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The Classical Reception, Royal Image and Strengthening the King's Power in Early Modern Poland (1520–1572)

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Cover letter

I would like to inform the examiners of my MA thesis that COVID-19 pandemic has moderately influenced my research process. I agreed to conduct my research at the Numismatic Cabinet and Library at the Hutten–Czapski Museum (branch of the National Museum in Cracow) in Cracow in March, 2020 working with the medals and coins of Sigismund Augustus. However, instead I had to use some of the catalogues and online collections at the website of the National Museum in Cracow to substitute the originals I have seen and discussed with Ms. Anna Bochniak during my visit to the Hutten–Czapski Museum in November, 2019. Likewise, I intended to continue my visits to the Wawel Royal Castle to study its collections of arrases and art objects, but the border restrictions made them inaccessible. Therefore, I needed to use relevant literature and the catalogues with art objects instead of original artworks.

Abstract: My thesis focuses on the interconnection between the phenomenon of the classical reception—that is the reception of the classical Greek–Roman antiquity and its legacy—and representation of the King (royal imagology) in early modern Polish Kingdom in the sixteenth century. For the analysis of these concepts, my study examines the figure of Sigismund II Augustus Jagiellon (1520–1572), the last Jagiellonian King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the first King of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. His reign was marked by dissemination of the classical images and figures in literature and art. My research stresses the hypothesis that the classical images and symbols were regularly used in shaping and promotion the image of Sigismund Augustus. In particular, these classical symbols deriving from the antiquity strengthened the image of the royal authority in complicated circumstances, such as confrontation with the nobility, reformist Executionist movement, and preparation of the Polish–Lithuanian Union. Promotion of the royal image was made in several ways: via direct visual and textual propaganda and through connotations and context that arose simultaneously. My thesis argues that Sigismund Augustus was regularly compared with or instructed based on the prominent examples of the classical antiquity—Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Octavianus—and this contributed to strengthening of his political positions in early modern Poland. Methodology applied in my research includes art historical and historical methods, literature analysis, involves comparative analysis and broader European context, analysing early modern Central-Eastern Europe as an integral element of Renaissance European politics and culture.

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Chronological table

- 1520 – Sigismund II Augustus is born in Cracow on the 1st of August
- 1529 – Augustus is elected the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the King of Poland *vivente rege*
- 1530 – Augustus is crowned in Cracow as a King of Poland
- 1543 – marriage with Elizabeth of Austria. First edition of Stanisław Orzechowski's *Fidelis subditus*
- 1544 – Augustus acquires full power in Lithuania and the title 'The Grand Duke'
- 1545 – death of Elizabeth of Austria
- 1545/1546 – first minted coins of Augustus in Lithuania
- 1547 – secret marriage with Barbara Radziwiłł in Lithuania
- 1548 – Sigismund I dies. Sigismund Augustus becomes a sole ruler in Poland and Lithuania
- 1550 – Barbara Radziwiłł is crowned
- 1551 – Barbara's death. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski publishes his *De republica emenanda*
- 1553 – Augustus receives his first Flemish arrases. Marriage with Catherine of Austria
- 1556 – Lucas Cranach's portrait of Augustus
- 1557 – Bona Sforza dies. Poland–Lithuania becomes protector of Livonia
- 1558–1583 – Livonian war between Lithuania (later Commonwealth) with the Tsardom of Muscovy
- 1561 – The Treaty of Vilnius. Livonia establishes closer union with Poland–Lithuania
- 1562–1563 – Piotrków Sejm (Executionist Sejm).
- 1563 – Jan Kochanowski writes *Satyr*. Polotsk is taken by Tsar Ivan the Terrible
- 1563–1564 – Warsaw Sejm
- 1569 – The Union of Lublin is signed on the 1st of July. Poland–Lithuania becomes *Rzeczpospolita* (the Commonwealth)
- 1570 – Treaty of Stettin. The Northern Seven Years' war ends
- 1572 – Sigismund Augustus dies on the 7th of July in Knyszyn
- 1574 – Sigismund Augustus's funeral in Cracow on the 10th of February
- 2020 – five-hundredth anniversary of Sigismund Augustus's birth is celebrated in Poland and Lithuania

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‘...during any of the Polish Kings there was never
so many educated people in Poland, as during the reign of Your Majesty’

Łukasz Górnicki, a dedication to Sigismund Augustus
in *Dworzanin Polski*, 1566

Introduction

Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) acquired attention from Western historians merely throughout several last decades. Before, this region was somehow excluded from the Western early modern historiography due to the two main circumstances: specific ignorance by the French and Italian medievalists, who set the tone in historical science since the early twentieth century; but that was also a consequence of the Soviet control over the scholarship in the region even despite not that total as it happened in the Soviet republics of Ukraine, Belarus, or Lithuania¹. The accessibility of the sources in the archives and museums of Western Europe for the scholars was limited, hence, the common phrase in the publications by Central–Eastern European scholars on the period of the late medieval and early modern era was ‘I am grateful for this information to Dr. ... for the manuscript, document, monograph, or microfilm he or she has copied and shared with me’. The access to the sources and international connections between the scholars were finally unblocked after the fall of the Iron curtain, raising the interest in the sources preserved in the local archives, as well as those long-ago withdrawn out of them to the collections across Europe².

¹ The situation, however, is gradually changing. See a recent book on Russian early modern literature history: S. Franklin, *The Russian Graphosphere, 1450–1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). Italian, British, and American Slavic studies have also prompted the research on early modern Central–Eastern Europe.

² The unique collection of Sigismund Augustus’s arrasas that finally settled in Poland in 1961 is yet incomplete: two arrasas are now preserved in the museums of Warsaw and Amsterdam. M. Hennel-Bernasikowa, *The Tapestries of Sigismund II Augustus: a History*, (Cracow: Wawel Royal Castle, 2014), pp. 11–20; M. Hennel-Bernasikowa, M. Piwocka, *Katalog arrasów króla Zygmunta Augusta*, (Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2017), pp. 14–34. One more arras was acquired by the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in Vilnius in 2009. See I. Jedzinskaitė-Kuiziniene, ‘Sigismund Augustus’s Tapestries in the Context of the Vilnius Lower Castle’, *Lituanus*, Vol.59, No.3 (2013), http://www.lituanus.org/2013/13_3_02Kuiziniene.html, consulted on 11.04.20; Idem, *Tapestries of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania*, (Vilnius: National Museum, Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, 2012).

Primarily, the medieval and early modern history of the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania did not obtain any political significance for the Soviets; nevertheless, later it gained it³. As the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries were a period of emergence of the ethnogenetic myths in the region, Lithuanian–Moscovian wars, religious and identity determination of the pre-modern nations and the territorial tensions between the dynasties and propaganda efforts, the actual impact of this era possesses significant implications on the current agenda of Central–Eastern Europe⁴.

The subject I intend to explore is the issue whether the classical tradition, revived in Europe since the fourteenth century during the Renaissance, and associated with it ancient symbols, was used as a tool for the propaganda and strengthening the power of Sigismund II Augustus Jagiellon (1520–1572, sole rule in 1548–1572). The Renaissance era brought significant changes to the perception of arts, making Polish polemical literature almost identical to the early modern utopias. The classical Greek–Roman antiquity, referred in my thesis as ‘the classical tradition’, was rediscovered and rethought during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This interest in the classical antiquity was merely one of the medieval renaissances of the antiquity, yet it was the most diverse one⁵. Interest in the ancient past, changes in educational curriculums, and attempts to link the dynasty or the nation with the antiquity was visible from England and Scotland up to Muscovy and the Ottomans. However, the Polish ‘fashion’ on the Greek–Roman practices and legacy became, possibly, the strongest in Central-Eastern Europe. Regular references to the ancient authors, mentioning the interests of the Republic (the state) during the parliamentary debates, inviting Italian artists to Poland, the revival of classical Latin language in literature and poetry made this ‘code of antiquity’ important for the sixteenth-century nobles. Thus, the classical past became a source of inspiration and power for the ruling stratum, and this was in a specific manner addressed by the sixteenth-century rulers and courts what I elaborate in my thesis.

Notably essential this topic is since Sigismund Augustus was one of the creators of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. English-speaking historiography lacks sound research on his reign and representation of his image because of the number of sources and intensity of this period. The language barrier and the necessity of having strong Latin and Polish is another obstacle. My thesis may contribute to the Central–Eastern European studies by focusing on merely one element of the

³ O. Kozubska-Andrusiv, ‘The Jagiellonian Dynasty in Russian Historiography and Memory’, in N. Nowakowska (ed.) Remembering the Jagiellonians, (London, New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 209–212.

⁴ S. Plokhy, The origins of the Slavic nations, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–8, 126–132.

⁵ E. Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

political and cultural life of early modern Poland. Moreover, the studies on early modern political propaganda are a fresh thought-provoking approach. In the following sections, I clarify the methodological approaches applied, outline existing literature, and explain the principles of selection the sources.

What is the Classical reception?

The title of my thesis possesses a name of a specific interdisciplinary approach in the field of the classics, art history, literature, theatre studies, and history. It corresponds to the ‘classical reception’. The approach of the ‘reception’ studies was primarily operated by the literary critics since the 1960s and later evolved into the concept of the ‘classical reception’ elaborated in the 1980s–1990s⁶.

Luckily, the definition of the ‘classical reception’ is ideally precise: this is the way ‘in which Greek and Roman material has been transmitted, translated, excerpted, interpreted, rewritten, re-imaged and represented’⁷. But what can we assume to be the Greek and Roman material? This material can be specified as all ancient Greek–Roman heritage (cultural, scientific, legal, political, and artistic; visual and abstract) that was preserved and reused in diverse ways by the artists and intellectuals. However, I should admit another point: the classical reception today primarily considers art, theatre, and literature as the chief fields of research.

On the contrary, the classical tradition, regularly substituted by the term the ‘classical heritage’ or the ‘classical legacy’ is a more common approach in Classics, referring chiefly to all visual and abstract acquisitions of ancient Greece, Rome, and neighbouring states. The classical tradition was preserved in medieval Europe despite the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire and was ingested by early Christianity. Several times it was revived until the blooming period of Renaissance in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries across whole Europe, varying in intensity, durability, and actual dissemination.

The difference between the ‘classical tradition’ and the ‘classical reception’ is blurred and depends on the particular topic. The essential subject studied by the latter is the *reception* itself:

⁶ C. Martindale, R. Thomas (eds.), Classics and the Uses of Reception, (Maldon and Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 1–3; J. Tatum, ‘A Real Short Introduction to Classical Reception Theory’, Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics, Vol.22, No.2 (2014), p. 79, <http://doi.org/10.2307/arion.22.2.0075>; R. Holub, Reception theory: a critical introduction, (London: Methuen, 1984); L. Hardwick, Reception Studies: New Surveys in the Classics. Greece and Rome, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁷ L. Hardwick, C. Stray, A Companion to Classical Receptions, (Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2011), pp. 1–3.

reasons, sources, circumstances, individual, social, cultural, or educational background of the recipient—namely, why the particular ancient source was perceived and represented in a specific way. On the contrary, the former struggles to eliminate itself from the influence of the recipient's nature, instead generally refers directly to the classical world itself thus intending to create a 'pure shape of the antiquity'.

Another term that is commonly used concerning this approach is *imitatio antiquorum* (imitation of the antiquity or the ancients) that could be described as imitation of the literature models⁸. In the 'humanist theory of literature' it considered the imitation of nature and the best literature examples of the classical authors, however, it did not simply follow the patterns of the ancient artists and poets⁹. The imitation was an essential element of Renaissance education: the imitation codes and its readings were easily recognizable for educated people¹⁰. Moreover, *imitatio* could help to shape the poet's style and hence the literature creation could become closer to the classical examples¹¹.

For my perspective, *imitatio antiquorum* is important based on three arguments. Firstly, as a popular concept taken by the artists and poets in the sixteenth century, it confirms the crucial relevance of the antiquity for that era. The references to the antiquity are frequent both in visual art and in the texts. Secondly, while *imitatio* focused on the Greek–Roman literature, it frequently described the ruler using its patterns and influenced the whole structure of literature work¹². Thirdly, *imitation* should be investigated rather as a tool for expression while the classical reception as a discipline provides a methodology to reveal hidden senses and makes *imitatio* a subject of its enquiry.

⁸ A. Fulińska, Naśladowanie i twórczość: renesansowe teorie imitacji, emulacji i przekładu, (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Leopoldinum Fundacji dla Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000), p. 21.

⁹ T. Michałowska (ed.), Słownik literatury staropolskiej: średniowiecze, renesans, barok, (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1990), pp. 297–300. Agnieszka Fulińska argues that the 'classical author is the one who is worthy enough to be an example for imitation'. See Fulińska, pp. 13, 329.

¹⁰ I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Jakub Niedźwiedź for this insight.

¹¹ C. J. Steppich, 'Inspiration Through 'Imitatio / Mimesis' in 'On the Sublime' of 'Longinus' and in Joachim Vadian's 'De poetica et carminis ratione' (Vienna, 1518)', Humanistica Lovaniensia, Vol.55 (2006), pp. 46, 52. Another popular in the Renaissance term was *emulatio*, that is emulation, a literature or artistic attempt to surpass the classical authors. See a Renaissance discussion about *emulatio* at Fulińska, pp. 21–22, 159–160, 337–338.

¹² Fulińska, pp. 335–337.

Consequently, the classical reception better correlates with the problem concerned than the classical tradition approach as one of my purposes is to reveal the sources of adoption and reception, the background of the recipients and imitators, actual connotations and reception in the society. In my research, I will use the benefits of both but will also face twain limitations. My hypothesis suggests that throughout the early modern era the impact of political symbolism had increased significantly. This draws us towards the idea that the reception is a two-way process and implies that for the specific field of the power representation I require a distinct approach that does not concern exclusively the Christian perception of the King but includes other possible dimensions.

Potestary imagology as an approach of studies on the representation of the power

During the last decades, there exists a significant call for conceptualizing all studies on the representation of the power into a single discipline. The Scenarios of power, the Images of power, Political theology, and Studies on the Sacred Monarchy—historians of various schools proposed their definitions for this particular approach¹³. One of the concepts put forward by Mikhail Boytsov is *potestary (potestarian) imagology*, the term which I find comprehensive for the topic¹⁴. Since the term was introduced recently, it is weakly considered in English-speaking scholarship and is not accepted universally, although ‘...potestary imagology is often present in contemporary scientific life anonymously and dispersed’¹⁵. Intrinsically, it derives from the *imagology* studies, a concept within the comparative literature which was originally devoted to the studies on the perception of ‘the Other’.

¹³ R. Wortman, Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); C. Schmitt, Political theology: four chapters on the concept of sovereignty, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); B. Uspenskiy, Tsar i patriarh: harizma vlasti v Rossii (vizantiyskaya model i ee russkoe pereosmyislenie), (Moskva: Yazyiki russkoy kulturyi, 1998); Idem, Tsar i imperator: pomazanie na tsarstvo i semantika monarshih titulov, (Moskva: Yazyiki russkoy kulturyi, 2000).

¹⁴ As the term is only being introduced into the English-speaking scholarship, there are two equal names of the discipline—‘*potestary imagology*’ and ‘*potestarian imagology*’. The direct translation of Boytsov’s concept is closer to the first term. See the elaboration of the concept by S. Demchuk, ‘Putting iconology in the plural’. Conference report on: ‘Iconologies. Global Unity or/and Local Diversities in Art History’, 23–25 May 2019, The National Museum in Cracow and Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow’, Journal of Art Historiography, No.21 (2019), <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2019/10/demchuk-report.pdf>, consulted on 05.12.2019.

¹⁵ M. Boytsov, ‘Chto takoe potestarnaya imagologiya?’, in M. Boytsov, F. Uspenskiy (eds.) Vlast i obraz: ocherki potestarnoy imagologii, (Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteyya, 2010), p. 8.

How may one define potestary imagology and does it bear any other sense than *political theology*, introduced in 1922 by Carl Schmitt and resumed in 1957 by Ernst Kantorowicz? What was proposed by them was an idea of a fresh historical consideration of the main actors in power representation. The terms, operated and conceptualized by Schmitt were the ‘sovereign’ and the ‘subject of sovereignty’ whereas Kantorowicz focused on the ‘body politic’ and the ‘mystical body’¹⁶. Their noteworthy monographs contributed significantly to the field which one may define as the study of the idea of the power¹⁷. As the political tradition in the West and East Medieval Europe differed, depending on the local customs, impact by Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and late ancient and early medieval legacy, one may assume that Poland requires specific attention.

Boytssov’s proposal embodies the combination of various approaches that allows for applying the new methodology to early modern Poland. The reasons consist in the strong influences of the classical tradition during the Renaissance while the medieval Christian practices did not disappear in the sixteenth century. In this case, potestary imagology as a discipline is valid for the medieval and early modern studies¹⁸.

The images of power are combined from various components, including ‘images, gestures, ceremonies, rituals, objects, music, sounds or silence, architecture and city-building’ and hence should be researched by the means of an interdisciplinary approach¹⁹. In the scholarship, the Renaissance image creation was called the ‘self-fashioning’ or the ‘increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity’²⁰. This self-fashioning is closely linked with the environment: ‘fashioning oneself and being fashioned by cultural institutions—family, religion, state—were

¹⁶ Schmitt, pp. 9–11; E. Kantorowicz, The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 15.

¹⁷ M. Herrero, ‘On Political Theology: The Hidden Dialogue between C. Schmitt and Ernst H. Kantorowicz in *The King’s Two Bodies*’, History of European Ideas, Vol.41, No.38 (2015), pp. 1166–1167, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2015.1077148>.

¹⁸ Boytssov, ‘Chto takoe potestarnaya imagologiya?’, pp. 7–8.

¹⁹ M. Boytssov, ‘Potestarnaya imagologiya Srednevekovya kak oblast mezhdistsiplinarnykh issledovaniy’, Mezhssessionnyy seminar. Mezhdistsiplinarnye podhody v sravnitelnom prepodavanii istorii evropeyskikh religioznykh traditsiy, Tsentralno–Evropeyskiy universitet, Ivanovskiy universitet, 2010, <http://www.hist.msu.ru/Labs/UkrBel/srhistory006.htm>, consulted on 20.11.19.

²⁰ S. Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 2.

inseparably intertwined'²¹. Thus, my analysis will also take into consideration the society, court, and family impact, crucial for Augustus's image in childhood.

Therefore, a combination of these two approaches considered above may bring fruitful results for studying early modern Poland. By the means of potestary imagology, I will consider how Sigismund Augustus's image was represented and his power strengthened while the classical reception approach will reveal which specific ancient symbols and motifs were associated (or were attempted to be associated) with the King.

Historiography: an overview

In the past decades, early modern Poland and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth gained insight from the scholars. The centres for Polish or early modern studies in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth were established at a dozen universities in the UK, the US, and Europe. The existing history textbooks on early modern Poland have been often dominated by the assumption that the 'classical component' was in detail visualized in the early modern Polish political thought that survived in treatises, pamphlets, and poetry. I would agree with this statement and additionally state that the political thought was not the *only* field that was bearing the 'classical component' in early modern Poland; and the reception of the latter should not be measured within the pure Renaissance art. On the contrary, the visualization of political thought and theories via early modern art and symbols may be just another aspect of early modern politics.

Overall, the historiography of related concepts may be divided into three sub-categories: the works on the early modern Polish political thought, the classical reception in Central–Eastern Europe, and the studies on the power representation. These works sometimes overlap each other, albeit more frequently they remain linked with their specific field. Let me elaborate.

Over the last decades, scholars have stressed the impact of the classical tradition in the early modern Polish politics and culture. The discourses of *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów* (The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) received significant coverage by Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, who emphasizes the role of pre-Lublin Union discussion, and Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, who published on the reception of Cicero's republican ideas by Orzechowski, Modrzewski, and Fredro, prominent Polish writers in the mid-sixteenth century²². Similar research is conducted by the Centre of Political

²¹ Greenblatt, p. 256.

²² A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012); D. Pietrzyk-Reeves, 'Podstawy wspólnotowego ładu Rzeczypospolitej w XVI wieku a wpływ humanizmu i republikanizmu', in A. Rzegocki (ed.) *Polska czyli... Idee wspólnoty politycznej i tożsamości narodowej w polskiej tradycji intelektualnej*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, 2011), pp. 15–50; Idem, *Ład Rzeczypospolitej*.

Thought in Cracow, where Janusz Ekes examines the relations between the concepts of freedom and power²³. Steffen Huber emphasizes the impact of ancient philosophy on Andrzej Modrzewski and Stanisław Orzechowski²⁴. Tomasz Gromelski conducted extensive work on the Classical Models and the perception of freedom in early modern Poland–Lithuania²⁵. Natalia Yakovenko and Natalia Starchenko demonstrate the spread of the classical tradition in the virtues of *szlachta* (nobility) in Ukrainian Voivodeships²⁶. All these select publications restrict themselves to several particular concepts.

The chief concepts considered in abovementioned studies are freedom (*wolność*), *res publica* (*rzecz pospolita*) and *szlachta* (nobility) as the discussions who should desire the advantages of belonging to *res publica* and how to organize the future united state were ongoing in the sixteenth century. Emphasizing this perspective is a common enterprise for early modern Polish studies. At the same time, by focusing on the political discourses among Polish nobility, the role of the King and his court within the propaganda agenda becomes neglected. The idea that Augustus was personally involved in the Renaissance practices was played into a widely repeated narrative, noting that his

Polska myśl polityczna XVI wieku a klasykarna tradycja republikańska, (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012). Her recent study D. Pietrzyk-Reeves, Polish Republican Discourse in the Sixteenth Century, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020) is a brilliant overview of the classical references within the political discussions in the sixteenth century.

²³ J. Ekes, Natura—wolność—władza. Studium z dziejów myśli politycznej Renesansu, (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 2001); Idem, Trójpodział władzy i zgoda wszystkich. Naczelne zasady „ustroju mieszanego” w staropolskiej myśli politycznej, (Siedlce: Instytut Historii Akademii Podlaskiej w Siedlcach, 2001).

²⁴ S. Huber, Polifonia tradycji. Filozofia praktyczna i teoretyczna Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, (Warszawa: Sub Lupa, Wydział Artes Liberales UW, 2014).

²⁵ T. Gromelski, ‘Classical Models in Early Modern Poland–Lithuania’, in W. Velema, A. Weststeijn (eds.) Ancient Models in the Early Modern Republican Imagination, (Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2018), pp. 285–305; Idem, ‘Liberty and liberties in early modern Poland–Lithuania’, in Q. Skinner, M. Van Gelderen (eds.) Freedom and the Construction of Europe: Volume 2, Free Persons and Free States, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 214–234.

²⁶ N. Yakovenko, Ukrainska shliakhta z kintsia XIV–do seredyiny XVII stolittia. Volyn i Tsentralna Ukraina, (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2008); Idem, Dzerkala identychnosti: Doslidzhennia z istorii uiavlen ta idei v Ukraini XVI–pochatku XVIII st., (Kyiv: Laurus, 2012); N. Starchenko, ‘Oath as Evidential Tactic in the Legal Procedure in Volhynia: Legislation and Practice (1566–early 17th century)’, Lietuvos statutas: Temides ir Klejos teritorijos, Vol.13 (2017), pp. 259–277.

attention was devoted exclusively to the patronage of Polish Renaissance artists and writers. Some of the authors (Łukasz Górnicki, Stanisław Orzechowski, Andrzej Trzecieski Młodszy, Jan z Koźmina, Augustyn Rotundus, and Stanisław Koszutski) indeed were associated with Sigismund II, but this should not limit the scope of the research²⁷. Therefore, I intend to address here the perception of Sigismund Augustus as a significant player in the classical reception within the political agenda in pre-Lublin Poland. My approach supposes that the ancient figures were crucial for the representation of the current positions of the King and his future role in the Commonwealth.

The second type of the literature, quite limited thus far, is conceptualizing the classical reception in Central–Eastern European dimension and Poland. As a quite recent approach, the classical reception is only establishing its attention towards the region hence the research is not yet inclusive. Jerzy Axer and the department *Artes Liberales* at the University of Warsaw conduct studies on the acculturation of the classical tradition in politics, theatre, and literature of early modern and contemporary Poland²⁸. Other attempts were made in several assembled contributions by Dorota Dutsch, Francois Zdanowicz, and Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, however, they focus on the cultural impact of the classical tradition²⁹.

The study on the early modern local political thought acquires a coherent connection with the classical reception approach. Meanwhile, it predominantly considers political thought as the evidence of the classical tradition in political life. Undoubtedly, Cicero and Quintilianus contributed notably towards early modern *publicystyka*, but may the Renaissance impact on the early modern Poland be limited to this area exclusively? Consequently, the scholarship on the classical reception in the region may be overlapping with the research on political thought; but the situation may be altered by implementing a concept that brings medieval and early modern symbolism into focus.

This category of the scholarship is devoted to the representation of the royal power in the European tradition. The prevailing portion of publications is devoted to the medieval and late medieval periods whereas early modern era is investigated in the terms of European and only

²⁷ A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, Biblioteka Ostatniego Jagiellona. Pomnik Kultury Renesansowej, (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1988), pp. 58–66.

²⁸ J. Axer, ‘Kultura polska z punktu widzenia mechanizmów recepcji tradycji antycznej. Prolegomena do syntezy’, in M. Prejs (ed.) Humanistyczne modele kultury nowożytnej wobec dziedzictwa starożytnego, (Warszawa: Neriton, 2010); Idem, Łacina jako język elit, (Warszawa: OBTA UW, DiG, 2004); J. Axer, K. Tomaszuk, ‘Central–Eastern Europe’, in C. Kallendorf (ed.) A Companion to the Classical Tradition, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 132–155.

²⁹ Z. Torlone, D. Munteanu, D. Dutsch, (eds.), A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe, (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2017).

concisely in Polish case, yet this approach brings crucial insights into the kingship of the early modern period. For instance, Zbigniew Dalewski stresses the ceremonials of medieval kings of Poland³⁰. An eminent study on the funeral ceremonies of the Jagiellonians by Urszula Borkowska is done on one of the chief sources of the period—*Ordo pompae funebris*³¹. The recent studies of the funeral practices of the Jagiellonians include the analysis of the late fifteenth-century funerals and the research on the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth³². Polish medievalist A. Gieysztor had studied a broad field of the royal rituals including the coronation and liturgies, however, the medieval practices prevailed in his considerations³³. He raised an essential question: how to define accurately when the medieval practices were substituted with the Renaissance ones?

