932, pages 13-14.

8 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 436.

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For political reasons, Jagiello asked the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Zollner, to be his sponsor. The Grand Master, to whom the union of Lithuania and Christian Poland by no means pleased, curtly refused, giving the excuse that the roads between Marienburg and Krakow were too bad.⁹ So Jagiello was supported at the font by Prince Ladislas Opolski, who had quickly transferred his allegiance to the Lithuanian, and by Jadwiga Pilecka, mother of Elizabeth, the Wojewodin of Sandomir, a Polish princess of the Piast house, whose daughter, as events later turned out, became Jagiello's third wife.¹⁰ The Lithuanian princes who had accompanied Jagiello stepped to the font after him and were baptized in their turn:

„Oprócz W. księcia Litwy przstępowali do chrztu trzech rodzeni bracia Jagiełły: Wigmund, Korygiełł i Swidrygiełł, tudzież stryeczny Witold, już to pono po raz trzeci poddający się temu uroczystemu aktowi. Inni obecni książ-

⁹ Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae, Op. Cit., volume II, page 339.

¹⁰ Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., volume I, page 162. Cf. Adamus, Jan, Op. Cit., pages 63-4.

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żęta litewscy, jako już raz w obrzędku greckim ochrzczeni, nie przystąpili do obrzędu 11.*

Besides the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagiello three blood brothers were baptized: Wigund, Korygiello and Swydrigello, also his cousin Witold, now for the third time accepting this ceremony. Other Lithuanian knights present, who were baptized under the Greek rite, did not participate in the Latin rite ceremony.

This baptism won by Jadwiga's sacrifice was symbolic of the baptism which was to follow of a whole nation.

In the next day the ceremony, to unwind the breaking of the betrothal with Wilhelm, as the custom demanded, took place. All matters of the "infant marriage" were settled and all ecclesiastical requirements were satisfied. A contemporary chronicler writes:

"Poczem w kilka dni nastąpił obrzęd uroczystego rozwiązania ślubów nieważnych z Wilhelmem, jak tego zwyczaj wymagał. Wszystkie przeszkody uprzątnięto 12.*

In a few days the traditional ceremony of unbinding the invalid infant marriage with Wilhelm as custom demanded it, took place. All obstacles were removed.

11 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 437.

12 Etiam, pages 437-438.

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Three days after Jagiello's baptism, on February 18, 1386, Queen Jadwiga and Jagiello were married in the Cathedral. At the foot of the altar before the Primate Bodzanta who was about to join her hand to Jagiello's, Jadwiga publicly repudiated her child marriage, which of itself cancelled the engagement of "infant marriage" made for her by her parents. This betrothal was a tradition and not a religious sacrament for Wilhelm and Jadwiga did not consummate the marriage when they reached the age of reason, (12 years old) or at any other time. After the public repudiation the marriage service proceeded for the thirteen year old Jadwiga and 37 years old Jagiello.¹³

In order to inform Pope Urban VI, 1318-1389, of the state of things and the repudiation of the infant betrothal, Wladyslaw Jagiello sent Mikolaj Trąba, at that time canon of the Krakow Chapter, later the archbishop of Gniezno, to carry the data to Rome. On the way Canon Trą-

¹³ Monumenta Poloniae Historiae II, Kalendarz Krakowski, Volume II, page 913, ... "Odbywało się odwołanie przez Jadwigę dawnych dzieciennych ślubów z Wilhelmem przed ślubem z Jagiełłą, i osadziła się że nie mogłaby tego uczynić wobec Duchowieństwa i Kościoła, gdyby Wilhelm istotnie zamieszkał na zamku."

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ba stopped in Vienna, offering to bring to Wilhelm from Pope Urban VI, the same annulment as for Queen Jadwiga and Archbishop Bodzanta. Instead, Wilhelm ordered Canon Trąba cast into prison for almost four years. Despite the lack of the official documents from Rome, the Holy See paid little attention to the gossip and slanders spread by the Teutonic Knights about Queen Jadwiga. One chronicler noted:

Mimo braku tego rzecznika -- Watykan nie dawał posłuchu fałszywemu podszeptem zakonnych protektoratów. W dodatku dla Wilhelma fatalnie układała się położenie. Ojciec jego legł w bitwie ze Szwajcarami pod Sempach, pozostawiając po sobie spory spadkowe, które Wilhelma więziły w Austyji. A tu Ojciec św. Urban niechęty rakuskiemu domowi za związku Leopolda z antipapą Klemensem, powołał go osobiście przed swój trybunał w sprawie Jadwigi. Zajęty u siebie w domu, obawiając się niekorzystnych może dla siebie w Watykanie oświadczeń Jadwigi, Wilhelm postanowił nie stanąć 14.

Despite the lack of documents containing the annulment testimony, the Vatican paid little heed to the slanders and gossip spread by the Teutonic Knights. In addition matters became disastrously serious for Wilhelm. His

14 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 436-7.
cf. Ptasnik, Joannes, Acta Camera Apostolica,
Volume II in Monumenta Historiae Vaticana, Kraków, 1913,
page 639.

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father died in the battle with the Swiss at Sempach, leaving inheritance controversies, which tied Wilhelm to Austria. And, the Holy Father, St. Urban, distressed over the relations of the Habsburg House with the anti-Pope Clement, called Wilhelm to appear before court in the matter relating to Jadwiga. Being occupied at court and already fearing the unprofitable outcome from the testimony submitted to the Vatican by Jadwiga, Wilhelm declined to appear.

Malicious gossip and slander spread by the Teutonic Knights against the character of Queen Jadwiga have puzzled the historians and the Holy See for centuries. The documents relating to the annulment of the infant betrothal of Jadwiga and Wilhelm, and the reply from Pope Urban VI, to Queen Jadwiga and Archbishop Bodzanta, disappeared for many centuries.¹⁵ The documents, today are found in the Vatican library, stated that the infant betrothal did not mature into a consummated marriage, and

15 Rewerowski, Emil, Kult Królowej Jadwigi w Polsce, Kurier Warszawski, January 9, 1933, page 10.

... "Dokument ten zaliczony do Libri Ecclesiae, II Katalogu rękopisów Kapituły Krakowskiej zaginał z Biegiem czasu, nie jest odnalezony."

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that Jadwiga had a free conscience to marry Jagiello.¹⁶

Later in 1419, when the first proceedings into the process and study of the possibility of the beatification of Queen Jadwiga were initiated, Archbishop Bodzanta swore as to the innocence of Queen Jadwiga and the lack of a consummated marriage: that there was no marriage between Jadwiga and Wilhelm as the Teutonic Knights and other enemies of Poland had claimed. On the other hand, Wilhelm, ceremonially as a rejected suitor, remarked that it did not become a Habsburgian prince to break sworn faith:

"Nie przystoi książętom rakuskim ubiegać
o wiarołomną ¹⁷."

16 In August, 1949, in Fribourg, Switzerland, Dr. Oskar Halecki, professor of European History in the Fordham University Graduate School, was called to testify before an Ecclesiastical Court as to the authenticity of this document relating to the innocence of Queen Jadwiga. Documents are being collected by the College of Rites for study of possible Beatification of Queen Jadwiga.

17 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 438. It is hypothetical that Wilhelm, deep in his heart, knew that Jadwiga was innocent, and in order not to testify falsely before Pope Urban VI, he absented himself from the proceedings. Thus, not testifying, he offered silent assent to the slanders spread by the Teutonic Knights.

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The German Teutonic Knights were indignant with rage at the Lithuanian Duke for his impious plan to convert himself. For since 1230 when the Polish Duke Conrad of Mazowia appealed to them for protection against the Lithuanian neighbors, the Teutons responded with zeal and called on Christian Europe to aid them in conquering and converting the heathen. But they had not succeeded in converting the Lithuanians. There was no rejoicing in Marienburg over the announcement that Archbishop Bodzanta and Pope Urban VI had annulled the infant betrothal and that Queen Jadwiga was free to wed Jagiello. The Teutonic Knights spread continuous malicious slander against Jadwiga because of the annulment. Their indignation is thus better understood: Slavic Christianity was moving northward and eastward, and not the Teutonic "Drang nach Osten", which has been attempted for so many times since 1226.¹⁸

The 200,000 florins were paid by Canon Mikołaj Trąba for Jagiello for the breaking of the infant betro-

¹⁸ Maciejowski, Wacław, Op. Cit., pages 437-441.

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thal contract to the Austrian. Wilhelm took this sum without any ceremony.¹⁹ Later, with the connivance of Andrew, a half-brother to Jagiello, with the Teutonic Knights, Wilhelm addressed a letter -- to all Christian rulers of Europe asking them to join with him and Austria in July, 1386, -- to punish Jagiello for the rape of his promised bride. After Duke Leopold was overwhelmed, Wilhelm's father killed, the Swiss being victorious over the Austrians, Grand Master Zollner decided that it was too risky to advance into Lithuania. Only the Teutonic Knights of Livonia and the Russian princes of Smolensk crossed the frontier leaving desolation in their path. And these, Jagiello's brothers and cousin Witowit, defeated in a bloody battle.²⁰

19 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 437. Note: Canon Trąba, who was carry letters from Archbishop Bodzanta to Pope Urban VI, also carried the contract-breaking money for Wilhelm.

20 Steinwenter, Arthur, Beitrage zur Geshichte der Leopoldiner Archiv. Fur Osterr. Gesch., volume LVIII, pages 416-418. Note: This is another instance where Wilhelm gives outward proof that Jadwiga is innocent of committing consummatio matrimonii, and that this fact was never accomplished by him with Jadwiga.

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On December 31, 1387, Pope Urban VI, called to Rome the witnesses of Jagiello's marriage for further testimony as regards the marriage of Jadwiga to Jagiello. When the Pope's letter arrived in Krakow, Jagiello offered all of Lithuania under the agreement to be apostolized into the Roman Catholic faith. After this, the matter of the Haimberg infant betrothal was dismissed from further regard by the Holy See.

Wladyslaw, as this was the Christian name that the Lithuanian Grand Duke had selected, was crowned king of Poland on March 4, 1386. Jadwiga was present in the Cathedral and watched the same ceremony through which she herself had experienced two years ago, October 15, 1384.²¹

The Polish regalia was now in the Hungarian treasury in Buda, and the crown which had been laid on Jadwiga's little head was fitted for a girl. The Krakow goldsmiths fashioned a new crown, with the circular cross being featured as the union of Poland and Lithuania as a

²¹ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 439. Note: Władysław II was chosen because Władysław Lokietek, 1306-1333, was the ~~one~~ who defeated the Teutonic Knights at Płowca in 1331.

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Christian unity.²²

Jadwiga was to be the giver of joy to all around her. It seems as though that mission began immediately after her marriage, for her own wedding was followed by several others among her suite and that of her husband. One particular marriage was close to the Queen's heart. She had a favorite Hungarian lady-in-waiting, Elizabeth, who had come with her from Hungary, and she was now married to a Polish noble, Spytko Melsztyński.²³ Spytko was active in the negotiations for Jadwiga's advent to Poland. Both Jadwiga and Jagiello favored him with their gifts throughout the reign. Ziemowit of Mazowia, who had thrown in his lot for good and all with Jadwiga was betrothed to Alexandra, Jagiello's favorite sister. The day following the coronation Jagiello, as Jadwiga had done, went down in his turn to the town to receive the allegiance of the

²² Idem. Jadwiga was crowned King of Poland on October 15, 1384. The crossed crown bands in the shape of the Cross indicated the duality of the Kingship.

²³ Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., page 232.

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burghers. Thus, surrounded by every sign of external rejoicing Jadwiga's married life and her reign by the side of King Jagiello, her husband, had now begun.

What was the husband like whom Jadwiga had married? A contemporary Jagiellonian chronicler²⁴ who lived and resided in the Wawel writes the following varied description of Jagiello the man: He had both the virtues and defects of a man backward in civilization. He was primitive,²⁵ and although he loved music and art, and later in his reign, influenced by Jadwiga's example, was fond of listening to the discourses of the learned and prized erudition in others. He was uneducated. Physically and mentally he was strangely slow and torpid.

Jagiello suspected very readily, which Jadwiga was to discover at her cost, and was easily taken in. With the obstinacy of a limited intelligence he clung persistently to his own opinion. A tendency to sensua-

24 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 437-438.

25 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 437-438. The word "primitive" is used in the sense of style, simplicity, related to the origin or beginning.

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lity gave him matter for struggle all his life. Although he was given to tempests of rage in the manner of the uneducated, he was a kindly disposition, very ready to forgive personal injuries, -- with one exception of mistakes made in the hunt, for hunting was his passion, as he had learned it in the wild Lithuanian country.

So benevolent and lavish was he in his bounties that a favorite saying of his was: "No one must leave the presence of the Prince unsatisfied".²⁶ This was perhaps the only trait in his character, and together with his sincere piety was the one bond of union between him and Jadwiga.²⁷ Jagiello was not entirely simple. If his wit was primitive it had a certain shrewdness, and there was a strain of cunning in his character that at times affected his policy.²⁸

²⁶ Idem, page 438.

²⁷ Morawski, Kazimierz, Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego pod zarządem. J. Filipkowskiego, Kraków, 1900, Volume I, Księga Władysława Jagiełły, pages 51-54.

²⁸ Smoleński, Władysław, Op. Cit., page 86; Jagiello married off his sister Aleksandra to Ziemowit, gave his Brother Wigund in marriage to Prince Opolski's daughter, so that the unity of Poland and Lithuania would be solidified.

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Such a character was diametrically opposed to that of the girl whose husband he now became. He was her inferior in every respect: the most unsuitable mate²⁹ it would appear that could have been found for this brilliant, beautiful, highly educated young woman. Jadwiga accepted her sacrifice in its entirety. She never swayed from her marriage vows. Lovely and young, bound to an uncongenial husband so much older than herself as to the middle-aged in comparison, with her, she had every temptation, we can admit, to take her place in history with those unhappily mated and beautiful queens whose immorality has become a byword. Instead, the name of Jadwiga of Poland has come down through the ages crowned with an aureole of purity.

It is noteworthy that the girl who had brought peace to her distracted people began her reign by her husband's side as an advocate of the distressed.

Civil strife was still smouldering in Wielkopolska, where Jadwiga's accession had been originally opposed. A petition was sent to the King and Queen by the prelates

²⁹ Adamus, Jan, Op. Cit., pages 66-69.
cf. Decius, I.I.L., Op. Cit., pages 93-96.

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and nobles of the district begging them to repair there in person to put an end to this state of things. Jadwiga lent much of her renowned generosity and understanding in these settlements. Jagiello's chronicler writes:

Święto wielkanocne obchodzono w Poznaniu. Jagiello postanowił tu pogodzić Grzymalitów z Nalęczami. Według moralu królewskiego przy nabożeństwie Wniebostąpienie postawiono świeczkę obu stronom, jako symbol przejednania. Zaczem gwoli wiernym dworowi Grzymalitom, pozostał znienawidzony Domarat przy kasztelaństwie poznańskim, a Nalęczów pocieszono udostojnieniem Wyszemburczyka: otrzymał on poznańskie województwo i zamienił się gorliwego zwolennika dworu. W ten sposób zapanał wszędzie spokój, królestwo piastowskie uczuło, że ma u siebie w domu pana 30.

Easter holidays were celebrated in Poznań. Jagiello decided to settle the dispute between Grzymala and Nalencz. According to the custom of the kingdom, at the Ascension Day Mass, candles were lit at both sides as a symbol of unity. For the sake of the faithful of the Grzymala court, the hated Domarat became a Poznan castellan, and Nalencz was cheered with the bestowed title of Wyszemburg; he received the Poznan governorship and became one of the most zealous defenders of the Court. In this manner order and peace was restored everywhere in the Piast kingdom, and it could be seen that the kingdom at last, had a master.

30 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 440.

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Jagiello and the Queen stayed in Poznan until Ascension Day in 1386, dealing with the disorders of the country, hearing and judging the cases that were brought forward for redress and pacification. The royal couple sat and held these royal courts of justice sometimes in the castle, or in the square in front of the castle walls, or in the town hall, the predecessor of the beautiful edifice which is the pride of Poznan, or at times in the Dominican convent or in the streets.³¹ Jadwiga would let no detail escape her attention, especially, in arranging peace between disputants. Peace was restored to a country that for years past had been ravaged by violence and bloodshed.

