

AN EDUCATED JAGIELLONIAN PRINCE

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RÁBAI, Krisztina. Vzdelaný Jagelovský princ. Rod Jagelovcov bol dôležitou panovníckou dynastiou v strednej Európe koncom 15. a na začiatku 16. storočia. Dôležitú úlohu pri dosahovaní tejto pozície zohral Kazimír IV. Okrem významných politických rozhodnutí dozeral aj na vzdelávanie a výchovu novej generácie Jagelovcov. Jeho synovia (Vladislav, Kazimír, Ján Albrecht, Alexander, Žigmund, Fridrich) mali primerané vzdelanie, ako o tom vypovedajú dobové pramene. Kým naratívne pramene obsahujú informácie o výchove princov, iné písomné pramene informujú aj o gramotnosti a vzdelanosti synov a vnúčať Kazimíra a Alžbety. Vláda a politické rozhodnutia spomínanej Alžbety, matky prominentných Jagelovcov, ovplyvnili udalosti v strednej Európe - priamo - na celé desaťročia a - nepriamo - na storočia. Názov kľúčového pojednania pre poznanie danej problematiky je: *De institutione regii pueri*. Na základe tohto prameňa a tiež s prihliadnutím na výdavky jagelovského dvora môžeme vidieť vzdelávanie na kráľovskom dvore v celej jeho komplexnosti. Na prelome stredoveku a raného novoveku sa osobitný dôraz kládol nielen na vzdelanie v klasickom ponímaní, ale aj na osvojenie si správneho spôsobu života, ktorý sa mal niesť v duchu nasledovania kresťanskej morálky. Existuje veľa ťažko analyzovateľných dokladov, ktoré odkazujú na charakter a poznatky ľudí zo skúmanej cieľovej skupiny. Zvyky a správanie jagelovských súrodencov boli ovplyvnené ich postavením. Informácie z prameňov osvetľujú ich fyzickú výchovu a rozvoj intelektu. Výskumom zachovaných prameňov môžeme spoznať všeobecné, ale taktiež unikátne prvky týchto osobností.

Kľúčové slová: rod Jagelovcov; spis o vzdelávaní; dvorské účty princa Žigmunda;

Keywords: Jagiellonian Family; Educational Treatise; Court Accounts of Prince Sigismund;

"... praestant auro atque argento virtutum praecepta, quibus si quis equos, vestimenta, lapillosque praetulerit, is equo aut lapidi quam sapiento viro similior est."¹

¹ Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini Senensis, qui post adeptum Pontificatum Pius eius nominis secundus appellatus est, opera quae extant omnia... Basel 1551. p. 966. "The precepts of virtue surpass gold and silver; if anyone should prefer horses, garments, or precious stones to these precepts, he is more like a horse or a stone than a wise man." KALLENDORE, Craig W. (edited and translated). *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, pp. 67-68.

Education² and being educated is a relevant part of life, and it was the same around the turn of medieval and the early modern period when many extremely significant changes ensued not only in the development of technology but also in scientific life. Historians reckon this period as the golden age of the Polish Kingdom. Great alteration could be seen concerning pedagogical theory and practice, in line with other cultural progressions, such as the development of Polish as a literary language.³ In the focus of my paper - as the title itself has already uncovered - is a royal dynasty, the Jagiellonian family. However the scientific literature concerning the topic of education, royal education and education of Jagiellonians could be estimated as rather detailed and outstanding,⁴ there is still a group of written sources, which were faded into the background. The court account books of the members of the dynasty, fortunately, remained to us in a significant number.⁵ These books were/are mostly considered as economical sources,⁶ but the fact is, that the colorful notes of everyday expenses give us an insight into the everyday life and through this image, accounts shed light on many elements of education and upbringing of children as well.

In my paper, I am looking for the answer to a fundamental question: which are the attributes of an ideal, well educated Jagiellonian prince and how we can detect these elements in accounts. Fortunately, the investigated period offers adequate sources concerning the subject. Evidently contemporary pedagogical treatises are the most suitable written sources for further discussion and the better understanding of the matter. Several educational instructions were written by great humanists, such as Pietro Paolo Vergerio (*De Ingeniis Moribus et Liberalibus Studiis Adolescentiae*,

² The research and the preparation of this study was supported thank to Philosophical Faculty of the University of Hradec Králové, Department of Auxiliary Historical Sciences and Archival Science.

³ ADAMSKA, Anna. The Jagiellonians and the Written Word. Some Preliminary Remarks about Royal Literacy in the Late Middle Ages. In BORKOWSKA, Urszula - HÖRSCH, Markus. Hofkultur der Jagiellonendynastie und verwandter Fürstenhäuser. Ostfildern, 2010, p. 171; BORKOWSKA, Urszula. The Jagiellonian Model of Education. In the same volume, p. 171-184.

⁴ Only a few example dealing with the topic: SKOCZEK, Józef. Wychowanie Jagiellonów. Lwów, 1932.; BORKOWSKA, Urszula. Edukacja Jagiellonów. In Roczniki Historyczne, 2005, 71, pp. 99-119; BORKOWSKA, Urszula. Edukacja. In Dynastia Jagiellonów w Polsce. Warszawa 2011; etc.

⁵ There are many volumes of accounts, preserved in Polish archives, such as the collection of royal accounts in the Central Archives of Historical Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) in Warsaw (hereinafter referred to as AGAD), fund: Archival Material of the Royal Treasury (Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego) (ASK), Dz. 1 Rachunki Królewskie (afterwards AGAD RK); TARNOWSKI, Sławomir - STEMROWICZ, Inga. Inwentarz zespołu archiwalnego Archiwum Skrabu Koronnego z lat 1388-1826. Nr Zespołu: 7. Warszawa: AGAD, 2009.

⁶ However, the term „account“ could be ambiguous, there were and are scientific writings, which emphasized that accounts are not exclusively economic sources. DIVÉKY, Adorján. Zsigmond lengyel herceg II. Ulászló udvarában. In Századok, 1914, 48, pp. 449-463, 562-576; BORKOWSKA, Urszula. Rachunki królewskie jako źródło poznania praktyk religijnych Jagiellonów. In Peregrinatio ad veritatem. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Aleksandrze Witkowskiej OSU z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej. Lublin, 2004, pp. 47-63; BOŁYDREW, Aleksander - BOŁYDREW, Aneta. Royal bills as the Source of the History of Taste and Food in Poland of the Last Jagiellons. Basic Source and Research Possibilities. In Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne, 2014, 15, pp. 11-27; RÁBAL, Krisztina. Jagelló Zsigmond herceg számadásainak orvostörténeti tanulságai. In HALMÁGYI, Miklós - TEISZLER, Éva (szerk.). Medievisztikai tanulmányok. Az 5. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2007. június 7-8.) előadásai. Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2007, pp. 133-140; etc.

1404), Leonardo Bruni (*De studiis et litteris*, 1496), Maffeo Vegio of Lodi (*De liberorum educatione et claris moribus libri VI*, 1443), Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (*Tractatus de Liberorum Educatione*, 1450), Battista Guarino (*De ordine docendi et studendi* 1459), Erasmus of Rotterdam (*De Ratione Studii*, 1511; *Declamatio de Pueris Instituendis*, 1529; *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*, 1530), not to mention other authors.⁷

Among the well know, well-educated writers, we can see an exception, who cannot be classified as an educated humanist male writer. A tractat, *De institutione regii pueri*, appeared under the name of queen Elisabeth, the wife of the Polish King, Casimir IV, written around 1502.⁸ The work was dedicated to Wladislaw, king of Bohemia and Hungary, the first son of Elisabeth. The occasion which motivated the queen or someone from her court to complete a study on the matter was the pregnancy of Anna de Foix, wife of Wladislaw. Instead of the expected male heir a daughter, Anna was born in 1503 and a few years later in 1506, the awaited crown prince, Louis arrived. However the identity of the author of this educational treatise – one of the first⁹ relating to the Polish Kingdom – is still not a solved question, the text itself represents the contemporary thinking and the image of proper upbringing and education of a royal heir, consequently, offers a perfect theoretical principle for our purposes. The author's identity is irrelevant according to our comparison. Although the influence of Piccolomini's before mentioned treatise¹⁰ is evident, we can find unique examples from the life

⁷ For further details, please see WOODWARD, William Harrison. Contributions to the History of Education. Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance 1400-1600. Cambridge University Press, First published 1906; ROEST, Bert. Rethoric of Innovation and Recourse to Tradition in Humanist Pedagogical Discourse. In Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reform. Brill Academic Publisher, 2003, pp. 115-148; KALLENDORF, ref. 2.