An answer may be provided by a recent collection *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power: The King's Body Never Dies* that ‘investigates the cultural specificity and inner dynamics of premodern rulership’ and focuses on several early modern cases: Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, England, and France³⁴. The discussion on the king’s image and patterns of power is followed by the monographs by Sean McGlynn, Elena Woodacre, and especially Robert Frost, who examines the role of the Kings for the Polish–Lithuanian Union, and Karin Friedrich who explores

³⁰ Z. Dalewski, *Władza—przestrzeń—ceremoniał. Miejsce i ceremonia inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w.*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 1996); Idem, *Ritual and Politics: Writing the History of a Dynastic Conflict in Medieval Poland*, (Brill: Leiden–Boston, 2008).

³¹ U. Borkowska, ‘The Funeral Ceremonies of the Polish Kings from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.36, No.4 (1985), pp. 513–534.

³² M. Starzyński, ‘Zgon i pogrzeb Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (1492)’, in W. Bukowski, T. Jurek (eds.) *Narodziny Rzeczypospolitej. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowożytnych 10 [dedykowane Januszowi Kurtyce], T. 2*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana, 2012), pp. 915–943; A. Koutny-Jones, *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe: Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland–Lithuania*, (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2015).

³³ A. Gieysztor, ‘Spektakl i liturgia—polska koronacja królewska’, in B. Geremek (ed.) *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1978), pp. 9–23; Idem, ‘“Ornamenta regia” w Polsce XV w.’, in P. Skubiszewski (ed.) *Sztuka i ideologia XV w.*, (Warsawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978), pp. 155–163.

³⁴ K. Mroziewicz, A. Sroczyński (eds.), *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power: The King's Body Never Dies*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

the obedience of the Prussian population to the elected Polish–Lithuanian King³⁵. Sergio Bertelli while analyzing the ‘sacred religious nature of kingship’ still concentrates primarily on Western Europe³⁶. The diverse patterns of early modern military propaganda of Polish Kings in the 1560s–1580s are currently under the research of Urszula Augustyniak and Jakub Niedźwiedź, beneficial for a comparative approach of my thesis³⁷. The contribution of the printing press to the velocity of propaganda dissemination and the impact of the Renaissance on the motifs preferred are also elaborated in the scholarship and I join this stream³⁸.

I also stress the issue of legitimacy in Polish society in the sixteenth century, particularly in the first chapter³⁹. The basic level of legitimacy is defined by David Beetham as the typical ‘rules of power’, namely how the power was acquired, established and used during the reign⁴⁰. Second level concerns justifications based on the beliefs while the third one is descending from the former and

³⁵ S. McGlynn, E. Woodacre (eds.), The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014); R. Frost, The Oxford History of Poland–Lithuania. Volume I: The Making of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); K. Friedrich, The Other Prussia. Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

³⁶ S. Bertelli, R. Litchfield (trans.), The King's body: the sacred rituals of power in medieval and early modern Europe, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); R. Kalas, ‘Review: The King’s Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe by Sergio Bertelli, R. Burr Litchfield’, The Sixteenth Century Journal, Vol.34, No.1 (2003), p. 254, <http://doi.org/10.2307/20061376>.

³⁷ U. Augustyniak, Informacja i propaganda w Polsce za Zygmunta III, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981); Idem, Wazowie i “królowie rodacy”: studium władzy królewskiej w Rzeczypospolitej XVII wieku, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 1999); J. Niedźwiedź, ‘Atlas Księstwa Połockiego Stanisława Pachołowieckiego (1580): propaganda, genologia i tworzenie wiedzy geograficznej’, Terminus, Vol.19, No.1 (2017), pp. 127–155; Idem, ‘Polska szesnastowieczna propaganda wojenna w działaniu: przypadek Atlasu Księstwa Połockiego (1580)’, Terminus, Vol.19, No.3 (2017), pp. 477–510; Idem, ‘Źródła, konteksty i okoliczności powstania Ody o zdobyciu Połocka Jana Kochanowskiego’, Terminus, Vol.18, No.4 (2016), pp. 359–400.

³⁸ See A. Pettegree, Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Augustyniak, Informacja i propaganda.

³⁹ D. Beetham, The Legitimation of Power, (London: Palgrave, 1991), p. 6.

⁴⁰ Beetham, pp. 16–17.

interprets the importance of the actions implemented by the ruler⁴¹. The political theory itself does not compose the main factor of my thesis but is an important point to consider.

Strengthening the power and legitimization of the power is often perceived by the scholars in the broader context of the absolutist monarchies that emerged across early modern Europe. Poland did not adopt this model preferring the strong role of the parliament (*Sejm*) and elective monarchy. This phenomenon is reviewed within early modern European states from Venice to the Dutch Republic within the concept of the early modern republicanism by Tomasz Gromelski⁴².

Additionally, the historical scholarship studying Sigismund Augustus's figure should be mentioned. Sigismund's reign is in the focus of current research by Marek Janicki and Marek Ferenc who study Augustus's internal and external politics, correspondence, and organization of the court⁴³. Magdalena Piwocka, Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa, and Carmen Niekrasz examine the arrases (tapestries) and other collections of Sigismund Augustus at the Wawel Royal Castle and the Renaissance influences, underlining the impact of the early modern artistic connections⁴⁴.

⁴¹ Beetham, pp. 16–25.

⁴² See T. Gromelski, 'Classical Models in Early Modern Poland–Lithuania...'.

⁴³ K. Gołabek, M. Janicki, 'Stara elita i poddani versus nowy władca i jego faworyci. Paszkwil jako świadectwo politycznych oczekiwań i frustracji elit Korony i Litwy w początkach panowania Zygmunta Augusta', in B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, and P. Węcowski (eds.) Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Centrum a peryferie w systemie władzy Jagiellonów, (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2018), pp. 249–272; M. Janicki, 'Artykuły Zygmunta Augusta z 1559 r. o porządku dworu królewskiego i obrad senatu', in M. Janicki, P. Węcowski, S. Gawlas, K. Gołabek, R. Michałowski, M. Piber-Zbieranowska (eds.) Ecclesia regnum fontes: studia z dziejów średniowiecza, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014), pp. 274–286; Idem, 'O moderowaniu Rzeczypospolitej w czasach Zygmunta Augusta', in A. Stępkowski (ed.) O senatorze doskonałym studia. Prace upamiętniające postać i twórczość Wawrzyńca Goślickiego, (Warszawa: Kancelaria Senatu RP, 2009), pp. 117–122; M. Ferenc, Dwór Zygmunta Augusta: organizacja i ludzie, (Oświęcim: Napoleon V, 2014).

⁴⁴ Hennel-Bernasikowa, The Tapestries of Sigismund II Augustus; M. Piwocka, The tapestries of Sigismund Augustus, (Kraków: Wawel Royal Castle, 2007); Idem, 'Arrasy króla Zygmunta Augusta. „The Art of Majesty” ostatniego Jagiellona', in M. Walczak, P. Węcowski (eds.) Patronat artystyczny Jagiellonów. Vol.1, (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2015), pp. 397–421; C. Niekrasz, Woven theaters of nature: Flemish tapestry and natural history, 1550–1600, Ph.D. diss., (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 2007), <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/304821504.html?FMT=AI>, consulted on 21.04.20.

This review of the current state of historiography and recent approaches convinces that the idea of interdisciplinary research may be fruitful. My research fills the existing gaps of the scholarship by using political history as a framework while art and literature would serve as the object of my research. I aim to enrich the English-language scholarship with my interdisciplinary research by applying diverse types of sources and approaches for their analysis. Using the classical reception within the early modern studies will be an element of the potestary imagology, hence, I will contribute to and connect both methods. Moreover, this overview proves that the imagology of Sigismund Augustus (and of the Jagiellons) should be elaborated further⁴⁵. Therefore, my thesis focuses on merely one fragment of the constructed image—the classical element.

Methodology, structure and sources

My thesis is conducted as an interdisciplinary work, created on the intersection of history, art history, cultural and literature studies, philology, and symbolical studies. The methodology of my thesis is eclectic and combines methods of analysis, comparative historical method, iconological method of E. Panofsky, and will be a hypothesis-testing study. As my dissertation has strict limitations on its size, it was necessary to limit the period and the issues considered more tightly. I decided to accomplish it via three case-studies, based on the chronological basis.

My hypothesis is embodied in the assumption that *the classical reception and usage of the symbols originating from ancient history were crucial methods of personal propaganda and strengthening Sigismund Augustus's power in the difficult circumstances during his reign*. This supposes that Sigismund Augustus (or rather the artists and authors, associated with him) regularly applied the classical figures and motifs either to demonstrate and represent the royal power in the sixteenth-century Poland or used the classical figures to guide the King in his political endeavours.

Since early modern Polish Kingdom was perceived as a republic of nobles with the core role of nobility in the governance, the classical images and symbols applied in literature and art by the authors were predominantly orienting on the nobility. The intellectuals and the elites commonly acquired necessary education to understand and transfer the symbols or motifs of the classical antiquity, thus they are considered as the main recipients of the classical symbolism.

The sources of my chapters were classified based on the categories: textual sources with further division into the 1) official documents, 2) chronicles, 3) poetry, 4) pamphlets and *orationes* that are generally known as *publicystyka*; visual sources, grouped into 1) the arrases, 2) coins,

⁴⁵ The Jagiellons and their symbolics have received attention from scholars. For instance, see Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów*, (Warszawa: "DiG", 2003); E. Letkiewicz, *Klejnoty w Polsce: czasy ostatnich Jagiellonów i Wazów*, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2006).

3) medals, 4) depictions in the textual sources, 5) portraits; and performative symbolical actions. The chief chronicles considered are Joachim Bielski's edition of Marcin Bielski's *Kronika polska...* (*The Polish Chronicle*) and Łukasz Górnicki's *Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej...* (*The History in the Polish Crown*) which was relying on the facts from Bielski's Chronicle but broadened them from another perspective⁴⁶. I also refer to Maciej Strykowski's *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszystkich Rusi...* (*The Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and all of Ruthenia*) which gives the broader Central–Eastern European context⁴⁷.

My first chapter is dedicated to the first years of Sigismund's life and reign when Augustus significantly required the legitimization of his rule inside the country. It embraces the largest period of 1520–1551. Among the official documents, I use the personal correspondence of Sigismund I, Bona Sforza, and Sigismund Augustus in the pre-1548 era, collected by Adam Naruszewicz (1733–1796) as well as the speeches from the Piotrków Sejm in 1548. The selection of *publicystyka* is vast, and I focused on Stanisław Orzechowski's *Fidelis subditus*. The visual sources involve several types of coins, medals, printed depictions, and the first arrases, ordered c. 1548.

My second chapter follows this methodological path and focuses on the Executionist movement in Poland during its pivotal points in the late 1550s and the early 1560s⁴⁸. *Publicystyka* of

⁴⁶ J. Bielski, *Kronika Polska Marcina Bielskiego. Nowo Przez Ioach. Bielskiego Syna Jego wydana*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Jakoba Siebeneychera, 1597), <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/242286/edition/230623/content>, consulted on 23.02.20; Ł. Górnicki, *Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej za Zygmunta I y Zygmunta Augusta aż do śmierci iego, Z przytoczeniem niektórych postronnych Ciekawości, od Roku 1538 aż do Roku 1572*, (Sanok: K. Pollak, 1855), <https://polona.pl/item/dzieje-w-koronie-polskiej-od-r-1538-do-r-1572,NTA5NjQ0/2/#info:metadata>, consulted on 23.02.20.

⁴⁷ M. Strykowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmudzka i wszystkich Rusi*, (Królewiec: Georg Osterberger, 1582), <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/226842/edition/215357/content>, consulted on 23.02.20.

⁴⁸ Executionist movement (*ruch egzekucyjny* or *egzekucja dobr*) was a reformist movement in the Polish Kingdom in the mid-sixteenth century that fostered the 'execution of the rights' (implementation of the laws), increasing the authorities of the Sejm, 'improving administration', return of the illegally occupied by the magnates lands to the King, prohibition of holding two specific offices simultaneously etc. See D. Stone, *The Polish–Lithuanian State, 1386–1795*, (Seattle and Washington: University of Washington Press, 2001), pp. 40–41 and A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów a ruch egzekucyjny*, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974).

this epoch includes prominent works by Orzechowski, e.g. *Quincunx* and *Rozmowa albo Dyjalog około egzekucyjnej Polskiej Korony* as well as Modrzewski's *Commentariorum de republica emendanda*. Poetry is another fragment of the Executionist movement and is represented by Jan Kochanowski's *Zgoda* and *Satyr albo Dzikie męz*. Issued coins in the 1560s together with the medals with Augustus's portrait are the visual sources of this chapter whereas the amount of the arrases considered is the largest among all three chapters.

Finally, my third chapter concentrates on the last years of Sigismund's reign and the discussion concerning the Polish–Lithuanian Union. The sources are represented evenly. *Publicystyka* is represented by Orzechowski's *Policyja Królestwa Polskiego*. The poetry comprises of Kochanowski's *Proporzec*, Rej's *Zwierciadło*, and Jan Ponętowski's *Sejm Walny Koronny Lubelski*, three other renowned works. The coins and the arrases belong to the visual sources. My overview concludes with the postmortal image of Augustus that includes his effigy in the Sigismund Chapel and the textual description of his reign in Polish Chronicles.

The last important question is: who is the main hero of my thesis? Is it Sigismund Augustus himself or rather the sixteenth-century authors and artists? Or is it the classical tradition that was perceived in different ways? In my thesis, I attempted to demonstrate the intersection of all figures and concepts attached. Sigismund Augustus was educated and later self-fashioned himself by orienting on the classical examples, similar to his court and the Polish–Lithuanian nobility. The authors and artists were fascinated with the classical antiquity, promoting *imitatio* in arts and literature. This benefited to the royal image that required vigorous representation, but also to the dissemination of the Renaissance art and literature practices in Poland.

Some of the sources have already been widely used in the scholarship, however, not by the means of the classical reception approach. The information structured in my thesis can provide a detailed overview of the main strategies of Sigismund Augustus's propaganda, based on available sources and the motifs, used for the creation of the royal image. The broader study on the royal propaganda and the Renaissance patterns should follow my thesis, and such a project would involve scholars from different fields including history of art, numismatics, symbolic and cultural studies.

Chapter 1. Sigismund Augustus and his image in Polish society before 1551

On the first of April 1548 the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund I the Old (*Zygmunt Stary* in Polish tradition) passed away in Cracow⁴⁹. His son and the only heir, Sigismund II Augustus, was at that time ruling in Vilnius and was soon informed of his father's death by Cracow's bishop Samuel Maciejowski⁵⁰. On the twenty-fourth of May Augustus arrived in Cracow, appointing twenty-sixth of July as the day of the royal funeral⁵¹. The new era in Polish history has begun, however, Sigismund Augustus firstly had to prove his sustainability to rule and demonstrate this via various symbols of his power.

Although Sigismund Augustus's reign cannot be defined as the one that required 'legitimization', his positions in the first months of his reign were questioned. The reasons constituted in several issues. Firstly, Augustus was crowned as a king and co-ruler of his father without prior permission of the Sejm (this practice, implemented by Sigismund the Old, was opposed already during his life), raising calls for new elections of the king by some Polish nobles⁵². Therefore, his power at that moment required an immediate establishment of a strong symbolic representation.

Secondly, the rumours and announcement about Augustus's relationship with Barbara Radziwiłł and their wedding significantly entangled and complicated his relations with the Polish Sejm. Calls for the denunciation of this marriage during the Sejm meetings were noted in sources and became an integral part of the first years of Sigismund's reign. Finally, the contestation for political influence started between Augustus and his mother Bona Sforza. This led to the alteration of positions: now the main promoter of the classical tradition in Cracow became Augustus.

In this chapter, I follow the main processes that accompanied the period of 1520–1551 and references to the classical examples in official documents, art, poetry, and speeches that were dedicated to or designed for Augustus. Therefore, it will include the research on the image of Augustus before 1548 in Polish–Lithuanian literature and art, the period following Sigismund the Old's death, and marriage with Barbara and the consequent events.

1.1. Image of Sigismund Augustus in Polish–Lithuanian art and literature till 1548

⁴⁹ Bielski, p. 586; Górnicki, pp. 1, 10–11; Strykowski, p. 761.

⁵⁰ Górnicki, pp. 10–11.

⁵¹ Bielski, p. 586; Górnicki, p. 11; Borkowska, p. 519. Also see M. Rożek, *Groby królewskie na Wawelu*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo PETRUS, 2015).

⁵² M. Morka, 'The Beginnings of Medallion Art in Poland during the Times of Zygmunt I and Bona Sforza', *Artibus Et Historiae*, Vol.29, No.58 (2008), p. 74.

To investigate how the image of Sigismund Augustus was shaped in the symbolical and political dimension with particular attention to the classical reception, I address the question of the ‘starting point’ of that image-shaping and stress whether Augustus’s authority was already represented using the classical symbols before 1548⁵³. I deliberate on his praenomen and cognomen and elaborate representation of Augustus’s image in literature. For this purpose, I use the mentions of Augustus in the relevant chronicles, briefly demonstrate what the implications of his early coronation in Poland and Lithuania were, and focus on the period of 1544–1548 when Augustus resided in Vilnius.

1.1.1. Choosing the name

Sigismund Augustus was the only male heir of Sigismund the Old and Bona Sforza, thus receiving persistent attention from his parents and the royal court. The other son of Sigismund I and Bona, Albrecht (*Olbracht Jagiellończyk*) died right after his birth. Another Sigismund’s illegitimate son was John of the Lithuanian Dukes (*Jan z Książąt Litewskich*), a Bishop of Vilnius and later of Poznań, who could not pretend for a royal title⁵⁴.

The name *Augustus*, given to Sigismund II, consists my first point of interest⁵⁵. *Augustus* should be treated as a tribute towards *ad fontes* (back to the roots) tendencies. The name was directly connected with an ancient Roman politician and military leader, adopted son of Gaius Julius Caesar—Octavianus—who was granted the cognomen *Augustus* by the Roman senate along with the title *Princeps Civitatis* confirming him as the de-facto only ruler of the Roman state.

Meanwhile, the name *Augustus* in Latin is interpreted in several ways. Originally, *Augustus* may be translated as ‘the illustrious one’, and in the case of Octavianus it was granted as a cognomen⁵⁶. As *augur* (sometimes—*auger*) was the name of ancient Roman diviners who observed and explained the sacral signs—integral elements of Roman political life—and obtained direct nexus

⁵³ ‘The classical symbols’ in my thesis are understood as the figures, motifs, and hints to the ancient Greek–Roman mythology, history and art and derive from the term ‘the classical tradition’.

⁵⁴ M. Janicki, ‘Tabliczki trumienne i epitafia na sarkofagach królewskich (1519–1596)’, *Studia Waweliana*, Vol.8 (1999), pp. 155–156, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.19891.10>.

⁵⁵ I delineate the issue of giving Sigismund Augustus his names in my article, sent for the review to *Studi Slavistici* with a title ‘Naming the royal heir in the sixteenth century: Sigismund II Augustus Jagiellon and his early representation’. I provide there more connotations of the name *Augustus*.

⁵⁶ W. Eck, *The Age of Augustus*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2007), p. 55. See also my article O. Rudenko, ‘Creating the image of the King: the early modern woodcut of Sigismund Augustus from ‘Confessio Fidei’ by Stanislaus Hosius’, *Text and Image: Essential Problems in Art History*, No.1 (9) (2020), p. 60, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17721/2519-4801.2020.1.04>

with the gods, this established a connection between the person with a name *Augustus* and sacred⁵⁷. Cicero also connected the term *augustus* with *sanctus*, defining it as ‘majesty’⁵⁸. The verb *augeo*, *augere* originally gained positive meaning in Latin, translated as ‘to increase, to enlarge, to strengthen or to expand’, namely regarding territories and honor⁵⁹. Semantically, *auctor* is translated as ‘the creator’ (*conditor*, *princeps*, *dux* as possible synonyms in Latin) with sounding quite similar to the aforementioned words with the root *aug*⁶⁰. Finally, in Classical Latin *Augustus* might derive from *auctoritas*—authority, influence, dignity, security, or credibility⁶¹.

During the reforms of Diocletian in the late third century, *Augustus* became the highest title of the Emperors of Western and Eastern parts of Empire with two *Caesars* subordinated to them. As the tetrarchy system did not prove to be stable, *Augustus* was used in most of the imperial titles along dominate. In 629, the title *augustus* was replaced by *basileus* in the Eastern Roman Empire, being a ‘highly symbolic transition’⁶².

The name and title *Augustus* was used by European royal dynasties in the Middle Ages, for instance by the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire since the ninth century as the formula *Romanorum Imperator Augustus*⁶³. In the eleventh century, it transformed into *semper augustus* (‘always blessed’ or ‘ever exalted’)⁶⁴. The twelfth century *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus*

⁵⁷ Ch. Lewis, Ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), p. 204; See also Oxford Classical Dictionary and the article ‘Augures’ by Jerzy Linderski, where Linderski argues that *augures* could also be based on the root word *augeo*, <https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-966>, consulted on 23.02.20.

⁵⁸ Lewis, Short, p. 205.

⁵⁹ Lewis, Short, p. 204. These possible connotations are analyzed in my article for *Studi Slavistici*.

⁶⁰ Lewis, Short, p. 198.

⁶¹ Lewis, Short, p. 199.

⁶² C. Zuckerman, ‘On the title and office of the Byzantine basileus’, *Travaux et Mémoires*, Vol.16 (2010), p. 865. Sometimes it is argued that *augustus* was translated as *sebastos* in Byzantine tradition. In the early modern era, the difference between the royal title and personal royal name sometimes became implicit, thus confusing the title with the name and vice versa.

⁶³ Rudenko, p. 60. See also my article for *Studi Slavistici*.

⁶⁴ J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, (London: Macmillan, 1901), p. 193; P. Wilson, *Heart of Europe: a History of the Holy Roman Empire*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University press, 2016), p. 33.

Siculis placed that name in its title to honour Henry VI⁶⁵. Finally, *Augustus* became a name of French King Philip II (1180–1223) to symbolize his ‘God-given’ status or as a title given by the chronicler to praise extension of the royal domain⁶⁶.

Considering the growing attention towards the classical tendencies during Sigismund the Old, *Augustus* could symbolize a specific symbol of continuance of the royal power. Similarly as after the murder of Caesar his heir Octavianus adopted his full name, this could be used in the case of two last Jagiellons. Implementing the name *Augustus* into public discourse and official documents could serve the representation of Sigismund II as the only heir and successor of Sigismund I, justifying the former’s early coronation and retention of the King’s power within the family of the Jagiellons. Could this be treated as Bona’s acknowledgement towards the calls for future elections of the king by Polish nobles to demonstrate the origins of her son’s legitimacy? Although there are no direct hints to such intentions, I suggest that this symbolic meaning could be embedded in giving their son this particular name. Thus, ‘the young prince’s name, an allusion to Caesar, reflected both his mother Bona’s ambitions and the pro-Italian climate of the Wawel court’⁶⁷. Symbolically, the last masterpiece conducted at the Wawel castle during its renovations by Sigismund I was a ‘mural depicting the life of the Caesars’⁶⁸.

However, the chronicles related to the birth of Sigismund the Old’s son do not precisely outline the process of choosing the name. Bielski’s Chronicle notes that ‘At that time (in 1520—O.R.) King Sigismund’s son Sigismund Augustus was born in Cracow on the first of August and because of that news, the King willingly acted in the war’⁶⁹. The obvious connotation between the month of his birth and the name is not apparent: the month August in Polish is *sierpień* but in Latin, it is *Augustus* or *Sextilis*. At the same time, assuming that the cognomen of the future King was not pre-determined by Sigismund, one might assume that the decision to give their son the cognomen could

⁶⁵ G. Siragusa (ed.), *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis di Pietro da Eboli*, (Roma: Palazzo dei Lincei, 1906), <https://archive.org/details/liberadhonorema00siragoog/page/n9>, consulted on 31.10.19; Rudenko, p. 60.

⁶⁶ Wilson, pp. 156–157; P. Cullum, K. Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), p. 135 with a reference to A. W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State*, (Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981). I elaborate that in my article, submitted to *Studi Slavistici*.

⁶⁷ Niekrasz, p. 119.

⁶⁸ K. Lewalski, ‘Sigismund I of Poland: Renaissance King and Patron’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol.14 (1967), p. 64.

⁶⁹ Bielski, p. 545.

be made by Bona Sforza⁷⁰. She could have specific political purposes I have outlined above, namely: their son will continue the enterprise of his father and cognomen Augustus repeated the idea of continuity and simultaneously implying the celebrated story of Caesar and his son Augustus⁷¹. Although it is merely an assumption, this hidden ancient symbolism was shaping the Renaissance sixteenth century. Polish–Lithuanian state, influenced by Italians, was definitely not an exemption⁷².

1.1.2. Education, correspondence and chronicles

The image of Sigismund Augustus in the sources and its perception in the society varied in the 1520s–1530s. The chronicles and sources commonly referred to his education, marriage, military activities, and this also contributed to the popular image of the young Prince. The crucial role for the future of Augustus was played by his mother, Queen Bona. She endeavoured to secure her only son's accession to the Polish and Lithuanian thrones already during Sigismund the Old's reign. In 1529 on the day of St. Luke (October, 18), Sigismund Augustus was elected the Grand Duke of Lithuania by Lithuanian nobility in the presence of his parents⁷³. At the Piotrków Sejm on December, 18 in 1529, Sigismund I and Bona persuaded the delegates to elect Augustus as the *vivente rege*, although the rule of elections of the Polish Kings strictly assigned organizing the elections after the death of the

⁷⁰ It is known that Sigismund I gave his son the name of Sigismund but the process of choosing cognomen is not mentioned in their letters (see my forthcoming article). Bona Sforza was a well-educated woman, acquainted with ancient history, hence, beyond bringing arrases and jewelry she could likely bring to Cracow a set of books on ancient history. See more: M. Bogucka, Bona Sforza, (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 2009); M. Hennel-Bernasikowa, 'Gli arazzi della regina Bona', in M. S. Calò Mariani, G. Dibenedetto (eds.) Bona Sforza Regina di Polonia e Duchessa di Bari: Catalogo della Mostra a cura di Maria Stella Calò Mariani, (Roma: Nuova Comunicazione, 2000), pp. 271–277. Also see a recent MA thesis: W. S. Rothbard, The cultural influence and artistic patronage of Queen Bona Sforza in early 16th century Poland–Lithuania, (Budapest: Central European University, History Department, 2010), http://www.etd.ceu.edu/2010/rothbard_wojciech-szymon.pdf, consulted on 14.02.20.

