



Hedwig Jagiellon (1457 – 1502) was the oldest daughter of King of Poland Casimir IV (1447 – 1492) and queen Elisabeth of Habsburg (1454 – 1492). She figured in several plans to marry her according to changing political situation.<sup>1</sup> The first candidate was no-one less important than the famous Renaissance-fashioned King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus (1458 – 1490). His repeated wedding offers were strictly turned down. Especially because of the unconditional refusal of Elisabeth Habsburg who perceived Matthias as a newcomer and someone not worthy of the hand of Polish kings' daughter. The same was probably the reason for refusing another king, the Bohemian 'Hussite king' George of Poděbrad (1458 – 1471). Later, as Casimir needed to get support for his son Ladislaus in Holy Roman Empire, he turned westwards – to Bavaria. On the eve of 31st of December 1474 the wedding contract was signed which promised to marry Hedwig to duke Georg of Bavaria-Landshut and the paying of 32 000 ducats as dowry (out of this sum only 4 000 were paid in 1536 to Hedwig's grandchildren). The wedding ceremony of Hedwig and George – the famous *Landshuter Hochzeit* (Landshut wedding) became one of the greatest nuptial ceremonies of the Late Middle Ages. Hedwig came with a large retinue including 300 Poles, and altogether almost 10 000 guests took part in the festivities. Among them several archbishops, bishops, Dukes and Princes, and first and foremost, the Emperor Frederick III Habsburg (1440 – 1493) himself. After the lavish wedding feast Hedwig moved to Wittelsbachs' family residence in castle Burghausen, where she spent the rest of her life giving birth to 2 daughters and 2 sons – both of them died in infancy. She was buried in the Wittelsbach family tomb in Raitenhaslach monastery as the very last member of this ruling house.<sup>2</sup>

### Wedding of 1475

Hedwig became the first of several Jagiellonian Princesses married to princes in Holy Roman Empire in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Her wedding with Duke George of Bavaria (1479 – 1503) in 1475 was one of the most splendid princely wedding of the period. The great pomp, ceremonial representation of wealth and power and also the presence of the most important local rulers, including the Emperor Frederick III, ensured that the *Landshuter Hochzeit* remained the most famous and admired princely wedding of the later medieval period. Hedwig played an important role in these events, although her main devise

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<sup>1</sup> BISKUP, Marian. Die dynastische Politik der Jagiellonen um das Jahr 1475 und ihre Ergebnisse. In Österreichische Osthefte, 1976, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 203-217; FAJT, Jirí. Ein Bandt von Freundschaft und Lieb. Eheverbindungen der Jagiellonen: Die jagiellonischen Prinzessinnen Hedwig d.Ä., Sophia, Barbara, Anna, Hedwig d.J. In Europa Jagellonica. Kunst und Kultur Mitteleuropas unter der Herrschaft der Jagiellonen 1386 – 1572. Ausstellungskatalog / Exhibition Guide, Potsdam 2013, pp. 137-8; BUES, Almut. Die Jagiellonen. Herrscher zwischen Ostsee und Adria, Urban-Taschenbücher 646. Stuttgart, 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Most comprehensive work on Hedwig and her life is DORNER, Johann. Herzogin Hedwig und ihr Hofstaat. Das Alltagsleben auf der Burg Burghausen nach Originalquellen des 15. Jahrhunderts. Burghausen, 2002. Useful information is provided also by DUCZMAL, Małgorzata. Jagiellonowie. Leksykon biograficzny. Warsaw, 1996, pp. 281-291; BORKOWSKA, Urszula. Dynastia Jagiellonów w Polsce. Warsaw, 2011, pp. 504-506.

was the mere fact she was a royal daughter coming from the royal Polish lineage, and so bringing to Bavaria her precious royal blood and charisma. Throughout the wedding festivities, and later throughout her life in Bavaria, she had been perceived as Hedwig, by the God's grace born Queen of Poland (*Hatwig, von Gots Gnaden geporne Kunigin von Polen*).<sup>3</sup>

Just two minor observations need to be stated here. The first one is the immediate impact the wedding had on the public and the echo it left in the writings of the contemporaries and in later chronicles. For example the *Zimmerische Chronik* (16th Century) recorded that their predecessors held the wedding of the rich duke George of Bavaria in 1475 in Landshut, and its richness and wonderful lavishness became wide-known and famous. In Veit Arnpeck's Bavarian chronicle (cca. 1496) we read that Duke Louis married his son Duke George during his lifetime with lady Hedwig, the daughter of Casimir, king of Poland. The wedding was done with lot of joy and with great expenses in Landshut in 1475.<sup>4</sup> Third report echoing the same perception is to be found in Peter Eschenloer's work according to which the father sent Hedwig to Landshut with 1 000 horses with great expenses and in the days of September a great wedding has been celebrated in Landshut. The Emperor and many distinguished German princes, spiritual and lay, have been present on this splendid occasion.<sup>5</sup>