⁸ Edition of the text and citations in this article are from ZEISBERG, Heinrich R. v. Kleiner Geschichtsquellen Polen in Mittelalter. Wien, 1877, pp. 99-136.; albeit there is a modern edition, as it was published recently, I did not have the opportunity to purchase the volume yet. GASTGEBER, Christian – OLIŃSKI Piotr. Traktat „De institutione regii pueri“. Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu. Fontes 110. Toruń, 2016; Polish translation by DANYSZ, Antoni. Elżbiety, królowej Polskiej, Małżonki Kazimierza Jagiellończyka traktat pedagogiczny O wychowaniu królewicza, przetłómaczył i objaśnił Dr. Antoni Danysz. In Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji C. K. Lwowskiego Gimnazjum im. Franciszka Józefa za rok szkolny 1902. Lwów, 1902; Hungarian translation by UHLÁRIK, János. Erzsébet lengyel királynénak a királyi gyermek neveléséről fiához II. Ulászló Magyar- és Csehország királyához irt könyve. A Bécsi Császári és Királyi Udvari Könyvtárnak 10573. sz. XVI. századi kódexéből, különnyomat. Pozsony: Stampfel Károly Kiadása, 1893. Recently research was carried out by Dr. Ingrid Roitner, Prof. Dr. habil. Christian Gastgeber, Dr. Piotr Olsinński. The scientific literature was summarized by OLIŃSKI, Piotr. Das Traktat De institutione regii pueri: Forschungsstand und weitere Perspektiven. In Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftlichen Zentrums Polnischer Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 2014, 5, pp. 167-183.

⁹ Worthy of mentioning, beside the pedagogical writings connected to the ruling dynasty, fathers of Polish noble families had also written pedagogical instructions – some of them survived from the 16th century – usually before the son(s) left home for an educational journey. KAMLER Anna. Social Aspects of Education. In Acta Poloniae Historica 2009, 99, pp. 125-136.

¹⁰ Piccolomini wrote his instructions for the young Hungarian king, Ladislaus V, around 1450 and albeit he had the intention to continue the instructions as the king is growing, but there is no evidence, he could ever achieve this goal. First edition and recent English translation of the treatise see footnote 2; Hungarian translation by ACSAY, Antal. A gyermeknevelésről. V. László magyar király számára írta Aeneas Sylvius trieszti püspök. Budapest: Franklin Kiadó, 1898.

of the members of the Jagiellonian family. The sentences – refer to the opinion and regular phrases of Casimir IV and his sons – demonstrate, that whoever the author could be, belonged to the inner circle of the Jagiellonian court.¹¹ The close connection with Elisabeth could be also supported by the fact, that the instructions, written by Piccolomini, were addressed to the 11 years old Hungarian king, Ladislaus V, the brother of Elisabeth. Piccolomini's shorter treatise from 1443 was also the pattern of an educational letter dedicated to the second son of Elisabeth, prince Casimir in 1467.¹²

Based on these instructions, which were shaped as a letter and sent from Elisabeth to his son, my intention is to underline those attributes, virtues, forms of manner, which should characterize a royal child around the turn of the 15th-16th centuries, who was educated properly, furthermore contrast or compare these elements with the related information of the main account books of prince Sigismund (issued before his coronation).¹³ The scientific literature as well as the number of related sources (such as the *Annales* of Długosz, letter exchanges, report of envoys, etc.)¹⁴ is significant, therefore – concerning the limits of a conference paper – my article focuses only to prince Sigismund and his court accounts for detailed examination. Sigismund, the fifth son of Elisabeth and Casimir IV, had a special position within the family, his princely years were prolonged and the notes in his accounts detailed indeed.

His registers – exceedingly circumstantial and redundant sources of contemporary life – became known by historical research preferable early and were partly edited by Polish and Hungarian historians around the turn of the 19th-20th centuries.¹⁵ However there were also attempts to sketch the personality of the prince, it was significantly influenced by the already existing concepts about the whole dynasty as well as by misinterpretation of the source. In comparison with the international literature, we can see a darkly depicted image of the dynasty in the Hungarian scientific literature. Regarding our topic, a citation from a pedagogical historical work could illuminate the general opinion characterize the scientific

¹¹ ZAGRODZKA, Alicja. Opinie o Jagiellonach w traktacie »De institutione regii pueri«. In *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 2005, 112. 2, pp. 29-48.

¹² The tract dedicated to prince Casimir, written by an unknown author around 1467, copying a short educational letter of Piccolomini from 1443 addressed to Sigmund of Austria (1427-1496); edited by ZARĘBSKI, Ignacy: *Najwcześniejszy humanistyczny polski traktat pedagogiczny (ok. 1467)* In *Dziesięciolecie Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Krakowie 1946-1956. Zbiór rozpraw i artykułów*. Kraków, 1957, pp. 151-178.

¹³ Original manuscripts are preserved AGAD RK 29 and 33. Recent and complete edition by KOZÁK, Petr. *Účty dvora prince Zikmunda Jagellonského, vévody hlohovského a opavského, nejvyššího hejtmana Slezska a Lužic, z let (1493) 1500-1507: Kritická edice pramene. Rationes curiae Sigismundi Jagellonici, ducis Glogoviensis et Opaviensis, Silesiae et Lusatiarum summi capitanei, de annis (1493) 1500-1507: Editio critica*. Praha, 2014; RÁBAI, Krisztina. *Jagelló Zsigmond udvarának számadáskönyve (1504-1507): The Court Account Book of Sigismund Jagiellon (1504-1507)*. Szeged: Quintus Kiadó, 2014.

¹⁴ BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, p. 171; about the life and also the works of Długosz see: <https://dlugosz.polona.pl/>

¹⁵ PAWIŃSKI, Adolf. *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*. Warszawa: Nakład Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1893; DIVÉKY, Adorján. *Zsigmond lengyel herceg budai számadásai (1500-1502., 1505)*. In *Magyar Történelmi Társulat*, 1914. Full edition see ref. 13.

literature till the last decades. In the monograph of Fináczy Ernő about the history of education in the renaissance, we can read about the two Jagiellonian kings of the Hungarian kingdom as it follows: „The kings [id est Wladislaw and his son, Louis] are vacuous, objects of taunt and pity. One of them was mentioned as sluggish and weak-headed, who ‘is snoring that time as well, when the mother country is in danger’, the other is mentioned in sources as a poor, miserable child... The king [Wladislaw] himself – despite his classical education – did not care about humanism...”¹⁶

Despite the negative opinion, the literacy of the third generation of Jagiellons (Wladislaw, Casimir, John Albert, Alexander, Sigismund, and Frederick) is an accepted fact among scientists, which can be proved by contemporary sources refer to their education, speeches, passion for books, interest in different scientific fields.¹⁷ The sons of Casimir IV created the first generation of undoubtedly literate Jagiellons, educated according to the new, humanistic theory and practice, taught by carefully chosen humanist, while education became a significant element of the dynasty’s prestige. However Hungarian book culture studies regard to the decades of Wladislaw’s rule as the devastation of Mathias Corvinus worldwide famous library,¹⁸ written sources report of his interest in music and astrology, furthermore refer to his own book collection, which was established in his youth. The apparent ambiguity could be softened: Wladislaw wasted the Corvina’s collection by giving some of the volumes as a gift, which concerning the principles strengthen by his education, is an expected act from a ruler. Among the royal duties, there was a received practice – not only within the Jagiellonian family – to make donations and via this practice emphasize the intellectual, material and supportive power of the dynasty, furthermore, affirm its prestige. Liturgical books were often given to ecclesiastical institutions, such as a richly decorated gradual and a missal have given by John Albert.¹⁹

