

## Ceremonial Entries into Late Medieval Kraków

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vol. 13, 2024, no. 1, pp. 37–54

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33542/CAH2024-1-02>



The purpose of this article is to introduce the problems associated with ceremonial royal entrances in Poland. These ceremonies formed part of political ritual and were an opportunity to manifest splendour and royal power. Based on surviving source records, mainly chronicle descriptions, the royal entrances to late medieval Kraków (Cracow) were analysed. They were held on various occasions, such as coronation entries, entries of royal brides arriving for marriage or entries after victories in battle. Thanks to surviving descriptions, it was possible to trace the various entry routes and capture the city's preparations for these major events.

Keywords: Royal entry ceremony; Adventus regis; Kings of Poland; Political ritual; Pre-coronation entry.

### Introduction

A variety of symbolic and ritual acts served to represent and legitimate monarchical power. Coronations and royal weddings and funerals were events of a type in which spectacularity – performance and ceremony – played an important role,<sup>1</sup> a role realised with particular gravity in the entrances of royal personages. The tradition of monarchs making triumphal entries into cities dates back to ancient times, though its adoption in some parts of Europe came much later.<sup>2</sup> Such set-piece events provided excellent opportunities for the display of royal majesty to the political elite and rank-and-file subjects alike, and were ideally suited as public manifestations of power. They were also cultural events of great importance, and as such constituted prestigious exhibition forums for representatives of the intellectual elite. In the Middle Ages, such processions were an element of culture in which the courtly world met and bonded with the bourgeoisie and with spiritual and secular estates. The ceremony comprised a body of celebrations, gestures and symbolic objects centred on the solemn entrance of the ruler. While only a select group of representatives of the ruling elites might take part in the ceremonies of coronations or royal weddings or funerals, representatives of all social groups could participate in ceremonial entry events – either actively, as members of the procession, or passively, as spectators.<sup>3</sup> This ritual, which referenced the biblical trope of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, would be repeated many times

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1 On the historical development of the coronation ritual and the ideological message it conveys see: BLOCH, *Królowie Cudotwórcy*; KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Bodies*; KANTOROWICZ, *Laudes Regiae*; ALTHOFF, *Potęga rytuału; Władza, symbole, rytuały*.

2 In Paris, for example, it was not until 1389 that the decorations and dramatic plays at St Denis Gate, where the king was received, began. BRYANT, *The Medieval Entry Ceremony*, 107.

3 On the idea of civic triumph see KIPLING, *Enter the King*, 6–47. See also BRYANT, *The Medieval Entry Ceremony*, 88–113; BRYANT, *The King and the City*; MURPHY, *Ceremonial Entries*, MURPHY, *The Captivity of John II*.

during a ruler's reign, and on each occasion was a symbolic act of taking possession of a city or residence.<sup>4</sup>

### Reference Basis and Literature

Kraków and the two cities located just outside its bounds, Kazimierz and Kleparz, together formed one of the largest agglomerations in late medieval Poland. Rising above the cities was Wawel Hill, the seat of the Polish kings, who had been being crowned in the cathedral there since 1320. The city, thanks to its role as capital, was a frequent witness of triumphal entries, which were staged to mark a variety of occasions.

This article sets out to discuss descriptions of monarchic entries into late medieval Kraków and to reconstruct the main constituent elements of the ritual of welcoming the ruler into the city. The chronological framework of this work is the period 1370–1492. The former date is the year of the coronation as king of Poland of Louis I of Hungary, the successor to Casimir the Great, the last ruler of the Piast dynasty. Louis I (also known as Louis the Great) was also the first monarch whose entry into Kraków is described in any detail in the sources. The analyses referenced here were carried out on sources covering the period until 1492, when Casimir IV Jagiellon died. This is the date most often taken to mark the end of the Middle Ages in Poland. Unfortunately, the source material at the disposal of scholars for research on this aspect of life in this period is scarce. The analyses on which this article is based focused on the accounts of two chroniclers, Jan of Czarnków and Jan Długosz (Lat. Ioannes Długossius, Ioannes Longinus). Jan of Czarnków witnessed the coronation of Louis the Great, which he described in the work *Joannis de Czarnkow Chronicon Polonorum*. Jan Długosz, in turn, was the author of the most extensive chronicle of the history of Poland to 1480, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. By virtue of his employment in the chancellery of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Kraków, and his close contacts with the court of King Casimir IV Jagiellon, Długosz was able to attend many state events. As a member of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter, he also participated actively in some of the royal entrances that he described in his work.

The information supplied by these chronicles is complemented by minor mentions of relevant events found in other sources, including city invoices.<sup>5</sup> A further important source for research into ceremonial entries is two mid-fifteenth-century documents issued by Oleśnicki's chancellery and addressed to the clerics of Kraków, Kazimierz and Kleparz. We do not have any iconographic sources for this research; the earliest of these appeared in the next century. Detailed descriptions of royal entrances have been preserved from the sixteenth century, but these reference the Renaissance and more especially the Baroque periods.<sup>6</sup>

Court ceremony in the Middle Ages has been a frequent subject of research and analysis in Polish historiography. Researchers' attention has tended, however, to focus on royal coronations. Among the works devoted to this subject, those of Aleksander

4 GIEYSZTOR, *Spektakl i liturgia*, 9–10; KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Advent*; KIPLING, *Enter the King*, 6–47; ROWELL, *The joyous entry of Casimir I*, 89–106.

5 An extensive collection of the city's financial accounts from that period has survived, but it is not published in print, nor has it been subject to deeper analysis. This is a collection that requires detailed research. Only the earliest records from the city's accounts ledgers have been published in print; see: *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki*.

6 Celebrations in Kraków from the end of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, including royal entries, were discussed by ROŻEK, *Uroczystości w barokowym Krakowie*.

