

Patrik Pastrnak

**A BRIDAL JOURNEY:  
THE CASE OF BONA SFORZA**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2017

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by

Patrik Pastrnak

(Slovakia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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I, the undersigned, **Patrik Pastrnak**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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# Abstract

The thesis examines the bridal journey of Bona Sforza (1494–1557) from Manfredonia to Krakow in 1518 in the light of its material aspects, rituals and literary image, in order to unravel its inner mechanism and symbolic meanings. A comparative analysis, a whole array of written sources – letters, descriptions of the wedding and journey, wedding poems and orations, financial accounts and the instructional handbook by Diomedes Carafa – are used to draw a sketch of the different functions of the journey.

Chapter one reconstructs the journey from the point of view of its planning and realization. Chapter two, by tracing the ritual aspects, especially the farewell to the mother, the encounter with the husband and the solemn entries to cities, points to the message behind them – the manifestation of dynastic prestige. The last chapter deconstructs the image of Bona's journey in humanistic poetry which, by using the ancient form of wedding oration, created a completely new, metaphorical journey. The deconstruction disentangles the rhetorical strategies and messages disguised in them. The thesis provides a new perspective on the traditionally documented part of Bona's wedding, deploying new historical approaches and methods.

# Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to my supervisors, Katalin Szende and Balázs Nagy, for all their support and assistance. My gratitude also goes to many other professors, dear persons and friends, who made the CEU a genuine *locus amoenus*. And, of course, to my mom.

# Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
a. Historical context.....	2
b. Historiography and sources.....	3
c. Thesis objectives and methodology.....	7
I. Reconstruction .....	9
a. Planning the journey .....	9
b. Transport.....	20
II. Rituals and ceremonies .....	26
a. Farewell and encounter .....	30
b. <i>Adventus reginae</i> .....	36
III. Deconstruction .....	42
a. <i>Deductio</i> .....	45
b. Messages.....	52
Conclusion .....	56
Bibliography List .....	58
Appendices.....	62

# List of Figures and Tables

Table 1 The itinerary of Bona Sforza's bridal journey.....	12
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Figure 1 Part of Erhard Etzlaub's Romweg Map.....	17
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# Introduction

This thesis is about a bridal journey, but it is not the bride who is its main character. A noble woman was a very important piece in the political chessboard of medieval and early modern society: but, as in chess, she was in the hands of men. In premodern society the weddings of noble daughters were concluded for political reasons. By concluding a marital bond nobles and rulers from distant regions sought to spread their power, find a powerful ally, or secure peace. The young bride was supposed to set off on a long journey to her husband's territory to reach a man she had never seen before, who often spoke a different language or even came from a different cultural circle. At first sight it may seem that this journey was merely a physical transfer. One might ask if that is so. Is the move of the chess piece a single physical labour and does it not involve a complex logical mechanism, rules, long planning, and upshots?

Since a political marriage was standard during the Middle Ages (and beyond), bridal journeys were frequent. However, in spite of such frequency, it was not until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that bridal journeys are better documented. There are many reasons for that: better preservation of sources of all types (diplomatic, literary), the development of literary production, especially humanistic genres, and increased bureaucratization. From the point of view of source availability, one of the best documented cases is the journey undertaken by Bona Sforza (1494–1557), the second wife of Polish King Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548). Since there is almost no scholarly literature on Bona Sforza in English, let us start with a brief historical context of this wedding as well as the phenomenon of bridal journeys in the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Although Bona's bridal journey took place in 1518 which is the period of the High Renaissance in Italy, that was not the case in other areas, such as Poland. Bridal journeys, as well as travelling modes and rituals in this period still followed the medieval practice. A strictly Renaissance part of the thesis is Chapter Three which examines the wedding poetry – epithalamia, which was a humanistic novelty. Thus, I see the period of Bona's

## a. Historical context

The main character of this thesis, Bona Sforza, was one of the most sought-after brides of her time. As the third child of Gian Galeazzo Sforza (1469–1494) and Isabella of Aragon (1470–1524), she was a descendant of two prominent Italian dynasties – the Sforza and the Aragonese. Although her father, Gian Galeazzo, was duke of Milan, he was merely a puppet in the hands of his uncle, Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508). Gian Galeazzo's mysterious death in 1494, a few months after Bona's birth, put Isabella and her children completely at the mercy of Ludovico. After turbulent years of striving for Milan, in 1502 Isabella managed to get at least the duchy of Bari and Rossano. However, she never stopped seeking ways to regain Milan. In order to do so, Isabella wished to marry Bona to Massimiliano Sforza, the son of the hated Ludovico. After the French invasion of Milan in 1515 and the capture of Maximilian, the wedding project was cancelled.

Isabella had also other options available to her. She could, for instance marry her daughter to Ferdinand of Habsburg, the younger brother of later Emperor Charles V, to Philip of Savoy, or to Lorenzo Medici the Younger, cousin of Pope Leo X. However, in 1515 all these plans were interrupted by the sudden death of Barbara Zápolya, wife of King Sigismund I of Poland. The Polish ruler started to seek a new wife and, as in Bona's case, he had many options. Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) had a particular interest in Sigismund's new marriage arrangements. In the same year of 1515, the First Congress of Vienna took place, agreeing on the mutual Habsburg – Jagiellonian succession. Sigismund's first wife was from a family opposed to the Habsburgs, so the emperor did not want to miss the chance to rectify the situation and secure Poland for the Habsburg coalition. The emperor suggested three possible

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journey in the perspective of “a long Middle Ages” and the Renaissance as the last of many renaissances – rebirths that occurred during the Middle Ages. See Jacques Le Goff, *Must We Divide History into Periods?*, European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 79–112.

brides, from whom Sigismund chose Eleonora of Austria, the emperor's granddaughter. Meanwhile, Isabella spared neither time nor money to tip the scales in Bona's favor. Her efforts and Eleonora's eventual engagement to the king of Portugal finally led to Sigismund choosing Bona.<sup>2</sup>

The wedding by proxy took place in Naples on 6 December 1517 and the festivities lasted for several days. Bona's dowry amounted to 100,000 ducats plus her personal items (*res paraphernalia*) valued at 50,000 ducats. In addition, Bona inherited the claims for the duchy of Bari and Rossano after her mother's death. Bona and her entourage set off from the Adriatic port of Manfredonia<sup>3</sup> in Italy on February 1518.<sup>4</sup> Several weeks later, she arrived in Krakow in Poland, where the second wedding festivities took place.

## b. Historiography and sources

Bona's wedding is sufficiently elaborated in Polish and Italian scholarship, although only as a part of Bona's biographies, not as an independent study. The largest and the most elaborated biography is the two-volume monograph of Władysław Pociecha.<sup>5</sup> Pociecha's work utilizes a whole array of sources, with some of them edited in appendices and footnotes. Unfortunately, his work stayed unfinished: the second volume ends in 1528, roughly in the middle of Bona's life. A shorter, but complex monograph (covering Bona's entire life) is the work of Maria Bogucka, which had multiple editions.<sup>6</sup> Bogucka draws upon Pociecha's work,

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<sup>2</sup> Władysław Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557): czasy i ludzie odrodzenia* [Queen Bona (1494–1557): times and people of the Renaissance], vol. I (Poznań: Poznań. Tow. przyjaciół nauk, 1949), 180–215.

<sup>3</sup> It may be argued that Bona's bridal journey started already in Naples, since that was a place of the wedding by proxy. I set Manfredonia as a starting point of the bridal journey because only there Bona leaves the authority of her mother (the act of separation, see more in Chapter Two); by starting the poem by the moment of separation in Manfredonia, not in Naples, Carmignano follows this logic and Carafa also speaks about the journey only after the queen's separation from the father.

<sup>4</sup> Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 4th ed. (Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2009), 55.

<sup>5</sup> Pociecha, *Królowa Bona*, I; Władysław Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557): czasy i ludzie odrodzenia* [Queen Bona (1494–1557): times and people of the Renaissance], vol. II (Poznań: Poznań. Tow. przyjaciół nauk, 1949).

