Culture in motion

Material culture in the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry from 1562 and its analysis from culture transfer perspective
Abstract
On the 4th of October 1562, the Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon married the Swedish prince and duke of Finland Johan Vasa. Leaving Poland, Catherine Jagiellon was equipped with a very rich dowry and followed by an entourage of nearly 50 people. The objective of this study is to investigate the objects and people surrounding the newly wedded 16th century princess and assess if the document mirrors the complex cultural interactions of the early modern world. The analysis of the inventory is carried out using two theoretical approaches: material culture and culture transfer. The study is constructed in two parts. The first part focuses on the analysis of the sections of the inventory following the order of the document. If possible, the objects are mapped, their history is traced through the sources, their appearance and function are discussed. The examination of the members of the court is also carried out. With the deepened analysis of the inventory as a basis, the second part of the study is dedicated to the search of culture hybridization markers in described artefacts, people, practices as well as the language of the document itself. With the result of this investigation, the author is able to pinpoint the complex international cultural processes that were occurring in an early modern world.

Keywords
Catherine Jagiellon, Poland, Sweden, inventory, dowry, renaissance, material culture, culture transfer, culture hybridization
Foreword

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1. Introduction

On the 4th of October 1562, in Vilnius, Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon married the Swedish prince and the Duke of Finland, Johan Vasa. During the week-long wedding festivities, on the 8th of October, the objects that followed her to the new country were described in Polish language, valued and listed in the inventory of her dowry. The almost complete document survived to modern times and is now stored in Ossolineum library in Wroclaw, Poland. The inventory of Catherine Jagiellon presents a unique opportunity to take a closer look at the material culture surrounding a newly wedded 16th century princess. Although, there is only one object from this inventory that survived to modern day, the descriptions of the items from the document, and the examples of other 16th century surviving artifacts can give a good picture of how certain objects in Catherine Jagiellon’s possession might have looked like. The inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry can be researched in versatile ways. In this thesis, I will also investigate various cultural interactions of the early modern period that can be mirrored by the material culture and individuals presented in the document.

1.1 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this study is to analyze the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry from 1562 as well as to make it more approachable to the international readers by translating it to English. This thesis will focus on two aspects of the document such as material culture and cultural hybridity, and will answer the following questions:

1. What material culture was surrounding the newly wedded princess? What kind of objects were included in the document and what was their purpose?
2. How does the inventory mirror the cultural interactions of the early modern world?

1.2 Theoretical approaches and methods

To answer my research questions, I’m going to use two different theoretical approaches that complement each other. Each theory uses its own toolbox of concepts but the method of applying it to the given material is very similar, and it is based mostly on comparative analysis of various sources. To give an overview of the items mentioned in the inventory, their role and purpose, I applied the biographical approach used in material culture studies, defined by Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai. The analysis of how the inventory mirrors the
cultural interactions of the early modern world was formed according to the cultural transfer concepts surveyed by Peter Burke.

1.3 Material Culture Theory

Material culture studies investigate the meaning and the influence of everyday objects in relation to various aspects of a human history. The study of objects has a long tradition in historical reconstruction in such academical disciplines as anthropology and archeology but in the past 30 years it’s been developed even in history of art-related field of studies. In 1982 art historian Jules David Prown defined material culture as “the study through artifacts of beliefs – values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions – of particular community or society at a given time”¹. Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry is an example of a collection of items with great material, social, ideological and cultural value in the context of a mid of a 16th century European royal court. To analyze such a diverse set of items in the possibly most consistent way proves problematic. To make it easier, Prown suggests a classification of the range of objects that fall into very broad meaning of the term, arranging them into six groups that progress from the more decorative to the more utilitarian as follows:

- Art (paintings, drawings, prints, sculpture, photography)
- Diversions (books, toys, games, meals, theatrical performances)
- Adornment (jewelry, clothing, hairstyles, cosmetics, tattooing, other alterations of the body)
- Modifications of the landscape (architecture, town, planning agriculture, mining)
- Applied arts (furniture, furnishings, receptacles)
- Devices (machines, vehicles, scientific instruments, musical instruments, implements)²

The specifics of the items described in the inventory of Catherine Jagiellons dowry are often placed in the gap between art and craft and are easier to define as objects of culture. Theoretical approach and methodological tools offered by material culture studies are designed to investigate such “hard” to define objects. With help comes anthropological theorists Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai who investigate the social and cultural aspects of things. Kopytoff proposes a cultural approach used in anthropology to create biographies of things by applying a set of questions such as: “Where does the thing come from and who

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made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized “ages” or periods in the thing’s “life,” and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing’s use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?” A questionnaire or an interview is a standard tool used in ethnographical fieldwork. Its role is to gather as much data as possible to recreate the history and the social meaning of the thing. Of course, Kopytoff’s and Appadurai’s interview makes much more sense when applied to existing objects, of which history is more or less documented. I have to look back on the history of the items through their descriptions in Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory, historical sources and preserved examples that to some extent reminiscent the items owned by Catherine Jagiellon. In the course of analyzing Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry I tried to answer a set of comparable questions about the objects, such as: What is it? What is it made of and where did the materials come from? Which cultural circle did it originate from? What was its function and purpose? Does this object still exist today? What happened to it? Is there any existing object that looks alike or reminiscent it? Is there any iconographical depiction of it or a similar one? With this biographical approach to the individual item as well as to the whole collection of them presented by the inventory, it was possible to gather enough data to create a comprehensive overview of princess’s dowry and lay a basis for further research in my thesis.

1.4 Culture transfer theory

Cultural interaction was always a part of the human history. In 2009, in his book Cultural Hybridity Peter Burke, a culture historian, surveyed different forms and practices of cultural interactions and was able to make a model of culture encounters and their outcomes. According to him, there are 4 main types of cultural interactions:

- A transfer, where something from one culture is passively transferred to another one and is accepted.
- An exchange, where cultures are exchanging something in between them.
- An encounter, where a thing from one culture is not accepted by another.

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4 Burke Peter, Cultural Hybridity, 2009, p. 79
5 Burke Peter, Cultural Hybridity, 2009, pp. 72-77
• A translation, where something from one culture is accommodated in the other, but with a new meaning or purpose⁶.

The early modern world, especially when it came to courtly culture, was very diverse, and experiencing all the different culture interactions presented by Burke. European courtly culture was a mix, a hybrid of ingredients taken from various cultures. Culture transfer was a natural outcome of political alliances through royal marriages, and it was often the queen’s consort key role to diplomatically look after the cultural exchange between the countries. Diversity of the renaissance world was the subject of another of Peter Burkes publications Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture from 2016, where he applies and expands his ideas of cultural hybridity on chosen aspects of this historical period in search for the processes of interaction from which they emerged⁷. Looking at princess Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory of her dowry from the culture transfer perspective is like looking at raw culture material she brought with her to Sweden to pass it further, but also one can investigate her past and see what cultural baggage she carried (both literally and figuratively). The thorough analysis of the inventory is the basis to apply Burkes method of identifying cultural hybridity markers in the objects, language, practices as well as individuals described in the document and to recognize the cultural processes that led to their hybridization. With discussion over the cultural processes and pinpointing the cultures these items or people originated from will, in my opinion, show that the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry mirrors complicated cultural interactions of the early modern world.

### 1.5 Material and research overview

#### 1.5.1 Sources

My main source for this thesis is the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry from 1562. The manuscript titled Anno Domini 1562, die octava Octobris. Wyprawa królewny JejMści Katarzyny polskiej z księnej finlandzkiej etc. wszelakiem rzeczami niżej wypisanem do Finlandyej z Wilna roku i dwa wyżej wypisanych od JKMci dana, is currently stored in Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wroclaw, Poland, under the original signature 801/7. The digital version of the document is available in the Lower Silesian Digital Library under the following link:


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⁶ Burke Peter, Cultural Hybridity, 2009, pp. 55-61
⁷ Burke Peter, Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture, Budapest, New York, 2016, p. 1
Because the document was never published nor translated to other languages I carried out an English translation of the inventory myself and attached it as an Appendix to this study.

Majority of the citations of the inventory used in this study come from its translated version. Another valuable source I refer to in this thesis is the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s and her husband Johan Vasa’s possessions from the year 1563, *Företeckning öfver Hertig Johans af Finland och hans gemäl Katarina Jagellonicas lösegendom 1563*, published by Hausen Reinh in 1909, as well as Catherine Jagiellon’s testament from 1583 published by Johan Henrik Schröder in 1831 under the title *Testamentum Catharinae Jagellonicae, reginae Sveciae, ex schedis bibliothecæ acad. Upsal. editum. Venia*.... To complement the knowledge about the family relations and track the story of the items from the dowry I analyzed the correspondence, both private and official, between members of the polish royal family of that time. The letters I used for this study were transcripted and published by Aleksander Przezdziecki in his work *Jagiellonki Polskie*, vol. I-III from 1868. Another publication of that kind, with transcripted letters, diaries and stories about the kings and important figures in Polish history that I used, was a work by Ambrozy Grabowski from 1840, *Starozyt nosci historyczne polskie, czyli pisma i pamietniki do dziejow dawnej Polski, listy krolow i znakomitych mezow, przypowieisci, przysłowia i t.p*. I also used iconographical sources such as two known portraits of Catherine Jagiellon painted in the 16th century. One of the portraits, attributed to the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger is currently displayed in Czartoryski Museum in Cracow. The other portrait was formerly the part of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg collection, but was destroyed during the World War II and is only known from black and white reproductions. These portraits depict the princess wearing clothes and jewelry that she owned, and some of them one can even trace back to the inventories of her possessions. Iconographical sources also comes from Aleksander Przezdziecki’s and Edward Rastawiecki’s work concerning findings from the royal tombs of Wawel Cathedral in Cracow, *Wzory sztuki sredniowiecznej i z epoki odrodzenia po koniec wieku XVII*, published in 1853-55. This publication includes colored graphics of artifacts owned by the Jagiello family. As a point of reference I also used photos of items owned by the members of the Jagiello dynasty listed as war losses by The Division of Looted Art, a department of Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, as well as objects connected to them that are now parts of museum and private collections around the world, such as Livrustkammaren in Stockholm, Wawel Royal Castle Museum in Cracow, National Museum in Warsaw, Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, Victoria and Albert Museum in London, The State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg.
In the section of the thesis about the cuisine and kitchenware, I used two renaissance cookery books, the first Polish work of this kind, *Compendium Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, written by Stanislaw Czarnecki, and published 1681, and an Italian, *Opera di M. Bartolomeo Scappi, cuoco secreto di Papa Pio V divisa in sei libri*, by Bartolomei Scappi from 1570. The exhaustive source of information of old Polish customs, habits and cuisine based on letters, recipes, diaries and bills was a publication by Lukasz Golebiewski’s *Domy i dwory: przy tem opisanie apteczki, kuchni, stołów, uczt, trunków i pijatyki, łaźni i kapieli, pościeli, ogrodów, powozów i koni, blazńow, karłów, wszelkich zwyczajów dworskich i różnych obyczajowych szczegółów* from 1830.

Much invaluable information about fashion, textiles and jewelry I got during conversations with Cecilia Aneer, senior lecturer at the Textile Department from Uppsala University and PhD Magdalena Piwocka, senior curator of Textile Department of Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow.

### 1.1.1 Research Overview

In this section, I’m going to look closer at the research concerning the figure of Catherine Jagiellon as well as her dowry in the context of Polish, Swedish and International academic publications. Interestingly enough, Catherine Jagiellon as a person was never an object of a deepened biographical and historical research in either Polish or Swedish academic arena. The most embracive publication that focused on her artistic influence in Sweden and tried to revive her from the midst of history was August Hahr’s book *Drottning Katarina Jagellonica och Vasaränassansen* from 1940. Apart from that, Catherine Jagiellon was mentioned in the historical books mostly as a Polish, Catholic wife of Johan III Vasa. The more recent Swedish publications often refer to her also in a context of her marriage and the rich dowry she brought with her to Sweden. In works such as Carl Johan Gardberg’s, *Tre Katarinor på Åbo slott* from 1986 and Lena Rangström’s *En brud för kung och fosterland, Kungliga bröllop från Gustav Vasa till Carl XVI Gustaf* from 2010 one can read about the historical reasons that led to the marital union between Johan Vasa and Catherine Jagiellon, the description of the ceremony and the journey back to Sweden followed by the political conflict between Johan Vasa and his brother king Erik 14th, as well as the imprisonment of the couple. Eva Andersson, a textile researcher at Gothenburg University wrote about Catherine Jagiellon’s wardrobe in a context of 16th century fashion in her article *Women’s dress in Sixteenth-Century Sweden*, published
in *Costume* in 2011. It came to my attention that none of the authors of the Swedish publications mentioned above refered to the original manuscript of the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry stored in Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wroclaw in Poland, but the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s and her husband Johan Vasa’s possessions from the year 1563 (*Företeckning öfver Hertig Johans af Finland och hans gemål Katarina Jagellonicas lösegendom 1563*), published by Hausen Reinh in 1909. It is not clear to me if the lack of translation of the document was preventing the research, or if the authors were not aware of its existence. The lack of referrals to this inventory suggest the latter.

Polish research on Catherine Jagiellon is more advanced but not extensive either. The two publications that give a historical and biographical overview are Marian Dubieniecki’s article *Katarzyna Jagiellonka, krolowa szwedzka, opowiesc historyczna* from 1899 and Malgorzata Duczmal’s note on Catherine Jagiellon in her lexicon over the Jagiello dynasty *Jagiellonowie-leksykon biograficzny* from 1996. One of the first publications in Polish academic circles that brought the attention to the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry in Poland was the article of Krystyna Turska *Wyprawy ślubne dwóch Jagiellonek: Jadwigi (1475) i Katarzyny (1562)* from 1992. The article presents a comparison of the inventories of the dowries of Catherine Jagiellon and her aunt Jadwiga Jagiellon, the daughter of Kazimierz Jagiellon and his wife Elizabeth of Austria. Krystyna Turska gives a good overview of Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory but doesn’t follow the original order of the document. Her interpretation also presents some substantial errors, pointed out and cleared by other researchers. Later publications concerning the dowry of the princess were focusing more on the particular parts of the document. In 2006 Ewa Letkiewicz wrote an article *Zibellino na dworze Jagiellonow. Sobolowe futra z klejnotami krolowych Katarzyny Austriaczki i Katarzyny Jagiellonki* about Catherine Jagiellon’s sable fur listed in the inventory. Letkiewicz put the fur in Catherine Jagiellon’s possession into a broader context of history and fashion of early modern Europe. The same year Letkiewicz’s book *Klejnoty w Polsce, Czasy ostatnich Jagiellonow i Wazow* came out, presenting an exhaustive study about jewelry owned by the members of the Jagiello and Vasa dynasties in Poland, based on thorough archival research. The jewelry and precious stones of the Jagiello dynasty were also a research subject of Magdalena Piwocka, whose article *Jadwiga Jagiellon’s casket of 1533, A source of primary importance to our knowledge about the jewels of the Polish Jagiellons* from 2015 was one of the first Polish publications focusing on the casket of Jadwiga Jagiellon stored in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. The same year she also published another article *O klejnotach Jagiellonow, a raczej o tym co z nich zostalo w rzeczywistosci, archiwialiach i ikonografii* about the surviving
jewelry of the Jagiellons and iconographical depictions of it, as well as a book she wrote together with Dariusz Nowacki regarding the old Polish jewelry, in which they also describe Catherine Jagiellon’s pendant from the Cathedral in Uppsala in Sweden. The inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry was also a field of research of Agnieszka Brzeska who published two comprehensive articles about its parts. In Klejnoty w wyprawie ślubnej Katarzyny Jagiellonki (1562) from 2006 she describes the jewels from the inventory and puts them in a historical and artistic context of renaissance and the love for the precious stones during this time. In Inwertarze wypraw ślubnych kobiet z rodu Jagiellonow jako zrodlo do poznania wyposazenia wnetrz dworskich she investigates the furnishings of the bed chamber, chapel as well as kitchen equipment listed in the dowry inventories of the Jagiellon women: princess Catherine, her older sister Sophia, their aunt Jadwiga, and their sister in law, Catherine Habsburg.

The case of Catherine Jagiellon was also brought up in the international research. Quite early, because already in the 1950’s a Finnish textile historian, Riita Pylkkänen researched Catherine Jagiellon’s wardrobe, based on already mentioned above Reinh Hausen’s transcription of the inventory from 1563. The publication Renessanssin puku suomessa 1550-1620 from 1956 is a thorough study of the male and female fashion in Finland between the years 1550-1620. Although some of the fashion theories presented in the Pylkkänen are outdated today, one can’t dismiss it as a comprehensive 16th century garment glossary. The most recent international publications on Catherine Jagiellon were a result of the project Marrying Cultures, Queens Consort and European Identities 1500-1800. Catherine Jagiellon’s story was brought up by several academics collaborating with the project but closest to my field of research was the study of Almut Bues. During the course of the project she investigated the art collections of Catherine Jagiellon and her older sister Sophia and the impact they had on the culture in their new homelands. The investigation sees their dowries as a starting point and Bues is the first international author who uses the original manuscript of the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry.

The short research overview concerning Catherine Jagiellon and her dowry shows that there is still a lot to investigate. I hope that my thesis will make the inventory of the princess’s dowry more approachable for international research and will help to fill the gaps in it. I dedicate this study especially to the Swedish researchers who can now complement their knowledge about their Polish queen and the cultural luggage encased in the dowry that she brought with her.
1.6 Disposition

This study is divided in two parts with each part dedicated to one of my research objectives. The first part contains an analysis of the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry based on the material culture method described above. The whole chapter starts with a short section where I describe the background of Catherine Jagiellon up to the point of marriage with Prince of Sweden and Duke of Finland Johan Vasa and the arrest of ducal couple at the Gripsholm castle. The next section contains information about the inventory, its physical description and the structure of its contents. After that I proceed to the examination of each part or the inventory following document’s internal order.

In the second part of the study I focus on the analysis of the inventory from the culture transfer perspective. It starts with an overview of the theory and method I’m using and is followed by sections describing culturally hybridized artefacts, language, practices, people as well as cultural interactions detected by me in the inventory.

In the conclusion that follows, I describe my findings and results and sum up the investigation of the entire thesis.
2. Analysis

2.1 Catherine Jagiellon’s background

Catherine Jagiellon was born 1st of November 1526 in Cracow, as the youngest daughter of the Polish king Sigismund 1st Jagiellon (1467-1548) (fig. 1) and Italian princess Bona Sforza (1494-1557) (fig.2). The royal couple had in total six children of which five reached adulthood (Isabela, Sigismund 2nd August, Sophia, Anna and Catherine) Their youngest offspring, son Olbracht, died the day he was born 1527.

Princess’s childhood is thought to be quite peaceful and serene, as the life of the royal family in this period has been positively judged by historians.\(^8\) The children of Sigismund and Bona grew up in a very culturally and exciting environment. Bona Sforza was highly educated, she grew up in times where women’s humanistic education was at its peak in the first part of 16th century.\(^9\) Bona Sforza was the daughter of princess Isabella of Naples and Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan. She was one of four children of the couple. Her father died the same year she was born, and it was her mothers’ role to raise her and offer her the best possible start in life, according to her social position. Still, the most vital role in achieving that was a politically satisfying marriage, and Isabella was doing everything to make her daughter a

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splendid party. Young Bona was studying Spanish and Latin. She was highly educated in history, philosophy literature and economy. She got a very good musical education and could herself play several instruments. She was also skilled in sport activities such as hunting and dancing. She made a very good impression on Polish envoys that were sent by the king Sigismund 1st to oversee their marriage arrangements in 1517. In the letter describing their meeting with the duchess, they write that Bona Sforza speaks fluent Latin, with no preparation, and that they never seen a better dancer in the whole Italy. At the time she was 24 years old. All the education she got helped her establish a prominent position on the Polish royal court when she married king Sigismund 1st. As queen consort, she was very involved not only in cultural development of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but also in its politics. In fact, her strong personality and ability to influence her royal husband led to her gaining an incredible political power that no Polish queen before or after ever had. During Sigismund 1st and Bona’s reign, Polish culture flourished. The country had a strong political position in Europe and was rich, which enabled new renaissance thought to develop in full force. Thanks to the queen’s Italian family connections the trade network between Polish and Italian cities grew, and a steady stream of Italian and eastern products was arriving in Poland. King Sigismund was highly interested in and opened for latest trends in culture even before he met Bona. He spent his young years at the royal court of his brother Vladislav II, king of Hungary, where he got to know new Italian renaissance art. Since 1502 he had an Italian architect on his court, Francesco Fiorentino, who three years later finished the first ever renaissance piece recorded on the Polish soil, the tomb of Jan Olbracht, Sigismund’s older brother. Francesco Fiorentino was also the architect behind the modernization of the royal castle on Wawel Hill in Cracow (1507-1516), where he build a new northern wing and arcades according to the current architectural trends (fig. 3). Around that time the king was also considering the new plans of the funerary chapel

10 Pociecha Wladylaw, Krolowa Bona (1494-1557), Czasy i Ludzie Odrodzenia, Poznan, 1949, vol I, pp. 158-161
11 Przezdziecki Aleksander, Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI wieku, Obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I. i Zygmunta Augusta Krolow Polskich, Krakow, 1869, vol I, p. 59
12 Duczmal Malgorzata, Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny, Krakow, 1996, p.167

Figure 3 The inner yard of Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow, Poland
for the Jagiello Dynasty (fig. 4), sent by Bartolomeo Berecci, another Florentine architect. The royal couples’ common interest in culture resulted in a court filled by international artists, poets, musicians, historians, who often became tutors of the royal children. It was the mother, Bona Sforza who overlooked the education of her offsprings. There is no doubt that young princess Catherine got a thorough education, although probably not as good as her oldest siblings, Isabella and Sigismund. As a result of the Italian entourage of their mother, the royal children were fluent in Italian and they could also speak Latin and German.