It was at the insistence of Jadwiga that in after years, Jagiello founded the noble church of Corpus Christi in Poznan. Jadwiga's name is associated with it, and a golden crown on the monstrance is still prized there as having belonged to her.³²

³¹ Smolka, Stanisław, Unija Litwy z Koroną, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków, 1903, pages 167-170.

³² Borowski, Aleksander, Op. Cit., page 74.

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The time now came to carry out the promise to Christianize Lithuania, which had been one of the conditions of Jagiello's marriage with Jadwiga. In the winter following the marriage, when the Lithuanian marshes froze and therefore it was possible to cross them Jagiello set out on that famous Apostolic expedition into Lithuania that brought the country completely into the Catholic Church. Jadwiga had other work to do for her nation at the time and did not accompany Jagiello. But from the fact that the country owed its achieved conversion to her, and her alone, the extraordinary procession of King and priests and nobles, carrying the Cross into the forests and marshes of the heathen land, and baptizing a great part of the nation, belongs as much to the character of Jadwiga as to that of Jagiello.³³

Although Jadwiga was not present, her whole heart went with this pilgrimage. Most assuredly, no less than her gifts to the new churches which its members carried, her prayers with all the blessings that they drew down

³³ Strykowski, Maciej, Op. Cit., Kronika, volume II, page 106.

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from Heaven accompanied it.³⁴

The mission travelled through huge forests still in primeval state. At the time these were infested by wild beasts. The ursus, the only specimen to be found in Europe, lingered there until comparatively recent years. Herds of wild horses roamed over the country. Immense lakes, teeming with fish, covered much of its surface. The land stretched desolate and sparsely inhabited before the eyes of Jagiello and his company. Only here and there crude straw-thatched huts, the home of fishermen, hunters and shepherds, and now and again a wooden town, rose out of the solitude before them.³⁵

The people were primitive and superstitious. They adored the powers of nature, the sun, the moon, the stars and had a special veneration for fire. A sacred fire which was never extinguished burned in every temple, in every home, even the humblest.

³⁴ Wapowski, Bernard, Dzieje Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od Roky 1380-1553, Wydał M. Malinowski, Wilno, 1847, pages 163-178.

³⁵ Strykowski, Maciej, Op. Cit., Kronika, volume II, pages 99-104.

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The god of Thunder and lightning, Perkunas, was the favorite divinity of the Lithuanians, but, like the ancient Greeks, they had a whole hierarchy of deities reigning over each aspect of their daily existence. Their trees were dedicated to the gods, and their forests held sacred groves in which they offered burned sacrifices. It was whispered that these included human victims, for traces of pagan savagery still remained in the country.

Some of the noble Lithuanians, who were not pagans followed the Greek Schismatic rites. The civilizing influences upon the nation were to be found in the capital, Troki, and in the castle and settlement of Wilno, and wherever the Lithuanian Greek Church princes had introduced Christian customs, or where Roman Catholic missionaries, mainly Franciscans, had penetrated. Such was the country into which Queen Jadwiga had sent the gentle lessons of Christian faith and charity.

However, we have to draw attention to the historical fact which the Polish historians³⁶ neglect to dwell

³⁶ Balzer, Bobrzyński, Dąbrowski, Fijałek, Halecki, Korzon Kochanowski, Kutrzeba, Lelewel, Papee, Piekosinski, Prochaska, Smoleński, Smolka, Szujski, Zakrzewski, et al.

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upon in their works, that Christianity already had its limited roots in Lithuania, namely, the first missionary Bishop Vitus,³⁷ or Wit, a Dominican, was sent to Lithuania and established a missionary church around the year 1238 with episcopal jurisdiction for the whole of Lithuania. Wit was sent by St. Hyacinth /Jacek Odrowąż/, who, as the vicar for Eastern Europe, was appointed by St. Dominic during his stay in Rome in 1226.³⁸

The documents which were consulted and searched for do not give further evidence of the history of the first Dominican Bishop in Wilno, however, Acta Sancto-

37 Eubel, Conrad, Hierarchia catholica Medii Aevi sive Summarum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta e e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita, Editio altera, Monasterii, 1793, four volumes, volume I, page 132.
etiam: Baracz, X. Sadok, Rys dziejów zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Polsce, Lwów, 1861, volume I, page 80, 192.
cf. Altaner, Berthold, Die Dominikanermissionem des 13 Jahrhunderts, Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner - und Heidenmission des Mittelalters, Breslau, 1924, pages 82, 131-132.
cf. Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, Op. Cit., volume II, page 364.

38 Baracz, X. Sadok, Op. Cit., pages 82-83.

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rum³⁹ in St. Hyacinth's account stress that Wit glorified his life in a martyr's death and don't give any further evidence of additional work.

The history of the Polish Dominicans was augmented by Dictamina of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Krakow, edited by Hyacinth Woroniecki, O.P., and annotated by the great Polish historian, John Fijalek,⁴⁰ helps us to accept the hypothesis that in the end of the fourteenth century, there were sent again some Dominicans from Krakow to Wilno. Therefore, the arrival of Queen Jadwiga and King Jagiello might have some connection with this place of early Christianity in Lithuania. And, I am ready to suppose with historical restriction, that at that time already, the Dominicans had their work in religious activi-

39 Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur .. ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium monumentis ... servata, edition novissima, Parisiis, 1863-1940, et sequi, vol. Martii 16, Month-August, Day-17, vita Sancta Hyacinthi.

40 Woroniecki, Jacek and Jan Fijalek, Dictamina Monasterii Sanctissima Trinitis, Cracoviae, Krakow, Akademia Umiejetnosci, 1924, see X, page 56.

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ties, again, in the time when Jagiello was interested in Christianization of Lithuania, as a condition to the political marriage with the Queen of Poland.

My letters of enquiry sent to the Moscow State Archives, where the Metryka Litewska and other ancient documents relative to the great Principality of Lithuania, which were plundered by the "white Czars" now held by force by the "Red Czars", went unanswered, and therefore I could not continue my research in this respect.

Returning however, to the continuation of the royal first visit paid by Jagiello and Jadwiga, it is interesting from the historical point of view to quote the great Długosz's wording of Jagiello's edict relating to the bringing of his Dukedom to Christianity, and beautifully expressed spirit by the new King of Poland, Ladislaus II, and the Great Duke of Lithuania.

Jagiello halted in Wilno and from here sent out proclamations, summoning all Lithuania to embrace the Roman Catholic faith:

*Postanowiliśmy wszystkich rodowitych
Litwinów płci obojej, wszelkiego stanu powo-
łania lub stopnia, w państwach naszych lite-
wskich i ruskich zamieszkałych, skłonio i

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pociągac do wiary katolickiej i posłuszeństwo
świętemu kościołowi rzymskiemu bez względu na
to, do jakiegokolwiek wyznania poprzednioby
należeli 41.*

We have decided that all native Lithuanians
of both sexes, of all levels and callings, li-
ving in our Lithuanian and Ruthenian realm, to
accept belief in the Catholic faith and be obe-
dient to the Roman Church, regardless of what
belief they followed heretofore.

By Jagiello's command the great statue of the pa-
gan god, Perkunas, which towered over the heathen temple
in Wilno was hurled down and the Christian Cross raised in
its place. The temples were destroyed and the dedicated
oaks in the forests felled. The serpents were driven out,
and the sacred fires extinguished for ever. Those few pa-
gan priests who resisted the King's decree hid in the woods
with the statues of the gods they had saved, followed by a
few blind, old minstrels and believers.⁴²

Led by the Lithuanian boyars, the multitudes
flocked to the Cross which Jagiello had erected in Wilno.
There, day after day, they were taught the truths of the

41 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 444.

42 Strykowski, Maciej, Op. Cit., Kronika, vo-
lume II, pages 105-107.

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Christian religion by the Franciscan and Dominican monks whom Jagiello had brought with him, and by Jagiello himself who translated the Pater noster into the Lithuanian spoken tongue.⁴³

With the advent of spring in 1387, there was seen the spectacle of the baptism of such multitudes that if their number did not literally comprise the whole nation, yet this Baptism may without exaggeration, be called the Baptism of the last stronghold of paganism in Europe. They were Baptized by the thousands on the banks of the river Niemen -- a fit symbol of the regeneration of souls washed in the waters of Eternal Life. The white baptismal robes with which Jadwiga had supplied the expedition were flung over their shoulders.⁴⁴

The foundations were laid for the Christian Cathedral to stand on the site of the temple to Perkunas. Jadwiga had provided its furnishings: Mass vestments, altar

43 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 441.

44 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 441-442.

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vessels, missals, pictures, statues. The Bishop, appointed subject to the approval of the Holy See was Andrzej Wasilo, Bishop of Seret from Moldavia, a Pole of the crest of Jastrzebic, formerly the confessor of Jadwiga's grandmother, Elizabeth.⁴⁵ Churches sprang up all over the country, and from that beginning in 1386 and 1387, the whole nation was in time brought into the Roman Catholic Church. Now, 464 years later, the Diocese of Wilno⁴⁶ and that of Kowno, including all of Lithuania and Eastern Poland, founded on a great act of self-sacrifice, are now passing through heroic suffering for the Roman Catholic faith under the heels of the modern pagan Soviets.

While these scenes were being enacted in Lithuania, Queen Jadwiga was winning back for Poland a lost province lying on the south-east borders: Red Ruthenia, or Red Rus. This land was exposed on the east to that scourge of Poland, continual Tartar raids, and before the Queen's marriage, to attacks from Lithuania to whom the rest of the

⁴⁵ Eubel, Conrad, Op. Cit., Hierarchia Catholica, 1793, volume II, pages 80-81.

⁴⁶ Eubel, Conrad, Op. Cit., volume II, page 82.

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Ruthenian territories were subject.⁴⁷

Casimir the Great had won this country for Poland, but Jadwiga's father had incorporated it with Hungary, It remained the debatable land between Hungary and Poland, and its restoration had been among the conditions laid down by Elizabeth of Jadwiga's succession to the Polish throne. Jadwiga was not going to let a province which was lawfully Poland's be lost.⁴⁸ So, while Jagiello was engaged upon his apostolic labors in Lithuania, Jadwiga, mounted on horseback, and attended by her nobles and soldiers rode to the south-east. This episode in the life of Jadwiga shows us one side of her character which we do not often see and which in her last years completely disappears. Her father had been a soldier of repute in his day, and in Jadwiga's veins there ran the blood of St. Louis and of Boleslaw the Conqueror. Such an expedition

⁴⁷ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 458.
cf. Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., 72089.

⁴⁸ Ref. de Czarnekow, Joannis, Op. Cit., Chronicon Polonorum, Volume II, pages 323-326.

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as she now undertook came naturally to her.⁴⁹

It involved a collision with her sister, Maria, who also claimed this Red Rus as belonging to Hungary. But although Jadwiga loved her family she never forgot that she was the Queen of Poland, and that her first duty was to her country. It was a somewhat curious position; these two sisters, both mere girls, united to each other by personal affection and blood, but at public odds with one another.⁵⁰ The situation was the more complicated because, if Maria died childless, Queen Jadwiga of Poland, was the heiress to the crown of Hungary.⁵¹

Długosz, the chronicler of Jadwiga's time records this move in order to indicate Jadwiga's assertion of authority. This shows a new facet of her character:

49 Halecki, Oskar, Witold, Monografia, Pamiętnik V Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Warszawie, Lwów, 1930, page 34.

50 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 458.

51 Monumenta Poloniae Historiae, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 102-104.

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"W chwili, gdy Jagiełło dokonywał apostoł-
skiej misji na Litwie, wyprawiła się Jadwiga
na Ruś na czele świetnego zastępu rycerstwa.
Przeszkód jej nikt niestawił. Przez to, że
sama objęła kierownictwo ekspedycji, chciano
dać poznać, iż Ruś przypada Polsce, nie Lit-
wie. Nic nie znacząca opozycja wychodziła
jedynie od księcia Opolskiego. Wnuka Kazi-
mierza Wielkiego ogłosiła przywilej potwier-
dzający i pomnażający swobody ziemi przemys-
kiej. Niebawem udała się do stolicy czerwono-
ruskiej, Lwowa, która też obdarzyła wolności-
ami 52.*

At the time that Jagiello was performing
an Apostolic mission in Lithuania, Jadwiga
journeyed to Rus at the head of a large troop
of knights. No one made any opposition. In
order to assert that Rus belongs to Poland
and not Lithuania, she was in command of the
expedition. No important opposition was shown,
except by Prince Opolski. The niece of Casimir
the Great confirmed privileges and extended
freedoms to the Przemyśl lands. She also ap-
peared in the capital of Red-Rus, Lwow, and ad-
ded more liberties.

Here, too, Jadwiga wrought her work for pacifi-
cation. She restored all the privileges that Casimir the
Great had granted the country. Day after day, 1387, she
issued letters granting the desired privileges to each
of the different nationalities in the city.⁵³ And of

52 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages
458-459.

53 Monumenta Poloniae Historiae, Op. Cit., vo-
lume IV, pages 103-106.

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these there were Ruthenians, Tartars, Armenians, Jews, Scots, Serbians, Germans and other groups.-- Jadwiga regained for her nation this town, that was through the course of history, repeatedly to defend Poland with heroism until the present times. Only one fortress held out against her, which yielded after Jagiello had sent his Lithuanian warriors to reduce it to submission. Jadwiga had accomplished what she had set out to do. There had been little armed conflict in this enterprise of hers. It was the first and last time in her life that the gentle queen ever led an army or sanctioned anything in the nature of war.⁵⁴

If the conversion of Lithuania was the first spiritual result of Jadwiga's sacrifice, this regaining of Red Rus, with the increase of security and power for her nation that it carried with it, was no less the consequence of that marriage. The road to the Black Sea now lay open to Poland. Poland was in the way of becoming the

⁵⁴ Balzer, Oswald, O Kilka Kwestjach Spornych z Historji Nastroju Polski, Kwartalnik Historyczny, Lwów, 1907, Number 21, pages 19-21.

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gate to the East. In these fertile southern lands Poland had new fields of colonization which streams of Polish settlers inhabited, and which were to give the nation some of her greatest names. The blessing of God seems to have rested upon every undertaking of Jadwiga's for her country. It may be that this was the gift which Heaven bestowed upon her at her marriage in the place of the intimate joys she was never to experience. For while the prosperity of the Polish nation followed her footsteps, her private life was beset with loss and griefs. The "Lithuanian brothers" respected the union, which was the union of two nations made with good will and for the political and cultural common good of the two nations. Back of it all was the moving spirit of Queen Jadwiga.⁵⁵

55 Abraham, Władysław, Polska a Chrzest Litwy. Polska i Litwa w Dziejowym Stosunku, Kraków, 1914, pages 85-134. etiam -- Rewerowski, Emil, Polska Joanna D'Arc, Nasza Przyszłość, 1932, Volume 24, pages 43-71. Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., volume I, pages 156-198. Akta Uniji Polski z Litwą, 1385-1791, edited by Stanisław Kutrzeba i Władysław Semkowicz, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1932, pages 7-83. Albertrandy, Jan, 26 Lat panowanie Władysława Jagiełły Króla Polskiego, Edmund Raczyński, Bresław, 1845, pages 17-99. Lewicki, Anat., Kiedy Witold Został Wielkim Księciem Litwy, Kwartnik Historyczny, Warsaw, 1849, number 8, pages 72-87.

CHAPTER IX

THE FAMILY TRAGEDIES, MATRIMONIAL TRIBULATIONS AND THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

Before we dwell on the historical facts so conspicuous in the life of the great Queen, we have to remark that the intention is according to the essence of the thesis, to illustrate by them, the Queen's character. The correlation, of facts of the Queen's activities and her husband King Ladislaus Jagiello, curiously reveal the impact of her character on the history of her reign, 1386-1399. The tragedies of her family at the Court of Buda and her own tragedy of the infant betrothal and unfulfilled marriage to Wilhelm, constantly influenced her life with Jagiello and the home politics of her realm.