Gieysztor and Zygmunt Dalewski deserve special attention.<sup>7</sup> A number of studies concerning wedding and funeral ceremonies have also been written.<sup>8</sup> Ceremonial entries of rulers into Kraków in the Middle Ages, however, have not to date been studied and synthesized.<sup>9</sup> There are only two articles which deal with this issue as part of broader research topics, though it is important to stress that both are of immense value. The first uses the two documents from the chancellery of Bishop Oleśnicki mentioned above to examine how the Kraków clergy welcomed rulers in the fifteenth century, while the second explores the circumstances surrounding the return of King Ladislaus Jagiello to Kraków after the Battle of Grunwald.<sup>10</sup> This article, then, addresses a topic that has received meagre recognition and requires further, detailed research. It can thus only constitute a contribution to a broader analysis, which should be undertaken in the future.

### Coronation Entries

The study covers a period of 122 years, over which rulers often made triumphant entries into the Polish capital. However, it is impossible to establish exactly how many of the monarchs who reigned during this period actually visited or resided in Kraków. Some observations are possible with regard to the reigns of Ladislaus Jagiello and Casimir Jagiellon on the basis of their itineraries.<sup>11</sup> Jagiello first entered Kraków on 18 February 1386 for his coronation and, while it is well known that he did not like the city, during his long reign he left and returned to Kraków many times. It is impossible to determine the nature of most of these entries, except for two, which will be mentioned below. His son Casimir Jagiellon likewise entered and left the capital on several occasions. From his first ceremonial entry into the city, for his coronation on 23 June 1447, until his death in 1492, we have information on 35 of his stays in Kraków. As a rule, he spent several months of the year there.

Rulers made ceremonial entries into the city on various occasions and in various circumstances. The entry of the monarch-elect to Wawel Cathedral for their coronation was unique in character.<sup>12</sup> In the period under examination here, four rulers entered

7 The first research was carried out by Stanisław Kutrzeba. He characterized and published the coronation formulas of Polish kings and queens. KUTRZEBA, *Ordo coronandis regis Poloniae*; KUTRZEBA, *Źródła polskiego ceremoniału koronacyjnego*, 285–307. On this subject, later works: GIEYSZTOR, *Spektakl i liturgia*, 9–23; GIEYSZTOR, *Ornamenta regia*, 155–164; DALEWSKI, *Władza – przestrzeń – ceremoniał*, 29–57; DALEWSKI, *Ceremoniał koronacyjny królów polskich*, 37–60; FIJAŁKOWSKI, *Średniowieczne koronacje*, 713–735; ROŻEK, *Polskie koronacje i korony*.

8 On the royal wedding see: BORKOWSKA, *Królewskie zaślubiny, narodziny i chrzest*, 75–92. Royal funerals are the subject of the volume: *Śmierć, pogrzeb i upamiętnienie władców w dawnej Polsce*. On this topic see also: LABUDDA, *Liturgia pogrzebu w Polsce*; FAŁKOWSKI, *Dwa pogrzeby Kazimierza Wielkiego*, 55–74; STARZYŃSKI, *Zgon i pogrzeb Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (1492)*, 915–943; STARZYŃSKI, *Obiit rex, czyli co wiemy o śmierci i pochówku Władysława Łokietka*, 116–142; ŚNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOT, *Dworski ceremoniał*, 155–164; BORKOWSKA, *Ceremoniał pogrzebowy*, 65–116.

9 Entries that took place since the sixteenth century have been more extensively analysed, due to the more extensive available source material. There are no studies on entries into other Polish cities. This does not include Wrocław, which in that period was outside the borders of the Kingdom of Poland.

10 KOCZERSKA, *Jak duchowieństwo*, 477–485; FAŁKOWSKI, *Adventus regis*, 77–101. In the latter article Fałkowski also discussed the king's return in 1432.

11 GAŚIÓROWSKI, *Itinerarium króla*; RUTKOWSKA, *Itinerarium króla*.

12 Coronation entrances were special occasions for the city's welcome of its future monarch. In 1377, Prince Richard's entry into London took place. It consisted of four magnificent spectacles. For their description see: KIPLING, *Enter the King*, 12–13.

the cathedral in this capacity: Louis the Great, his daughter Hedwig, Ladislaus Jagiello, and his son Casimir Jagiellon. In 1370, after the death of Casimir the Great, pursuant to prior agreements the throne in Poland was inherited by his nephew, the Hungarian king Louis the Great. When Louis learnt of Casimir's death, he made haste to Kraków. Jan of Czarnków, who was an eyewitness to these events, noted the king's arrival and subsequently the coronation ceremony in Wawel Cathedral in his chronicle. His description of the entrance of the king-elect is very brief and does not abound in details. On 7 November 1370, Louis received a ceremonial welcome in Nowy Sącz, a city located some 100 km southeast of Kraków. From there, accompanied by lords and elders of the kingdom, he proceeded to the capital.<sup>13</sup> As he was approaching the castle, the inhabitants went out to meet him outside the city, on Lasota Hill,<sup>14</sup> carrying purple flags. The procession was also attended by councillors carrying a flag bearing both the city's coat of arms and keys. Representatives of the various craft guilds processed in separate groups. Each guild carried its own flag decorated with its emblems and keys. All the flags were placed into the king's hands, and he was then accompanied with great reverence to the cathedral.<sup>15</sup> Długosz, who used the chronicle of Jan of Czarnków and other surviving sources, noted that the procession was headed by craftsmen carrying the standard of the city, which they offered to Louis as a sign of "surrender and submission".<sup>16</sup> Then, "the king, with the utmost pomp and circumstance, entered Kraków, and proceeded to Kraków Cathedral".<sup>17</sup> The account by Jan of Czarnków, who was a witness to the events, was probably more credible than that of Długosz, however.

Fourteen years later, the long-awaited Hedwig, daughter of Louis I, and his successor to the Polish throne, arrived in Kraków. We do not know the exact date of her arrival, but researchers have determined that it must have been between the end of May and 16 October 1384, the date of Hedwig's coronation.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, we have no detailed information about her arrival in Kraków. Długosz only states that "for her arrival, which they had almost completely doubted, the overjoyed prelates and Polish lords, all wanting to be the first, went out to meet her, and amid great joy they accompanied her into Kraków in a procession of all the estates, who had come out from

13 This information was also mentioned by Długosz, who stated that Louis was greeted by "prelates and Polish masters, mighty figures and elders".