<sup>6</sup> Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*.

employing new sources, if any, in order to create a concise and reader-friendly biography of the almost legendary Polish queen. Italian scholarship produced several biographies of Bona as well, along with the editions of documents connected with Bona's connections in Italy.<sup>7</sup> A comprehensive summary of research concerning Bona Sforza was collected in the two-volume catalogue from the collaborative Italian and Polish exhibition "Bona Sforza: Queen of Poland and Duchess of Bari".<sup>8</sup>

Although Bona's life is well elaborated in scholarship, no study has drawn attention to her bridal journey as a unique phenomenon. Pociecha treats the journey in a very detailed, but rather conventional and positivistic way, and so do the other monographs. Bona's bridal journey is evaluated as a single phenomenon in the study by Isabella Nuovo.<sup>9</sup> Nuovo brings interesting insights into the discussion, for instance, she tries to analyze Carmignano's poem from the perspective of wedding poetry, however, her paper suffers from focusing only on one source (Carmignano's poem). All studies so far have considered Bona's journey as a merely geographic transfer, necessary because of the great distance separating the spouses; however, Bona's journey has not been investigated from the perspective of the bridal journeys.

The bridal journey, as a distinct phenomenon, is a new concept in historical writing. A detailed monograph has not been devoted to this topic; nevertheless, there are several intriguing studies trying to shed new light on the merely "geographic" journey of a bride. Karl Heinz-Spiess pointed out several functions of the bridal journey, e.g. diplomatic or festive, but the

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<sup>7</sup> Gerardo Cioffari, *Bona Sforza: donna del Rinascimento tra Italia e Polonia* (Bari: Levante, 2000); Angela Campanella, *Bona Sforza. Regina Di Polonia Duchessa Di Bari* (Bari: Laterza Editore, 2008); Krzysztof Zaboklicki, ed., *Lettere Inedite (1554-1556) Di Bona Sforza, Regina Di Polonia, Al Suo Agente Italiano Pompeo Lanza* (Warszawa, Rome, 1998); Vito A. Melchiorre, ed., *Documenti Baresi Su Bona Sforza* (Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Maria Stella Calò Mariani and Giuseppe Dibenedetto, eds., *Bona Sforza: regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari: catalogo della Mostra*, vol. 1 (Rome: Nuova Comunicazione, 2000); Maria Stella Calò Mariani and Giuseppe Dibenedetto, eds., *Bona Sforza: regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari: catalogo della Mostra*, trans. Lucia Abignente, vol. 2 (Rome: Nuova Comunicazione, 2007). The exhibition took place in 2000, and it was presented first in Bari and then in Warsaw.

<sup>9</sup> Isabella Nuovo, "'Na rosa de diamanti relucenti': La magnificenza delle nozze di Bona; Feste, banchetti, spettacoli in alcune testimonianze contemporanee," in *Bona Sforza regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari; Catalogo della mostra*, vol. 1, 117–27.

journey does not stand in the central point of his study.<sup>10</sup> Christiane Coester clearly discerns the bridal journey as a separate category. Apart from a basic scheme and brief historical overview, she shifts from the political or legal sphere to the ritual and social functions of the journey, employing the means of cultural history.<sup>11</sup> Antonio Cueto, on the other hand, provides a very valuable analysis of Renaissance wedding poems in light of classical poetic schemes of *deductio*, the ancient wedding procession.<sup>12</sup>

The road leading to the study of Bona's bridal journey is thus wide, paved by previous scholarship. Bona's voyage from Manfredonia to Krakow is particularly apt for conducting this analysis, since there are sources of various forms. Diplomatic material concerning Bona's wedding, i.e. contracts, mandates, letters are collected in the fourth volume of *Acta Tomiciana*, compiled by the royal secretary Stanisław Górski.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from diplomatic sources, *Acta Tomiciana* contains some narrative and literary sources as well. The most valuable narrative source concerning Bona's wedding is the description by Justus Ludwik Decjusz.<sup>14</sup> Decjusz starts his account with the death of Barbara Zápolya, Sigismund's first wife. Going through all the diplomatic negotiations of Bona's wedding, he provides important evidence about the wedding ceremonies and guests, along with the transcriptions of the speeches and orations. Decjusz' account of Bona's bridal journey is

<sup>10</sup> Spiess, Karl-Heinz, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann. Brautfahrt und Ehe in europäischen Fürstenthümern des Spätmittelalters," in *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter*, ed. Irene Erfen and Karl-Heinz Spiess (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997), 17–36.

<sup>11</sup> Christiane Coester, "Crossing Boundaries and Traversing Space. The Voyage of the Bride in Early Modern Europe," in *Moving Elites: Women and Cultural Transfers in the European Court System. Proceedings of an International Workshop* (Florence, 12–13 December 2008), ed. Giulia Calvi and Chabot (Florence: European University Institute, 2010), 9–20.

<sup>12</sup> Antonio Serrano Cueto, "Historia y ficción poética en la deductio moderna: El largo viaje de la novia en tres epitalamios latinos del siglo XV en honor de la Casa de Aragón," *Euphrosyne*, no. 42 (2014): 67–86.

<sup>13</sup> Stanislaus Gorski, *Acta Tomiciana. Tomus quartus – epistolarum, legationum, responsorum actionum et rerum gestarum serenissimi principis Sigismundi Primi, Regis Poloniae at Magni Ducis Lithuniae* (S.l.: Biblioteka Kornicka, 1855). Documents of *Acta* come from the reigns of Kings Sigismund I and Sigismund II August, and the administration of chancellor Piotr Tomicki, whose name it carries.

<sup>14</sup> Jodocus Ludovicus Decius, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna in splendidissimis, potentissimi Sigismundi Poloniae regis, et serenissimae dominae Bonaе, Mediolani, Barique ducis principis Rossani, nuptiis gesta descriptio* (Krakow: Hieronymus Victor, 1518).

useful from the point of view of the final part, i.e. the encounter of Sigismund and Bona, and the solemn entrance to Krakow.

The detailed description of the journey itself, starting from Bona's farewell to the mother and ending with wedding ceremonies in Krakow, comes down to us in the poem written by Pathenopeo Suavio, which is a pseudonym for Cola Antonio Carmignano.<sup>15</sup> Carmignano was a member of Bona's entourage travelling with her from Italy as well as her personal treasurer. His account combines realistic features and information with literary techniques and strategies, mostly taken from the genre of wedding poetry. Bona's journey and wedding gave rise to a number of other pieces of wedding poetry, so-called *epithalamia* and other occasional poetry.

Some very interesting information for the reconstruction of the journey is included in the Jagiellonian financial accounts. With the first accounts dating from as early as in 1388, Jagiellonian account books are a unique phenomenon in medieval Central Europe, since they were produced in every land the family ruled. Most of these books remain unedited. The accounts concerning Bona's wedding are currently housed in the Main Archive of Old Events in Krakow (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, AGAD).<sup>16</sup>

As a comparative text for our analysis, I will use the only surviving instructional manual for a bridal journey, the *De institutione vivendi* by Diomedes Carafa.<sup>17</sup> Although this

<sup>15</sup> Nicola Antonio Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona regina da la sua arrivata in Manfredonia andando vero del suo regno de Polonia," in *Operette del Parthenopeo Suavio (Carmignano)* (Bari, 1535). The collection contains other poems of Carmignano.

<sup>16</sup> Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego z lat 1388–1826, Oddział 1 – Rachunki Królewskie, 1388–1781, the online catalogue entry: [http://archives.gov.by/Radzivily/Data/PL\\_AGAD\\_7.xml](http://archives.gov.by/Radzivily/Data/PL_AGAD_7.xml). Some of edited account books: Piekosiński, Franciszek, ed. *Rachunki dworu króla Władysława Jagiełły i królowej Jadwigi z lat 1388 do 1420*. [The court accounts of the King Władysław Jagiełło and the Queen Jadwiga from years 1388 to 1420.] Kraków : Akad. Umiejętności, 1896; Balzer, Oswald, ed. *Rachunki domowe Zygmunta Augusta z roku 1549*. [The home accounts of the King Zygmunt August from the year 1549.] [Lwów : s.n., 1885]; Kozák, Petr. *Rationes curiae Sigismundi Jagellonici, ducis Glogoviensis et Opaviensis, Silesiae et Lusatarum summi capitanei, de annis (1493) 1500–1507 / Účty dvora prince Zikmunda Jagellonského, vévody hlohovského a opavského, nejvyššího hejtmana Slezska a Lužic, z let (1493) 1500–1507*. Opava: Scriptorium, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Diomedes Carafa, *De institutione vivendi* =: Tanítás az életvezetés szabályairól ; Emlékeztető Magyarország fenséges királynéjának, ed. Péter Ekler (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2006).

text was not intended for Bona, but for her great-aunt Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), this source is relevant for two reasons: first, both Beatrice and Bona undertook the journey from southern Italy to Central European kingdoms (Beatrice travelled to Hungary) within an approximately same time (forty years); and second, the author of *De institutione*, Diomedes Carafa (1406/8–1484), reflected contemporary traditions and customs. Carafa was for a long time in charge of a number of military and administrative positions at the Aragonese court in Naples and thus deeply familiar with various practical aspects pertaining to the royal court. His short treatise will help us to examine Bona's journey from a wider perspective.