It was during the expedition in 1390 to the Principality of Belz in Red Rus that Queen Jadwiga received the news of her mother Elizabeth's assassination, and it was with anguish that she learned the details of her mother's death. Queen Elizabeth, having freed herself of one unwanted German son-in-law in the person of Jadwiga's betrothed Wilhelm, was even more anxious to see the last of the other, Sigismund of Luxemburg, whose infant mar-

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riage with Jadwiga's sister Maria, had now been consummated. She summoned from Naples Prince Carlo Durazzo, cousin of Jadwiga's father, to help oust young Sigismund.¹

Sigismund left Hungary, Carlo came, turned Jadwiga's mother and sister off the throne, and proclaimed himself King of Hungary. Elizabeth had recourse to her usual craft. When Gara, the man to whom they referred to as being in Elizabeth's council at critical moments in Jadwiga's life, was visiting her in the castle at Buda, where Elizabeth still lived with her daughter Maria under the same roof as the new king, she invited Carlo to her apartments.² Then Gara and one of his courtiers rushed upon him and urged on by Elizabeth, the courtier stabbed him. Carlo crawled back to his own Buda Castle rooms, but was dragged hence and thrown into prison, where he died either of his wounds or by poison. Maria was again upon

1 Pray, Gregor, Commentarii Historici Bosniae, Servae ac Bulgariae cum Regno Hungariae, edited by G. Fejer, Budapest, 1837, Volume II, pages 138-141.

2 Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Op. Cit., volume VI, pages 123-124.
cf. Throcz, Joannis, Op. Cit., Chronica Hungarorum, volume I, pages 282-286.

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the throne.³ This happened while the festivities for the wedding of Jadwiga with Jagiello were being celebrated in Krakow.

Fearing another attempt on the crown by Sigismund of Luxemburg, Elizabeth and Maria went down into southern Hungary. Carlo's adherents were waiting for them. As the queens were on their way to one of Gara's castles, the Ban and his men attacked the royal party and Nicholas Gara was brutally murdered before Elizabeth's eyes. The rebels imprisoned them both in the Krupa prison in Liccaer in the mountains near the Adriatic, while Sigismund was marching without haste to their rescue, and a Venetian fleet, which had no intention of permitting the union of Naples and Hungary, went into battle.⁴ They were too late to save Elizabeth. She was murdered before Maria's eyes, and her dead body hung out on its walls to greet the eyes of the would-be-deliverers.

3 Throcz, Joannis, Op. Cit., pages 287-289.

4 Pray, Gregor, Op. Cit., pages 143-145. cf. Monumenta Hungariae Historiae, Op. Cit., volume VI, pages 125-127. Etiam -- Kromer, Marcin, Op. Cit., Kronika, pages 128-139.

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Maria was finally released to be Queen of Hungary at Sigismund's side.⁵

This brief account of reciprocal crime is so alien to the whole spirit of the saintly Jadwiga that it is difficult to realize that it was a member of her family so near to her as her own mother who played the main part in it.

The sweetness of Jadwiga's character seems intensified in contrast to the violence which surrounded her, in which both her own family and her husband's participated, but which passed her innocent person by. Queen Jadwiga secluded herself for six weeks of deep mourning in 1390.

The story of her marriage to Jagiello had gone the round of the courts of Europe, and enhanced by the fame of Jadwiga's beauty there was food enough here for romance and gossip. Many of these narrations carried through Europe by Prince Wilhelm and the Teutonic Knights,⁶ were

5 Throcz, Joannis, Op. Cit., page 287.

6 Codex Diplomaticus Prussicorum, (See page 201).

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widly embellished tales and fables of Jagiello's barbarity and cruelty, but even without these there was always the fact of a beautiful young Queen. Many youthful knights journeyed to Krakow to see this beautiful and wronged queen for themselves. A steady stream which began soon after Jadwiga's marriage and went on after her return from Red Rus.⁷ In those days hospitality was regarded as one of the chief of royal virtues, and as well-nigh sacred duty. However, deep the Queen's mourning, however sad at heart she was, she could not bring herself to send these visitors from foreign countries away disappointed. Queen Jadwiga received them with all the charm and sweetness, united to the dignity of a pure-hearted girl Queen.⁸

6 ... Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 193-197: The Teutonic Knights with Wilhelm's aid announced that "young Jadwiga was kept virtually a prisoner in the Wawel by the barbarian from the North so that Jadwiga would not escape during his many absences from Krakow."

7 Dlugosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 486.

8 Karwasńska, Jadwiga, Onadawniejszych Księgach T. Zw. Rachunków Dworu Królewskiego, Archeion, Warsaw, 1927, pages 71-73. Karwasńska notes that certain expenditures for the entertainment of Knight Albrecht and his (See page 202).

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Unfortunately for Jadwiga, she had married a man who had some character faults in his disposition, and was at the same time both suspicious and credulous. Gniewosz of Dalewice, a time-serving courtier, who had abetted Wilhelm's cause, and whom Jadwiga trusted wholeheartedly, took every opportunist's move that was possible.⁹ Gniewosz had staked a good many of his hopes on the German Prince, and when Wilhelm retired defeated, had transformed himself to the rising sun of the Grand Duke of Lithuania.

Jagiello returned to Krakow in July, 1387, and Gniewosz quickly won his confidence and favors. Jagiello tormented himself with the fear that Jadwiga was regretting her young lover, and that she might reopen communications with him. With this apprehension in his mind he had the baseness to set Gniewosz to observe the Queen's movements and conduct. Gniewosz began to weave his slanders and calumny. He told the King that among the young knightly visitors from abroad was Prince Wilhelm,

8 ... retinue cost so much for mead, for chickens used for the repast, etc.

9 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 452.

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who had come to Wawel disguised as a minstrel and that Queen Jadwiga received him.¹⁰

Jagiello in his blunt way, confronted the Queen with this story. The Queen heard him with horror and disgust. Jadwiga denied the accusation and declared her innocence. Jagiello would not believe her word. Gniewosz continued to drop vile insinuations against the Queen. Her relations with her husband became strained to the breaking point. The whole Court was in a turmoil and the crown lords tried in vain to make peace with the King and Queen.¹¹ Jadwiga was morally tortured by the only being in the world on whom she had a right to depend for protection, for whom she sacrificed herself, and whose genuine affection for her took the form of believing every slander against the woman whose love he desired. Queen Jadwiga said little. She was by now used to conceal the wounds of her heart before the eyes of the world, but in her deep disgust at her husband's doubt of her in-

¹⁰ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 453.

¹¹ Maurer, Roman, Proces Krolowej Jadwigi, Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki, Warsaw, 1875, page 651.

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nocence and in the agony of her hurt pride, she broke off all relations with him.¹²

"As often as Jagiello approached her", writes the chronicler Dlugosz, "she turned away from him in anger".¹³

Her alienation from her husband became such that her confessor rebuked her sharply. Jadwiga's obedience to her confessor has been cited as one of her virtues.¹⁴ On this occasion she did not show it. She behaved in a distinctly human fashion that reminds us how young this girl Queen still was. Jadwiga sharply bade her confessor be silent, rose from her knees and swept out of the confessional.

The Crown Council members containing Jasko of Tenczyn, Dobieslaw, Spytko, Peter Kmita, Dymitry of Goray¹⁵ determined to investigate the affair after hearing

12 Piekosiński, Franciszek, Czy Król Władysław Jagiełło Był za Życia Królowej Jadwigi Królem Czy Meżem Królowej? Rozprawa, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, Philologia Historyczna, 1897, series 2, volume 10, pages 228-229.

13 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 453.

14 Idem, page 454.

15 Maurer, Roman, Op. Cit., pages 652-654.

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that some paid delator was responsible for it all. The councillors proceeded in something of the manner of a Biblical Daniel. Both Queen and the King were separately and privately asked the name of the informant.

"Gniewosz of Dalewice", was the Queen's reply.

"Gniewosz of Dalewice", was the King's reply.¹⁶

The truth was out. So general was the relief of all concerned at harmony being re-established between the King and Queen that it appeared as though Gniewosz's crime would be condoned, and nothing further be heard of it. It was Jadwiga who insisted that her character should be cleared in a public trial.¹⁷

The proceedings on the part of Jadwiga throws some interesting light upon the manner of woman she was. Her purity of heart was such that she would allow no sus-

16 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 454.

17 Helcel, Antoni, Starodawne Pomniki Prawa Polskiego, Warsaw, 1856, Volume I, page 286: "W istocie Jadwiga używając prawa Każdej zacnej szlachcianki, za-
pozwala Gniewosza o potwarz czci niewieściej."

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picion of impurity to adhere to her.¹⁸ Again, her self-respect would not suffer her who had gone the agonies of an infamous accusation to be cleared merely at one man's word within the royal walls of her palace. Jadwiga demanded that her innocence should be proved triumphantly before the whole nation. She was not only a sovereign, she was a woman who was carrying on an apostolate for the Church of God. Jadwiga was moved to take the course she did by the resolution that no scandal should besmire a throne that she was called to such a work. As, too, Jadwiga enforced a strict morality at her court, she was bound to prove that she herself was beyond reproach.

It has been observed by historians¹⁹ -- of this period, that in this anxiety of Jadwiga's to bring the delator to justice was, in an epoch of lax morals, and above her time. One may add otherwise she would not be a saint. Jadwiga therefore did not merely suggest that

18 Maciejowska, Wanda, Op. Cit., pages 36-39.

19 Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., volume I, pages 52-54-, 63, 76. Etiam -- Dabrowski, Jan, Dzieje Polski Średniowiecznej, Kraków, 1928, Akademia Umiejętności, Volume I, pages 287-292. Etiam -- Kutrzeba, Stanisław, (See page 207).

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this public inquiry, "odszeczekiwanie",²⁰ be held, she demanded it.

Every nobly-born woman in Poland had the right by law to prove her innocence against slander in a public court. The law forbade the slandered and calumniated woman to appear in person to defend her case. Jadwiga was obliged to employ a representative.

There was no special provision in the statute book for a queen's conduct on such an occasion. Jadwiga was therefore defended in precisely the same manner as her subjects. She chose as her representative, Jasko Tenczynski, the noble whose word at the Council had saved Jadwiga her crown.²¹

The judgment was carried out with great solemnity and publicity. A Tribunal of judges presided over it at Wislica. It was supported by the dignitaries of Church

19 ... Historija Ustroju Polski w Zarysie,
Lwów-Warsaw, 1925, Volume I, pages 196-199.

20 Odszeczekiwanie -- To bark out, meaning, confessing to slander or false testimony.

21 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 454-455.

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and State. Before the proceedings, the girl Queen had knelt before the devoted noble to whom she entrusted her defense, and swore on the book of the Gospels that she had entered into no marital relations with any man except her husband, Jagiello. After receiving her oath, Tenczynski's task was to swear in her name to innocence before the court, and to cite in her defense six more witnesses to support his oath.²²

The King, now convinced that he had his wife wrong, and the chief nobles, Kmita, Spytko, Dymitry, Sedziwoj, holding positions at the Royal Court, stood forth as the witnesses required. Tenczynski filled with indignation at the calumnies that had darkened the life of the little Queen, and resolved to proclaim to the house-tops her purity, had in addition to these witnesses, suborned, according to the custom of Western Europe, twelve knights in armor, each vowed to challenge the Queen's traducer in turn to single combat and to force his words down his throat.²³

²² Szajnocha, Karol, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 127-129.

²³ Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., Dzieje Polski, volume I, page 289-293.

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Tenczynski charged Gniewosz before him with having:

"..... with base intent and lying lips calumniated to his Royal Majesty the chaste bed and unstained innocence of his wife. If the judges require more proofs be given to clear the honor of the Queen, then I, her spokesman, exact in return that her malicious traducer be forced to recant 24.^e

Gniewosz remained silent. Nothing remained but to sentence him. By the Polish law the convicted traducer was forced to crawl under the bench of the judges, and in that position confess that all the accusations he had slandered²⁵ against the Queen were false. His confession concluded with the formula: "I have lied like a dog", "zelgalem jako pies", after which he barked three times.²⁶

With this singularly inadequate, if humiliating sentence, his punishment ended. Jadwiga and Jagiello

24 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 453.

25 Hube, Romuald, Prawo Polskie w Wieku XIII, Kraków, 1897, pages 89-91.

26 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 454.
cf. Hube, Romuald, Op. Cit., pages 90-93.

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both being what they were, the souls of mercy, and on the other hand Gniewosz being what he was, it is not surprising to learn that royal benefits continued to come his way, and that he prospered well.

But the pure-hearted Jadwiga whose virtue had been triumphantly proved to a whole nation against the accusations of a jealous husband and opportunist time-server, suffered the lot of many of the saints in being falsely accused.

Jadwiga was atrociously caluminated in the German courts, the accusation being that she had consummated her marriage with Prince Wilhelm of Austria, and had therefore contracted a sacrilegious union with the Grand Duke of Lithuania.²⁷

This calumny and slander was gossiped and repeated by those who stood most to lose by Jadwiga's marriage with Jagiello: Prince Wilhelm and the Teutonic Knights. Wilhelm never ceased to covet the throne of Poland. When

²⁷ Steinwenter, Arthur, Beitrage zur Geschichte der Leopoldiner, Archiv. Fur Oster: Gesichtetes, Vienna, 1846, volume 58, pages 416-418.

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he was back in the Vienna Court, Wilhelm sent his envoys round Europe, and with special solicitude to the Teutonic Knights, protesting against the wrong he had suffered. The Knights responded by sending to all the princes of the Teutonic empire, aspersions against the good faith of Jagiello, whom they accused of receiving Baptism merely for political ends, of being about to lapse into paganism, and asking help to carry on war against him and the Lithuanians.²⁸ Wilhelm then complained to the Holy See that he was the true husband to the Queen of Poland, and that her marriage to the Grand Duke of Lithuania was unlawful and no marriage. The Teutonic Knights sent the same complaints to Pope Urban VI in Rome.²⁹

In the spring of 1388 Jagiello sent an envoy to Rome to present his homage as an ardent son of the Church to the Pontiff, and at the same time to inform him of the conversion of the Lithuanians, and to beg for his approval of the bishop nominated, the Franciscan Wasylo, to

²⁸ Steinwenter, Arthur, Op. Cit., volume 58, page 418.

²⁹ Codex Diplomaticus Prussicarum, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 202-203.

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the See of Wilno.³⁰ Jagiello's envoy laid the whole story of Jadwiga's marriage before the Pope Urban VI. The result was that the lawful husband of Jadwiga, the man who, thanks to her sacrifice, had spread the true Faith in so marvellous a manner through a heathen country, received two papal letters. The Pope gave his blessings to the newly converted King, calling him his "most beloved son, Ladislaus, and then proceeded:

"Among all the kings of the earth, yours is the first place in the affectionate sentiments of the Holy Roman Church, our Mother! dearest son, faithful servant, who by your deeds have obtained a fit reward, namely a crown of earthly majesty and of a surety a future heavenly crown. Rejoice, my son, that when you and all your nation were lost, you were like the hidden treasure found, Rejoice from the bottom of your heart that the great renown of your work has spread through the world, and that you who are so dear to Us have found rest in all the splendor of your glory in the bosom of the Mother Church 31."

30 Eubel, Conrad, Op. Cit., volume II, page 184. Papal Legate Bonaventura Geraga brought to Jagiello the Papal confirmation of The Wilno Bishopric in July, 1387.

31 Eubel, Conrad, Op. Cit., volume II, page 184-185. Etiam -- Codex Diplomaticus Lithuaniae, Op. Cit., volume II, page 199.

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In the light of these words it is evident that the fair name of both Jadwiga and Jagiello was vindicated, and the marriage proved valid and lawful.