Thanks to the humanist education of the brothers and to their book-loving teachers all of them became a book reader and collector. Besides purchase of books, most probably they also inherited volumes from each other, what is more, Callimachus – who enjoyed fame and popularity as a humanist and served in the Polish royal court as a diplomat (and maybe also as tutor of Casimir’s son) – left his precious collection to Frederick, the youngest son of Casimir IV. and Elisabeth,

¹⁶ “A királyok léhák, gúny és szánalom tárgyai. Egyikről, mint renyhéről és nehéz elméjéről beszélnek, a ki „akkor is hortyog, mikor a haza végveszedelemben forog, a másikat, mint szegény és szerencsétlen gyermeket emlegetik a források... Maga a király, klasszikai nevelése daczára, nem sokat gondolt ugyan a humanizmussal ...” FINÁ CZY, Ernő. A reneszánsz kori nevelés története. Budapest, 1919 [Online]. Dostupné na internete: <<http://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04731/html/finaczyren0045/finaczyren0045.html>.

¹⁷ BORKOWSKA, Urszula. Edukacja I mecenat artystyczny Władysława Jagiellończyka, króla Czech I Węgier. In *Polacy w Czechach, Czesi w Polsce X-XVIII wiek*. Lublin, 2004, pp. 193-207.

¹⁸ CSAPODI, Csaba. Mikor szűnt meg Mátyás király könyvfestő műhelye? A MTAK kiadványai 34. Budapest, 1963; CSAPODI, Csaba – TÓTH, András – VÉRTESY, Miklós: Magyar könyvtártörténet. Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest, 1987, pp. 37-40.

¹⁹ ADAMSKA, ref. 3; NALEWAJEK, Agnieszka. Na królewskim dworze Jana Olbrachta. In *Annals of Arts (Roczniki Humanistyczne)* 2011, 59, pp. 41-80.; GĘBAROWICZ, M. Na śladach polskich bibliotek królewskich. In *Roczniki Biblioteczne*. 1970, 14, 1-2, p. 115.

who was archbishop of Gniezno and bishop of Kraków. Alexander traveled with his pillow books, which were also included in his testament.²⁰ “Sigismund the Old added another dimension to the model of the king as *maecenas*, for under his rule the collection of books for the royal library began in earnest, in the atmosphere of a flourishing humanist court culture.”²¹ The nucleus could form from those volumes, which he inherited from his brothers and purchased during his princely years. In the pages of the account, we can see expenses regarding preservation, preparation and reparation of books²² in the possession of the prince. The steps of preparing a small liturgical book (*libellus orationalis*) for the prince can be followed from 8th June 1500 till 29th November 1501. Payments are recorded for buying the parchment for the volume, for the scribe(s), who wrote it, for the painter(s) (*illuminator*), who decorated it and for the binder, who bound it.²³ Many years later, his children – not only the heir, Sigismund August, but also some of his daughters – continued the tradition and obtained prominent collections.²⁴

In the mirror of contemporary written sources, we can divide a royal child’s education into three stages.²⁵ The first period of life usually ended around the sixth year of the child. As we can see in educational treatises, the importance of

²⁰ PAPÉE, Fryderyk. Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego I t. d. (1501-1506). Kraków: nakładem Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności; Warszawa [etc.]: skład główny w Księgarniach, Gebethner i Wolff, 1927, pp. 540-546.

²¹ ADAMSKA, ref. 3, p. 158.

²² “...pro saccello zamschovi ad libellum domini principis dedi XVI denarios Hungaricales... pro saccello novo de corio, in quo servatur libellus novus domini principis, dedi VI grossos... a reformatione libelli aurifabro domini principis per manus Ozarowski dedi II grossos.” AGAD RK 29, f. 36v, 138v; 33, f. 77.

²³ “...pro pergameno ad libellum domino principi Abbathi monacho dedi I florenum... isti, qui scribere incepit libellum domino principi, dedi ad mandata domini principis na zadatek II florenos... scriptori, qui scribebat libellum orationale pro domino principe, dedi secundo II florenos... die notario Ungaro, qui scribebat libellum domino principi oracionale, dedi pro suo labore 1/2 florenum... isti, qui illuminare debuit libellum domino principi et est conventus pro septem florenis, na zadauek dedi I florenum... illuminatori, qui libellum domino principi illuminavit, dedi VII florenos... Item ab introligacione libelli orationalis domini principis, quem monachus pingebat, dedi I florenum.” AGAD RK 29, f. 40v, 42v, 46v, 55, 84v, 108v, 118; Csapodi also cited this sentences and one more (“...pro cinobrio pro eodem *libro* scribendo dedi III denarios Hungaricales”), which he interpreted as acquisition of red painting for decorating the prayerbook of the prince. If we put the sentence in the context, we can see, that the cited information is in connection with another volume (this is, why the scribe named it *liber* and not *libellus*), which is written just before this expense “Item pro pergameno ad describendum reculas rationum alias lyczby dedi 1/2 florenum, sed post modum idem *liber* domino principi datus est per Italum Philipum et pergamenum remansit.” AGAD RK 29, f. 46; CSAPODI 1963, ref 18, p. 15.

²⁴ PIROŻYŃSKI, Jan. Die Herzogin Sophie von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel aus dem Hauser der Jagiellonen (1522-1575) und ihre Bibliothek: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutsch-polonischen Kulturbeziehungen in der Renaissancezeit. Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz, 1992, pp. 141-148; BUES, Almut. Art Collections as dynastic tools: The Jagiellonian Princesses Cathrine, Queen of Sweden, and Zofia, Duchess of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. In WATANABE-O’KELLY, Helen – MORTON, Adam. Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500-1800. London-New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 15-36.

²⁵ SHAHAR, Shulamith. A gyermekkor szakaszai. In Gyermekkor-történeti tanulmányok. (translated by PUKÁNSZKYŃÉ KIRÁLY, Katalin) [online] pp. 132-143. Dostupné na internete: <<http://www.mek.oszk.hu/02000/02030/02030.pdf>; BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, p. 174.

this stage of life was realized in the late medieval time as well. Among the advice – given to the pregnant Anna de Foix and her husband – the ponderousness of breast feeding by the mother, or if it is not possible, the selection of the most decent noble wet nurse is conferred soundly. Elisabeth belonged to those mothers, who had a great influence on her children upbringing and education. The importance of knowledge of languages very obvious among the instructions. Latin, Ruthenian, Polish and German were probably used in the court daily and were useful for the future rulers (as it is written in the tractat, the future Hungarian king should know Hungarian as well to understand his subjects, but also study French, his mother tongue). According to Hungarian sources, Wladislaw did not know Hungarian, which influenced the creation of his negative image: the king, who does not understand anything, therefore always tells ‘all right’ (dobře).