⁷¹ Strykowski, p. 753: 'Queen Bona, second Sigismund's wife, gave birth to Sigismund Augustus on the first of August in Cracow; and the King was at that time in Toruń for the war with Prussia'.

⁷² As Marcin Fabiański demonstrated, in the 1520s–1540s the Jagiellons effectively used visual art for political propaganda inside and outside Poland. See M. Fabiański, 'The Beginnings of Woodcut Portrait in Poland. The Images of King Sigismund I against their Literary Background', Artibus et Historiae, Vol.38, No.36 (2017), pp. 259–289, an article which Dr. hab. Marcin Fabiański kindly shared with me during our meeting at the Wawel Castle in October 2019.

⁷³ Bielski, p. 561.

previous King⁷⁴. The elections were held in an unusual manner: at the ordinary—instead of an election—Sejm while the Lithuanians and the Duke of Prussia were neither consulted nor simply informed⁷⁵. These facts later evoked problems for securing the throne. In February of 1530, Sigismund Augustus was crowned and anointed as the King of Poland at Wawel⁷⁶. Afterwards, the city of Cracow swore Augustus while he was still wearing the same clothes as during the coronation⁷⁷.

It is known that after 1531 Sigismund Augustus spent most of his time in Vilnius, thus Poland was beyond his attention, and *vice versa*, Augustus was slightly beyond internal Polish life before 1548⁷⁸. An intriguing note was mentioned by Bielski by the year 1535:

‘The King Sigismund the Younger was prescribed an Italian preceptor Siculus; however, he was not praised by the nobles... After that, Piotr Opaliński, Castellan of Łąd, was given the young King as an *ochmistrz* (head of the Court—O.R.), his youth to be looked after and in order not to entertain himself with useless enterprises but to study eminent sciences. Since that time, the Senators of the Crown, particularly because of Cracow’s bishop Tomicki, started to appraise Sigismund II with that name of Augustus’⁷⁹.

Sigismund II was associated with the cognomen Augustus since his early childhood. The poems from 1529–1530 note the conjunction between his name Sigismund and the cognomen Augustus⁸⁰. In one of the poems, Polish Renaissance poet Stanisław Kleryka praises the newly elected

⁷⁴ Bielski, p. 561.

⁷⁵ Frost, p. 405.

⁷⁶ Strykowski, pp. 755–756.

⁷⁷ This point was emphasized by Bielski. See Bielski, p. 561.

⁷⁸ Bielski, p. 570. Interestingly, under 1531 Bielski mentions Augustus as ‘Sigismund the Younger’ for the first time; Górnicki, p. 8. Sigismund called his son the ‘Younger King’ in one of his letters dated from 1544. See Zygmunt I, ‘Sigismundus Primus Rex Poloniae Sigismundo Augusto Regi Juniori’, (1544), in A. Naruszewicz, *Naruszewicz teka. 180 dokumentów z 1544 r.*, T. 61, nr. 176, <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/17593/edition/17336/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 17.02.20.

⁷⁹ Bielski, p. 573; Wacikowska, A. ‘Wychowanie Królewiczów z Dynastii Jagiellonów i Wazów w Polsce’, (2005) <http://www.edukacyjne.dyskursy.univ.szczecin.pl/wkrolew.htm>, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁸⁰ S. Kleryka, ‘O powyższeniu Zygmunta Augusta królewicza na Księstwo Wielkie Litewskie’, ‘O powyższeniu tegoż Zygmunta Augusta królewicza na Krolewstwo Polské’, in E. Barwiński, L. Birkenmajer, J. Łoś (eds.) *Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w Szwecji dokonanych z ramienia*

King: ‘Że za pana otrzymali królewica / Zygmunta Augusta prawego dziedzica’ (‘That already during a King we have gained a Prince, Sigismund August, a true heir’)⁸¹. Meanwhile, the documents studied do not confirm that *Augustus* was regularly used in 1529–1530. The ‘Confirmation from Sigismund I...’, assuring the nobles that the future elections of the Polish King will happen exclusively at the Election Sejm, states the name ‘Sigismundus secundus’⁸². Similarly, this name is noted in another confirmation by Sigismund I: ‘Serenissimum Principem Dominum Sigismundum secundum, filium nostrum’, meaning ‘His serene majesty Sigismund II, our son’⁸³.

The figure of the Cracow bishop provides interesting insights. Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535), Cracow bishop in 1524–1535, exercised a huge impact on Sigismund I, although he is regarded as an opponent of Bona Sforza⁸⁴. Tomicki was a Renaissance humanist, educated in Cracow, Bologna, and, perhaps, Vienna. He was in a lasting correspondence with Erasmus, insisted on the creation of the Department of Roman law in Cracow Academy, and introduced the classes of ancient languages in its curriculum⁸⁵. Hence, he was well acquainted with Roman history and realized the hidden symbolism of King’s cognomen.

The analysis of the correspondence between Sigismund I, Bona Sforza, and Piotr Tomicki in 1520–1523 and 1529, summoned by Adam Naruszewicz in the eighteenth century, demonstrates that

Akademii Umiejętności, (Kraków: G. Gebethner i Sp.; Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1914), pp. 301–305.

⁸¹ Kleryka, p. 301.

⁸² Zygmunt I, ‘Zygmunt król polski w związku z wybraniem syna jego Zygmunta II królem polskim bez zwołania sejmu elekcyjnego zapewnia, że w przyszłości wybory króla odbywać się będą tylko na sejmie elekcyjnym’, (1530), <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/13332>, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁸³ Zygmunt I, ‘Zygmunt król polski przyrzeka, że syn jego Zygmunt II wybrany i koronowany na króla polskiego, gdy osiągnie wiek lat piętnastu potwierdzi i zachowa wszystkie dotychczasowe prawa i przywileje stanowe pod groźbą niezłożenia mu przysięgi posłuszeństwa i wierności przez szlachtę’, 1530, <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/13333/edition/13129/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁸⁴ Encyklopedia PWN, ‘Tomicki Piotr’, <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Tomicki-Piotr;3987972.html>, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁸⁵ Tomicki also inspired historian and priest Stanisław Górski to collect and publish a vast amount of documents, related to Polish history. This miscellany gained support from Sigismund Augustus and in the eighteenth century received a name *Acta Tomiciana*. S. Górski, *Acta Tomiciana. Epistole. Legationes. Responsa. Actiones. Res Geste*, (Poznań: Typis. J. Łukaszewicz, 1852), <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/32235/edition/49469/content>, consulted on 15.02.20.

Augustus was not a frequent hero of their letters. In one of them, after his elections in Lithuania, Sigismund I called him 'Filius noster' ('Our son'), the other from 1529 several times mentions Augustus as 'Serenissimus filius noster' ('his serene majesty, our son')⁸⁶. The document 'From the Renewal of the Perpetual Peace and Harmony' states the precise version of Augustus's name twice as 'Illustrissimus Princeps Dominus Sigismundus Augustus Filius Noster' ('Illustrious Ruler and Lord Sigismund August, Our Son')⁸⁷. In a later one, dated 1537, Sigismund I refers to his son as 'Serenissimum filium nostrum Sigismundum Augustum Regem sibi et regno Poloniae nobisque successorem' ('Our son, his serene majesty Sigismund Augustus, King himself and the Kingdom of Poland and our successor')⁸⁸. Górnicki explains that Augustus was commonly named 'Królewicz' ('the Prince', the son of the King), mentioning that he received that title 'although he was already a

⁸⁶ Sigismund I, 'Sigismundus Primus Rex Poloniae Bonae Reginae Polonica Uxorique', (1529), in A. Naruszewicz, Naruszewicz teka. 294 dokumenty z 1529 r., T. 43, nr. 180, <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/10842/edition/10660/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 15.02.20; Sigismund I, 'Litera Sigismundi I Regis Poloniae ad Bonam Sphortiam Reginam Poloniae, 21.12.1529', (1529), in A. Naruszewicz, Naruszewicz teka. 294 dokumenty z 1529 r., T. 43, nr. 178, <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/10840/edition/10658/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁸⁷ 'Ex Renovatione Pacis et Concordiae perpetuae inter Serenissimum Regem Dominum Sigismundum eiusdemque Sacrae Regae Maiestatis filium Dominum Sigismundum Augustum in Magnum Ducem Lithuaniae electum ex una et Illustrissimum Principem et Dominum Albertum Marchionem Branderburgensem et in Prussia Ducem ex altera partibus facta' ('From the Renewal of the Perpetual Peace and Harmony, made between his majesty Sigismund and his majesty's son Sigismund Augustus, elected the Grand Duke of Lithuania as one part and his majesty Albrecht, prince-elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia as the other') (1529), in A. Naruszewicz, Naruszewicz teka. 294 dokumenty z 1529 r., T. 43, nr. 95, <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/10758/edition/10576/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁸⁸ Sigismund I, 'Zygmunt król polski oświadcza, że syn jego Zygmunt August, przed siedmiu laty uznany za jego poręczeniem następcą tronu polskiego, teraz, kiedy osiągnął wiek piętnastu lat, złożył przyrzeczenie, że za życia ojca nie będzie się ubiegał o rządy w Królestwie, po śmierci zaś ojca nie obejmie władzy zanim nie potwierdzi wszystkich praw i przywilejów stanowych', (1537), <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/13359/edition/13155/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 15.02.20.

crowned King’⁸⁹. Therefore, the mention in Bielski’s Chronicle probably implies that Sigismund’s cognomen *Augustus* became widely accepted after 1535, although it was used before.

The relation of Sigismund Augustus to his education during that period was somehow criticized: he did not behave properly ‘since he felt himself as the Lord and the King’⁹⁰. Nevertheless, during his home education with Italian and Polish tutors, Augustus learned German, Latin, Italian, and studied ancient literature⁹¹.

The Chronicles provide a scarce overview of his political and military activity during 1530–1548. Augustus was put under the strict control of the Lithuanian and Polish Sejms, taking an oath in 1536 and 1537 respectively⁹². 1537 was marked with the *Rokosz lwowski* (‘Chicken War’)—a call for the reforms and abandoning the influence of Bona Sforza on the education of young Augustus, who did not participate properly in the state affairs⁹³. The following year was the first attempt of Augustus’s military campaign (revoked by his father due to Bona’s insist), and in 1540 he received gifts from Pope Paul III who asked the young King to defend his Catholic faith⁹⁴. The return of Augustus from his campaign was criticized in society. Górnicki mentions that

‘...there were those, who said (among them was the rittmeister of Raczków) that if the Prince in his youth has not heard the sound of shooting, has not seen the sabre, the military formations and the battle, then this man will never be courageous’⁹⁵.

In the Brest Sejm (1544) Augustus gained the full power in Lithuania. Sigismund I acquired a title *Supremus Dux Lithuaniae* (The Highest Duke of Lithuania) and his son was a *Magnus Dux Lithuaniae* (The Grand Duke of Lithuania), a common title since the mid-thirteenth century⁹⁶. In his letter to Cardinal and Protector of Poland Alessandro Farnese, Sigismund signed as ‘Sigismundus Augustus Rex Poloniae etc.’⁹⁷. Lithuanian senators and members of the Court, who attended

⁸⁹ Górnicki, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Wacikowska, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁹¹ Wacikowska, consulted on 15.02.20.

⁹² Bielski, p. 576.

⁹³ Bielski, p. 577.

⁹⁴ Bielski, pp. 579–580; Górnicki, pp. 3–4.

⁹⁵ Górnicki, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Górnicki, p. 9.

⁹⁷ Sigismundus Augustus, ‘Alexandro Farnasio Cardinali Sancti Laurentii Regni Protectori’, (1544), in A. Naruszewicz, Naruszewicz teka. 180 dokumentów z 1544 r., T. 61, nr. 169,

Sigismund I in Cracow, generally appraised his son's decisions and actions in Lithuania, although after the death of Elisabeth Habsburg, Augustus lived without a wife⁹⁸. Finally, in the Piotrków Sejm in 1547–1548 were announced the proposals for granting full power in Poland to Sigismund Augustus so Sigismund the Old could 'observe the decent and pious reign of his son', but Bona opposed that idea⁹⁹. The evidence highlights that the Chronicles and written sources were quite scarce when describing Augustus's activities in his early years. This contrasts with the visual depictions of Augustus, disseminated before 1548.

1.1.3. The earliest depictions of Sigismund Augustus

The child depictions of Augustus are rare, but they confirm that since the early childhood ancient reminiscences were used for the depiction of Sigismund Augustus, and this brought implications for his later representation¹⁰⁰. The earliest idealised depiction dates 1521. It is a woodcut from 'De Iagellonum familia liber II' ('The second book about the Jagiellonian family')¹⁰¹. Its author was Jodocus Ludovicus Decius (*Justus Ludwik Decjusz*), Polish diplomat, historian, and a royal secretary¹⁰². An early modern emblem, it depicted Sigismund Augustus and included a 14-line Latin poem, written by Philipp Gundelius (figure 1)¹⁰³.

<https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/17586/edition/17329/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 17.02.20.

⁹⁸ Górnicki, p. 9.

⁹⁹ Górnicki, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ A valuable addition for art historians is the child armour of Augustus, commissioned by Ferdinand I Habsburg, father of Augustus's first wife Elisabeth. See J. Ruszczycówna, 'Z badań nad ikonografią Władysława Jagiełły i Zygmunta Augusta', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, Vol.23 (1979), p. 247, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.19585.12>; H. Widacka, 'Portrety Zygmunta II Augusta na plakietach introligatorskich XVI wieku', *Kronika Zamkowa*, Vol.65–66, No.1–2 (2013), pp. 5–6.

¹⁰¹ Jodocus Ludovicus Decius, *De vetustatibus Polonorum liber I. De Iagellonum familia liber II. De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber III*, (Kraków: Druk. Hieronim Wietor, 1521), <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/18173/edition/17910/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 11.04.20; H. Blumówna, 'O pierwszych portretach świeckich w krakowskich drukach renesansowych', *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Rozprawy i sprawozdania, rok 1952*, Vol.2 (1954), pp. 69–70, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.21218.8>.

¹⁰² Jodoci Ludovici Decii, *De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber*, 1521, W. Czermak (ed.), (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1901), p. v.

¹⁰³ Augustus was not represented in the genealogical tree of Jagiellons because Decius faced technical difficulties. J. Ruszczycówna, 'Nieznane portrety ostatnich Jagiellonów', *Rocznik Muzeum*

First of all, the name Augustus is evident in the emblem: as the letter ‘A’ in the right side of the portrait, opposite to ‘S’ (Sigismund) and once more in the title of the poem ‘In Sigismundi Augusti Filii Regii Effigiem Ad Spectatorem’ (‘To the spectator of the Portrait of Sigismund Augustus, Son of the King’). The poem begins with the words ‘Augusta augustae’, twice emphasizing the role of the King’s name for a non-experienced reader in Latin.

Secondly, the artistic component is crucial. The ‘imagological portrait’ by its definition, it depicts a young boy surrounded by floral ornaments, five little putti, and the royal insignia: the crown, the sceptre, the orb, and the sword¹⁰⁴. Augustus was not yet crowned and could not take the royal symbols in his hands, but it was implied that his future is connected with the royal authority¹⁰⁵.

Thirdly, the textual element considers the origins of the young heir¹⁰⁶:

In Sigismundi Augusti Filii Regii Effigiem Ad Spectatorem.	To the spectator at the portrait of Sigismund Augustus, the royal son.
Augusta augustae quicunque in imagine prolis Sigismundi agnoscis vivida signa Patris, Et materna Bonae spectas vestigia formae Testatumque pari semen utrumque nota.	You will recognize in the sacred appearance the blessed heir of Sigismund And you see, obviously, the true features of the father, And maternal features of beautiful Bona, And the celebrated seed of both is famous with the good words.
Concipe spem dignam tantis ex indole Regnis, Quam spondet summum stirpe ab utraque genus.	Have the hope, dignified from the innate features, promised by the genus That descends from both roots.
Fons illinc proavum summa repetitus ab Arcto Per Casimireae Martia corda domus.	The great offspring of ancestors is repeated here

Narodowego w Warszawie, Vol.20 (1976), p. 9, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.19582.4>. I elaborated on the symbolism in my article ‘Naming the royal heir...’ submitted to *Studi Slavistici*.

¹⁰⁴ Ruszczycówna, ‘Nieznane portrety...’, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ The parrot was a reference to the portrait of Francesco II Sforza. Blumówna, p. 81.

¹⁰⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Valentyna Myronova from Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv for her guidance with the translation of this poem. The same translation is present in my submitted article for *Studi Slavistici*.

<p>Nobilis hinc series de stemmate gentis Ibero. Tradita per reges Parthenopea tuos.</p> <p>At tu facta illis cumulans propiora parentum Victoris soboles sanguinis atque Boni.</p> <p>Inclyte cresce puer Divis per summa secundis, Ut fiat factis spes rata nostra tuis.</p>	<p>From the Arctic through the Mars way to the Casimir's house.</p> <p>Here is also the hereditary line from the Iberian tribe,</p> <p>Transferred through the Neapol Kings.</p> <p>And you, having united the closest actions of the ancestors,</p> <p>Are the descendant by blood and by good actions.</p> <p>Gloriously grow, the boy, divine through other great accomplishments,</p> <p>So that our hope may be legitimate through your deeds.</p>
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Gundelius emphasizes the origins of a young heir, using hyperbole and metaphors to underline the royal connection between the Jagiellons and Sforza and that Augustus inherits the best features of his parents. Furthermore, this 'gloriously born boy' is named the 'heir' of his father Sigismund I, omitting the necessity of the King's elections to be held in Poland after Sigismund the Old's death. Janina Ruszczycówna emphasized the propaganda role of the royal portraits from 1521, stating that Augustus's portrait demonstrated the delight from his birth at the royal court and was a 'confirmation of the dynasty's durability, its merits and future plans'¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁷ Ruszczycówna, 'Nieznane portrety...', p. 13. Interestingly, while the poem was later disseminated in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts, it is unknown about any later reprints of the portrait. See P. Gundelius, *In Sigismundi Augustii filii regii effigiem ad spectatorem*, Sygn. BK243, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/482058/edition/398507/content>, consulted on 12.04.20; A. Krzycki, *Poezje Andrzeja Krzyckiego i Klemensa Janickiego*, Sygn. BK00244, 17th century, <https://platforma.bk.pan.pl/objs/213147#>, consulted on 12.04.20.



Figure 1. Sigismund Augustus. Jodocus Ludovicus Decius, 'De Iagellorum familia liber II', 1521. Public domain.

The medals as another type of visual propaganda played a crucial role for the promotion of the royal image since they were designed to mark specific events, and some included the political programme of Augustus. The first known medal of Augustus (1532, made by Italian master Giovanni Padovano), used several references to the antiquity and its symbolism to present Augustus as an ideal ruler in future. Augustus is titled 'D.SIGISMVDVS II.REX POLONIAE A + REGNI NRI.III.AETATIS.XIII.ANNO D.M.D.XXXII' ('Divine Sigismund II, King of Poland, in his third year of reign, aged thirteen years, in the year 1532') (figures 2–3)¹⁰⁸. It names the young heir 'Sigismund II', not 'Sigismund Augustus'.

¹⁰⁸ Morka, pp. 74–76.



Figures 2–3. Medal of Sigismund II Augustus. Made by Giovanni Padovano, 1532. MNK VII-Md-290. Public domain. <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/54241>

The reverse of the 1532 medal depicts a lion, a symbol of strength, authority, ‘spiritual strength and courage’¹⁰⁹. The lion is surrounded by the inscription: ‘PARCERE SVBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SVPERBO’ (‘Spare those submitted and subdue the arrogant’) and the other line says: ‘IUSTUS SICUT LEO’ (‘Just as the lion’)¹¹⁰. Mieczysław Morka began a discussion regarding the symbolical sense of the lion with Józef Grabski who emphasized the hopes of the Polish nobility on the fair reign of Augustus¹¹¹. Morka develops this hypothesis, deducing the inscription ‘parcere subiectis et debellare superbo’ from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, underlining that ‘Aeneas was considered the ideal ruler, worthy of emulation’¹¹².

Furthermore, this motto was describing the courage of Augustus since ‘the lion was also the attribute of *fortitudo* (strength, power—O.R.)’¹¹³. Inscription ‘Just as the lion’ enhanced this message: Augustus had to guarantee justice in peaceful times¹¹⁴. Considering the importance of the medals for

¹⁰⁹ Morka, p. 75. However, the figure of the lion is not noted in the later depictions of Augustus.

¹¹⁰ Morka, p. 75.

¹¹¹ Morka, pp. 75–78; See the analysis of the 1532 medals: J. Grabski, ‘Wizerunki rodziny królewskiej Zygmunta I Starego na medalach Jana Marii Padovano z 1532 r. w dawnej kolekcji książąt d’Este w Modenie’, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, Vol.22, No.1 (83) (1978), pp. 22–33.

¹¹² Morka, p. 76.

¹¹³ Morka, p. 76.

¹¹⁴ Morka, p. 77.

representing the plans of the rulers, Augustus was presented as ‘a king at war and during times of peace, that is as the ideal ruler’¹¹⁵.

Consecration of Sigismund’s Chapel in 1533 was commemorated by a thaler medal of Sigismund I in the averse and Sigismund Augustus in the reverse, minted again in 1540; one of the most falsified medals in the 1530s and the 1540s (figures 4–5)¹¹⁶. In contrast with the 1532 medal, Sigismund II was presented here as Augustus. The portraits of the Kings were used ‘as a model’ for the portrait plaques on the Silver Altarpiece in the Sigismund Chapel¹¹⁷. Augustus was depicted surrounded with the coats of arms of Poland, Lithuania, Prussia, Red Ruthenia, and Sforza family while the inscription contained the words ‘Sig Aug Secund Filius Rex Polon’ (‘Sigismund Augustus the Second, Son of the King of Poland’). Augustus’s representation was following the image of his father as the location of the coats of arms is identical.



Figures 4–5. 1540 copy of the 1533 Thaler medal of Sigismund I and Sigismund II. Public domain.
<https://wcn.pl/eauctions/151015/details/44828/Polska-kopia-ekstremalnie-rzadkiego-talara-medalowego-1533>

Similar was a characteristic of the 1548 medal that was created to commemorate the beginning of the sole reign of Sigismund II (figures 6–7)¹¹⁸. The inscription contains the name Augustus: ‘SIGIS.AVG.REX.POLO.MG.DVX.LIT.AET.S.XXIX’ (‘Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, the

¹¹⁵ Morka, p. 77.

¹¹⁶ See Digital collections, National Museum in Cracow, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result?phrase=talar%2520zygmunta%2520>, consulted on 13.04.20; Morka, pp. 78–79, 82.

¹¹⁷ Morka, p. 82.

¹¹⁸ Raczyński, p. 74. He emphasized that the medal did not commemorate the coronation because Augustus was crowned in 1530.

Grand Duke of Lithuania, aged 29')¹¹⁹. The avers represents the King's head without the crown which is located near him, Augustus has a small beard and an aquiline nose. The reverse contains the crowned Polish Eagle with an inscription: 'ANO.D.NRI.M.D.XLVIII.DOMINICVS.VENETVS.FECIT'¹²⁰. This medal does not bear an extended political programme, however, the curly hair of Augustus reminds the ancient Roman coins¹²¹.



Figures 6–7. Medal honouring the coronation of Sigismund II Augustus. Made by Dominicus Venetus, 1548. ZKW.N.12. Public domain. <https://kolekcja.zamek-krolewski.pl/obiekt/kolekcja/Gabinet%20Numizmatyczny/query/zygmunt%2520august/id/ZKW.N.12>

Lithuanian coins whose mint commenced in 1545–1546 are valuable visual sources for stressing how Augustus shaped his authority in the 1540s¹²². It is necessary to mention that it was Sigismund I who introduced his portrait on the coins minted in Poland and Lithuania. This was an

¹¹⁹ Raczyński, p. 74.

¹²⁰ 'God's year 1548, made by Dominicus Venetus'.

¹²¹ See Aureus of Octavianus Augustus, Münzkabinett Online Catalogue, <http://www.ikmk.at/object?lang=en&id=ID56810>, consulted on 13.04.20; Aureus of Octavianus Augustus, Münzkabinett Online Catalogue, <http://www.ikmk.at/object?lang=en&id=ID56785>, consulted on 13.04.20; Abdera of Claudius I, Münzkabinett Online Catalogue, <http://www.ikmk.at/object?lang=en&id=ID124362>, consulted on 13.04.20. See also the collection of Roman coins at the Collection online of The British Museum: https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=Octavian+Augustus, consulted on 13.04.20.

¹²² E. Ivanauskas, E. Cesnulis, *Coins of Lithuania. 1386–1707*, (Vilnius–Columbia: Judex, 1999), pp. 91–92.

innovative practice in the history of Polish-Lithuanian coinage as previously the images exploited the coats of arms and crowns but not the appearance of the rulers. The first mentioned Augustus's coin (Little Penny) in the catalogue by Ivanauskas and Cesnulis had a crowned shield with Sigismund's initials¹²³. This conjunction of a crowned shield with 'SA' will be common in the art objects and coinage of Sigismund II¹²⁴. The little pennies dating 1546–1547 used the short 'SA' abbreviation instead of the abbreviated title of Polish Kings and Lithuanian Dukes as it was accepted before (i.e. 'Sigismun P Rex Po M D Lit' or 'Sigismu P Rex Po M D Litva')¹²⁵.