The other example illustrates the importance of Hedwig and her perception as a royal daughter born from the illustrious Polish royal lineage. This was shown in the ceremonial during the greeting procedures.<sup>6</sup> When the Emperor Frederick III met with Hedwig he greeted her by bowing his head, to which she replied in the same manner. On the other hand all the other princes, dukes and prelates had to welcome the Emperor by not only bowing their heads, but also by kneeling

<sup>3</sup> As stated in the only extant charter issued by Hedwig in 1490. Original is preserved in Stadtarchiv Passau, Urkunde Nr. 1057. Reprinted in DORNER, Johann (ed). *Burghauser Urkundenbuch 1025 – 1503*. Bd 2. Burghausen 2006, Nr. 859; 'Fräwlein Hedwigen,... des königs von Bolan Tochter' in a *Credentzbrief*, BAUER, Thomas Alexander (ed.). *Feiern unter den Augen der Chronisten. Die Quellentexte zur Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit von 1475*. Munich, 2008, p. 78; 'domina Hetwigis, uxor serenissimi domini Georgii, principis Bavarie, filia regis Palonie' in *Seligenthal necrology from 1502*, Fotoband K 211, BHStA, München, folio 58 (new); DORNER, *Herzogin Hedwig*, p. 162; 'die hochgeboren Fürstin, weilend Frau Hedwig, geborne Königin von Bolan, Pfalltzgrevin bey Rein, Hertzogin in Nidern und Obern Bairn etc.' in a letter of Duke George from 1502, BHStA München, Fürstensachen 210. Cf. DORNER, *Herzogin Hedwig*, pp. 202-203.

<sup>4</sup> 'Bei unsern vorfarn ist die hochzeit der reichen herzog Jörgens von Bayern zu Landtschuet anno 1475 gehalten worden und irer köstlichait und wunderparlichen prachts halb ganz berüempt und vernampt gewsen' (*Zimmerische Chronik*) and 'Herzog Ludbig verheiratet seinen sun Herzog Jorgen in seinem leben frau Hadwig, Casimri, des künigs von Polan, tochter. di hochzeit ward verpracht mit vil freunden und grosser costing zu Landshut anno 1475...' (*Veit Arnpeck*). Both sources quoted by BAUER, *Feiern unter den Augen*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>5</sup> 'Der vatir sante sie ken der Landshut mit tawsent pferden sere köstlich, doselbst zur Landshut in den tagen septembris woren die herlichen hochzeit vollbrocht. Des Kaisers son vnd vil dewtsche fursten do woren, geistlich und wertlich'. ESCHENLOER, Peter. *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau. Teilband II, Chronik ab 1467*. Münster; New York; München; Berlin, p. 984.

<sup>6</sup> For the importance and meaning of ceremonial and symbolic communication during meetings between medieval rulers see also ZUPKA, Dušan. *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000-1301)*. Leiden; Boston, 2016, pp. 139-147.

before him.<sup>7</sup> We have thus a spectacular example of symbolical communication between representatives of the highest echelons of contemporary politics. None of the following Jagiellonian Princesses married to German-speaking lands had such a lavish wedding as Hedwig. In fact, the Landshut feast became an unattainable model, to which all later weddings have been compared to.<sup>8</sup>