When Catherine was around 3 years old, the whole family spent a year in Lithuania, and after that she and her two older sisters spent their time mostly in a royal castle on a Wawel Hill in Cracow and in Niepolomice castle nearby. While the royal couple was often travelling and taking their older children with, the three younger sisters were left behind. During this time of their childhood they grew a strong bond that lasted through their life, which is expressed in the correspondence between the sisters. Malgorzata Duczmal marks that their letters, apart from being the important historical source and a proof of princesses’ high education, are also very personal and warm which testifies a true family love between the sisters. Princess Catherine turned 14 in 1540, which at the time was an age when she was considered old enough to marry. Even though there were several candidates asking for her hand, it took another 22 years before the marriage was settled. The reasons were several, but the main one was a growing conflict between her mother Bona and brother Sigismund August, that escalated after king Sigismund I’s death in 1548, and resulted in Bona leaving for Italy, to reside in her hereditary estate in Bari, near Naples. The year she left, 1556, she managed to marry off the oldest of three sisters, Sophia, to the Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Henry 5th. Upon her departure Bona left a few chests filled with jewels, garments, fabrics

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13 Pociecha Wladyslaw, Królowa Bona (1494-1557), Czasy i Ludzie Odrodzenia, Poznan, 1949, vol.II, p.8
15 Duczmal Malgorzata, Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny, Krakow, 1996, pp. 337-338
16 Duczmal Malgorzata, Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny, Krakow, 1996, p. 516
and silverware sealed in the cellar of Warsaw castle, and to be presented to her daughters on
the occasion of their marriage, as a part of their dowry. The duty of finding suitable
husbands for Anna and Catherine was now entirely in Sigismund II August’s hands. At that
time, the political situation in central Europe was very tense. The Russian tsar, Ivan the
Terrible, was doing everything to gain more power in the area by controlling Livonia, which
casted the outbreaks of a series of wars with neighboring countries, mostly Sweden and
Poland. The idea of joining forces between two countries to fight a mutual enemy together
came up already in 1554, when Sweden was at war with Russia 1554-1557. In 1556 the
Swedish king Gustav Vasa sent his agent to Cracow, to suggest a marriage between his oldest
son, crown prince Erik XIV and princess Anna Jagiellon. Royal marriages between European
powerhouses were a tool to establish long-lasting alliances in fights with a common enemy.
The plan never worked though, because Polish king Sigismund II August was at that time
obligated by a truce with the Russian tsar, and a year after even Sweden and Russia ceased
fire. Marriage talks between Sweden and Poland were postponed until 1561, but then, the new
Swedish king Erik XIV withdrew from the marriage prospect with Anna (his plan was to
marry Elizabeth I of England), and suggested his younger stepbrother, Johan as a suitable
candidate in his place. The talks about marriage arrangements took place in both Cracow and
Stockholm, and at the beginning of 1561 a Polish royal agent, Jan Baptysta Teczynski, arrived
in Åbo, the capital of the Duchy of Finland to consult the future groom, Johan Vasa. The
prince agreed to marry the Jagiellon princess, but Catherine, the younger sister. Malgorzata
Duczmal writes that this request seemed understandable, considering the age gap between 24-
year old Johan and 38-year old Anna at the time. Simultaneously, he proposed his younger
brother, prince Magnus, to marry Anna, to make the marriage prospect even possible, since
the Jagiello dynasty marriage policy required the older sister to get married before the
younger one. King Sigismund II August agreed to that and both princes were awaited in
Poland in the next months, during which the preparations of royal marriages and collecting
the dowries for the princesses took place. Unfortunately, the political atmosphere in Sweden
was changing due to the country losing control of Livonia. King Erik XIV started to see his
younger brother, Duke Johan, as a threat and more so his marriage with a Polish princess. He
withdrew his consent for the match and persuaded the Swedish council and estates to revision
his father’s, king Gustav Vasa, testament. This adjustment of the document is known as

17 Przedziecki Aleksander, Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI wieku, Obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I. i Zygmunta
Augusta Krolow Polskich, Krakow, 1869, vol II, pp. 234-235
18 Duczmal Malgorzata, Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny, Krakow, 1996, p. 341
Articles of Arboga, and it effectively tightened the royal control Erick had over his royal brothers. Erik XIV also saw that his brother’s alliance with the Polish king could weaken Sweden's control in Livonia. At that point, the Polish king started having doubts, knowing that the marriage without blessing from the Swedish king could project badly on countries political relations. But Johan’s loan of 120 000 thaler persuaded the king to agree and in exchange for the loan, king Sigismund 2nd August pledged seven castles in Livonia to Johan, one of which the Swedish army was about to besiege. Johan Vasa’s and Katarina Jagellonica’s marriage ceremony took place in Vilnius cathedral, on the 4th October 1562, and was followed by one-week wedding festivities. Guests were entertained by numerous horse racing, knight’s tournaments, music and theater plays. During the wedding week, an inventory of the items and entourage was written by the Polish and Swedish officials. Marriage contract also obliged Polish king to pay the princess 32 000 thaler as a part of her dowry, as well as 50 000 ducats left to her according to her mother’s last will. Sadly, this sums were never paid to her. On 12th of October the married couple was ready to begin their travel back to the Duchy of Finland and was determined to arrive in the Åbo castle before winter (fig. 5). Travel conditions were harsh, and the journey was long and full of accidents, but the couple managed to arrive on the Christmas Eve 1562, two and a half months after they left Vilnius. The arrival of a new duchess was celebrated for the next few months, filled with festivities. During this time Catherine Jagiellon could get to know the new environment and the new subjects. It was also the first time when the people living in the Duchy of Finland could see their new duchess. According to European wedding tradition, Johan Vasa ordered to display the contents of Catherine Jagiellon’s chests and carriages to impress the noblemen and attract the congratulators who came to see it. Her dowry was very rich and splendorous, and the amount

Figure 5 The modern air view of a castle in Turku (Åbo), Finland

20 Przezdziecki Aleksander, Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI wieku, Obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I. i Zygmunta Augusta Krolow Polskich, Krakow, 1869, vol III, p.40
21 Duczmal Małgorzata, Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny, Krakow, 1996, p. 342
of gold, silver, precious stones and textiles must have had a striking effect\textsuperscript{22}. It was also a time for her and her court to install themselves in the castle and adapt to the new arrangements. Her Polish entourage took care of her and her personal possessions, as well as made sure that she got the food she was accustomed to. Even though Sweden was undergoing a reformation process and was turning towards Lutheranism, Catherine Jagiellon was to keep her Catholic faith, and duke Johan Vasa made sure to satisfy her religious needs by allowing the castles oldest chapel to serve as a catholic church\textsuperscript{23}. Only 8 months after the arrival in Åbo the political situation between Johan Vasa and his brother, king Erik XIV significantly worsened, and the castle got besieged. 24th of August 1563 the ducal couple, together with their court and their closest advisors were taken to Vaxholm, where they were kept under the open sky for a few weeks. Finally, at the beginning of September they were taken to Gripsholm castle where Johan Vasa was to serve his imprisonment for treason. To avoid an open conflict with Poland for keeping the duchess captive, the Swedish king offered Catherine Jagiellon the choice to come back to Poland or to stay in Sweden where she could live according to her rank, but she decided to follow her husband to prison\textsuperscript{24}. At that point all of the possessions of the ducal couple were taken away from them and included into the Swedish treasury. From the whole court, the princess was allowed to keep only 2 male servants, 2 ladies of waiting and 2 female court dwarfs with whom she was really close. The rest of her entourage was discharged and either stayed in Sweden or went back to Poland\textsuperscript{25}. Catherine Jagiellon and Johan Vasa were released from their prison in Gripsholm castle 4\textsuperscript{th} of October 1567. During the 4 years of imprisonment the duchess gave birth to 2 children, a daughter Isabella (1564), who died when she was just 1,5 years old, and a son, Sigismund (1566) who later became king of Sweden and Poland\textsuperscript{26}.

\textbf{2.2 The Inventory of Catherine Jagiellon}

The inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry was an integral part of the so called \textit{Pacta matrimonialia}, a series of documents, written during marriage negotiations between king Sigismund 2\textsuperscript{nd} August and duke Johan Vasa, regarding the conditions and benefits of merging

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Duczmal Malgorzata, \textit{Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny}, Krakow, 1996, p. 343
\item \textsuperscript{23} Rangström Lena, \textit{En brud för kung och fosterland, Kungliga bröllop från Gustav Vasa till Carl XVI Gustaf}, Stockholm, 2010, p. 82
\item \textsuperscript{24} Duczmal Malgorzata, \textit{Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny}, Krakow, 1996, p. 344
\item \textsuperscript{25} Dubieniecki Marian, \textit{Katarzyna Jagiellonka, królowa szwedzka, opowiesc historyczna}, in: \textit{Obrazy i studia historyczne}, seria II, Warszawa, 1899, pp. 305-310
\item \textsuperscript{26} Duczmal Malgorzata, \textit{Jagiellonowie- leksykon biograficzny}, Krakow, 1996, p. 344
\end{itemize}
two dynasties. The documents were a result of the laws that were developing since the 12th century, allowing women take a part in family property. Apart of the inventory of a dowry, so called paraphernalia, they also hold an information about the sum of money securing the marriage, as well as information about the date and whereabouts of the ceremony. Since the 15th century, the documents regarding marital unions of the Jagiello family were always included in the Polish royal archives called Metrica Regni Poloniae and therefore they are quite well preserved. The Inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry was written on the 8th of October 1562. The original document is kept in the Ossolineum Library in Wroclaw, but the whole document is scanned, and its high-resolution copy is accessible online through the library services. The inventory is in the form of a book, its pages are numbered and bound together, protected by a hard leather cover. The overall state of the document is good, there is no damage to the pages, the text is clear and easy to read. However, the document is not complete, and a part of it is missing from the beginning. It is a list considering horses and coaches, which is noted in the document. The list of those items was written down separately by the royal equerry and, as it seems, it was never attached to the original document. The inventory starts with an introduction of the members of the committee that was responsible for listing the objects in the document. The members of the committee were from both Poland and Sweden and they were all trusted members of the royal and ducal court. From the Polish side the persons responsible were Reverend Piotr Myszkowski, who at the time was the highest secretary of The Polish- Lithuanian commonwealth. He was also holding positions of The Dean of Cracow and The Parson of Gniezno, the two most important religious and political centers in the country. Other officials were Father Stanislaw Czarnkowski, The Custodian of Leczyca, The Canon in Cracow and The Referendary of His Majesty the King of Poland; Jan Kostka from Stembork, The Castellan of Gdansk and The Treasurer of Prussian Lands; Stanislaw Wloszek, The governor of the Zizmorski district and The Court Treasurer of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The names of the Swedish representatives are Mr Hans Flaming, Mr Henrich Klaus and Mr Hans Szych. It is more than possible that the author of the document misspelled their names. Hans Fleming was an architect and fortification engineer employed by Johan Vasa but in 1583, the year of Catherine Jagiellons death. Most likely the person that the author meant was Herman Fleming, one of dukes most

28 Appendix, p. 35
trusted admirals and advisors\textsuperscript{30}. Henrich Klaus is probably Henrik Klasson, a governor and a diplomat, who also belonged to the dukes nearest circle\textsuperscript{31}. Both are confirmed to follow Johan Vasa onboard \textit{Ursus Finlandicus} to Poland\textsuperscript{32}. The third person is probably Hans Skotte, who was duke Johan Vasa’s chamber servant. The introduction of the inventory also names Jan Koniecki, a courtier of princesses Anna and Catherine Jagiellon, as well as appraisers, goldsmiths and embroiderers both Polish and Swedish. All the items are divided in groups according to their function and/or qualities and written down in order considering their value, starting with the most valuable ones such as jewels and finishing with the items of a daily use. Additionally, the jewels, pearls, and bejeweled fashion accessories are presented in their monetary value written in thalers and, in the case of silver, its weight. First on the list were Catherine Jagiellon’s jewels and pieces of clothing decorated with precious stones, gold and silver decorations, followed by pearls used as jewels and as a decoration of various items. After that the inventory lists bejeweled decorative fittings sewn to the garments and the collection of silver items in form of silverware, chamber and bath, and a liturgical silver. Next part of the inventory describes numerous textiles of Catherine Jagiellon such as garments, interior textiles and liturgical textiles. After that the inventory lists the objects linked to the wine cellar and kitchen. Further, there is a note that a list of horses and coaches is to be acquired from the equerry of Her Royal Majesty, Mr. Nagorski, the part of the inventory that is missing from it. The inventory ends with a document listing the names of the members of the entourage that followed the princess. Unfortunately, the value of the whole inventory is not known, because starting with the garments of Her Highness the evaluation was omitted. The joined value of the assessed objects was 107 136 thaler for the jewelry and 467 grzywna 41 groschen 4 dinars for the silver. \textit{Grzywna Krakowska} was the common measurement unit used in Poland since medieval times\textsuperscript{33}. A similar inventory of a dowry was made for Elisabeth Vasa, the youngest sibling of duke Johan Vasa, married to Christopher, the duke of Mecklenburg, in 1581. The person responsible for the Princess’s dowry was her brother\textsuperscript{34}. The document called \textit{Inventarium öfver Hertiginnans af Mecklemburg Paraphenalia 1581} is stored in the Swedish National Archives. The inventory in structured very similarly to the one of princess Catherine. It’s worth mentioning that in contrast to this inventory, all of

\textsuperscript{31} Entry: Henrik Klasson (Horn), \textit{Svenskt biografiskt lexikon}, band 19, 1971-1973, p. 353
\textsuperscript{32} Rangström Lena, \textit{En brud för kung och fosterland, Kungliga bröllop från Gustav Vasa till Carl XVI Gustaf}, Stockholm, 2010, p. 78
\textsuperscript{33} Brückner Alexander, \textit{Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego}, Warszawa, 1985, p. 163
\textsuperscript{34} Brunius Jan, \textit{Vasatidens samhälle, En vägledning till arkiven 1520-1620 i Riksarkivet}, Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2010, p. 100
Elizabeth’s items were valued, which allows us to assess, how much the whole dowry was worth. As in Catherine’s example the list starts with Jewels decorated with precious stones, of which the most expensive is a diamond pendant valued at 2400 thaler. Jewels are followed by silver objects, fittings with gems, silver cups, garments, sleeves, ruffs, capes, bed linens, bed canopies, hats, decorations for the clothes (like passement, guards), tapestries, beds, pieces of silk for further use and matrasses. The inventory of Elizabeth doesn’t contain any information about the kitchen equipment and the princess’s entourage. It does however contain a section describing Elizabeth Vasa’s equestrian equipment such as coaches and saddles, which are missing in Catherine Jagiellon’s document. The total worth of princess’s Elizabeth possessions was written at the end of the inventory and was valued at 50 993 thaler, which makes nearly a half of what only the jewels of Catherine Jagiellon were worth.

Elizabeth Vasa got much more money to secure her dowry though, in total 100 000 thaler, in comparison to 32 000 promised to princess Catherine. Nevertheless, the dowry of Elisabeth Vasa was also quite splendidous and represented her as a princess coming from a high-ranked powerhouse of early modern Europe. It was Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry that was exceptionally rich and contained more jewels than princesses coming from such families as Habsburg.

2.3 Jewelry

The jewelry listed in Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory was valued by the committee and goldsmiths at 107 136 thaler “in Specie” as already mentioned above. The collection contained 17 necklaces, 10 pendants, 4 diamond crosses, 25 golden chains, 12 golden belts, 2 silver belts, 2 medallions, 3 pearl wreaths, 10 bracelets, 13 pearl bonnets, 15 bramki made of pearls, around 1700 bejeweled aiglets for the gowns, and uncountable amount of pearls sewn to garments, headwear and fashion accessories. The most precious of the items was

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35 Inventarium öfver Hertiginnans af Mecklemburg Paraphanalia 1581, Svenska prinsars och prinsessors arkiv RA, K 33, p. 2r
36 Inventarium öfver Hertiginnans af Mecklemburg Paraphanalia 1581, Svenska prinsars och prinsessors arkiv RA, K 33, p. 21v
37 Tegenborg Falkdalen Karin, Vasadöttrarna, Lund, 2010, p. 194
38 Letkiewicz Ewa, Klejnoty w Polsce. Czasy ostatnich Jagiellonów i Wazów, Lublin, 2006, p.100
40 Turska Krystyna, Wyprawy ślubne dwóch Jagiellonek: Jadwigi (1475) i Katarzyny (1562), in: Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej, R.XL, 1992, nr 1, p. 10
undoubtedly a necklace that is listed in the second position in the inventory, priced at 16 800 thaler, and is described as:

“Second necklace, golden with three table cut diamonds, two table cut rubies, six oriana pearls and pendant, in which one big table cut diamond is placed on the inner side with one table cut ruby on the outer side. Below big hanging pearl. Valued at: 16800 thaler”

The descriptions of the jewels are very short and in the majority of examples focus only on the amount, shape and size of precious stones. In very few cases the actual shape or figurative decoration of the jewels is presented. It is also hard to assess, what the authors of the inventory meant by big and small diamonds, without writing down its weight. Looking at the preserved examples from the 16th century as well as portraits of royals and nobles of that time, one can only imagine what those jewels looked like. There are examples of the necklaces and pendants decorated with stones, weighing up to a few hundred carats, placing the renaissance jewels on top of the objects manifesting power and status (fig. 6). The impact of the gold and gemstones from the New World let the goldsmithery flourish in the artistic and technical way, so that even the most extravagant creations found patrons in the powerful rulers of that age. During Charles 5th early reign, Spain was importing around 3000 kg of gold and precious stones per year. The ships with the precious cargo were unloaded in Seville from where they spread all over Europe. Some of it was for the use of the Crown, some went to the open market. Almost no renaissance jewelry from Eastern Europe can be traced. The main problem in establishing jewel’s place of origin lays in family connections between most of the royal families, and most of the monarchs married more than once. The artists who made the

Figure 6 Portrait of Anne of Austria, queen of Poland, wearing a big bejeweled necklace, Jan Szwalkowski, c. 1592, Royal Castle in Warsaw, An example of a diamond pendant with initials IHS, A bejeweled pendant, Germany, c. 1560, Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden

41 Appendix, p. 2
42 Hackenbroch Yvonne, Renaissance jewelery, London, 1979, p. xi
jewels also moved frequently between countries, looking for a new patronage or big events as royal weddings or coronation, that would bring some profit to them. Some of them were forced to move as a result of war or religious events. One of such situations is connected to Polish royal court of King Sigismund 1st, who asked the author Pietro Aretino for recommendations of outstanding Italian goldsmiths who had to flee Rome after the sack 1527. Among those who were employed by him was Gian Jacopo Caraglio of Verona, the goldsmith and gem-cutter who created the cameo portrait of his wife, Bona Sforza (fig. 7)\textsuperscript{43}.

One of the most important sets of jewelry that helps to understand Jagiellon’s love to the precious stones as well as allows to imagine the richness of the family’s treasury, is the wedding gift from king Sigismunt 1\textsuperscript{st} presented to his eldest daughter Jadwiga. She got married to the elector of Brandenburg, Joachim II Hector in 1535 and was presented by her parents with a splendorous dowry, part of which was a silver jewelry casket, ordered by the king in 1533 from an unknown workshop in Nuremberg. The gilded casket is covered in engraved ornaments and arranged with different kinds of jewels such as golden pendants, brooches and rings encrusted with precious stones and pearls, that were sent to Nuremberg from Cracow. It is also decorated with the bejeweled coat of arms of Jadwiga Jagiellon and

\textsuperscript{43} Hackenbroch Yvonne, Renaissance jewelry, London, 1979, p. Xii
Joachim II\textsuperscript{44}. The casket is an example of a masterpiece of European goldsmithery of the 1\textsuperscript{st} half of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, nevertheless it contains some formal elements visible later in the jewelry of Jadwiga’s younger siblings (fig. 8).

\textit{Figure 8 The casket of Jadwiga Jagiellon and its detail, unknown workskop in Nuremberg, 1533, The State Ermitage Museum, St Petersburg}

\textsuperscript{44} Piwacka Magdalena, Nowacki Dariusz, Jadwiga Jagiellon’s casket of 1533, A source of primary importance to our knowledge about the jewels of the Polish Jagiellons, in: Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae, vol. 20, 2015, p. 437-439
The only known piece of jewelry that survived to our time and is confirmed as originally owned by Catherine Jagiellon, as well as recognized in the inventory is a pendant with a “C” monogram (fig. 9). It was discovered in the queen’s tomb during the inventory works in the Cathedral of Uppsala, in 1833. The pendant is in form of a cartouche made of gold and decorated with enamel and precious stones. In the center is a letter “C” made of diamonds and with a crown made of rubies on top. Inside the letter there is a small figurine of a putto made of white enamel. The background is filled with a red, green and blue enamel decoration in form of flowers and fruits and imitation of folded cartouche edges. The reverse side of the pendant is enameled with renaissance blue and red band ornament against the white background and painted with gold moresque patterns.  