Albeit these coins were disseminated predominantly in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the practice of applying specific symbols with the classical connotations in the coins of Sigismund Augustus developed in the 1550s and 1560s especially¹²⁶. An interesting symbolic element that was added in *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego*, was the shield bearing the coat of arms of Poland with the letter 'S' meaning Sigismund. It appears on the page with Sigismund I for the first time¹²⁷. Likewise, the image of Augustus included the shield with the Polish coat of arms and 'SA'¹²⁸.

This section has attempted to provide a brief summary of pre-1548 Augustus's image. It demonstrated that the image of Augustus varied from the disaffection of Polish nobility, which claimed that it did not elect the King as guaranteed by the law and which anticipated that the royal power will be controlled by Bona, and citizens, who were dissatisfied that their King did not obtain experience in military affairs, to highly positive attitude since Augustus was perceived as a well-educated, faithful Catholic, who will be continuing his father's achievements. This complicated puzzle shortly led to unpleasant events, connected with Augustus's second marriage. Ultimately, I should mention a treatise that links this and the following section: Stanisław Orzechowski's *Fidelis subditus*, where the image of Augustus is explicitly connected with the ancient figures¹²⁹.

¹²³ Ivanauskas, Cesnulis, p. 93.

¹²⁴ Moreover, during two last Jagiellons the Polish Eagle is transformed: instead of crowned Eagle, it becomes an Eagle with the royal monogram. Piech, p. 225.

¹²⁵ Ivanauskas, Cesnulis, pp. 80, 93–94.

¹²⁶ This issue is in detail explored in Chapter 3.

¹²⁷ The images of previous kings (Alexander Jagiellonian, Jan Olbracht, Casimir IV) in the Chronicle did not have symbols of their personal attachment to the Polish eagle. Bielski, pp. 386, 480, 492, 505.

¹²⁸ Bielski, p. 588. Piech emphasizes that 'Eagle and Pogon served to symbolize the objects belonging to Sigismund Augustus'. Piech, p. 224.

¹²⁹ This source was previously analyzed in my essay for the seminar course 'Pre-18th century Culture' under the supervision of Dr. Andrzej Staniszewski at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. See S. Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus sive de institutione regia ad Sigismundum Augustum libri duo', in

1.2. Securing the Throne

The period that seriously questioned the legitimacy of Augustus as the King of Poland started after Sigismund the Old's death. It comprised of two primary demands: new elections of the King and denunciation of marriage with Barbara Radziwiłł. The first complaint was briefly sketched earlier: the nobility was dissatisfied with the fact that Augustus was elected ignoring the traditional procedure of the King's election. They raised their first concerns already during Augustus's coronation, although 'not about the election's validity—which nobody challenged—but about the way it had been conducted'¹³⁰.

The second claim became far more famous in Poland and Lithuania. After Sigismund's first wife Elisabeth died in 1545, Sigismund remained unmarried. Presumably, the affair between Augustus and Barbara Radziwiłł, a member of a powerful Lithuanian noble family, started in 1543. While Augustus remained in Vilnius, this remained unknown in Poland, circulating as rumours¹³¹. In the summer of 1547, they wed in secret. In this section, I examine how Augustus attempted to cope with the opposition against his marriage and trace the image of a young King, shaped by Orzechowski's treatise.

1.2.1. Speeches and rhetorics at the Piotrków Sejm

Sigismund I got acquainted with his son's marriage before the Piotrków Sejm in late 1547¹³². The question regarding the validity of the marriage with Barbara was raised immediately after the opening of the Piotrków Sejm in October 1548¹³³. Beyond chronicles, I examine several speeches that were created and were circulating during that Sejm. Acknowledging the role of rhetoric in the Renaissance education as a tool for shaping the speeches, I may not omit the fact of applying the classical figures and phrases in them. Although part of the speeches did not include examples of the classical reception, those which did are relevant for studying the royal power representation.

'A Speech from all the Land deputies to His Majesty King Sigismund Augustus at the Sejm in Piotrków, the Year of 1548' referred to the sixteenth-century Polish political values: *res publica*,

G. Sangier, T. Wierzbowski (eds.) *"Fidelis subditus" w redakcji 2-ej z r. 1548*, (Warszawa: Druk K. Kowalskiego, 1908); S. Orikhovskiy, 'Napuchennia Polskomu Korolevi Syhizmundu Avhustu', in W. Lytwynow (ed.) *Ukrainski humanisty epokhy Vidrozhennia*, (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, Osnovy, 1995), <http://litopys.org.ua/human/hum04.htm>, consulted on 16.02.20.

¹³⁰ Frost, p. 405.

¹³¹ Frost, pp. 433–436.

¹³² They had a conversation regarding the relationship with Barbara but 'nobody knew what Augustus had replied to his father'. Górnicki, p. 10.

¹³³ Bielski, p. 589.

the rights of the nobility, and respecting them by the King¹³⁴. Yet, it did not possess any links with the classical figures.

‘The speech by Jędrzej Grabie, Castellan of Górka and Starosta of Poznań to His Majesty King Sigismund Augustus on behalf of the Lords of the Crown Councils and Deputies from the Nobility regarding abandoning the improper for His Majesty the King marriage at the Sejm in Piotrków, given on the fifth day after the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Year of 1548’, written in Polish, did not refer to any ancient sources or mention any examples from antiquity, rather from the periods of Władysław Jagiełło and Casimir IV¹³⁵. Simultaneously, it was written better in the terms of rhetoric, interchanging Polish and Latin versions of *res publica* as well as containing other Latin phrases, for instance ‘affectus privatos, rei publicae commoda’ (‘affected by private, for the good of the public’)¹³⁶.

Interestingly, a brief ‘Speech to the foremost Majesty King of Poland Sigismund Augustus at the beginning of the government of the Kingdom in name of the canon of Cracow, Philip Padniewski, canon of Cracow, declared on the 23d of May 1548’ contains specific references to the name of the King that correlate with my first section¹³⁷. In the speech, it is noted that

¹³⁴ ‘Rzecz Imieniem wszystkich Posłów Ziemskich ku Jmci Krolowi Zygmuntowi Augustowi na Seymie w Piotrkowie Anno Dei 1548’, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/show-content/publication/edition/395422?id=395422>, consulted on 18.02.20.

¹³⁵ ‘Rzecz Pana Jędrzeia Grabie z Gorki kasztelana y Starosty Poznańskiego ku Krolowi Jmci Zygmuntowi Augustowi imieniem wszystkich Panow Rad Koronnych y Poslow od Rycerstwa o opuszczenie nieprzystoynego Krola JMci małżeństwa na Seymie w Piotrkowie Feria quinta post Festum Presentationis Mariae Virginis Anno Domini 1548’, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/show-content/publication/edition/395421?id=395421>, consulted on 18.02.20.

¹³⁶ ‘Rzecz Pana Jędrzeia Grabie z Gorki’.

¹³⁷ ‘Oratio ad Sigismundum Augustum Regem Poloniae in primo eius Maiestatis ad gubernacula Regni ingressu nomine canonicorum collegii cracoviensis a Philippo Padniewski canonico cracoviensi habita XXIII Maii 1548’, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/show-content/publication/edition/395424?id=395424>, consulted on 20.02.20.

‘...and since your reign, the name Augustus from your parents predicted, the future made renown of your name, in consolation to you likewise for you to have a humble evident example of domestic virtues to follow’¹³⁸.

The speech underlines the correlation between the name Augustus and its meaning, likewise between the name ‘Augustus’ and ‘Augurantibus’—being predicted or foreseen. Octavianus had to provide an example of fortitude and governing for the young Polish King.

The image of Augustus, presented in this speech, establishes an image of an ancient Roman *princeps* (emperor) who was delegated his authority by the Senate by mentioning formulas like ‘Imperium tuo’ (‘your power’), ‘Sapientiam tibi’ (‘your wisdom’), ‘Quod utique Tibi esse antiqui pitomum (?) constanti omnium fama atque Sermone celebratur’ (‘Certainly, what to you since the ancients corresponds, all the fame and conversations to be celebrated’), ‘...per Parentem vero tuum aucta etiam et propagata sunt sub Tuis auspiciis et salutem moderatione Imperii salva permanere possint’ (‘...by your parents truthfully your also to enlarge and extend under your guidance and under control the Empire (Kingdom—O.R.) in safe to remain will be able’)¹³⁹.

Piotr Boratyński in his ‘Third speech asking the King to renounce his marriage...’ appealed to ancient Sparta, Sardanapalus, and Emperor Commodus, apparently reminding Augustus of the figures he should know thanks to his education¹⁴⁰. In the ‘Petri Boratyński ad Posnaniensem et Kalisiensem Castellatum responsum a nuntiis’ is mentioned Agesilaus, King of Sparta: ‘...that some time ago, by being the King, they did not embrace the pleasures exclusively for their own fame but they (the Kings—O.R.) also served for the good conditions of their subjects, like about Agesilaus, King of Sparta the writings testify’¹⁴¹.

Other speeches analysed did not present any of these connotations. Neither did the ‘Libel against the second marriage of King Sigismund Augustus of Poland, at Piotrków, 1548’ that provided

¹³⁸ ‘...regni hujus unde et Augusti nomine a Parentibus Augurantibus jam futuram claritatem sui nominis indivium tibi erat, solatium tibi quoque parvum in luctu habere te domestica virtutis tam evidens exemplum’. ‘Oratio ad Sigismundum Augustum Regem Poloniae’.

¹³⁹ ‘Oratio ad Sigismundum Augustum Regem Poloniae’.

¹⁴⁰ J. Szujski (ed.), *Diariusze sejmów koronnych 1548, 1553 i 1570 r. Tom I*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1872), pp. 201–208, <https://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=6777>, consulted on 16.02.20.

¹⁴¹ Szujski, pp. 250–252. See a translation of Piotr Boratyński’s speech in English in a recent monograph: K. Kosior, *Becoming a Queen in Early Modern Europe: East and West*, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 207–214, <http://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11848-8>.

a brief conclusion of the Piotrków Sejm and the rumours in the Polish–Lithuanian society¹⁴². Hence, I assume that the dimension of the classical reception was slightly present in this confrontation. Sigismund ignored all demands, depending on support from Cracow bishop Samuel Maciejowski. Barbara Radziwiłł was crowned in 1550 and died in 1551, causing lasting grief of Augustus¹⁴³.

Sigismund Augustus was aware that he will face opposition from the nobility and his parents because of this marriage. In that sense, the funeral of Sigismund the Old could attempt to introduce Augustus in a different symbolic position. The instruction how to organize this funeral, *Ordo pompae funebris Serenissimi Sigismundi Regis Poloniae* ('The Order of the Funeral Procession of His Royal Majesty King of Poland Sigismund'), written by Maciejowski, consisted an important basis of the symbolic ritualism in early modern Poland, becoming an example for later royal funerals¹⁴⁴. The connections with the ancient Roman funerals are denoted in the general format of the procession, Latin naming *pompa funebris*, speeches, and panegyrics for the deceased, yet this does not imply that the funeral of Sigismund the Old was a unique one in terms of Renaissance Europe¹⁴⁵. My analysis of the source presumes that the funeral of Sigismund I, albeit extremely splendid, remained influenced by the medieval Catholic practices without bearing the classical element but acquiring strong symbolic connotations.

1.2.2. Arrases and Sigismund's marriage

A crucial aspect of the royal representation concerns the arrases. It is problematic to deduce their impact on the representation and perception of the King, but one may conclude that even if they did not contribute directly to the royal propaganda, they represented the forms of the classical heritage

¹⁴² Kosior, pp. 215–217.

¹⁴³ Bielski, pp. 592–593; Górnicki, p. 31. Contemporary sources accused Bona Sforza for her poisoning, although most probably Barbara died of cancer.

¹⁴⁴ S. Maciejowski, *Ordo pompae funebris Serenissimi Sigismundi Regis Poloniae*, (Kraków, 1548), <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/487460/edition/395437>, consulted on 20.02.20.

¹⁴⁵ A noteworthy overview of the European festival practices was assembled in a miscellany published in 2004. It focuses on the period starting from the last Jagiellonians and remains an important study of the symbolic performances in early modern Europe. See K. Friedrich et al., 'Festivals in Poland–Lithuania from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century', in J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, M. Shewring (eds.) *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe, Volume 1*, (Cambridge: MHRA, 2004), pp. 373–464.

and reflected the actual political situation¹⁴⁶. Three primary points should be underlined when considering the arrases. First of all, the arrases were a part of the noble fashion in early modern Europe as they were collected by royal and noble families across Europe: in Sweden, Flanders, France, England, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, acquiring the arrases was a specific type of promoting the King within the royal–noble dimension in early modern Europe. Scholars emphasize that the ‘...tapestry collection served as a public affirmation of a particularly contentious part of Sigismund’s royal identity; namely the humanist ideal of the *virtuoso prince*’¹⁴⁷. The artistic rivalry with neighbour Habsburgs was thus an integral part of the Jagiellonian ‘royal identity’.

Secondly, unlike the books that were available to educated people who could afford them, arrases could be seen only by the higher strata as they commonly were allocated in the place where King was living at the moment (Wawel, Vilnius, Tykocin castle etc.), displayed during ceremonies (1553 wedding) but most importantly the arrases could accompany the King during the Sejms¹⁴⁸.

Finally, the arrases played significant role for the representation of the King not through their senses (in particular those from 1553) but rather through the ‘Art of Majesty’ as it was called by Thomas P. Campbell¹⁴⁹. The ‘Art of Majesty’ was shaped via the arrases as their allocation at the royal residence established the visual splendour of Sigismund Augustus and the Jagiellonian dynasty for the visitors: diplomats, clergy, members of the court, intellectuals. The exhibition of the tapestries in the royal residence ‘...was understood as a direct index of a prince’s magnificence’ and this claim is crucial for the analysis of the arrases¹⁵⁰.

A specific attempt of Augustus to eliminate his prestige from the accusations could be embedded in commissioning Flemish arrases between 1547 and 1549 or at least ‘very soon after

¹⁴⁶ Dr. Magdalena Piwocka during our meetings at the Wawel Royal Castle pointed me out that beyond the reception of the classical forms the arrases acquired a blurred connection with the political challenges, faced by the King, due to the duration of their creation; however, it is a compound issue.

¹⁴⁷ Niekrasz, pp. 111–112; Piwocka, ‘Arrasy króla Zygmunta Augusta’, p. 406.

¹⁴⁸ This was suggested by Prof. Fabiański and Dr. Piwocka during our consultations as the Kings could order to adorn the places of the Sejm with the arrases (for instance, in Warsaw or Cracow). J. A. Chrościcki, ‘Trzy frontispisy ‘Satyra albo Dzikiego Męża’ Jana Kochanowskiego. O tapiseriach jagiellońskich, szlacheckim ruchu egzekucyjnym i tradycji ikonograficznej’, in B. Otwinowska, A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, J. Kowalczyk and A. Karpiski (eds.) *Necessitas et ars. Studia staropolskie dedykowane profesorowi Januszowi Pelcowi*, Vol.2, (Warszawa: Semper, 1993), p. 19.

¹⁴⁹ Piwocka, ‘Arrasy króla Zygmunta Augusta’, pp. 397–423.

¹⁵⁰ Niekrasz, p. 129.

assuming the throne'¹⁵¹. This set of arrases is divided into three sub-series: 'Dzieje pierwszych rodziców' ('The history of the first parents'), 'Dzieje Noego' ('The story of Noah'), and 'Dzieje wieży Babel' ('The story of Babylon tower')¹⁵².

In case of the first set of arrases, their splendour role should be analysed together with particular biblical figures as these 'universal' biblical motifs could provide series of parallels with current Polish–Lithuanian affairs¹⁵³. Displaying the arrases simultaneously transformed 'the interior of the palace into a kind of theater or temple of knowledge' that represented Sigismund II 'as a new Solomon'¹⁵⁴. The arrases bearing the story of Adam and Eva supposed 'a direct link between the still masterful figure of Adam and the tapestries' royal patron', some other emblem forms likewise implied connection between the King and Adam¹⁵⁵. The arrases depicting hunt or wild animals could resemble Augustus's interest in hunting¹⁵⁶.

The first set was described by Stanisław Orzechowski (1513–1566) in 1553 in his *Panagyricus Nuptiarum Sigimundi Augusti Poloniae Regis* ('Wedding applause of Sigismund Augustus, Polish King')¹⁵⁷. Importantly, these arrases were commissioned by Sigismund Augustus after his marriage with Barbara Radziwiłł, thus originally they were not designed for his marriage ceremonies with Catherine of Austria¹⁵⁸. They were projected seemingly in the late 1540s and depicted biblical heroes (Cain and Abel, Noah and his family) in the Renaissance iconography, adopting plots from the classical art practices¹⁵⁹. In particular, the author of these arrases, Michiel

¹⁵¹ Niekrasz, p. 125.

¹⁵² Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, pp. 36–38.

¹⁵³ Piwocka, 'Arrasy króla Zygmunta Augusta', p. 402.

¹⁵⁴ Niekrasz, p. 131.

¹⁵⁵ Niekrasz, pp. 139, 162.

¹⁵⁶ Niekrasz, p. 146.

¹⁵⁷ S. Orzechowski, *Panagyricus Nuptiarum Sigimundi Augusti Poloniae Regis*, (Cracoviae: Druk. Łazarz Andrysowic, 1553), <https://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/publication/7694/edition/7013/content>, consulted on 20.04.20; Niekrasz, p. 133.

¹⁵⁸ M. Fabiański, 'Książd Stanisław Orzechowski i swawolne dziewczęta wobec opon Zygmunta Augusta na Wawelu', *Terminus*, Vol.XIII, No.24 (2011), pp. 41–69, <https://doi.org/10.4467/20843844TE.11.003.0033>.

¹⁵⁹ M. Piwocka, 'Nie tylko Rafael...O kilku rzymskich inspiracjach w projektach Michiela Coxciena do arrasów Zygmunta Augusta', in W. Walanus, M. Walczak, J. Wolańska (eds.) *Żeby wiedzieć. Studia dedykowane Helenie Małkiewiczównie*, (Kraków: Lettra-Graphic, 2008), p. 230. This article

Coxie (Coxius) the Elder, drew his inspiration from Italian Renaissance artworks and ‘repeatedly referred to antique models’¹⁶⁰.

To conclude, it is important to emphasize the twofold dimension of the first arrases at Augustus’s court. The arrases slightly later than it was required initially (in the late 1540s) shored up the image of Sigismund Augustus for the Polish–Lithuanian nobility as the Wawel castle continued to be transformed into a genuine Renaissance residence and its patron was enhancing his magnificence. Simultaneously, ‘the Polish king Sigismund Augustus was bidding for membership in an elite circle of European rulers’, in particular the Habsburgs, who followed his example and later ‘demanded copies of the Polish king’s weavings’¹⁶¹. The Renaissance practices used for depicting the biblical topics of the arrases emphasized the *virtuoso prince* image of Augustus.

In spite of my deductions and the fact that the first Augustus’s arrases reached Cracow in 1553, I may conclude two points. Augustus attempted to employ the arrases as the tools for strengthening his royal majesty and presenting his marriage as the new era in Polish history. Since he had not received them before the coronation of Barbara, they were publicly demonstrated for the first time in 1553. Already in 1560, Sigismund received the second order of arrases which included non-biblical topics, namely the classical Greek–Roman mythological figures, goddesses, and motifs¹⁶².

1.2.3. *Fidelis subditus* and promoting the image of a young heir

As mentioned before, one of the most important treatises of the period concerns the future reign of Sigismund Augustus since Stanisław Orzechowski’s *Fidelis subditus sive de institutione*

explores the possible Roman inspirations of Coxius’s figures; Piwocka, ‘Arrasy króla Zygmunta Augusta’, p. 404.

¹⁶⁰ See M. Piwocka, ‘Antyk na dworze Jagiellonów’. Refleksy rzymskich kolekcji starożytności w arrasach króla Zygmunta Augusta’, in M. Drozdowski, W. Walczak, K. Wiszowatej-Walczak (eds.) *Od Kijowa do Rzymu. Z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą*, (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2012), pp. 1001–1025; Piwocka, ‘Nie tylko Rafael...’; M. Piwocka, ‘Echa antyku w arrasach Króla Zygmunta Augusta. Rodowód jednego gestu’, *Studia Waweliana*, Vol.XV (2013), p. 49. For the analysis of one of the gestures from the first arrases and its connection with ancient Roman sculpture see Piwocka, ‘Echa antyku’, pp. 41–49.

¹⁶¹ Niekrasz, pp. 129, 177. This process was reciprocal: seemingly, Augustus was inspired by the Habsburgs and intended to demonstrate their ties by summoning these arrases, however, his collection overcame separated collections of the Habsburgs in Spain and the Holy Roman Empire.

¹⁶² I explore the symbolical impact of the arrases during the Executionist movement and preparation of the Polish–Lithuanian Union in the following chapters.

regia ad Sigismundum Augustum libri duo ('A faithful subordinate or an Admonishment for the reign to Sigismund Augustus in two books') was for the first time presented in 1543¹⁶³. The literature type of *speculum principum* (Mirrors for princes) was quite popular in the sixteenth century, noting Erasmus's *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516), Antonio de Guevara's *Relox de príncipes* (1529), and Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (1532). Each of these works could be available at the universities where Orzechowski studied: Cracow, Vienna, Wittenberg, Padua, or Bologna¹⁶⁴. The title of the treatise fits correspondingly with an ancient treatise, edited by Erasmus in 1522: *Isocrates ad Nicoclem regem de institutione principis* ('Isocrates' Instruction to the King Nicocles regarding the governance')¹⁶⁵.

Fidelis subditus was presented as a manuscript to Augustus for the first time in 1543, edited in 1548, presumably after Sigismund the Old's death, but was printed only in 1584, disseminated before in manuscript format¹⁶⁶. The evidence, however, proves that the second edition of the treatise 'started to run among people very quickly' as manuscript¹⁶⁷. It is known that Augustus has read Orzechowski's work and wrote back to the author on December 27, 1549, and that the King reproached the author for sharing his treatise with others and simultaneously asking for permission to print it¹⁶⁸.

The allusions hinting to ancient political and military leaders and their achievements as well as some classical elements were framing the whole context of the treatise, written in the ideals of the Renaissance. Two figures shaped the ideal image of the ruler: Alexander the Great and Octavianus Augustus, the most popular ancient rulers of the Renaissance with whom the last Jagiellonians were associated.

¹⁶³ In the same year Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski published his Latin *Lascius, sive de poena homicidii* ('Łaski, or about the punishment for murder'), dedicated to 'Sigismund Second Augustus'. The work was likewise full of ancient reminiscences but did not focus on the the royal authority.

¹⁶⁴ Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus...', p. VII.

¹⁶⁵ Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus...', p. VII; Desiderius Erasmus, 'Isocrates ad Nicoclem regem de institutione principis', (Basileae, 1522), https://reader.igitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11217200_00003.html?leftTab=toc, consulted on 21.02.20.

¹⁶⁶ B. Ulanowski, *Sześć broszur politycznych z XVI i początku XVII stulecia*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1921), pp. VII, 7.

¹⁶⁷ Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus...', pp. VII–X, 102–104. One of them was copied by Anna Zaparcianka.

¹⁶⁸ Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus...', p. IX.

There exist fourteen direct references to the figure of Alexander the Great in *Fidelis subditus*. They may be divided into two types: those regarding the education of Alexander and evaluation of his abilities as a military leader. In the introduction Orzechowski points out the importance of education for the King: ‘Alexander the Great, when was in his young years, has already the respectable and large city of Thebes snatched from the ground, having just left the school of Aristotle’s education’¹⁶⁹.

Alexander the Great is prescribed as an example to follow: ‘Let only Alexander the Great be your nice example for illustrious affairs’ in order ‘...to gain glory, which Alexander acquired, you are obliged to follow the same path’¹⁷⁰. Orzechowski draws the parallels between Macedonian and Polish Kings: ‘Therefore, I am describing this king so that you would not be afraid to follow this path with the example of his famous life’¹⁷¹. Military victories of Alexander are likewise applied in the treatise as an example for Polish King: ‘And indeed that bravery of the warriors, which was initially characteristic only of Alexander, appeared in them thanks to the accomplishments of the leader himself: it is no wonder that all Asia due to this bravery was obedient’¹⁷².

Beyond Alexander’s figure, Cyrus and Agesilaus, ancient rulers of Persia and Sparta respectively, were mentioned twice in the treatise: ‘If you do that...then you will be regarded by all inside and outside the country as the second Cyrus, Agesilaus and Alexander the Great’¹⁷³. The reception of Cyrus’s figure was based on Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, popular in the Middle Ages, and Cyrus was perceived as an example of the perfect ruler by Giovanni Pontano, Bartolomeo Sacchi, and Leon Battista Alberti, whose works Orzechowski could read in Italy.

Historians of art argue that Sigismund I attempted to establish a connection between his image and Alexander the Great. Marcin Fabiański assumed that since c. 1512 Sigismund I in the public space started to be identified with Alexander, for instance in the panegyrics by Bernard Wapowski who compared the victory in the Battle of Orsha (1514) with Alexander’s military successes in India

¹⁶⁹ Ulanowski, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Orzechowski, ‘Fidelis subditus...’, p. 94.

¹⁷¹ ‘Hunc regem ergo tibi ideo descriptum propono, ut ilius exemplo aetas tua ab his quae magna concupiveris non deterratur’. Orzechowski, ‘Fidelis subditus...’, p. 97.

¹⁷² ‘At haec tanta militum, ut vides, fuit Alexandro parata, quam labore ipsius ducis: ut mirum iam non sit, Asiam ipsam huic tam excellenti virtuti succubuisse’. Orzechowski, ‘Fidelis subditus...’, p. 97.