Another historical triumph and prophecy related to Queen Jadwiga was her visit in 1397 to the Teutonic Knights.³² It was she who saved Poland on the west from the wars that the Teutonic Knights waged against Lithuania on the north. It was by the tact and the forbearance with which she treated various men, as she treated all others, that she delivered her nation from a war for which it was not prepared.³³

From various acts she performed, Jadwiga was endowed with the prescience of the saints. Twice, in 1397 and in 1399 each time it was to save her country and to avert bloodshed that she loathed, she uttered a solemn warning which was fulfilled to the letter. Her prophecy to the Knights of the Cross was spoken but two years before she died. Jadwiga's relations with these military

32 Kromer, Marcin, Op. Cit., Kronika, page 163.

33 Bobrzyński, Michał, Dzieje Polski, 1877, Kraków, volume I, pages 367-369.

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monks are very interesting for the historian.³⁴

The Teutonic Knights were the deadliest enemies³⁵ of Lithuania, and even before the Polish-Lithuanian union, those of Poland. The greater part of Poland's history is that of the struggle against this enemy on her west, first as the Teutonic Order, then as the Electorate of Bradenburg, and finally as the modern Kingdom of Prussia, which dismembered Poland in 1772 on.

Jadwiga had been trained to admire the Teutonic Knights bearing the white Cross on their mantles. They were old friends of her father's. She had listened to the impressionable years of childhood to the tales of their conflicts in Lithuania, in which they were represented as the embodiment of chivalrous qualities.³⁶

34 Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., Dzieje Uniji, volume II, pages 13-29.

35 Offmański, Mieczysław, Grunwald, Monografia Historyczna, Warsaw, Arct, 1903, pages 5-24.

36 Kikullew, Johnnes, Op. Cit., Chronica, page 109-111.

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Although the calumnies that went round Europe blackening Jadwiga's character after her marriage were, in part, originated by the Teutonic Knights, although they were her sworn political enemies, so that any account of the chronicles of the Order cannot be accepted without reserve,³⁷ they were compelled to feel respect for her. They had attempted since she became Queen of Poland to enter into friendly relations with her.

The Grand Master, Henry von Jungingen, had written to her,³⁸ appealing to her feelings as the daughter of their old friend, King Louis, to beg her to keep the Poles back from assisting the Lithuanians in the war of 1392 between that country and the Teutonic Knights, telling her that all their hope was in her. But no early

37 Detmore Von Lubeck, Chronik SS. Rerum Prussicus, Königsberg, 1872, Volume III, pages 433-436. Etiam Paltrami seu Natzonis Chronicon Austriacom, Pezel I, SS. Rerum Austriae, Wien, 1842, Volume II, pages 463-467.

38 Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 205.

"Oh, if King Louis were still living! Our well-wishing Seigneur on all occasions, our Defender at all times when we needed protection; we pray day and night for his soul".

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traditions or hereditary friendships could prevail with Jadwiga against her duty to her country and conscience. The one occasion in her life when she, the saint of pity, spoke with the accents of a merciless prophet of evil was when she confronted the representatives of the Teutonic Order.

This was in 1397, Ladislas Opolski with the approval of Sigismund Luxemburg, who claimed as the King of Hungary, rights over Polish Dobrzyn territories in the West, which Opolski held as fiefs from the Polish crown, had pawned these provinces to the Teutonic Order. The Order was thus holding lands that were the property of Poland, and showing every symptom of keeping them permanently.³⁹ It was a critical situation and war hung in the balance.

Queen Jadwiga was resolved to secure Poland's rights by peaceable means. She carried on a protracted correspondence⁴⁰ with the Knights on the subject. The

³⁹ Throcz, Joannis, Op. Cit., Chronica Hungarorum, volume I, pages 290-1.

⁴⁰ Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae, Op. Cit., volume II, pages 341-345.

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patience of the saint is discernible in her mode of dealing with this most difficult problem. The statesmanship with which the young Queen handled the situation reminds one that she came of a long line of rulers, and that by inheritance, government was in her blood.

Finally, Jadwiga requested the Knights to confer in person. The territories under discussion formed part of Jadwiga's inheritance as Queen of Poland. It was therefore decided that the Queen should carry the affair through alone, without Jagiello.⁴¹

The meeting was fixed for Whitsunlike, 1397, and was held in the townhall at Inowroclaw. The Grand Master, Henry von Jungingen, attended by a contingent of monk soldiers was ushered into the presence of the Queen. The Grand Master stood with his attendant knights, garbed in the white cloak and black cross that were a symbol to Jadwiga's country of ruthlessness and greed.⁴²

Jadwiga bade them know that Opolski had treacherously given Dobrzyn territory in pledge to them that was

41 Maciejowska, Wanda, Op. Cit., pages 96-108.

42 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, pages 490-491.

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not his to give, but the property of the Polish crown. So gentle was the manner of the Queen, records the Polish chronicler of Jagiello's court,⁴³ that it seemed as though all she desired was peace and that it would be easy to satisfy her.

The Knights argued on that basis, protested, excused, apologized, promised, did everything, except the act of restitution which Jadwiga exacted.

The time for soft words had passed. Jadwiga was now the messenger of God sent to rebuke men who, under the garb of religion, were dishonoring the Cross they wore. Jadwiga arose. She reproached them with their lust for conquest. The Grand Master, Henry von Jungingen, and the attending Teutonic Knights stood and listened sullenly, intently.

Then, with the look and gesture of a prophet, never forgotten by those present then, her hand pointing to Heaven, Jadwiga uttered these words:

⁴³ Ibid., page 491.

Etiam -- Bobrzyński, M., and Stanisław Smolka, Jan Długosz, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1893, pages 178-179.

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"So long as I live, the Crown will bear your Lawlessness with patience. But after my death the punishment of heaven for all the wrongs you have done to Poland shall fall upon you. War that cannot be averted will destroy you 44."

"And it befell". So wrote one of the Teutonic Knights chronicler, upon whom the Queen of Poland's prophecy made a profound impression.⁴⁵

Jadwiga's words came true. Eleven years after she died, in 1410, the united Polish and Lithuanian armies, led by Jagiello, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Grunwald at Tannenberg, from which it never wholly rallied.⁴⁶

From the time of her vindication by the judgment of Wislica, Jadwiga lived peacefully with Jagiello. One of the first fruits of their reconciliation may be seen in the fact that Jadwiga gave her people of Krakow a pro-

44 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 490.

45 Detmore von Lubeck, Op. Cit., volume III, 436-37.

46 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 491.
Etiam -- Prochaska, Antoni, Z Archiwum Zakonu
Niemieckiego, Archiwa, Kraków, 1911, pages 73-91.

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clamation on December 3, 1387, bidding them swear the same loyalty and fidelity to her husband as to herself, and that at her death, Jagiello be the King.⁴⁷

The room may still be seen in the Wawel Castle where they lived together, the stone seats on which they sat with the arms of the King and Queen, the lilies of Anjou and the Cross carved on the ceiling. They were often absent from each other. Jagiello had to make constant journeys to the different parts of his kingdom. Jadwiga, too, travelled frequently from castle to castle in Poland. But the harmony between them remained unbroken, save for one short-lived difference between them toward the end of Jadwiga's life, which was more political than personal.⁴⁸

They were both inflamed with zeal for the cause of God, and worked for it in unison, and especially as time went on Jadwiga influenced her husband considerably

47 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., volume IV, page 457.

48 Zajęzkowski, Józef, Wawel, Łódź, 1927, pages 63-66.

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in affairs of the State, and constantly acted as the soft voice of the peace-maker.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., volume I, pages 212-247. Etiam -- Giertych, Jędrzej, Op. Cit., "Epoka walki z Zakonem", Etiam -- Possilge, Johannes, SS. Rerum Prussicus III, Op. Cit., pages 72-83. Etiam -- Vossburg, F. A., Siegel des Mittelalters von Polen, Litauen, Etiam -- Schlesien, Pommern und Preussen, Berlin, 1854, pages 117-153. Etiam -- Dębrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., Dzieje, Volume pages 287-296.

CHAPTER X

QUEEN JADWIGA'S REIGN EXPRESSED IN HER ENDEAVOR FOR PEACE

Queen Jadwiga's efforts to maintain peace among individuals and nations, and to develop intellectual pursuits have been extensive in her mature years. As a wise-ruling Queen, she exercised much foresight in these matters which has supplied the present day student of Polish history with new approaches to an evaluation of the period. The issuance of early Jagiellonian period historical records in the late nineteenth century, now enables a new methodological approach to the objective study of her historical value. Jadwiga's personality blends with the early development of Poland's political as well as intellectual life. These problems have been treated in various forms by historians, old and new.

The foundations of Jadwiga's sanctity were probably laid long ago in her childhood. How or whence it is difficult to learn, because the spirit bloweth where it will, and the influences around her were not such as to make a saint. From the historical remains¹ we know that

¹ See Chapter II. Etiam -- Dąbrowski, Jan, Op. Cit., pages 83-89.

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she was always devout and pure and loving. Moreover, only a soul possessed of some sort of heroism could have made the immolation of her happiness for the sake of a higher good that she made.² It was through the anguish of her self-surrender that she reached the heights of sanctity to which she ultimately attained. That sanctity was not immediate, it was a gradual process.

"Her life, once said the present Metropolitan of Krakow, Adam, Cardinal Sapieha, promoter of Jadwiga's beatification "went on maturing through the whole course of her earthly pilgrimage to ever higher perfection and virtues until finally it passed by suffering and sacrifice into an entire renunciation of self in union with the will of God. God, testing Jadwiga by suffering, led her on the road sanctified by Christ, which has become the

2 Maciejowski, Wacław, Jadwiga i Jagiełło-Ocena, Warsaw, 1864, pages 32-37.

Etiam -- Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., pages 297-315.

Etiam -- Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., pages 167-173.

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privileged road of the Saints".³

Jadwiga's sweetness and charity were not indications of a naturally meek disposition. There was that in her character, as we see clearly from what this writing so far followed of her life, which made her very human, but which called for a rigorous self discipline before she reached the final stage of holiness.²⁴ If her beautiful face shines with an unearthly glory down the centuries of Poland's history, she is no supernatural vision infinitely removed from our own human frailties. She had her moments in those early days of very earthy anger. At times she would indulge in the inconsiderate practices of a girl used to her own way. For example, her horses would be ready saddled, and her servants prepared to take the road with her. For no rhyme or reason the Queen would send down word to her stables that she had changed her mind and would stop at home that day.

³ Sapieha, Bishop Adam, Obchód Jagielloński, Zbior Przemówień, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, January 9, 1933, pages 24-26.

⁴ Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., page 301.

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We read in the royal household accounts such items as the following:

"For the horses brought round for her royal Majesty when she was to have ridden on horseback after the King, who had gone to a town beyond Krakow, but did not ride", such and such a sum of money.⁵ Jadwiga was a human person, yet at the same time a regal monarch.

All this time Queen Jadwiga of Anjou, daughter of Louis the Great, and consort of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and King of Poland, Jagiello, was proving herself to be a great queen,⁶ the greatest the Polish nation has ever known. She lived for her subjects. So intense was her care for every class of those entrusted to her rule, that, young as she was, they called her the Mother⁷ of

5 Piekosiński, Franciszek, Rachunki Dworu Króla Władysława Jagiełły i Królowej Jadwigi, Kraków, P.A.U., 1896, pages 494-496.

6 Szajnocha, Karol, Op. Cit., Volume IV, chapter 20, pages 287-314.

7 In 1610 there arrived in Kraków on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Stanislaus an Italian priest named Mancinelli. After singing the Mass on May 8, 1610, he notified King Zygmunt III and Father Piotr Skarga that he had a vision and heard these words during Mass: (See p. 226).

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her country.⁸

Plans for the people's good occupied her thoughts not only by day, but as we know from herself, through long hours of the night. She was the continual advisor of the King. If he had been a sovereign longer than she had been, she came of a greater family, the Piasts, and had always been in closer touch with Western politicians and Church dignitaries.

The Queen was a highly educated woman herself, and she was determined that the Polish and other subjects should likewise enjoy the blessings of good education. Among her numerous activities as the founding and opening of schools, the greatest act for the instruction of her people was the promotion and development of the University of Krakow, then and now called, Uniwersytet Jagiellonski.

It is to Queen Jadwiga that the Poles owe the growth of the university, which is the oldest university

⁷ ... "Jam jest Królowa Polski, Jestem Tego narodu Matka i Jest on mi Bardzo drogi". Pope Alexander VII wrote about this to King Jan Kazimierz.

⁸ Decius, I.I.L., Op. Cit., Chronicon, page 97.

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of Central Europe, which has given the Polish nation generations of great scholars, including Copernicus, the founder of modern astronomy, and which while Poland groaned under foreign oppression, kept the light of national education burning.⁹

Queen Jadwiga and King Ladislaus had a cultivated Polish entourage and from the preserved documents¹⁰ of that era illustrate the cultural level reached by the Polish realm during the start of the fifteenth century.

This is what Jagiello said at the new erection of buildings which Jadwiga arranged in the expansion of the Jagiellonian University:

"We will direct our attention principally to this, that the inhabitants and subjects of our Lithuanian territories, above all those who live in superannuated error and lead our companions in the shadows, shall be converted

9 Morawski, Kazimierz, Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego pod Zarządem, J. Filipkowskiego, Kraków, 1900, volume I, pages 52, 139, 232.

10 Ibid., volume I, page 59.

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to the light, that they may become the children of the light with the aid and collaboration of those whose mind is adorned with wisdom and science; that is, with that of people expert in the principles and secrets of writing, whose counsels fortify the royal throne and whose virtuous acts enhance the health and strength of the Republic ... We see Paris, having convoked and assembled learned and expert scholars, adds an aureole to France and imposes respect, just like Bologna and Padua, which reinforce and embellish Italy, Prague which brightens Bohemia, and Oxford which fertilizes and instructs all Germany /sic/. Thanks to Divine Grace, we have received the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, in order to make the illumination of scholars radiate through the realm and with the help of science, to remove shadows and faults, and to make our Realm the equal of the others."¹¹

After Jadwiga's death in 1399, the University was called the Jagiellonski University, and in 1418, King Ja-

¹¹ Kultura Staropolska, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków, 1932, pages 269-271.

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giello wrote to Pope Martin V in reference to the University which during the fifteenth century had 18,338 students:

"I love it like a daughter and I am faithful to it as to a mother; its sufferings are my sufferings and I resent its adversities like my own misfortunes, and even more; I regard every lack of respect toward it as a crime of *lèse-majesté*."¹²

The University had been founded in 1364, with the faculty of Law as an outstanding department by Casimir the Great. Jadwiga longed to see Krakow possess a university whence light and learning should irradiate the whole country, and enable young Poles to study at home without being compelled to go abroad to Bologna, Padua, Oxford, Paris, or Florence for what they required.¹³

It must be remembered that in those days the universities which owned a faculty of theology were the train-

¹² Ibid., page 269.

cf. Morawski, Ignacy, Op. Cit., pages 54-157.

cf. Barycz, Henryk, Op. Cit., pages 64-88.

¹³ Morawski, Ignacy, Op. Cit., page 59.

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ing schools for the Church's preachers, pastors and writers, and therefore taught not merely the secular subjects, but the speculative and sacred sciences.¹⁴ The growth of this university and the attachment to it of a theological faculty, was one of the many projects for the benefit of her country that filled Jadwiga's thoughts. She could not rest until she had carried it through. She was busied with putting it into execution when she was taken hence by her death in 1399. But what a foremost place it filled her heart may be judged from the fact that she bequeathed her jewels, magnificent gems that she had inherited from Louis of Anjou, many of which had come to him from the East, won from the Saracens by his crusading ancestors, and her clothes, which, heavy with gold and silver embroidery and precious stones, to say nothing of the costliness of the stuffs, were worth a king's ransom, to be sold after her death; while other half of the sum they realized

14 Fijałek, X. Jan, O Początku i Znaczeniu Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego, 1374-1566, Nakład Uniwersytecki, Kraków, 1884, pages 23-37.

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was to go to the poor, the other half was to go towards the maintenance of the University of Krakow.¹⁵

That University expanded enormously after the death of the Queen, who had labored so arduously to obtain it, whose thoughts in her dying moments turned again towards it, who, in the absence of children to inherit her wordly estate, made it her heir. Yet, Jadwiga always has rightly been considered together with her husband, who carried the matter into execution, as its greatest builder.