14 This is the hill in present-day Podgórze, a district of Kraków, on which Krakus Mound is located.

15 "Qui cum Cracoviam intraret, civitatenses Cracoviae cum vexillis purpureis extra civitatem ad montem Lassotae obviam, venerunt, ordinaverunt etenim quod communitas consulum vexillum, in quo arma civitatis et claves fuerunt designata et unaquaeque mechanicorum in sua turma incedens sua vexilla signis propriis ac clavibus designata portabant, eaque omnes regi ad manus offerebant, sicque ipsum cum magno honore processionibus cleri praecedentibus usque ad ecclesiam majorem castrum deduxerunt." Ioannis de Czarnkow, *Chronicon Polonorum*, 636–637.

16 Similarly, a special role was also played in the reception of new rulers by the city authorities, the guilds and the citizens of the medieval city of Paris. By the fifteenth century, city heralds went to the king before the city procession to remind him of the city's status. BRYANT, *The Medieval Entry Ceremony*, 94, 100.

17 "Itum est autem illi et a processionibus ecclesiarum et ab omnibus ordinibus civitatis obvium, precedenteque vexillo civitatis Cracoviensis, in quo arma civitatis picta erant, omnium mechanicorum cuiuslibet artis subsequebantur. Quibus per signiferos Ludowigo regi dedicionem et subieccionem significantibus, oblatis, rex ipse cum maxima pompa et honore Cracoviam et ecclesiam Cracoviensem introit castrumque Cracoviense conscendit." *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. X, 1370–1405, p. 15.

18 NIKODEM, *Jadwiga król Polski*, 119–120.

all the churches to meet her".<sup>19</sup> The greeting of such a long-awaited successor to the throne must certainly have taken place in a joyful, sublime atmosphere.

We likewise have no information on the way in which Kraków greeted Hedwig's future husband, the Lithuanian prince Ladislaus Jagiello, who came to the city on 12 February 1386. Jan Długosz noted only that the prince "in the numerous assist, not so much of Lithuanian and Ruthenian, as of Polish lords, with great splendour and sumptuousness, staged his entry into the city", from whence he was later escorted to the castle, where he went straight to the queen.<sup>20</sup> This excerpt draws our attention to the fact that Hedwig did not greet her future husband, but waited for him at Wawel Castle.

After the death of King Ladislaus III (most probably) at the Battle of Varna in 1444, the Kingdom of Poland once again had to wait for a new ruler. His brother and successor, Grand Prince of Lithuania Casimir IV Jagiellon, delayed taking the throne in Kraków, and negotiations with him lasted until 1447. Only then did Casimir come from Lithuania to Kraków to accede to the throne. This ceremonial entry took place on 23 June, and on this occasion Jan Długosz did write a detailed description of the event. His retinue approached Kraków from the northeast and halted in the town of Proszowice, about 30 km upstream of the capital. From there, it set off, probably on a Friday morning, for it was on that day, in the afternoon, that Casimir "entered Kraków, received very ceremonially by the populace: all the processions of the city came out to meet him". The new ruler was greeted by the highest dignitaries of the Polish Church: the archbishop of Gniezno, Wincenty, and the following bishops: Zbigniew of Kraków, Andrzej of Poznań, and Paweł of Płock. The procession was also attended by the authorities and students of the University of Kraków. Długosz goes on to say that Kazimierz, "in a large crowd of important figures, entered the city of Kraków, all the processions preceding him. Going up to the castle, he entered St Stanislaus' Cathedral, and after venerating the relics of saints and making an offering of 50 florins, he proceeded to the palace."<sup>21</sup>

Details of this entry are also supplied by another source, a fiat issued on 22 June, the day before the ceremony, by the bishop of Kraków, Zbigniew Oleśnicki.<sup>22</sup> A valuable supplement to Długosz's description, this document contains instructions for the clergy for the welcome of the new ruler. The letter was addressed to the rector, professors and the entire community of the University of Kraków, and to priests from all the churches not only in the city, but also in Kazimierz and Kleparz. According to the ordinance, on the following day, 23 June, at the sound of the cathedral bell (*ad pulsum maioris campane in ecclesia maiori Cracouiensis*), all those listed were to gather on the Market Square outside St Mary's Church. From there they were to join the procession from the cathedral and together go out of the city to welcome the ruler there. In his letter, the bishop stipulated the order of the procession, which was to be opened by the clergy

19 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. X, 1370–1405, p. 141.

20 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. X, 1370–1405, p. 152.

21 "Feria vero sexta post meridiem intravit Cracoviam cum magna populi solennitate. Omnes enim processiones urbi illi obviam exiverant, item Universitas cum suppositis, item Vincencius archiepiscopus Gnesnensis, Sbigneus Cracoviensis, Andreas Posnaniensis et Paulus Plocensis episcopi sue serenitati in obvium. Et in magna et gravi multitudine intravit urbem processionibus omnibus eum precedentibus et accedens castrum, ingreditur ecclesiam maiorem sancti Stanislai adoratisque reliquiis sanctorum et posito quinquaginta florenorum offertorio, recepit se ad aulam." *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. XII, 1445–1461, pp. 45–46.

22 Bishop Oleśnicki, along with the governor of Kraków, Jan Tęczyński, went out to welcome the king in the town of Nowe Miasto Korczyn, after which they returned and greeted the king again in Kraków, on Friday 23 June. KOCZERSKA, *Jak duchowieństwo*, 478.

of the collegiate churches, followed by the clergy of the monastic and parish churches, and closed by the clergy of the cathedral. On the return, the order of the procession was to be reversed. As the ruler crossed the city boundary, the bells were to be rung in all the churches in the city. The bishop also reminded the participants of the procession to be properly dressed, in almuces, surplices and copes, and to be carrying the insignia of their dignity.<sup>23</sup> Neither Długosz nor Oleśnicki mention welcome speeches, though it is a well-known fact that a speech marking the occasion was delivered by the famous humanist and professor of the University of Kraków, Jan of Ludziska. What we do not know, however, is whether it was given during the entry of Casimir or at another time within the walls of the university.<sup>24</sup>

The first entry of the king-elect was always unique in character and setting. However, aside from welcome ceremonies for new rulers, Kraków also had the honour of welcoming royal brides-to-be who came to the city for their weddings and coronations.<sup>25</sup> This type of entry also took place in a solemn and sublime atmosphere. All the participants – the king, the dignitaries, and the broader populace of the city – were keen to show themselves off to the guests in the fullness of their splendour. The descriptions of these entrances preserved in the sources contain somewhat more detail about their order and setting.