### **c. Thesis objectives and methodology**

As has been noted, prior scholarship took Bona's journey as a mere physical transfer. I, on the other hand, will argue that her journey was much more: it was a well-planned voyage carrying a significant symbolic value represented by many ritual aspects. Moreover, the literary sources, especially poems, and their narrative techniques shift the bridal journey from the literal to the metaphorical level. Bona's journey is thus the result of the convergence of the real and virtual travel.

The bridal journey will thus be examined from three perspectives. First, I will reconstruct the hidden mechanisms behind the actual journey, i.e. the planning and carrying out. In order to do so, I will carry out a comparative analysis of the ideal version of the bridal voyage sketched by Carafa, the coeval travelogue literature and secondary literature, contrasted with the sources concerning Bona's case, mainly Carmignano's poem, the entries from royal account books, letters, and so on. The issues of spatial and temporal planning, the necessary material aspects, the means of travel etc. will also be considered.

In the second chapter, the attention will be turned to the symbolical meaning inherent in ritual practises, especially two of them: Bona's farewell to her mother, and her first encounter

with her husband. As a point of reference, Carafa's instructional work will be used alongside evidence from Decjusz' and Carmignano's works. The goal of this chapter will be supported by the hypothesis that the bridal journey is the rite of passage.

The final chapter will focus on the deconstruction of Bona's metaphorical journey, created by several pieces of poetry by Carmignano and others, especially one by Ferenc Buzás of Újhelyi, describing Bona's arrival in Krakow, a work that has not yet been examined in scholarship.<sup>18</sup> By using the techniques of ancient wedding poetry (*epithalamia*) these poems produced a new version of the journey and its members in order to praise the two families that were being joined in matrimony and especially Bona's husband – King Sigismund.

Far from a simple description of Bona Sforza's journey to Poland, this thesis aims to put this journey into a completely new perspective, employing the means of cultural and literary studies. It is thus meant to contribute to various historical disciplines, such as women's studies, gender history, cultural and literary studies.

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<sup>18</sup> Ferenc Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viihelini adventum serenissime d[omi]nae Bonae reginae, coniugis invictissimi principis d[omi]ni, domini Sigismundi Poloniae regis declarans* (Krakow: Hieronymus Victor, 1518). The only exemplar of this poem is stored in Uppsala University Library. I would like to thank for a hint concerning this source to Farkas Gábor Kiss.

# I. Reconstruction

The goal of this chapter is not to describe Bona Sforza's journey, i.e. to trace every single step of hers, every furrow of her carriage or footprint of her horse, but rather to draw upon sources and secondary literature in order to shed light on how her travel was planned and conducted.

As the starting point for my discussion of the planning process, I will use the only surviving instructional text for this kind of journey, *De institutione vivendi* by Diomedes Carafa.<sup>19</sup> Besides Carafa's idealized version of the journey, I will use accounts about Bona's own travels: particularly the poem by Nicola Carmignano who describes Bona's voyage from the port of Manfredonia to the very end of the wedding feasts in Krakow.<sup>20</sup> Despite a great number of literary tropes and figures, Carmignano's poem is a valuable source for various material aspects of journey and the route. Aside from this poem, we have at our disposal letters by King Sigismund and his ambassadors, published either in the *Acta Tomiciana* or in Pociecha's work about Bona.<sup>21</sup> A very interesting source is a salary list of Bona's Italian court from August 1518, a few months after the journey was concluded.<sup>22</sup> It is thus most likely that the listed persons were members of Bona's entourage during her bridal journey. Apart from their names and wages, the list also records their professions, which offers us an intriguing insight into the skilled personnel needed for the journey.

## a. Planning the journey

Carafa writes about "planning" the journey in two ways: in the long-term and short-term, which are often mixed and not clearly distinguished. Already before the journey,

<sup>19</sup> Carafa, *De institutione vivendi*.

<sup>20</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona."

<sup>21</sup> Gorski, *Acta Tomiciana*; Pociecha, *Królowa Bona*, I.

<sup>22</sup> AGAD, ASK sec. 1, sign 47, fol. 17r–18v. Transcribed in the Appendix 1.

according to Carafa, the queen<sup>23</sup> had to be mindful of circumstances that might arise. The queen must consider the fact she will receive many visits by important persons whom she encounters on the way, and that it will thus be vital for her to have some time for herself in reserve. It is necessary to buy provisions in reasonable amounts or less and get what is missing on the way when the need arises. And the most important (according to Carafa) is that a supervisor should be appointed to ascertain that everything was paid for and nothing was stolen after leaving each city the queen stopped to visit.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, many overseers over the bride's ladies-in-waiting and handmaids should be appointed; the duty of such overseers would be to ride before the ladies and look after them, so that the ladies would not indulge in superfluous conversation with passers-by, particularly men.<sup>25</sup>

Bona's Italian court indeed lists two older women whose job was to oversee the younger women, precisely as Carafa described. However, besides them, there are many other professionals and artisans whom Carafa did not mention at all: jewelers, tailors, embroiderers, lackeys, and especially cooks (there are five on the salary list), and so on.<sup>26</sup> Although they were meant to be part of the queen's permanent court, their services were certainly needed already

<sup>23</sup> I am using the term "queen" for denoting Bona already during her journey, though it preceded her coronation in Krakow. Weddings by proxy, which preceded bridal journeys, were sometimes joined with queen's coronation – that was not Bona's case, but for instance, the case of Beatrice of Aragon in 1476. Coronation "by proxy" was then reiterated after bride's arrival – similarly as wedding by proxy. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to use the term "queen" for Bona already for the period before her coronation in Krakow – sources from the journey use this title (not only Carmignano's poem, which was finished couple years after the wedding, but also the letters of ambassadors and King Sigismund himself), and, we know that Beatrice of Aragon use the title queen already from the time the wedding contract was settled (almost one year before actual wedding and coronation) – which may show that the usage of this title was not so depended from the moment of coronation.

<sup>24</sup> "Iam nunc de his, quae in itinere servanda sunt, praecipendum arbitramur. Ubique credendum est te multos visitaturos, [...] Memento igitur pro dignitate munerum alios comiter et humaniter alloqui, aliis immortales agere gratias; nec obliviscare admonere tuos, quibus eiusmodi administrationis cura impendet, ut nunquam quicquam supervacuum sumant, immo ordinario et instituto minus, et si quid forte defuturum cognoscerent, quam primum emanant. Id praeterea observandum est, ut antequam ex oppidis, in quae diverteris, discedas, hominem instituas, cui curae sit intelligendi, an quisquam re quapiam sit fraudatus, quod ut intelliget, statim det operam satisfaciendi." Diomede Carafa, *De institutione vivendi*, 23–24.

<sup>25</sup> "Non est apud me dubium, quoniam id tute diligenter facere soles, te scilicet aliquem instituturam, qui semper pedissequas et ancillas tuas adequitet, ne a viris intercludi possint et cum iis colloqui. Velim te scire huic oneri non sufficere unum, sed pluribus opus esse. Nam unus saepe aut viarum angustiis remanere cogitur aut aliis necessariis rebus." Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> AGAD, ASK sec. 1, sign 47, fol. 17r–18v. Transcribed in the Appendix 1.

during the journey. Bona's entourage was thus more of a travelling court than a single expedition squad.

A very important role, which Carafa did not consider, was the queen's personal overseer. Bona Sforza was accompanied all the way to Krakow by Prospero Colonna.<sup>27</sup> His role seems to have been to lead the entire entourage, over which he had chief decisive power. Carmignano describes an episode that points to Colonna's power: when a Venetian ambassador visited Bona in the Dalmatian port of Lesna and invited her to Venice, just as Bona was about to agree, Colonna thanked the ambassador and refused his invitation.<sup>28</sup> The importance of his leadership is supported by many letters by King Sigismund as well, urging him to reach Krakow by the appointed date, as we will see later.

The long-term planning, although not explicit in Carafa's case, concerned particularly the choice of route. He speaks about the importance of visiting holy places and important persons (pope, princes, relatives) on the way – in other words, the route should be established in order to visit as many holy places and meet as many important persons as possible. Planning the journey this way offered two benefits: a spiritual good (similar to a pilgrimage) and a social good (obtaining a good reputation). According to Carafa, the journey to the groom offers a unique opportunity to achieve these goals.<sup>29</sup> A clearly short-term consideration is the planning of departures: leave-takings in every place on the route should be decided at least the evening before.<sup>30</sup> From this instruction we can presume that in Carafa's perception the route was (or should have been) delineated in its main points (by land/sea, direction, cities and towns), but the details were settled according to actual circumstances on the road.