¹⁷³ ‘Quod si feceris... Cyrus alter atque Agesilaos ac ipse Alexander Macedo omnibus tam domi, quam foris esse nidebere’. Orzechowski, ‘Fidelis subditus...’, p. 82.

and Mesopotamia¹⁷⁴. Alexander's depiction in the helm was applied in Sigismund's Chapel by Bartolommeo Berrecci, and one of the Chapel fragments is named 'Sigismund I as the Alexander the Great'¹⁷⁵. Alexander's figure was well known in Poland and Europe during the Middle Ages, remaining one of the most popular literature heroes of the romances and legends¹⁷⁶. A Polish translation of the History of Alexander the Great was in Sigismund the Old's library in Vilnius already in 1510¹⁷⁷. In Orzechowski's treatise, Alexander's image was commonly associated with Sigismund II, probably demonstrating the continuity of the royal power. However, Alexander was not the only classical example in the treatise.

Octavianus Augustus became another prototype attached. Description of the dangers that surrounded the Polish Kingdom brought to mind Plutarch's and Suetonius's biographies of Augustus when they sketched how Octavianus managed to protect the Roman state: 'We are in danger from all sides: from the north, Moscow is pushing us, from the east—Scythia and Wallachia, from the south through Hungary—Turkey, from the west our true trouble is Germany'¹⁷⁸. Permanent references to the *Aeneid*, an epic poem by Virgil, led to an idea of glorious achievements that Sigismund Augustus had to reach¹⁷⁹. Finally, once in the treatise was mentioned that '... the King must also be a philosopher, who lives not under the roof, but under the sky', approaching the figure of Marcus Aurelius, known as the 'philosopher on the throne'¹⁸⁰.

Several assumptions emerge from the investigation of Sigismund Augustus's image in his early years. Firstly, giving Sigismund's and Bona's son his praenomen and cognomen (Sigismund

¹⁷⁴ B. Wapowski, 'Panegiris seu carmen elegiacum in victoriam Sigismundi I regis de Moschis', in *Carmina de memorabili cede Scismaticorum*, (Rome, 1515); H. Eobanus Hessus, 'Encomium nuptiale divo Sigismundo Poloniae regi scriptum', in M. Brożek, J. Niedźwiedź (eds.) *Szesnastowieczne epitalamia łacińskie w Polsce*, (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 1999); Fabiański, pp. 277–278.

¹⁷⁵ Eobanus Hessus, pp. 277–278.

¹⁷⁶ Eobanus Hessus, pp. 277–278; H. Vredeveld, *The Poetic Works of Helius Eobanus Hessus. Volume 3: King of Poets, 1514–1517*, (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 430.

¹⁷⁷ J. Niedźwiedź, *Kultura literacka Wilna (1323–1655). Retoryczna organizacja miasta*, (Kraków: Universitas, 2012), p. 110.

¹⁷⁸ 'Undique Angustiae sunt nobis: ab aquilone Moschouia nos premit, ab oriente Scythia ac Valachia, a meridie Turcia ex Hungaria, ab occidente vero Germania nobis est molesta'. Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus...', p. 86.

¹⁷⁹ Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus...', pp. 84–85.

¹⁸⁰ Orzechowski, 'Fidelis subditus...', p. 8.

Augustus) could be based on Renaissance symbolism, especially bearing in mind the dynastical intentions of Bona Sforza. *Augustus* was vastly present in the documents and letters and was simultaneously interchanged between ‘Our serene son Sigismund Augustus’, ‘Sigismundus secundus’, ‘Bright Ruler Lord Sigismund II, our son’, and ‘the Prince, Sigismund Augustus’.

Secondly, before 1543 Sigismund the Old exploited the image of Alexander the Great as his military predecessor, but the connection between Octavianus Augustus and Sigismund Augustus was not yet well established. These narratives continued in Orzechowski’s treatise *Fidelis subditus* with further addition of other ancient rulers, particularly emphasizing Octavianus and Alexander the Great. This development has established an ambiguous perception of Sigismund II in Polish society: he was well-educated, but his mother Bona was criticized for choosing Italian mentors; he was recognized by the nobility (with some claims) as a crowned King and the Grand Duke but was not allowed to participate in the military actions by his father. Finally, Augustus was better acknowledged with internal Lithuanian rather than Polish affairs, and that created the notions of Sejm opposition after his father’s death. Meanwhile, in Lithuania Sigismund II practised minting the coins with his appearance and also ordered a set of arrases with Biblical motifs depicted in the Renaissance manner.

Augustus’s marriage with Barbara Radziwiłł without gaining the prior consent of the Polish Sejm questioned the legitimacy of the marriage and even examined the validity of his elections. During the debates in the Sejm, Augustus was reminded about the classical examples and his duties what was a reference to his education. At the same time, this instability of Augustus’s power in the first years of his reign in a decade brought more intensive demands and processes the King had to overcome by amending his public representation in the 1550s and 1560s.

Chapter 2. Executionist movement and the image of the King

The early 1550s are deliberately omitted in my thesis: first of all, because it is impossible to encompass all events of Sigismund Augustus's reign in Master thesis, secondly because the period of the late 1550s and the 1560s was repeatedly contesting Sigismund's authority. Moreover, the artistic responses of the royal court and the King have enhanced more diverse approaches than there were applied in the 1540s: the amount of arrases, coins, portraits, depictions and medals produced has significantly increased. Therefore, I divided thematically my sources in this chapter into three sections, dedicated to the Executionist pamphlets, various dimensions of art, poetry, and numismatics. Combination of these sources will support my efforts in studying Augustus's image during an extremely intense period that preceded the Lublin Union.

Executionist movement (*ruch egzekucyjny, egzekucja praw, egzekucja dóbr*) was a reformist movement of Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian nobility in the Polish Kingdom which continued in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth¹⁸¹. It demanded codification and implementation of the laws, return of the lands of the Crown to the King as they often were illegally seized by the magnates, increasing the role of the Sejm in decision-making and legislation (the rule *Nihil novi*), the prohibition of holding several specific offices by one person, strengthening the King's power, and establishing a closer union with Lithuania¹⁸². The demands differed throughout the decades, but in the 1560s the Executionist movement was supported by Sigismund Augustus as he endeavoured to use the movement in his purposes: the King was interested in opposing the magnates. Executionist movement and the Livonian war provided Augustus with the internal and external contexts when his figure was rethought in the republican Roman tradition.

2.1. Sigismund's image in the Executionist pamphlets

The reform movement in Poland was beneficial for the literature discussions. Most of the Sejm meetings were preceded with the broad discussions in the pamphlets. In this section, I stress three most disseminated pamphlets of this era: the one by Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503–1572) and two, written by Stanisław Orzechowski.

2.1.1. *Commentariorum de republica emendanda libri quinque*

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski's *Commentariorum de republica emendanda libri quinque* ('Five Books of Commentaries on the Improvement of the Commonwealth') inspired an intensive discussion in Polish and Lithuanian societies. Involved sides were the nobility, Catholic Church, and intellectuals as the treatise considered diverse elements of religion, law, and governance.

¹⁸¹ Frost, pp. 442–444.

¹⁸² Górnicki, pp. 158–160.

The treatise is shaping the ideal rather than the real image of the King of the Commonwealth without detailed accounts about Sigismund II as it was done by Orzechowski. Yet, the King is instructed based on the ancient rulers, examples, and authors, and the role of education is emphasized in both pamphlets. The point that Modrzewski describes an ideal King of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth is crucial.

The treatise, comprising of five books, was printed in Latin for the first time in 1551 in Cracow but lost two out of five books because of censorship¹⁸³. *Commentariorum* prescribed the features of a ‘good King’ in the ninth chapter of the first book. Five subchapters were considering 1) the reasons for monarchy system, 2) diverse methods of electing and ruling of the Kings, 3) description of the proper King’s features, 4) following by the King the examples from the past, and 5) obedience to God¹⁸⁴. Consequently, these sections consist an interest for the image of the King; moreover, it will be an interesting comparison between small *Fidelis subditus*, a specific type of Instruction for the young King, and the large socio-political treatise that concerned various sides of governance, Church, and laws¹⁸⁵.

In some dimensions, *Commentariorum* resembles *Fidelis subditus*. Twice in the fifth chapter the importance of education is emphasized. It is based on the ‘history of many ancient Kings who have not missed a day to read, enjoying educated people, whose advice they listened to’¹⁸⁶. The author attaches the figure of Alexander Severus, a peculiar example of Roman emperor that required a broad knowledge of Roman history. According to Modrzewski, Severus ‘had a habit to consult only educated and wise people; and he consulted the experts in the law regarding the law and legal cases, and regarding the military issues, he asked the old soldiers and those, who were well aware of the history’, similar to Charles IV and Ferdinand I¹⁸⁷.

Likewise, Alexander the Great was specified as the proper example of the King interested in natural sciences thanks to his teacher Aristotle¹⁸⁸. Julius Caesar was attached as an example for his Latin language efforts (along with such celebrated orators as Cicero, Brutus, Crassus, and Lucullus)

¹⁸³ In 1554 *De republica emendanda* was printed in full size in Basel, but in 1557 the book was put in the Index of prohibited books by Pope Paul IV.

¹⁸⁴ A. Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej*, (1551), p. 22, <https://wolnelektury.pl/katalog/lektura/o-poprawie-rzeczypospolitej/>, consulted on 02.03.20.

¹⁸⁵ Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*, pp. 211–212.

¹⁸⁶ Modrzewski, p. 23.

¹⁸⁷ Modrzewski, p. 23.

¹⁸⁸ This Alexander–Aristotle connection resembles a similar passage from *Fidelis subditus*.

and calendar reform¹⁸⁹. Reading the Bible was a crucial point for shaping the King's character and reading the 'other books written by the intelligent people' hints towards the ancient authors¹⁹⁰.

The other cornerstones traced back to the antiquity are the personal features of the King. In the context of the Executionist movement, the idea about the King as the sole ruler and the judge prevailed in the discourses of the reformist programmes¹⁹¹. The impartiality of the King as the supreme judge in the state was based on the experience of Caesar, who 'realized that those who decide on the debated issues should deprive of discord, anxiety, amicability, and mercy'¹⁹². It was supported by the works of Polybius who stated that 'the Kings from their childhood do not have anyone as a friend or as an enemy' and by Alexander the Great's experience who used to listen carefully both to the prosecutor and the accused¹⁹³.

Finally, the King should be seriously concerned with the preparations for the war and military campaigns (following the advice of Cicero)¹⁹⁴. This paragraph is followed by a discussion regarding the role of the King for *res publica* (the Commonwealth or an ideal state) and ultimately Modrzewski concludes:

'the Roman republic that after Tarquinius's times was despising the royal power like a disease, having experienced how difficult and harmful the reign of multiple people is and being troubled by the domestic wars—with great pleasure elected Augustus as the supreme ruler'¹⁹⁵.

Modrzewski's treatise became a pillar of the Executionist movement, exercising its influence during following decades. In addition, it brought remarkable ideas regarding the King's positions in the state by referring to the classical tradition.

2.1.2. Stanisław Orzechowski's *Rozmowa albo Dyjalog około egzekucyjej Polskiej Korony*

The other treatises considered were created in the 1560s, during the apogee of the Executionist movement hence they might provide with a slightly different perspective: did the King fulfil his functions properly? For this insight, I use two Stanisław Orzechowski's treatises—*Rozmowa albo Dyjalog około egzekucyjej Polskiej Korony* ('A conversation or a Dialogue regarding the Execution

¹⁸⁹ Modrzewski, p. 24.

¹⁹⁰ Modrzewski, pp. 24–25.

¹⁹¹ Frost, pp. 442, 450.

¹⁹² Modrzewski, p. 26.

¹⁹³ Modrzewski, p. 29.

¹⁹⁴ Modrzewski, pp. 31–32.

¹⁹⁵ Modrzewski, p. 35.

of the Polish Crown') and *Quincunx*. My enquiry argues that unlike *Fidelis subditus*, in these treatises Orzechowski neglected the classical tradition due to complicated personal religious experience, thus *Rozmowa* and *Quincunx* did not shape the royal image using the Greek–Roman examples.

Rozmowa albo Dyjalog (1563) does not possess a strong classical reception dimension. It implies hints towards ancient literature, Latin language, and history within the Renaissance rhetoric language¹⁹⁶. As in the 'Dialogue', two primary heroes are Catholic and Evangelic (later the Landlord joins their conversation), it bears a strong Christian narrative and demonstrates the connection between the Pope, the altar (Catholic Church), and the King. Orzechowski rarely explores the classical motifs in two dialogues which discuss the role of the King for Execution, namely Dialogue 3 ('Summa of the dialogue that due to the King's oath the Execution has to start from the altar') and Dialogue 5 ('Who is the King in Poland or what is the governance of the Polish King').

For instance, Orzechowski describes the importance of the King for *res publica* by demonstrating the differences between the royal power in non-Christian and Christian kingdoms: 'But for Christians, the *summa summarum* (the highest of the sums—O.R.) is the republic, the King is the servant to the republic and that is the law for the reign, what is beneficial for the republic'¹⁹⁷. Similarly, the King, like Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon wrote, 'has to control everyone to be vigilant in his office'¹⁹⁸. Once more the example of Alexander the Great is attached regarding the generosity of the King during the military campaign: 'When Alexander the Great held a war in Persia against Darius, he divided all booty between his soldiers'¹⁹⁹. The other examples of the ancient history or particular military leaders did not precisely outline the perception of the King, remaining a rhetoric element. Furthermore, the focus of Orzechowski in *Rozmowa* was devoted to the Catholic Church, reforms, and the relationship with the Pope. Augustus's image was shaped via the Christian discourse where classical history was not a decisive factor. Ultimately, *Rozmowa* was not describing the current image of Augustus or shaping the ideal one²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁶ Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*, pp. 218–220.

¹⁹⁷ S. Orzechowski, 'Rozmowa około egzekucyjnej', in S. Kot (ed.) *Stanisława Orzechowskiego polskie dialogi polityczne: (Rozmowa około egzekucyjnej i Quincunx)*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1919), <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/show-content/publication/edition/1713?id=1713>, p. 75, consulted on 03.03.20.

¹⁹⁸ Orzechowski, 'Rozmowa około egzekucyjnej', p. 80.

¹⁹⁹ Orzechowski, 'Rozmowa około egzekucyjnej', pp. 91–92.

²⁰⁰ The Evangelic, one of Orzechowski's heroes in *Quincunx*, tells the author about the dissatisfaction of King Sigismund Augustus because the latter was prescribed to be controlled by the Church in *Rozmowa*. See Orzechowski, 'Quincunx', p. 168.

2.1.3. Stanisław Orzechowski's *Quincunx*

To further understand the King's representation in Orzechowski's works, I focused on another treatise, published in 1564—*Quincunx*. *Quincunx* itself is a geometric pattern of five elements (*quinque* meaning five in Latin) with a name deriving from an ancient Roman bronze coin produced during the Punic Wars²⁰¹. Similarly to *Rozmowa*, the royal power is frequently mentioned in the treatise, yet it is not described via the classical figures. This establishes a notion that Executionist literature, albeit linking its demands and the state system to the classical republican discourse, rarely delineated the King using the classical motifs²⁰².

The context of the emergence of *Quincunx* comprised of the Executionist Sejms that lasted in 1562–1564 in Piotrków and Warsaw, and the Livonian war with Muscovy²⁰³. Its publishing was a specific response towards the reforms that were introduced during the Sejm: taxation reform, the establishment of the quarter army (*wojsko kwarciane*) after introducing a specific tax, applying the *incompatibilitas* (incompatibility) principle, and the agreement on the closer union between Poland and Lithuania (Sigismund Augustus agreed to 'cede the hereditary succession (of the Jagiellonians—O.R.) in Lithuania')²⁰⁴. However, *Quincunx* is far more concerning religion and might be treated as the continuance of *Rozmowa* since it has the same characters but regards slightly different aspects of the Executionist movement. It testifies the close connection between the Catholic Church, the King, and the success of the Commonwealth. Orzechowski attempts to demonstrate the necessity of the Royal power via the Christian symbols, thus referring to the Bible and medieval practices.

Some paragraphs of *Quincunx* resemble *Fidelis subditus*: 'There cannot be a more noble, kind and patient temper in any King than in our King' and 'I am saying the way as an honest Pole and a faithful subordinate of Polish King has to say'²⁰⁵. There are two attempts to link the image of David to Sigismund: 'Please, God, let our gracious King be second David against those Goliaths, who reproach the God with the sword' but no attempt to compare him with ancient rulers²⁰⁶. In another passage, Orzechowski deduced the origins of the term 'król' (the King) from Greek. These theological considerations evolved into the clear division between the Kingdom and the Duchy: the former one

²⁰¹ Orzechowski, 'Quincunx', pp. 188–189.

²⁰² Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*, p. 46.

²⁰³ Górnicki, pp. 159–162.

²⁰⁴ Górnicki, p. 162.

²⁰⁵ Orzechowski, 'Quincunx', pp. 163–164.

²⁰⁶ Orzechowski, 'Quincunx', pp. 219, 238–239. Once military commander Jan Tarnowski is compared to Scipio and Fabius Maximus.

‘was named a Kingdom by Christ...because its possession is freedom’ while the ‘Devil’s state was named a Duchy...and its characteristic is dependence’²⁰⁷.

Taken together, my analysis suggests that although the King was one of the central figures in the Executionist movement during the 1560s, his representation in literature was not conducted via the classical figures. Andrzej Modrzewski in his treatise resembles several ideas regarding the importance of education for the King and his insight towards experience of the ancients while Stanisław Orzechowski in his two treatises from the 1560s applied Christian images rather than the classical. The broader investigation of the other Executionist pamphlets might amend my conclusions, yet I took the most disseminated in the 1560s political treatises.

2.2. The visual response of Sigismund Augustus: arrases, portraits, medals, coins

I have outlined that the literature image of Sigismund Augustus and, consequently, the perception of his authority in the 1560s was not formed exclusively based on classical figures. Meanwhile, analysis of the visual art, produced by the artists, associated with Augustus’s court, manifests that the response of Sigismund Augustus towards the the opposition was extensively implying the classical figures. For this, I will examine the visual depiction of Augustus that was either created for or commissioned by Augustus during the late 1550s (as the Executionist movement was already ongoing) and the early 1560s.

2.2.1. Arrases

The art production was often attached to the official ceremonies of the King. The part of Sigismund’s arrases accompanied him in his journeys and were displayed at the residences of the King, most important of which was the Wawel Castle, during the receptions of the delegations and official ceremonies²⁰⁸. The new set of arrases was created c. 1560 and was delivered to Cracow amid the Executionist movement²⁰⁹. Building on from the idea that the arrases contributed to the creation of the royal image, I assume that in the 1560s Sigismund’s arrases played more noteworthy role for the Polish nobility than earlier. Considering the allocation of these arrases throughout the premises of Wawel or any other royal residence during King’s presence there, this raised the royal authority for the attendees by their splendour.

²⁰⁷ Orzechowski, ‘Quincunx’, pp. 225–229, 244–245. Similar arguments were applied by ancient orator Demosthenes in his speeches against Philipp II. See Orzechowski, ‘Quincunx’, p. 233.

²⁰⁸ This insight was given by Prof. Marcin Fabiański during our meeting at the Wawel Castle.

²⁰⁹ The arrases that have a connection with royal power acquire catalogue numbers 63–109 in Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, pp. 334–496.

First of all, although Sigismund Augustus's portraits were absent from the arras, he was represented there through his initials 'SA'. Their importance is well elaborated in the scholarship²¹⁰. Royal initials were usually placed on the Polish Eagle but were absent from Lithuanian *Pogoń* (the Pursuit) which had the Jagiellonian coat of arms²¹¹. The royal sign (SA) was a symbol of his ownership over those arras, his financial stability to finance their delivery, and the dynasty's glorification. Several arras (nr. 91–109 from the Catalogue of the arras of King Sigismund Augustus) placed Sigismund's initials in the centre of the tapestry, thus they do not have the coats of arms while the royal authority is manifested as a crown placed above 'SA'²¹².

Secondly, while most of the arras had similar structure and topics, one arras is crucial in the context of strengthening the King's authority in the 1560s. 'Arras with the monogram of King SA and the globe' was created c. 1560 in Brussels and included some peculiar elements²¹³. King's initials are located in the middle of the arras, supported by two putti while in the lower part of the arras bearded Roman gods and sphinxes demonstrate the prosperity by holding bouquets of flowers. Importantly, the initials are placed above the globe, and that was in the symbolism of the Renaissance an attribute of the Caesars, thus the Habsburgs²¹⁴. Considering the 'imperial aspirations of the last Jagiellon', this presented Sigismund Augustus as a direct rival of the Habsburgs in the region²¹⁵. Such arras could not immediately raise the prestige of Sigismund Augustus for the followers of the Executionist movement, but put his ambitions into a broader international context.

Finally, referring to the arguments from Chapter One, the significant number of these arras was woven c. 1560 and during next years were delivered to Cracow, and this made Augustus an owner of the biggest tapestry collection in Europe. This was important for the educated Polish nobles who could now observe the arras and draw their conclusions regarding the majesty of the King and obedience to him in the mid-1560s.

2.2.2. Portraits and printed depictions

²¹⁰ See J. Pokora, 'Nihil sine causa. Satyry na arrasach wawelskich', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol.79, No.4 (2017), pp. 695–704; Piech, pp. 328–333; Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, p. 431. The arras 63–65, 68–73, 79–109 included the initials in their body.

²¹¹ See Annexes, figure 1.

²¹² Annexes, figure 2. These arras usually depicted the wild nature (nr. 63–65, 68–73), added the floral motifs (nr. 68–73) or the classical figures (nr. 79–90).

²¹³ Annexes, figure 3. Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, pp. 424–427.

²¹⁴ Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, p. 429.

²¹⁵ Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, p. 430.

To further understand the role of visual art for the royal image, this section explores the portrait dimension. I argue that although the first portraits of Sigismund Augustus did not include any specific references to the antiquity, since the late 1550s the printed depictions along with the inserted text regularly attached the classical figures or reminiscences, including Octavianus or the Sarmatian myth²¹⁶.

The first anonymous portrait analysed dates back to 1550–1560²¹⁷. The inscription ‘Sigism. Augustus Rex Poloniae Iagellonidarum ultimus’ (‘Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, the Last Jagiellonian’) was made apparently after 1572²¹⁸. Augustus wears a black beret and dark ‘Western European clothing he usually wore’, he also has three golden necklaces that appear in his later portrait²¹⁹. Lukas Cranach’s portrait from c. 1556 is reminiscent of the previous one. Augustus has the same garments with identical golden necklaces, but the painter depicted the hands of the King with the rings on his second and fourth fingers of the left hand and his beard for the first time is split into two parts²²⁰. No specific references to the ancient images were revealed—both portraits are painted in the German Renaissance practices.

The other printed depictions from the late 1550s–early 1560s acquire interesting moments. The woodcut from Mainz, mistakenly dated 1557, depicts Sigismund Augustus surrounded with the coats of arms of Polish and Lithuanian provinces and includes a 12–line Latin emblematic poem²²¹. The poem compares Sigismund Augustus with Octavianus:

²¹⁶ Luckily, almost all known portraits are available in the online digitalised collection at the website of the National Museum in Cracow. National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/home-page>, consulted on 20.03.2020.

²¹⁷ See Annexes, figure 4.

²¹⁸ Portret Zygmunta Augusta (1520–1572), króla Polski, National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/pl/wyniki-wyszukiwania/zaawansowane/katalog/29244>, consulted on 20.03.2020.

²¹⁹ Portret Zygmunta Augusta (1520–1572), króla Polski, National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/pl/wyniki-wyszukiwania/zaawansowane/katalog/29244>, consulted on 20.03.2020.

²²⁰ See Annexes, figure 5.

²²¹ See Annexes, figure 6. National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/121130>, consulted on 20.03.20. See my elaboration of this emblem: O. Rudenko, ‘Creating the image of the King: the early modern woodcut of Sigismund Augustus from ‘Confessio Fidei’ by Stanislaus Hosius’, *Text and Image: Essential Problems in Art History*, No.1 (9) (2020), pp. 54–68, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17721/2519-4801.2020.1.04>.

Regius augusta depictus imagine vultus Iagelloniadis Principis ora refert.	Replicated the face of the dignified Princeps Jagiellonian matches the sacred appearance.
Tot populos patria qui felix arte gubernat, Suffulcit vires dum pietate suas.	The happy land is that, of how many people he masterfully rules, And protects the piety of his forces.
Sarmatico Martem qui dum procul arcet ab orbe Pacata gestat regia sceptrum manu.	And for so long has been holding Mars away from the Sarmatian tribe, As he holds the peaceful sceptre with the king's hand.
Dixeris Augustum merito: nam semper auiti AUGUSTUS regni latius auget opes.	You call him Augustus deservedly: for he, like Augustus, increases the strength of the ancestral kingdom.
Si vultum spectas, animum magis inspicere lector, Qui vel in Heroo pectore motus inest.	And if you look at this face, Then consider, reader, the soul and what movement is in that heroic soul.
Non humana creat tales prudentia motus, Cor sed enim Regis dirigit omne Deus.	And it is not him doing such wise human actions, But God himself is ruling the royal heart ²²² .

The name of Polish King is connected with the ideas of wealth, prosperity and territorial enlargement and is emphasized in the poem with the capital letters. Another reference to the antiquity comprises the idea of Sarmatia and ancient Roman god of war Mars and says that Sigismund Augustus ‘protects the territory’ and ‘provides peace with the sceptre in his hand’²²³.

The woodcuts with Sigismund Augustus are connected with the editions of Stanislaus Hosius’s ‘Confessio fidei catholicae christiana’ (‘Catholic Christian confession of the faith’) from

²²² I express my gratitude to Dr. Valentyna Myronova from Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv for her help with translation of this poem. Rudenko, pp. 59–60, 64.

²²³ Rudenko, p. 61.

1560 and 1561²²⁴. However, the second 1560 and 1561 editions were the only reprints of Hosius's book that included this woodcut²²⁵.

The Vienna editions and the inclusion of the poem to honour Sigismund Augustus hint to Stanislaus Hosius. The foreword to the second 1560's edition was written by Hosius and the preface to the 1561's edition—by an 'Author lectori' ('A responsible/experienced/ reader'), however, their texts are almost identical (the first Vienna edition's preface was titled 'Ad lectorem'—'To the reader')²²⁶. In 1559, Hosius was appointed the apostolic nuncio in Vienna, where he could insist on publishing two editions to promote the resistance against Protestant Reformation and simultaneously advance the positions of Sigismund Augustus²²⁷.