In the inventory, it is described as a part of necklace:

“Made of seven parts, with two table cut diamonds and six pair of pearls in each. Pendant with a letter “C” made of diamonds, with the ruby crown above. A pearl at the bottom. Valued at: 800 thaler”.


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*Figure 9 Catherine Jagiellon’s pendant, Nicoulaus Nonarth, 1546, Treasury of Cathedral in Uppsala in Sweden*
The pearl mentioned in the inventory was not preserved to our times, but the slot at the bottom of the pendant suggests where it was hanged. There is very little iconographical material showing Catherine Jagiellon, but the pendant can be identified on two of her portraits and its history can be tracked through archival sources. It is shown on Catherine Jagiellon’s portrait painted by the workshop of Lucas Cranach The Younger and is a part of the series of portraits made for the royal Polish family, painted in the 1550’s. (fig. 10, fig. 11). The other portrait was painted somewhat later by an unknown Polish master that used Lucas Cranach’s portrait as a template. On this painting, the princess is shown in a whole figure and one can clearly recognize the monogrammed pendant decorating her neck (fig. 12). The painting belonged to Anna Catherine Constanza, Catherine Jagiellon’s granddaughter, and was taken with her to Neuburg, as a part of her dowry on her marriage with Filip Wilhelm of Palatine Zweibrücken, in 1642.\(^\text{46}\) Sadly, the portrait was destroyed during World War II and is only known today from black and white photographs.

\(^{46}\) Hahr August, Drottning Katarina Jagiellonica och Vasarenässansen, Uppsala, 1940, p. 34–35
Figure 11 Detail of Catherine Jagiellon portrait, Lucas Cranach The Younger, 1562, oil on copper, Czartoryski Museum in Krakow

Figure 12 Catherine Jagiellon, painter unknown, 1550s, portrait destroyed during World War II, formerly in possession of Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Germany
The jewel belonged to a series of three pendants with monograms “C”, “A”, and “S”, ordered by Polish king Sigismund the 1st of Poland as a gifts for his daughters Catherine, Anna and Sofia. It was made by a goldsmith Nicolaus Nonarth in Nuremberg in Germany, as stated in the transaction document from 1546. Unfortunately from all three pendants only the one belonging to Catherine survived to our times. The pendant belonging to Catherine’s sister Anna was discovered in 1791 during the first scientific exploration of the royal tombs in Wawel Cathedral in Cracow. It was found in the grave of Anna of Austria (Habsburg), first spouse of king Sigismund 3rd Vasa, Catherine Jagiellon’s son. Since then it was in possession of Czartoryski family and a part of the first Polish museum collection. Unfortunately, it was stolen, together with many other items from this collection at the beginning of the World War II in 1939 by Nazis. Pendant was never found after the war and is today only known from the black and white photograph taken just before it was lost, and a colored lithography from 1855 (fig. 13). The history and whereabouts of Sophia Jagiellon’s pendant are unknown. The jewel was not mentioned in the inventory of her dowry written when she married Henry V, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1556, nor in her inheritance inventory. It was painted twice on Sophia Jagiellon’s portraits, firstly on the miniature portrait by Lucas Cranach the Younger, as in case of her sisters, the second portrait was lost during World War II.

Figure 13 The pendant with monogram A, belonging to Anna Jagiellon, Nicolaus Nonarth, 1546

47 Nowacki Dariusz, Piwocka Magdalena, Klejnoty w dawnej Polsce, Warszawa, 2011, p. 62
48 Nowacki Dariusz, Piwocka Magdalena, Klejnoty w dawnej Polsce, Warszawa, 2011, p. 64
All three pendants show the highest craftsmanship in goldsmithery of 1540’s. The preserved jewel of Catherine Jagiellon amazes even today with the perfect execution and the quality of gems and enamel. It had to be not only of a great esthetical, but also emotional value to the princess, since she kept it her whole life and it was a part of her burial costume. The pendant also indicates how rich and beautiful the rest of the jewelry Catherine Jagiellon brought with her to Sweden was. Although it’s impossible to identify the rest of the jewelry from her dowry due to very vague descriptions in the inventory and a nonexistent material with confirmed provenience, it’s possible to analyze and compare the rest of the jewels from both of princess’s portraits with existing or recorded material from this period in various museums and collections. Both portraits of Catherine Jagiellon, as well as her sisters shows jewelry that is thought to be actual items possessed and worn by the princesses. Several types of chains, necklaces and crosses were owned or found or recorded by other family members, so it is very possible that the jewels owned by princess Catherine came from the same source or were even made by the same goldsmith. The comparison of known jewels with the confirmed provenience belonging to her family gives a grasp of what some of the items mentioned in the inventory could have looked like. According to historian Ewa Letkiewicz the analogies can be found in a type of jewelry worn by all three younger sisters (Catherine, Sophia and Anna) on their portraits (fig. 14) painted by Lucas Cranach the Younger. All three women are dressed in similar costumes: a black, probably velvet gown, with a white tight high collar around the neck. They are wearing matching velvet headwear and even their hair is covered with a kind of decorative shimmering net (it’s hard to deduct from the painting what it is exactly but in Catherine Jagiellons inventory we read about golden and silver nets decorated with pearls).

Figure 14 Three younger daughters of king Sigismund I and Bona Sforza, as follows: Catherine, Sophia and Anne, Detail from Familia Sigismundi I Jagellonidis Regis Poloniae portrait, by Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1562, Czartoryski Museum in Cracow
Each princess wears a very decorative and rich jewelry set. Not only their gowns are covered with decorative golden fittings (fig. 15) but even their headwear’s are decorated with so called “bramki”, a special golden or silver plaques covered with gems and jewels used deliberately to beautify and raise the value and a quality of this kind of hat worn by Polish women in 16th century (fig. 16). Each sister wears a short, golden necklace decorated with rubies and diamonds composed in floral decoration, to which their monogram pendant is attached. One of the necklaces in the Catherine Jagiellon inventory, under number 8, is described as:

“With three roses made of diamonds, two roses made of rubies and six pair of pearls.”

One can’t exclude the possibility that the description matches this exact necklace. Even though there is no information on the length of it, the number of jewels suggest it was quite short (Fig. 17). Each sister also wears a set of three long chains, one made of pearls, one made of pearls and presumably some kind of gems or golden chain links, and a very decorative

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50 Turnau Irena, Słownik ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatekackie, skóry, broń i klejnoty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w., Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 28
gold chain with encrusted various big gems in it (fig. 17). There are two pearl chains mentioned in the inventory, in the list over pearls, one made of big oriana pearls and the second one, stated as necklace, also made of oriana pearls:

“1. The chain made of big oriana pearls. Valued at 1000 thaler
2. Necklace made of round oriana pearls. Valued at: 985 thaler”

Both descriptions could match the presented jewels. There is no information about the chain made of pearls together with some other gems. There is however a description of a pearl chain with apple-shaped chain links listed in the list of chains without gems.

“4. Chain made of oriana pearls outside and golden apple chain links inside. Valued at: 1320 thaler”

Here the second of Catherine Jagiellon portraits may come with some help, where the artist painted the princess’s jewels more carefully, and with bigger attention to detail (fig. 19).

The links in between pearls may be the apple-shaped chain links but the lack of surviving objects to compare with, and a very vague understanding of how those chain links looked like can’t give the exact answer. When it comes to the third chain, made of gold and encrusted with gems (fig. 18, fig. 19.), there are a couple of descriptions that allow to find a relation between the chain and the inventory, yet again it is hard to find a perfectly matching information about just that one. The existing objects connected to the Jagiellon family as well as some iconographical material allow to take a closer look on how this type of chain might have looked like. The closest analogy of Catherine Jagiellon’s golden chain and other jewels, is the jewelry that belonged to her older sister Isabella, and pieces preserved in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. Isabella married a Hungarian king, John Zápolya in 1539. Her dowry was valuated at 70 000 ducats. Unfortunately, the inventory over it is unknown.

Considering, however, the fact that Catherine Jagiellon brought over 2000 pieces of jewelry with her, one can only expect that Isabella’s list of jewels wasn’t less luxurious. Also, she was queens Bona Sforza favorite daughter.\(^\text{51}\) It is also worth mentioning that when the future marriage of Catherine Jagiellon and Johan Vasa was decided, Isabella was very involved in collecting items for her younger sisters’ dowry. She was corresponding with their brother, Polish king Sigismund the 2\(^{nd}\) August, who was responsible for the marriages and wedding

gifts of his younger sisters. One cannot exclude the possibility that on one of the occasions of buying jewels for the younger princesses, he also got a golden chain for Isabella, with whom he was very closely connected.\textsuperscript{52} The golden chain of Isabella Jagiellon (fig. 20) is dated to the mid of 16\textsuperscript{th} century and it is an example of jewelry that Catherine could have had with her when she married duke Johan Vasa. Its links are big and richly decorated in filigree, with gems and pearls in the middle, as well as painted with colorful enamels. Other pieces that are associated with Isabella Jagiellon is an openwork golden pendant with opals and colorful enamels, as well as a sharp cut diamond ring (fig. 20.) Closely related to Isabella Jagiellons chain is a jewel belonging to Constance of Austria (1588-1631), the second wife of Catherine Jagiellon’s son Sigismund 3\textsuperscript{rd} Vasa (1566-1632), the king of Poland and Sweden. The chain originally had 36 big decorative links. Sadly, only 10 of them survived the World War II, but nevertheless the preserved fragment shows the very quality and high craftmanship of the goldsmith (fig. 21). Despite the ongoing discussion over the provenience of this chain and its dating\textsuperscript{53}, one can’t ignore the formal analogies between the chain belonging to princess Isabella and this one. The form of

\textsuperscript{52} Letkiewicz Ewa, \textit{Klejnoty w Polsce. Czasy ostatnich Jagiellonów i Wazów}, Lublin, 2006, p.70-72

\textsuperscript{53} Art historians Dariusz Nowacki and Magdalena Piwocka date it for the end of 16\textsuperscript{th} century. After: Nowacki Dariusz, Piwocka Magdalena, \textit{Klejnoty w dawnej Polsce}, Warszawa, 2011, p.72
the chain and its chain links, as well as decorative enamels suggest, that it could even come from the same workshop.\textsuperscript{54} It may even be possible that this jewel was a part of the Jagiellon legacy obtained by Sigismund 3\textsuperscript{rd} Vasa on becoming the king of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He and his sister Anna Vasa also inherited jewels after their mother Catherine Jagiellon, according to her will, written three months before her death in 1583. She writes:

“We want to divide all our possessions between them (children) equally. And so firstly all our valuables in jewels and apparels and other kinds of treasures, that are in Mr Lancki custody, after making an equal division in two parts, together with listing a valuation of things, there is a share for each child. Secondly there is a silverware, closed in two chests, it shall be divided in the same way. It should be done the same to our Neapolitan heritage, which will be received in incoming years, to be equally by this principle divided (...).”\textsuperscript{55}

Unfortunately, there are no lists of this division made by Mr Lancki that survived up to this day, but there are no doubts that some of Catherine Jagiellon’s jewels were taken back to Poland with her children Sigismund and Anna. Maybe even chains in type of the one owned by Isabella Jagiellon and Constance of Austria. There are a few crosses listed in the inventory, both with chains and as separate pendants. On the Cranach’s portrait three younger sisters Catherine, Sophia and Anna wear a small very similar shaped cross, made of gold, encrusted with cut elongated gems and with a big pearl hanging below (fig. 22). It’s hard to match Catherines cross with the description in the inventory, but one can compare the crosses from the portrait with the jewel that belonged to Catherines Jagiellon’s son, Sigismund. The cross that was discovered in his grave by Tadeusz Czacki in 1791 is unfortunately only known from the photography and a chromolithography, because it disappeared during the World War II (fig 23). In the literature, the cross is dated for 17th century, but as Ewa Letkiewicz suggests, its form, decoration and the way the gems are fitted indicates an earlier dating, the 1\textsuperscript{st} half of 16\textsuperscript{th} century, and that it could have been a part of the Jagiellon legacy inherited by Sigismund when he became the king of Poland. Letkiewicz compares the cross with the projects of Virgilius Solis (1514-1562), a

\textsuperscript{54} Letkiewicz Ewa, Klejnoty w Polsce. Czasy ostatnich Jagiellonów i Wazów, Lublin, 2006, p.155
\textsuperscript{55} Schröder Johan, Henrik, Testamentum Catharinæ Jagellonicæ, reginae Sveciae, ex schedis bibliothecæ acad. Upsal. editum. Venia..., Uppsala, 1831, p. 9-10
Nuremberg based illustrator and printer, whose jewelry designs often served as models for 16th century jewelry. Some of his projects preserved in Victoria and Albert Museum in London reminiscence the cross in Sigismund’s possession, as well as can serve as an analogy for the crosses worn by the princesses at the Cranach’s portrait (fig. 24).

Figure 23 The cross of Sigismund 3rd August, chromolithography after Przezdziecki, Rastowiecki, 1853-1855

Figure 24 Virgilius Solis (1514-1562), projects of crosses (1530-1562), Victoria and Albert Museum, London

In her publication, Letkiewicz writes about similarities between Sigismund 3rd Vasa’s cross and the one from the picture on the right, although she points out that there are some parts missing, like the pearl decoration in between the arms of the cross. But Victoria and Albert collection possess one more design made by Solis, that in my opinion is a more accurate example to compare with the kings’ cross. The form of it is almost the same, including the pearl hanging beneath. The only difference is the number and shape of encrusted gems.

Taking into account that the Jagiellons were often acquiring jewelry from the goldsmith and workshops located in the south of Germany, one cannot exclude the possibility that this object also comes from there, as well as maybe the crosses worn by the princesses from the Cranach’s portraits. Another cross that one can compare with a jewel preserved to modern times, but also lost during the World War II was a cross depicted on Catherine Jagiellon’s Nuremberg’s portrait (fig. 25). Her sister, Anna, owned a very similar jewel (fig. 26), which is depicted numerous on her preserved portraits. The inventory mentions:

“The smaller (cross) golden diamond one, with seven table cut diamonds and hanging pearl. Valued at: 1000 thaler”.

Figure 25 Detail of destroyed portrait of Catherine Jagiellon, showing the cross

Figure 26 The cross of Anna Jagiellon
The description, although vague, matches the cross from the portrait considering the number of stones and a pearl. Even though the quality of the only photocopy of the destroyed portrait is very low, the formal similarities with the cross belonging to Anna is very clear. It is possible that Catherine’s cross mentioned in the inventory looked like the one in Anna’s possession. The pearl from Anna’s cross is missing in the photo, but according to her portraits, as the one from Wawel Royal Castle collection in Cracow, it also had one hanging beneath (fig. 27)

![Figure 27 Portrait of Anna Jagiellon, queen of Poland, Marcin Kober, before 1595, Wawel Royal Castle, Krakow, Poland](image)

An interesting group of jewels owned by Catherine Jagiellon are the ones that are strictly connected to her wardrobe. The dowry mentions numerous garments and fashion accessories that are listed under the list of jewelry, because they were decorated with pearls, precious
stones, golden threads, aiglets, as well as decorative fittings called *feretki*\(^{57}\) that were sewn to the garments. The largest group of these small decorative elements were the ones that appear in hundreds on different types of garments, as well as Catherine Jagiellon’s headwear such as *biretek*\(^{58}\), bonnets and caps. The fittings had varied sizes and shapes (like sphere-shaped, rose-shaped or scull-shaped)\(^{59}\), were made of precious metals and were also decorated with gems. All those small items could be removed and reused but also “upcycled” as it in the case of a necklace made of fittings, mentioned in princess Catherine inventory, namely:

*15. Fifteenth necklace without gems, composed of enameled fittings connected with chains. Valued at: 15 thaler 25 groschen*\(^{60}\).

Fittings owned by Catherine Jagiellon were not only made by Polish goldsmiths but also by French and Spanish ones like in those two cases:

2. *One-hundred-eight French fittings and one hundred-six elongated and circular aiglets in between them, on a brown, ornate, teleta apparel. Valued at: 328 thaler*

3. *Forty-nine Spanish fittings on the black teleta apparel, decorated with gold. Valued at: 262 thaler*\(^{61}\)

In fact, in both of her portraits, princess Catherine Jagiellon wears a dress decorated with these small, but as it seems almost indispensable, fashion accessories (fig. 29). Another reusable and adjustable fashion accessory that we can read about in the dowry is so called

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\(^{57}\) Feret (pol., pl. feretki) from Italian ferretto: a small golden or silver decorative object in form of clasp or buckle. After: *Klejnoty w Polsce, Czasy ostatnich Jagiellonów i Wazów*, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 2006, p. 452

\(^{58}\) Biretek was a female headwear in a shape of biretta, decorated with feathers and gems, worn by Polish women in 15\(^{th}\) century. After: *Turnau Irena*, ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatackie, skóry, broń i klejnoty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w., Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 24

\(^{59}\) Appendix, p. 8

\(^{60}\) Appendix, p. 3

\(^{61}\) Appendix p. 11
bramki, which was a decorative piece of fabric, embroidered with golden or silver threads, with pearls and precious stones stitched to it. Bramki were used as a decorative trimming in various elements of women dress, for example around the edges of the sleeves and around the hems of chemises, but also around the headwear. In both portraits, Catherine Jagiellon is wearing black headwear, presumably biretek, the front of which is decorated with some precious stones and pearls, probably sewn to a piece of fabric. On the portraits her hair appear to be tucked into a piece of fabric, which is probably one of her bonnets, embroidered with golden threads and pearls, that also appear in the lists of jewels and are titled Pearl bonnets (fig.30) 62.

Looking at the preserved jewelry owned by the members of Jagiellon from 16th century helps to imagine and understand the richness of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry a little bit more. According to her dowry, she even owned a jeweled fashion accessory that was meant to manifest the wearers wealth and luxuriousness, even though its look and origins may raise a brow nowadays. The piece is Catherine Jagiellon’s sable fur, identified as zibellino63. In the document it is described as:

“Black sable stitched out of two single ones. Its head and four of its paws are made of gold and decorated with gems. In the head: eight rubies, eight table-cut rubies, eyes two balas-rubies, at the top of the head one elongated emerald, four raut-cut diamonds, twenty-two

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62 Appendix, p. 9

table-cut diamonds. Golden chain is hanging from the fangs coming out of its mouth, and there is a ruby on top of each front and back paw. Valued at: 1400 thaler”.

Zibellino, or fur jewelry, was one of the most exclusive and peculiar fashion accessories worn by women during 15th and 16th century in Europe. It originated from sable, beaver or marten furs, that were very practical part of a lady’s wardrobe, especially during winter. Women often wrapped them around their necks and arms to cover themselves from cold drafts. But the furs had also another function, namely, they served as flea traps. The insects attracted by its scent were caught, and collected in small, costly, cage-like containers, often in a form of pendants or attached to the belt (fig.31). Ewa Letkiewicz argues that the names of the fur in Czech and German language confirm this peculiar function of it. With time, the small furs become more and more decorative, transforming into a very splendorous fashion accessory. They were often encrusted with precious stones, enamels and decorated with gold and silver elements imitating head and paws so the fur resembled the real animal. The first zibellino noted in Poland, belonged to princess Catherine Jagiellon’s sister in law, Catherine of Habsburg, and was mentioned in the inventory of her dowry, when she married Sigismund 2nd August in 1553. But it was already common in other parts of Europe like Italy, Germany and England. The ladies

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64 Appendix, p.6
65 Bleši kožešinka in Czech and Flohpelz in German can be translated as flea fur, after: Letkiewicz Ewa, Zibellino na dworze Jagiellonow. Sobolowe futra z klejnotami królowych Katarzyny Austriaczki i Katarzyny Jagiellonki, in: Kwartalnik kultury materialnej nr 272006, p. 203
66 Letkiewicz Ewa, Zibellino na dworze Jagiellonow. Sobolowe futra z klejnotami królowych Katarzyny Austriaczki i Katarzyny Jagiellonki, in: Kwartalnik kultury materialnej nr 272006, p. 205-206
from royal and prominent European families often portrayed themselves wearing or holding richly decorated zibellino. The furs from portraits of Elisabeth of Valois, Isabella de Medici and Anna of Austria, Duchess of Bavaria, belong to the finest examples from the middle of 16th century (fig. 32). Moreover, the fur belonging to Anna of Austria was documented by the author of her portrait, Hans Mielich, few years earlier, as an illumination on vellum (fig. 33). The illustration shows a close-up view of the construction of the fur, as it displays both the outer and inner side of it, which is never shown on the portraits.