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<sup>27</sup> Prospero Colonna (1452–1523) was an Italian condottiere serving many lords – as well as the Aragons from Naples. Colonna played an important role in defeating French troops in Italy, especially in the battle of Cerignola (1503) returning Naples back to the Aragonese.

<sup>28</sup> Carmignano, Nicola Antonio, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 3.

<sup>29</sup> "Quare diligenter studendum est, ut quando longi itineris subeundus est labor, fructum non parvum consequere nominis. Nam eiusmodi occasio raro sese offerre consuevit." Diomedes Carafa, *De institutione vivendi*, 30, et passim.

<sup>30</sup> "Illud etiam in memoriam revocandum, ut pridie cuiusque diei deliberetur, discedendumne sit postridie, et ubi constitutum est de abitu, quota hora abeundum sit, omnibus declaratur." Ibid., 27.

How were these guidelines realized and to what extent were they implemented during Bona's travels? There are only a handful of direct accounts of how the journey was planned on the road, and none about how it was planned beforehand. Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence that it had to be planned in advance, and some evidence that suggests that it was re-planned according to the actual situation on the road.

Carmignano's account and the surviving correspondence in *Acta Tomiciana* enabled scholars to reconstruct Bona's journey quite precisely (see also the map in Appendix 2).

*Table 1 The itinerary of Bona Sforza's bridal journey*<sup>31</sup>

Date	Place	Details	Distance (appr.)
December 6 (1517), Sunday	Naples	Wedding by proxy	–
December 26, Saturday	Naples	Departure to Manfredonia	(165 km)
February 3 (1518), Wednesday	Manfredonia	Embarkation from Manfredonia	150 km
February 4, Thursday	Lastovo	Mooring (6 o'clock)	
February 5, Friday	Lastovo	Waiting for other ships	–
February 6, Saturday	Hvar	Departure at dawn from Lastovo, mooring in the evening in Hvar	59 km
February 7, Sunday	Hvar	Landing in Hvar, departure in the night	147 km
February 8, Monday	Split, Šibenik	Passing by	
February 9, Tuesday	Zadar	Mooring (4 miles above the city of Zadar)	
February 10, Wednesday	Rab	Mooring	75 km
February 11, Thursday	Krk	Mooring	34 km
February 12, Friday	Krk	Fierce northern wind in the Kvarner Gulf, return to Krk	–
February 13, Saturday	Rijeka	Mooring in the night	40 km
February 14, Sunday	Rijeka	Landing, mass in the cathedral	–
February 22, Monday	Rupa	Snowing, overnight in "Villa de Clana", 15 miles from Rijeka	18 km
February 23, Tuesday	Pivka	Snowing, raining, fog, escort by viceroy from Ljubljana	24 km

<sup>31</sup> Based on Isabella Nuovo, "Na rosa de diamanti relucanti". I corrected and added the names of some towns and places which were dubious or unknown for Isabella Nuovo as she uses either the form from sources (Carmignano) or the current Italian equivalent of city names. I use modern names of the cities, which is not totally historically correct – for instance, the Dalmatian cities in Bona's times used the Italian names. Despite that, I chose the modern variants in order to avoid any problem with identification of the less known cities, and to set one form of city name, since especially in Bohemian and Polish areas, cities used more than one name. In central European discourse, there is a convention to use the modern names of cities in the main text, and to provide a table of different forms in appendices (with possible names of cities in German, Czech, Hungarian and so on). I believe that kind of table is not necessary in this case, since the cities are not the crucial object of the enquiry. In addition to that, I added approximate distances between the particular cities (towns) in order to have a rough idea of how many kilometers the entourage might have covered per day.

February 24, Wednesday	Postojna, Planina	Snow and fog	18 km
February 25, Thursday	Vrhnika	Difficult pass through the river Unica, uncomfortable journey	15 km
February 26, Friday	Ljubljana	Way hampered by ice, sailing the river Ljubljanica, arrival to Ljubljana, stay here for several days	19 km
March 3, Wednesday	Kamnik	Parting from Ljubljana, passing the river Sava, overnight in Kamnik	21 km
March 4, Thursday	Vransko	Difficult passing the river (Kamniška Bistrica), overnight in Vransko	26 km
March 5, Friday	Celje	Easy way	24 km
March 6, Saturday	Slovenska Bistrica	Impervious way	30 km
March 7–8, Sunday–Monday	Maribor	Flat area, passing the river Drava	19 km
March 9, Tuesday	Leibnitz (AU)	Departure from Maribor, night in Leibnitz	27 km
March 10–11, Wednesday–Thursday	Graz	Sailing the river Mura, triumphal entry to Graz, solemn mass	33 km
March 12, Friday	Frohnleiten	Departure from Graz, overnight in Frohnleiten	25 km
March 13, Saturday	Bruck an der Mur		17 km
March 14, Sunday	Krieglach	Mass in the morning, departure from Bruck, overnight in Krieglach	24 km
March 15, Monday	Schottwien		28 km
March 16–17, Tuesday–Wednesday	Neunkirchen, Wiener Neustadt	Bona with her close entourage in Wiener Neustadt, the rest continues to Traiskirchen	33 (52) km
March 18, Thursday	Vienna	Triumphal entry to Vienna	46 (21) km
March 21, Sunday	Vienna	Mass	–
March 23, Tuesday	Vienna	Departure from Vienna, collapse of the bridge over the Danube, return to the city	–
March 24, Wednesday	Wolkersdorf im Weinviertel	Overnight stay	22 km
March 25, Thursday	Mistelbach an der Zaya	Overnight stay	21 km
March 26, Friday	Mikulov	Overnight stay	27 km
March 27, Saturday	Hustopeče	Moravia, passing the river Dyje, overnight in Hustopeče	17 km
March 28, Sunday	Hustopeče – Vyškov	Mass in the morning, overnight in Vyškov	42 km
March 29, Monday – April 5, Monday	Olomouc	Celebration of Easter	40 km
April 6, Tuesday	Hranice	Triumphal entry, overnight	35 km
April 7, Wednesday	(Nový) Jičín	Overnight stay	21 km
April 8, Thursday	Ostrava	Overnight stay	33 km
April 9, Friday	Fryštát	Silesia, overnight stay	19 km
April 10, Saturday	Pszczyna	Overnight stay	33 km
April 11, Sunday	Oświęcim	Poland, supper and overnight	20 km

April 12, Monday	Tenczynek	Solemn supper and overnight	30 km
April 13–14, Tuesday–Wednesday	Morawica	Accommodation	12 km
April 15, Thursday	Krakow	Triumphal entry, overnight in the castle of Wawel	14 km
April 16–17, Friday – Saturday	Krakow	Preparations for wedding, meetings with Sigismund	–
April 18, Sunday	Krakow	Wedding and coronation	–
April 18–23, Sunday	Krakow	Festivities	–

The first observation to be made from the itinerary touches on the date of departure in the middle of winter. Winter was a very adverse and dangerous time for traveling. Such was the case with Bona's journey: the entourage had to wait several days for the good conditions in Manfredonia, it had to face a fierce northern wind in the Gulf of Kvarner, to dodge icy and snowy roads in Carniola and Styria. There were indeed harsh debates between Bona's mother and the Polish ambassadors over the date of departure: Sigismund's ambassadors demanded that the departure take place as soon as possible, which Isabella opposed.<sup>32</sup> One may thus ask why a more convenient date for the journey (and the wedding) was not chosen.

There are several possible answers. Sigismund may have been afraid that the wedding contract might be annulled. As Spiess points out, brides were supposed to embark on the bridal journey to their husbands and consummate the marriage soon after the proxy wedding, because there was still a theoretical possibility that the marriage could be called off.<sup>33</sup> The second, more intriguing reason for Sigismund's urging may have come from his fondness for astrology: he had a horoscope compiled for his coronation and for the enthronement of her first wife,<sup>34</sup> so it is conceivable to believe, though we have no evidence to support it, that Sigismund had had a horoscope composed for Bona's coronation as well.

<sup>32</sup> Pociecha, *Królowa Bona*, I, 213–214.

<sup>33</sup> Spiess, Karl-Heinz, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann," 26.