### Memory of Hedwig in Bavaria

Despite the traditional picture in literature of Hedwig Jagiellon, the Duchess of Bavaria-Landshut, as the most neglected and forgotten wife that ever lived in Bavaria, the primary sources tell a different story.<sup>9</sup> Especially the last days, the death and the commemoration of the Duchess can be well reconstructed from the preserved sources. For the 18th of February 1502 the Seligenthal necrology recorded: '*Obiit domina Hetwigis, uxor serenissimi domini Georgii, principis Bavarie, filia regis Polonie, sepulta in Raitnhaslach*'<sup>10</sup>, and the account books of Burghausen recorded that: '*Alls unnsere genedige Frau etc. loblicher Degechnus an dem Freytag in der anderen Vasstwochen mit Tode vergangen.*'<sup>11</sup> These entries nicely show the perception of Hedwig in contemporary local sources, that she was both the Bavarian Duchess and the Daughter of the Polish king at the same time. So her mixed or double identity was expressed through her noble royal descent (Polish) and her ducal office (Bavaria). Hedwig received all the honour of a dying Princess, as we know that four chaplains were paid to sing liturgical chants in the Burghausen castle chapel.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> 'Item der keiser neiget sich mit dem haupt gein der konigein, dass gleichen die konigein gein dem keiser, aber die andern fursten neynten das haupt vnd die kny, aber die konigein neyget neüer das haupt'. BAUER, Feiern unter den Augen, p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> The Landshut wedding has been studied in great detail previously. Numerous articles, monographs and source editions deal with this topic. For the most important works cf. HIERETH, Sebastian. *Zeitgenössische Quellen zur Landshuter Furstenhochzeit 1475*. In *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Niederbayern*, 1959, vol. 85, pp. 1-64; HIERETH, Sebastian. *Die Landshuter Hochzeit als Organisationsproblem*. *Landshuter Hochzeit 1475-1975*. In *Österreichische Osthefte* 1976, vol. 18; HIERETH, Sebastian. *Herzog Georgs Hochzeit zu Landshut im Jahre 1475. Eine Darstellung aus zeitgenössischen Quellen*. Landshut 1988; BAUER, Feiern unter den Augen; DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig.

<sup>9</sup> BÖCKL, Manfred. *Die Braut von Landshut. Das tragische Leben von Herzogin Hedwig*. Bayernland 2001; Hedwig, die schöne Königstochter aus Polen, Gemahlin Herzogs Georg des Reichen von Bayern-Landshut, und die Schatzkammern auf dem Schlosse zu Burghausen historisches Trauergemälde aus d. 15. Jahrhundert; für theilnehmende Herzen geschrieben. Burghausen 1860; FÜETRER, Ulrich. *Bayerische Chronik*. München, 1909, p. 219. For more recent and more unbiased reception see also GAŚIOR, Agnieszka. *Dynastische Verbindungen der Jagiellonen mit den deutschen Fürstenhäusern*. In OMILANOWSKA, M. - TORBUS, T. (eds.). *Tür an Tür. Polen - Deutschland 1000. Jahre Kunst und Geschichte*. Katalog der Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin, 23. September 2011 - 9. Januar 2012. Köln 2011, pp. 212-217; STAUBER, Reinhard. *Herrschaftsrepräsentation und dynastische Propaganda bei den Wittelsbachern und Habsburgern um 1500*. In *Principes. Dynastien und Höfe im späten Mittelalter*. Stuttgart 2002, pp. 371-402.

<sup>10</sup> Fotoband K 211, BHStA, München, folio 58 (new); DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 162.

<sup>11</sup> Stadtarchiv Burghausen, Kammerrechnungen R 14, folio 88. DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 162.

<sup>12</sup> 'Den vier Schreibern heroben im Schloss..., als unnsere genedige Frau etc. loblicher Gedachtnus gestorben ist, die ganntz Nacht in der Kirchenn gesungen haben....' BHStA München, Mautrechnung Burghausen 1502, folio 43; DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 162.

Her husband George was immediately informed of her death and made all that was needed for the funeral. On the next day, 19th of February 1502, George sent a letter to his brother-in-law Frederick the Old, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach and Kulmbach<sup>13</sup> referring to him about the death of his wife '*die hochgeborene Fürstin, weilend Frau Hedwig, geborne Königin von Bolan, Pfaltzgrevin bey Rein, Hertzogin in Nidern und Oberrn Bairn etc., unnsere hertenliebe Gemahl seliger und löblicher Gedechnuss*' who died as a good Christian after receiving the Christian sacraments. He also asked Frederick for prayers and liturgical commemoration of the deceased Princess.<sup>14</sup>

For George, Hedwig was the born Queen of Poland and the Duchess of Bavaria at the same time, while he also remembered her as a loving wife. Now the interesting point in this story is the fact that George sent her letter to Frederick, his brother-in-law, but he does not mention Frederick's wife Sophie, the sister of Hedwig. Even more important is that George sent the letter announcing his wife's death to his distant relative in Brandenburg, but he seemingly did not take the pain to inform Hedwig's relatives in Poland. At least this is what the sources suggest. Almost a year after Hedwig's death (31st of January 1503) her brother Alexander, the king of Poland, sent a letter to Duke George. At the end of this letter, which was evidently a response to another attempt of George to get the promised, but unpaid, dowry, Alexander sent his greetings to Hedwig and her children.<sup>15</sup> Apparently, he was not aware she was dead for almost a year. So why did George inform immediately his relative in Brandenburg and did not sent the information to the closest family of Hedwig?