On 16 July 1401, Anna of Celje, granddaughter of Casimir the Great, arrived in Kraków. Queen Hedwig had died two years previously, and Anna was to be the second wife of Ladislaus Jagiello. The city sent a delegation to welcome the new queen. The city council paid for the journey of “citizens and councillors”, as it was recorded, to the border town of Zator.<sup>26</sup> There, the delegation welcomed Anna and accompanied her back to Kraków. Długosz says that King Ladislaus, surrounded by princes and nobles, went outside the city gates to meet her, and greeted her with reverence and magnificence.<sup>27</sup>

Another great event for the inhabitants of the city took place on 9 February 1454. On that day, Kraków welcomed Elisabeth, daughter of Albrecht Habsburg, the future wife of Casimir IV Jagiellon. An extensive account of Elisabeth’s welcome is preserved in the chronicle of Jan Długosz. According to this deposition, King Casimir left the city walls in an entourage comprising his family – his mother Sophia – and a magnificent procession of archbishops and bishops. Moreover, representatives of all the estates, processions from all the churches in Kraków, and the army, with flags flying, set off with him.<sup>28</sup> We do not know with any certainty where exactly the welcome took place, as the chronicler did not include this information. It may have been staged in the fields near the village of Łobzów, where the royal palace was located.<sup>29</sup> Purple tents were set up at the designated welcome site, and carpets were placed between them, on which

23 Discussed by KOCZERSKA, *Jak duchowieństwo*, 477–487. See also RUTKOWSKA, *Itinerarium króla*, 72.

24 *Codex epistolaris*, 8. According to the editor, the speech was delivered to the university before 25 June. BUJAK, *Mowa Jana z Ludziska*, 217–233, wrote that it was delivered to Casimir Jagiellon on the day he entered, 23 June.

25 The entries of the queens had a different symbolism, they could not reference Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, so there was a need for a different pattern. Therefore, a pattern related to the Assumption of the Virgin and her coronation in heaven was used. KIPLING, *Enter the King*, 41.

26 KUTRZEBA, *Finanse Krakowa*, 109.

27 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. X, 1370–1405, p. 243.

28 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. XII, 1445–1461, p. 178.

29 Today this is a district of Kraków. In the past it was a village located approximately 3.5 km from the city.

the young couple met. The king and his companions were dressed in costly robes,<sup>30</sup> so the whole procession, both people and horses, coruscated in gold and purple.<sup>31</sup> After the greeting, the couple proceeded solemnly on to Kraków. Queen Sophia took Elisabeth in her carriage, which suggests that the ceremony must have taken place at some distance from Kraków. Before the procession entered the capital, it passed through Kleparz, where, outside St Florian's Church, surrounded by professors, the rector of the University of Kraków delivered a solemn welcome speech. Then the procession entered the city via St Florian Gate. It was greeted by the bishop of Kraków on Wawel Hill, outside the cathedral. The procession passed along its route to the herald of trumpets and the peal of bells from the churches of Kraków. Unfortunately, the ceremony was spoilt by heavy rain, which forced the procession to pass quickly.<sup>32</sup>

### Post-Coronation Entries

Another kind of ceremonial entry into the city was staged following royal coronations. This was the final stage in the process of the new monarch's accession to power, and was a symbolic moment of contact with the people, which also provided the opportunity to demonstrate the royal might. It was customary in Kraków that on the day after the coronation ceremony, the ruler, dressed in their coronation robes and bearing the insignia of power, processed solemnly down from Wawel Castle to the Market Square. There they were paid tribute by the authorities and inhabitants of the city.<sup>33</sup> There is a relatively accurate extant source description of this celebration as it was staged for Casimir IV. His coronation took place on Sunday 25 June 1447. On the Monday, the king, accompanied by the archbishop of Gniezno and the bishops, rode down on horseback to Market Square, where a throne was prepared for him outside the town hall, from which he was to receive tribute from the townsmen. Then an unpleasant incident took place. Two Mazovian princes who were taking part in the ceremony attempted to occupy the places to the right of the king, which traditionally belonged to the bishops, and this caused a dispute. As a result, the chronicler reported, the bishops, after consultations of various kinds, left and went home. The king, who was saddened by the whole affair, did not take the throne that had been prepared for him and did not accept homage from the townspeople; after circling the town square, he returned to the castle.<sup>34</sup>

### Entries of Foreign Monarchs

Another excellent opportunity to manifest the splendour of the royal authority was the ceremonial entrance into the city of a foreign monarch. The greeting of the guests who came to Kraków in 1424 for the coronation of Sophia of Halshany, the

30 On the symbolism of the costumes of the participants in the procession, see: BRYANT, *The Medieval Entry Ceremony*, 101.

31 "Magnificus fuit et plurimum spectatus tunc Casimirus rex in splendore suorum apparatusum, quoniam sella, frena, strepe et indumenta, preter equos, straminibus de axamento, cum fino auro textis coopertos, quadraginta milibus florenorum estimabantur. Emulati sunt et nonnulli barones Polonie hunc splendorem, qui et seipos et familiares et equos splendidis ornamentis auro et purpura superbis vestierant." *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. XII, 1445–1461, p. 178.

32 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. XII, 1445–1461, pp. 178–179.

33 For more on the significance of the civic triumph, including the "reconciliation" triumph in case of reinauguration, see KIPLING, *Enter the King*, 39–40.