Unfortunately, we have hardly any information about the first years of prince Sigismund. One can suggest, that as the fifth son of the royal couple he was born into a well-prepared household. Ludovicus Decius, who was favored by king Sigismund I, wrote about the origin and history of the Jagiellonian family (*De Iagellonum familia liber II*), and about the times of Sigismund also (*De Sigismundi regis temporibus Liber III*). Although he had known the king well and described his education, personality and look in his third book, after all, he did not write about his childhood. Considering the facts, that his work is retrospective and he was dependent of the king, we should be cautious in the interpretation of the source.²⁶

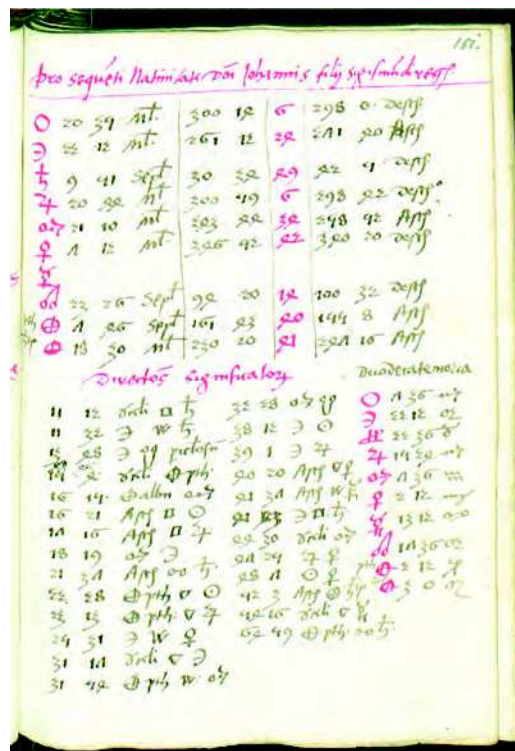
The year of Sigismund’s birth was the year, when the famous chronicle writer, Jan Długosz started his service at the royal court as the teacher of Casimir’s sons. Baby Sigismund did not join the group in this year surely. Most probably his mother had the greatest influence on his upbringing in the first stage of his life, which could be confirmed by contemporary practice. In a multicultural milieu, such as the Jagiellonian court,²⁷ royal children were multilingual. Contemporaries

²⁶ “Sigismundus anno salutis 1467... natus postquam cunabula egressus latinis litteris eruditus optimo preceptoris traditus est, crevitque in litterarum studiis, ut hodie non latinis solum litteras & variarum scientiarum cognitionem habeat, sed docte pariter & eleganter ubi negotium postulat rerum seriem exponat... Sigismundus vero corpore procerus, ingentis staturae, ut animo ita membris fortissimus, subfusi crines, supercilia magna, oculi aspectu minaces, genae rubedine naturali nitentes, totaque facies veneranda, & nichil quod ad humanae formositatis foelicitatem pertineret solers natura neglexit. Animus vero ab ineunte aetate in deum sacraque religiosus, in maiores observantiae studiosus, in subditos pius & clemens, in egenos misericors, iustitiae & aequitati ita addictus, ut nullis unque consiliis a recti tramite potuerit divelli, promissi ita tenax ut supra fidem altius nihil duceret, inediae atque algoris patiens, quom conditionis occasio esset, militia quoque insignis, tota vita summa abstinentia usus, comessationes potationesque suora quae naturae necessitas postularet in se ipsum nunquam admisit, in aliis ad indignationem execratus est. Vinum, cervisiam, medonemque a teneris unguiculis nunquam gustaverat, donec Federici Marchonis Brandenburgensis affinis precibus victus, vinum parum summeret, deinde medicorum consilio atque iussu utetur, nunquam tamen nisi prandens coenansque paucissimo & eo minime forti utitur, reliquam sitim aqua cruda semper sedare & extinguere solet, hiis virtutibus semper redimitus in hunc locum evestus est.” DECIUS, Iodocus Ludovicus. *De Sigismundi regis temporibus*, Liber III. Kraków, 1521, pp. 58-59.

²⁷ Royal accounts also refer to this fact (phrases from different languages, name of courtiers and servants), but we can even read in Decius’ work: “Raro apud Sarmata seu Polones genere nobilis reptus, qui non quattuor vel trium nationum linguam novisset, Latinam vero omnes, idque

state, that Sigismund and his brothers were fluent in German, which could not be surprising, if we consider, that German was their mother tongue.²⁸

Maybe it does not reflect Sigismund own childhood, but inevitable interesting and worthy of mentioning some elements of the upbringing of his first son, John (Jan). Basically, we have very limited information about him, especially about his childhood, but thanks to the accounts of the princely court, we can have a glimpse of his upbringing. Based on the astrological calculation – written in a paper codex, issued around the turn of the 15-16th centuries – John was born on 8th January 1499.²⁹



inde sumptum crediderim, quod vulgariis litteris vel scripturis nihil memoriae mandatum est." DECIUS, ref. 26, p. 58.

²⁸ "Ea quoque aetate Germanico linguagio instructus est, quod ita callet ut ferme nescias Polonum ne an Germanum magis iudices. Verum haec non Sigismundo solum sed illi cum omnibus Kazimiri filiis fuere communia..." DECIUS, ref. 26, p. 58; BELL, Susan Groag. *Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture*. In *Signs* 1982, 7, no. 4, pp. 742-68; LANGER, Andrea. „Ex longa stirpe Imperatorum” Zum Einfluß Elisabeths von Habsburg (1436/37-1505) auf die Kunst- und Repräsentationstraditionen am jagiellonischen Hof. In LANGER, Andrea Langer und MICHELS, Georg. *Metropolen un Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert, Prag-Krakkau-Danzig-Wien*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001, pp. 121-141.

²⁹ WADOWISZEWSKI, Zygmunt. *Genealogia Jagiellonów i domu Wazów w Polsce*. Kraków, 2005, p. 186. "ProsequentinativitatidominiJohannisfilijSigismundi regis" The codex is preserved in Biblioteka Jagiellońska, manuscript nr. 3227 [Iudicia astrologica Bernard Waposki, etc.], pp. 151-152. [online] Dostupné na internete: <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=291919&from=publication&showContent=true>; It is obvious from the citation, that the note was made after 1507, when Sigismund was crowned.

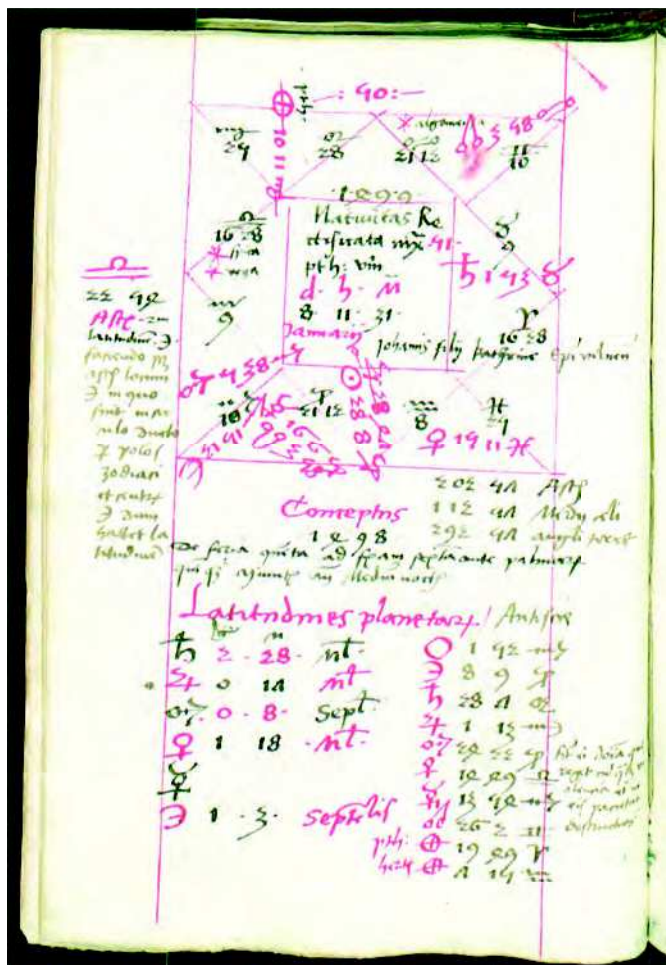


Figure 1: "Pro sequenti nativitate domini Johannis filii Sigismundi regis" The codex is preserved in Biblioteka Jagiellońska, manuscript nr. 3227 [Iudicia astrologica Bernard Waposki, etc.], s. 151-152. [online] Dostupné na internete: <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=291919&from=publication&showContent=true>

Officially his father, Sigismund and his mother, Cathrine (Katarzyna Telniczanka) were not married. Little is known about Cathrine herself and about their relationship, which blossomed in Sigismund princely years and "registered" in his accounts.³⁰ The prince's court was a „male-dominant“ court, which means, there was not female member paid regularly by the prince, except the washing lady (*ablutrix, praczka, prace*). In the first few years of the main accounts, the records of money paid for the expenses of Cathrine did not mention her name at all, the only clue, which helps us (and supposedly also helped the controller of the accounts) to identify these expenditures, is a star or star combined with letters (☆, C, R). The only exception, when her son was mentioned, who was named as son of Cathrine

³⁰ REKETYÝŠ, Mária. Adalékok Szapolyai Borbála lengyel királyné trónrajutásának előzményeihez és uralkodásához. pp. 121-123.