To this day the University of Krakow is known by the name of the dynasty of its benefactors. Today, a Pole is proud to call himself a student or a professor of the Jagiellonian University. The beautiful old building once the University, now the Jagiellonian Library, one of the prime sights in Krakow, in the courtyard of which the statue of Copernicus stands, dates not only after the death of Jadwiga /1399/, but after that of her husband,

¹⁵ Morawski, Kazimierz, Op. Cit., volume I, pages 276-291.

cf. Piasnik, Jan, Op. Cit., Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, volume III, page 119-121.

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1434.¹⁶

Jadwiga was on fire with zeal for souls. It has been said of her that few women have saved so many as she. Jadwiga was now the sovereign not only of Catholic Poland, but of Lithuania, a country which had recently won to a complete conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. The spiritual condition of those subjects of hers cost her much anxious thought. Jadwiga wrote in a document preserved in the Wawel library:¹⁷

"I spent many nights considering how to disseminate the light of knowledge and of virtue in the newly Christian race; how to illuminate the altars of the Lithuanian nation with the light of Catholic activity; how to fertilize the vineyard of the Lord and uproot the tares."¹⁸

¹⁶ Morawski, Kazimierz, Op. Cit., volume II, pages 32-35.

¹⁷ Jan Stekna was a Cistercian Scribe who kept records and wrote letters for Queen Jadwiga. Scribe Jan was the executor of Jadwiga's education projects. Many of his manuscripts are still preserved in the P.A.U. University Library.

¹⁸ Vitae Sanctorum Regni Poloniae Olim Sarmatiae, (See page 233).

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The result of Jadwiga's prayers and meditations was that she saw the primal necessity to be that of providing Lithuania with a native priesthood. She and Jagiello had already requested the Holy See for permission to open a faculty of theology in the University of Krakow.¹⁹ But the need was so pressing, that rather than delay till the matter could be put into execution in Poland, Jadwiga had recourse to another expedient.

Jadwiga corresponded on the subject with King²⁰ Venceslaud of Bohemia, and with hearty concurrence she decided that a house should be bought at Prague for Lithuanian candidates for the priesthood, so that they could obtain their theological training at the university in that town. Negotiations for the purchase of a suitable house were still going on when Jadwiga died, /1399/. The house

18 ... Kraków, Biblioteka P.A.U., Dział Manuskryptów, Bbb. I, 32, Section 18.

19 Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, Op. Cit., volume III, page 122.

20 Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae, volume IX, page 432.

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was ultimately called the Jadwiga College.²¹

In another direction also Jadwiga also did a great work for the instruction of her subjects. She commanded commissioned translations to be made into the Polish language of the spiritual books that were her own favorites: the Old and New Testaments, the homilies of St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Ambrose, and other learned doctors of the Church.²²

Among the devotional books translated at her bidding were the Revelations of St. Brigitta of Sweden, who was almost Jadwiga's contemporary. It was to Jadwiga's own cousin, the dissolute young Queen, Joanna of Naples, that the Saint addressed torrents of eloquence, exhorting her to amend her life and to reform the licentious court of Naples, that court which was so intimately connected with Jadwiga's family, and over which her father had at one time desired that she or her sisters should reign.²³

²¹ Barycz, Henryk, Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Epoce Humanizmu, Kraków, Nakład Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1935, pages 79-83.

²² Finkel, Ludwik, Op. Cit., Volume I, pages 32, 59, 134.

²³ See Chapter II.

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The The Revelations of St. Birgitta were immensely popular reading in the Middle Ages.²⁴ Dlugosz noted that Jadwiga admired them. It is a curious subject for thought to reflect, that this girl whose life again and again touched very closely the history of the Teutonic Knights read St. Birgitta's impassioned fulmination against the Order which professed and which those in Europe who were sufficiently removed from the sphere of its activities believed to be actuated by zeal for the honor of Christ. The following passage in today's English has always been understood to refer to the Teutonic Order:

"I appointed them as the bees to be of use, and I established them on the threshold of Christian lands: but lo! they have risen against Me. For they care nothing for the souls and have no pity on the bodies of that people who have turned from error to the Catholic faith and to Me. And they made slaves of those people, and by not teaching them the Divine Commandments and taking the Holy Sacraments from them, they condemn that people to more in-

²⁴ Vita S. Birgittae, compiled by Peter Vadstena and Peter Alvastra, Upsala, 1675, pages 127-128.

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fernal torments than if they had remained in paganism. And they wage war for the satisfaction of their own greed. Therefore, the time shall come when their teeth shall be drawn, and their right hand shall be smitten off, and their right leg shall go halt, that they may recognize their sins."²⁵

This prediction was fulfilled by the husband of Queen Jadwiga in 1410 at the Battle of Grunwald, where the Lithuanian and Polish King routed the Teutonic Knights and stopped the Germanic depredations for several generations.

The books that by Jadwiga's care were thus translated and given to her subjects were among the earliest to be written in the Polish tongue.²⁶ No trace of them remains. Among Jadwiga's accounts²⁷ is that of the sum given by "the order of her Royal Majesty to Master Bartholomew, Rector of the school of Our Lady at Sandomir, for four

25 Vitae S. Birgittae, Op. Cit., pages 127-128.

26 Finkel, Ludwik, Volume I, pages 9-13. Etiam Chrzanowski, Ignacy, Op. Cit., page 31.

27 Piekosiński, Franciszek, Op. Cit., Rachunki, page 579.

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pounds of paper on which to copy five Books of Solomon."

There is still preserved in Szarospacka, Hungary, a beautiful manuscript of a Polish version of the Bible ornamented with the arms of Poland and Lithuania and the Jagiello dynasty. It is known as the Bible of Queen Sophia, -- the fourth wife of Ladislaus Jagiello, at whose instance the translation was carried out.²⁸

It was Jadwiga who began this work of the first translation of the Scriptures into Polish, which, when cut short like so many of her works for her nation by death, /1399/, was taken up and finished by others.²⁹

Jadwiga, was in truth, one of the pioneers of education in her country. She was considered there as a patroness of learning. Hence we find a Latin treatise written by a Dominican friar during her reign on the active and contemplative life, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library³⁰ opening with this dedication:

28 Finkel, Ludwik, Op. Cit., Volume I, page 127.

29 Ibid., page 129.

30 Skarbimierz, Stanisław, Op. Cit., MS. 1911.

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"To the most illustrious and most noble Queen."

In addition to Jadwiga's pagan and newly converted subjects there were others who called for her special solicitude. With the passing of Ruthenia and Lithuania to the Polish crown, thousands of Schismatics had been brought under her sovereignty. Jadwiga, who had the spirit of an apostle and a zealous missionary, yearned to bring these souls into the fold of Christ.

The union with Rome of that section of the Eastern European Church in those lands that had now passed to Poland, which has been attempted by different Pontiffs, Pope Urban VI, Pope Boniface IX, through the course of the centuries, became one of the most ardently desired dreams of Jadwiga's life.³¹ In connection with these efforts made by the Holy See in our day to effect the union of the Latin and Eastern Churches, it is interesting to know that this project was one for which Queen Jadwiga most earnestly strove.

³¹ Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, Op. Cit., Volume III, page 413.

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These are some of the steps that Jadwiga took to effect this union. There was a convent of Benedictine monks at Prague, who had embraced the Slavonic rite in order to labor in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Croatia. They were called the Slavonic Brothers.³² Bosnian blood flowed in Jadwiga's veins³³ inherited from her mother. Jadwiga had probably heard much about the religious condition of the country from Elizabeth, who had a fund of piety within her, and who would have been keenly interested in the problem. At Jadwiga's instigation in 1391 a contingent of these monks was invited to open a novitiate at Krakow with the purpose of training missionaries to work among the Schismatics in Poland's eastern borderland provinces.³⁴

32 Baryez, Henryk, Op. Cit., pages 103-107.

33 See Chapter II.

34 It might also be remembered that the Benedictines of Prague in the X and XII centuries in Poland practiced the Catholic Slavonic Rite in two or more places.

Cf. Francis Dwornik, The Making of Central and Eastern Europe, London, 1948, pages 51-58.

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The Slavonic Brothers came and were installed near the walls of Krakow. A wooden church was built for them under the name of the Holy Cross, where now the picturesque Church under the same dedication irresistibly draws the eye of the Western stranger by the steep pitch of its roof. It seemed as though this institution were to respond to the hopes with which Jadwiga, aided by her husband, had founded it. For some years after her death the walls of the Church resounded to the strains of the old Slavonic chant. But candidates for the work ceased to present themselves, and the Polish sovereigns adopted other methods to carry it on.³⁵

We may notice that Jadwiga did not live to see the fruition of a single one of her great undertakings. The union of Poland and Lithuania in 1386, which her marriage had effected, was in frequent danger of collapsing in her lifetime, and only became consolidated after her death, at the Union of Horodlo in 1413.

³⁵ Monumenta Medii Aevi Historiae, Diplomatici Codicis, Edited by F. Piekosiński, P.A.U., Kraków, volume VII, pages 337-339.

It was her doing that the University of Krakow was expanded. She was dead when it came really into being. The seminary for the Lithuanian clerical students called by her name, Jadwiga College, and instituted by her, was not opened until she had gone hence. The conversion of the Schismatic Church in the Polish border provinces came about long after her time.³⁶

One may be tempted at the first moment to regard this fact as a pathetic feature in Jadwiga's history, but, this would be an erroneous way of looking at it. In the first place, one is apt to forget how young Jadwiga was when she died: a lady of twenty-five. Her plans were on the scale of great national and spiritual enterprises. It may be pointed out that Jadwiga inherited from the House of Anjou her large outlook, and her capacity of forming vast projects to achieve.

Work in the Middle Ages was necessarily far slower than it is in ours. More years were required to carry out Jadwiga's ideas than the few years she was given on

36 Hrusheusky, Michael, Op. Cit., pages 208-215.

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earth. There is something singularly beautiful and appropriate to the whole personality of Jadwiga in the thought that those great works that the saintly young queen created for the Church, and her nation blossomed while she lived, but bore fruit after she, who had planted them, was in Paradise.

It is needless to say that the Queen Jadwiga labored unweariedly for the spiritual good of those of her subjects who were near at hand. Her reputation for sanctity and zeal had travelled beyond her country. So high was the opinion conceived of her by the Vicar of Christ, that the successor of Pope Urban VI, Pope Boniface IX, wrote a stirring letter to Jadwiga, requesting that in her communications with the Holy See, she should:³⁷

"Deign to make some special sign which We may keep and by it know what you really wish of Us: the which We are most gladly and with all Our heart ready to do. For We understand that by reason of many and persis-

37 Ptasnik, Jan, Acta Camerae Apostolicae, Op. Cit., Volume II, page 675.

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tent requests which your royal Majesty does not know how to refuse, you are compelled to recommend to Us diverse personages, often contrary to your own wishes and desires, when your Royal Majesty would have preferred to support some other person with your favor and assistance, which We could not know: and therefore, We often fill sees and spiritual offices not in accordance with the desires of your Royal Majesty."³⁸

The power that the Pontiff here placed in the hands of this youthful Queen is in itself a sufficient testimony to the confidence the Head of the Church reposed in her wisdom and holiness. She was now able to nominate her own prelates. Under the approval of the Holy See, and with immense benefit to the Catholic Church in Poland she chose only the wisest and worthiest.

As we have seen, her choice for the Bishopric of Krakow fell upon the best man, Piotr Wysz,³⁹ that Church

³⁸ See Eubel, Conrad, Op. Cit., Hierarchia Catholica, Volume II, page 185.

³⁹ Kijak, Stanisław, Piotr Wysz, Biskup, Kraków, Akademija Umiejętności, 1933, pages 30-33.

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could have asked. This letter of Pope Boniface IX gives us an indication to a salient feature of Jadwiga's character. Despite her strength of mind, her heart was too strong for her. She was too full of pity to be able to refuse an entreaty.⁴⁰

Jadwiga built many churches in Poland.⁴¹ It is recorded in the chronicles and documents, that Jadwiga was really the foundress of several of the churches founded in her husband's name, which explains why after death nothing more came of them.

The rich gifts that she made to the Wawel Cathedral, where she had been crowned and married, and where her remains lie, are still part of the Cathedral treasury. Those of them at least the convulsions of invasions and occupations through which her nation has passed, and which have swept away many of the offerings she contri-

40 Eubel, Conrad, Op. Cit., Volume II, page 185.

41 In 1387 Jadwiga and Jagiello founded the Cathedral in Wilno and seven parish churches in the area of Krewo, Majszagoła, and Miedniki.

Cf. X. Kamil Kantak, Franciszkanie Polscy, P.A.U., Kraków, 1937, Volume I, pages 167-179.

buted to the Polish churches, have spared.

Jadwiga raised four new altars in the Cathedral: to St. Anne, to Our Lady of the Visitation, to Whom she had a special devotion, to St. Christopher, and to St. Erasmus, the latter being one of the last acts of piety in her life. Jadwiga died in the same year, /1399/, that this altar was erected on the Gospel side of the High Altar. It was in the vaults underneath it that her body was laid to rest.⁴²

Jadwiga also instituted a choir of psaltry in the Wawel Cathedral, consisting of sixteen singers to sing the praises of God in the stalls on either side of the High Altar. There is mention in her account books of the sums she spent upon them. From these scant references it is evident that God's worship was always dear to her. These are intimate acts of charity by which Jadwiga won the passionate devotion and reverence by her people.⁴³

42 Wawel Przeszłości Skarbnica, Op. Cit., pages 3-14.

43 Ibid., pages 21-23. Cf. Zajaczkowski, Józef, Op. Cit., Wawel, pages 69-73.

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Among the many works of mercy that she carried out in such marked manner as to be the salvation of her country and even of Christianity was that of the peace-maker, when wars racked the world of her world. To appreciate this point in her character one must bear in mind that Jadwiga was not only possessed with a royal essence of what was due to her throne, she also had what one should call a strong sense of nationality.

From the moment of her entry into the Polish kingdom, an intense love of her country is apparent in all her conduct. That love, too, which is willing to suffer for what it loves, and ends by loving all the more, the object for which it has suffered. In what Jadwiga considered as belonging either to the prestige of her crown or the good of her country, she would make no concession.

Early in her reign we say that her first independent act was that of starting out on horseback to regain lands which her father, Louis of Hungary, had lost for Poland. We saw her prepared to use arms to enforce the claim of Poland on those lands. To win back what belong-

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ed to the Polish crown, she even risked a quarrel with her sister. We know how devotedly attached the members of the family of Louis of Anjou were to each other.⁴⁴ Even in her last years, when her native temperament underwent the final transformation of sanctity, and when all strife was abhorrent to her, Jadwiga would insist upon what she held to be her right as the Queen of Poland.⁴⁵

What I wish to emphasize is the tenacity with which Jadwiga upheld the interests of her crown. She was not infallible. But, if one would understand her character, one must not think of her only as a woman who gave herself up to austerity and contemplation as though within convent walls, and who distinguished herself above all things by the charity and sweetness of the saint. Jadwiga remained the Queen always. She did not regard the duties of her sovereignty as a Cross or as distractions from her life with God. On the contrary, it is obvious that she carried out all the obligations of the

44 See Chapter II.

45 Zdziejowski, Marjan, Op. Cit., Spuścizna Dziejowa, pages 93-94.

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throne in the spirit of one fulfilling a greatly prized and honored vocation.

Yet with this high sense of the rights of her crown, perhaps because of it, Jadwiga practiced that most Christian and most exacting of virtues; the beatitude of the peacemakers.⁴⁶ Queen Jadwiga did this with extraordinary tact and prudence. While the King was wrestling with foes of his own household and the Teutonic Knights on the north of the united Kingdom, the Queen kept the peace on the West. As long as she lived she held back the storm of war which was for ever threatening to break out in all its fury between Poland and the Teutonic Order.⁴⁷

Moreover, Jadwiga stood forward as an angel of peace between the members of her husband's quarrelsome

⁴⁶ Jadwiga's efforts to reconcile Witold and Skirgiello, Cousin and Brother to Jagiello, and her visit to the Teutonic Knights in 1397 to secure peace, have been described in glowing terms by all Polish historians.

⁴⁷ Theiner, August, Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae, Volume I, 1217-1409, Rome 1860, pages 287-295.