34 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. XII, 1445–1461, p. 47.

fourth wife of Ladislaus Jagiello, was very solemn in character. The Danish king Erik VII and the king of Germany and Hungary and future Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg came to the city for this ceremony. At Jagiello's request, King Erik, who had arrived in Kraków first, rode to the state border to welcome Sigismund. From there, the procession of both rulers proceeded to Myślenice, a town some 30 km south of Kraków, where Jagiello awaited them. The three kings then travelled on to Wieliczka, where they dined in the hall in the saltworks castle, and thereafter they set off for their final destination, Kraków. A solemn welcome was staged just outside the city, on the abovementioned Lasota Hill. The monarchs were greeted by priests, princes and numerous dignitaries from the Kingdom of Poland and other countries (*prelati, principes, barones diversi, qui non solum ex Polonia Regno et eius dominiis, sed etiam ex remotis ortis et regnis rogati advenerant*). All those participating rode out with extraordinary pomp, with cavalry divisions and troops, and with a crowd of people, each according to their abilities. This is the first time that reference is made to the participation of women and girls from noble families in such a ceremony. They rode to Lasota Hill in shining golden carriages (*matrone virginesque nobiles in vehiculis et curribus fulgentibus et deuratatis faciebant occursum*). The future queen, Sophia, also drove there in a beautifully decorated carriage. Lasota Hill was decorated with carpets for the occasion. After the ceremonial greeting of the rulers, the guests proceeded to Wawel, where painted chambers awaited Sigismund. Sophia took Queen Barbara, consort of Sigismund, in her coach.<sup>35</sup>

### Victorious Battle Entries

Another excellent opportunity for a king to make a triumphant entrance into the city and manifest his power was victory in battle.<sup>36</sup> The most famous and most important battle in the history of medieval Poland was the battle against the Teutonic Order at Grunwald, which took place on 15 July 1410. After this battle and the siege of Malbork, which was ultimately not taken, Jagiello and his wife Anna of Celje set off on a grand tour of the eastern reaches of their kingdom, which stretched as far as Cherkasy and Kiev. The king did not return to Kraków until November 1411, sixteen months after the great victory. It was then that his triumphal entry into the city took place, during which fifty-one Teutonic flags captured at Grunwald were hung up in Wawel Cathedral.<sup>37</sup> The description of this entry in the sources is very laconic and contains few details. All we know is that the king, who approached Kraków from the east, first halted at his residence in Niepołomice, about 25 km outside Kraków. From there, he went on to Kraków, and the route of his entry led through the city of Kazimierz. The entry ceremony took place on St Catherine's Day, 25 November 1411. At some point – we do not know where – the king dismounted his horse and set off on foot to the Church on the Rock,<sup>38</sup> in a huge procession of prelates and lords carrying the unfurled banners and emblems of the Teutonic Knights that had been captured in battle. Then the procession went on up to

35 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. XI, 1413–1430, pp. 195–196.

36 In 1237, Cremona in Italy was witness to a grandiose triumph of Frederick II as the victor of the Battle of Cortenuova. KIPLING, *Enter the King*, 62.

37 KRZYŻANIAKOWA – OCHMAŃSKI, *Władysław II Jagiełło*, 212.

38 According to tradition, Bishop Stanisław, later patron saint of Poland, was murdered in this church by King Boleslaus the Bold. Thereafter, it became customary for every ruler to make pilgrimage to this church on foot on the eve of their coronation.



the castle. The flags were carried at the head of the train, and were placed in Wawel Cathedral. Długosz also notes that the ruler visited other churches, where the relics of St Wenceslas and St Florian were deposited.<sup>39</sup> If this was the case, the procession, after entering Kraków via Grodzka Gate, must have turned right, circled the city and gone in the direction of Kleparz, because the relics of St Florian rested in the parish church there.<sup>40</sup> This would have meant that the procession marched through the city, giving the inhabitants the opportunity to hail the victorious king.

A similar ceremony was repeated many years later, in 1432, when Jagiello returned from Russia after several months on a military campaign. He entered Kraków on Christmas Day. As usual, he was greeted by processions from all the churches. After the ceremonial welcome, the king descended from his horse and, on foot, accompanied by his knights, joined the procession, at the head of which flags captured from his enemies were carried. En route to Wawel, the retinue entered several churches, where the ruler gave thanks for his victory and distributed alms to the poor.<sup>41</sup>

### Royal Entries to Kraków: Results of the Analyses

The descriptions of royal ceremonial entries into late medieval Kraków described above do not abound in details, but they do allow us to understand certain regularities and repetitive elements concerning the preparation and order of ceremonies of this nature. The standard schedule for an *adventus* ceremony comprised six phases: the preparations for the ceremony, the greeting of the incoming guest (*Occursio*), the entry into the city (*Ingressus*), the procession, a visit to the main church (*Offertorium*) and progression to the royal chambers.<sup>42</sup> For Kraków, it has to date only been possible to establish the approximate order of the individual phases. Unfortunately, there is no certainty as to how exactly the preparations for the ceremony proceeded, and in particular who was responsible for its organization. We do have this information with regard to the procession of priests and representatives of the university. It was the bishop of Kraków who was responsible for their organization, and in his absence this task was entrusted to a vicar *in spiritualibus*.<sup>43</sup> The extent and nature of the participation of the city in such undertakings is not entirely clear, though it certainly organized a procession of secular dignitaries and guilds, and it is possible to identify the places at which the greetings were held, the routes taken by the processions, and the participants in the events. Information regarding the artistic elements of such ceremonies is very scarce, however.

The location of the first meeting of the arriving monarch and the welcoming party, and the entry route taken into the city, depended on the direction from which the ruler or esteemed guest arrived. The formal greeting always took place outside the city walls, however, at a site of significance, such as a cross or a monastery. It was brief, and then

39 *Ioanni Długossi Annales*, lib. X–XI, 1406–1412, pp. 186–187.

40 This was the route taken by Sigismund III Vasa, who came via Kazimierz and Stradom, see PIROŻYŃSKI, *Krakowskie uroczystości państwowe*, 200–202. In the fifteenth century this custom cannot yet have been widely followed, since in 1424 rulers were greeted on Lasota Hill.