This woodcut was a specific Polish reaction on the Counter-Reformation, especially considering the necessity to present the Polish King as a faithful Catholic ruler to well-educated Pope Pius IV. Moreover, it was necessary to promote Augustus's image within his wife's family, Catherine of Austria, who belonged to the Habsburgs. As Hosius's book was extremely disseminated in Europe in the 1550s and 1560s (c. 30 editions before Hosius's death in 1579), the idea to promote the image of the King was beneficial for Sigismund.

²²⁴ It was a favoured Counter-Reformation polemic book, published for the first time in Cracow in 1553. Michael Zimmerman was a publisher active in Vienna 1553–1565. A. Mayer, *Wiens buchdrucker-geschichte, 1482–1882*, (Wien: Wien, Verlag des Comités zur feier der vierhundertj. einföhrung der buchdruckerkunst in Wien, in commission bei W. Frick, 1883), pp. 70–74, <https://archive.org/details/wiensbuchdrucker01mayer/page/70/mode/2up>, consulted on 20.03.20. I am grateful to Dr. Oleksandr Okrimenko for point me out this book. Estreicher mentions there were two editions from 1560 because the 1400 exemplars of the edition were sold in the first few days. See K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska. Tom XVIII. Lit. H. – Zeszyt 1, 2, 3*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1900), pp. 279–280, https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/skany/?dir=dane_indeks|18, consulted on 21.03.20; Rudenko, p. 61.

²²⁵ The 1557 Mainz edition also did not include this woodcut, thus I assume the attribution on the Museum website is false. It possessed another depiction of Sigismund Augustus, without a poem but with the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania. See S. Hosius, *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana*, (Mainz: Behem Franz. Druk. Jan Patruus, 1557), p. 2, <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/17087/edition/16837/content?ref=desc>, consulted on 20.03.20; Rudenko, p. 56.

²²⁶ Rudenko, p. 63.

²²⁷ Rudenko, p. 62.

The other printed depictions of Augustus should be characterized in the same manner. The Mainz portrait of Sigismund depicts him wearing furs, a tall fur hat instead of a dark beret and the rings on his second and fifth fingers of the right hand. The coat of arms behind Augustus has both Polish Eagle and Lithuanian Pursuit with the Polish eagle and the letters 'SA' encrypted²²⁸. All other editions of 'Confessio' lacked the King's appearance, but the first edition had the Eagle with 'SA' monogram.

Another depiction with the ancient motifs is the copper engraving in the paper from Venice, dating back to 1560, made by Nelli Niccolo²²⁹. The portrait of Augustus in the crown is put in the oval in the centre. He is surrounded by two nude putti in the upper part, holding exotic fruits, and two sphinxes underneath. His name and title are flowing around the oval: 'Sigismundus Augustus D G Rex Poloniae'. The armour of Augustus consists a point of interest: it bears both Polish and Lithuanian coats of arms (Polish Eagle is allocated precisely on the place of Sigismund's heart), head of the lion in the shoulder, and a necklace with the figure of the lion²³⁰.

However, it is unknown whether Augustus was a cavalier of any Order or it was a specific symbol that had to emphasize the royal dignity. Józef Grabski emphasized the role of the lion as 'a symbol of the ruling, greatness, spiritual strength in courage' and 'the symbol of justice'²³¹. The depiction is made in a Renaissance manner with rich decorations and classical images, thus it is recalling rather the arrases than the scant portraits of Augustus²³². These findings broadly support my hypothesis: the cognomen *Augustus* possessed strong symbolical connotations in the context of early

²²⁸ Hosius, p. 6.

²²⁹ See Annexes, figure 7.

²³⁰ Sigismund Augustus, unlike his father, did not obtain the Order of the Golden Fleece, depicted in the painting by Joos van Cleve (1520) and commissioned by Sigismund I. See Joos van Clevem, 'Die Anbetung der Könige, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Bildindex der Kultur und Architektur', https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj02552049?medium=gg3364_066&part=5, consulted on 20.03.20; Morka, p. 66.

²³¹ Although he was analysing the early modern medals, this could be applied to the paintings as well. Morka, pp. 75–77. See Chapter 1.

²³² Another caveat appeared: British Museum has a copy of this engraving and states that it was produced in 1578, 6 years after Augustus's death. The Hutten–Czapski collection says it is from 1560. See [Collection online, The British Museum, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1601617&page=1&partId=1&searchText=Nicolo%20nelli](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1601617&page=1&partId=1&searchText=Nicolo%20nelli), consulted on 20.03.20.

modern Poland and the classical images were used to support Sigismund's positions during the Executionist movement in the visual dimension.

2.2.3. Medals

The notion of royal representation via the classical figures and motifs in the visual dimension can be developed by the medals. In studying the early modern medals it is interesting to address the question of their use. Mieczysław Morka supposes that during the last Jagiellons the medals were used in Poland and in the Western European courts²³³. These medals could be frequently used to mark a specific event, e.g. the birth of an heir, a wedding, or as a royal gift, serving the propaganda purposes²³⁴. For instance, Sigismund the Old's medals from 1543 were 'handed out to the guests during the wedding ceremony in 1543'²³⁵. The same steps could be followed by Augustus.

Four medals of Sigismund Augustus (1561, 1562, c. 1562, c. 1568), now preserved in the collections of the National Museum in Cracow, support my assumption. The medals from 1561 and 1562 and the depictions of his wife, Catherine of Austria, were created by Steven van Herwijck, a Netherlandish artist who was in Poland in 1561–1562 (figures 8–11)²³⁶. The inscriptions in the medal from 1561 are typical: 'Sigismund Augustus D G Rex Poloniae' and 'Catharina D G Regina Poloniae'. Sigismund is wearing armour without any coats of arms²³⁷.

Herwick's medals from 1562 are more interesting in this aspect²³⁸. The second medal was preserved in better conditions and is almost an exact copy of the other medal, yet on the reverse it has the letters that the first one lacks: 'SP(?)E R F'. The averse depicts Augustus's profile with a title as in the medal from 1561, but the reverse has a horseman with a sword and the words 'Da mihi virtutem

²³³ Morka, pp. 67, 69.

²³⁴ Morka, pp. 65, 77, 82.

²³⁵ Morka, pp. 81–82.

²³⁶ National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/41373>, consulted on 21.03.20. E. Ström argues that the medals were minted in Vilnius after van Herwijck's journeys across Poland. E. Ström, 'Pierścień i nić. Próba atrybucji portretu z Gripsholmu', *Biuletyn historii sztuki*, Vol.73 (2011), pp. 27–44, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.34475.5>.

²³⁷ National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/41373>, consulted on 21.03.20.

²³⁸ National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/42395>, consulted on 21.03.20; National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/42263>, consulted on 21.03.20.

contra hostes tuos' ('Give me bravery against your enemies'). The reverse image is reminding the Lithuanian coat of arms, but the horseman is turned the other way.



Figures 8–9. Sigismund Augustus and Catherine of Austria. Made by Steven van Herwijck, 1561. MNK VII-Md-79. Public domain. <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/41373>



Figures 10–11. Medal of Sigismund Augustus. Made by Steven van Herwijck, c. 1562. MNK VII-Md-93. Public domain. <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/42263>

The Latin phrase was used in the coinage of Charles V as his personal motto ('Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos')²³⁹. Charles V chose this motto 'as the reverse legend for all coins of the second issue' in the early sixteenth century (his coins included the portrait of Charles holding *globus cruciger*), and Antwerp produced '1,739,228 pieces between 1521 and 1552'²⁴⁰.

²³⁹ J. IJsewijn and G. Tournoy, 'Litterae ad Craneveldium Balduiniana. A Preliminary Edition. Part 1. Letters 1–30', *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, Vol.XLI (1992), p. 52, https://books.google.be/books/p/leuven_university_press?id=rH7BZ0Imq0sC&pg=PA1&hl=nl&source=gbp_toc_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false, consulted on 30.03.20.

²⁴⁰ U. Hagen-Jahnke and R. Walburg, *Early modern gold coins from the Deutsche Bundesbank Collection*, (Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Bundesbank, 1985), p. 56,

Who influenced the selection of this Latin motto for the Polish medal? Was it van Herwijck, who was born in the Netherlands and could see these coins during his childhood? Was it somebody from the King's chancery in an attempt to emphasize the Jagiellonian connection with the Habsburgs via the choice of the motto? Moreover, in 1560–1561 in Vienna were published Hosius's editions with the poems honouring Sigismund Augustus, and it could be doubtful that these symbolical steps were merely a coincidence²⁴¹. It could point to the dynastic policy of Sigismund Augustus, who might attempt to marry his sister Catherine Jagiellonian with one of the Habsburgs to strengthen their dynastical ties but did not succeed in his endeavours; yet no other proof in support of this theory exists²⁴².

The most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that the classical images were regularly applied in the arrases, portraits, printed depictions, and the medals of Sigismund Augustus during the late 1550s and the early 1560s to promote his image as a strong dignified ruler. Sometimes, the images used the motifs of the classical antiquity, creating the specific 'reminiscence of antiquity' (using the approach of Aby Warburg) as it happened with the arrases, sometimes they were referring to particular figures (as in Hosius's work), but the symbolic meaning was relevant for the majority of artworks and this contributed to promoting of the royal image.

2.3. Poetry in shaping Sigismund's image

Early modern Polish poetry was flourishing during the sixteenth century, especially considering support from Sigismund Augustus towards literary efforts. In this section, I stress the noteworthy poems by Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584) and Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569), written and published between 1562 and 1564.

2.3.1. Jan Kochanowski's *Zgoda*

Zgoda ('Harmony' or 'Concord') was written in 1562 perhaps before the Piotrków Sejm but was published in 1564 in Cracow²⁴³. It correlates with the demands of the Executionists and considers

<https://www.bundesbank.de/resource/blob/607670/53b6bbe122b95e5e221104c16ec02d1f/mL/early-modern-gold-coins-data.pdf>, consulted on 21.03.20.

²⁴¹ Piech, pp. 241–242. See section 2.2.2.

²⁴² S. Brzeziński, 'Dynastic policy and its limits: the Jagiellonians and post-1541 Hungary', A. Bárány (ed.) *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*, (Debrecen: Hungarian Academy of Science, University of Debrecen, 2016), pp. 214–215. It would be also beneficial to study the level of the dissemination of these medals and visual objects in comparison with other visual royal depictions and whom and when were these medals presented.

²⁴³ J. Kochanowski, 'Zgoda', in J. Kochanowski, R. Krzywy (ed.), *Poematy okolicznościowe*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2018), pp. 141–160.

relevant events in Poland. It also refers to the classical figures and ancient authors, putting them in the background of the poem²⁴⁴. Albeit the whole poem is permeated with the ancient reminiscences, translated phrases from the classical Latin works, and bears strong political context, it has few mentions about the royal authority.

Kochanowski employed the mythical figure of Concord (*Concordia*), a personification of harmony²⁴⁵. The idea of harmony within the state acquired a central position in Kochanowski's poem as it would bring prosperity to all strata of Polish society, including nobility, priests, and the lower stratum. The motto of the work is 'Concordia res parvae crescunt, discordia—maximae labuntur' ('With the harmony, the small actions become great, with the discord—the greatest actions dissolve')²⁴⁶.

For example, Kochanowski mentions two sides of the Executionist movement: the nobility and the Church without precise references to the King²⁴⁷. Historical examples from the antiquity are repeated frequently. The mentions about Alexander the Great and his heirs ('What kind of state did the Macedonian Prince establish with his activities and how did he rule! When the descendants came, they soon succeeded and wasted this noble kingdom miserably'), Roman wars with Pyrrhus and Hannibal, Triumvirate in Rome ('And Rome, which brave Pyrrhus could not capture, neither could artful Hannibal nor mighty king Antiochus...violent Cimbri, It fell because of two disagreements, that one equal could not tolerate another and the others could not tolerate the higher') were delineated by the author to reveal the impact of disorder for the state²⁴⁸. Kochanowski also refers to Quintus Curtius Rufus's work *Historia Alexandri Magni*²⁴⁹. Everyone, according to Cicero and Pliny the

²⁴⁴ Kochanowski, 'Zgoda', p. 142.

²⁴⁵ Kochanowski, 'Zgoda', p. 142. A temple at the Roman Forum where the meetings of the Roman Senate took place was dedicated to her.

²⁴⁶ Kochanowski, 'Zgoda', pp. 141–142.

²⁴⁷ Kochanowski, 'Zgoda', pp. 146, 152, 155–157, 159.

²⁴⁸ 'Jakiego państwa za swą dzielnością był dostał Królewic macedoński i jako mu sprostał! Gdy przyszło na potomki, wnet się powadzili'; 'A Rzym, którego pożyć nie mógł Pyrrus mężny, Nie mógł chytry Hannibal ani król potężny Antyjochus, gwałtowni Cymbrowie, Upadł prze dwu niezgody, jedno że równego Jeden cierpieć nie umiał, a drugi wyższego'. Kochanowski, 'Zgoda', pp. 147–148. Interestingly, by this reference to the history of Triumvirate and the disorder caused by the Civil wars in Rome, Kochanowski promotes the narratives of Suetonius and Plutarch about the role of Octavianus Augustus in appeasing the state.

²⁴⁹ Kochanowski, 'Zgoda', p. 150.

Elder, ‘has to fulfil his own functions’; this should refer to the King’s role in the Execution²⁵⁰. The principal advice of the text is to ‘strive for the social harmony’²⁵¹.

The emblem of *Zgoda*, however, is more eloquent in this context. It is an emblem from the Lyon edition of ‘Emblematum libellus’ by Andreas Alciatus²⁵². The figure demonstrates ‘the sceptre—a symbol of the unified subjects of the monarch’s power’ surrounded by the ravens²⁵³. Does it mean that the royal power is in danger? If yes, why did not Kochanowski emphasize that more explicitly in his poem? To answer this question, I analyse another poem, written a year later and published in 1563²⁵⁴.

2.3.2. Jan Kochanowski’s *Satyr albo Dzikie mąż*

‘Satyr or the Wild man’ principally devoted attention to the King’s figure and employed the figure of Satyr to be able to express controversial claims regarding the political debates. Besides that, several lines of ‘Satyr’ and its general approach could be perceived as a specific instruction for the King. The poem was for the first time announced by the Vice-Chancellor of the Crown Piotr Myszkowski on November 22, 1563, during the inauguration of the Warsaw Sejm, the following after Piotrków Executionist Sejm²⁵⁵. It is dedicated to ‘The most mighty ruler in the northern states, King Sigismund Augustus, by the Grace of God King of Poland etc.’²⁵⁶. Satyr, an ancient mythological forest creature, was chosen as the key hero of the poem. This allowed Kochanowski to employ radical critics of the situation in Poland and the nobility, enhancing the demands of the Executionists and supporting the King.

Besides analysing the text of the poem, the name and figures chosen by Kochanowski could provide interesting insights. I focus on two points: the image of Satyr and its correlation with the

²⁵⁰ ‘Každy niechaj przestrzega swego zawołania’. Kochanowski, ‘Zgoda’, p. 158.

²⁵¹ Kochanowski, ‘Zgoda’, p. 159.

²⁵² Kochanowski, ‘Zgoda’, p. 142.

²⁵³ Kochanowski, ‘Zgoda’, pp. 140, 142.

²⁵⁴ J. Pelc, ‘Problemy periodyzacji twórczości Jana Kochanowskiego a periodyzacja literatury polskiego renesansu’, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, Vol.27 (1982), p. 11.

²⁵⁵ J. Kochanowski, ‘Satyr albo Dzikie Mąż’, in J. Kochanowski, R. Krzywy (ed.), *Poematy okolicznościowe*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2018), p. 164. Kochanowski moved to the service of Myszkowski in mid-1563.

²⁵⁶ Kochanowski, ‘Satyr’, p. 165.

visual aspect. Satyr is an ancient Greek mythological creature whose body parts resemble horses or goats and who was popular in the Virgil's and Ovid's poetry²⁵⁷.

Jakub Pokora introduces a theory that the Satyrs, represented in the Wawel arrases, were chosen since their names start with the letters 'SA', reminding the initials of Sigismund Augustus²⁵⁸. At the same time, it is questionable whether Kochanowski was inspired by these particular arrases with the Satyrs during the creation of his poem or whether he used the arrases as the illustration of his poem²⁵⁹. Chronologically it is possible, as the arrases were made in c. 1560 and reached Cracow in 1563 while the poem was presented at the end of that year, but the discussion is still ongoing²⁶⁰.

Could the abbreviation of the poem acquire any symbolical meaning? 'Satyr albo Dzikie małżeństwo' is abbreviated as SADM—this could be 'Sigismundus Augustus Dux Magnus' (Sigismund Augustus, the Grand Duke). Could it be 'disiecta membra' (the scattered or separated fragments), a phrase deriving from Horace's collection of satirical poems *Satiris*? Taking into account Kochanowski's references to Horace in his other works, this could be possible²⁶¹. In this way, the whole phrase would be translated as 'Scattered fragments for Sigismund Augustus' which considered various positions of the Executionist movement as well as of its opponents.

Likewise, the figure of the 'Wild man' is intriguing in this context. During the Middle Ages, the wild forest men became the substitutes of the satyrs and this confusion continued in the early modern art²⁶². Whom did the Satyr resemble in the poem? Was it Kochanowski who by the mediation of a mythical figure could point the defects of Polish nobility or was it a personification of the King, widely known for his love to wine, women, and humour²⁶³? I assume that the answer is hidden: the sixteenth-century writings, especially those based on the mythology and the possible readings of the symbolism, could provide diverse meanings for different readers²⁶⁴.

²⁵⁷ Pokora, pp. 698–700. At the same time, in ancient Greek and Roman art, the Satyrs were often depicted as the lovers of wine, women, and amusement.

²⁵⁸ Pokora, p. 700.

²⁵⁹ Pokora, p. 696.

²⁶⁰ Pokora, p. 696; Chrościcki, p. 18.

²⁶¹ Pelc, 'Problemy periodyzacji', p. 10; Kochanowski, 'Satyr', p. 201.

²⁶² For instance, in Albrecht Dürer's engraving 'The Satyr's Family' from 1505. L. Link, *The Devil: A Mask without a Face*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), p. 52; G. Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 6–7.

²⁶³ Pokora, pp. 701–702.

²⁶⁴ Chrościcki argues that 'Satyr' does not address any particular demands of the Executionist movement but refers to its origins and intends to return to the past as a starting point. This was 'the

After analysis of this issue, I briefly stress the text. The poem focuses on the King's figure in the lines 335–444. Kochanowski uses the writings of Seneca, Cicero, Plato, Claudian, Isocrates, Horace, Publius Statius and the early modern works by Modrzewski, Erasmus, Lorichius and refers to *specula principum*²⁶⁵. Most of his references should be known by Sigismund Augustus.

Kochanowski uses the stoic concept that 'But the ruler's health and mighty is not secured well by the spears but rather by the love of his subordinates and the benevolent faith'²⁶⁶. He continues with the reference to Isocrates that the King should 'not let your virtuous ear like the flattery, which as a false mirror, shows you the different faces of your actions, not the way an honoured man accepts them'²⁶⁷. He instructs the King to

'love the virtue and dignity because they are the basis of the states, when the good rule, the bad are afraid. And what is more needed—live following the example, because the subordinates will always go smoothly after their lord'²⁶⁸.

The lines 397–414 are the instruction for the campaign preparation with references to Sallust's *Jugurthine war*²⁶⁹. Overall, the lines, intended for Sigismund, could be perceived as a poetic type of *specula principum*: the author gives instructions to be followed by the King²⁷⁰. As a type of instruction, the poem did not depict Sigismund's virtues. Instead, it demonstrated the paths Augustus should follow and habits to abandon to be a mighty ruler, sticking to the examples from the antiquity. Kochanowski's devotion to the antiquity should be analysed together with his other works and his connection to Sigismund's court.

most important ideological postulate of that movement'. Moreover, the next editions of 'Satyr' were emerging in connection with the Polish and Lithuanian sejm. See Chrościcki, pp. 21–22, 24.

²⁶⁵ Kochanowski, 'Satyr', pp. 195–202; Fulińska, p. 332.

²⁶⁶ 'Ale pańskiego zdrowia ani mocne sklepy, Ani tak dobrze strzegą poboczne oszczepy, / Jako miłość poddanych i wiara życzliwa'. See Kochanowski, 'Satyr', p. 197.

²⁶⁷ 'Przeto niechaj nie lubi ucho twe cnotliwe Pochlebstwa, które jako zwierciadło fałszywe / Różną twarz twych postępów tobie ukazuje, Nie tak, jako je człowiek stateczny przyjmuje'. Kochanowski, 'Satyr', p. 198.

²⁶⁸ 'Cnotę miłuj i godność, bo tym państwa stoją, Kiedy dobrzy są w wadze, a źli się zaś boją. A czego napotrzebniej—i sam żyj przykładnie, Bo poddany za panem zawsze pójdzie snadnie.' Kochanowski, 'Satyr', p. 199.

²⁶⁹ Kochanowski, 'Satyr', pp. 202–204.

²⁷⁰ See Kochanowski, 'Satyr', pp. 198–199.

2.3.3. Mikołaj Rej's *Zwierzyniec*

The last poetic work, *Zwierzyniec* ('The Bestiary'), considered in this chapter, is the largest one. It also includes the profound amount of ancient rulers to provide examples of the most prominent heroes of the antiquity. At the same time, *Zwierzyniec* cannot be analysed as a programme of the Executionist movement or as a polemic work, although some scholars declare such approach²⁷¹. It cannot be compared with the works of Kochanowski in its political sense, as *Zwierzyniec* is rather a reaction on the events, conducted in a specific humoristic way, but it also yields a didactic function.

In the first chapter, Rej provides examples of the prominent rulers from the past by noting brief stories that elucidate particular features. In that, Rej focuses predominantly on the classical antiquity in an attempt to demonstrate the wisdom or features of ancient rulers. This could serve as a didactic element. Author refers to the examples from Greek history (Lycurgus (5 verses in total), Lysander, Zaleucus, Alcibiades, Philip II of Macedon (8 verses), Agathocles, Cyrus, Epaminondas (mistaken as Epirkabundas), Agis, Artaxerxes, Cleon, Agesilaus); Hellenic history (Makrin Egyptian, Antioch, Alexander the Great (11 verses), once mentioning Alexander together with philosopher Anaximenes, Nicander, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antigonos (6 verses), Pyrrus (6 verses), Dionysius of Syracuse (5 verses); Roman history (Trajan, Scipio Nasica, Augustus connected with Alexander the Great, Adrian, Aurelius, Julian, Constantine, Metellus, Augustus (2 verses), Crassus, Antonius, Tiberius, Claudius, Aurelian, Romulus, Julius Caesar (4 verses), Hannibal (4 verses), Theodosius, Severus, Pompey (2 verses), Scipio, Augustus (7 verses more), and Mucius Scaevola)²⁷². Rej also attaches mythical heroes (Ajax, Hector, Hercules, and Paris), Biblical history (David and Solomon), and ancient women (Argo, Olympia, Cornelia, Artemisia).

By contrast, the second chapter focuses on the contemporaries of the author and has some valuable points regarding Sigismund Augustus and his family. Sigismund the Old is compared with Jupiter: 'Hence and our Jupiter Sigismund of Poland rightful, might be named, who recollects his divine actions'²⁷³. Sigismund Augustus is depicted in the following 8-line verse:

'Tell me, as you are obliged, what do you know about this figure?

²⁷¹ W. Solecki, *Mikołaj Rej "Krótka rozprawa", "Zwierzyniec", "Żywot człowieka poczciwego"*, (Warszawa: "Jota", 1991); J. Starnawski, *Zwierzyniec Reja jako utwór humanistyczny i reformacyjny*, (Łódź: Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1967).

²⁷² W. Bruchnalski, *Mikołaja Reja z Nagłowic Zwierzyniec, 1562*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1895), pp. 14–50, 53–107; pages 56–58 focus on Augustus.

²⁷³ Bona Sforza and Catherine of Austria, Sigismund's wife, also received author's attention. Bruchnalski, pp. 108-110.

You must say without flattery, that the noble King is rightful;
 Because nobleness, wisdom, virtue befit it,
 And though the ruler is kind, everyone is afraid of the punishment.
 And as Scipio is accounted for his vigilance,
 Alexander for his proficiency, Hector for his greed,
 And meanwhile bearing good advice in that mind,
 Whoever would dare to compare with him, let him say it'²⁷⁴.

Rej represents Augustus as an equal to his father via the former's correspondence with the ancient figures—Scipio and Alexander the Great. It is a rhetorical Renaissance method that could be influenced by Plutarch's *Parallel lives*, which confirms that even the authors without broad preparation in classical literature regularly applied the classical figures for the description of the rulers.

The third chapter of *Zwierzyniec* begins with the description of the King who 'is as transparent as the crystal and is not afraid of any taunts...and may close anyone's mouth' but the King is not described via any classical figures²⁷⁵. The fourth chapter does not focus on the King.

The findings reported in the second chapter of my thesis shed new light on the figure of Sigismund Augustus in the late 1550s and early 1560s during the peak of the Executionist movement. For this, I have analysed three crucial elements: political pamphlets by Modrzewski and Orzechowski, visual art (arrases, portraits, printed depictions, medals) and poetry (Kochanowski and Rej). After investigation, I assume that Sigismund Augustus, in some cases deliberately when the artworks were commissioned by him or his court, used the classical figures to be represented as a vigorous King to correspond the Renaissance tradition of royal self-fashioning. The association between Sigismund Augustus and famous ancient rulers (Octavianus Augustus, Cyrus, Alexander the Great) became more frequent than it was in his early years, albeit it is not the case of the political pamphlets. My conclusion suggests that representation of Augustus in *publicystyka* was not conducted exclusively by the classical figures: Modrzewski mentions the importance of King's education while Orzechowski's treatises resemble *Fidelis subditus*.