<sup>13</sup> Frederick was the husband of Sophie, sister of Hedwig of Bavaria-Landshut. See the genealogical table in GAŠIOR, Agnieszka. Eine Jagiellonin als Reichsfürstin in Franken. Zu den Stiftungen des Markgrafen Friedrich d. Ä. von Brandenburg-Ansbach und der Sophie von Polen. In *Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia* 10. Ostfildern, 2012, pp. 338-339.

<sup>14</sup> 'Unnsere fruntlich Dinst zuvor, hochgebornner Fürst, lieber Oheim und Schwager. Wir thun eur Lieb aus fruntlichem Vertrauen unnsere Besuernuss und Bekomernuss unnsere Gemüts zu wissen, das die hochgeborene Fürstin, weilend Frau Hedwig, geborne Königin von Bolan, Pfaltzgrevin bey Rein, Hertzogin in Nidern und Oberrn Bairn etc., unnsere hertenliebe Gemahl seliger und löblicher Gedechnuss, nach Willen des allmechtigen Gottes ire lesste Teg hie auf Erdterich mit gutter Vernunft und Versehung der heiligen cristenlichen Sacrament alls ein cristenliche, löbliche und fromme Fürstin gesstern Freytag zu Burckhawsen in unnsere fürstlichen Gesless beslossen hat, der Sele der almechtig Got genedig und barmhertzig sein welle. Ungezweifel eur Lieb tragen des mit unns ein getrue Bekomernuss, bitten darauf fruntlichs Vleiss, euer Lieb wellen alls der Frunde zuvor Got dem allmechtigen zu Lob und bennanter unnsere hertenlieben Gemahl Seele und Trost und Hillf bey aller eur Geistlicheit eurs Lannds und Fürstenthumbs bestellen und verfügen, sy alls ain löbliche und fromme Fürstin, die sich in al Beg mit irm Wesen gegen Got, der Weltt und unns alls irm Gemäuel wol gehalten hat, mit Vigilien, heiligen und seligen Ambten, Messen und Gedechnuss, alls sich gebürt, zum fürderlichsten zu beegen und irer Seel Säligkait also getrulich zu fürdern und bevohlen zu haben, alls wir eur Lieb sonnderlich getrauen, umb die wir söhls fruntlich verdienen wellen.' BHStA München, Fürstensachen 210. Cf. DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, pp. 202-203.

<sup>15</sup> Geheimes Hausarchiv München, Korrespondenzenakten 919. Reprinted in DORNER, Johann (ed.) *Burghauser Urkundenbuch 1025-1503*. Band 2. Burghausen 2006, pp. 551-552. The letter is also very interesting for family rhetoric as Alexander addressed in family terms his brother-in-law George, but mentions also his own sister Hedwig, and his father king Casimir and mother queen Elisabeth.

One of the interpretation is that George just hoped he could get at least some of the dowry from the Polish king, and he thought his chances would diminish if Krakow knew his wife had already died.<sup>16</sup> In addition, even if George tried to prevent the Polish Jagiellonians to know about the death of Hedwig, he informed her sister's husband about it immediately. Did Frederick also have a motif for not telling Sophie about her sister's death? Or, if Sophie learned about the news, why did she not inform her relatives in Krakow as we know she had a relatively regular correspondence with them? These events might illustrate how did (or didn't) the Jagiellonians work/function as a ruling family/dynasty. It is another evidence of the lack of co-ordination and lack of dynastic consciousness if a) such important news as the death of a royal daughter could escape the attention of the Jagiellonians in Poland and b) that the circulation of information within the family members was rather slow and irregular.

Hedwig was buried in the Wittelsbach family necropolis in the Cistercian abbey of Raitenhaslach. This was regarded as a great honour worth a Princess of royal descent.<sup>17</sup> As a matter of fact, Hedwig became the last person to be buried in this tomb.<sup>18</sup> Even though the tomb does not exist anymore, thanks to preserved descriptions and records we know the memory of Hedwig was kept alive for quite some time. In his Annals of Raitenhaslach from 1612/1613 Johann Konrad Tachler recorded the tombs of the Wittelsbachs in a drawing of the marble grave with four angels at the top. One of the angels was holding the coat-of-arms with the Polish Eagle, the remaining ones represented Bavaria and Austria.<sup>19</sup> He also included the date of Hedwig's death in his annals referring to Hedwig as '*illustrissima domina Hedwigis... de nobilissima Regum Poloniae stirpe nata*'.<sup>20</sup> The same wording was used in the list of entombed Wittelsbachs in the Raitenhaslach monastery.<sup>21</sup> Since the original tomb had been destroyed, the remaining vestige of Hedwig's memory in the monastery is the memorial inscription of the entombed Wittelsbachs dating to 1739 - 1743. Interestingly enough, the inscription describes the Duchess as the last member of the *House of Bavaria* to be buried in the