41 *Ioanni Długossi Annales*, lib. XI–XII, 1431–1444, pp. 76–77. According to FAŁKOWSKI, *Adventus regis*, 81, this strengthened the authority of a king hoping to gain an advantage in conflict with the royal council.

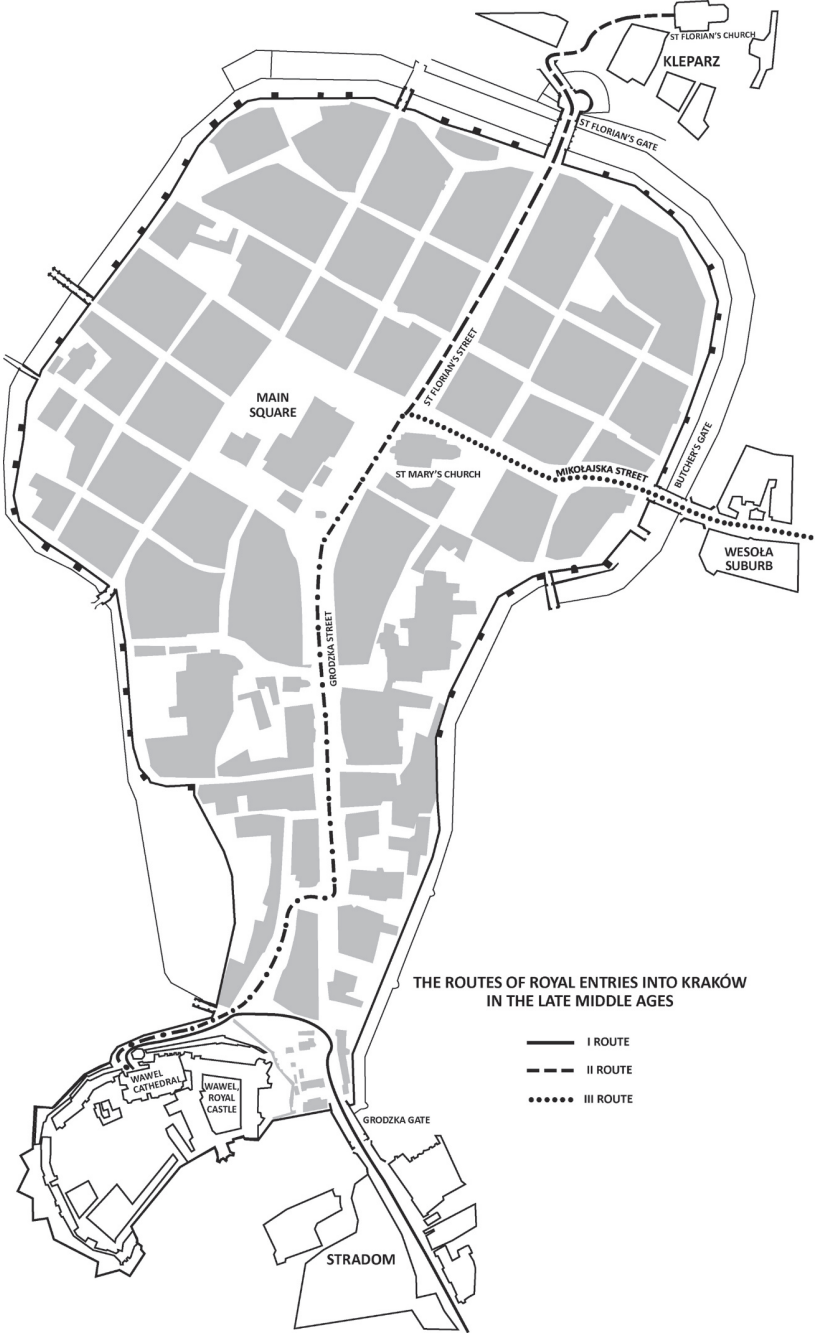
42 Described in detail by SCHENK, *Zeremoniell und Politik*.

43 The day before the entrance of Elizabeth of Austria, the bishop of Kraków convened a meeting of the superiors of the collegiate, parish and monastic churches in his palace. KOCZERSKA, *Jak duchowieństwo*, 483.

the joint procession went on towards the city.<sup>44</sup> In the entrances described above, the first greeting took place at a considerable distance from Kraków, in a town located on the arrival route of the ruler or future consort, such as Myślenice, Zator or Proszowice. Delegations consisting of representatives of the nobility and burghers were sent there. The next greeting took place just upstream of Kraków, but still beyond its bounds. The exact place of the greeting again depended on the direction from which the dignitary was coming. If the procession was approaching from the south, the meeting place was Lasota Hill. From there, it would cross the Vistula river and enter the city of Kazimierz. On many occasions it visited the Church of St Stanislaus on the Rock, and then its route led through the district of Stradom and across another bridge on the Vistula. The entrance into the city of Kraków proper was via Grodzka Gate (see map, Route I). If the ruler was arriving from the west or north, the ceremonial welcome was most likely to take place in Łobzów. A procession would probably have formed there and moved in the direction of the city. The next stop was at St Florian's Church in Kleparz, where further ceremonial greetings were exchanged and speeches delivered by professors of the University of Kraków. The next stage was the procession into the city via St Florian Gate (See Map 1, Route II). There is some doubt surrounding the entry route when the ruler was arriving from the east, as in the case of Casimir IV's entry in 1447. Maria Koczerska believes that on that occasion the procession came up Mikołajska Street and entered the city through Butchers' Gate (See Map 1, Route III). However, she is not entirely certain whether this was always the route taken for such entries, especially since there are no sources that confirm it.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the fact that one of the suburbs directly beyond Butchers' Gate was industrial in character and another was the notorious district of Wesota, preferred rendezvous for members of the criminal underworld, raises additional doubts as to the suitability of this area as the route for royal processions. Neither was there any square suitable for the ceremonial welcome of the future king by the clergy and laity, whereas the square in front of St Florian's Church in Kleparz certainly was an appropriate forum for an event of such prestige. It would therefore be fair to suggest that this may have been the place where the new ruler was greeted in 1447, and that the processions entered the city via St Florian Gate.