Figure 32 Elisabeth de Valois, Juan Pantoja dela Cruz, 1605 Museo del Prado, Madrid; Isabella de Medici, Alessandro Allori, 1550-1555, Galeria degli Ufizzi, Florence; Anna of Austria, Duchess of Bavaria, Hans Mielich, 1556, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Figure 33 Hans Mielich, zibellino of Anna of Austria, illumination on vellum, 1555, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
Sable furs decorated with jewels are also known from graphic designs of Erasmus Hornick, a goldsmith from Antwerp. He created a series of zibellino designs around 1562, when he was visiting Germany\textsuperscript{67} (fig. 34).

The zibellino owned by princess Catherine was made from black sable fur, which was also the most expensive type of fur. The process of dying furs black was not only long and costly, but also weakened the skin and the bristle. That is why only very few furs were ennobled by dyeing during renaissance, which enhanced their value. In the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Poland was the main European exporter of black dyed furs, as the best dyers were working in Danzig. It is known that Catherine’s mother, Bona Sforza, was sending polish luxurious dyed sable and beaver furs to Italy\textsuperscript{68}. It is also possible that the example from her inventory actually belonged to her mother and was presented to her by king Sigismund 2\textsuperscript{nd} August, together with some other jewels that

\textsuperscript{67} Letkiewicz Ewa, Zibellino na dworze Jagiellonow. Sobolowe futra z klejnotami krolowych Katarzyny Austriaczki i Katarzyny Jagiellonki, in: Kwartalnik kultury materialnej nr 272006, p. 205
\textsuperscript{68} Letkiewicz Ewa, Zibellino na dworze Jagiellonow. Sobolowe futra z klejnotami krolowych Katarzyny Austriaczki i Katarzyny Jagiellonki, in: Kwartalnik kultury materialnej nr 272006, p. 209
he got sent to him after Bona Sforza’s death. Catherine Jagniełons zibellino didn’t survive to this day, but a few examples of zibellino heads from 16th century are preserved in various jewelry collections around the world and give an impression of what this kind of jewel looked like (fig. 35).

2.4 The list of Silver

The silver in the inventory is divided into five groups which are: cups, silverware, comorne silver, bath silver and liturgical silver. All together Catherine Jagniełon owned 185 silver items that were valued according to its type and weight in grzywna krakowska. The types were: gilded, partially gilded and not gilded, so called white silver. At the beginning of the list the authors wrote an exchange rate for each type of silver from its weight to thaler, which was valued at:

- 12, 5 thaler for 1 grzywna of gilded silver
- 10,5 thaler for 1 grzywna of partially gilded silver
- 8 thaler for 1 grzywna of white, not gilded silver

The list of gilded silverware names 46 cups for drinking wine, of which 12 are described as big with covers, of Nuremberg work, and decorated with the coat of arms of her Majesty. Another set of 12 smaller cups, was also made in Nuremberg. It seems like those two sets were commissioned before the wedding and were intended for Catherine Jagniełon as a part of her dowry. The list of further 22 cups contains various sets of cups, some of them described as of Nuremberg work, some of them of Hungarian work, some of them even decorated with lids and white flowers. The weight of those cups indicates that they were smaller and maybe their decoration or shape varied as their weight lies

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70 Comorne- komorne from komorzy, podkomorzy which was the office held in Polish Kingdom. Komorzy or podkomorzy was responsible for royal apartments and it equipments.
71 Appendix, p. 12
between 3-8 grzywna. The list mentions even the cups given to the princess as wedding gifts, one cup from The Bishop of Vilnius and two cups from a Prussian Duke, Albrecht Hohenzollern\textsuperscript{72}. The cup from The Bishop of Vilnius is described as an entirely gilded double cup\textsuperscript{73}, and it was a type of a cup where two vessels of identical design were fitted together lip to lip (fig.36). This type of cup was often given as a wedding present\textsuperscript{74}. The inventory mentions 4 more double cups, one of which was decorated with figures and faces, probably medallions, and the other had a cover\textsuperscript{75}. There is no description if the cups were gilded or not. The list of silverware of her Majesty contains various objects of mixed types of silver. Among the silver flasks, bowls and non-specified type of dishes, a set of 24 silver plates with gilded coat of arms certainly stands out. It is possible that this set was matched with the cups named above and another position in the inventory, a set of 25 silver spoons.\textsuperscript{76} Apart from this set of spoons, the cutlery that the princess took with her included a set of gilded spoon and fork, a big fork and a set of spoon and fork made of gold. Surprisingly no knifes were included in the inventory, especially that they were very common already in daily use (fig. 37)\textsuperscript{77}.

Apart from those items, she also had 2 silver flasks, one of which was partially gilded, one silver pitcher and two identical pottles for serving drinks such as wine, vodka, beer and water. There are also quite many for serving food, such as 10 big bowls probably used for all sorts of dishes, 18 platters of assorted sizes, some with gilded decorations, as well as 6 dishes for serving appetizers, and a partially gilded salt cellar. It is worth mentioning here, that almost at the end of the inventory there is a concise list of \textit{Items added to the silverware}, which contains necessary objects, used for serving food together with the silverware at the table, but

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{The set of silver knife, spoon and fork, Antonio Gentili da Faenza, Italy, c. 1680, Metropolitan Museum, New York}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{72} Brzeska Agnieszka, \textit{Inwentarze wypraw ślubnych kobiet z rodu Jagiellonów jako zrodło do poznania wyposażenia wnętrz dworskich}, in: \textit{Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej}, Warszawa, 2018, nr 1, p. 16
\textsuperscript{73} Appendix, p. 14
\textsuperscript{74} Brzeska Agnieszka, \textit{Inwentarze wypraw ślubnych kobiet z rodu Jagiellonów jako zrodło do poznania wyposażenia wnętrz dworskich}, in: \textit{Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej}, Warszawa, 2018, nr 1, p. 15
\textsuperscript{75} Appendix, p. 14
\textsuperscript{76} Appendix, p. 15
\textsuperscript{77} Brzeska Agnieszka, \textit{Inwentarze wypraw ślubnych kobiet z rodu Jagiellonów jako zrodło do poznania wyposażenia wnętrz dworskich}, in: \textit{Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej}, Warszawa, 2018, nr 1, p. 15
not made of precious metals\textsuperscript{78}. This list, although short, gives some ideas on the eating culture of the early modern Polish royal court. The lists mentions two tin pottles, one of which, the bigger one, was described as for bringing beer to the table for the ladies. There are also 2 tin flasks used for olive oil and vinegar respectively, the products that probably became popular in Poland thanks to Catherine Jagiellon’s Italian mother. The list also names a few copper dishes, of which one interesting is a jug for brewing cinnamon vodka, and a special basin used for chilling wine. Łukasz Golebiewski in his publication from 1830 about habits and customs in noble Polish homes and palaces mentions cinnamon vodka called \textit{cynamonka} as one of the local kinds\textsuperscript{79}. Wine became all more popular in Poland during the time Bona Sforza was a queen, she even tried to set up vineyards around her estates, but with mediocre results of weak and sour drink\textsuperscript{80}. It was common to add different fruits and oriental spices to alcohol drinks to change and enhance their flavor. In many countries the tradition of serving warm wine flavored with honey and oriental mix of spices, such as cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg and anis live until today, especially during winter months. In Germany one can drink popular \textit{glühwein}, in Poland \textit{grzane wino}, and in Sweden \textit{julglögg}\textsuperscript{81}. \textit{Comorne silver}\textsuperscript{82} lists items used by princess Catherine in her private chambers. The list contains 12 items, among which are silver covered cups, a pitcher, a cauldron, a small basin, a gilded goblet and a watering can. The princess also had 3 candlesticks of which 2 had a rectangular base and 1 round. She also had a gilded inkwell and a silver mirror, partially gilded, probably in its decorative parts. The list of so-called \textit{Bath silver}\textsuperscript{83} is very short, and it contains only 3 items.

\textbf{Figure 38 Basin and ewer, Antwerp, c. 1550, British Museum, London}

\textsuperscript{78} Appendix, p. 33
\textsuperscript{79} Golebiewski Łukasz, \textit{Domy i dwory : przy tem opisanie apteczki, kuchni, stołów, uczt, trunków i pijatyki, laźni i kapieli, pościeli, ogrodów, powozów i koni, błaznów, karłów, wszelkich zwyczajów dworskich i różnych obyczajowych szczegółów}, Warszawa, 1830, p. 107
\textsuperscript{80} Golebiewski Łukasz, \textit{Domy i dwory : przy tem opisanie apteczki, kuchni, stołów, uczt, trunków i pijatyki, laźni i kapieli, pościeli, ogrodów, powozów i koni, błaznów, karłów, wszelkich zwyczajów dworskich i różnych obyczajowych szczegółów}, Warszawa, 1830, p.108
\textsuperscript{81} Gardberg Carl Johan, \textit{Tre Katarinor på Åbo slott}, Borgå, 1986, p.69
\textsuperscript{82} Appendix, p. 15
\textsuperscript{83} Appendix, p. 15
which are two deep silver basins, and a silver ewer, for clean water (fig. 38).

Very interesting is the list of liturgical silver Catherine Jagiellon took with her. The silver objects together with the set of textiles mentioned later in the inventory, allowed her to transform the interior of the oldest chapel in Åbo castle for the use of a roman-catholic mass. Liturgical silver consists of 10 items necessary to perform a catholic service. One can also imagine that those items were quite decorative, in many cases with gilded details. Positioned as first and probably the most important item on the list is a gilded chalice with a paten, used for keeping sacred wine and bread during the sacrament of Eucharist. The next objects are the set of two liturgical silver cruets, which are small jugs for wine and water. She also had a gilded pax, which is an item no longer used during roman-catholic mass, but it was very popular during Middle Ages and Renaissance. It was an object used for the Kiss of Peace, a part of a catholic liturgy where celebrants were to kiss the pax and pass it further in a sign of peace. The pax had various forms, like a cross or monstrance, but usually had a flat surface for kissing, often decorated with scenes from New Testament (fig. 39)\textsuperscript{84}. The inventory also names a silver cauldron for holy water, a partially gilded jar for storing holy bread, a gilded bell, two silver candlesticks and the handle for aspergillum, which is a tool to sprinkle holy water. The last position on the list is described as:

“Books or a missal covered with red velvet with gilded corners decoration in the middle, and gilded clasps”\textsuperscript{85}.

Missal was the most important liturgical book in the roman-catholic church, and it was used by priests to perform the mass. It contained texts of prayers, readings and songs according to the liturgical year. Gothic and renaissance examples were often illustrated with biblical scenes and the text started with figuratively decorated initials\textsuperscript{86}.

The list of silver items belonging to Catherine Jagiellon is quite impressive. It’s even more so, considering the fact that before her marriage prospect with Duke Johan Vasa she barely

\textsuperscript{84} Slownik terminologiczny sztuk pieknych, Warszawa, 2004, p. 296
\textsuperscript{85} Appendix, p. 16
\textsuperscript{86} Slownik terminologiczny sztuk pieknych, Warszawa, 2004, p. 268
owned any silver objects. In the correspondence between queen Bona Sforza and her son, king Sigismund 2nd August, concerning the dowry of his younger sister, princess Sophia, who was to marry Duke Henry 5th of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, she asks him to:

“(…) think about silverware for princess Sophia and other princesses, because they won’t have any silver after their mother’s departure; because they do not own their own, except for the basins and beakers, after their father; and until now they were using their mothers [silverware].” 87

It is possible that the basin and beaker listed in the inventory under bath silver, is the set she got from her father. Some of the silver objects were probably from Bona Sforza herself, as she, before her departure to Italy in 1556, left behind chests with gifts for the princesses to complement their dowries as I already mentioned in the introduction. According to the sources one of the chests, a bigger one, contained “cups and other silverware”88, but it is hard to assess which particular objects from Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory are matching them, since the description is so scarce. Although it is impossible to connect any surviving silver object from that time to Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory, it is possible to some extent to understand the forms and decorations of these objects. Even with very little data concerning their looks, the information such as of Nuremberg work or of Hungarian work describing some of the items can be treated as valuable clues. It is known that the members of the Jagiellon dynasty often acquired precious objects in the south of Germany, as it was in the case of jewels mentioned above. Of all the 15th– and 16th – century German cities, Nuremberg was the center of creativity and craftsmanship in goldsmithery. In the 15th century the style of Nuremberg’s goldsmiths was strongly influenced by the artist Albrecht Dürer, who was also trained in the craft by his father, also a goldsmith. The art of Albrecht Dürer is a fusion between traditionally rooted German gothic art with Italian renaissance, which he experienced through his journey to the countries south of the Alps. Carl Hernmarck argues that if Albrecht Dürer was to introduce renaissance in Nuremberg, it was Peter Flötnner who developed it. Flötnner was a designer, sculptor and printmaker, also closely working with goldsmith Melchior Baier the Elder. According to Hernmarck, the collaboration of those two artists gave birth to the most remarkable pieces in German goldsmithery. One of those pieces is closely

87 Przedzciecki Aleksander, Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI wieku, Obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I. i Zygmunta Augusta Krolow Polskich, Krakow, 1869, vol II, p. 219
88 Przedzciecki Aleksander, Jagiellonki Polskie w XVI wieku, Obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I. i Zygmunta Augusta Krolow Polskich, Krakow, 1869, vol II, p.235
related to the Jagiellon dynasty, the silver altar ordered by king Sigismund II for the family chapel in Cracow Cathedral on the Wawel Hill (fig. 40)\textsuperscript{89}

When princess Catherine Jagiellon was getting married in the middle of 16\textsuperscript{th} century, the goldsmithing in Nuremberg was at its peak. The craftsmen mastered decorative techniques such as chasing or enameling. The objects were often decorated with renaissance ornaments that harmoniously worked with their form, without the exaggeration known from other German cities. But despite overflowing with influence of renaissance art, the gothic element had never vanished from Nuremberg pieces, although it was less prominent than before. One of the objects that is forever associated with Nuremberg and shows the blend between styles, is the city’s masterpiece, the so-called columbine cup, which is the gothic type of cup decorated with renaissance ornaments (fig. 41). In the middle of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, one of the most important and famous goldsmiths was Wenzel Jamnitzer. He developed innovative ideas, technical innovations and implemented natural and classical motives in his work. His pieces often contain

\textsuperscript{89} Hernmarck Carl, \textit{The Art of the European Silversmith 1430-1830}, vol I, London, 1977, pp. 21-22
contrasting stylistic features which surprisingly complement each other. His work was also praised for the brilliant technical quality. His greatest and stylistically most advanced works were the centerpieces of grand royal treasuries. It may be possible that some of Catherine Jagiellon’s pieces of Nuremberg work came from his workshop, considering the fact that the Jagiellons were among the greatest royal clientele of Early Modern Europe. Victoria and Albert Museum in London possess a considerable collection of prints, showing designs for Jamnitzer’s pieces, from the years 1551-1570. It is possible that the Nuremberg pieces belonging to Catherine Jagiellon could to some extent resemble the Jamnitzers pieces, especially when it comes to such items as the set of big and small covered cups, that open the list of silver in the inventory (fig. 42).

In 15th and 16th century, the political and cultural influence of the Jagiellon dynasty not only stretched over The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but also in The Kingdom of Hungary, which was extended by the territory of today’s Croatia, and The Kingdom of Bohemia, making them one of the strongest power houses in early modern central Europe. It was in Hungary that princess Catherine’s father, the young duke Sigismund, first experienced the thoughts of humanism and renaissance at the royal court of his older brother, king Vladislav II Jagiellon. The family connections between Hungary and Jagiellon family continued until 16th century, and while princess Catherine was to marry duke Johan Vasa, her older sister Isabella was a queen of Hungary. As an older sister, she was also very engaged in collecting the items

Figure 42 Wenzel Jamnitzer, designs for covered cups, Austria 1551-1570, Printed 1570, V&A Museum, London

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for her sister’s dowry. In the legation documents from 1547-1552 between her and King Sigismund II of Poland, she is asking her brother to slowly start looking for some items for the princesses. She propose Szymon Fabiusz and other merchants to start buying necessary jewels in other countries, because it’s easier to get better things abroad. In the same document she mentions Nuremberg and Antwerp as some of the markets the Jagiellons were getting their precious objects from\(^{91}\). The family connections and the cultural exchange between both Poland and Hungary could lay behind those few silver objects of Hungarian work in Catherine Jagiellons inventory. The inventory mentions three Hungarian made cups, of which one is described as with hinged lid or a cover and is decorated with white flowers, and a set of golden fork and knife, of which weight is written in Hungarian zloty, which indicates that this set also comes from Hungary. Carl Hernmarck writes that the influence of both western and eastern culture currents passing through Hungary during early modern period is also visible in Hungarian goldsmithery. Especially the region of Transylvania, which was also the place where Isabella Jagiellonica spent most of her time in Hungary, flourished when it came to goldsmithing. Transylvanian artists were experts in filigree work, the technique of working the metal that was developed in the East. Hernmarck describes filigree and filigree enamel a striking feature of Transylvanian work, so much that in the western countries it was described as modo transilvano\(^{92}\) or Hungarian enamel\(^{93}\). Transylvanian goldsmiths also developed a special kind of tankard, a local version of the cups known in the rest of Europe. The Transylvanian model has a tall slender body that widens towards the base and is engraved with renaissance ornaments\(^{94}\). It is possible that the covered cups mentioned in the inventory were Hungarian tankards, especially the one with mentioned hinged lid and decorated with white flowers in enameled filigree. Although there is no further information about the origins of Catherine Jagiellon’s liturgical silver objects, one can apply Hernmarck’s reasoning who argues that in comparison to secular silver often acquired abroad, many of the liturgical silver items were made by local goldsmiths, considering the regional differences in religious traditions between countries, even within the roman-catholic church\(^{95}\). But even if made locally, the objects often matched the quality and artistry of their western counterparts. Despite strong eastern cultural influences, Polish goldsmithing shows more European features.

\(^{91}\) Grabowski Ambroży, Starożytności historyczne polskie, czyli pisma i pamietki do dziejow dawnej Polski, listy królów i znakomitych mężów, przypowieści, przysłowia i t.p., vol I, Krakow, 1840, pp.30-31


than oriental. The biggest impact on the craft came from Germany. Polish goldsmithing guilds were modelled after the German system, and a lot of German artists worked in Poland. When it comes to the character of the liturgical objects, the broad spectrum of them found in Polish churches shows close analogies with Eastern European forms.\(^96\)

2.5 Textiles of Catherine Jagiellon

The list of Catherine Jagiellon’s textiles makes for the biggest part of the inventory. The list not only includes her rich wardrobe, but also livery for her courtiers, beddings and bed linens, interior textiles such as woven tapestries, carpets and tablecloths, liturgical textiles, and bales of fabric for future use. To make the analysis of this chapter as clear as possible I distinguished 3 groups of textiles and will describe them in this order: Clothing, interior textiles, liturgical textiles and assorted textile items, which are all the other textile related objects, but not as easy to classify in other groups.

2.5.1 Dressing the Duchess and her court

Even though none of Catherine Jagiellon’s clothing survived until today, the analysis of the garments listed in the inventory gives a vivid picture of how diverse and rich her wardrobe was. The description of the fabrics, styles and patterns as well as the iconographic material showing the fashion of mid-16\(^{th}\) century can give a clue to what her wardrobe could have looked like. What strikes you first is the large numbers of apparels that the princess took with her to Sweden. In total, the inventory lists 85 garments, which includes 42 gowns, 7 winter and summer kirtles, 16 winter cassocks, coats and jackets, 10 summer cassocks, 6 furs, 1 fur lined doublet and 2 woolen coats destined for rainy weather. Upon that, later in the inventory, there is another list titled White items of Her Highness the Princess containing various objects such as bed linens or canopies, but also mentions Catherine Jagiellon’s undergarments and fashion accessories. This list names 31 chemises, 61 various caps of which 29 are nightcaps, 19 pairs of sleeves, 45 ruff collars and 27 decorated cuffs, 4 shawls, 9 belts and 2 aprons. Fashion accessories noted in the document consists of 3 winter hats lined with fur, 6 sunhats, 34 handkerchiefs, bands of laces and embroideries as well as pearl hair decorations. All the apparels are grouped and described according to the fabric they are made of and their function, except for the list of White items... where the order seems more randomized.

Without doubt, the gowns of Catherine Jagiellon are the most representative and impressive garments in this part. In the 16th century gowns were worn by high-rank women in formal occasions over a kirtle and chemise which served as the underwear and was closest to the body. Gowns were made of very exclusive and expensive fabrics, often lined with furs and decorated with assorted fittings made of precious metals, stones and enamels, so called faretki in Polish. In many cases the shape and number of the fittings and pearls are described in detail, which according to a textile historian Cecilia Aneer, meant that they were seen as very valuable.

The lists of Catherine Jagiellon’s gowns specifies a few types worn by the princess which were a loose gown, a German style loose gown, a Spanish-style gown and a hard to identify old-style gown. A loose gown was a type of an overgown falling loosely from shoulders to hem at both front and back (as in Anna of Austria’s case, fig. 32) but could also be semi-fitted at the front waist, with unshaped, gored side seams at the back (as Isabella Medici’s, fig. 32). Some of the names of the fabrics used for the princess’s garments are very hard to translate to English, which is why I left the Polish names and provided a description of how the fabric looked like or how it was woven.