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family. Jagiello's cousin Witold, with his ambitious schemes and his perpetual intriguing with the Teutonic Knights on the other side of the Lithuanian borders, was a fruitful subject of danger to the newly-united Polish-Lithuanian State.

Enraged that Skirgiello, Jagiello's Brother, had been appointed by the King as Governor of Lithuania, while Jagiello was forced to be in Krakow, Witold, a cousin, in order to oust the King's brother, and to make himself master of Lithuania, allied himself with the Teutonic Knights and with the Grand Duke of Muscovy, Dymitry, to whose son Wasyl, he had married his daughter Zofja. Together with the Teutonic Knights, among whom were foreign volunteers, including Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards, Henry the IV of England, Witold carried fire and sword⁴⁸ into Lithuania. Jagiello marched to meet the invaders. Then Witold's courage failed him at the knowledge that he was fighting against his own country. He came in

48 Wapowski, Bernard, Op. Cit., pages 178-186.

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1392 to meet Jagiello at Ostrow, and asked for peace.⁴⁹

It is strange to say that England always helped the enemies of the Commonwealth of Poland, a question which is not explored by historians yet.

Until recently it was always stated that Jadwiga was with her husband on this occasion, and that the reconciliation between the Lithuanian princes was her doing. For, though still young that one should call her a girl, she was now a woman according to the standard of the epoch. She had been a reigning sovereign for eight years. By education, and still more by personal experience, Jadwiga understood men and the intricacies of statecraft.⁵⁰

Recent researches of historians⁵⁰ have, however, shown that Jadwiga was not present at Ostrow, and it is uncertain how much she had to do with the proceedings there. But it was immediately after that date, 1392, that

⁴⁹ Kutrzeba, Stanisław, Unia Polski z Litwą, Polska i Litwa w Dziejowym Stosunku, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków, 1914, pages 97-99.

⁵⁰ Maciejowska, Wanda, Op. Cit., page 152.
Etiam -- Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., pages 221-223.

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she began to take a prominent share in the political affairs of Lithuania.

It is therefore considered highly probable that she influenced the negotiations which, by appointing Witold the Viceroy of Lithuania, converted a dangerous enemy into a friend, if not altogether a sincere one, of Poland, who later, after Jadwiga's death, fought heroically in the Polish-Lithuanian victory over the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald in 1410.

The rule of Jadwiga may be thus summed up: it was that of a woman whose innate ability for intellectual and political affairs and single-hearted devotion to her country were enhanced and ennobled by her still greater gifts of sanctity.⁵¹

⁵¹ See also - Halecki, Oskar, Zagadnienie Kultu-
ralne w Dziejach Unii Jagiellońskiej, Przegląd History-
czny, Warsaw, 1926, Series 2, Volume VI, pages 73-109.
Etiam -- Kelly, Eric P., Op. Cit., From Star to Star, pa-
ges 2-302. Cf. Morawski, Kazimierz, Op. Cit., Volume I,
Księga Władysława Jagiełły, pages 51-293. Cf. Album
Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis ab Anno 1400, Kra-
ków, 1883, pages 5-97. Cf. Piłat, Roman, Historja Lite-
ratury Polskiej od Czasów Najdawniejszych do roku 1815,
Warsaw, 1926, Volume I, pages 3-47. Cf. Kazyżanowski, St.,
Władysław Jagiełło Odnawia Akademię Krakowską, Kraków,
Rocznik Krakowski, 1900, pages 63-79. (See page 252).

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51 ... Cf. Łos, Jan, Biblioteka Polska Królowej Jadwigi, Warsaw, Przewodnik Biblijograficzny, 1926, pages 23-31.

Cf. Prochaska, Antoni, Dzieje Witolda Wielkiego Litewskiego, Wilno, 1914, pages 34-68.

CHAPTER XI

THE CULT TO QUEEN JADWIGA IN THE NATIONAL TRADITION OF POLAND

For a modern historian approaching late medieval historical problems proved in the documents, the question of a national living tradition is of considerable value, especially when it is paralleled with documentary evidence. Therefore, we see it appropriate to give a substantial summarized living tradition of the Queen of the nation over with she reigned. Thus, we will see how the previous historical chapters will reflect the anthropological phases in the documents in the tradition and cult, so cautiously cared for by the ecclesiastical authority, which is always aware in the orthodoxy of its spirit. This point is at least well-expressed in the traditional interest of the Krakow Metropolitan See so well experienced in the upkeeping of the religious cult of the national Saints of Poland, who, all of them were connected with the Krakow province.

All those around Jadwiga knew that they were in the presence of a saintly person. "The present Queen of Poland," writes Dlugosz, "full of good deeds, serves not

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the world but God. She does not so much as know the meaning of pride. She summons masters and other learned men and pious folk from distant lands to her country, and works in no ordinary manner, for her own salvation and the salvation of others."¹

Charity, the hallmark of Saints, shines out above all else in Jadwiga's character. It won for her the impassioned love and veneration of her people. We have seen that she made peace and instructed the ignorant. Personal acts of service to the sick and poor and needy were no less among her works of mercy.

This woman who possessed all the goods of the world to overflowing: wealth, beauty, youth, and power, was singularly bereft of the things that make for the deeper joys of mundane life. She shed many secret tears and she had an infinite compassion for suffering. That lamentation of hers, "Who will give them back their tears?"²

1 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, pages 501-502. Cf. Grzegorz z Sanoku, Nagrobek Królowej Jadwigi, in Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 504.

2 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 448.

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shows an intuition into sorrow at the age when she uttered it, could only have been learned by her own experience. The anguish that she had undergone in her great renunciation was a very recent memory when she spoke.

In all her dealings with her fellowmen she was guided by the principle that lay behind this saying. Oskar Halecki, a prominent scholar of the Jagiellonian epoch,³ wrote that under her rule, fewer tears were shed in Poland than ever before in that country's history. Her example permeated the laws of the kingdom. One can see it working in the society of that time, of justice being given to the sons of peasants against the children of nobles.

Jadwiga loved the poor. Dlugosz, the historian who lived during Jagiello's reign, and who gathered many details from her contemporaries, writes:

"Jadwiga distributed alms bountifully to poor widows, travellers, pilgrims and every species of the necessitous."⁴

3 Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., page 298.

4 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 505.

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This giving the alms formed a part of her daily occupations. Each day when her public duties left her free to do so, she left the Castle and went out into the town to visit the sick and poor. Not one of them was left unrelieved or uncheered. Those were angel visits.

Jadwiga received all who ever went to her for help. No one was ever refused access to her. The peasants, in the certainty of her prayers, would be heard, came to her with their simple requests that she, whom they held as a saint, should pray for fine weather, for their crops, their cattle.⁵

Jadwiga was ready to listen to every request, to do everything in her power to assuage the miseries of all who approached her. Many a poor, condemned criminal received his pardon and release through her intercession with the King. Those who had reason to dread his anger knew that in Jadwiga they always had an advocate who could turn away his wrath. She was incapable, so it is recorded,

5 Elgot, X. Jan, Sermo in Recommendationem Hedvigis Reginae Poloniae, Manuscript no. 2911, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

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of refusing a request: from no weakness on her part, for weakness was a quality absent from her character, but from her boundless pity.⁶

"We have not seen her equal on earth in any royal house. The mother of the poor: the refuge of the needy: the guardian of the orphan: the anchor of the weak, the protector of all her subjects: the ornament of the Church."⁷ These words, spoken of her as she lay in her death agony by her confessor, Bishop Peter Wysz, the witness, therefore, who had more intimate knowledge of her character than any other, give some idea of what this saintly Queen was to her people.

Jadwiga's tender care for them is summed up in one word: despite her youth, they called her their Mother. Upon her, who gave up her personal joys, for the love of God, and her country, there was bestowed the gift of shedding peace and happiness wherever her steps led her. Jadwiga had foresworn her own happiness. Her one

6 Elgot, X. Jan, Op. Cit., Manuscript no. 2232.

7 Kijak, Stanisław, Op. Cit., page 127.

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desire was to carry earthly happiness to others.⁸

The popular traditions and legends that have been handed down of her are all of her works of mercy. One of these legends has still left its trace in Krakow. Jadwiga had a great devotion to the Visitation of Our Blessed Lady. Its feast on July 2 had only lately been instituted. With the cooperation of Jagiello, Jadwiga built a Church in the City dedicated to that mystery of Our Lady's life, to which they attached a Carmelite convent.⁹ This Church in its modernized form stands in the street which still bears the name of the Carmelites.

Against an angle of one of its outer walls there is a stone protected by a grille, over which one reads the inscription:

"Stopki Królowej Jadwigi."

The footstep of Queen Jadwiga.¹⁰

The story of this stone is that while the Church

9 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 485.

10 Kraków, Ojcow, Tatry, Pieniny, Krakow, Drukarnia Ludowa, 1929, page 7.

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was building¹¹ Jadwiga came one day to see how the work was progressing. She noticed that one of the masons was plunged in dejection. She could see no sorrow without a compassion and desire to relieve it. She spoke to the man, and gently asked him what troubled him. He opened his heart to her, and told her that his wife was dangerously ill, that he was a poor man with many children, and that he could not afford the doctors and medicines which might still save her.

Jadwiga had left the castle amply provided with money. She had given it all away as her custom was to the poor she had met on her way through the town. She considered what she had on her person that could be of any use to the suppliant, and as she reflected, she caught sight of the gold buckle on her shoe.

She stooped, supporting her foot on the stone before her as she unclasped the buckle, and then gave it to the mason, bidding him to sell it. The mason, gazing at

11 In 1929 the above Book notes (page 3) that Kraków had 43 Churches, 34 convents and monasteries, and 8 synagogues. Queen Jadwiga assisted in the growth of many of these ancient edifices.

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the stone where the Queen's foot had rested, saw upon it the print of her footstep. Not a day passed, so the legend goes, without the man Jadwiga had benefitted kissing the stone in reverence and gratitude. So that it should abide for future generations it was built, for love of her, into one of the corners of the new Church.¹²

Again, there is the legend and tradition¹³ of Jadwiga's cloak. At the foot of the Wawel hill, beneath which the Vistula River flows, the river one day washed up the body of a drowned boy. The spectators on the bank gathered round the corpse. Someone recognized it as that of the son of a widow, and an apprentice of the Guild of Coppersmiths. The tumult of voices and lamentations usual on such occasions suddenly ceased. The crowds fell apart and, reverently baring their heads, made room for someone to pass.

It was Queen Jadwiga. She bent over the boy. Tears ran down her face. She unfastened the cloak she was

¹² St. Florian's Church in Kraków, Cf. Libri Antiquissimi Civitatis Cracoviensis, Op. Cit., page 187.

¹³ Chmiel, Adam, Op. Cit., Cechy, page 138.

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wearing and laid it over the boy's naked body. Life was restored to him and he rose. In confirmation of this tradition, it became the custom for the bier of every dead member of the Guild of Coppersmiths to be draped as it lay in the Church with the cloak of Queen Jadwiga's which, apparently, she had bequeathed to the Guild. As late as the seventeenth century this cloak was still preserved among the belongings of the Guild of Cutlers.¹⁴

Visiting hospitals, of which Jadwiga founded several in the Krakow Area was among Jadwiga's beloved acts of charity.¹⁵ For 400 years the legend, told in a collection of lives of the Polish Saints written in 1767, passed down from father to son, that:¹⁶

"When on one occasion she was going round among the sick she saw on one of the beds a sick man, in the

14 Chmiel, Adam, Op. Cit., Cechy, pages 138-141.
Cf. Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., pages 315-316.

15 Bujak, Franciszek, Materjały do Historji Miasta Biecza, Kraków, 1914, pages

16 Jarosiewicz, X. Florian, Matka Świętych Polska, Kraków, 1767, pages 79-84.

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last extremity of misery and covered with ulcers. And as she was considering what she could do to relieve him, he disappeared from the bed and from her eyes. And she understood that was our Savior Who had deigned to show Himself to her. Therefore the bed has been kept to this day, and no man lies on it."¹⁷

It was after the death of her sister, Maria, in 1395, four years before her own death, that Jadwiga's sanctity reached its final and most intense degree. In 1395 there was a meeting of the Polish sovereigns with Queen Maria of Hungary and her husband Sigismund at Soncz. The meeting was of political significance. Sigismund was no friend to Poland, and this was an attempt and an important step towards establishing friendly relations with him and therefore with Hungary.¹⁸

To Jadwiga it was a longed-for event. Great preparations were made at the Polish Court. Not only were the royal tailors busied making new garments for the King

17 Jarosiewicz, X. Florian, Op. Cit., pages 82-84.

18 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 488.

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and Court, but a splendid saddle was to be given as a present to the young Queen Maria of Hungary.¹⁹

There had been some unpleasantness between the two girl queens on the question of Red Rus. But shortly after Jadwiga's expedition to that territory, the Papal legate, Cardinal Bonaventura Geraga, who brought in July, 1387 the blessing of the Holy See to Jagiello in recognition of his apostolic labors in Lithuania,²⁰ had effected a reconciliation between the two girls. Now they met with sisterly affection. Since they had last seen each other in 1382, Maria had witnessed assassination at close quarters. She had been dethroned. She had been imprisoned. She had again become Queen. She had known all the suspense of an infant marriage which her mother Elizabeth had done her best to break. How much did Jadwiga tell Maria of her own history, as strange if less sensational, and one that, un-

¹⁹ Piekosiński, Franciszek, Op. Cit., Rachunki, page 593. The Wawel accounts show that such and such a sum of Florentine Ducats was spent for supplies such as cloth, leather, precious metals, etc.

²⁰ Maciejowski, Wacław, Pierwotne Dzieje Polski i Litwy, Warsaw, 1846, pages 164-167.

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like Maria's, was to leave enduring results on her country?²¹

Probably nothing, because Jadwiga did not speak of her sorrows. All her life she suffered in silence. It has been pointed out by Archbishop Teodorowicz²² that the chroniclers who have eagerly collected every anecdote of Jadwiga's life have not been able to find any word of complaint from her lips.

"They are silent," He says, "because she was silent."²³ That Jadwiga out of her own strength and sanctity gave words of help to her sister one may take for granted. It was their last meeting. Before the year 1395 was out, Maria was dead, from an injury received by a fall from horseback when pregnant.²⁴ By her death, leaving no heir, Jadwiga became the heiress to the crown

²¹ See Chapter II. Cf. Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., pages 491-492.

²² Teodorowicz, X. Józef, Mowa o Królowej Jadwidze, Spuścizna Dziejowa, Kraków, P.A.U., 1909, page 17-18.

²³ Teodorowicz, X. Józef, Op. Cit., page 18.

²⁴ Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 479.

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of Hungary. Jadwiga was now the only survivor of Louis of Anjou's short-lived family.

It seems that the death of her sister gave Jadwiga the final impulsion to seek that close union with God which only belongs to the Saints. Before this date she had lived a life of great holiness amidst the distractions of State affairs and a gay Court. Works of piety and penance formed part of her spiritual life. Apostolic fervor for the spread of Christ's kingdom was hers from her girlhood. She had borne with heroism one of the hardest tests of a woman's virtue. That of an unwelcome marriage with a man she did not love. But now a change, or rather a development, came upon the conduct of her life. Maria's death had broken her only remaining family link, and in the last years of her sejour on earth, her lonely and unsatisfied heart turned with all the passion and ardour which belonged to it towards God.²⁵

Austerity towards herself, never with others, became her rule. Her beautiful garments glittering with gold

²⁵ Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., pages 76-777, "Czy Nie Swieta?"