<sup>34</sup> Sylwia Konarska-Zimnicka, "Horoscopes Prepared by Master Astrologers from Krakow at the Turn of the 15th and 16th Century (according to the BJ 3225 and 3227 Manuscripts)," *Theatrum Historiae*, no. 18 (2016): 33.

As is clear from Bona's itinerary, she chose the maritime way from Italy to Dalmatia and then the overland route (with the exception of a few river sails) through Carniola, Styria, Austria, Moravia and Silesia to Poland. From a long-term perspective of route planning, Carafa's instruction to visit holy places was not followed in Bona's case. For example, she skipped visiting Rome, the hub of innumerable relics and important persons, such as the pope and cardinals. She neither even made a short detour to pilgrimage site, such as Mariazell, distant only fifty kilometers from Krieglach, where she spent a night, or Trstat (Tersatto) close to Rijeka. Neither was this advice taken to heart by Beatrice of Naples, the original addressee of Carafa's work. Beatrice, like Bona, chose a maritime route instead of traveling through Italy by land.

It seems that pragmatic considerations prevailed in both cases. Despite all dangers of sea travel (storms, pirates, shipwreck) a sea-route remained the most efficient form of transport: it could be up to sixty times cheaper than overland transportation and nine times cheaper than river transportation.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, Bona's journey was not a direct northward route from Manfredonia on the Italian coast to Rijeka on the Dalmatian coast. First she travelled eastwards to Lastovo, the Ragusan port lying on the other side of the Adriatic Sea roughly at the same latitude as Manfredonia. And only from there did the route lead along the Venetian coast of Dalmatia to Rijeka.

There is a more profound cause why the course pursued the Dalmatian coast than a fear of the open sea, which provoked "for a land civilization like that of the Middle Ages only fear, anxiety, and repulsion".<sup>36</sup> The Eastern Adriatic coast is much more navigable than the Western one for a number of reasons, for instance the presence of a great number of islands, as well as oceanographic and hydrographic characteristics such as sea currents and depth, that facilitate

<sup>35</sup> Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300/800* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 12–17.

<sup>36</sup> Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 55.

navigation and increase security. The protective character of the eastern Adriatic archipelago was especially vital in times like that of Bona's travel when the quality of ships was rather poor. The protective character of the archipelago was well-known since the Antiquity: Pliny the Elder wrote about this phenomenon too, but only in the nineteenth century was the full explanation of the Bora winds fully understood.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that the route Bona followed was planned according to contemporary sailing conventions needed to navigate along the Dalmatian coast. The resulting route was quite effective, since the expedition was hindered only once: in crossing the Gulf of Kvarner it had to turn back to the island of Krk because of fierce winds.

The way by land was much more stressful and costly than by sea. Since there is no direct evidence that the various legs of the journey were planned long in advance, indirect clues must be found. One of these is the fact that almost every city or town that Bona and her entourage visited was already expecting her – or, at least, was aware of her arrival. In Pivka, Bona was accompanied by the local viceroy, while in Ljubljana, Kamnik, Celje, Maribor and elsewhere she was welcomed with *festeggiamenti* and *colpi di artiglieria* (artillery salute), and in Graz hunting and feasts were organized for her.<sup>38</sup> It is thus evident that the route was settled in advance, and changed only in exceptional cases, for instance when the road to Ljubljana was frozen and impassable, Bona was suddenly obliged to use river transport instead.

Naturally, a large group of people – as was the case with Bona's entourage, which numbered around three hundred – had to choose a passable way with places to shelter in case of bad weather. Bona was able to travel from town to town exactly because trade between towns required good roadways. The very fact that Bona's route was not accidental is more than

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<sup>37</sup> Mithad Kozličić and Mateo Bratanić, "Ancient Sailing Routes in Adriatic," in *Les Routes de l'Adriatique Antique, Géographie et Économie – Putovi antičkog Jadrana, geografija i gospodarstvo*, ed. Slobodan Čače, Anamarija Kurilić, and Francis Tassaux (Bordeaux, Zadar: Ausonius, 2006), 107–24.

<sup>38</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapters 5–8.

clearly visible on the Romweg Map, made by Erhardt Erzlaub for the holy year of 1500.<sup>39</sup> The map sought to provide pilgrims to Rome with information about the best routes to choose and distances between specific places (towns, cities) along the way. For this reason, the map is oriented to the south with Rome on the very top, and the recommended routes are marked with dotted lines, where each dot corresponds to one German mile, that is, about 8 kilometers.

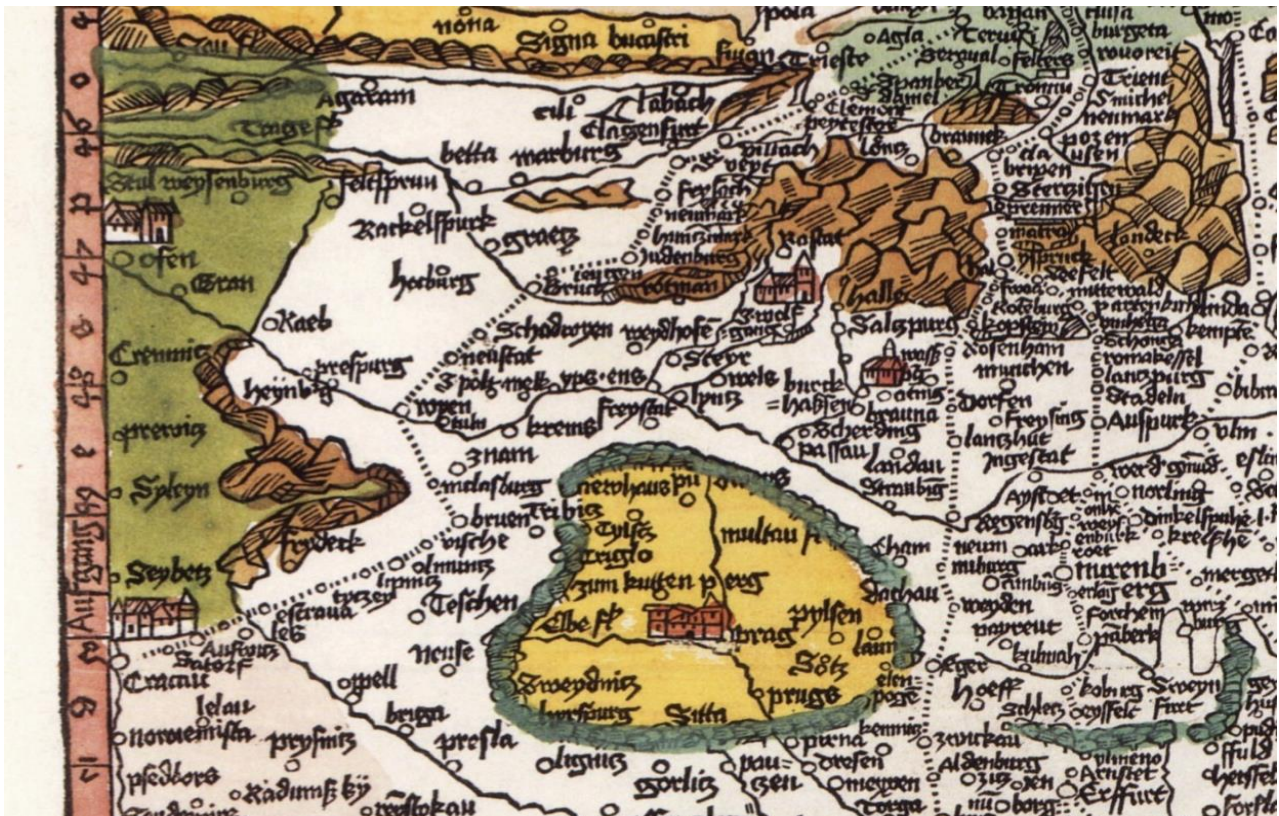


Figure 1 Part of Erhard Etzlaub's Romweg Map (1500). The map is rotated upside-down, the dotted line on the left side, indicating a recommended route for pilgrims, passes through Vienna (Wien), Brno (Bruen), Olomouc (Olmuncz) and ends in Krakow (as Cracau), placed in left bottom, with a symbol of castle.

The Romweg Map shows a number of towns that Bona passed through (Ljubljana, Celje, Maribor, Graz). From the town of Bruck an der Mur, Bona's route and the recommended route for pilgrims overlap to a large extent (Schottwien, Wiener Neustadt, Vienna, Vyškov, Olomouc, Ostrava, Oświęcim, Krakow). This shows that this route was well used, suitable for various travelers and equipped with good roadways and feasible opportunities for logging.