44 SCHENK, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 280.

45 KOCZERSKA, *Jak duchowieństwo*, 482–483.



Map 1: The routes of royal entries into Kraków in the late Middle Ages

After a ceremonial welcome immediately outside the relevant city gate, the procession entered Kraków, and the next, most important phase of the *adventus* ceremony ensued. Entering the city through St Florian Gate, the retinue would traverse the city along Florianska Street, across the Market Square, passing St Mary's Church, and proceed along Grodzka Street in the direction of Wawel. If it entered Kraków through Butchers' Gate, it would have to follow Mikołajska Street and turn onto Grodzka Street by St Mary's Church, and then go along Senacka Street and Kanonicza Street to reach Wawel. If the processional party came from the direction of Kazimierz, after passing through Stradom it would enter the city through Grodzka Gate, from where it might have gone directly to Wawel. In case of two of the entrances of Ladislaus Jagiello, however, the procession may first have circled the city from the east and then entered it via St Florian Gate, continuing to Wawel along the Floriańska Street route described above. Once on Wawel Hill, rulers would enter the cathedral, where they paid homage to the relics of St Stanislaus, and then they could retire to their chambers. At this point, the *adventus* ceremony was over.

Various groups of people, from both the laity and the clergy, took part in the welcome ceremony. Their places and roles in the proceedings were defined in advance. The sources usually state that representatives of all the estates left the city to welcome the ruler. This likely means that the participants of the procession were members of the clergy, nobility and burgher class; it is doubtful whether there would have been peasants among them. Priests would have occupied positions of honour. Sometimes the king would be greeted by the archbishop himself, in the assist of the bishops, and the procession was also attended by members of the cathedral and collegiate chapter, parish priests and representatives of Kraków's monastic orders. The rector and professors of the university, together with the students, also took part in the celebrations. Among the lay populace, the places of honour belonged to the magnates – state officials and representatives of the most eminent families. There were sometimes princes among them. It may have been the case that, as mentioned in 1424, women and girls from noble families regularly took part in the processions.<sup>46</sup> The bourgeoisie was represented by the city of Kraków authorities: the aldermen, with the mayor and members of the craft guilds at their head. The source referring to the 1403 royal entry provides evidence that the participation of the city authorities in greeting the ruler was the role of the aldermen. In that year, the aldermen did not come out before the city gates to welcome Ladislaus Jagiello, and the angry king, offended by this insult, ordered them thrown into prison. To secure their release, the municipal treasury had to pay the ruler 600 *grzywnas* in fines, followed by another 400 the following year.<sup>47</sup> Among the crowd welcoming the ruler there would also be some of the poorest representatives of the urban community. Sources from the late fourteenth century mention convicts waiting at the city gates for the newly elected king to plead for the grace of pardon or a commutation of their punishment. This practice is also known from the protocols of similar ceremonies in western Europe.<sup>48</sup> Also like other late medieval European cities, Kraków had a custom of meting out the punishment of banishment to exiles who managed to enter the city with the retinue of the king or other guests accorded

46 In Buda, women and members of the Jewish community also took part in greetings of the ruler outside the city walls. GODA, *Buda Festiva*, 67.

47 KUTRZEBA, *Finanse Krakowa*, 104.

48 KIPLING, *Enter the King*, 27.

a ceremonial welcome. A release from the ban on sojourning in the city was possible, however, but only on the intercession of the distinguished incomer.<sup>49</sup>

All those who went out to greet the ruler were formed into a procession, in which each group had a strictly designated place. The order of the 1447 procession is documented in part in the letter from Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki. However, this document only refers to the processions of the clergy, so it cannot be used to deduce the place allocated to the burghers. After the welcome of the ruler, the arrangements were as follows: at the head of the procession were the cathedral priests, followed by parish priests and monastic brethren, and the next group comprised collegiate clerics. Behind them was probably the ruler with his retinue, the magnates and the army. We may assume that the king rode on horseback. As mentioned above, in 1411 and 1432 Jagiello dismounted and covered part of the route on foot, but these two were unusual entries.

We can say little about what the city looked like on such festive days. The streets along which the procession passed are sure to have been cleaned and decorated. In the ledger of the city expenses for 1414 there is an entry showing a payment of 14 groszy for the purchase of torches to be lit for the king's entry into the city, which took place on a March evening.<sup>50</sup> We also know that for the entry of Bona Sforza for her wedding to King Sigismund the Old in 1518, the townspeople decorated their houses with hanging fabrics. This custom may also have been practised in earlier times.

The welcome ceremonies staged for rulers in Kraków must have featured special artistic elements. Unfortunately, little is known on this subject also. We have no answers to the question of whether in late medieval Kraków, as in other European cities, biblical tableaux were staged. Nonetheless, Casimir IV Jagiellon was welcomed thus in 1457 in Gdańsk, so we may assume that something similar was performed in Kraków.<sup>51</sup> Welcome speeches were an intrinsic element of such events. As mentioned above, in 1447 Jan of Ludzisko greeted Casimir IV, while in April 1469, when the same Casimir returned to Kraków from Lviv, he received a speech delivered in Polish by his son, also Casimir.<sup>52</sup> With regard to the musical aspect of the event, on the basis of the sources we can say only that when the ruler crossed the city boundary, the bells were rung from Kraków's churches and trumpets resounded. We also know that the city had its own band. The band was first mentioned in 1390, when it consisted of nine pipers and one trumpeter. A year later, this number had decreased to six musicians. The royal court also had its own ensemble. The court of Queen Anna Aldona, wife of Casimir the Great, was entertained by a band consisting of drums, pipes and vielle. Musicians also performed at the court of Ladislaus Jagiello; among them were lutenists, pipers, trumpeters and

49 In 1388 two men convicted of brawling, Piotr Boczke and Franczko Kutteler, entered the city in this way. On the occasion of Hedwig's arrival in 1384, one Tammon, a former commander of the city's infantry formation who had been banished in 1380, obtained permission to return from the councillors. ZAREMSKA, *Banici w średniowiecznej Europie*, 121. In 1403 two thieves and one arsonist were pardoned on the occasion of the coronation of Queen Anna. ZAREMSKA, *Proskrypcja i kara wygnania*, 356. In 1389 r. it was noted: "Stanislaus piscator de sancto Nicolao pro adiutorio homicidii Miskus chrasorest dimissus per Regis adventum." *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki*, 73.