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and silver, embroidered with precious gems, were discarded, and replaced by a plain, coarse garb. A hair-shirt lacerated her body. So that the sight of her beauty should not incite her to self-love she shrouded the lovely face, upon which all who saw it delighted to gaze, in a veil and coif resembling those of a nun. She wore no more of her splendid jewels.²⁶ Did Jadwiga in adopting this dress go back to a recollection of her childhood and remember that her father before his death had worn the religious garb?²⁷ Did the heredity still further back of the royal nuns of her house influence her? Instead of presiding at the banquets which had been such a constant feature of her day, she now often for days or weeks together took her meals, such as they were, alone in her room. Jadwiga would eat her bread and drink her water sitting on the floor, as was the custom with penitents of the epoch. Her free time was given to prayer and meditation.²⁸

26 Elgot, X. Jan, Op. Cit., Manuscript no. 2367.

27 See Chapter II.

28 Elgot, X. Jan, Op. Cit., Manuscript no. 2367.

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"Her dearest recreation, writes an eighteenth century writer, "was to unite herself with God by prayer. Therefore her prayer was well-nigh incessant."²⁹

"She despised the emptiness and vanity of this world", writes another historian. "She occupied all her mind in prayer and reading devout books."³⁰

Especially would Jadwiga kneel for hours before her crucifix, the same at Whose feet she had prostrated herself in agony of her great decision during the night of August 23, 1385,³¹ before which she had gained strength to carry out the sacrifice of her life.

There Jadwiga now wept out the sorrow which increasing as the years passed on, tore her heart: her grief at having no child. Apart from the fact that in her day a childless marriage was considered as a sign of Divine punishment for sin, Jadwiga longed to be a mother.³²

29 Jarosiewicz, X. Florian, Op. Cit., page 114.

30 Bielski, Joachim, Op. Cit., Kronika Świata, page 182.

31 See Chapter VI.

32 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 503.

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Moreover, she had seen from her own experience the national danger of a disputed succession: and further, the union of Poland and Lithuania that her marriage had effected, was in a most critical condition if she and Jagiello had no child to unite both crowns. This young Queen, who had served God faithfully through no ordinary trials, who had remained pure of heart through all the allurements and temptations of the world around her, now imputed the shame, for such she held it, of the barrenness to her sins.³³

Jadwiga reproached herself bitterly for her extremely comprehensible resentment of her husband's conduct to her in the affair of the slander. Her pride yielded to a personal humility, because, while Jadwiga chastised her own body, she never yielded one iota of the prerogatives due to her as Queen of Poland. Jadwiga was too great a character to let the claims of individual sanctity encroach upon those her public station demanded. The strength of her will which had once led her to set the

³³ Elgot, X. Jan, Op. Cit., Manuscript no. 2232.
Cf. Vitae Sanctorum Regni Poloniae olim Sarmatiae, Op. Cit.

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lords of her kingdom at defiance to secure her own way when she wished to go with Wilhelm, were nor directed into the conflict exacted by self-expression and penance.

One might be tempted to find the vision of a girl of Jadwiga's age, for though her conduct is that of a mature woman, she was only twenty-five when she died, hiding her beautiful face from the eyes of men because she feared the allurements of self-love, and denying herself soft garments and delicate food, as a somewhat hard and unpleasing one.

But in this line of conduct she was the child of her age, and, side by side with this severity to herself, there was an extraordinary sweetness in her dealings with others.³⁴

"They saw in her no fickleness, no anger; she showed pride to none, nor hatred or dislike. A deep piety burned in her soul, a love of God without bounds," thus wrote Dlugosz. Her old youthful impetuosity had yielded

³⁴ Staich, Władysław, Budzenie Świątej, Dzieje Kultu Królowej Jadwigi, Kraków, P.A.U., 1933, pages 32-34.

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to a patience which was now never outwardly ruffled.³⁵

When the shadows of earth were passing from her and Jadwiga was about to enter eternity, she foretold for the sake of others, the future. To further his own ambitious projects, Witold was preparing to launch war against the Tartars. War with the infidel was in Jadwiga's age universally regarded as a crusade, and we must remember that she numbered St. Louis,³⁶ the ideal of a crusader, among her ancestors.

War against the Crescent belonged to the very essence of Polish chivalry. Poland, standing as the barrier of Europe against the East, was all through her history called upon to drive back the floods of Moslem invasion. Death in war with the Moslem was regarded by the Pole as death for Christ.

When Witold was about to lead his expedition into the Kievan province, and the knights, not only of Poland and Lithuania, but of Western countries were flocking to

35 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 502. Cf. Sza-jnocha, Karol, Op. Cit., Volume IV, page 227.

36 Bittschnau, X. O., Op. Cit., See Chapter II.

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his standards, Jadwiga, who had the cause of Christ so strongly at heart, and who according to the environment of her time, we should have expected her to send soldiers forth to this war in the spirit of the crusader, Jadwiga alone³⁷ not only had no word of encouragement, but implored Witold to desist from his enterprise. As one filled with prophetic inspiration, Jadwiga solemnly warned Witold against his pride, and told him that if he went forth on this expedition he was going to disaster.

The Polish knights were always eager to fight against the Moslem, but so great was the respect felt by her countrymen for Jadwiga's sanctity that many of these young and ardent knights at her words refrained from joining Witold's army. They owed their salvation of their lives to Jadwiga.

The Christian and Moslem armies met at Worskla river on August 12, 1399,³⁸ and the Christians suffered an appalling defeat. Seventy Lithuanian and Ruthenian

³⁷ Prochaska, Antoni, Dzieje Witolda Wielkiego Księcia Litewskiego, Wilno, 1914, pages 78-79.

³⁸ Prochaska, Antoni, Op. Cit., page 83.

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princes, the noblest of Poland's sons including Spytko Melsztynski, the husband of Jadwiga's beloved lady-in-waiting, and the loyal friend of herself and her husband, Jagiello, and thousands of others perished.³⁹ The catastrophe, which proved Jadwiga's word, closed for her country the shores of the Black Sea to which Poland had been advancing, and laid the south-eastern borderlands open for centuries to the horrors of Tartar invasion, plunder, rape and pillage.

In the midst of sorrows, her penances and prayers, Jadwiga's moment of joy came at last. In the beginning of 1399, Jadwiga wrote to Jagiello: "God has taken the shame of barrenness from me."⁴⁰

Jadwiga's prayers had been heard and the whole nation rejoiced with her at the prospect of an heir. Prayers were offered for her safe delivery not only in all the Churches of her country, but also by the order of Pope

39 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 519.

40 Kalendarz Krakowski, Op. Cit., See January, 1399.

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Boniface IX of Rome.⁴¹ The Pope was requested by King Jagiello to act as the sponsor of the child and in His letter of assent he asked that its second name should be, according to its sex, either the masculine or feminine form of Boniface after him.

Transported with joy, Jagiello sent round to the sovereigns of Europe, inviting them to the christening.⁴² Witold and his wife presented a magnificent cradle of silver to the Queen. Jagiello, who was absent from Krakow, detained by State affairs elsewhere, both by letters and by messages brought through his envoys, begged the Queen to adorn her bed as befitted the occasion with rich coverings. This was not to Jadwiga's mind.⁴³

The vanities of the world meant nothing to her. All these late years she had led a life of penance. Now that the desire of her heart, for which she had so long wept and prayed, was about to be granted to her, she was

41 Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, Op. Cit., Volume III, page 549⁴

42 Codex Diplomaticus Regni Poloniae, Op. Cit., Volume III, page 222.

43 Monumenta Poloniae Historiae, Op. Cit., Volume III, page 347.

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not going to receive it by decking herself out with gold and baubles. There was another and stronger reason for her refusal to comply with her husband's request. Jadwiga answered him:

"I have long ago renounced the pomps and vanities of this world, and all the less should I think of them at the moment of death, which so often comes with childbirth. Therefore it is not with the perishable splendor of gold and jewels that I ought to receive the grace with which God has visited me, but with meekness and humility."⁴⁴

Jadwiga, who twice prophesized the future, now foresaw her own end. She knew that her life was closing. Her history records no further words from her. On June 22, 1399,⁴⁵ Jadwiga gave birth prematurely to a daughter. The infant was so frail, that without waiting for the public christening for which such elaborate preparations had been made, the Bishop Jastrzebic of Krakow, baptized

44 Ibid., page 352.

45 Kalendarz Krakowski, Mon. Pol. Hist. II, Op. Cit.

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it Bonifacia Elzbieta at once in the Wawel Cathedral.⁴⁶

The infant was named Elizabeth after Jadwiga's mother and Polish grandmother, and given Bonifacia for its second name. Its life flickered on for three weeks and it died on July 13, 1399. On that day Jadwiga called her attendants and told them that she knew her child was dead.⁴⁷ She, who had learned at the foot of the Cross and to follow her Lord, was called to bear it to the end. The fulfillment of her only hope of happiness was turned to mourning. Jadwiga resigned herself to the anguish of her bereavement with the submission to the will of God, that she had gained by continual self-abnegation.

Jadwiga's physical frame was unable to bear this last and bitter sorrow. Her condition had been critical since the birth of the child. After hearing of its death, she sank.

46 See Eubel, C., Op. Cit., Volume II, page 184.

47 Wsprowie Kanonizacje Królowej Jadwigi, Op. Cit., page 39.

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In the north-eastern tower of the Wawel Castle there still remains a small room⁴⁸ which had been built by Jadwiga and used by her as a chapel. It is a legend in Krakow that it was in this room she died. The tradition being that as Jadwiga felt her death drawing near, she ordered those waiting on her to carry her to the chapel, where she could hear Mass and prepare her soul for death, close to the altar. She had allowed no precious stuffs to adorn her bed. She had long ago laid off all her jewels for ever, but now, when she lay dying, her eyes, as the Polish historian Dlugosz bids us note,⁴⁹ could rest on the rich hangings of the walls, given by her to the worship of God, and embroidered by her hand. The gems on the altar where the Holy Sacrifice was offered were her gift. All that she had she had given to God: her wealth, her labors, and above all, her will.

Jagiello, absent on State business, was unable in those days of long-time communications, to reach her bed-

48 Wawel Przeszłości Skarbnica, Op. Cit., page 27.

49 Dlugosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 503.

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side before she died. Not one member of her family was left. Only her two most loyal friends whom she had summoned stood by her deathbed: Jasko Tenczynski and the Bishop of Krakow, Piotr Wysz.⁵⁰ With her dying breadth, Jadwiga made them understand that her jewels should be sold for the benefit of the University of Krakow and the poor.

There was one further charge Jadwiga wished to make known, and then her work was done. How dearly she loved her country may be judged by the anxiety she felt for its future in her last moments. Her death without issue left the crown of Poland and Lithuania without an heir. The child on whom so many hopes had depended, who was to have carried on the line that Jadwiga and Jagiello had founded, and to have reigned over a consolidated State, was no more.⁵¹

Jadwiga's last thoughts were given to the problem of securing the work of her life. Jadwiga had possessed

50 Kijak, Stanisław, Op. Cit., page 39.

51 Maciejowska, Wanda, Op. Cit., page 97.

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a sound sense of government. She had on her deathbed a clearly defined scheme on the measures necessary to perpetuate the dynasty and the union of Poland and Lithuania. Jagiello must not only marry again, but he must marry the princess Jadwiga had chosen for him, a granddaughter of Casimir the Great by his third marriage, Anna,⁵² and therefore of the royal blood of Poland. Hers and Jagiello's children should be welcome sovereigns to both Poland and Lithuania as combining the race of Jagiello and of Piast. She bade Bishop Wysz and Tenczynski to convey this, her dying request, to the King. She then received the Viaticum, pressed her lips to the Crucifix, and gave up her soul to God at midday on July 17, 1399.⁵³

The object that had been Jadwiga's last earthly desire, the succession to the crown which meant the perpetuation of the union of Poland and Lithuania, was secured by her foresight. Jagiello married Anna, the wife she had proposed. One daughter was born of this short-

52 Długosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 517.

53 Kijak, Stanisław, Op. Cit., page 56.

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lived marriage, to whom the name Jadwiga was given. After his second wife's death, Jagiello married Elizabeth Pi-lecka Granowska, from whom there was no issue, and his fourth marriage to Zofja or Sonka, Witold's niece, a Ruthenian princess, gave him two sons, Wladyslaw III and Casimir IV. It was given to Jadwiga in her last hours to see the future that she had won for her nation by the sacrifice which is the story of her life. It was under the dynasty that she had founded, known in Poland's history as the Jagiellonian dynasty, 1386-1572, Poland reached her greatest glory and prosperity.⁵⁴

Jadwiga was buried on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1399, under the Gospel side of the High Altar in the Wawel Cathedral. Her grave at once became the object of pilgrimage. As the afflicted had crowded to her feet during her life, so now they came to ask her help at her tomb.⁵⁵

54 Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., pages 297-299.

55 Wawel Przeszlosci Skarbnica, Op. Cit., page 35.

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Records of miracles⁵⁶ worked at her intercession twenty years after she died, therefore, during her husband's reign, are preserved in the Cathedral archives. It appears from the wording of two of these attestations, the one of the cure of a man lamed by ulcers, and the other of a seemingly incurable victim of fever, that pilgrimages to Jadwiga's grave were a desired devotional exercise.

At a function held in the hall of the Jagiellonian University several years after Jadwiga's death, John Elgot,⁵⁷ who was prominent among the representatives of Poland at the Council of Basle, delivered a discourse in honor of Queen Jadwiga. Taking for his text the perishable nature of earthly things, and illustrating his theme by Jadwiga's example, he said:

"Jadwiga of pious memory, formerly the Polish Queen, while she ran her course in this transitory world with exceeding great ardor, was fain to live a life so supernatural that after having spent her life in the grace

56 Miraculæ Beatae Hedvigis, edita W. Ketrzyński, Mon. Pol. Hist. Volume IV, 1887, Kraków, pages 127-134.

57 Elgot, X. Jan, Op. Cit., Sermo, Manuscript no. 2911.

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of the Lord she might enter eternal glory. She, as trustworthy witnesses declare, shone before the eyes of all with good deeds of every kind, as though with rays of light. For she was the mother of the poor, the protector of orphans, the foundress of schools. She was a foot to the lame and an eye to the blind, and moreover, like sweet-scented balsam in the midst of men she shed fragrance, and from her hands dripped myrrh, which, even in our times, has not ceased before our eyes."⁵⁸

This concluding pietical conceit is the speaker's manner of alluding at the Queen's intercession. One of the copies of this discourse, which is preserved in the Jagiello Library, is in the handwriting of St. John Kanty or Cantius, the Krakow professor, whose charity and tenderness have some affinity with Jadwiga's.⁵⁹

The chronicler Dlugosz writes:⁶⁰ "The sanctity of that devout and holy woman was manifested after her

58 Elgot, X. Jan, Op. Cit., Manuscript no. 2911.

59 Ibid., Manuscripts no. 2232 and no. 2367.

60 Dlugosz, Jan, Op. Cit., page 506.

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death, and continues to show itself among us even now." Further, he enumerates the miracles she caused, but in a language so obviously drawn from the New Testament as to deprive them of historical and biographical value.⁶¹

These testimonies show clearly that the popular cult of Queen Jadwiga began soon after her death. It continued long afterwards. Jadwiga never ceased to be venerated as a saint.

A historian⁶² of the sixteenth century writes: "Her remains are held for those of a saint." And another, in relating her miracles, appeals to the testimony of the choir of psaltry which Jadwiga had founded. "After her death," he writes, "miracles were worked at her grave, to which the priests who sing the whole night in the church in the Castle give witness." Ex-votos were hung at her grave, which were stolen by the Lutheran Swedes in the Swedish invasion of Poland in 1655.⁶³

61 Ibid., pages 507-508.

62 Kromer, Marcin, Op. Cit., page 229.

63 Wawel Przeszłości Skarbnica, Op. Cit., page

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As early as 1426, when numbers of those who had known Jadwiga in life, including her husband, were still living, the Archbishop of Gniezno, Bodzanta, after visiting the Wawel Cathedral and kneeling at Jadwiga's tomb, urged Bishop Wysz of Krakow, the same to whom Jagiello was to bequeath his wife's wedding ring, to institute an examination into the life and virtues of the "Blessed Jadwiga", as he calls her, with the view of recommending her cause to the Holy See. Many documents to this end were sent to the Vatican.⁶⁴

I have mentioned Jadwiga's grave as an object of veneration to the faithful. The noble recumbent figures on the carved tombs of Poland's kings, including that of Jagiello, who owed his greatness to Jadwiga, are the admiration of all who visit the Wawel. At first sight it strikes one as strange that no such monument has been raised to her, the best-loved of Poland's sovereigns.