<sup>16</sup> For details see DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 149-150 and ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. below Jacobo Locher Threnodia sive funebris lamentatio, cited in footnote 32.

<sup>18</sup> The monument was destroyed during the secularization of the monastery in 1803. Germania Sacra. Neue Folge 11. Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Salzburg. Das Erzbistum Salzburg I. Die Zisterzienserabtei Raitenhaslach. Berlin; New York, 1977, pp. 19, 103, 289.

<sup>19</sup> Handschriftenabteilung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. clm. 1912. folio 397-398. Printed in DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 171. The picture of the drawings of the tomb is also in CZERNY, Helga. Der Tod der bayerischen Herzöge im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit (1347 - 1579). Vorbereitungen - Sterben - Trauerfeierlichkeiten - Grablegen - Memoria (= Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte; Bd. 146). München, 2005, p. 796.

<sup>20</sup> Raitenhaslach Annals of Johann Konrad Tachler 1612-1613. Handschriftenabteilung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. clm. 1913, folio 545'. Reprinted in DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 162. Full quotation is printed in CZERNY, Der Tod der bayerischen Herzöge, p. 634: '*Anno Domini 1502 feria sexta post Valentini festum obiit illustrissima domina Hedwigis, Serenissimi Principis ac domini domini Georgii comitis Palatini Rhei Bavariaeque ducis uxor, de nobilissima regum Poloniae stirpe nata, hic sepulta in medio templi sub marmore elevato. Hujus anima requiescat in pace. Amen.*'

<sup>21</sup> Handschriftenabteilung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, cgm. 1824, folio 3. Reprinted in DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 163.

tomb (*Ex Serenissima domo Bavariae hic sepulti sunt...*). This time no reference to her royal Polish descent is made (*Serenissima Princeps ac Domina Domina Hedwigis uxor Georgii Ducis Bavariae*).<sup>22</sup>

We know that during their lifetime George and Hedwig fostered the commemoration of deceased family members. Annually on the feast day of St. Bartholomew the Lords of the Wittelsbach lineage were remembered and at least for the years 1500, 1501 and 1502 commemoration of Hedwig's father King Casimir IV was included in the liturgy. This might be an evidence of Hedwig's wish to remember and foster the memory of her father and to do so in the joint Bavarian-Polish ceremony. This is supported by the fact that after Hedwig's death the remembering of the Wittelsbachs in Burghausen continued until the 18th century, but there is no evidence that the Polish ancestors were remembered in this way too.<sup>23</sup>

During his life time Duke George († 1503) made sure to commemorate properly the memory of his deceased wife by mourning feasts and in liturgy. Thanks to preserved account books of Burghausen we know that on the seventh day after Hedwig's death he took part in such an event personally and invited the prelates of neighbouring monasteries from Seon, Baumburg and Neumarkt-Sankt Veit to join him. For the 30th day after Hedwig's death another event took place where candle stall had been placed in the church ornamented with clothes, bells rang and money has been distributed to the poor who took part in the festivities. In the Burghausen Church of St. Jacob a solemn commemorative mass was held daily in the first 30 days after Hedwig's death. Four poor wives were kneeling by the candles on the bier.<sup>24</sup> The first anniversary of Hedwig's departure was commemorated in a special way as the whole community of Burghausen, including the town council, took part in the festivities in Raitenhaslach providing watches on the public spaces and mourning women.<sup>25</sup>

After detailed examination of the preserved sources connected to the death and immediate commemoration of Duchess Hedwig we may postulate several conclusions. In spite of the traditional image in (mostly German) historiography, which tries to juxtapose the lavish and cheerful welcoming of Hedwig in Bavaria during the famous Landshut wedding in 1475 to her sad and lonely end in the

<sup>22</sup> CZERNY, *Der Tod der bayerischen Herzöge*, pp. 636-637 gives full quotation. Picture of the inscription is in DORNER, *Herzogin Hedwig*, p. 172.