The visual dimension, however, was dependent on the inclusion of the classical figures. The arrases, medals and printed depictions often referred to Augustus as the ideal ruler, whose wisdom and experience derived from the ancient rulers. In the woodcut from 1560 the King's name *Augustus*

²⁷⁴ Bruchnalski, p. 109. I am grateful to my colleague Filip Rudnik (University of Glasgow) for correcting my translation.

²⁷⁵ Bruchnalski, p. 184.

is applied to justify his reign, the symbolism of the medals likewise confirms that. The poetry, however, is the most complicated fragment of this chapter because of the figures of speech used by the authors. Further on, I outlined briefly the allusions, used by Jan Kochanowski. *Zwierzyniec* is not of extreme interest in this case, but it confirms that poetry widely applied the classical element for the depiction of Augustus. It is notable how during the reform movement and discussions between Polish nobles and intellectuals, the artists endeavoured to use classical figures for the royal representation. I assume it was a coherent approach, supported by the King and his court aimed at strengthening his power in the rigorous political circumstances.

Chapter 3. Lublin Union and its impact on the image of Sigismund Augustus

The negotiation process that anticipated the creation of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) lasted during the 1560s and was closely linked with the Executionist movement. To continue my enquiry, this chapter embodies similar approach by analysing 1) literary texts, created in 1566–1569; 2) relevant artworks (arrases, woodcuts, medals); 3) coins, in particular focusing on the 1560s; 4) Sigismund's Effigy. This selection is based on my assumption that the Union acquired specific attention from Sigismund Augustus, who managed to accomplish this long-lasting process. Therefore, his need for strengthening his positions was indeed significant. Yet, my analysis suggests that political literature that anticipated the Lublin Sejm did not regularly refer to the connotations reminiscent of the classical figures. Instead, the authority of the King was backed by the visual sources—arrases and coins.

The lasting debates regarding the union with Lithuania in literature involved the classical republican tradition (especially Cicero and Aristotle) and often referred to the famous figures from the antiquity. It would be logical to assume that before the Union the same narratives could be employed to strengthen the positions of the King, however, my analysis corrects this statement.

3.1. Perception of the King in the literature about the Union

The treatises discussing the reform of the Polish state and the Union were, in fact, the most disseminated in the mid-sixteenth century Poland. After revision of the literature devoted to the problem, I selected four principal works for consideration, based on their dissemination and notability: Orzechowski's *Policyja* as an example of a political treatise (although it was published in 1565/1566, it was distributed via manuscripts); Kochanowski's *Proporzec* and Rej's *Zwierciadło* as poetry; and Ponętowski's *Sejm Walny Koronny Lubelski* as an example of poetic description of the Lublin Sejm²⁷⁶. In contrast to evidence from the previous chapters, the 'Lublin' period of pamphlets and poetry ignored the classical reminiscences for presenting the King's positions and aspirations.

3.1.1. Stanisław Orzechowski's *Policyja Królestwa Polskiego*

The full name of the last Orzechowski's treatise is *Policyja Królestwa Polskiego na kształt Arystotelesowych Polityk wypisana i na świat dla dobra pospolitego wydana* ('Political system of the Kingdom of Poland in the shape of Aristotle's *Politics* written out and published for the common

²⁷⁶ K. Nizio, 'Przekazy rękopiśmienne „Policyi Królestwa Polskiego” Stanisława Orzechowskiego', *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, Vol.20 (1983), pp. 185–196; S. Salmonowicz, 'Stanisław Orzechowski: retoryka w służbie polityki', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, Vol.50 (2006), pp. 290–291; S. Witecki, 'Obraz idei unii lubelskiej w utworach literackich z lat 1560–1569', in M. Maciuk, S. Witecki (eds.) *Nowożytnicze Zeszyty Historyczne. T. 2: „Unia lubelska i co dalej?*, (Kraków, 2010), pp. 207–220.

good')²⁷⁷. My study suggests that this treatise is idealising the King and his positions in the Kingdom, subordinating him to the Catholic Church and repeating some of the theses from *Quincunx*. The relevant mentions about the role of the King are noticed throughout the book, but the greatest attention to his figure is concentrated in the chapters 4, 15, 24–26 of Book One and chapters 9 and 11 of Book Two. The analysis of the republican political thought of Orzechowski and others is not a purpose of my thesis; especially considering the recent research on the topic by Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves²⁷⁸. In those debates, it was difficult to distinguish the works that were arguing about the proper positions of the King in the 'restored' or 'future' *res publica* and the works that were depicting the King's current positions. The treatise of Orzechowski refers to the former, hence, it should be analysed in an attempt to outline the current image of the King among those idealised features the King ought to possess.

The treatise is dedicated to Sigismund Augustus, 'the brightest and the unbeaten King'. Nonetheless, Augustus is not mentioned or implied in the treatise which builds an ideal correlation between the nobles, the King, and the Church in the state. Orzechowski repeats his thought that 'no one is born as a King, but appointed to the Kingdom by the supreme power of the chaplain'²⁷⁹. Likewise, Orzechowski grounds his work on Aristotle but does not emphasize the role of education for the King like it was accented by Modrzewski²⁸⁰. Overall, this pamphlet was not defined as crucial for my topic, yet on the other hand, it proves that the King could be idealised and visualised without particular references to the ancient rulers. This remark is important for the understanding of the 1560s period: the classical reception was frequently applied, but the King also had other strategies of strengthening his authority.

3.1.2. Poetry, the Union and the King

In this section, I analyse three poetic examples: a fragment about the Union from Mikołaj Rej's *Zwierciadło*, published in 1567–1568, Jan Kochanowski's *Proporzec albo hold pruski* (1569), and Jan Ponętowski's *Sejm Walny Koronny Lubelski, przez J.K.M. złożony 1569* (1569).

As the 'The Mirror' was not written as a political pamphlet, the analysis of the full text of Rej's work does not bring important insights regarding the Polish–Lithuanian Union. Yet, it is important that the verses 'Union with Lithuania' and 'Election of the King', fragments of 'The short

²⁷⁷ S. Orzechowski, *Polityja Królestwa Polskiego na kształt Arystotelesowych Polityk wypisana i na świat dla dobra pospolitego wydana*, (Poznań, 1859).

²⁷⁸ Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*.

²⁷⁹ Orzechowski, *Polityja Królestwa*, p. 16.

²⁸⁰ Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*, pp. 211–212.

foreword to the worthy Pole from the noble stratum', did not refer to any classical motifs while parts of *Zwierciadło* ('The Mirror') did²⁸¹.

Proporzec albo hold pruski ('The Banner or the Prussian Homage') was written by Jan Kochanowski in summer of 1569, presumably after the homage of Prussian Duke to Sigismund Augustus but printed for the first time in 1587²⁸². Kochanowski's principal aim was to demonstrate that the Prussian homage in 1525 and 1569 was a logical continuation of peace in the region that was finally settled after a continuous period of wars. Augustus was not in the focus of the poem, although he was mentioned several times and depicted as a faithful son of his ancestors. This predetermined the narrative of the poem.

The first part of *Proporzec* employs Długosz's *Roczniki* to trace the history of Prussian–Polish relations and describe the one side of the banner, but the period highlighted finishes before Augustus's birth²⁸³. In the second part, Kochanowski refers to Herodotus, Tacitus, and Ptolemy to elucidate the history of Poles whom he deduces from the Sarmatians²⁸⁴. After mentioning the Sarmatian ethnogenetic myth and references to the ancient authors, Kochanowski describes the figure of the King. Although Augustus is not attached to any particular figure explicitly, the description of the ancient history could be an attempt to present Sigismund II as a King who corresponds to the virtues of the ancient 'noble' Sarmatians. This is confirmed by the words that 'the ancestors made the ground for the union, but left the final part for Sigismund Augustus' and by presenting Sigismund as a person who does not have time for conversations but is constantly thinking about the good of his people²⁸⁵. The description of King's garbage (a golden mantle) has a reference to Catullus, but merely as a poetic method²⁸⁶.

The poem 'General Crown Sejm in Lublin, summoned by His Royal Majesty in 1569, written by Jan Ponętowski' would be interesting for the early modern royal imagology but not for the classical

²⁸¹ M. Rej, *Żwierciadło albo kstałt, w którym każdy stan snadnie się może swym sprawom, jako we zwierciadle, przypatrzeć*. T. 2., J. Czubek, J. Łoś (eds.), (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1914), pp. 334, 339–340.

²⁸² Kochanowski, *Proporzec*, p. 210.

²⁸³ Kochanowski, *Proporzec*, pp. 211–227.

²⁸⁴ Kochanowski, *Proporzec*, pp. 228–231.

²⁸⁵ 'Na co przodkowie twoi acz grunt założyli, / Ale tobie twoję część przedsię zostawili'. Kochanowski, *Proporzec*, p. 235.

²⁸⁶ Kochanowski, *Proporzec*, p. 234.

reception approach²⁸⁷. The only lines in the context of Augustus's name refer to the description of an erected for Sigismund 'majestat' (a throne with surrounding space)²⁸⁸. Ponętowski wishes the King to make his name renowned in all lands, but he does not elaborate the meaning of his name²⁸⁹.

After these deliberations, I assume that the poetry before and during the Lublin Union did not shape the image of the King employing the classical motifs. In the late 1560s poetry, Augustus was not described by the means of Greek–Roman tradition, probably because the other methods of pursuing his own agenda during the Lublin period were successful. These tools and their connection with the classical motifs I highlight further.

3.2. Visual practices in preparation of the Union

Art and visual practices, employed by Sigismund Augustus and his court in the late 1560s were particularly important for propagating the idea of the Polish–Lithuanian Union. The conversations about the Union were shaping the Executionist movement and were the stumbling block between the Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian nobles²⁹⁰. In this section, I examine to which extent Sigismund's figure was represented via the classical images in the visual dimension. For this, I will demonstrate the changes in the numismatics in the late 1560s and study the images from the arrases of Sigismund Augustus as some of them were dedicated to the Union.

3.2.1 Polish numismatics and medals: a study of the changes

Another line of thought argues that the coins may be defined as one of the most powerful yet underestimated elements in the creation of the royal image. While the poems, arrases, and portraits could be seen and deciphered by selected categories of sixteenth-century Polish society, the coins were distributed across various strata, crossing the borders of the voivodeships and states. At the same time, due to the size of the coins and the amount produced, the images and symbols implemented

²⁸⁷ J. Ponętowski, *Krótki rzeczy polskich Sejmowych pamięci godnych, komentarz, przez Jana Ponętowskiego w łeczyckiej ziemie, roku 1569 uczyniony*, K. J. Turowski (ed.), (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Polskiej, 1858), pp. 1–34.

²⁸⁸ This majestat was depicted by Jan Herburt in his 'Statutes' in 1570. See 'The Polish Sejm' in Jan Herburt, *Statutes*, (Kraków, 1570), <https://mnk.pl/branch/the-hutten-czapski-museum/collections/photo-galleries/sejm-prints>, consulted on 09.04.20.

²⁸⁹ Ponętowski, p. 32.

²⁹⁰ Augustus fostered the Union during the 1560s while Lithuania was actively participating in the Livonian war. Unfortunately, it is impossible to encompass in my thesis the international dimension with a focus on Lithuania and the Treaty of Vilnius in 1561 or the Union of Grodno in 1566. It would be also beneficial for the imagology studies to compare the representation of Sigismund II in the Polish and Lithuanian–Ruthenian sources in the 1560s.

were formal and wordless. This statement was enhanced by the fact that the possible classical motifs were known only to those with a university education.

My study raises the question of whether approaching the Lublin Union changed the appearance of the coins, and in particular, of Sigismund's depiction²⁹¹. An important notice should be done that Sigismund Augustus's main mint centres were allocated in Lithuania (Vilnius and Tykocin) but not in Poland²⁹². Consequently, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was somehow 'promoted' in Poland and this even raised opposition from the Polish nobles, when the portrait of the King was substituted with his initials at the avers side and the revers had the Lithuanian coat of arms—*Pogoń*²⁹³. To study the connection of the coins with the future union, I compare the coins from 1565–1570 and the most frequent elements employed that could bear connection with the classical motifs or take the ancient Roman coins as a source of inspiration.

Firstly, the coins of Sigismund II, as well as those of Sigismund I frequently depicted the King's head and emphasized Augustus's beard to distinguish him from his father. In Poland, this practice was introduced by Sigismund the Old. On the catalogues researched no Polish or Lithuanian coins with King's portraits before Sigismund I were mentioned²⁹⁴. Since the 1560s, the image of Augustus has changed: his beard became much longer and consisted of two equally long parts. His head was surrounded with the text: 'SIGIS AUG REX POLO MAG DUX L' ('Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, the Grand Duke of Lithuania', see figures 12–15). The reverse of such coins comprised Lithuanian *Pogoń* (The Pursuit). With this beard, Augustus was differing from any other

²⁹¹ The quarantine has not allowed continuing my planned research at the Hutten–Czapski Museum, hence, I referred to the coins, available at the Digital collection of the National Museum in Cracow, the Catalogue of the Lithuanian coins by Eugenijus Ivanauskas and Robert Douchis, and the Catalogue of the Polish coins by Edmund Kopicki. Digital collections. National Museum in Cracow, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result?phrase=zygmunt%252520august&sortBy=date-asc&limit=40&page=3>, consulted on 09.04.20; E. Ivanauskas, R. J. Douchis, *Coins of Lithuania 1386–1707*, (Vilnius–Columbia: Savastis, 1999); E. Kopicki, *Ilustrowany skorowidz pieniędzy polskich i z Polską związanych. Vol.1*, (Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne, Zarząd Główny, 1995).

²⁹² Ivanauskas, Douchis, pp. 90–91.

²⁹³ 'Mennictwo w czasach Zygmunta Augusta', Skarbnica Narodowa website, <https://www.skarbnicanarodowa.pl/kroniki-numizmatyczne/227-mennictwo-w-czasach-zygmunta-augusta>, consulted on 09.04.20.

²⁹⁴ This valuable observation was told to me by Ms. Anna Bochniak, a researcher at the Numismatic Cabinet, during my research at the Hutten–Czapski Museum in November 2019.

European ruler. What could be the reasons for ‘splitting’ his beard? Was it the echo of the famous Cranach’s portrait from the 1550s?

In the 1550s Augustus’s beard was smaller while the ‘split beard’ was noted in the coins since the 1560s when Augustus was already forty²⁹⁵. Kopicki’s catalogue has twenty examples of the coins with the split beard from the 1560s²⁹⁶. I risk suggesting that this type of beard was introduced not only to differ from the early modern Central–Eastern European rulers, but rather the two equal parts of one ‘royal beard’ could symbolize two political bodies Augustus was in charge of, thus Poland and Lithuania. This symbolism reminds of the arrases with the Satyrs where their beards were likewise split into two equal parts, and these allusions require further in-depth research.



Figures 12–13. Lithuanian penny, Vilnius, 1567. MNK VII-P-18991. Public domain.

<https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/486140>



Figures 14–15. Lithuanian coin *czworak*, Vilnius, 1569. MNK VII-P-18995. Public domain.

<https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/480730>

²⁹⁵ Kopicki, pp. 172–173.

²⁹⁶ Kopicki, pp. 172–175.

Secondly, the coins of Augustus actively used his initials (SA) with a crown above instead of the King's portrait since 1546 (figures 16–17)²⁹⁷. The same approach was used in the 1560s and after accomplishing of the Union: similar coins were minted in 1570 (figures 18–19). The coins with crowned 'SA' circulated in the late 1560s, and their reverse usually employed the Lithuanian coat of arms.

447:65



Figures 16–17. Twopence from 1566²⁹⁸.



Figures 18–19. Lithuanian silver coin *dwudenaar*, Vilnius, 1570. MNK VII-P-14399. Public domain. <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/52600>

A Guldentaler from 1565 had Sigismund's initials on the averse and his portrait on the reverse (without the split beard), but it is the only example (figures 20–21).

687:102



²⁹⁷ Ivanauskas, Douchis, p. 93; Kopicki, p. 171.

²⁹⁸ Ivanauskas, Douchis, p. 96.

Figures 20–21. Guldentaller of Sigismund Augustus, 1565. Nr. 687:102²⁹⁹.

Thirdly, some of the 1560s coins employed the large coat of arms that comprised the Polish, Lithuanian, Kyiv, Volyn, Samogitia, and Sforza coats of arms (figures 22–25). These reverses were also popular, but they did not possess any specific ancient references³⁰⁰.



Figures 22–23. Lithuanian ducat, 1560. NPO 31243 MNW. Public domain.

http://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/dmuseion/docmetadata?id=3171&show_nav=true



Figures 24–25. Lithuanian coin *pólkopek*. Tykocin, 1564. MNK VII-P-9249. Public domain.

<https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/308406>

These observations are supported by the analysis of several medals of the period. The 1569 medal was created to commemorate the Lublin Union (figure 26)³⁰¹. The averse depicts together the

²⁹⁹ Ivanauskas, Douchis, pp. 130, 144.

³⁰⁰ However, they were ‘connected with attempts of the Union’. Piech, p. 226.

³⁰¹ E. Raczyński, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych, które się dziejów Polski tyczą począwszy od najdawniejszych aż do konca panowania Jana III. (1513–1696). T. 1*, (Wrocław: Druk. M. Friedlandera, 1838),

<https://bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/36200/edition/42210/content>, consulted on 09.04.20, p. 94.

coats of arms of Lithuania and Poland with a crown allocated above; the reverse acquired the initials of Sigismund Augustus with the year of the Union and the crown.

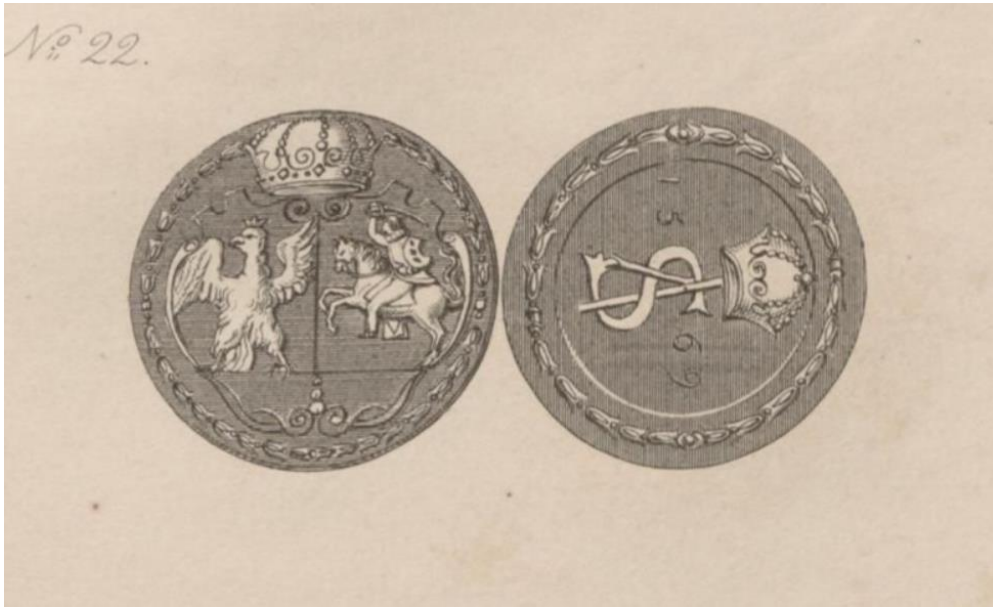


Figure 26. Medal of Sigismund Augustus, 1569. Sygn. 19344 III³⁰².

The 1571 medal depicts the King with a split beard on the avers and the horseman on the reverse (figures 27–28). The medals did not differ significantly with the coinage explored and repeated the popular images (a long beard, split in two parts, and the initials ‘SA’).



Figures 27–28. Medal of Sigismund Augustus, 1571. MNK VII-Md-90. Public domain.

<https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/42076>

Despite the limitations, connected with the inaccessibility of the original coins in the collections during spring of 2020, this section certainly adds to our understanding of the visual propaganda in preparation of the Union. Sigismund Augustus’s appearance has changed in the 1560s, his beard was commonly divided into two parts, and his portrait was substituted with his initials which, as outlined in the second chapter, were closely connected with the promoted image of

³⁰² Raczyński, p. 94.

Augustus. One may not claim definitely that the Union was accomplished thanks to the coinage of Sigismund Augustus, but its perception could be significantly influenced by the art practices.

3.2.2. Arrases and the Union

The role of the arrases in depiction and fostering the Polish–Lithuanian Union can not be neglected. Promised prosperity and peace were a strong motivation to conclude agreement between two states, and from the artistic point of view, the arrases served to raise the splendour and majesty of Augustus during the negotiations.

Approximately twelve arrases of Sigismund Augustus, waived c. 1560, were closely linked with the depiction of Polish–Lithuanian Union. They are numbered between 79 and 90 in the Catalogue of Sigismund's arrases³⁰³. Since some of them differ between each other in small mechanic details (not symbolical), I will examine the most popular narratives and explore their connection with the Union. These arrases are typologically divided into 'Arrases with the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania and the figure of Victoria' (nr. 79–86) and 'Arrases with the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania and the figure of Ceres' (nr. 87–90) and comprise two main narratives.

The first common feature considers presented equality of Poland and Lithuania in the future merged state, a discussed concept in the 1560s³⁰⁴. In the arrases, Polish Eagle is located in the left while Lithuanian coat of arms in the right side of the arras (as for the viewer). The ancient goddesses were placed in the centre of the arras, yet each of the component parts (Polish and Lithuanian) is equal in its size. This approach precipitated the words of the Union that 'The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are one indivisible and uniform body and also one uniform Commonwealth, which grew and consolidated into one nation from two states and nations'³⁰⁵. Importantly, this confirmed the assumption that no country within the future Union will receive more rights than another, a point that was persistently demanded by Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobles³⁰⁶.

³⁰³ Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, pp. 380–423.

³⁰⁴ Frost, p. 472; D. Vyrskyi, 'Rotundus proty Orikhovskoho: dyskusiiia 1564/1566 r. pro voliu i nevoliu u Velykomu Kniazivstvi Lytovskomu', *Ukraina Lithuanica*, Vol.3 (2015), pp. 79–87; K. Koehler (introd.), E. Buszewicz (trans.), *Stanisław Orzechowski and Augustine Rotundus debate about the Republic*, (Krakow: WAM, 2009).

³⁰⁵ See the translated text of the Union of Lublin. 'The Union of Lublin, 1569', http://www.history.pth.net.pl/files/source_editions/The_Union_of_Lublin_1569.pdf, consulted on 16.05.20.

³⁰⁶ Frost, pp. 471, 487. Orzechowski and his *Quincunx* were significantly involved in the discussion regarding the Union *aeque principaliter*. For Ruthenians and Volynians see the works of Natalya Starchenko: N. Starchenko, 'Liublińska Uniiia yak Resurs Formuvannia Kontseptu Politychnoho

The second narrative considers the classical mythological figures. Eight arrases include the figure of *Victoria*, the ancient Roman goddess of Victory. *Victoria* is envisaged 'to bring peace to the united nations'³⁰⁷. In her right hand she holds a laurel wreath and in the left a broken spear, symbolizing the end of the war period and hostility³⁰⁸. This notion was bolstered by a set of armour that was lying beneath her legs: armours, helmets, bow, arrows, halberd, shield, and an axe. This impression was crucial during the Livonian war and tensions with Muscovy, and the Union was perceived as a tool for military strengthening of both states. The iconography of *Victoria* in the early modern era 'could be determined by the earlier Italian decorations glorifying Emperor Charles V' during his entrances to Italian cities³⁰⁹. Depicting Victory could be reassurance from Sigismund II to his allies in Lithuania and Europe regarding his intentions in the Livonian War, his greatest lifetime military campaign.

Four arrases replace *Victoria* with *Ceres*, the ancient Roman goddess of agriculture, harvest, but also *Pax* (peace) and the patron of maternity and marriage³¹⁰. This idea is particularly interesting: the Union was frequently perceived as a marriage between two states, hence, the divine protector would be beneficial for the future of such union³¹¹. Moreover, during the Roman imperial era, *Ceres* was closely associated with the emperors and the word *Augusta*, thus getting a name *Ceres Augusta*. This connotation could be reflected in the arrases, recalling the name of Sigismund II³¹². Seen from another perspective, *Victoria* and *Ceres* could depict the future consequences of the Union: peace, prosperity, and wealth, intensifying the Union talks.

«Narodu Ruskoho» (1569–1648 rr.)' (The Union of Lublin as a Resource for Forming the Notion of The Political "Ruthenian Nation" (1569–1648)), *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, No.2 (545) (2019), pp. 4–45.

³⁰⁷ Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, p. 380; Piech, pp. 237–238.

³⁰⁸ Annexes, figure 8.

³⁰⁹ Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, p. 385.

³¹⁰ Annexes, figure 9.

³¹¹ The Union could be regarded as a specific type of marriage between two countries. The words in the text of the Lublin Union once mention 'by vow and promise to the Lord God' what in Polish is written as 'ślubując i obiecując przed Panem Bogiem dobrym'. See Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie / The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw website, <http://www.agad.gov.pl/Unia%20Lubelska/Unia%20lubelska%201569%20r.pdf>, consulted on 16.05.20.

³¹² This point is discussable as such reflections would be understandable for a very confined stratum of educated people.

The saturated red colour background is also perceived as a reference towards antiquity in the scholarship, in particular, to the imperial period of ancient Rome, a frequently used element in the Renaissance fine art³¹³. According to Magdalena Piwocka, the physical appearance of *Victoria* and her haircut were inspired by Netherlandish artist Frans Floris (1515–1570) who painted her on the triumphal arch for Philipp II in 1549, thus elucidating the art competition between the Jagiellons and the Habsburgs³¹⁴. Ultimately, the initials of Sigismund Augustus, described in the second chapter and the Jagiellonian coat of arms on the Lithuanian Pursuit were integral elements of all these arrases.

Symbolically, although it is unknown whether Sigismund took the arrases to the Lublin Sejm, a prominent nineteenth-century Polish painter Jan Matejko (1838–1893) depicted one of Sigismund's arrases with a Polish Eagle in his painting called 'Union of Lublin', created for the three-hundredth anniversary of the Union in 1869.