The colors of the fabrics used for the gowns feature golden, silver, brown, golden brown, yellow, flesh colored (dark pink), black, white, red, crimson red, carmin red, grey, red/brown and green. The most valuable gowns in the inventory are 5 pieces made of cloth of gold and so called altembas, a type of brocade fabric woven with additional golden or silver thread. All the gowns made with cloth of gold have a loose cut, and are decorated with patterned fabrics, different kind of sleeves and slashes. One of the gowns in this group is described as loose gown style dress, made of plain cloth of gold, with yellow silk, with wide cut opened sleeves, and might be reminiscent to the type of

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97 Pylkkänen Riita, Renessanssin puku suomessa 1550-1620, Helsinki, 1956, pp. 512-514
98 Conversation with Cecilia Aneer, Uppsala, 2019-04-26
100 Appendix, p. 17
gown worn by a Neapolitan matron, an illustration from Cesare Vecellio’s book *De Gli Habiti Antichi*, published by Janet Arnold in her *Patterns of Fashion* (fig. 43)\(^{101}\). Another gown is described as German-style, which could mean that it had funnel-shaped sleeves, characteristic for German fashion\(^{102}\). A group of gowns that follows contain 7 garments made of so called *teleta*, which was a taffeta like silk fabric with additional threads of a tinsel foil woven in\(^{103}\). Catherine Jagiellon’s teleta gowns were additionally decorated with spangle and pearls sewn to them, and sometimes slashed and pinked in different patterns, so that one could see the pieces of kirtle fabric through. One of the best examples showing pinked and slashed blue silk over white silk costume is the suit of sir Richard Cotton from 1618, from V&A collections (fig. 44). 3 gowns were made of *tabi*, which very likely one can translate to tabby, a silk textile, woven similarly to damask\(^{104}\). These gowns were decorated with additional trimmings made of colorful silks, cloth of gold and other fabrics. The largest groups of gowns are those made of velvet because there are 17 of them\(^{105}\). This group also presents the most variety when it comes to models, because aside loose gowns, 3 of them are sewn in Spanish style as well as an old loose gown which may refer to an old-style model of the dress. Spanish style gowns are always described as *under the throat*, which means they had high necks with standing collars, had full puffed-out shoulder sleeves and a fitted bodice. The description fits with the during 16\(^{th}\) century very fashionable gown of the Spanish court. The Spanish Court dress was usually black and influenced all of western, central and northern Europe. The versions of the garments worn in the German and northern lands was much more colorful

\(^{102}\) Pylkkänen Riita, *Renessanssin puku suomessa 1550-1620*, Helsinki, 1956, p. 514
\(^{103}\) Appendix, p. 17-18
\(^{104}\) Appendix, p. 18
\(^{105}\) Appendix, p. 18-19
though\textsuperscript{106}. Apart from classic black Spanish style gown Catherine Jagiellon also had versions in carmine red and grey. One of the princess’s Spanish gowns appears especially beautiful considering its decoration:

“a gown made of black velvet, made after Spanish style, under the throat, with puffed sleeves. Sleeves and bodice decorated with 198 trumpet-shaped fittings.”

It seems like in both known iconographical depictions of the princess from her youth, she is wearing a Spanish Court style gown. The whole figure portrait that was unfortunately destroyed during World War II, shows the whole garment, but it is impossible to say anything about the fabric, the colors and existing pattern if any, on the dress due to the poor quality of the black and white existing copy of the portrait (fig. 44). However, one can see all the elements of the dress, which is a high neck collar, with a white ruff tucked in, a set of puffed sleeves and a fitted bodice. Moreover, the whole upper part is decorated with small slashes at the height of shoulder and wrist, revealing the piece of kirtle worn underneath. The loose gowns made of velvet from this appears to be also splendid considering their descriptions, especially:

“a loose gown made of crimson red velvet, with three pearl trimmings at the bottom, with golden trimmed lace next to them, the bodice of this gown also decorated with pearl trimmings, each sleeve with three pearl trimmings along them, with 72 French round, brass fittings with white and brown enamel in between the trimmings. Elongated pontal with cubes and same enamel, there is 146. For this gown there is also a sack of thin fabric” and “a loose gown made of black unshorn velvet, with a carp scales pattern. Sleeves with small cuts, decorated with 218 black and white enameled fittings”. The next group of gowns are 6 garments

\textsuperscript{106} Andersson I. Eva, Women’s dress in Sixteenth-Century Sweden, in: Costume, vol. 45, 2011, p. 28
made of satin, of which four are of loose model and two in Spanish style, with high necks. All of the dresses were decorated with additional trimmings from other fabrics and fittings as in this example: “a gown made of white satin with 4 trimmings at the bottom made of golden and silver thread. A bodice and sleeves also trimmed this way, with 76 red enameled fittings.” Another satin gown from this list is also lined with precious sable and beaver furs and was probably used during colder days:

“a gown, under the throat, made of black satin. A bodice and sleeves with velvet trimmings, lined with sable and beaver fur.” The last group of gowns are 4 garments made of damask, of which 3 are loose gowns and one sewn according to Spanish Court fashion. The gowns are decorated similarly to the gown made of satin, with trimmings of different fabric, but all of them without additional decorative fittings. The green gown seemed to be especially beautiful, described as:

“a loose gown made of green damask, with wide trimming at the bottom made of cloth of gold with red silk and covered with green velvet with cut pattern. Golden thread pattern on the green silk trimming. The same trimming on the bodice and along the sleeves.”

The next type of apparel listed in the inventory are kirtles both for winter and summer. Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory lists 5 winter kirtles lined with fur, and 2 summer kirtles lined with thinner fabrics. The winter kirtles are all made of satin except for one made out of taffeta. The colors featured are flesh-color, red and black. The furs lining these garments were very exclusive, such as sable furs and especially costly marten throat furs, but also exotic in the regions of Scandinavia, like in the case of two kirtles lined with dormouse belly and back-furs, a rodent that does not appear in this part of Europe. Summer kirtles are both lined with thinner taffeta and cloth respectively. One of them is made of red velvet with gold, and the other has unspecified color but is probably also in the shade of red, since it was intended for red doublet and its lining was flesh colored. Kirtles were usually worn under gowns and consisted of skirt and bodice, either joined or separate. However, as noted by Riita Pylkkänen, kirtle as the word had a lot of meanings when used in the old inventories, and could also describe a half kirtle, which was similar garment to a modern dress. This is also a case with Catherine Jagiellon apparels of that kind. Some of them are described as a “kirtle for a
doublet” while others just a kirtle. Kirtles intended for doublets may have been skirts intended
be matched with upper parts of the garments. Doublets, which matched with kirtles, were
inspired by Spanish men’s fashion, they were usually made of velvet and lined with linen, but
some were lined with furs. However, there is only one doublet mentioned separately in the
inventory, described as: “a doublet made of black velvet with sleeves and a cape. Lined with
sable and beaver furs”. The doublets mentioned in the list of kirtles do not appear
separately, which may suggest that they were listed as a set with skirt-like kirtles, or that they
were actually joined together. An example of a kirtle from the 2nd half of 16th century is
preserved in Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (fig. 46). It is a full kirtle type
with joined body and a skirt, although sleeveless. It is possible that some of Catherine Jagiellon’s
kirtles looked very similar, also without sleeves, which were detachable and mentioned elsewhere
in the inventory, in the list of White items of Her Highness the Princess, already mentioned above.
The outerwear of Catherine Jagiellon is, as kirtles, divided into winter and summer apparels.
The princess had 4 types of winter garments, which were cassocks, so called giermaks, half-
giermaks and a cloak all sewn from costly fabrics and lined with sought after, quality furs. Upon
that she also had fur coats. Catherine Jagiellon owned 8 winter cassocks, made of cloth of gold,
teleta, velvet and satin. In 1560’s cassock were still gown-like long garments with hanging
ornamental sleeves, but later they became shorter and looked more like cassocks worn by
men. All of Catherine Jagiellon’s winter cassocks were lined with sable furs, and 2 lined
with more exotic lynx furs as in:
“a cassock made of plain black teleta with gold, lined with lynx belly-furs” and “a cassock
made of black velvet, lined with lynx noses. Around the bottom, on the sleeves, on the breasts

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113 Pylkkänen Riita, Renessanssin puku suomessa 1550-1620, Helsinki, 1956, p. 513
114 Appendix, p.24
115 Appendix, p. 21-24
116 Pylkkänen Riita, Renessanssin puku suomessa 1550-1620, Helsinki, 1956, p.512
117 Appendix, p. 21
and lapels there are wide trimmings made of white cloth of silver, covered with velvet with slashed pattern”\(^{118}\).

Another model of princess’s winter wardrobe was a giermak, which was a type of long cloak, borrowed by women fashion from the men’s wardrobe, inspired by a national Hungarian costume (fig. 47). It was buttoned with buttons and froggings, had attached sleeves, which sometimes were tightened with cuffs and characteristic wide fur collar\(^{119}\). The shorter version of this apparel was called half-giermak. Catherine Jagiellon owned 6 giermaks, made of satin, damask and wool, in black, grey red/brown and red color. All the garments had a characteristic guard made of silk or cloth of gold and silver, frogging on the chest, and were lined with sable furs (except for one, lined with dormouse back-furs) and had wide collars made of beaver fur. 2 half-giermaks were made of black satin and grey wool and lined with dormouse and lynx back-furs respectively. Apart from those winter garments princess owned only one cloak, made of brown/red damask with old pattern and lined with sable furs. The list of fur capes, consisting of 6 garments is written down separately and placed further down in the inventory\(^{120}\). Fur capes were covers made of furs, and sewn so that the fur was facing inwards, often with a textile coating\(^{121}\). 4 of Catherine Jagiellon’s capes were made of sable, marten and lynx furs with beaver fur collars. 1 cape was made of ermine furs and 1 so called szorek\(^{122}\), a type of women outerwear popular in 16\(^{th}\) century Poland, was made of sable furs. Summer outerwear of the princess consisted of 10 cassocks made of cloth of gold, tabi, velvet and satin\(^{123}\). All of the cassocks were lined with taffeta except for one, where the bodice was lined with lynx nose-furs. One of the finest examples of Catherine summer cassock is “a cassock made of carmine red velvet, with 3 wide pearl trimmings. Lapels, sleeves, breast and around lapels decorated with trimming made of cloth of gold and embroidered with golden

\(^{118}\) Appendix, p. 21
\(^{119}\) Turnau Irena, Słownik ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatakackie, skóry, broni i klejnuty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w., Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 62
\(^{120}\) Appendix, p. 23-24
\(^{121}\) Turnau Irena, Słownik ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatakackie, skóry, broni i klejnuty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w., Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 97
\(^{122}\) Turnau Irena, Słownik ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatakackie, skóry, broni i klejnuty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w., Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 179
\(^{123}\) Appendix, p. 22-23
thread. Lined with red taffeta”\textsuperscript{124}. In case of a rainy weather the princess also owned 2 coats, one in a scarlet red shade, and the other made of grey Italian wool, both trimmed with velvet at the bottom and lined with taffeta\textsuperscript{125}. Catherine Jagiellon’s look was completed with hats, both for winter and summer season\textsuperscript{126}. Interesting enough she owned more summer models, 6, and only 3 for the winter. Winter hats were made of black velvet and lined with dormouse fur on the inside, while the visible parts of fold were covered with expensive sable and beaver furs. Summer hats were made of red and black velvet and taffeta, with taffeta lining, and often decorated with additional silk strings with attached tassels. A big part of princesse’s undergarments as well as fashion accessories are listed under the \textit{White items of Her Highness the Princess}. The basic garment for women, that was closest to the body, was a chemise. They were usually made of thin linen and sometimes shaped in a manner of a dress\textsuperscript{127}. The chemises could be plain or decorated with embroidery and some of the preserved examples show that the decoration covered the neckband, sleeves and the area between shoulder and chest level, as well as in the back (fig. 48)\textsuperscript{128}.

![Figure 48 Linen chemises with multicolored silk and golden thread embroidery. The example on the right comes from Italy, late 16th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York](image)

According to descriptions, some of Catherine Jagiellons chemises were even embroidered along the hem. All together she had 36 garments of this kind of which 11 had sleeves

\textsuperscript{124} Appendix, p. 23
\textsuperscript{125} Appendix, p. 24
\textsuperscript{126} Appendix, p. 25
\textsuperscript{127} Pylkkänen Riita, \textit{Renessanssin puku suomessa 1550-1620}, Helsinki, 1956, p.514
embroidered with gold thread, 5 had trimmings along the hem an sleeves and collars 
embroidered with gold thread, 7 had collars embroidered with gold of which 5 were also 
embroidered lengthwise (like on figure 48), 7 had collars with black embroidery and 3 were 
embroidered with multicolored silk threads. Upon that, she had a set of a chemise decorated 
with pearls with a matching pearl cap as a night garment, and a chemise embroidered with 
gold thread with matching silver shawl. Decorative collars and cuffs of the chemises were 
often seen from beneath the kirtles but were also covered with separate ruffs and ruffled or 
more elaborate set of cuffs. Catherine Jagiellons inventory mentions 45 ruffs described as 
gurgielle, and 27 cuffs described as treparelle. 6 of the cuffs were decorated with pearls the 
rest with golden thread. Of all the ruffs only 2 are made of plain white linen, 10 are dyed 
black, and the rest were covered with gold embroidery or pearls. In the middle of 16th 
century the female version of ruff was still not so big as towards the end of the century, so it is 
possible that the collars owned by Catherine Jagiellon reminiscent those worn by Elizabeth de 
Valois (fig.48). It seems that the princess wears a similar kind of collar on the Nuremberg 
portrait, but it is hard to be sure due to the poor quality of the existing copy (fig. 49).

Another fashion accessory described in inventory are sleeves, 19 pairs of them. 1 pair was 
white, 10 pairs were black, 5 were made of red silk, and 7 were decorated with golden 
threads, out of which 2 were described as Italian sleeves. Sleeves were often detachable and 
could be used with different garments like gowns, kirtles or doublets. On the list White items

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129 Appendix, pp. 30-31
of Her Highness the Princess there are also all of Catherine Jagiellon’s caps, both for day and night. This type of headwear was very important during the 16th century, always covering women’s head when they were outside or in the company\(^\text{130}\). Apart from the nightcap decorated with pearls from the set with the chemise mentioned above, the princess also had 8 that were decorated with golden thread, 15 that were embroidered and 6 described as “\textit{Italian with gold}”. Day caps consisted of 24 pieces decorated with golden thread, 5 decorated with pearls and 3 with fittings attached to them\(^\text{131}\). Although there is no information in the inventory about the shape of those garments, they were probably similar to the caps and coifs published and discussed by Janet Arnold, such as the coif from the Museum of Costume and Textiles in Nottingham (fig. 50).

The other fashion accessories mentioned on the list are 2 embroidered aprons, which became a part of the elegant female costume in the 16th century borrowed from the working outfit\(^\text{132}\), Italian shawl decorated with gold, 9 belts with gold, 2 golden cloths and 34 handkerchiefs. Handkerchief was another fashionable women’s accessory carried in a hand as on the portrait of an unknown lady from Grispholm castle in Sweden (fig.51). Handkerchiefs were usually made of thin linen or Indian cotton and richly decorated with embroidery and golden lace\(^\text{133}\).


\(^{131}\) Appendix, p. 30

\(^{132}\) Pylkkänen Riita, \textit{Rennessanssin puku suomessa 1550-1620}, Helsinki, 1956, p. 515

\(^{133}\) Dahrén Lena, Med kant av guld och silver, \textit{En studie av knypplade bårder och uddar av metall 1550-1640}, Vesterås, 2010, p. 181
22 of Catherine Jagiellon’s handkerchiefs were embroidered and 12 are described as “with gold” which suggests they were trimmed at the edges with laces made of golden thread (fig. 52), apart from that the inventory also mentions pearl decorations for hair and loose pieces of lace and embroidery. There are 12 laces listed, of which 3 were decorated with pearls and 9 with golden thread. Elaborate laces were an integral part of a costume of royals and noblemen in the 16th century \(^{134}\). Passements of this type appeared on almost every apparel from a chemise to a gown, as already seen on Catherine Jagiellon’s wardrobe example. The rich iconography of queen Elizabeth I of England gives a picture of how this kind of decoration could enhance a garment and make it look even more expensive and sophisticated (fig. 53). Some examples of 16th century laces with pearls and golden thread that are preserved in Livrustkammaren in Stockholm may give a give clue of a decoration used on princess’s garments as well. The same case is with the pieces of embroidery, 14 with gold thread and 3 with pearls. All of those passements were intended to be used for fixing the garment in the future. These were all garments and accessories listed inventory belonging to Catherine Jagiellon. It is worth marking though that some of the items are missing from her inventory such as gloves, shoes, tights, breeches or stays. According to Eva Andersson, in case of stays there is nothing to indicate she had any, since the earliest surviving European examples of this part of

\(^{134}\) Dahrén Lena, Med kant av guld och silver, En studie av knypplade bårder och uddar av metall 1550-1640, Vesterås, 2010, p.14
underwear are from the end of 16th century. She thought that Catherine Jagiellon probably relied on her kirtles to give her support and the fashionable shape\textsuperscript{135}. Some of the gowns described in the inventory of Catherine’s dowry appear to have a part called \textit{kształt} which means “a shape” in Polish, the word I translated to bodice. But \textit{kształt} appears to be something more, it was often a part of underwear sewn from proof fabrics and fitted with metal wires for more support\textsuperscript{136}, so maybe it was something in between stays and a bodice.

Apart from Catherine Jagiellon’s wardrobe, the inventory also lists livery for the members of her court and servants. It seems like garments intended for her ladies in waiting were only a fraction of wardrobe of her own, nevertheless their garments were also made of costly fabrics and furs. The princess had 8 ladies in waiting of a higher rank of which 2 were so called older ladies, and 2 female court dwarfs. Each of them had 3 gowns made flesh-colored and yellow damask and black velvet. The gowns made of damask were additionally decorated with colorful trimmings made of different fabrics such as cloth of gold, velvet and taffeta. The ladies in waiting of lower rank were 4, and each got a gown made of grey woolen fabric, called \textit{purpurian}, with bodices and sleeves decorated with velvet trimmings. The inventory also lists outerwear for every lady. While the ladies in waiting of lower rank had a coat made of grey purpurian lined with fox fur each, the garments of higher rank ladies were more sophisticated. Black damask coats with marten fur lining and a beaver fur collar were intended for 6 younger ladies and 2 female dwarfs. Older ladies got a coat made of black Italian wool, also lined with marten furs and beaver fur collars. There were also coats made of grey purpurian, lined with fox and beaver furs for 7 ladies and 2 female dwarfs and shorter \textit{half-giermaks} made of grey Italian wool, decorated with silk grey froggings at the front and lined with fox fur, for 3 ladies. Moreover, a Maid of the Bedchamber and a female court


\textsuperscript{136} Turnau Irena, \textit{Słownik ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatkačkie, skóry, bron i klejnoty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w.}, Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 100
dwarf (probably Dośka) got additional coats made of black camlet and lined with fox furs. Livery of the male servants, page boys and male dwarfs was more unified than ladies’ garments, and consisted of “jerkins, hats and other garments made of black velvet”\textsuperscript{137}. Such a staggering amount of clothes and accessories had to be taken care of and cleaned. The apparels such as gowns and kirtles made of heavy woven fabric, often decorated with additional gemstones and embroidery were just brushed off from time to time to keep them fresh. Other garments made of linen and thinner fabrics could be washed. As Cecilia Aneer suggested, the fact that so many random pieces of clothing and bed linings were listed under the \textit{White items of her Highness the Princess} may mean that these were intended to be washed and cleaned with water\textsuperscript{138}. The list of servants and courtiers of the Princess names 2 servants whose duty was to clean the garments, probably by brushing and dusting off, and a 1 laundress, a wife of the princess’s tailor. The inventory even lists items intended for the laundress which were 2 big couldrons and 2 \textit{dinati}, which presumably was some money for detergents and starch. As Janet Arnold writes, washing, starching and ironing garments was a highly skilled and well-paid occupation in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. The process of washing and bleaching of personal and household linen was time consuming, even more so with arrival of ruffs, that needed much more skillful starching\textsuperscript{139}. The fact that Catherine Jagiellon had several people whose duty was to take care of her garments and other textiles proves the high value of those items.

\textsuperscript{137} Appendix, p. 25
\textsuperscript{138} Conversation with Cecilia Aneer, Uppsala, 2019-04-26
2.5.2 Dressing the interior

Dressing the interior in the 16th century was of immense importance. Historically, decorative and expensive textiles were used by royalty and nobles to dress the interiors to celebrate big events, such as crowning, wedding or government meetings. These events often took place during important liturgical holidays such as Easter or Christmas. Those textiles were usually imported from foreign lands or made to order by renowned manufacturers and not only added the splendor to the ones who decorated their interiors with them but were also used as a tool of power. On top of that, indoor textiles also had a very pragmatic function, which was warming up the cold, often thick, stone walls of the buildings. The collection of interior textiles brought by Catherine Jagiellon to Sweden consisted of bed textiles, such as bed canopies, bed linens, pillows and duvets, wall tapestries and carpets. In fact, the only textile connected to Catherine Jagiellon that survived to this day is a small piece of yellow patterned velvet, 110 x 55 mm, stored today in Livrustkammaren in Stockholm. It is believed to be a fragment of a curtain of her bed canopy from the time of the arrest in Gripsholm castle (fig. 54). It’s hard to link this small piece of fabric to any of the canopies listed in the inventory, but it is not entirely impossible. One of the canopies is described as:

“A bed canopy with black silk and wide golden curtains”\(^{141}\), and could be an example of a fitting match, although very vague. The document lists further 12 bed canopies, made of very luxurious fabrics such as damask, cloth of gold, silk or taffeta, often embroidered with silk or golden thread. One of the canopies is made of black woven fabric. The colors of the used fabrics were often red, gold, black grey and, so called wild color, which was dark red brown.