<sup>39</sup> Herbert Krüger, "Erhard Etzlaub's 'Romweg' Map and Its Dating in the Holy Year of 1500," *Imago Mundi* 8 (1951): 17–26.

However, it is unclear whether Bona's route was chosen because of existing good roads, circumstances arising on the way, or the intention to meet the emperor in Vienna or the bishop in Olomouc, as Carafa suggests. In the end, it is not so important—each of these causes may have the same validity and they complemented each other.

Apart from the spatial consideration, it is interesting to watch the planning of the journey from the temporal perspective too. An interesting bit of evidence for this aspect is an undated letter by King Sigismund to Prospero Colonna. Sigismund writes that he does not have news about the progress of the journey and was worried about whether Bona would arrive on time for the wedding and coronation. He has already set the date for the wedding and coronation and was also about to send messengers with wedding invitations to other royal and princely courts. He had selected the second Sunday after Easter (April 18) and was urging Prospero to try and reach Krakow by this time. Thus, Bona should spend the Easter feasts either in Olomouc or at least in Brno, from which cities Krakow was accessible in two weeks.<sup>40</sup> Sigismund sent a letter with almost the same content to his ambassadors in Bona's entourage, Stanislaw Ostroróg and Jan Konarski.<sup>41</sup> These letters reveal that neither the time nor the precise schedule of the journey was set in advance. As in the case of route planning, timing was also based on rough estimates of when the queen would reach certain points and then the rest was sorted out en route.

There is another important time-related aspect in planning the journey – let us call it “incorporation of the sacral time to the profane one”. It means, for instance, that the journey was adjusted in order to provide the entourage with the possibility to stay close to a church on

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<sup>40</sup> “Nihil tamen dubitantes, illam verisimilius in Olomuncz futuram, statuimus diem coronationis et felicium nuptiarum nostrarum pro secunda dominica post festum Pasche, et id omnibus regibus et principibus, quos invitavimus, per literas nostras significavimus. Quia vero illius Sertas., si Vienne ad festa Pasche esse deberet, nullo modo hic ad diem statutum propter incommoditatem temporis applicare posset, rogamus tuam Illtem.: agree velit cum ejus Serte. et iter illius ita dirigere, ut esset pro ejusdem festo Pasche in Olomuncz vel saltem in Berna, ubi remotius sine inmoderate proficisci non possit.” Gorski, *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 4, 267.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

Sundays in order to have a chance to celebrate Sunday liturgy. Carmignano either explicitly refers to masses on Sundays (in Rijeka, Bruck, Hustopeče), or implies the celebration of “feasts” in particular cities. This suggests that masses were celebrated and staying at, or rushing to particular places to do so was a vital part of journey planning. Since in Bona’s Italian court there were two priests (chaplains) listed, we know that she had spiritual assistance at her disposal during the entire journey.<sup>42</sup>

The same applies to important feasts such as Easter. In the letter cited above, Sigismund advises Bona to spend Easter in Olomouc, which would fit well with the practical and the religious aspects of her journey. On the one hand, Krakow was accessible from Olomouc in two weeks, while on the other hand it was the seat of a very important bishopric, so Bona could take full advantage of the most important Christian feast in a truly holy environment. As the itinerary shows, this is what happened: Bona arrived in Olomouc on the Monday before Easter and spent the entire Easter *triduum* in the city.

Moreover, there is another example of the importance of sacral dates to the journey (and wedding): the dates of the wedding by proxy in Naples coincide with the feast of St Nicolas, whose relics were reposed in Bari and who was, thus, the main patron of Bona’s ducal legacy. Similarly, Sigismund chose as the date of coronation and wedding in Krakow the second Sunday. According to the coronation *ordo* of Polish queens, the coronation ceremony should take place on Sunday, following three days of fasting.<sup>43</sup> Such a connection between the royal and religious feast reflected the idea of the sacral power of the king and vice versa, it served to reinforce it.

<sup>42</sup> AGAD, ASK sec. 1, sign 47, fol. 17r.

<sup>43</sup> “Regina triduanum ieiunium peragit per hebdomadam praecedentem, videlicet quarta, sexta feria et sabbato, dominica vero proxime sequenti coronatur, qua ipsa regina ad communionem se parat.” “Ordinatio Caeremoniarum in Coronationibus Reginarum Poloniae Observandum,” in *Corpus Iuris Polonici*, ed. Oswald Balzer, vol. 3 (Krakow: 1905). The *Ordo* was originally compiled for the coronation of the first wife of Sigismund I, Barbara Zápolya in 1512, but was also used afterwards and is a good description of contemporary practice.

To sum up, Bona's itinerary and other sources reveal the spatial and temporal planning of the journey. In so doing, they provide an insight into the hidden logic behind her travels. On the spatial level, Bona's journey did not follow precisely Carafa's advice to see and visit as much as possible. Instead, it sought to combine the practical and the spiritual-social aspects of the journey – to travel by sea as far as possible, to voyage through passable areas but at the same time to respect "sacral time" and to remain close to places of cult and devotion. The journey was also planned with regard to time. Sundays and feasts such as Easter were times for rest and celebration.

## **b. Transport**

After discussing the planning of the journey, let us focus on its actual implementation and management: the circumstances of transport, such as speed, means of transport and lodging.

As is clear from the itinerary, the maritime leg of the voyage was conducted at a much faster daily speed than the overland part. During daylight it was possible to cover up to 75 kilometers by sea. The voyage by land was limited to roughly 40 kilometers per day. Across the most difficult parts of Carniola the daily mileage did not exceed 30 kilometers. The daily mileage on the land had its logic: horses, the most common means of transport, needed to stop after some distance so as not to be too exhausted. Horses that were not exchanged for new ones needed to rest and be fed every 5 or 6 German miles, which equals roughly 40 kilometers.<sup>44</sup>

It would not make much sense to calculate the average rate of the convoy. As Daniela Dvořáková points out, the very concept of "average rate" is rather misleading in terms of

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<sup>44</sup> Daniela Dvořáková, *Kôň a člověk v středověku* [Horse and Man in the Middle Ages] (Budmerice: Vydavatel'stvo Rak, 2007), 165.

medieval traveling. Medieval people measured the distance either on the basis of days spent on the road or miles (*milliaria*). However, a medieval mile varied geographically from one region to another, and also individually. Originally, it indicated the distance a traveler passed from the start of the journey to the first rest.<sup>45</sup>

The maritime leg of the journey was, of course, travelled by ships. No precise information is available about the type or number of ships used by Bona and her entourage. Carmignano speaks only about *naui* (“ships” in plural) and it seems that there were at least three, since Bona’s ship had to “wait for other ones” in Lastovo.<sup>46</sup>

Overland travel was carried out by horses, mules and carriages. Stanislaw Ostroróg, Sigismund’s ambassador on the journey, writes to the king that there was a huge loss of horses and mules who died because of the rocking of the ships at sea. Later he write that, because of harsh roads, up to that day (March 3), Bona could not alight a cart or a litter, but had to ride horseback all the way to Celje and most probably, she would be forced to do the same as far as Graz, where the provisions and carts were hopefully to be prepared.<sup>47</sup> In the end, the carts (or carriages) may have arrived sooner than in Graz. Carmignano writes that the party arrived in Leibnitz already on a number of carts.<sup>48</sup>

The reference that Bona had to ride on horseback suggests that normally she travelled in a cart. The Latin term used for it, *currus*, does not allow us to say anything special about what type of cart this might have been. In the Middle Ages, a whole array of carts was in use, spanning from clumsy and heavy wagons, dragged by mules, horses or oxen, to lighter coaches,

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. The rough estimates of medieval miles span from 1.74 to 8.36 km.

<sup>46</sup> “[...] e in la marina / Naue parrate per menarne fora [...]” Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 1; the waiting episode: Ibid., chapter 3.

<sup>47</sup> “Serenissima regina ex Dei clementia cum omni comitatu suo bene valet, licet magnam iacturam passa sit in equis et mulis, qui ex iactatione maris periere. Quod ad itineris rationem attinet, scire dignetur S. M. V., ipsam serenissimam reginam ad hanc diem propter itineris asperitatem neque currum ullum neque lecticam conscendisse, sed semper equitasse et cogitur adhuc equitare ad oppidum [...] Gracz, ubi tandem fiet provisio et omnes feminae curribus vehi possint.” Pociecha, *Królowa Bona*, I, 271.