(*puer/filius Catherine*).³¹ Later, her name lost its secrecy and – like other members of the court – was included among the information written in the register.

The existence of the boy, John documented in the source from 26th April 1502, when small necessary things were bought for him.³² The next expense connected to John is from the same year, in August, when his accommodation was paid. A more important note is from February 1503, which informs about the payment for the wet-nurse, who not only breastfed (*lactavit*) the son of Cathrine, but also was looking after (*respicit*) him.³³ The source refer to the nurse as *mulier*, which suggests, the lady did not have a noble origin (the importance of the nobility of the wet-nurse and her ability to express herself fluently and adequately in the spoken word was among the most important criteria of the treatise).³⁴ If we accept that John was born on 1499, as the astrological table shows, than the question is, why are the first allusions only 3 years later. The verbs *lactavit* and *respicit* express already ended acts, but albeit 'looking after' could be connected to 'today' (*hodie*), we have no clue, when the breast-feeding was terminated. Is it possible, that a 4 years old boy was still breastfed or the scribe just simply wanted to express, that the lady, who was looking after the child on this day is the one, who breastfed the infant (years) before? Regarding to research on the topic of feeding a child in medieval periods, a newborn was usually were fed with milk till the first teeth appeared, afterward, separation started and they were nourished by normal food by degrees. On the other hand, Urszula Borkowska has drawn the attention to a note from a royal account, which mentions a salary paid for the wet nurse of Sigismund Augustus, who left her service „after 3 years' of nursing“.³⁵

³¹ "... hospiti, ubi puer Kathrine servatur... ab expensis pueri Katrine... pro emendis necessariis pueri..." AGAD RK 29, f. 227, 277; 33, f. 99.

³² "Item eodem die ad mandata domini principis per manus Wyrzbyata dedi pro parvis necessariis pueri III florenos ☆RC" AGAD RK RK. 29, f. 172v.

³³ "... die mulieri, que lactavit puerum Kathrine et hodie ipsum respicit, pro panno ad pallium pro toto dedi per manus sartoris Jurek III florenos et IX grossos." AGAD RK 29, f. 275v.

³⁴ "Ego igitur, quod citia puerperae fiat incommodum, infantem ab Anna matre lactari velim, idque saluberrimum optimumque factu puto. Puerorum enim infantie nihil conducibilius existimatur, quam materno lacte nutriri. Contra nihil eque perniciosum, quam alienis extraneisque uberibus lac suctum haustumque... Quod praeceptum ea de causa tibi potissimum propono, ne puer peregrino et quasi aduentitio lacte nutritus, id quod in plaerisque accidisse scimus, a Casimyro caeterisque maioribus nostris degeneret... Ne itaque filiulus maternis moribus quos audio esse probatissimos dissimilis adolescat, elaborandum est tibi quam diligentissime efficiendum que, ut maternum lac puer hauriat maternaque institutione accrescat. Si, quod usu saepe numero venit, Anna lac puero praeberere non poterit, tum conari te oportet, ut ingenuam, honestis moribus instructam et si fieri poterit generosis ortam parentibus nutricem invenias, quam praeterea velim sermocinatricem esse exquisitissimam, ut puer ab infantia simul cum lacte ipso probitatem, modestiam, rectamque sermocinandi consuetudinem accipiat. Nam quod momentum nutricis probitas ad honestam puerorum educationem afferat..." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, pp. 101-102.

³⁵ SHAHAR, [Szoptatás] ref. 25, pp. 107-131. Dostupné na internete: <<http://www.mek.oszk.hu/02000/02030/02030.pdf>>; BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, pp. 174, 182 (endnote 45); the cited source is AGAD RK 51. Regestrum nove rationis dominis Joannis Boner (1521-1523). I have not read the original source, therefore I cannot form my own opinion. If the sentence is similar to the one cited before about breast-feeding, it would be difficult to interpret without any doubt.

Referring to the presence of his mother in the register, we can see, that she was mentioned since the very beginning of 1500. The scientific literature stated, that she accompanied Sigismund in his frequent journeys.³⁶ The investigated years create a considerably mobile period of Sigismund's life. At the end of 1498, he moved to Buda with his household and in the following years made several trips in the Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish Kingdoms and also traveled to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Not only the court was flexible, but also the members. Courtiers and messengers were sent and arrived frequently.³⁷

Cathrine firstly appeared in January 1500, but neither in this sentence nor later in the same year have any evidence of her geographical where about. The first note refers her rather expresses, that she was in Kraków, while the prince was in Buda.³⁸ Between 1500 and 1502 no information about her, but between 1502 and 1505 money spent for her expenses or given to her appear regularly (nearly monthly). It is rather feasible, that she has not moved with Sigismund to Buda and not followed him on his journeys till the beginning of 1504. In my opinion, she stayed in Kraków with her child/children and his/their nurse(s). This can attest if we compare the source with the itinerary of the prince.³⁹ All those notes, mentioning either Cathrine or John were recorded in Kraków or refer to someone, who pay some money there (while the prince is far away with his traveling court). From 1504 we can often find the sums connecting to Kathrine among the salaries of the members of the household, which makes clear, she is with the court, traveling and living with them. This is the year, when John also joined his parents, as we can read about the expenditure on the way traveling to Opava on a carriage by his nurse (*nutrix*).⁴⁰

His future education was very similar to noble' sons, he also traveled abroad to study and receive a degree. Likewise bastard sons of noblemen, his life followed the same phenomenon. His education – supported by his father – was completed, his father had procured papal dispensation, and also opened an ecclesiastical career for him. In the year 1510, a significant change occurred in the life of the natural – illegitimate – son (*filius naturalis*) of Sigismund. The request of the Polish king was accepted by pope Julius II, who gave his permission to admit John as the legitimate child. He became a nobleman, later canon of Poznań and bishop of

³⁶ DIVÉKY, ref. 6, p. 463; REKETYÉS, ref. 30, p. 122.

³⁷ RÁBAL, Krisztina. Két 16. századi számadáskönyv információtörténeti tanúságai. In Jelkép, 2014. [Online] Dostupné na internete: http://communicatio.hu/jelkep/2014/3/rabai_krisztina.htm.

³⁸ "Item anno Domini 1500 Bude in crastino Vincencii dedi per manus Francisci in Cracovia ad mandata domini principis XXX florenos. ☆ C R" AGAD RK 29, f. 105 v.

³⁹ KOZÁK, Petr. Mezi centrem a periferií: Itinerář pozdějšího krále Zikmunda I. Starehó z doby jeho pobytu v Uhrách a v českých zemích (1498-1507). In CZWOJDRAK, Božena et al. Jagiellohowie I ich świat. Dynastia królewska w drugiej połowie XV I w XVI wieku. Societas Vistulana. Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2015, pp. 117-171.

⁴⁰ "Item feria II-a Hanusbott pro expensis versus Opaviam in curru cum nutrice et puero dedi III florenos... pro panno ad subducendum puero Janek et pro futro vulpino et a labore dedi ad mandata domini principis per manus sartoris Jurek V flororenos et V grossos... pellifici in hospitio domini Cristopheri pro mitra puero Janek, que fuit sibi accepta ad viam versus Opaviam, dedi I florenum et VI grossos." AGAD RK 33, f. 42, 52.