Canopies were listed in two places in the inventory, 7 of them under the part titled *Various Canopies for beds of her Highness the Princess*, and the rest together with other items under *White items of Her Highness the Princess*. Two of the bed canopies are described in greater detail, as sets of curtains and covers to dress the whole bed\(^{142}\), perhaps because of their greater

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\(^{140}\) Bengstsson Herman, *Den Höviska Kulturen in Norden, En konsthistorisk undersökning*, Stockholm, 1999, p. 191

\(^{141}\) Appendix, p. 30

\(^{142}\) Appendix, pp. 27-28
value than the other ones. The bigger set contained 11 pieces made of a red Turkish damask, with gold pattern on both inner and outer side of the fabric. Its cover, as well as the other parts of the set, were made of red silk with gold pattern and lined with skin colored taffeta. Curtains to hang on the sides of the bed, were additionally decorated with fringe and had special iron loops installed, for hanging. On top of that, there were special matching covers for the head- and footboard of the bed as well as the lower sides. The smaller set contained 7 pieces, made of red damask, and each part was decorated with silk red fringes. The set also had 2 curtains with iron loops for hanging, and a cover for foot- and headboard. This set, together with 4 silver orbs with eagles, was made to decorate Catherine Jagiellon’s French bed. There are three bed canopies to fit an Italian bed, one made of grey and red taffeta, one of crimson red non-specified fabric, and one described as: “An Italian bed canopy with holes”\(^\text{143}\), which can mean that it was made of some openwork fabric or lace. The Italian bed of her Highness also had a special set of 4 covers for the lower sides that are written in a separate list. 2 of those covers were made respectively of black and white velvet with silk fringes, black and gold for the black velvet cover and white for the white velvet cover. The 3rd cover was a woven tapestry with patterns of royal coat of arms of the princess and eagles, the symbol of Poland. The 4th cover was also made of tapestry, described as Lithuanian work. It is not exactly clear how many beds Catherine Jagiellon took with her, because only 3 beds are listed. These are 2 big German beds and one small folding French bed to use in the coach during travels.

However, the amount of bed canopies and its purposes suggests that the princess also had at least one big French bed and at least one big Italian bed. In the 16\(^{th}\) century the popular beds without canopies surrounded by a step-like chest, were replaced by big architectural beds with columns and bed canopies originating from Italy. German beds from this time either had a baldachin or not. French baldachin beds had very decorative columns, originally made in stucco, and later richly sculpted with caryatids or herms\(^\text{144}\). The inventory mentions an impressive collection of bed linens, all together 16 sets. Here again, some of the sets are described in a greater detail under *Silk bed linens of her Highness*, and some are added to the list of the *White items*… The two biggest sets were made of red, respectively brown satin, and beside two double sets of covers for big and small pillows, double set of duvet covers and double set of mattresses, also made of satin. The bed linen set made of red taffeta contained 3 embroidered duvets and 5 embroidered pillow covers of various size, while another red taffeta

\(^{\text{143}}\) Appendix, p. 30

bed linen set consisted of six different pillow covers. The descriptions of the bed linens mentioned under the White items...is very scarce and there is no information about the sizes and contents of those sets. In some examples, however, there is information about the fabric (fleecy, silk, satin), its color (gold, red blue, black and white) embroidery (s-shaped patterns, acorns, gold eagles) or patterns (cut pattern). Last, but not least, there are also duvets mentioned in the inventory in a separate list. There are 5 of them, made of cloth of gold, satin and taffeta of diverse colors and some of them even decorated with silk thread embroidery. Beside beds, other sizeable objects in the interiors that needed coverage with textiles were walls and floors. The list of Wall tapestries for the chamber of Her Highness the Princess in the inventory describes textiles for those purposes. The list mentions a set of tapestries showing a biblical story from the Old Testament about Absalom, one of king David sons. Further there are 3 tapestries or sets described as green and without figures, of which the biggest one is 12,5 ells long. Upon that, there are also 30 yellow Turkish carpets with various decorative borders, and another one, big, that was used to cover a table, a big Lithuanian carpet to cover the floor, as well as pieces of red and green cloth to cover the floors and tables respectively. Next to the description of the red cloth there is a note, saying it can be used for dancing. The list also mentions 7 black pillows, with green decoration, probably also woven. Looking at the preserved renaissance tapestries from both the Vasa court in Stockholm and the Jagiellon court in Cracow, one can imagine that the tapestries brought by Catherine Jagiellon to Sweden, also were of excellent quality and must have come from Europe’s leading manufacturers. The first woven tapestries were brought to Poland in 1517 by Catherines mother, Bona Sforza as the part of her dowry. Nearly a decade later, in 1526 and then in 1533, king Sigismund 1st ordered 108 tapestries from workshops in Antwerp and Bruge. But the biggest collector of those costly fabrics in Jagiellon family was Catherine Jagiellon’s brother, king Sigismund 2nd August, whose collection of woven tapestries initially contained 162 pieces. The collection can be divided into three thematical series with biblical narrative, nature and grotesque decoration. The two latter series also incorporate royal insignia symbols in their decoration. The collection was ordered and woven in Antwerp and Brussels by the most renowned weavers of the 1st half of the 16th century such us Jan Kempeneer, Pieter van Aelst, Ja van Tiegen, Willem Panemaker. The author behind the designs of the narrative series was Michel Coxie, a Flemish painter known for designing tapestries for the Royal Palace of Philip 2nd in Madrid and Mary of Austria. Coxie designed

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the Jagiellonian tapestries just after his travels in Italy, and one can see an immense influence of Italian renaissance art in them, especially the art of Raphael\textsuperscript{146} (fig.55).

Catherine Jagiellon’s set of 8, small and big tapestries with the story of Absalom was a present from her brother, king Sigismund, although as suggested by Magdalena Piwocka, the textile curator from Wawel Castle in Cracow, it is very unlikely that the series came from his royal collection. According to Piwocka, the king would not give away his precious, freshly made tapestries as a wedding present to his sister\textsuperscript{147}, especially that some of the pieces he ordered in 1530’s were arriving as late as in the 1560’s\textsuperscript{148}. It is not entirely impossible that the Absalom tapestries came from the earlier sets already stored in Cracow, or that they were bought for Catherine as a ready to buy product, probably in markets of Brussels or Augsburg, where the weavers sold their estates. Unfortunately, there are no records of which scenes from the story of Absalom were depicted on Catherine Jagiellon’s set. After her death in 1583, the series appears again in the inventory from 1587, listing the textiles brought back by her son Sigismund to Poland. This source also mentions that the pieces were woven with silk and wool thread,

\textsuperscript{146} Gebarowicz Mieczysław, Mankowski Tadeusz, \textit{Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta} in: \textit{Rocznik Krakowski}, vol 29, Kraków, 1937, pp. 67-68.
\textsuperscript{147} Telephone call with Magdalena Piwocka, 2019-04-15
without golden or silver threads that would enhance their value. After that, the sources are silent, and the Absalom set of tapestries seemed to disappear. In the inventory listing the possessions of Catherine Jagiellon and Johan Vasa in Åbo castle from 1563, two tapestries with Absalom scenes are described, as duke Johans belongings. The textiles depicted 2 scenes from the Absalom story, one where he murdered his brother, and the other one where he hangs from a tree. It is unlikely that those tapestries belonged to Catherine Jagiellon’s set, as the duke also owned other biblical themed textiles with scenes from King Ezechiel’s story and even depictions of Paradise. Johan’s tapestries also didn’t survive until today, so the question of both Catherine and his textile sets with the Absalom story unfortunately cannot be answered.

Further position on the list are green tapestries without figures of quite substantial sizes. The biggest of them was 12,5 ells long which was around 7 m, using the measure of Cracow ell from the middle of 16th century, so it was destined to dress a big space. The description also suggest that those tapestries were not of a narrative character, and without figures meant, that there were no people shown, so one can exclude any biblical, mythological or historical scenes. It is possible that the textiles were decorated with grotesque patterns or showing some exotic fauna and flora, but with the remark that they were colored green, suggests the latter (fig. 56).

![Figure 56 The tapestry The otter with a fish, after a cartoon from a circle of Pieter Coeck van Aelst, Brussels, c. 1550-60, Wawel Royal Castle, State Art Collection, Cracow, Poland](image)


Very impressive is also a collection of 30 yellow Turkish carpets with various battens and 1 big yellow Turkish carpet for the table. Eastern textiles presented a different type of decoration but were praised as much for their beauty and quality as the best western tapestries. They gained their name from the markets in Turkey where they were acquired by merchants and agents before bringing them to European customers, but their production in 16th century spread through regions of Anatolia, Caucasus, Persia, India and China. Eastern textiles, especially Persian, were admired for the exquisite quality of the weave using very thin silken, woolen, golden and silver threads, as well as high artistic value. Carpets showed hunting scenes, gardens of paradise or were just decorated with sophisticated floral ornaments. Typical for those textiles was also a very wide color scale with large tonal gradation, something that was illuminating heavy, and still somewhat dark renaissance interiors\(^{151}\). Due to the lack of sources, the number and type of oriental carpets decorating the walls of Wawel Castle in Cracow during Catherine Jagiellon’s childhood is unknown. However, considering the massive influence of orientalism on Polish culture during the renaissance, it is certain that Turkish tapestries were part of the royal textile collection. There is a trace of those textiles even in Bona Sforza’s inventory of her dowry, which lists tapeta ex Turcia vehi solita next to the other, western tapestries\(^ {152}\) (fig. 57).

151 Slownik terminologiczny sztuk pieknych, Warszawa, 2004, pp. 189-190
152 Gebarowicz Mieczyslaw, Mankowski Tadeusz, Arrasy Zygmunta Augusta in: Rocznik Krakowski, vol 29, Kraków, 1937, p. 6
Different types of tapestries had various functions and there was a certain order of how to they should be hanged in the interiors. Narrative tapestries were hanged according to the order of events showed in the series, one next to another. Those tapestries needed both space and a good perspective to look at them, therefore due to the considerable sizes of the pieces and their representational features, they often decorated the biggest and most important chambers of the castle. Smaller tapestries, showing hunting scenes, animals, plants, grotesque ornaments and coat of arms were destined to hang in smaller rooms and chambers. The collection of king Sigismund Augusts’ tapestries even contained small pieces of tapestries designed to fit the architecture of the castle, like the arch spaces over the windows or beneath them (fig. 58).

Oriental tapestries were used in Wawel castle to decorate a dining room and partially the royal cathedral, that is integrated with the building. This may suggest that the yellow Turkish carpets from Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory were also intended to dress the dining space, especially considering that they were all the same color, and one was described as to cover the table. The battens in the descriptions may refer to the frames the tapestries were hanged on.

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2.5.3 Dressing the Holy

Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry contains a list of garments and fabrics to be used by her priests that complements the liturgical silver items already discussed above. The list is titled *Liturgical implements, given to reverend Lenard by Mr. Włoszek* and even though it’s quite short it includes very valuable items. The remark in the title that the items were given to reverend Lenard by Mr may suggest that the majority of the items came from the Lithuanian treasury, because Sebastian Włoszek was holding a position of Court Treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The list mentions 4 sets of chasubles for priests and matching altar frontals made of colorful and costly fabrics. The set made of sheared patterned cloth of gold and red silk also had a matching cape for the cleric made from the same fabrics. This set was definitely the most representative in Catherine Jagiellon possession, because gold color is used in Catholic Church only during ceremonial service. The princess also got two sets of chasuble and frontal in black, one made of velvet and one made of damask, decorated with a cross made of damask, but it’s hard to say if the cross was on chasuble or the frontal. The latter set was given to her by her older sister, princess Anna, which is also noted in the inventory. Another set of chasuble and altar frontal was made of brown and yellow silk *kamka*, a fabric that was produced in Persia and East Asia and incorporated a velvet pattern on a golden background.\(^{154}\) As mentioned above, oriental fabrics were admired and sought after by the nobles and royals and used to dress the interiors, including sacred spaces such as chapels and churches. Catherine Jagiellon’s brother king Sigismund August ordered some oriental tapestries to decorate the Royal Cathedral in Wawel Castle, and so she was taking a *yellow Turkish carpet to cover the floor in front of the altar* in the chapel of castle in Åbo. Apart from those items, there is also a red tablecloth, richly decorated with gold embroidery, laces and silk trimmings, as well as a missal in a red velvet cover, already mentioned in the list of silver, due to the fittings on its cover. There are not many examples of preserved liturgical fabrics connected to the Jagiellon dynasty. However, in The Royal Castle in Cracow and National Museum in Warsaw, there are preserved fragments of an altar tablecloth that belonged to Catherine Jagiellon’s older sister, princess Anna (fig.59). The piece is decorated with cross-stitched pattern using silk threads and depicts princess Anna’s coat of arms incorporated in grotesque decoration.

\(^{154}\) Appendix, p. 28
2.5.4 Various textiles

There are many textile objects listed in Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory that don’t fit with any of the categories mentioned above. These are not precious personal or representative pieces to show to the greater public, even though some of them are made of costly fabrics. These are for example bundles for storing and transporting a variety of items. 7 of them, in diverse sizes, were made of cloth of gold and intended for pillows, duvets, bed canopies and a mattress. Another 2 bundles made of red velvet were also used for storing duvets. Moreover, there is a note saying that all the bed linens were packed in bundles made of Lunski wool, a fabric produced in England, the Low countries and Italy and from there imported to Poland. Some of the bundles were intended to be tied in a coach, and therefore had special strings attached in each corner to make it possible. This is the case with 5 bundles made of red satin with silk strings in each corner and additional set of bed linens made of black taffeta together with set of 8 bundles made of black wool. Catherine had also some decorations and furniture for the coach with her, such as six pillows made of red velvet, a folding chair with a matching red velvet pillow, and a piece of cloth of gold used as a hanging instead of tapestry. Another type of unclassified textiles are pieces of extra fabric, probably to use as a material for fixing or

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155 Appendix, pp. 26-27
updating her garments written down under *The uncut silk and cloth of gold fabrics*\(^{156}\). These were 14 ells of cloth of gold, altembas, 22 ells of brown, unshorn velvet and 40 ells of skin colored satin. Additionally, the princess got two pieces of multicolored cloth of gold from the Governor of Vilnius, each 19 ells long, also included in this list. Another group of textiles that I categorized in this section are tablecloths and towels used at a table, not only by the princess but also by the members of the court and servants, as well as pieces of cloth for other uses, which are all listed in the inventory. For the princess’ table there were 2 tablecloths, each 9 ells long, as well as 12 towels (tualle) for wiping hands during meals. These were all made of Cologne cloth, a thin linen fabric imported to Poland from the regions of Cologne in Germany. 2 pieces of 5 ells long cloth were intended as tablecloths for the Ladies in waiting and servants, as well as 1 piece of cloth for chaplains and chambermen respectively for the same purpose. 4 twill tablecloths as well as a piece of cloth to use for napkins and tablecloths were listed for the kitchen. It seems like dressing a table for everyone was taken care of, but unfortunately by mistake, the Lower Ladies in waiting were not given any tablecloth, which was also noted in the inventory. Cloths for other purposes were intended for the laundress, for the bed sheets, and for the sacks to store towels in, as well as for food storage, were two towels made of red taffeta were to be used as covers for barrels. The list is closed with a piece of cloth for cleaning silver\(^{157}\).

### 2.6 Kitchenware, cuisine and wine

The last section concerning objects in princess Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory is dedicated to kitchen and wine cellar equipment. While the list of kitchenware is quite long and precise, under *For the wine cellar* there is only a short information saying that: “*All the dishes and other things that are needed, flasks etc. from The Lithuanian Treasury marked and paid. Many smaller things from The Lithuanian Treasury were paid.*”\(^{158}\)

The person responsible for the wine cellar was an Italian called Cola, which is written down on the list containing the members of the court and servants of the princess\(^{159}\). Even though short, the note contains important information. Firstly, that the equipment of the wine cellar was valuable enough to be written down in the inventory. Secondly, that it was marked paid from The Lithuanian Treasury, over which the Polish king and the Grand Duke of Lithuania

\(^{156}\) Appendix, p. 29

\(^{157}\) Appendix, p.33

\(^{158}\) Appendix, p.33

\(^{159}\) Appendix, p.35
didn’t have power\textsuperscript{160}, so it may be seen as a bridal gift from The Grand Duchy of Lithuania for the princess. Wine was not as popular in Poland as other alcoholic beverages, such as beer, vodka and mead. The Polish climate was too cold for the wine grapes to flourish, and wine was imported from other countries. Wine became all the more popular during renaissance as a result of migration of Italian craftsmen and merchants to Poland, during the reign of king Sigismund 1\textsuperscript{st}, and intensified later when he married Bona Sforza. It is hard to deduct exactly which Italian wines were imported to Poland, because almost all Mediterranean wines were called \textit{malvasia}. Other popular wines were so called \textit{Alikant}, a wine produced in the region of a Spanish city of Alicante, \textit{Bomol} from Crete, \textit{Muscatel} from Macedonia, French wines from Anjou, and \textit{Witpacher}, one of the most expensive wines\textsuperscript{161}. In the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, wine was mostly stored in barrels and brought to the table in flasks or jugs. Except for the flasks mentioned in the note about wine cellar, some traces of Catherine Jagiellon’s wine equipment can be found in the list of \textit{Items added to the silverware} which also names some copper jugs and a copper tub for chilling wine, already mentioned above. In the possession of the Royal Castle in Cracow is an example of such copper tub, produced in Italy at the end of 16\textsuperscript{th} century, which gives an idea of how the object owned by the princess might have look liked (fig. 60). The list concerning kitchenware is much more precise than the one of wine cellar equipment and contains a wide range of objects used in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century royal kitchen. The analyzis of those items not only helps to picture how the work in the kitchen looked like but also gives some clues about what kind of food that Catherine Jagiellon and her court was accustomed too. The amount and a variety of objects suggests that Catherine Jagiellon’s kitchen was very well equipped and prepared to cook big amount of food. She took 22 cauldrons of different types and sizes, 4 of which had covers, 11 pans, 8 ladles, 4 wooden bowls for making dough, 10 platters of different kinds, 2 colanders, 12 barrels with covers, 7

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{copper_bowl.png}
\caption{A copper bowl for chilling wine, Italy, the end of 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Wawel Royal Castle, State Art Collection, Cracow, Poland}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{161} Gloger Zygmunt, Encyklopedja Staopolska Ilustrowana, Warszawa, 1903, vol. IV, p. 440
barbecues of various sizes, 2 fire dogs, 1 gridiron with a tool to clean it, a saltbox, a casket, tin flasks for olive oil, vinegar and wine, and even a shovel and a type of simple plough\textsuperscript{162}.

Moreover, there is a separate list of tin dishes that I also classified as kitchen equipment. The list consists of 20 tin platters, a case with 12 big tin bowls and 2 cases containing 24 plates\textsuperscript{163}.