<sup>23</sup> Stadtarchiv Burghausen, *Kammerrechnungen 1500/1501*, fol. 79'; *Kammerrechnungen 1501/1502*, fol. 79; *Kammerrechnungen 1502/1503*, fol. 85'. BHStA München, *Gerichtslitralien Burghausen 36*. Reprinted in DORNER, *Herzogin Hedwig*, p. 172.

<sup>24</sup> The sources refer to Hedwig as 'unnsrer gnädigen Frauen etc. loblich Gedachtnus'. All the references to sources are in DORNER, *Herzogin Hedwig*, pp. 165-167.

<sup>25</sup> 'Alls man zu Raitnnhaslach unnsrer gnädigen Frauen löblicher Gedechnus Jartag und Grebnus begannenn, daselbs mein Herren und ain gesambte Gemain, Frauenn und Mannen, in der Klag gestannden, desmalls die, so auf allen Thören, auch in dem Rathaus gehuet, umb Suppen, Wein und Brot, mitsambt den, so in di Klag gesagt und gebethen, verzert. So ist mit der Fuer der Klagefrauenn zu zweyen Mallen mit Rossenn hinauff auf dem Wasser und sunst widerumbenn herab, auch sunst allnthalben darauf gangen, theut alles iii Pfund iii Schiling xi Pfennig.' Stadtarchiv Burghausen, *Kammerrechnungen 1502-1503*, folio 94. Reprinted in DORNER, *Herzogin Hedwig*, p. 166.

Burghausen castle in 1502, the sources tell a different story. The Duchess underwent a decent death in all honour and respect worth a royal daughter and the accompanying ceremonies and commemorations were, if not lavish and luxurious, then certainly honourable and venerable.

There is another case when Hedwig came to be remembered some 30 years after her death. Again, it had something to do with the issue of unpaid dowry, which George was hopelessly trying to reach throughout his life. It was only his grandsons Ottheinrich and Philippe<sup>26</sup> who were (at least partially) successful. In 1531 they approached Johannes Dantiscus as the Polish representative at the Regensburg Diet and asked him to help with their issue. Later they have sent an envoy to Krakow without any success. In 1533 the grandsons claimed their intent to ask for their inheritance to Polish king Sigismund I (1506 – 1548) thought the mediation of Duke Albrecht of Prussia. They even decided to ‘get the money by themselves’ as they planned a journey from their home castle of Neuburg in Bavaria to Krakow in 1536/1537. Their journey is very well known until today because on their way, they went through dozens of towns, and all of them were painted by the painters in their entourage. In this way the splendid and unique collection of ‘*Reisebilder*’ came into existence.<sup>27</sup> Ottheinrich and Philippe made an agreement with king Sigismund that they will be paid 18,000 ducats from their grandmother’s dowry. The first 4,000 were to be paid to them on spot, the rest was supposed to be paid in annually in amounts of 2,000.<sup>28</sup> In the letters exchanged between the grandsons and Albrecht of Prussia, Hedwig is referred to as ‘her royal majesty’ (*ihre königliche Würde*), but George got a more expressive description as ‘our beloved forefather’ (*unser lieber Ahnherr Herzog Georg*).<sup>29</sup>

### **Hedwig in a funerary oration**

Duchess Hedwig is the object of the oldest extant funerary oration of a Jagiellonian princess married into German-speaking lands dating to the year 1502. It is also the

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<sup>26</sup> Ottheinrich and Philippe were sons of Elisabeth, daughter of Hedwig and George of Bavaria and Ruprecht, son of the Count Palatine Philippe. Cf. HÄUTLE, Christian. *Genealogie der erlauchten Stammhauses Wittelsbach*. München, 1870, p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> MARSCH, Angelika – BILLER, Josef H. – JACOB Frank D. (ed.). *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/37 von seinem Ritt von Neuburg a.d. Donau über Prag nach Krakau und zurück über Breslau, Berlin, Wittenberg und Leipzig nach Neuburg*. Weissenhorn, 2001. Interestingly, Philippe was trying to marry into the Jagiellonian family as he wanted to get engaged with Hedwig, daughter of king Sigismund and Barbara Zapolya in 1534, but he was rejected at the end, most probably because of his poor financial state. Hedwig was then given to Joachim II of Brandenburg. Ottheinrich did not give up and later he asked for the hand of Hedwig’s half-sister Isabella, daughter of Sigismund and Bona Sforza. This could have been one of the aims of Ottheinrich and Philippe’s 1536-1537 stay in Krakow as well. See MARSCH – BILLER – JACOB, *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs*, pp. 51ff.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Seine königliche Würde (i.e. Sigismund) gibt für den erwähnten (An)spruch und Anforderung achtzehntausend Dukaten, wovon uns jetzt viertausend Dukaten bezahlt worden sind, und soll uns hinfort jedes Jahr bis zu völliger Entrichtung der gennanten Summe zwietausend Dukaten... zu Nürnberg bezahlen lassen.’ Quoted according to HUBATSCH, Walther. *Europäische Briefe im Reformationszeitalter*. Kitzingen 1949, p. 111.