<sup>48</sup> “Con molti curri, non senza fatica / In camisi ne ueneano approssimando.” In Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 7.

appearing as early as the fourteenth century, which were faster and more comfortable because of their body was suspended by chains.<sup>49</sup> Currus could stand for a type of wagon used for commercial purposes and as well as the very sumptuous, luxurious and very often gilded wagon for nobility, but it could also mean a cart, chariot or coach.<sup>50</sup> However, during the journey of a bride who travelled with a large entourage and dowry, slowly and laboriously, it would make more sense to use a bigger wagon, not a light coach. The payments for Bona's court from October 1518, few months after the journey and the wedding, reveal that she had three *agazones* at hand. *Agazo* can denote both stable boys and drivers, since these professions usually overlapped.<sup>51</sup> In terms of medieval "driving", a driver sat not in the front part of the cart, but on one of the horses (or mules) that dragged the cart; this would mean that Bona had at least three carts. The fact that one of the stable boys had an Italian name, Leonardo, may indicate that he had travelled with Bona on her bridal journey.

At any rate, carts were highly uncomfortable, so travelers had to alleviate the discomfort of the journey with cushions and pillows. This may have been Bona's case as well, since from the day of her arrival to Krakow there is an account that the royal treasurer paid 60 groschen for buying the wool for cushions for the queen.<sup>52</sup>

A number of carriages was certainly needed for transporting Bona's non-financial dowry, the so called *res paraphernalia*. It contained her personal clothes, hats, bed linens, precious clothes, silverware, and liturgical items.<sup>53</sup>

Lodging was provided according to the status of travelers. The queen and more noble members of the entourage stayed in local castles or palaces, less noble members in less

<sup>49</sup> Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: The Rich and Restless* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982), 37.

<sup>50</sup> Dvořáková, *Kůň a člověk v středověku* [Horse and Man in the Middle Ages], 141.

<sup>51</sup> "Agazones reginalis maiestatis: Marczin – fl. 2, Leonardo – fl. 2, Thomek – fl. 2." AGAD, ASK, sec. 1, sign. 47, fol. 27r.

<sup>52</sup> "Eodem die dedi de mandato maiesties regie unam sexagenam ad emendam lanam ad pulvinaria reginalis maiestis in manus Mysskowsky." AGAD, ASK, sec. 1, sign. 46, fol. 43r.

<sup>53</sup> For a detailed list of Bona's dowry see Melchiorre, *Documenti Baresi*, 13–18.

prominent residences. Carmignano, for instance, refers to the *ostello* in Maribor as the place where he stayed, and the *palazzo* or *castello* for Bona and her closest retinue.<sup>54</sup> The expedition consisted of several hundreds of persons, so the logistics of accommodation was of great significance. Carmignano writes that in Pivka in Carniola, a town too small to receive the entire entourage at once, the group was split and lodged in more than eight different villages around Pivka.<sup>55</sup>

It is not possible to say for sure who stayed closest to Bona during lodging. Most likely, the ladies-in-waiting were accommodated close to her. Helena Kottannerin, a lady-in-waiting of Queen Elisabeth of Luxembourg and a famous thief of the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen, considered holy by Hungarians, writes in her memoirs that the queen was sleeping in a room with two ladies-in-waiting, though, admittedly, this was at a time when she was to give birth and thus in need of special assistance.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, from this perspective, it is intriguing that on the list of Bona's Italian retinue there are two ladies, Albina and Samuella, marked as *puellae cubicularie*, bedroom maids. It might well be the case that Bona slept in a room with two women in attendance, as did Queen Elisabeth. From the low salary of these "bedroom" attendants it is possible to infer they came from less noble families and their service involved subordinate work. The presence of women in the closest presence of a queen might have been problematic, for instance Duchess Yoland of Vaudémont was obliged, during her bridal journey (1497), to find very miserable emergency lodging because Cistercian monks who ran the hostel refused to accommodate women.<sup>57</sup>

A very vivid picture of the low-cost accommodation provided for other members of the entourage can be found in the *Odeporicon*, the travel diary of Riccardo Bartolini, secretary

<sup>54</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 7.

<sup>55</sup> "Piu de otto uille compartendo accorta / Il modo de alloggiar la sua brigata [...]" Ibid., chapter 4.

<sup>56</sup> Helene Kottannerin, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner (1439-1440)*, ed. Maya Bijvoet Williamson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 24.

<sup>57</sup> Spiess, Karl-Heinz, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann," 27.

and personal chaplain of the bishop of Gurk whom he followed on his diplomatic journey to Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1515.<sup>58</sup> Bartolini depicts the accommodation in Vienna as being very unpleasant. After the official welcome to the city, as it began to grow dark, Bartolini and his companions headed to the inn, but had an unpleasant surprise: “Good gods, what house for lodging we have seen ... Everything was frozen, and a shameless innkeeper was fixing a heater, obviously broken a long time ago.”<sup>59</sup> For Bartolini and his companions there was nothing left but curse the servants who had found such abominable lodgings. The quality of lodging got even worse a few weeks after in Pressburg. Unlike in Vienna, where only the heating system was broken, the inn in Pressburg resembled a shed unfit for human residence:

“I could assume that it is rather a cellar, a pigsty or a coop. We saw no beds, seats or chairs, only the long poles stretching from one wall to another – the bedroom of hens. The ceiling was dedicated to divine Arachné and the floor to the grunting goddess Porcilla.”

Eventually, Bartolini and his companions managed to construct the beds by themselves, “hardly good, but in terms of barbaric nations, the bedroom looked as if it was furnished in royal splendor”.<sup>60</sup>

Bartolini’s colorful description, with references to barbaric environment and ancient deities, is undoubtedly an *ekphrasis*, a stylistic technique that serves to convey an aesthetically impressive description of places, people, or pieces of art in order to give a greater prominence

<sup>58</sup> Riccardo Bartolini (ca. 1470–1529), a poet, a teacher of rhetoric and poetic, was a secretary of Matthias Lang of Wellenburg (1468–1540), the bishop of Gurk, who was delegated by emperor Maximilian I to ensure a smooth process of the Vienna Congress of 1515. Bartolini’s *Odeporicon* consists of three parts: the first contains the journey of bishop from Tirol to Pressburg, the second gives the description of negotiations and the last one Bartolini’s solemn speech and festivities.

<sup>59</sup> “Die iam advesperascente cum nos, viles animae, ad hostem divertissemus, dii boni, quam insolens domus visa est hospitandi [...] algebant omnia, hypocaustum, quod multo ante dilapsum erat, inverecundus hospes resarciebat.” Riccardus Bartholinus, *Odeporicon*, ed. Eva Frimmová (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta TU, 2014), 72.

<sup>60</sup> “... ad quale concessimus stabulum, camera, ut conicere poteram, aut hara extiterat, aut gallinoecium grabatulum nullum, ne dum stibadia anaclinteria, nisi transversos a parietibus longorios pullorum cubiculum inspeximus. Tectum divae Arachnae dicatum, pavimentum deae Porcillae grunienti inserviebat. Coepimus cogitare, quid in tanta domus vastitate agendum esset. Fabri lignarii evasimus, grabatulum compegimus omnino haud sane bonum, sed pro conditione barbararum gentium cubiculum basilice praeparatum videbatur.” Bartholinus, *Odeporicon*, 92.

to the text itself.<sup>61</sup> From Bartolini's description it is possible to conclude that the lodging for travelers was hardly always ideal, sometimes it lacked basic equipment (bed, chairs) and made the journey even more severe.

To sum up the main points, the bridal journey was long distance travel and as such had to be planned in the long and short term. Decisions such as the selection of the proper route and time, or the procuring of needed materials had to be taken into consideration. Carafa's instruction to use this journey to visit important places and person was not entirely followed. Instead, practical reasons prevailed: the cheapest and fastest route was chosen. Bona's travel was also not without dangers, especially given that Sigismund had insisted that she travel in the middle of winter. Her entourage consisted of hundreds of people, so it had to choose the most appropriate means of transport and proceed gradually from city to city in order to arrange for adequate lodgings for all participants. During journey, regular communication with King Sigismund was maintained through letters, so that he might be informed about its progress.