Overall, Catherine Jagiellon’s kitchenware matches almost all the necessities listed in the oldest Polish cooking book, \textit{Compendium Ferculorum}, published 1682 by Stanislaw Czerniecki (fig. 61)\textsuperscript{164}. Even though the book was first published nearly 100 years after Catherine Jagiellon’s death, it still remains a valuable comparative source, considering a lot of recipes and kitchenware described by the author were well known and used in her times. The book contains not only Polish recipes, but also imported dishes from countries like Lithuania, Hungary, Italy, Spain, France, England, Germany, or even the Low Countries. I believe that some of those imported recipes had to be known and cooked long before the book was published, and therefore also known during the times of Catherine Jagiellon. Several of the items in the inventory have more precise description concerning their function, or the way they looked. For example, among 11 pans, 2 were intended for the oven, 1 was for cooking eggs, 1 was for making paté and another one for preparing so called \textit{bijanka}. The division of pans actually gives a lot of insight into old Polish cuisine. In \textit{Compendium Ferculorum} there are 7 different recipes for paté (also German, French and English)\textsuperscript{165}; 3 recipes for scrambled

\textsuperscript{162} Appendix, p. 33
\textsuperscript{163} Appendix, p. 32
\textsuperscript{164} Czerniecki Stanislaw, \textit{Compendium Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw}, Krakow 1682, p. 3
\textsuperscript{165} Czerniecki Stanislaw, \textit{Compendium Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw}, Krakow 1682, p. 75-78
eggs (of which one is cooked with wine) and also for bijanka. Bijanka is a historical dish that no longer exist in Polish cuisine. It was thought to be one of the delicacies and a cooking masterpiece. According to the expenses of the royal kitchen during Sigismund 3rd Vasa’s reign in Poland, it was cooked only three times a year, during Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, making it a very special dish. It is really hard to imagine the taste of it, because it contains ingredients which we would never mix today, such as milk, almonds, aspic, sugar, broth, rice, rose water and even smoked beef tongues. Another set of interesting items from Catherine Jagiellon’s kitchen were Italian dishes, 6 platters with covers for cakes and 4 Italian platters with handles. In the original document the writers used the Italian word patella to describe them and the word tort (from Italian torta) for a cake. The word tort in modern Polish language is used to describe a sweet layer cake, often baked to celebrate birthdays. In the 16th century Italy the word torta was used for baked savory dishes containing meat, cheese and vegetables, as well as sweet cakes. The biggest renaissance Italian cooking book, Opera di M. Bartolomeo Scappi, cuoco secreto di Papa Pio V divisa in sei libri, published in 1570, lists nearly 50 recipes for that dish, containing all kinds of ingredients, like beef, pork, chicken meat, onions, pasta (lasagna), but also melons, quinces, apples and medlars. One of the sweet cakes recipes was the famous torta bianca reale, the favourite cake of Pope Julius III filled with ricotta and parmesan cheese and raisins. Scappi’s work is also illustrated with nearly 20 woodcut plates showing kitchens and its equipment. One of the plates shows the

![Figure 62 Detail showing Italian patelle in Bartolomeo Scappi’s, Opera di M. Bartolomeo Scappi, cuoco secreto di Papa Pio V divisa in sei libri, 1570, plate 9 Diversi Vasi](image)

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166 Czerniecki Stanislaw, Compendium Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw, Krakow 1682, p.74
167 Czerniecki Stanislaw, Compendium Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw, Krakow 1682, p. 87
168 Golebiewski Lukasz, Domy i dwory : przy tem opisaniem apteczki, kuchni, stołów, użyt, trunków i pijatyki, laźni i kapieli, pościole, ogrodów, powozów i koni, blaznów, karłów, wszelkich zwyczajów dworskich i różnych obyczajowych szczegółów, Warszawa, 1830, p. 45
169 Scappi Bartolomeo, Opera di M. Bartolomeo Scappi, cuoco secreto di Papa Pio V divisa in sei libri, Veneto, 1570, quinto libro, pp.354-365
various types of tortera and padelle della torta, which I believe were also a part of Catherine Jagiellons kitchenware (fig. 62, 62). Czerniecki’s Compendium Ferculorum contains 24 recipes for cakes, also savory made from meat, spinach and even bone marrow, but in comparison to the Italian cooking book the sweet cakes are in majority. One of the recipes that appears in both works is for a quince cake. But most of all old Polish cuisine was full of soups and cooked and baked meat and fish in spicy fragrant sauces. The big amounts of cauldrons in Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory suggests that apart from cooking water, her chef also prepared some old Polish soups, some of which are still eaten today, such as barszcz made with beetroots, broth, krupnik with broth and barley groats, kapusniak, a sour cabbage soup and a cold Lithuanian barszcz, still eaten during summers. Barbecues and gridiron were used for preparing meat and fish, but also for cooking in the cauldrons that were hanging over the open fire. Compendium Ferculorum lists the kinds of meat that were eaten in Poland in 17th century. These are for example: ox meet, beef from different breeds of cows, lamb, pork from several pig breeds, chickens, capons, geese, ducks, turkeys, rabbits, and venison: moose, bison, deer of different kinds, wild boars, wild goats and hares not including wild birds. Meet was baked, cooked, braised and transformed into patés, meatloafs, and the Polish favorite, sausages. The list of fish and seafood is as long containing among others, salmon, eels, carps, hearings, pikes, trouts, sturgeons as well as Venetian and Turkish caviar, oysters, turtles, snails and crayfish. Compendium Ferculorum contains nearly 100 recipes to prepare fish, which was mostly eaten during fasts that Polish people strictly obeyed.

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170 Golebiewski Lukasz, Domy i dwory : przy tem opisanie apteczki, kuchni, stołów, uczt, trunków i pijatyki, laźni i kapieli, pościeli, ogródków, powozów i koni, blaznów, karłów, wszelkich zwyczajów dworskich i różnych obyczajowych szczegółów, Warszawa, 1830, p. 40
171 Czerniecki Stanislaw, Compendium Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw, Krakow 1682, pp. 1, 5
Strangely enough Poles also had a version of sausage that was allowed to be eaten during the fast. It was made out of beaver’s meat classified as permitted to eat, since the animal lived in water and its tail appeared to be covered in fish scales. Characteristic for old Polish cuisine was the use of oriental spices. A lot of recipes in *Compendium Ferculorum* are described as *yellow*, from the color of saffron that was used as an ingredient, for example as in the recipe for *Royal salmon, in yellow sauce*\(^{172}\). Spices were very valuable and were held in a special box. In Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory the list of kitchenware mentions a casket, called *scatulla* from Italian, which may have been used as a storage for spices. Czerniecki names necessary spices to be kept in such casket, such as saffron, sugar, black pepper corns, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg and cumin\(^{173}\). Salt, which was not only used as a seasoning but also as food preservative was stored in a separate saltbox. One can only wonder if the 12 covered barrels that Catherine Jagiellon took with her to Sweden were already filled with food or empty and if yes, what kind of foods were taken with her. Quite peculiar items that also followed Catherine Jagiellon to Sweden are 2 sokhas and 1 kumar. Both words are no longer in use and it proves some difficulties to establish what kinds of objects they really were. In the original document the term used for sokha is *socha zworzysta* and according to the encyclopedia of old Polish traditions, *Encyklopedia Staropolska*, sokha was a type of a very old and simple ard used in the regions of Russia, Lithuania, north-east and eastern regions of Poland and Masovia. Another meaning of the word *socha* in Polish language was a pitchfork\(^{174}\). Both of the items seems to be helpful in the renaissance kitchen but taking into account the need for vegetable and herb garden to supply the kitchen, the ard seems more fitting choice. Kumar also has two different meanings, and according to the dictionary of 16\(^{th}\) century Polish language, the word comes from Persian gumar, or Turkish gümar, or in old Czech language kůmarový meaning the color of iron, and could be either some kind of iron tool used to clean pipes in the kitchen and baths, or a kind of big sized scoop. Apart from Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory this tool is mentioned also in the documents concerning building of a Royal Castle in Cracow, from the years 1543 and 1545\(^{175}\).

\(^{172}\) Czerniecki Stanislaw, *Compendium Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, Krakow 1682, p. 46  
\(^{173}\) Czerniecki Stanislaw, *Compendium arm Ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, Krakow 1682, p. 4  
2.7 The people of the court

Court was a vital part of any source of political power, be it royal, ducal or papal. The circle of people closest to the ruler was creating a unique environment that in many cases laid foundations for a political, cultural and scientific development. In his publication about the northern court culture, Herman Bengtsson writes that since the medieval times court and everything courtly was associated with something positive and correct, even though its access was limited only to a noble social class. The courts were setting examples to follow for other social classes, or other courts. The origins of courts lay in the medieval knight’s culture. Around 1100-1500 the knight’s ideal emerged and spread through the literature, art and music in the entire modern world\textsuperscript{176}. The works that had the most impact on creating the picture of ideal knight, an experienced adventurer, a heroic lover and a devoted worshipper of God, were undoubtedly chivalric romances, such as \textit{Lancelot, The Knight of the Cart, Perceval, the Story of the Grail} by Chrétien de Troyes or the story of \textit{Tristan and Isolde}. The stories not only shaped a set of behaviors associated with a certain social group, but also had an enormous influence on surrounding world, including interior design, fashion, knight’s armor, gardens and entertainment\textsuperscript{177}. The European court culture that began to emerge around 16\textsuperscript{th} century became more unified in a sense of a certain etiquette, a protocol of accepted behaviors that everyone at the court had to follow. Simultaneously, it also was a very culturally diverse environment, bringing the people from around the world together, sharing and displaying the arts, thought and sciences from remote parts of Europe or world. An attractive court served as an evidence of ruler’s greatness. It was the members of the court that were responsible for the arrangements of important ceremonies and festivities, such as coronations, weddings, funerals, but also feasts, hunts and everywhere where the ruler was present\textsuperscript{178}. Events as such were often staged as a lavish spectacles for the public, showing not only greatness and riches of the ruler and the country, but also stating his political power. The Polish rulers from Jagiellon dynasty always kept a representative court that was inspired by the most powerful European courts of Habsburgs in The Holy Roman Empire and Spain, House of Valois in France and the papal court in Rome, but also smaller yet as splendorous and trendsetting courts of Italian states like Venice, Naples and Florence. Courts were transmitting various

\textsuperscript{176} Bengtsson Herman, \textit{Den höviska kulturen in Norden, En konsthistorisk undersökning}, Stockholm 1999, pp. 18-19
\textsuperscript{177} Bengtsson Herman, \textit{Den höviska kulturen in Norden, En konsthistorisk undersökning}, Stockholm 1999, pp. 48-49
\textsuperscript{178} Wilska Malgorzata, \textit{Atrakcyjnosc kultury dworskiej w czasach Jagiellonow}, in: \textit{Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce}, vol. 38, 1994, p. 5
culture values to the subjects but also in between the courts themselves through the diplomats, agents, ambassadors, merchants and artists. As Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly writes, the transmission of cultural values from one court to another was an exchange between equal and symmetrical partners and cannot be compared to the exchange between coloniser and colonised, which is why many European courts shared the same elements as etiquette, courtier’s positions and ranks, fashion and entertainment. An ingredient of Jagiellon dynasty courts that was also popular on other courts of Europe was for example the figure of a court jester, already known from the medieval times. Jester’s function was not only to entertain but also he was the only courtier allowed to say the truth to the ruler. It was a duty of an appointed knight or, later, a noble. One of the most famous jesters in Polish history was Stanczyk, the courtier of king Sigismund 1st, Catherine Jagiellon’s father. Dwarfs are also an example of a fashionable element of the court that was very popular on Italian and French courts but first came to Poland at the end of 15th century. Bona Sforza had a beloved dwarf Maryna that outlived her and was even paid a retirement money from the royal treasury. Catherine Jagiellon, her sister Anna and their brother Sigismund August also had dwarfs at their courts. Since medieval times it was popular for European rulers to collect live exotic animals. The biggest menagerie of this type was kept in France, in the gardens of Louvre. The animals had their symbolic meaning and were divided for those more and less honorable. In the medieval times the royal animal was a camel and was often given as a gift from one ruler to another. Prestigious and valuable animals were also lions and birds such as colorful and impressive peacocks, parrots or pelicans. Lions were always present in the menageries of every Polish Jagiellon king, including princess Catherine’s brother king Sigismund 2nd August who even had one in the royal gardens in Vilnius. Very important and integral part of every court was the entertainment in form of a music bands, theatrical groups, dances and games. All these were present at the Jagiellon court. In 1540 king Sigismund 1st founded a man choir called Capella Regia Rorantistarum that remained active until 1794, and his son king Sigismund August had a musical band of 14 members, that often played music during royal and courtly meals. The instruments played were trumpets, lutes, drums, violins, flutes and harps. Royal courts were an inspiration to the smaller courts of nobles which often had

179 Watanabe O’Kelly Helen, Queens consort, dynasty, cultural transfer, in: Watanabe-O’Kelly H., Morton A., Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500-1800, Abingdon 2017, p. 244
180 Wilska Malgorzata, Atrakcyjność kultury dworskiej w czasach Jagiellonów, in: Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce, vol. 38, 1994, pp. 6-8
181 Wilska Malgorzata, Atrakcyjność kultury dworskiej w czasach Jagiellonów, in: Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce, vol. 38, 1994, p. 0
the same ingredients but in smaller scale. The inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry gives an opportunity to look at a small-scale court of a princess and a duchess, even though it barely has an information on the courtly life.

The list of the members of Catherine Jagiellon’s court should actually be treated as a separate document added to the inventory than one of its parts. One cannot value or research human beings using material culture tools as above, but one can look closer at what the princess’s court looked like, what professions did it include and how were the people ranked. Although there is very little information in the sources about almost any of the members of her court, sometimes one can deduct data such as a nationality, social class or human relations from the descriptions in the inventory. The document itself can be divided in two parts, starting with one concerning the servants, their professions and duties, and the other listing the ladies in waiting. The first on the list is a chef, Jan Manowski\textsuperscript{182}. The information in the inventory saying that all the kitchen related items were given to Mr Manowski points out that he was the main person responsible for the kitchen\textsuperscript{183}. Besides him the kitchen was also a workplace for 4 master cooks, 2 apprentices, 4 kitchen boys and a baker. There is a note in the inventory about an unfortunate accident in which one of the kitchen apprentices, Stanislaw Gebicki, died, and the king Sigismund 2\textsuperscript{nd} August ordered one of his chefs, Stanislaw to find a replacement\textsuperscript{184}. The person responsible for maintaining and keeping all of Catherine Jagiellon’s objects was Stanislaw Pierchlinski. The person who took care of the silver and was responsible for setting the princesses’ table was Piotr Zawadzki who had two helpers, who probably kept the silver clean\textsuperscript{185}. The person responsible for Catherine Jagiellon’s wine cellar was already mentioned above, an Italian named Cola.\textsuperscript{186} Other professions represented at Catherine Jagiellons court were 2 ushers, 2 garment cleaners, also already mentioned above, the Apothecary, the barber and the laundress. The servants that were closest to the princess were 4 higher stewards, 4 page boys and 4 servants. To the most trusted circle of people, closest to Catherine Jagiellon belonged without a doubt the reverend, priest Lenard and two chaplains, priests Wojciech and Jakub. The ladies in waiting were divided in those of higher and lower rank. All of the ladies came from noble class, but only the ladies from more honorable families could accompany and serve the princess on a daily basis. The ladies of lower rank were occupied with some female activities, like needlework and only attended the

\textsuperscript{182} Appendix, p. 35
\textsuperscript{183} Appendix, p. 34
\textsuperscript{184} Appendix, p. 37
\textsuperscript{185} Appendix, pp.35-36
\textsuperscript{186} Appendix, p. 34
princess during big ceremonies\(^\text{187}\). Catherine Jagiellon’s ladies in waiting of a higher rank consisted of 6 young ladies and 2 so called *old ladies*, senior married or widowed ladies in waiting, that often were holding superior positions as court mistresses. There were 4 ladies of lower rank that accompanied the princess to Sweden. The Maid of a Chamber of the princess is also listed together with all the ladies of higher rank. The ladies had 2 servants, of which one was also a tailor, and one chamber servant. Important part of the court were also dwarfs, 2 men and 2 women. Some of the names of the members of the court duplicate suggesting that these persons could have been from the same family. For example, one of the page boys is bears the same name as the chef of her Highness which indicates that he could be his son. Following this trail, both old ladies’s daughter served as the Ladies of higher rank (Mrs Biechowska could have been Annas Biechowska’s mother) or lower rank (Mrs Osbandstolska could have been mother of Ostolska). Moreover, it seems that among the ladies in waiting of higher rank were two pairs of siblings, as it could be with Marusza and Hanna Krupska and Orsula and Dorota Niemaioiwska. There isn’t much information about the court of princess Catherine before her becoming a duchess of Finland. According to the sources, it seems like she shared a court together with her mother and older sisters Anna and Sophia. After Bona Sforza’s departure to Italy and Sophia’s departure to her new home in Wolfenbüttel, princesses Anna and Catherine were left in Warsaw castle with a modest entourage consisting of 1 steward, 2 servants, 2 old ladies and 6 ladies in waiting. None of these people were later included in Catherine Jagiellon’s ducal court\(^\text{188}\). It is though known that the two dwarfs Doska and Baska, that followed the princess to Sweden were her faithful and close companions since childhood. Both women also shared a four years of imprisonment in the Gripsholm castle with their mistress. Moreover, Dosia was educated and served the princess as her secretary, often writing personal letters to her sisters Sophia and Anna\(^\text{189}\). The inventory doesn’t leave much clues about the court’s life. Actually, the only item that is connected to it is a short information on one of the cloth, used for dancing, which was a common courtly entertainment. One can only assume that growing up on the magnificent and multicultural courts of her parents and her brother, the princess followed their footsteps and wanted to establish an important and influential ducal court.


3. Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry as a mirror of cultural interactions in the early modern world

Through the thorough analysis of the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry based on material culture studies approach, it is possible to depict a very complex collection of items that followed the princess to Sweden. The complexity of the collection manifests itself not only in the large numbers of items, but also in what the objects represent themselves. According to Peter Burke, cultural hybridity can be found in every domain of culture, and to make it easier to grasp he distinguished four kinds of hybridity or hybridization processes involving artefacts, texts, practices and people. Although, physically nonexistent, it is possible to recognize those kinds of hybridity in the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon based on the descriptions of items and people, as well as the results of the analysis of various parts of the document that they belonged to. The analysis of jewelry, silver items, textiles and kitchenware reveal that many of the items from those groups fall into the definition of hybrid artefacts as well as text. Hybrid practices can be seen through the religious context of the silver liturgical items as well liturgical textiles, but also through the analysis of kitchenware which gives a lot of insight in the Polish cuisine. Hybrid people is the term Burke uses to define people or groups of people, who moved from one culture to another because of religious, political or economic reasons. This definition can be easily applied on the members of the court of Catherine Jagiellon as well as the princess herself. For an item or a person to become a hybrid, they must go through a process of some kind of cultural interaction, such as transfer, exchange, encounter or translation already mentioned at the beginning of this study. I argue that these culturally hybrid objects and people as well as the culture processes they went through, mirror the complex cultural interactions of the early modern world. That is why, in this section of my thesis I’m going to browse through Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry in search of those hybrid culture markers described by Burke and analyze the processes they went through to become culturally hybrid. I’m also going to look at the cultural baggage that Catherine Jagiellon were to offer in her new homeland, Sweden.

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190 Burke Peter, Cultural Hybridity, 2009, p.13
191 Burke Peter, Cultural Hybridity, 2009, p.30
3.1 Hybrid artefacts

A lot of items in Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory became hybrid artefacts as a result of undergoing culture interaction processes, such as described by Burke *Fashion for the foreign*\(^{192}\). When it comes to jewelry and silver items, it was both the fashion, but more importantly the value of used materials, that made some objects more culturally hybrid than the others. The more exotic the material, the more valuable the object was. Of course, as already mentioned in the chapter concerning golden and silver objects it is almost impossible to deduct where all the materials came from, and all of the items with precious stones could be considered as culturally hybrid in Poland, because none of the stones such as rubies, diamonds or sapphires were ever mined there. Some descriptions though give a clue about the origin of the material or there is some information in historical sources that helps to establish where the objects were made. One of the descriptions that makes an item culturally hybrid is the expression *orioana pearl*. Oriana pearls were the most expensive kind of pearls known to be imported to Europe from the regions of the Red Sea in the Middle East and Asia, for example from Kolkata in India\(^ {193}\). The inventory mentions 20 items containing oriana pearls which apart from jewels also decorated fashion accessories such as bonnets and ruffs. The item that can also be treated as a hybrid artefact is the only existing jewel of Catherine Jagiellon, the pendant with a letter C. The jewel can be traced back to its maker Nicolaus Nonarth, a renowned goldsmith from Nuremberg where the pendant was acquired. Buying jewels on the markets outside Poland, like in Nuremberg or Antwerp was a common practice of Polish royals in the 16\(^{th}\) century, as already mentioned in the chapter about silver. In the case of the C pendant, the formal analysis is also possible. The jewel joins the ornaments coming from two different traditions, western cartouche ornament on the front and an enamel with eastern Moresque at the back. It’s hard to deduct if in case of this jewel and two others of this kind, acquired for Catherine Jagiellon’s sisters, the eastern-western style design on the jewel was a result of fashion or specific instructions from the buyer, King Sigismund 1st. Nevertheless, such conjoined decoration shows the eastern influences penetrating the western art which indicates the jewel to be a culturally hybrid artefact. Silver items described as of Nuremberg or of Hungarian work listed in the inventory, such as gilded cups with coats of arms of the princess or a set of golden cutlery, not only describe the places they originated from but also give a clue to some possible formal and stylistic features of those items. The

\(^{192}\)Burke Peter, *Cultural Hybridity*, 2009, p.79

\(^{193}\)Turnau Irena, *Słownik ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatekackie, skóry, broń i klejnoty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowieczu do początku XIX w.*, Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 194
popularity of the Nuremberg’s columbine cup or Transylvanian filigree and enamel techniques that were admired by 16th century art consumers were all fashionable items that enhanced the status of their owners and beautified their collections. Moreover, the specifics of techniques and ornament characteristic for those places became recognizable all over Europe. These hybrid artefacts appears to be passively transferred from one culture to another, from one country to another and easily accepted. Textiles in the inventory, and especially the clothes of Catherine Jagiellon present a broader and easier to grasp cultural diversity. Not only that her clothes are sewn in fashion popular in other countries like Germany and Spain, but also with fabrics of international origin, such as oriental damask and tabi, Italian altembas, teleta and taffeta (Polish kitajka) imported to Poland through Russia from China. The fashion from other cultural circles were not only widely accepted but also adapted and translated to fit the Polish culture. That is the case with how Spanish court-style gowns became more colorful outside the country of its origin. Catherine Jagiellon’s Spanish gowns appear in red, brown and grey apart from classic black. Another example is an apparel called giermak, borrowed from the male Hungarian national costume, firstly by Polish noblemen, to later became adapted to women’s wardrobe. In the example of Catherine Jagiellon’s wardrobe can one not only see that it was a very popular garment but also that it had its own translation in type of a shortened version of it called half-giermak or karwatka. Very important and easily spread hybrid artefacts in fashion were also fashion accessories. Spanish style ruffs and ruffed cuffs as well as Spanish and French bejeweled fittings decorated many of Catherine Jagiellons gowns, also the ones that did not come specifically from the same cultural tradition. The example of such a mix is using Spanish fittings on loose gowns, typical for German fashion. One of the items that also had only a decorative function was a sable fur called zibellino, that originated in Italy and became very popular among the high-ranking women in other European countries. Catherine Jagiellon also owned a lot of items of foreign origin to decorate and use in her chambers. German, Italian and French – made beds with canopies and covers intended for them, often sewn from fabrics of foreign origin. Woven tapestries, probably produced in Brussels and oriental, so called Turkish carpets, that were to be used to beautify the Åbo castle. Even the list of kitchenware presents some items that were adapted from other cultures, for examples Italian patelle, as well as an unidentified object called kumar.