<sup>29</sup> HUBATSCH, *Europäische Briefe*, p. 110.



oldest extant funerary oration originating from Bavaria at all.<sup>30</sup> The work called *Threnodia sive funebris lamentatio in laudem inclite matron Hedvigis ex Polonorum regum stirpe prognata* was written by famous Humanist scholar Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471 – 1528)<sup>31</sup> shortly after her death.<sup>32</sup> He dedicated his work to Hedwig's husband Duke George of Bavaria-Landshut and in all probability, the speech was publicly performed in the Church of Our Lady in Ingolstadt.<sup>33</sup> The work is divided in two sections, the first one is written in prose, the other one in verse. Hedwig is basically treated in three main levels. The first line praises the Jagiellonian princess' noble birth and famous royal descent. Locher repeatedly highlights Hedwig's descent of the royal blood of Polish kings, her great ancestors tracing even to king David and Perseus, and praises the deeds of the Polish/Sarmatian kings in history and present times (her father Casimir especially). Locher stresses her noble and exalted lineage, which included numerous royal members.<sup>34</sup> The second line draws a picture of an ideal woman describing her as a virtuous and pious Duchess - a pattern to be followed by all women in Bavaria and beyond. Hedwig is described as the 'pattern for Bavaria', 'heart of the province', or as 'embodiment of virtues'.<sup>35</sup> The last part pictures Hedwig as a loving and chaste wife, and affectionate and carrying mother.<sup>36</sup> Locher is also one of the first of many later Humanists and writers who praised Casimir and Elisabeth for their German oriented marrying policy for their daughters.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> CZERNY, Der Tod der bayerischen Herzöge, pp. 407-408.

<sup>31</sup> UKENA, Peter. Locher Jakob. In: Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB). Band 14. Berlin 1985, pp. 743-744.

<sup>32</sup> BECKENBAUER, Alfons (ed.). *Threnodia sive funebris lamentatio in laudem inclite matron Hedvigis ex Polonorum regum stirpe prognata. Illustrissimi principis Georgii comitis palatine rheni ac Bavarie ducis coniugis sincerissime a Jacobo Locher Philomuso in publico sano cantata.* Modern edition with German translation was published as *Trauerrede auf den Tod der Hedwig von Polen, Gemahlin Herzog Georgs von Bayern-Landshut, gehalten im Jahre 1502 von Jakob Locher, gennant Philomusus.* Landshut 1984 (henceforth as *Threnodia*).

<sup>33</sup> DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, s. 167.

<sup>34</sup> 'Mortua est Hedvigis honestissima femina, virtuosissima matron virago spectabilis ab alto polonorum sanguine prognata a david nobilissimo persa gentis fundatore perducta' *Threnodia*, p. 28; 'magna ducissa abijt claro regina polonum sanguine creta' *ibid.* p. 32; 'mors rabiosa tulit mulierem nomine magno, et titulis claram, de posteritate gravem, Regali de styrpe satam' *ibid.* p. 34; 'prosapia que alta sublimis vetutissima fuit a Sarmatis ac Polonis. Multorum regum stemmate serieque longissima semper prorogata.' *ibid.* p. 24; 'Mortua est Casymiri sauromatum ac polonorum regis filia. matre regina nobilissima creta funde lachrymas polonia. tu regibus christianis subiecta potentissimis' *ibid.* p. 26-28.

<sup>35</sup> 'generosam ac illustrissimam heroine' *Threnodia*, p. 22; 'cunctarumque matronarum archetypon... lugenda est regis potentissimi filia, principis fortunatissimi coniunx; Lugenda est Bavarie specimen, ducatus populosissimi spes ac matronale decus... iucundissima mulier gemma virtutum translucida, coruscans inter christianas reginas saphyrus... inclyte femine vita' *ibid.* p. 24; 'cor provincie nostre, spem bavarice sobolis' *ibid.* p. 26.

<sup>36</sup> 'coniugis tue fidelissime' *Threnodia*, p. 16-18; 'principi fortunatissimi coniunx' *ibid.* p. 24.