Vilnius.⁴¹ Albeit John was legitimated, his “assimilation” to the Jagiellon family was not perfect. According to Borkowska’s research, he is the only member of the dynasty, who traveled abroad to complete his education, however – according to the political education – he also had chancery practice.⁴²

Nearly nothing is known about the upbringing of his sisters, Regina and Cathrine. The recently examined accounts do not contain any expenses connecting to them. There is no information about their birth either. It is possible, that they were born before 1504, before Cathrine joined the court, which would also explain, why she could not travel with the prince (pregnancy, birth-giving and newborns could be reliable obstacles). Considering the lack of information, I would rather think, the infant sisters spent their childhood in Kraków. Their parents either placed them in wet-nurses charge or the care of their grandmother or other relatives. After the coronation of Sigismund, a new period started with new accounts. Most of them not edited yet, but one of them, which were issued between 1510-1511 give evidence of their presence in their father’s court, calling them natural daughters (*filia naturalis regis*).⁴³

Return to the main subject, the first life period of a royal heir tended to the study of basic skills, like speaking, walking, furthermore, the child also had to study writing and reading. Casimir and Elisabeth paid serious attention to their children’s education. As we can see in the treatise the religious upbringing of a royal heir is explained in detail. The author of the instructions put it to the second place and not only because of the chronological order, but also because of its importance.⁴⁴ In childhood, the first prayers – like ‘Our Father’ or ‘Hail Mary’ – were the first texts to memorize and these created a basis for the study of reading and writing. For this purpose, prayers and prayer books were used, which secured a firm establishment of religious education. Moreover, the Bible, biblical and patristic texts, Polish hagiographical literature and popular religious literature could be also among the basic „course“ books.⁴⁵ Written sources, as well as material objects, prove, that Sigismund was deeply religious.⁴⁶ Among others, the before mentioned small liturgical book, prepared for the prince could demonstrate this.

⁴¹ JAKULIS, Martynas. Pavainikai Lietuvos didžiosios kunigaikštystės visuomenėje XVI-XVIII a.: teisinė padėtis ir galimybės. In: Lietuvos istorijos metraštis. 2012 metai, 2. Vilnius, 2013. 49, 52-53. I would like to express my gratitude towards Ieva Mačinskaitė and Augustė Labenskytė for the translation of the Lithuanian study.

⁴² BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, p. 175.

⁴³ Edition of the mentioned account by WAJS, Anna – WAJS Hubert. Rachunki podskarbiego Andrzeja Koscielskiego z lat 1510- 1511. (ZRÓDLA DO DZIEJÓW WAWELU 15.) Kraków 1997. pp. 8-17; not edited royal accounts e. g. AGAD RK 36, 37, 38, 40, etc.; about the illegitimate children of Sigismund see RÁBAI, ref. 6, pp. 137-138.

⁴⁴ “Secundo loco puerum sic assuefieri decet, ut deum salvatorem ac intemeratam virginem Mariam praecipue veneretur ac timeat, a quibus tot fortunae comoda accepimus.” ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 103.

⁴⁵ BELL, ref. 28, pp. 753-754; ADAMSKA, ref. 3, pp. 158-160; BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, pp. 175-176.

⁴⁶ BORKOWSKA, Urszula. Królewskie modlitewniki. Studium z kultury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku). Lublin, 1999.

Religious education had priority and religious practice became daily routine from early childhood.⁴⁷ A manifestation of the pious, religious life, which generates respect and appreciation could be found in the accounts in huge number. By reading about the daily expenses, we can see, that the prince attended the mass daily, there was money spent for wine to the mass (*ad vinum pro celebratione missarum*), preparing the altar (*altare preparabat*), etc. Although the court has its own priest (as the list of salary proves it), there were periods, when the priest in charge of the daily mass was ill and could not complete his duties. In these cases, the deputy received some money for reading the mass occasionally.⁴⁸ Sigismund patronized not only religious orders, supported church reconstructions, but also gave money for needy people (*mendicus, pauper, peregrinus*), often in the name of God. Usually sentences register only the basic information, but there are some peculiar occasions, when details are given, such as in the August 1506, when a Franciscan monk asked for financial support from the prince “for the image of Saint Stanisław”, a few days later Sigismund gave some money for the painting of a church. He also helped, when a church was burned down and a monastery was planned to rebuild.⁴⁹ Beside the fact, that there were priests (*capellanus, presbiter, sacerdos*) in the court, responsible for the daily service and a transportable altar⁵⁰ – which could be used during the frequent journeys – it is also mentioned, that the prince visited monasteries and churches,⁵¹ while he was traveling. Among many other occasions, in September 1505 and also in March 1506 Sigismund visited (also gave donation to) the celebrated pilgrimage place, the famous Pauline monastery in Częstochowa, where the painted image of the Black Madonna was preserved.⁵²

⁴⁷ “Dicat quotidie laudes matris Iesu, nunquam si fieri quidem possit, prandeat, nisi prius a sacerdote celebrationem hostiae christianae audiverit, ut cunctis patefiat, puerum iam religionis esse studiosissimum.” ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 103.

⁴⁸ “...sacerdoti, qui legebat missam ante dominum principem, dum dominus Nicolaus debilitabatur [non erat dispositus]...” AGAD RK 29, f. 22v, 25v, 27, 32v, [35v], etc.

⁴⁹ „... monachis Sancti Francisci ad dominum principem venientibus et rogantibus, ut pro ymagine Sancti Stanislai daretur eis adiuvamen, dedi II florenos.... sacerdoti cum thabula roganti propter Deum, ad colores pro pingenda ecclesia dedi VI grossos.” AGAD RK 33, f. 206v, 215v. About the portrayal of saints and its importance in the religious life of the medieval period see BELTING, Hans. *Bild und Kult: eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*. Verlag C. H. Beck München, 2004. Chapter 19. Der Dialog mit dem Bild. Die Ära des Privatbildes am Ausgang des Mittelalters. pp. 457-509.

⁵⁰ “Item a reformatione futralis, ubi ymago beate Virginis ad portatile servatur, dedi II grossos.” AGAD RK 33, f. 19v.

⁵¹ A few examples: “a lectione misse ante dominum principem in ecclesia sancte Elizabeth dedi sacerdoti V grossos... in villa, ubi dominus princeps audivit missam, sacerdoti...” AGAD RK 29, f. 119v, 223v.

⁵² “Item ad offertorium domino principi in capella beate Virginis, ubi stat ymago, dedi I florenum Hungaricalem in auro... ad offertorium domino principi in ecclesia beate Virginis in capella, ubi ymago stat, dedi I florenum.” AGAD RK 33, f. 133, 181.



Figure 2: *Black Madonna of Częstochowa*; painted around 1382; preserved in Jasna Góra Monastery; photo from *wikimedia*: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Czestochowska.jpg>.

At the end of the middle ages proper education, which also included literary education, grew ever more important. Basically, during the middle ages, the court was the place, where a royal child could have a practical education and only in the late middle ages had reached the need for formal education. Changes were employed in the 16th century, based on humanist ideas and on the pillars of philology, rhetoric and linguistic, feeding from classical Greek tradition, forming not only the mentality, but also the personality of the students.⁵³ One can clearly see this tendency in the development of the educational system within the royal court by examining the names (and literacy) of teachers. The treatise also accen-

⁵³ ADAMSKA, ref. 3, pp. 153-170; BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, pp. 171-184; KAMLER, ref. 9, pp. 125-126.

tuates the significance of the properly chosen educator. It is a crucial point, confirmed by many antique examples, cited by the unknown author.⁵⁴

When the time arrived to chose a tutor for the child, the royal heir stepped to the second stage of education, which started around the 6th years of life. Albeit nowadays scientists argue, whether Callimachus could be the teacher of Casimir's son or could not, the treatise states that the Italian poet was the teacher, who taught Wladislaw and his brothers Latin.⁵⁵ As it is already clarified, Długosz was chosen as the tutor for Casimir's son in 1467, the year, when Sigismund was born and the eldest, Wladislaw was 11. The intellectual education was the task of the chronicle writer, who was later followed by Jan Wels and Jan Baruchowski. For a future king, one of the most necessary knowledge is to be in the possession of eloquence, as the author of the instructions asserts. It is the tool of persuasion.⁵⁶