Jadwiga's remains have always rested in a simple grave. She lies where she originally was laid beneath a

64 See Libri Ecclesiae, Katalog Rękopisów Kapituły Krakowskiej, Kraków, Wawel Library.

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black tablet, on which in, 1796, the inscription was cut in gold letters:

*Hedvigis Ludovici Hungariae et Poloniae

Regis Filia Casimiri Magni Neptis

Vladislavi Iagellonis Uxor Obiit

Anno Domini 1399

A tergo Huius Marmoris Ultimum Ex Pectat Diem ⁶⁵.*

Jadwiga, daughter of Louis, King of Hungary and Poland, great niece of Casimir the Great, wife of Ladislaus Jagiello, died in the year of our Lord, 1399. Behind this marble she awaits the last day.

This epitaph, no less simple, more simple than many of those marking the last resting place of Jadwiga's subjects, is in keeping with the humility and dislike for any sort of pomp of her who would allow no ornament on her deathbed.

Moreover, Jadwiga's nation, Poland, expecting her speedy canonization, looked upon her first grave as a

65 Wawel Przeszlosci, Skarbnica, Op. Cit., page 20. Cf. Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., pages 314-315.

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temporary one, whence it was intended to transport her body to a more elaborate shrine. But in our time, as the gift of a private individual, a monument, the work of a Polish sculptor,⁶⁶ has been placed in honor of Queen Jadwiga in the vaults of the Wawel Cathedral, among the coffins of the Polish kings. It consists of a simple white sarcophagus on which the Queen lies, crowned, with a floating veil, her hands clasped in prayer. If this figure is of a somewhat ordinary type, it does not lack dignity, and the white Carrara marble of which it is fashioned, shining out in the dark vaults, is appropriate to the stainless purity of her whom it represents.⁶⁷

In light of the cult to Jadwiga which began soon after her death, and in that of the effort also made at that time to promote her canonization, one may ask how it is that so long a time has passed without the formal introduction of her cause?

66 Leon Wyczółkowski.

67 Rydel, Lucyan, Op. Cit., page 318.

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Many reasons cooperated to put the beatification aside. It was shortly after Jadwiga's death that the conflict with the heresy of John Huss absorbed the energies of the Church in Poland.⁶⁸ The convulsions of external wars and internal troubles, the partitions of Poland, and her subsequent struggle to regain her freedom, only to lose it again in 1939, sufficiently explain why the canonization of Queen Jadwiga was not preceeded with.

During the tragic years of Poland's bondage the thoughts of Queen Jadwiga's people turned with an extraordinary devotion to her memory. She was not only a model of sanctity to their eyes, she was at the same time one of their favorite national heroes. The masculine term is used advisedly, for it is with Poland's great kings and patriots that this young Queen stands.⁶⁹

68 Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., History, page 87.
X. Olesnicki opposed the influence of the Hussites on some of the Polish Nobility.

69 Halecki, Oskar, Op. Cit., Volume I, page 270, Dzieje.

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In 1906, on the anniversary of the Battle of Grunwals, Bishop Bandurski⁷⁰ of Lwow made a fervent appeal to his compatriots to have recourse to the prayers of the saintly Queen and to work for her canonization. It was a moment of great moral danger for Poland, when the social revolution was spreading from Russia into the provinces of Poland that were then under Russian dominations. The Bishop calls upon Jadwiga to save her country, and his words so admirably summarize the claim of Jadwiga to be called the protectoress of her people that I quote from his discourse, reminding all that at this time Poland was torn in three between three foreign powers, and her nationality persecuted and proscribed:

"In thee is our hope. We have none to guide us, we have none to unite us once more by the links of love: none to rise up in our defense. Thou only canst take up the work of reconciliation and unification of sister races. Thou only canst find the healing balm for our wounds and mutual distrust. We need thy intercession and thy protection. Be thou our guide in these moments of deep uncertainty. May the whole nation stretch out its hands to thee! Let, above all,

70 Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., pages 272-298.

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the women of Poland surround thy tomb, and wake thee from sleep! Thou shalt be the example to maidens, how to lay down even the sweetest of dreams in sacrifice to God and their country. Thou shalt teach wives how to convert their husbands to God, how to sustain them in the labor of their work, how to inflame them with the desire of consecration to the benefit of their common brethren. May both the one and the other henceforth live and labor beneath thy watchword! May they repeat thy name to their young children so that, from henceforth, thou shalt rule over the hearts of the young generation and lead them away from all that defiles, abases warps 71."

Bishop Bandurski's appeal bore its results. Fresh pilgrimages set in to Jadwiga's tomb, and new ex-votos found a place there. About this time, too, a prayer was circulated, first in manuscript, and later on in the form of printed leaflets. If Jadwiga is pronounced Blessed by the Church and later canonized, this prayer will, presumably, travel beyond the confines of her country:

"O najukochansza Królowa Jadwigo, któraś wszystkim uczuciom swoim gwałt żądała, by jaknajwięcej dusz przysporzyć Bogu, któraś stała Apostolką Litwy i Świątynomi Pańskiemu kraj ten zasiała! Ileż to łez osuszyłeś za życia i po śmierci! Ilu chorym zdrowie uprosiłeś! Dobrocią., łagodnością i miłosierdziem panowałaś na

71 Bandurski, X. Władysław, Op. Cit., pages 294-297.

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ziemi; miłością i gorącą modlitwą zapomij nad Najświętszem Sercem Jezusowi w niebie; chroń rodziny nasze od sporów i troski codziennego życia; wyjednaj nam grzesznym wszystkie łaski do zbawienia potrzebne, a przede wszystkim, o najdroższa opiekunko nasza, ulecz N.N. zgodnie z wolą Bożą i przyspiesza chwile kanonizacyi Swojej, już od tak dawna przez cały naród polski upragnioną.

"Ufamy Tobie, Królowo Jadwigo, że nie zawiedziesz serc naszych, i dzisiaj znowu, jak za dawnych czasów Duch twój u tronu Boga, troską przejęty i bólem wexbrony, w przecudne Oblicze Jezusa wpatrzony, nieśmiało wymowi tę słową: "Panie! któż im łązy powróci?" A Jezus wysłucha, głosu służebnicy swojej; skłoni swą głowę Świętą jak niegdyś na Wawelu, na znak, że On to jeden uczynić potrafi, wejrzy na lud skruszony i osuszy łązy dzieci swoich, darząc pociechą, radością i zdrowiem. Tobie zawdzięczać to będziemy, do Ciebie też gorącą prośbą się zwracamy: Królowa Jadwigo, módl się za nami! 72"

Oh, most beloved Queen Jadwiga, who didst violence to all thy feelings, the more souls to gain to God: who didst become the apostle of Lithuania and didst bestrew sanctuaries to the Lord throughout that country! How many tears has thou not dried in life and after death! For how many many sick has thou not asked and been granted health: Thou didst on

72 Siewieki, X.J.J., Książka do Nabożenstwa Dla Polek, Wrocław, Nakładem B. Cichowicza, Wrocław, 1827, pages 126-127.

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rule on earth by sweetness, gentleness, and mercy. Let thy love and ardent prayer prevail in Heaven with the Most Sacred Heart of Jezus! Guard our families from the quarrels and cares of daily life. Obtain for us, sinners, all the graces necessary to our salvation: and above all, our dearest protectress, cure N.N. if it is agreeable to the will of God, and hasten the moment of thy canonization so long desired by all the Polish nation.

We trust in thee, Queen Jadwiga, that thou wilt not disappoint our hearts, and that again today, as in the bygone times, thy spirit at the throne of God penetrated with care for us, and overflowing with grief for our grief, gazing into the all beautiful Face of Jezus, shall humbly pronounce these words: "Who, Lord, Who will give them back their tears?" And Jezus will listen to the voice of His servant. He will bow His sacred head as once in the Wawel, as a sign that He alone can do this. He will look upon a contrite people and dry the tears of His children and bestow on them consolation, joy and health. It is to thee that we shall owe this. To thee, therefore, we turn with the fervent prayer: 'Queen Jadwiga, pray for us!

In 1909, with the approbation of Pope Pius X,⁷³ steps were taken in Rome by the representatives of the Polish nation to introduce Jadwiga's cause. The matter came

⁷³ Rewerowski, Emil, Kult Królowej Jadwigi w Polsce, Warsaw, Kurier Warszawski, an article in January 9, 1933, issue.

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again to a standstill, and World War I, with the subsequent task of rebuilding independent Poland, caused the beatification process to be lost sight of again.

The question has again been reopened, in 1950, and it is the ardent wish of the Polish nation, headed by Primate Wyszyński, Adam, Cardinal Sapieha, Metropolitan of Krakow and Bishop Józef Feliks Gawlina, to see their beloved Queen proclaimed Blessed by the Holy See.

For, although more than 551 years have passed since the death of Jadwiga, without her having as yet been raised to the altar, on one altar she has always been enshrined: and that is in the hearts of her nation.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Rydel, Lucyan, Czy Nie Święta? Op. Cit., pages 73-79. Etiam: Sapieha, Bishop Adam, Archbishop Teodorowicz Profs. Halecki, Obchód Jagielloński, Zbiór Przemówień, Kraków, 1933, pages 3-320.

Cf. Regestrum Miraculorum Sancta Hedvigis Reginae Poloniae, X. Dr. Wojciech Kętrzyński, Archbishop W. Jastrzębica, X. Kanonik Władysław Kochowski, 1419, Vatican Archives, Rome.

CONCLUSION

This study of Queen Jadwiga's personality and life in the light of documents and legends is the first attempt in the historiography of the Jagiellonian period, 1386-1572. Much could be written again and interpreted according to the sides of approach to the question by particular historians.

I have been successful in attaining the conclusions of combating historical views. As it was explained in the previous chapters, the Queen was treated by some historians as an immature young girl who was an innocent object of play of political factions and the Queen's attitude was disregarded.

Jadwiga, however, personally played an important role in spite of the politics outside her person, asserting her rights as the reigning Queen of Poland. Her genuine sentiments and early love for Prince Wilhelm was, at the same time strange to say, taking into consideration her age, matched with her desire for the possession of the crown as the sovereign of Poland, and not as a consort of Wilhelm, who had no rights to the Polish Crown. That point of her unexpected maturity was proved by her acceptance of the proposition to

alter her mind and heart from Wilhelm to the Duke of Lithuania, Jagiello, for the Christian cause of conversion of Lithuania with the right of her own after the marriage to Jagiello as the reigning Queen of Poland. Wilhelm treated differently that essential problem, expecting to get the crown of the realm as the king of Poland and not as the Prince consort. This finally helped Jasko Tenczyński, palatine of Sandomir and a member of the Crown Council, together with the Primate of Poland, Archbishop Bodzanta of Gniezno, to defeat the pro-Wilhelm party. The Prince of Mazovia, Ziemowit, not being successful in his plans either to acquire the Polish crown or to marry Jadwiga, joined the party led by the Magnates of Malopolska.

This complicated political and amorous situation was really solved by the decision of the young Queen, who revealed her idealism amidst the wordly and crass politics.

Consequently, it was proved also, in spite of biased opinion of some historians, that the Queen did not consummate her infant marriage with Wilhelm. Jadwiga really became the first wife of Jagiello and to this important question I brought to light newly discovered Vatican documents that prove that she did not commit bigamy and only remained chaste

for her first and only husband, Wladyslaw Jagiello.

The ardent piety of the young Queen, so typical to the great personalities of the medieval period, turned Jadwiga thoroughly to her first consort, Wladyslaw, and to his nation for the Christian cause. But, as I have proved also, that at the same time, the Queen's political understanding of the union of Poland and Lithuania was an outstanding advancement in politics against the adversaries of Poland who were rising in power, and who played an important element in the Queen's decision and behavior in the subsequent years after her marriage to Jagiello. Jadwiga brought the Principality of Belz, 1390, to the Crown; she went with Jagiello to receive the homage of the Hospodar Peter of Moldavia in Lwow in 1389. Jadwiga also went to Lithuania with Jagiello to assert the union achieved by her own decision to the marriage. She pacified and warned the inimical Order of the Teutonic Knights, demanding the return of the Dobrzyn lands to the Crown from the Grand Master of the Order, Konrad von Wallenrod. She also achieved the amicable union of the remaining factions of the Wilhelmites and Jagiellonians for the sake of the strength of internal politics, and the necessity of the united powers

of the two nations for the decisive blow that was struck as a result of her achievements after her death, giving positive results in the defeat of the Teutons in the Battle of Grunwald in 1410.

Her reign is outstanding by the wisdom and piety matched in the understanding of the necessity of elevating high standards of education and culture according to the best possibilities of the time. At first she cared for new churches and institutions of social and humanitarian benefits. Jadwiga is known for her interest in founding new schools and in endowing the great medieval University of Krakow.

Jadwiga's relations and contacts with the people, so in the light of documents as well as in a convincingly living tradition, were of such a nature, that today's historian may term them democratic. Whether the Queen's various and so mature activities were to keep her heart and mind occupied to serve as a release escape on account of her love tragedy, or whether they could be interpreted as calculated royal enlightened activities, are not important from the beneficial results that were obtained. They are impressive because of the wisdom, Christian charity and maturity

of an outstanding personality. That was underlined in the previous chapters and also, that is one of the elements that inspires national legends and traditions.

The legends and the traditions with their glorious, medieval character were referred to as supplementary illustrative material rather than convincing historical evidence. Anthropological analysis of the legendary material so presently being taken under consideration by various scholars, in our case is typical, and is a very important document in this respect. It might be explained by the fact that the saintly life of the Queen expressed itself in the Catholic national atmosphere, centering at first in the Archdiocese of Krakow, or by the tenacity of the national memory of the Polish people, which is so well known to the students of history and associated studies. So the documents referring to the legends and the traditional fame of Queen Jadwiga of Poland are harmonized in the expression of her most beautiful and fully mature Christian personality, a Queen who lived at the end of the fourteenth century, and who could be called the last Queen of the medieval times in her own spiritual beauty and political wisdom.

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AN ABSTRACT OF
QUEEN JADWIGA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND¹

A Contribution To The Study of The XIV and XV Century
History of Poland

In order to show and prove the outstanding Christian character of Queen Jadwiga in the light of history and its relation to the living tradition of her nations, Poland and Lithuania, was the thesis in this dissertation. Based on primary and secondary sources, the prime problem was to keep a neutral standpoint and present an objective study of Jadwiga.

This study is not a psychological dissertation, but a historical insight into the character and life activity of the Queen. The nature of this work required an objective understanding and interpretation of the various works relating to the life and times of Queen Jadwiga. Thus, such historians as Jan Dlugosz and Janko z Czarnkowa left documentary evidence relating to the period in a sympathetic

¹ Sigmund John Sluszkza, QUEEN JADWIGA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND, A contribution to the Study of the XIV and XV century history of Poland, thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy, /not published/, for presentation to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, 1950, p. ix-320.

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and a subjective view. Writers of the subsequent periods built up a historical narration, rather than an objective evaluation of the Queen. But, the modern Polish historiography in the latter half of the nineteenth century, brought to light many unknown historical texts that were directly and indirectly related to the study of Jadwiga's period. The life and period of Jadwiga, substantially explored from the political and social points of view, did not treat of the historical understanding of the Queen's personality. This dissertation fills in the gap in the studies of the person of the Queen herself. The order of writing is in a chronological pattern in order to logically set the development of the public and private life of the Queen.

In spite of its biographic character, this thesis dwells on the various events in the life of the Queen, illustrating essentials of her personality, as well as the posthumous fame which so vividly remained in the tradition, and the present attempts to beatify the Queen. In the historical array the reader will see how documented history reveals itself in legend and tradition of a nation.

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This thesis proves the fact that the Queen did not consummate her infant marriage with Prince Wilhelm, and that Jadwiga was really the first wife of Jagiello, who together brought Lithuania into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. New documents relating to Jadwiga that were recently discovered are brought to light for the first time.

This thesis of Queen Jadwiga's personality and life in the light of documents and legends is the first attempt in the historiography of the Jagiellonian period. It is a new contribution to the study of the history of Poland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

F I N I S