3.3. Postmortal image of Sigismund Augustus

Sigismund Augustus passed away on July 7, 1572, without leaving a male heir and thus bringing the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth to the first royal elections³¹⁵. In this section, I comment on how the image of Augustus was transformed after his death. For this purpose, I analyse the art dimension based on Augustus's effigy in the Sigismund's Chapel at the Wawel Cathedral³¹⁶.

3.3.1. Sigismund's tomb (Effigy of Sigismund Augustus)

My enquiry will focus on the later period, namely, 1574–1576 when the construction of the monument (often referred to as Effigy of Sigismund Augustus) was finished by the sponsorship of Sigismund's sister Anna Jagiellon, so Augustus had not seen his Effigy during his lifetime³¹⁷. Yet, his Effigy proves that in public opinion Augustus was perceived as an exceptional connoisseur of art. To study the classical elements in Sigismund's tomb, I consider the artistic elements in conjunction with the spatial dimension, namely where the effigy was allocated and how space framed the effigy.

³¹³ Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, p. 384.

³¹⁴ Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, pp. 384–385.

³¹⁵ A. M. Schulz, Giammaria Mosca Called Padovano: A Renaissance Sculptor in Italy and Poland, (Pennsylvania, University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 119.

³¹⁶ The ceremonial dimension, namely the funeral that lasted till 1574 and is thoroughly described in the sources, would benefit to the research on the royal imagology, but it does not have a connection with the classical reception approach, thus I deliberately omit it in this section.

³¹⁷ Schulz, pp. 117–120.

Augustus's tomb was placed in the Sigismund Chapel, sponsored by his father in 1519–1533³¹⁸. This chapel was noted in historiography as 'the most valuable pearl of the Renaissance from the other side of the Alps', but most importantly, it was the first royal effigy in Wawel Cathedral 'projected and made during the life of the King based on his initiative'³¹⁹. The Chapel itself promoted 'the authority of the King that derived from God'³²⁰. The mythological classical motifs in the walls of the Chapel were placed together with the Biblical figures (in particular, Solomon and David who were representing Sigismund I), and the inscription 'Divus Sigismundus' likewise referred to the tradition of naming the Roman emperors 'Divus'³²¹.

The tomb of Augustus was created by a Florence master Santi Gucci in 1574–1575, although another Italian sculptor Giovanni Padovano was attached to projecting the Effigy before his death in 1574³²². Both of them practised in Italy before coming to Poland, and presumably, both were inspired by the notable works of Andrea Sansovino (1467–1529), famous for his sculptures, altars, and funeral tombs³²³. The effigy of Augustus was placed in the symbolic space shaped by Bartolomeo Berecci, not planned by Augustus or his court. Therefore, it was representing the political programme and history of the reign of Sigismund the Old, yet some amendments were made when Augustus's tomb was placed under his father's one.

³¹⁸ J. Depowski, Kaplica Zygmuntowska (Jagiellońska) i Ołtarz Srebrny w Katedrze na Wawelu, (Kraków: Drukarnia „Powściągliwość i Praca”, 1937), p. 43. The construction of the Chapel was commissioned in 1515. See more about the role of Sigismund Chapel in the Polish and Eastern European Renaissance in Koutny-Jones, pp. 170–175.

³¹⁹ Depowski, p. 39; A. Fischinger, 'Ze studiów nad rzeźbą figuralną kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej', Studia do Dziejów Wawelu, Vol.4 (1978), p. 235, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.17922.3>.

³²⁰ L. Kalinowski, 'Treści artystyczne i ideowe kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej', Studia do Dziejów Wawelu, Vol.2 (1961), p. 91, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.17920.1>; Piech, pp. 220–222.

³²¹ Kalinowski, pp. 67–94, 99.

³²² J. Zarnecki, 'Renaissance Sculpture in Poland: Padovano and Michalowicz', The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, Vol.86, No.502 (1945), p. 11; Depowski, p. 70; Schulz, pp. 117, 119, 159.

³²³ See P. Schönfeld, Sansovino und seine Schule: für Künstler und Kunstfreunde, (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1881); Depowski, p. 48; Fischinger, pp. 232–234. Fischinger compares the figure of Sigismund I with Botticelli's Mars as the body positions in two monuments are similar, but there are no other artistic elements with references to the antiquity.

Anne Schulz notes that Augustus's will stated that if he dies in Cracow, he 'wished to be buried in the crypt below the funerary chapel of his father'³²⁴. Moreover, he ordered to create a 'marble sarcophagus with his effigy, in imitation of his father's tomb'³²⁵. Probably, Augustus was satisfied with the artistic level of his father's tomb and with the representation of the monarch. Thus, discussed in the first chapter continuity between the father and the son ('Caesar and Augustus') was echoed in the Chapel: Augustus's tomb was not only placed on a level beneath Sigismund the Old's tomb but was also projected in a similar way to his father's one (figure 29).



Figure 29. Sigismund Augustus's tomb, Sigismund Chapel, Wawel Castle, Cracow. Photo by Michał Gąciarz, Polska Press³²⁶.

Interestingly, while the effigies of the medieval Polish Kings depicted them in a silent posture, the sculptures of Sigismund I and his son were half-raised, reminding about the ancient Etruscan funeral sculptures from Cerveteri or the tombs of the cardinals, made by Sansovino³²⁷. This change

³²⁴ Schulz, p. 118.

³²⁵ Schulz, p. 118.

³²⁶ Cicha, D. 'Mauzoleum ostatnich Jagiellonów', *Gazeta Krakowska* (18.04.2017), <https://plus.gazetakrakowska.pl/mauzoleum-ostatnich-jagiellonow/ar/11993281>, consulted on 12.05.20.

³²⁷ See the photos of the royal tombs at Katedra Królewska, <http://www.katedra-wawelska.pl/historia-katedry/katedra-krolewska/>, consulted on 10.04.20. I recollected the Etruscan tombs after the course by Dr. Elena Papagianni at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki I attended in the winter semester

in the royal tombs was influenced by the Italian Renaissance practices that drew their inspiration from the classical examples (*imitatio*). The monument of Augustus is representing his ‘magnificence and awareness’ as he holds the royal symbols of power, the orb and the sceptre³²⁸. Augustus’s beard is split into two parts, similarly to the royal depictions from the 1560s coins³²⁹. His tomb and Sigismund’s Chapel contributed to the memory about Sigismund Augustus more than any other legacy of his reign: Jagiellonian arrases soon disseminated across Europe, the royal initials on the coins were substituted by the King’s portraits from Vasa dynasty, but Sigismund’s Chapel remained unaltered.

3.3.2. Sigismund Augustus’s image in the Chronicles

The King’s postmortal depiction in the Chronicles contrasts with the Chapel, arrases, and numismatics, and the chronicler’s attention was not devoted to his link with the classical figures. All chroniclers (Strykowski, Bielski, Górnicki) emphasized the wisdom of Augustus, his fair mind and ‘outstanding virtues’ as well as his peacefulness³³⁰.

Bielski sketches the negative consequences of Bona’s influence: ‘since his childhood he did not have a good education...because up to 17 years he was living with mother, where felt in luxury life and because of that neglected the military work and favoured stability’³³¹. At the same moment, he describes Augustus as a well-educated person, who enjoyed geometry, astrology, music (the most peculiar moment for the chronicler), built fortresses, and was the best orator in Polish language, thus people thought he was ‘born between the Jesuits’³³².

Górnicki employs one of Latin proverbs, frequently repeated by Roman emperor Caligula:

‘And everyone can notice here how are unhappy those monarchs who say *Oderint dum metuant* (‘Let them hate, so long as they fear’—O.R.). That Lord connected everything with love to his subjects and therefore his reign was happy for him’³³³.

of 2017/2018. See the examples of the Etruscan tombs from Cerveteri at N. Spivey, *Etruscan art*, (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2006), pp. 90–94; Fischinger, pp. 232–240.

³²⁸ Depowski, p. 70.

³²⁹ See Chapter 3, section 2 for this overview.

³³⁰ Strykowski p. 776; Bielski, p. 659; Górnicki, p. 137.

³³¹ Bielski, pp. 649–650.

³³² Bielski, p. 659.

³³³ ‘A tu przypatrzeć się każdy może, jako owi monarchowie są nieszczęśliwi, którzy mówią: *Oderint dum metuant*. Ten pan miłością ku poddanym wszystko był sobie zjednał, i dla tego szczęśliwe było jego królowanie’. Górnicki, p. 137.

Sigismund Augustus's portrait in 1597 edition of Bielski's Chronicle depicts him standing between the columns with the coats of arms of Lithuania and Poland (the Polish Eagle possessed the initials 'SA') with his symbols of reign³³⁴. It is surrounded by the classical figures (caryatids and putti) and the framing of the portrait is similar to his arrases³³⁵.

Consequently, the Polish chronicles were outlining the reign of Augustus in the year of his death as the rule of 'a God-fearing King' who was full of noble virtues and who fostered the peace in the region. However, after his death, the chroniclers did not compare him or significantly shape his image via the classical images, merely the depiction from 1597 edition of Bielski's Chronicle represented Augustus in an 'imagined space', apparently emphasizing the King's admiration with the Renaissance art and, in particular, the arrases.

This chapter focused on the period of the preparation of the Lublin Union and briefly explored the postmortal image of Sigismund Augustus in art and literature. The chronicles, literature and poetry in 1566–1569 did not represent Sigismund Augustus or promote his role in the future Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) using the classical images, especially when compared to the amount of the references in the 1540s or the early 1560s. However, the arrases, coins, and medals quite actively used the symbols of antiquity for promotion of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, in particular by using the ancient Roman goddesses Victoria and Ceres. The visual practices in the 1560s were especially crucial for promoting the Union as they supported Sigismund's aspirations, and the coins were particularly important as the most disseminated elements of royal propaganda. The postmortal image of Sigismund Augustus (his effigy in the Sigismund Chapel) was formed after his death—in 1574–1576—yet it was put in the space formed by the sculptors in the 1520s–1530s during the reign of Sigismund I. Still, the effigy presented Augustus as the admirer of the classical antiquity and its legacy.

³³⁴ Annexes, figure 10.

³³⁵ Bielski, p. 588; See the comparison of the earlier editions of Bielski's Chronicle in Ruszczyćówna, 'Nieznane portrety...', pp. 96–114.

Conclusions

Sigismund Augustus's reign was crucial for the future of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. A genuine Renaissance King, the descendant of Lithuanian and Italian parents on the Polish throne, he encouraged the development of art and literature in Poland–Lithuania and was personally known as a celebrated bibliophile³³⁶. At the same time, the Renaissance revival of the antiquity brought implications for the royal power representation in early modern Poland. The royal authority became described and associated with the classical symbols and figures from the ancient Greek–Roman past.

My thesis argues that the usage of the classical symbols (those originating from ancient history) was an integral method of personal propaganda which contributed to strengthening Sigismund Augustus's power in difficult circumstances of his reign. The representation of the royal power in pamphlets, poetry, art, coins, medals, and arrases was commonly conducted via the classical images and Sigismund Augustus was associated with the prominent rulers of the classical past. Although the classical reception was not the only approach used for the representation of the royal power in the mid-sixteenth century, my thesis contributed to the understanding of the classical tradition as a particularly crucial element of the King's image in early modern Poland. Moreover, it demonstrates an intensive level of intellectual and artistic contacts in early modern Europe, for instance when the arrases, inspired by Italian paintings, were waived in the Flanders and settled in Poland to decorate the royal residences. My thesis incorporates diverse types of sources, both visual and textual for each of the periods investigated what benefits to the broader comprehension of early modern Poland and Central–Eastern Europe.

As outlined in the introduction, my methodology was based on the interdisciplinary approach that included textual and visual analyses, contextualizing of the sources, iconological method, and comparative approach. The selection of the sources (textual and visual) was based on their chronological and thematic relevance and level of dissemination in the sixteenth century. This shaped the conclusions of some of my sections and chapters: the artworks, speeches, poems and treatises that did not refer to Augustus by the means of the classical reception were not excluded from my thesis, but outlined to provide a broader dimension of the sixteenth-century Polish art and literature. I acknowledge the limitations that could arise during my research, in particular those connected with the actual perception of the images by the society: one may draw conclusions about the intellectuals and the educated nobles, yet the impact of the classical reception for the other strata of early modern Polish society is discussable. However, broader research on the sixteenth century that would comprise

³³⁶ I analysed merely the Polish dimension of Sigismund's authority, although a durable amount of time he spent in Vilnius since Lithuania was more beloved by Augustus.

of other methodological approaches could broaden our understanding of the period, its politics, propaganda, and perception of the King in the society.

While Augustus and his court did not eventually neglect the medieval Christian practices of representing the King, including ceremonies and the titles, the sixteenth century introduced some practices that were closely linked to the perception of the classical Greek–Roman era. Depending on the period, the level of applying and implying the classical figures for the representation of Sigismund Augustus or idealised King of the Polish–Lithuanian state differed. Augustus’s education in childhood included a broad Renaissance preparation in history and literature by notable Italian and Polish humanists, making future reminiscences towards the classical examples understandable for him. The name *Augustus* was given in the context of the classicizing tendencies of the Italian Renaissance and was noted in the emblematic poems from 1521 and 1560. The early medals with Augustus’s appearance connected his future with a succession of the Polish throne and following the example of his father while the first coins, minted in Lithuania in 1545–1546, became the basis for Sigismund’s coinage in the 1550s–1560s. In the pre-1544 era Augustus had to co-opt with the image established by his parents and the court, yet after he started to reside in Vilnius young King started to practise new methods of making of his image—coins and arrases. Attempts of referring to the classical antiquity were supported by the writers like Modrzewski and Orzechowski that created their works in the spirit of the Renaissance classical reception.

The image of Alexander the Great as a military predecessor of Sigismund I was established already during the 1510s–1520s. These narratives were followed up by Stanisław Orzechowski’s treatise *Fidelis subditus* that emphasized the examples of Octavianus Augustus and Alexander the Great. Therefore, in 1520–1551 Sigismund Augustus was perceived distinctively. His mother’s impact was especially criticized by Polish nobles, although his education was well-evaluated by European humanists of that time³³⁷. Moreover, Augustus’s marriage with Barbara Radziwiłł without prior agreement with the Polish Sejm questioned the legitimacy of the marriage and of his elections in 1529–1530. This raised necessity of strengthening his royal authority already during securing the throne in 1548–1551 what was visualized via summoning the first series of admirable arrases.

The poetry and literature considered (the works by Stanisław Orzechowski, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Mikołaj Rej, Jan Kochanowski, Jan Ponętowski) confirm that the classical figures were frequently attached to the representation of Sigismund Augustus, yet they were not exclusive of other comparisons and figures. My investigation presumes that representation of Augustus in *publicystyka* during the 1560s was not conducted with the classical figures. On the contrary, the poetry (in

³³⁷ This included criticism for young King’s non-participation in military campaigns. See Chapter 1 for elaboration.

particular by Jan Kochanowski) was repeatedly implying classical figures and histories during the 1560s to refer to and describe the King. The correlation between the date of publication of the poem and the internal events in the Polish Kingdom confirm their close link.

The depictions of the King in the woodcuts, portraits, coins, medals, and arrases during the Executionist movement served his interests in internal and external areas. Sigismund was frequently presented surrounded by the classical floral motifs with ancient symbols, and his name was likewise emphasized in the emblematic poetry. The coinage had ambiguous character: from one perspective, the coins were the most disseminated elements of royal propaganda when compared to the unique arrases or book depictions, however, their word or image load was significantly limited because of their size. Executionist movement in Poland and the lasting discussions between Polish nobles and intellectuals regarding the reforms and possible Polish–Lithuanian Union resulted in a representation of Sigismund Augustus via the classical figures in visual art and poetry. I would assume that during several periods (the late 1540s and the early and mid-1560s) it was a coherent deliberate approach, supported by the King and his court to strengthen his power in the tough circumstances. This approach was formed by the intellectual climate and the ‘antique’ fashion of the era when the classical antiquity inspired the artists and writers across Poland and Europe. In case if Augustus was not personally attached to the commissioning of some Renaissance building or artworks (when he was a child), this still contributed to the splendour of the court and the public image of the royal authority as it was with the Sigismund’s Chapel³³⁸.

The Lublin Union stands distinctive in this context. Augustus’s image was already established as the one whose wisdom derives from the classical authors and who is comparable to the greatest figures of antiquity. However, the poetry and literature of the late 1560s that were considering the future Polish–Lithuanian Union, besides using the concept of *res publica*, did not refer to the classical figures. Instead, Sigismund’s positions and his image were presented via the classical symbols in visual art: medals, depictions, the late arrases, and coins. From one perspective, this situation could diminish the conclusions I draw, but from the other point of view, this proves that Sigismund’s authority was established firmly earlier, hence, he did not require any experiments with classical images in the late 1560s. The arrases of Sigismund actively applied the symbols of antiquity for demonstrating the benefits of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, in particular by using the ancient Roman goddesses Victoria and Ceres. Finally, Sigismund’s effigy in the Sigismund Chapel at the Wawel Castle, although formed after his death, was constructed in a Renaissance spirit.

My exploration suggests that the principal figures from the classical antiquity with whom Sigismund was associated were Octavianus Augustus and Alexander the Great. These connections

³³⁸ Niekrasz, pp. 127–128.

were generated based on the link between the cognomen *Augustus* and the Latin connotations of the name that depicted authority, enlargement, prosperity, and power. Alexander the Great was a celebrated figure of medieval and early modern literature, however, other figures from ancient history (Cyrus, Scipio, Cicero, Caesar, Severus) were likewise attached.

I would emphasize that in the case of visual and textual sources the crucial role is often played by the artistic approach but not the central image. For instance, this was the case of the arrases that did not directly comprise of the royal's image, instead substituting it with his initials 'SA', coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania, floral motifs, and revived practices of the antiquity in the Renaissance. Moreover, the pomp of the royal residence, created by the arrases and their exceptional artistic level, made Sigismund Augustus an owner of a notable art collection³³⁹. These motifs and figures that were surrounding him emphasized the vital role of Renaissance symbolism in early modern Poland.

The issue of how Sigismund Augustus was perceived in the sixteenth-century Polish society raises another important question. In my opinion, the propaganda attempts of Sigismund were successful for establishing that particular image, thus it became common to represent him or the royal power in the Commonwealth using the classical examples. However, this approach was merely one element of the royal representation. While it is easier for a scholar to detect the classical elements in literature, the visual depictions of Augustus, even if lacking direct link between the King and the ancient heroes, still contributed to the particular reception of the royal figure. Such references and hidden senses were understandable for the sixteenth-century nobility and educated stratum, thus the created image of Augustus was initially designed for them³⁴⁰. As outlined in the introduction, the issue of how the royal power in early modern Poland–Lithuania was perceived by the broader strata of people (peasants, burghers, merchants, students, clergy, and lower stratum) would require distinctive approach and completely different sources for analysis³⁴¹.

This analysis brings some interesting conclusions regarding early modern Poland and the broader European context. While the general approach to the classical antiquity and its transformation in the Renaissance was quite similar in Poland and Western European states (Italian cities, Holy Roman Empire, France), Poland possessed several significant differences in the classical reception. Firstly, I would emphasize the remarkably high level of politicization of arts and literature and thus,

³³⁹ This was relevant for Sigismund's library as well that was known in Poland and beyond thanks to its collections. See Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka Ostatniego Jagiellona*.

³⁴⁰ J. Pelc, *Słowo i obraz. Na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych*, (Kraków: Universitas, 2002), pp. 9–10.

³⁴¹ Such a research would contribute to the recent streams of historical scholarship and would significantly enlarge the scope of sixteenth-century studies.

the classical figures attached. This was particularly noted in the 1550s–1560s during the peak of the Executionist movement. It was common to refer and cite ancient Greek–Roman authors during the speeches or in the treatises not only to demonstrate the author’s education but to correspond with the requirements of the era³⁴². As a result, the treatises, poems, and visual art were closely connected with the political situation in Poland–Lithuania. This was a distinctive feature of the Polish Renaissance when compared to the Flanders, France, or Italy (with some exceptions), although Poland belonged to the ‘European republican tradition’³⁴³.

Secondly, while in Central and Western Europe the Renaissance practices were substituted with the Baroque forms in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Poland the discussion on the development of the state political system was ongoing in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries (perceived as anachronistic) with continuous references to the classical authors³⁴⁴. Polish culture of that era was transformed by the Sarmatism, Counter–Reformation, and the decay of state’s international positions. However, the classical tradition was still viable and tenable.

Thirdly, this attachment of the classical authors did not allow for the creation of the absolute monarchy as it happened in early modern England, France, or Spain. The idea of the noble nation and an elective monarchy in Poland–Lithuania was close to the Roman traditions where the noble stratum was considered as the only citizens enjoying full rights³⁴⁵. This transfer of the classical tradition and ideas later influenced the Eastern Slavic world, in particular Ukraine and Belarus, although implicitly: the Cossacks can be treated as the Ukrainian variant of the nobles who elected their ruler—Hetman. This trace of the classical tradition is almost invisible, but considering the long common history of these lands in a united state, this hypothesis cannot be ignored.

My thesis also confirms the assumption about the close artistic and intellectual contacts in early modern Europe. The artists could be educated in several universities in Poland, Germany, Italy, or Switzerland, then continue their studies under the auspices of a renowned master, and eventually come to Poland. This allowed for the transfer of the ideas and images that could serve as an inspiration for Polish authors and artists and simultaneously established narratives in the international arena (as it was with the 1560 emblem of Augustus or with his medals).

Finally, I need to address the question of how did the classical reception help Sigismund Augustus strengthen his power? It is impossible to trace the direct impact between the work of art, the image of the King presented and the decision accepted by the Sejm or the military success.

³⁴² Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*, pp. 5–13.

³⁴³ Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*, p. 13.

³⁴⁴ Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Polish Republican Discourse*, pp. 58, 173, 207; Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, p. 30.

³⁴⁵ Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, p. 7; Pietrzyk-Reeves, ‘Podstawy wspólnotowego ładu’.

Augustus followed another path: the splendour that surrounded him, typical figures with whom he was persistently associated in poetry and literature, praised him in a manner that made him a genuine leader of the Polish–Lithuanian state. This simultaneously raised his prestige in the international arena and diminished the claims regarding the incompetence of Augustus.

The code of antiquity, inserted in the particular Renaissance artworks, was easily read by the educated nobles. Hence, their reflections on the source's code were quite rare as it was a common element of the sixteenth-century Polish political life. Furthermore, as demonstrated in the second chapter, Augustus's claims against the Habsburg domination in Central Europe were declared through art (arrases, depictions) using the classical symbols, manifesting the relevance of the classical symbolism for early modern Europe. The measurement of Sigismund's practices of self-representation would require a broader comparative approach. My study, however, has argued that the reception of the classical tradition encompassed a decisive element of the royal image in sixteenth-century Poland.

I will conclude with a few remarks on potentially significant areas of scholarship on the topic. Further research should include another dimension of the royal representation in early modern Poland–Lithuania and provide a comparison of Habsburg and Jagiellonian attitudes towards classical art in the mid-sixteenth century. It would be beneficial to trace the origins of the Renaissance back to the fifteenth century and note how the image of the King was amended in comparison to the common medieval perception. Whatever topic is chosen for the future research on Sigismund Augustus or the history of Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, artistic and political legacy of this period shaped the future of the Commonwealth, its nations, and successor states.

An elegant Renaissance artwork, Sigismund Augustus's Effigy in the Sigismund Chapel reminded the attendants of the Wawel Cathedral, future Kings, Senators, the clergy, and citizens about the aspirations of King Sigismund Augustus, his admirations and education, deeply based on the prominent examples of the antiquity³⁴⁶. Although the Renaissance began to flourish in Poland already in the early sixteenth century, it was Sigismund Augustus who persistently promoted the classical tradition in the representation of his royal *maiestas*.

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³⁴⁶ See the comparison of the Italian Renaissance architecture and the Sigismund Chapel in Kalinowski, pp. 1–129. The elements of the Chapel have been investigated as a peculiar example of an ancient triumphal arch. See Kalinowski, pp. 35–47.

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Annexes



Figure 1. Arras with the coat of arms of Poland with a background with animals. Brussels, c. 1560.
Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, nr. 63, pp. 334–335.



Figure 2. Arras with the monogram of the King 'SA' and the sitting nymphs. Brussels, c. 1560. Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, nr. 96, pp. 448–449.



Figure 3. Arras with monogram of King 'SA' and the globe. Brussels, c. 1560. Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, nr. 91, pp. 424–431. ZKWawel 91. Wirtualne Muzea Malopolski, <http://muzea.malopolska.pl/obiekty/-/a/4869610/13754885>, consulted on 16.05.20.



Figure 4. Portrait of Sigismund II Augustus. 1550–1560. MNK I-21. Public domain.

National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/pl/wyniki-wyszukiwania/zaawansowane/katalog/29244>, consulted on 13.04.20.



Figure 5. Lucas Cranach. Portrait of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland (1520–1572). MNK XII-538. Public domain.

National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/382293>, consulted on 20.03.2020.



Figure 6. Portrait of Sigismund Augustus from Stanislaus Hosius, 'Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana', Vienna, 1560. MNK III-ryc.-34196. Public domain.

National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/catalog/121130>, consulted on 20.03.20.



Figure 7. Nelli Niccolo, 'Sigismundus Augustus D.G. Rex Poloniae (Zygmunt August z Bożej Łaski król Polski)'. MNK III-ryc.-28694. Public domain.

National Museum in Cracow website. Digital collection, <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/en/search-result/advance/catalog/457404>, consulted on 20.02.20.



Figure 8. 'Arras with the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania and the figure of Victoria'. Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, nr. 79, pp. 380–381.

ZKWawel 85. Public domain. Wirtualne Muzea Malopolski, <http://muzea.malopolska.pl/obiekty/-/a/4869610/13754586>, consulted on 16.05.20.



Figure 9. 'Arrases with the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania and the figure of Ceres.

Hennel-Bernasikowa, Piwocka, nr. 87, pp. 409–410. Wirtualne Muzea Malopolski, <http://muzea.malopolska.pl/obiekty/-/a/4869610/13754779>, consulted on 16.05.20.



Figure 10. Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland. J. Bielski, 1597, p. 588.