The most proper hours for brain work and study are in the early morning, before breakfast, concerning the opinion of the treatise writer. After the abstemious meal, six hours should be spent on recreation, while useful and pleasant conversations with the members of the household are suggested as well as listening to music.⁵⁷ Afterward, the pupil should return to the studies, read and memorize the grammatical rules, which are described in his books. As the student makes progression in his studies, he can start to read carefully chosen poems and stories in Latin. On the one hand, these texts will help him to repeat and understand the grammatical rules by the help of his tutor, on the other he can improve the correctness and fluency of his speech in Latin. The properly selected literature can

⁵⁴ "Sapienter igitur Plato, ut est in omni praeceptione vir eruditissimus, memoriae prodidit, educationis incunabula tenerrima esse consuetudinemque bene maleque vivendi ducem. Quapropter fili carissime per immortalem deum totis viribus incumbere in hanc curam, ut puerum commendes praeceptoris, quem non minus morum sobrietas elegantiae coniuncta, quam doctrinae litterarumque magnitudo commendet, quando quidem regibus bonitas quam scientia magis est oportuna." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 107.

⁵⁵ "Casimirus pater felicitati suae plurimum gratulabatur, quod Callimachum poetam Italum apud se haberet, qui te caeterosque fratres tuos Latinis instrueret litteris." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 107.

⁵⁶ "Quodsi animalibus, quae ratione vacant, homines imprimis sermone praestant, nonne puer praeclarum quiddam consecutus ab immortalis deo videbitur, si ipsius docti eloquentiam in quotidianis congressionibus homines admirabuntur, obstupescunt, laudabunt? Non enim sine turpitudinis naevo fieret, si qua virtute mutis animantibus homines sunt praestabiliores, eam bene rationandi ducem puer floccifaceret, quod ne accidat, toto pectore ad doctiloquentiam niti convenit. Adde quod animos hominum nihil aequae flectit ac erudita exultaque oratio, quam iure optimo flexanimam veteres agnominarunt, quia quo velit animos inflectat audientium... oportet puerum, ut eloquentiam sibi comparet, quae leniendis populorum animis est summopere accommodata habetque gratiam et splendorem." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 106.

⁵⁷ "Nullum profecto tempus litterarum ocio magis idoneum credo, quam matutinum, horaeque si tibi possit, antelucanae studiis sunt conferrende, qui labor tantisper est continuandus, dum prandendi tempus iucubuerit. Postquam pransus fuerit, quod intra modum temperanterque semper est faciendum, ne voracitate circa litterarum studia ingeniique acies fiat hebetior, optimum saluberrimumque factu puto ut sexque (sic!) horam ad minus puer esset, nec alienum fuerit a recta institutione, inter cessandum domesticos ac familiares de rebus honestis et suavis cum puero interim loqui, quae voluptatem potius quam molestiam afferant, et aures non solum animum delectent... Proderit etiam puero ad relaxandum animum musicis cantibus aures circumsonare, quae oblectamenti ratio non est usque quaque posthabenda, cum et animos nostros recreet et ad alacritatem parturiat honestam." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 108.

also form the personality by showing historical characters, who could be taken as models for a future ruler.⁵⁸ The study of the antique literature, especially the writings of Cicero can be the perfect establishment of developing the necessary rhetoric skills. In view of the final aim, prepare the child for his future task (rule a country), these studies cannot take for long hours, because a noble person can be bored easily, therefore it is useful to exercise the body as well.

The training of the body had also relevance, concerning the future role of the children as rulers and military leaders.⁵⁹ Stanisław Szydłowiecki was in charge refer to the last. Not only Stanisław but also his sons were involved in the education of the princesses. Approximately in the same age as the royal children, they were taught and trained together, in concordance with the opinion of the treatise writer, who advised tussle, running, jumping and also playing chess (*calcolorum ludus*) to exercise the body.⁶⁰ As we know, the Szydłowiecki brothers became prominent leading officers of the Polish kingdom. Among them, Krzysztof was in the closest connection with prince Sigismund. He was the first (and for years the only) courtiers of the prince, stand on the top of court's hierarchy as *magister curiae*.⁶¹ His career rose boldly during Sigismund's reign.

⁵⁸ "...legens magister de grammaticae praeceptis, quae dudum perceperit, puerum roget, qua ex re duplex commodum consequetur. Nam et perceptam grammaticae disciplinam ad memoriam revocabit et Latine loquendi elegantiam synceritatemque hauriet. Pulcherrimos etiam litterarum characteres puero imitandos proponere... Characterum enim venustas cum per se mirifice delectat tum pueros ad virtutem admodum accendit." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 109.

⁵⁹ "Ubi autem robustiores annos attigerit, tum se rei militaris studio tradat, crebro multumque corpus et animum exercitando. Discat hastis congregi, discat acies instruere, discat gladio non tam vulnus infligere, quam elabi, discat lanceam in hostem dirigere, discat uti tum scorpione, tum arcu, denique omne laboris genus fortiter ferre discat, quod ad industriam belli pertinet. Nunc quia satis ut opinor exposita fuere, quae ad bonam regii pueri educationem spectare visa sunt, omnia in compendium redigere utilius esse puto, quo recta eruditionis praecepta memoriae firmiter mandentur et tenacius inhereant. [Tradenda est igitur] puero nutrix quam honestissima, praeceptor optimus et litteratissimus, grammaticam, poetas, historiarum scriptores audiat, Deum redemptorem nostrum beatissimamque virginem benevolentissimo veneretur affectu, numquam sine libello quo laudes intemperate matris continentur incedat. Hostiae christianae celebrationi quotidie intersit, in victu moderatus ac temperans, summo mane litterarum studiis applicet animum, corporis exercitationibus det operam, ocium desidiamque fugiat, adulatorum blandimentis numquam patefaciat aures, citra uitae periculum venandi studio incumbat, equitandi, ludendi, digladiandi artem caeteraque ad militarem disciplinam pertinentia non contemnat." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, pp. 134-135.

⁶⁰ "...puerum decebit exercitationibus aliquanto laboriosioribus corporis vires excitare, modo semper comes adsit bonestas. Est enim laudabile ac praeter laudem saluberrimum, cum aequalibus puerum luctari, citra sudorem currere, nonnumquam saltu corporis agilitatem exuscitare, caeterisque exercitationibus dare operam..." ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 109.

⁶¹ Actually, the earliest surviving source recording the expenses of the „independent“ or rather say the separate court of the prince dated back to 1493 and proves, that the – at the beginning – the only member of his household was Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. The auxiliary account is also in the collection of AGAD RK, under the number 21, and it also has an edition by KOZÁK, Petr - RÁBALI, Krisztina. Mezi periferií a centrem jagellonského světa: Registrum dvořanů knížete a krále Zikmunda I. Jagellonského z let 1493-1510.: Between the Periphery and the Centre of the Jagiellonian World: The Register of Courtiers of Prince and King Sigismund I Jagiellon from 1493-1510. Opava: Slezské Zemské Muzeum, 2015.



Figure 3: Miniature from the manuscript „*Catalogus archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium...*“; painted around 1530 by Stanisław Samostrzelnik; kneeling on his left-hand side of Saint Stanislaus: King Sigismund, the grand chancellor Krzysztof and the treasures Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, and the royal secretary, Decius; photo is from <https://polona.pl/item/36618320/11/>.

Krzysztof was born in the same year as Sigismund and their friendship came into existence in their childhood, when they were trained together at the royal court.

Hunting was also suggested by the unknown author as part of the military training, preparation for fight and battles. The military education was complex and also included practical and theoretical part. The most popular book, Vegetius' *De re militari*, was used in many European courts as the most complete handbook of military knowledge.⁶²

⁶² BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, p. 174.