50 STARZYŃSKI, *Nad średniowiecznymi księgami*, 175.

51 Kraków had the oldest theatrical traditions in Poland. The earliest of them, in the Middle Ages, was religious theatre connected with the celebration of church festivals, especially the Easter mystery play. A secular theatre trend was only born in the Renaissance and was connected with Wawel Castle. In 1506 students of the university staged a comedy for Prince Sigismund. KENCKI, *Teatr a miasto*, 137–138.

52 *Ioanni Dlugossi Annales*, lib. XII, 246.

drummers. The ensembles of the kings of Poland performed in cities and courts across western Europe.<sup>53</sup> It is therefore entirely possible that such ensembles also played for monarchs' entries into late medieval Kraków.

A solemn entrance by a ruler was a special time for the city and its inhabitants. Official entries of rulers into late medieval Kraków took the form of religious processions. For the duration of the event, laws were relaxed and prisoners might be released. The rhythm of the city's life changed for a brief interval. The lack of sources prevents us from establishing unequivocally whether all entries of kings into Kraków were solemnly celebrated. Researchers point out, however, that under Ladislaus Jagiello, due to the frequency of his visits to the city and to the speed of travel, the celebrations must have been modest. Moreover, Jagiello did not like staying in Kraków; he appeared only rarely and briefly in the capital. Nonetheless, his entries in 1411 and 1432 were exceptional in character and of a unique eloquence. After such a splendid victory as that at the Battle of Grunwald, it was standard for rulers to make a triumphal entry into a city on horseback or in a coach. Jagiello, however, did not manifest his power; quite the contrary. He chose instead to project the image of a humble ruler, entering the city on foot, in a manner more like a pilgrimage than a triumphal procession, and drew especial attention to the more religious character of the ceremony.<sup>54</sup> This was to portray him as a ruler attached to his religion and new faith, as a humble servant of God's will – an important political manoeuvre for Jagiello, because the Teutonic Order was accusing him of superficial religiosity. It was also intended as a way of "strengthening the king's authority and majesty; furthermore, it contributed to his popularity and created the legend of a great reign".<sup>55</sup>

### Conclusions

In conclusion, the ceremonial entries of rulers into Kraków in the late Middle Ages were certainly much more modest ceremonies than those held in the Italian cities, in Paris, in London or in Buda. There, they sometimes lasted several days. During this time, performances were organized, the descriptions of which remain awe-inspiring today. In spite of the sparser setting, the entries into Kraków contained the typical elements that are characteristic of this type of ceremony. It is impossible to identify the differences between the entries made by the various rulers on the basis of the sources we have. However, recurrent elements can be identified. The ruler was always solemnly welcomed outside the city walls. It seems that in each of these cases, the representatives of all the states came out to greet them in a solemn procession. The role of the city authorities was particularly emphasized during Louis of Hungary's welcome, with the presentation of the keys to the city, a symbol of its authority. This was also an important part of this type of ceremony, commonly used in Europe. Similarly to in other European cities,<sup>56</sup> it was at this time that the route of the procession through

53 CHANIECKI, *Organizacje zawodowe muzyków*, 28–31.

54 In the choice of this form, Ladislaus Jagiello was making reference to the ancient ritual of pedestrian entrance into the city used in Carolingian times as a means of emphasizing the special consideration enjoyed by the king and his subjects with God. We have no information on why the decision to employ this ritual was taken, nor who initiated its implementation. FAŁKOWSKI, *Adventus regis*, 78–79, 101.

55 Henry III entered Regensburg in similar fashion after the Hungarian campaign in 1044. FAŁKOWSKI, *Adventus regis*, 100.

56 For the specific stations for the pageantry and ritual acts of the entry ceremony in Paris see BRYANT, *The Medieval Entry Ceremony*, 97.

the city was established. Royal entry ceremonies at Kraków took place in specific spaces, in Kleparz by St Florian's Church, before St Florian Gate as the usual site for the symbolic crossing of the city walls, then passing along Florianska Street, across the Market Square and proceeding along Grodzka Street to the cathedral of Wawel. Such ceremonies were occasion to show royal favour, an opportunity taken by the Polish rulers. There was a tradition that an orator from a city's university address the king on his return, especially from the coronation,<sup>57</sup> again a custom practised in Kraków. Among the differences that can be identified in the sources studied, there is no information about the canopy that was carried over the head of the entering ruler. Its use was well established elsewhere. This symbolic object, used in Corpus Christi processions, further reinforced the religious aspects of the royal entry.<sup>58</sup> We also have no information regarding Poland to suggest that the manner of entering this city was not by one of its gates, but via a fragment of the city wall demolished expressly for this purpose, known elsewhere in Europe. In such cases, the king entered as a dangerous, triumphant lord and ruler. This form of royal entry did not take place in an atmosphere of joy and celebration, but was calculated to cast horror and fear into his subjects. The pedestrian entrance as used by Ladislaus Jagiello was completely different from the ritual of the triumphal entrance. But whatever the image being projected, each entrance, whether more or less sumptuous, was an important and well-thought-out instrument for the enhancement of the king's authority. Each entrance was attended by representatives of all the estates, and was a great event for the city, meticulously prepared and long remembered.

All this means that, despite their modest size, the monarchs' entries to late medieval Kraków described in this article took place according to generally accepted rules, being a manifestation of splendour and power, but also of humility and piety.

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<sup>57</sup> BRYANT, *The Medieval Entry Ceremony*, 98.

<sup>58</sup> In Parisian entries the canopy was mentioned from 1360. BRYANT, *The Medieval Entry Ceremony*, 97.

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