<sup>37</sup> 'Casymire appello, qui germanicis principibus dotatas filias iunxisti. Qui ex filiabus tuis gemen fecundissimus theutonicis terris donasti.' *Threnodia*, p. 28; TRESP, Uwe. Eine „famose und grenzenlos mächtige Generation“ Dynastie und Heiratspolitik der Jagiellonen im 15. und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhundert. In *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte*, 2007, vol. 8, pp. 3-28; BACZKOWSKI, Krzysztof. Wokół projektów mariaży dynastycznych Jagiellonów w końcu XV

One of the special features of Jakob Locher's oration is a point in which he seems to be indicating the real tragedy of Hedwig – the incapacity of producing a male heir to her husband George, one that would take over the rule in Bavaria-Landshut after their parents' death. In fact, Hedwig gave birth to two sons, Ludwig and Ruprecht, both of whom died in infancy. On the other hand, both their daughters Elisabeth and Margarethe reached adult age.<sup>38</sup> One became a nun, the other was officially named as heiress to the Bavaria-Landshut Duchy. What followed was the inheritance war for succession during which the whole realm was taken by the Munich branch of Wittelsbachs and united into one realm consequently. This was practically the end of Bavaria-Landshut independence.<sup>39</sup>

Locher's oration is another evidence for the mixed identity of the Jagiellonian Princesses married into lands of the Holy Roman Empire. Hedwig's double Polish-Bavarian identity is stressed several times as she is described as heart of Bavaria, the patters of Bavaria or hope of Bavaria alongside the aforementioned references to the Polish royal descent and royal blood.<sup>40</sup> Locher is also aware of the great privilege granted to Hedwig as she was entombed in the Raitenhaslach monastery – the family necropolis of the Wittelsbachs.<sup>41</sup>

After presenting the source evidence that depicts the life, death and commemoration of Hedwig of Bavaria-Landshut, we may formulate several conclusions. It becomes clear that the Jagiellonian duchess retained a position of a venerated, beloved and remembered princess, wife and mother. The liturgical commemorations staged immediately after her death and lead by her husband Duke George prove this picture quite demonstratively. This assumption is further supported by the funerary oration composed and performed by one of the leading scholars and Humanists of contemporary Bavaria, Jakob Locher. Choosing of the Wittelsbach dynastic necropolis in Raitenhaslach as Hedwig's place of her final rest again testifies against the generally spread idea of the duchess as a neglected and unfortunate outsider within the Landshut ducal family. It is true that she later fell into long oblivion for several centuries, only to emerge in full splendour in the 19th and especially during the 20th century.<sup>42</sup> In fact, Hedwig Jagiellon's memory and commemoration in Bavaria reached unprecedented heights thanks to the spread of medievalism in local historical communities.<sup>43</sup> The so-called *Landshuter*

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wieku. In BACZKOWSKI, Krzysztof (ed.). *Polska i jej sąsiedzi za Jagiellonów*. Kraków 2012, pp. 305-328.

<sup>38</sup> ZOTTMAYR, Franz Xaver. *Genealogie des königlichen Hauses Baiern*. Füssen 1834, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> DORNER, Herzogin Hedwig, p. 168ff; BECKENBAUER, Threnodia, p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> 'spem bavarice sobolis' Threnodia, p. 26.

<sup>41</sup> 'felicem tamen predico que in nobilissimo boiorum principum catalogo in monumentis deauratis in urnis ducum bavaricorum balsamo profusis' Threnodia, p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> I dealt with this topic in detail in ZUPKA, Dušan. *Remembering the Jagiellonians in German-Speaking lands*. In NOWAKOWSKA, N. (ed.) *Remembering the Jagiellonians*. London; New York, 2018, pp. 121-140.

<sup>43</sup> From the vast literature covering these trends see especially HIERETH, Sebastian. *Die Landshuter Hochzeit als Organisationsproblem. Landshuter Hochzeit 1475 – 1975*. In *Österreichische Osthefte* 1976, 18; STAHLER, Erich. *Landshuter Hochzeit 1475. Ein bayerische-europäisches Hoffest aus der Zeit der Gotik*. Landshut 1984; BLEICHNER, Stephan M. *Die landshuter Fürsternhochzeit 1475. Immaterielles Kulturerbe und Re-Inszenierung – ein axiologisches Phäno-*

*Hochzeit* historical festival became one of the biggest and most famous medieval re-enactment festival not only in Germany, but also on the European level.

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