What can we detect from the cited elements in the investigated accounts? However Sigismund is not a child, therefore the sentences of the register cannot fit the outlined picture, there are habits of the prince, which has not changed. One of them is the passion for music, the other one is playing games. Necessarily, these were and are normal daily engagements, made pleasant the day for anybody, therefore it seems rather far-fetched to connect with childhood. Nonetheless bring us closer to the better understanding of the court's everyday life. Records of expenses connected to music can be seen daily. Besides, the prince had his own musicians, who received a regular salary, many professional (*organiste, tubicena, etc.*) and amateur enjoyed the generosity of the prince. Sigismund was listening to music – played on different instruments (*arfa, cithara, virginal, lira, tympana, tuba, etc.*), sang by a choir or a single singer – usually during meal times, but also on special occasions, such as visits of noble guests or simply any other time.

Playing games (*cartae, ludipilus, crisolki, alea, hastiludium*) with the members of the court or visitors was also a frequent and favorite activity of the prince. In the autumn of 1500, Sigismund rode in the company of his brother, Wladislaw (going to the south of the Hungarian Kingdom, attending an armed general congregation) they played “*crisolki*” very often. Sigismund with his courtiers – who received their salaries according to the number of horses used in his service – represented some military power and were ready to fight.⁶³ There are also expenses, which demonstrate this military function, e.g. money was spent for repairing armour and weapons. It is clear from the only preserved auxiliary register of the princely court, in which the salaries of courtiers were recorded from 1493 until 1510, that Sigismund and his courtiers (or soldiers) participated in military actions. In 1497 we can see them (on the side of John Albert) in the royal army, became involved in the Moldavian conflict,⁶⁴ and also in a campaign against pagans in 1498.⁶⁵

In the scientific literature, it is often mentioned, that Jagiellonians were passionate hunters. The treatise also explains the familiarity of hunting and military action circumstantially.⁶⁶ One can see controversial opinions in the scientific literature concerning those sentences of the account, which refer or could

⁶³ KOZÁK-RÁBAL, ref. 61, p. LXVI.

⁶⁴ “Item iste summe superius scripte, que fuerunt date Sandomirie et in Leopoli, statim ante exitum versus Moldaviam bene fuerunt scripte in registro illo, quod est acceptum in conflictu. Moldavien-si, sicut superiora percepta ostendunt, quod bene notum est domino principi.” AGAD RK 21, f. 4v-5.

⁶⁵ “...dum auditum erat de exitu domini principis in campum contra paganos cum domino rege...” AGAD RK 21, f. 5v.

⁶⁶ “Festis igitur diebus ire venatum puero proderit non mediocriter, quae sane exercitatio magnam cum re bellica cognitionem habet. Sed ea venatione puer delectetur, quae cum citra vite discrimen fieri queat, tolerandis laboribus insuper assuefacit. Nam et antelucanis horis venatorem surgere decet et estatem hyememque fortiter pati et humanis necessitatibus membra durare; tum gladio bestias transfigere, tum cursu tugam illarum antevertere, irruentium praeter hoc impetus excipere nunquam, socios ad venationis certamen adhortari, postremo ferarum aditus effugiaeque occupare venantibus est necessarium, quae omnia quam sint bellicis exercitationibus similia neminem latet. Quocirca venari cervos, dammas, capreolos, lepores caeteraque id genus animalia, quae sine periculo trucidari possunt, a puerili aetate non erit alienum, utque feras huiusmodi vulneribus sauciare sic ab bis abstinere puerum velim, quae cum periculo telis appetuntur, idque prudentiae laudem statuo non exiguam.” ZEISBERG, ref. 8, pp. 110-111.

be connected with hunting (such as the reparation of weapons, existence of hunting dogs and gyrfalcons, expenses of slug and gunpowder, mentioning of professional hunters). On the one hand, Divéky insists, that Sigismund personality differed from his relatives greatly, as he was a humanist, who favored reading, thinking and did not enjoy – neither practice – hunting at all. Based on the same source Böldyrew states, that Sigismund was a fan of hunting, just like his brothers.⁶⁷ The fact is, that in his accounts, there is no mentioning of his participation in such an event, except in the autumn of 1504, when the prince went for a hunt with his brother, Wladislaw.⁶⁸ Theoretically those expenses, which were cited by Böldyrew could be interpreted as Sigismund's hunting expenditure, but on the other hand, if the circumstances are not written, it is wiser to be more moderate in the interpretation. In the mirror of the two volumes of the accounts, the only firm information of regularly practiced hunting activity is connected to the professional hunter(s), employed by the prince.⁶⁹

The last stage of upbringing is the political education, which started around the 14th-15th year of the royal heir. The treatise does not deal with this stage. During this period the Jagiellonian brother became involved in everyday political practice. They were in the company of their fathers and participated in political events.⁷⁰ Nothing exact is known about Sigismund political education before his father's death. Considering the special situation of Sigismund, who lived under the care and control of his brothers for many years, assisted them in military and political events,⁷¹ lead us to the consequence, that his political education was prolonged by the circumstances and most probably influenced by his brothers.

The final aim of the educational instructions is to represent an ideal ruler: a well-educated, Christian king, who is in the possession of the necessary knowledge and expected virtues,⁷² physically fit; a military leader, who is able to defend the kingdom, living a proper life established on Christian moral. Physically, mentally, intellectually prepared for his duties. Whether any of the Jagiellonian brothers could reach this level, cannot be judged objectively.

⁶⁷ DIVÉKY, ref. 5, pp. 457, 567-568; BOŁYDREW, Aleksander. Huntsmen's Weapons on the Court of Prince Sigismund Jagiellonian (1500-1507). In *Fasciculi Archaeologiae-Historicae* 2009, vol. 22, pp. 109-112.

⁶⁸ "...dum dominus princeps erat in venacione cum domino rege in Nyepolomycze, Stzasz venatori ad mandata domini principis dedi 1/2 florenum." AGAD RK 33, f. 39.

⁶⁹ "... venatoribus, qui propter aves pro mensa domini principis exiverant ad aliquot dies, dedi pro expensis VIII grossos. ... venatoribus, qui missi erant per unam noctem ad perdices, pro expensis eis dedi IIII grossos. ...venatoribus, qui missi erant per unam noctem ad perdices, pro expensis sibi dedi IIII grossos. ... venatoribus, qui missi erant per unam noctem ad perdices, per manus Wyerzbyatha dedi V grossos. ... Hawronek myslywicz, cum ad campum pro venandis perdibus ivit, pro expensis dedi IIII grossos." AGAD RK 29, f. 349v; 33, f. 241v, 242v, 243, 144.

⁷⁰ BORKOWSKA, ref. 3, p. 174.

⁷¹ Only one example, from 1502, when he was in the company of Wladislaw, welcoming the young bride of the king, Anna de Foix. GYÖRKÖS, Attila. *Reneszánsz utazás: Anna királyné 1502-es fogadtatásának ünnepei Észak-Itáliában és Magyarországon*. Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2016, p. 135.

⁷² Among the virtues, cited in the treatise are: tolerantia, duritia, patientia, firmitas, magnitudo animi, fidentia, confirmatio animi, generositas. ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 104.

In my paper, I have tried to emphasize, how different type of written sources, such as accounts, could help us for the better understanding of pedagogical sources, how we can prove or disprove the already existing theories by analyzing accounts. Furthermore, they could also give us an insight into many single details of late medieval life. However the educational instructions from 1502 contain many citations from Casimir IV and his sons, there is only one sentence, which refers to Sigismund:

“At Sigismundum fratrem tuum quis non austum vel potius tetricum ex superciliis ex vultu iudicaret, qui tamen quam sit omnibus iucundus, quam suavis, quam in quotidiana consuetudine affabilis, mansuetusque nulli omnino est obscurum et ob eam unicam virtutem mirifice carus atque amabilis.”⁷³

Words: 9435

Characters: 63046

⁷³ ZEISBERG, ref. 8, p. 127.