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194 Turnau Irena, Słownik ubiorów, Tkaniny, wyroby pozatkackie, skóry, broń i klejnoty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w., Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p. 87
3.2 Hybrid language

Many of the items described above that originated outside Poland were already well adapted in Polish culture, or international courtly culture in the times of Catherine Jagiellon. Yet in the inventory, they are easily recognizable through the language in form of foreign sounding words or their polonized versions. Burke describes translations as the most obvious case of hybrid texts, because it is often hard to find equivalent to introduce words and ideas understandable for the new readers. Translating the original text of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry proved some difficulties for me. In many cases I left the foreign sounding words even though I knew its polish meaning, to not disrupt the cultural diversity of the language used in the document itself. Even though some of the items bear foreign sounding names, in many cases with certainty their Polish variant would be intelligible for the culture they originated from. The example of those kind of hybrid words are:

- The descriptions of some jewelry items such used in the original document alspant, from German halsband used for necklace or manille from Italian maniglia used for bracelets.
- The descriptions of fabrics, such as Altembas (from Turkish altun-gold and bez-cloth), used to describe a specific kind of cloth of gold, produced and imported to Poland from Venice, and the Italian sounding names of other fabrics such as taffeta, teleta, tabi
- The descriptions of fashion accessories: gurgielle from Spanish gorguera- to name the ruff and Treparelle from old Italian trapello to name the ruffed cuffs.
- The descriptions of kitchen equipment such as patelle additionally described as Italian in the original document to name kinds of pans, scatulla for a casket also originating from Italian language and a tool kumar- from Turkish or Persian.

The process of the migration of foreign words into Polish language is only one of the examples of this phenomenon in Europe. Many of the words probably didn’t enter the Polish language directly, but through other languages, where this process occurred earlier. Burke describes the influence of Arabic language on Spanish that continued long into the 16th century even though the last Arabic emirate in Granada was dissolved in 1491. But many Asian, African and American words were introduced to the European languages for the first

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195 Burke Peter, Cultural Hybridity, 2009, p.17
196 Burke Peter, Cultural Hybridity, 2009, p.17
197 Turnau Irena, Słownik ubiorów, Tkanin, wyroby pozatokackie, skóry, broń i klejnoty oraz barwy znane w Polsce os średniowiecza do początku XIX w., Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper, Warszawa, 1999, p.13
time, beginning with Spanish, Italian and Portuguese and progressed further into the continent being a global hybridization process\(^{198}\). Migration of words from one language to another was mainly the effect of the economic and political relation between countries. As a result of such between Europe and Ottoman Empire, many Turkish word are used in European languages up until today. Most of the Turkish and Asian words he mentions such as *kaftan, szabla, derwisz* or *pagoda* also exist in Polish language today. Burke also writes about very exotic word migrations from languages such as African Kimbundu to Portuguese, or American Taino, Quechua, or Nahuatl to Spanish \(^{199}\).

### 3.3 Hybrid practices

There are no clear instructions about practices in the Catherine Jagiellon’s inventory, but some of the items or their collections as well as other historical sources give us a picture of what they may be. Burke writes that practices may be defined in religion, music, language, sport, festivals and other cultural domains. The two domains that in my opinion emerge the most are church and cuisine, but there are also example of items that gives a clue of other practices too. Catherine Jagiellon was allowed to practice Catholicism, even though her new home, Sweden was undergoing reformation and was transitioning from Catholicism to Lutheranism. The ongoing processes began by duke Johan Vasa’s father, king Gustav 1\(^{st}\), were in motion and by the time Catherine Jagiellon entered Sweden in 1560’s, some of the convents such as Vadstena, Vreta and Skokloster were still active. But the changes in the service took place much earlier, and the bans for incense, anointing, cult of saints, pilgrimages and Requiem mass, as well as the obligation to perform the mass in Swedish, came through between the years 1536-1544. The changes took their time to be accustomed with, and the reformation in Sweden never took such a dramatic turn, like in other countries making the remaining Catholics feel moderately safe. The fact that the princess was allowed to practice her faith was also a result of the personal stance of her husband towards religion, who was much more tolerant than his anti-Catholic brothers Erik 14th and Karl 9\(^{th}\)\(^{200}\). Even, if there was a possibility for Catherine Jagiellon to experience a Catholic service, it would be a very different one than what she was used to. Fortunately, the number of liturgical items and textiles listed in her dowry, as well as 3 priests, allowed her to honor her beliefs according to


the Catholic rite. Performing and taking part in a Catholic mass in the country that is in the process of denying it, is a clear example of a cultural encounter, where religious practice becomes hybrid. But the list of the items intended for a church or a chapel holds yet another example of a religious culture clash, in the form of a yellow Turkish carpet to cover the floor in front of the altar. The fact that oriental carpets were very much in fashion as decorative textiles in western Europe during 16th century is nothing strange, as already mentioned in the chapter about textiles above. What’s interesting is that in 16th century Poland the demand for oriental carpets was so high, that Persians manufacturers created something called Polonaise carpet, a type of luxurious silk carpets intended for the Polish market. But in Islamic countries carpets and especially so called prayer rugs have a very symbolic meaning, and used during the prayers they not only keep the worshipper clean but also are often decorated with a representation of mihrab, a part of a wall in the mosque showing the direction of Mecca, the direction they should pray. The fact that Catherine Jagiellon’s Turkish carpet was to be laid in front of the altar suggests that its function, as in keeping the sacred place clean, was similar as in Islamic culture. Nevertheless, using such a culturally and symbolically loaded piece of textile from one culture to another makes it a hybrid artefact.

The versatile type of kitchen equipment listed in Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry and the historical sources about Polish cuisine suggest that preparing and eating food was a culturally hybrid practice. The analysis of the kitchen and wine cellar equipment as well as of the list of the items added to the silver proves that Polish cuisine was very versatile and Catherine Jagiellon was no stranger to some foreign dishes, such as Italian cuisine, probably introduced to her by her mother or a variety of oriental spices, widely used by Polish chefs. We can only imagine what Italian dishes were prepared by Catherine Jagiellon’s chef using the Italian equipment that she took with her. Was it some sweet cakes, or maybe a lasagna, already known in 16th century as shown by Bartolomeo Scappi’s Opera. One of the biggest changes Italian cuisine had on Polish one was the introduction of new vegetables. Catherine Jagiellon and her siblings were accustomed with the art of Italian garden, containing fruits, vegetable and medicinal herbs through their Italian mother. The royal estates in Cracow and Ujazdow were surrounded by parks with menageries and pleasure gardens. During the time Bona Sforza was queen the import of southern vegetables increased, and most of them made their

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201 Appendix, p. 29
way into Polish gardens. Carrot, fennel, onion, garlic, spinach, beans, kale, corn, celery, leek, cauliflower, broccoli, artichokes, asparagus, pumpkins, radish and a variety of salads were already popular during the reign of King Sigismund 3rd Vasa, Catherine Jagiellon’s son.204 What’s interesting, is that many of the names of those vegetables in modern Polish language still sounds very similar to their Italian counterparts. Almut Bues argues that Catherine Jagiellon brought her love and knowledge of plants with her to Sweden, and that the decrease in spending on the maintenance of gardens and parks around her estates in Svartsjö after her death proves that. Moreover, she passed her botanical interests to her daughter Anna, who later became a financial investor of Simon Sirenius’s botanical atlas.205 In such case, maybe it is possible that the 2 sokhas mentioned in the inventory of kitchen equipment may have been ploughs for setting up a kitchen garden. Apart from all the foreign influences in Polish cuisine, Catherine Jagiellon also ate the dishes that were indigenous to it, such as already mentioned bijanka and probably a variety of Polish soups and sausages. The moment those dishes were transferred and cooked in Sweden they made cooking a hybrid practice too.

One of the items that hints at a common hybrid practice is a big red woolen cloth to put on the floor in the chamber. Or for dancing.206 Dancing was a very important ingredient of courtly life during festivities and is one of the most hybrid practices. Dances and music were also very prone to fashion, and new pieces and new moves spread very quickly in the courtly culture, travelling with musicians, theatrical groups, ambassadors and even through literature.207 Dances were inseparable element of ceremonies and festivals that were organized not only to commemorate an important event on the royal or ducal court, but also to send a clear political power message to their allies, enemies or subjects. Dances could be performed by the participants of those events, or for the public, by professional dancers in form of spectacles. These spectacles often combined many elements, such as tournaments, with ballet dances in between, recitation of poetry, singing or firework drama.208 There is no memoirs about how the festivities of Catherine Jagiellon and Johan Vasa looked like in Åbo, except for

204 Golebiewski Łukasz, Domy i dwory : przy tem opisanie apteczki, kuchni, stołów, uczt, trunków i pijatyki, laźni i kapieli, pościami, ogrodów, powozów i koni, blaznów, karłów, wszelkich zwyczajów dworskich i różnych obyczajowych szczegółów, Warszawa, 1830, p. 43
206 Appendix, p.31
the information about the ceremonial arrival of the new duchess and her entourage to the city, and that the celebrations took the next few months, also combining the weddings of the dukes two closest advisors. Without a doubt dancing was a part of those ceremonies and perhaps some new dances were presented during them.

3.4 Hybrid people

People and their actions take the most responsibility for the cultural changes in the world. Their decisions, inventions, beliefs and ideas can lead to the processes of hybridization. Marriage as a tool of political alliance was a widely used method of royal powerhouses in the early modern Europe and was one of the main catalysts of its cultural diversity. Next to diplomacy, marriage was the most significant process of crossing the borders and boundaries by dynasties and a very public moment of two cultures meeting. Catherine Jagiellon and all of her siblings had a mother coming from a foreign land, including princess’s oldest half-sister Jadwiga, who was half-Hungarian. All of their spouses also came from abroad. Jadwiga married the elector of Brandenburg, Joachim 2nd, Isabella married the Hungarian king Jan Zápolya, Sigismund’s wives Elisabeth and Catherine came from the Habsburg dynasty and Barbara Radziwill was a Lithuanian noblewoman. Sophia married a duke of Braunschweig-Wolkenbüttel, Henry 5th, and Anna married the prince of Transylvania, Stefan Batory. The complex family relations were the basis for various cultural interactions. Catherine Jagiellon was not only a hybrid individual herself but also, through her marriage with Swedish duke Johan Vasa pushed a whole process of cultural interactions further. Moreover, this process was strengthened by the whole entourage of people who accompanied her to Sweden. Burke writes that the court was one of the places that sparked a particularly intense hybridization process. They worked like magnets for the artists and humanists of that time. The most prominent courts of Europe were the papal court in Rome and the royal court of the Spanish kings. They were both multilingual and multicultural to say the least and served as examples for the other courts of Europe. Of course, Catherine Jagiellon’s was no match to the biggest courts of Europe, and the document doesn’t give any information about the artists or humanists that followed her on this first journey. Nevertheless, one of the court cultures features was that it followed the universal standards and the same things on the Spanish court

209 Rangström Lena, En brud för kung och fosterland, Kungliga bröllop från Gustav Vasa till Carl XVI Gustaf, Stockholm, 2010, p. 82
211 Burke Peter, Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture, Budapest, New York, 2016, p. 43
were sought and admired in the courts across Europe, no matter royal or ducal. So even though there is no information about the influential renaissance humanists and artists that followed the princess, one cannot exclude the fact that her court, as all the others during 16th century was under the Italian culture spell. It is still possible though to analyze the cultural diversity of the individuals that followed the princess to Sweden, because many of the servants and professionals were of foreign origin. Looking closer at the list of the servants and the members of the court, one can right away spot some foreign sounding names. In the case of the person responsible for the wine cellar there is even a note of his nationality saying Cola, The Italian. The nationality of others is not revealed. One of the servants is called Tharar, which again is not a typical Polish name, and by the sound of it suggests someone coming from the East. It’s not entirely impossible that this person was a Tatar, since Vilnius, as well as Cracow were one of the most cosmopolitan European cities in the 16th century, combining such nationalities as Poles, Lithuanians, Germans, Jews, Ruthenians and Tatars. Other foreign names that appear in the inventory are Thessner, 2x Hans and Mathias Louis suggesting some German or even French descent. Moreover, one of the individuals named Hans had a Polish sounding last name, Czerlinski, and was employed as a master cook in the princess’s kitchen.

3.5 Cultural interactions

All of the cultural markers in the form of hybrid artefacts, language, practices and people detected in the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry appeared there as a result of complex cultural interactions. Some of them were a result of as defined by Burke, cultural transfer. These were for example the objects that adapted well as a consequence of, so called fashion for the foreign, such as jewelry and items made of silver, fashionable oriental and western fabrics, some garments and fashion accessories such as German gowns or Spanish ruffs, or fittings. The processes of cultural exchange laid at the basis of practices connected to food. Cooking and the development of cuisine through adding new spices, trying new foodstuffs, planting exotic vegetables and fruits set in motion hybridization of this practice. I can imagine that serving Polish dishes, already influenced by cuisine from Italy, Germany of France and flavored with oriental spices in some way affected the Northern cuisine. Dancing as a courtly practice also suggests it was a vital ingredient in the process of the cultural exchange of the

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212 Watanabe-O’Kelly Helen, Queens consort, dynasty, cultural transfer, in: Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500-1800 (ed. Helen Watanabe-O’Keely, Adam Morton), Abingdon, 2017, p. 224
213 Burke Peter, Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture, Budapest, New York, 2016, p. 46
ducal court of Catherine Jagiellon and Johan Vasa in Sweden. Cultural translation can be seen in the examples from Catherine Jagiellon’s wardrobe. Adapting the classical black Spanish court-style dress to fit the color taste of northern European women was one thing. Borrowing apparels typical for mens’ wardrobe and sporting them in a completely new variant, such as in the case of half-giernmak, was another thing. Other processes of hybridization, such as the migration of foreign words into the Polish language or the religious practices of Catherine Jagiellon were mostly the results of conflict and the act of Burke’s cultural encounter. Despite the great influence of middle eastern culture on Poland, to the point where Polish noblemen were wearing outfits similar to those of Turks, the army used Turkish weapons and helmets, and everyone absolutely loving oriental made carpets, Poles and Turks were enemies. Poland and Hungary were at the eastern frontier, separating Christian Europe from Islamic East and this life at the frontier, together with a strong influence of foreign culture, created a western stereotype of Poles and Hungarians that were viewed as Turks as well\(^2\). Such was also the case with practicing Catholicism in a country which was in the middle of the reformation and rejecting papacy. Even though Sweden was still in the process of religious transition from Catholicism to Lutheranism and the conversion was going mildly, the two faiths were in undeniable conflict and so was the performing of a Catholic service in Sweden an act of cultural encounter. All the examples of cultural interactions and hybridization markers detected in the Catherine Jagiellons dowry that were discussed above were the result of complex cultural relations of the early modern world. The appearance of so many of them was a consequence of cultural interaction not only between Poland and some other culture, but a sophisticated network of culture processes and interactions happening simultaneously all over the early modern world. Therefore, one can see Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry as a mirror to these processes.

4. Conclusions

On the 4\(^\text{th}\) October 1562, the Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon married the Swedish prince and duke of Finland Johan Vasa. The marital union between these two, besides being a result of a calculated political power game in early modern Europe, marks the beginning of an intensified cultural interaction between both countries. Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry can be seen as one of the main carriers of hybridized culture of the early modern world, one more

channel, through which western and eastern cultural streams entered Sweden. One of the intentions with this study was to make an inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry, currently only available in Polish language, approachable for international research. My English translation will allow, and hopefully help to develop the further research on the topic of Catherine Jagiellon outside of Poland. I constructed my thesis in two parts, in each part focusing on one of the two of my research objectives. I dedicated the first part of the thesis to my primary research question which was to investigate the inventory of the princess’s dowry through a material culture perspective. I proceeded with a deepened analysis of the document with the help of the biographical interview method offered by theorists Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai. The biographical interview, which is widely used in anthropological and ethnographical research allowed me to transform the simple list of objects written on a paper into a vivid impression of the whole collection of the princess’s possessions. Focusing on each part of the inventory separately, looking for traces, connections, depictions and preserved examples of jewelry, silver, garments, fashion accessories, assorted interior and liturgical textiles as well as kitchenware, revealed the scale and richness of the objects in the inventory that made it much easier to imagine and grasp. The analysis of the document gave comprehensive answers to my primary research questions about the kind of material culture that surrounded the newly wedded princess, as well as the purposes assigned to the objects. The analysis also helped to understand the history and origins of some of the items and their function, role and importance in Polish culture. Building such expanded basis of information about the material culture surrounding Catherine Jagiellon allowed me to move to the second part of the thesis and look at the inventory from a culture transfer perspective. The principals of this theory were surveyed and proposed by Peter Burke in his publications, such as Cultural Hybridity and Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture. In these publications he also outlined his method of analyzing cultural interaction, that were used by me in this study. Following Peter Burk’s instructions, and based on my thorough analysis of the material culture enclosed in the document, I looked through Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry in a search for culture hybridization markers such as artefacts, language, practices and people. The findings were then discussed from the perspective of the cultural processes they went through to become culturally hybridized. I could easily classify those processes according to the categories of cultural interactions proposed by Burke, such as transfer, exchange, encounter and translation. The result of this classification is a proof of the complex cultural relations of the early modern world that found its way into Polish culture. The investigation of the inventory also revealed which elements of Polish culture were to be passed to Sweden.
The analysis of the inventory through culture transfer perspective answered my secondary research question and proved that the document mirrors the complex cultural relations of the early modern world.

5. Summary

In this thesis I investigated the inventory of the dowry of Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon who married the Swedish prince and duke of Finland Johan Vasa in 1562. To make my main source material approachable to international readers I translated the manuscript written in Polish language and attached it in a form of an appendix to this study. I dedicated this study to research two objectives:

1. To examine the material culture surrounding the newly wedded 16th century Polish princess.
2. To investigate if the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon mirrored the cultural relations of early modern world.

I started with a description of the source material used in this thesis and the state of the research on Catherine Jagiellon and the inventory of her dowry. The research overview regards publications in Sweden, Poland and in the international context. I divided this thesis in two parts, with each part dedicated to one of my research tasks. The first part contains the analysis of the inventory. It starts with a short background information on Catherine Jagiellon, describing the cultural and historical context she emerged from, up until her marriage with duke Johan Vasa and the couple’s imprisonment in Gripsholm castle. After that I described the document itself, including the information of its whereabouts, its physical state, availability as well as the internal structure of the inventory. Here I also compared it with a similar document made for Elizabeth Vasa, duke Johan Vasa’s sister on the occasion of her marriage with the duke of Mecklenburg in 1581. The analysis of the inventory is carried out following the order of its contents, describing jewelry, pearls, silver items, textiles including garments, interior and liturgical textiles, kitchen equipment and the list of the members of the court. I based my analysis on the material culture studies and used the biographical interview method presented by Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai to go beyond the simple description of artefacts and people. I investigated the historical and iconographical analogies of the artefacts listed in the document and tried to recreate their looks, functions and purposes, and put them in the context of Polish and international renaissance culture. With the deepened analysis of the inventory as a base, I moved to the
second part of my study where I investigated if the artefacts and people included in the document mirrored the cultural interactions of the early modern world. I based my research on culture transfer theory surveyed and defined by Peter Burke. I browsed yet again through the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon in search for culturally hybridized artefacts, practices, texts and people who, according to Burke, are the markers of cultural interactions. I discussed my finding by examining which type of cultural interaction (cultural transfer, exchange, encounter or translation) was the reason of hybridization, and pinpointing the culture these markers originated from. The results confirmed that the inventory of Catherine Jagiellon’s dowry contains many culturally hybridized ingredients that were the result of complex cultural interactions going on in the early modern world, which proved for me that the document mirrored them. Moreover, Catherine Jagiellon’s marriage with Johan Vasa and her journey to Sweden only pushed the culture hybridization process forward, being the arena for creating new cultural interactions.
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