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<sup>61</sup> Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 69

## II. Rituals and ceremonies

The previous chapter reconstructed Bona's bridal journey from the perspective of planning, material needs, and the perception of its participants. This chapter will now shift to consider its immaterial aspects. Karl-Heinz Spieß distinguishes various functions of a bridal journey: to manifest the power and prestige of the families of the bride and the groom (representative function), to enable monarchs to communicate with each other (diplomatic function), and to provide a "Staatschauspiel", a state drama by which order and rule are visualized (festive function). Christiane Coester considers the bridal journey a social act with a hidden symbolic value.<sup>62</sup> These considerations point to the fact that a bridal journey was not a mere geographical journey, but had deep-rooted implications that may be designated with one word: ritual. But is the bridal journey a ritual in fact?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to examine the term "ritual". The only definition of ritual, accepted by all scholars, is the statement by Edmund Leach that there is "the widest possible disagreement how the word ritual should be understood".<sup>63</sup> The problem with establishing a working definition for this term lies in its wide usage, varying from religious, anthropological, sociological, philosophical and historical fields of study. Each of these disciplines uses this ambiguous term for different purposes, applying different sets of criteria, and employing different methodological approaches.

There have been many attempts to define ritual – for instance, ritual as an analytical category that helps to organize the chaos of human experience; ritual as a set of various characteristics – framing, formal decision, repeatable form, social or stabilizing function, and

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<sup>62</sup> Spiess, Karl-Heinz, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann," 27–28; Coester, "Crossing Boundaries and Traversing Space," 10.

<sup>63</sup> Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000–1301)* (Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 15. Zupka provides a brief introduction to the study of rituals, and the summary of the current state of research.

change of status; ritual as a prescribed formal behavior with references to faith; ritual as a system of symbolic communication, which is formal, stereotypical and repetitive and so forth.<sup>64</sup> Nowadays, an open definition of ritual is accepted as a broad consensus. This means that the proper definition of ritual is one that can yield more profitable results in a particular heuristic situation and analysis. Therefore, it depends on the particular study how ritual is defined.<sup>65</sup>

I argue that the bridal journey can be considered a transition ritual or, in other words, a rite of passage. This term is based on Arnold Van Gennep's fundamental work.<sup>66</sup> He understands rituals in a religious sense, claiming that there are two spheres, the profane and the sacred, and by crossing the boundary between them one has to pass a phase or period of passage. This passage takes place during substantial life changes; Van Gennep identifies only three of them, birth, marriage, death, as the transition rituals.<sup>67</sup> Marriage represents the move from the state of childhood to adulthood, from one family to another, from one society to another.

At first glance, the journey of the bride is merely a geographic, not a ritual passage. From the moment of its beginning, the bride is already married, though by proxy, which, according to Church law, was completely valid, and therefore the bride had already ritually passed from obedience to her father to obedience of her husband. However, the wedding ceremony is repeated after the bride's arrival at her husband's house.<sup>68</sup> Her journey is thus something like a "zero-zone" because, first, the bride is already legally married but she still has to leave her family and, second, the marriage is still not "fulfilled" by sexual intercourse. The geographical journey illustrates the symbolic transition which, at least in one moment – the

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<sup>64</sup> For various cited definitions see Jan A.M. Snoek, "Defining 'Rituals,'" in *Theorizing Rituals: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*, ed. Jens Kreinath, Jan A.M. Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 6–7; Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication*, 17–19.

<sup>65</sup> Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication*, 17.

<sup>66</sup> Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>68</sup> The statements that a marriage way proxy was legally binding but it still needed to be repeated may sound contradictory, however, it was a medieval practice to corroborate the marriage by all possible means so nobody could question its validity. See Spiess, Karl-Heinz, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann," 25–26.

farewell from the family –, is definitely not merely symbolic. Thus, it is reasonable to tag the bridal journey a significant part of nuptial rituals and as a transition ritual. This is in accordance with van Gennep's ideas since he advanced the concept of rituals as polysemous acts, which means that a single ritual can be interpreted in various ways and conversely, that one interpretation may be applied to various rituals.<sup>69</sup>

During the passage, one environment, either of the bride or the groom, is weakened, while the other is strengthened. This leads the strengthened environment to compensate the weakened one, in a material or immaterial ways. The material way can be the dowry, gifts, money, lavish ceremonies or tournaments, whereas verbal or non-verbal expressions may be the immaterial forms of recompense.

The following paragraphs will concentrate on two ritual practices accompanied by various forms of such recompenses that are evident in Bona's bridal journey. For heuristic purposes, they are gathered into two groups. The first is the farewell to her mother and the first meeting with the husband; the second is the arrival in cities, the so-called *adventus reginae*. The main focus of these paragraphs will be on the matter of communication, since current medieval studies deem ritual to be a key vehicle of communication in premodern society.<sup>70</sup> In this perspective, the language, verbal and non-verbal, and the messages of this communication will be examined.

There is, however, a significant pitfall, apparent from the theory advanced by Philippe Buc, who claims that none of the various concepts of ritual used in contemporary medieval studies had support in medieval times, and that medieval practices were identified as "rituals" only retrospectively by twentieth-century scholars. According to Buc, there is a great discrepancy between *ritual-in-text* and *ritual-in-performance*, and current studies have been

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<sup>69</sup> Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication*, 20.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 25, 33.

dealing only with the former one. Some scholars (including Dalewski and Althoff) tried to find a way out of this scepticism by claiming, for instance, that texts always reflected reality to some extent, since they were embedded in some tradition, or by asserting that these texts were addressed to the audience within the same tradition, and so forth.<sup>71</sup>

For our purposes, Buc's remarks are important in two respects. First, most sources that describe ritual practices during Bona's bridal journey are either of an instructional (Carafa) or a literary character (Carmignano, Decjusz etc.). As a result, there may be a danger that what they describe was distorted by their rhetorical goals. Second, although Bona's case abounds in sources, their amount is still not sufficient to provide their own independent concepts and so this case study must depend on earlier ones. The modern concepts I use in my analysis have thus an explanatory value for the dispersed pieces of information drawn from the sources, but these concepts may impose a non-existing structure. For instance, applying the category of *adventus reginae*, a female version of *adventus regis*, a well-known and elaborated scheme to Bona's journey may distort the view on sources and may make us see reality in line with this scheme even in situations when there is no solid evidence to support it. Thus, in both cases Buc's remarks demand attention and awareness.

A further remark has to be made concerning terminology, this time on the difference between ritual, rite, and ceremony. This issue is a stumbling block in many studies and articles. Various criteria to distinguish ritual from simple ceremony have been advanced.<sup>72</sup> Some scholars go so far as to dissect all ritual practices to different packs on the basis of strict criteria between them. In contrast, I operate with the so-called functionalist view that prevails today,

<sup>71</sup> Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication*, 31–32.

<sup>72</sup> For instance, Pavlína Rychterová establishes five criteria by which ritual differs from ceremony: ritual must concern a significant life transition (birth, marriage, death), it has to consist of a formal resolution (oath, speech), a formal act (based on a beforehand plan), it has to have a social function (reproduction of norms, control) and transcendental dimension. Pavlína Rychterová, "Kam s ním? Rituál a ceremonie v medievistice [What with That? Ritual and Ceremony in the Medieval Studies]," in *Rituály, Ceremonie a festivity ve střední Evropě 14. a 15. století*, ed. Martin Nodl and František Šmahel, *Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia* 12 (Praha: Filosofia, 2009), 427–432.

although some medievalists do not accept it without criticism. According to this view, it is not important to focus on the differences between these terms, nor is it even feasible to distinguish what is ritual and what is ceremony because the boundary between them is blurred or non-existing.<sup>73</sup> Thus, I will use the terms “ritual”, “rite” and “ceremony” with no particular difference in meaning.

### **a. Farewell and encounter**

Bona’s farewell to her mother in Manfredonia is the starting point of the journey. This farewell marks the definitive end of parental authority. From this point forth, Bona passes from parental authority to the authority of her husband, who now takes the place of her father (in Bona’s case, her mother) as the ultimate authority responsible for her and becomes her new father. This is quite obvious in her own words in Carmignano’s mouth:

“Then, she thanked with astute words  
His Majesty, her lord, spouse and father  
who treats her with such a great love.”<sup>74</sup>

Van Gennep speaks about rites of separation and incorporation. Separation from the bride’s natal family during the wedding is followed by symbolical banishing of things connected with childhood or bachelorhood, for instance destroying toys, breaking the so-called chain of virginity etc. On the other hand, there are rites of incorporation by the future family of the bride, that is, by the husband. Such incorporation into the new family may have various forms, varying from a communal meal, drinking from the same pot, sitting on the same chair, and exchanging gifts. All of these strengthen the unifying character of the marriage act. The

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<sup>73</sup> Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication*), 27–28.

<sup>74</sup> “Poi reingratiaua con parole accorte / Sua maiesta, signor, suo sposo e padre / Che cosi caldamente amor li porte.” Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 11.

reason for these rites is to manifest the withdrawal of the bride from her natal family and her incorporation into the husband's family.<sup>75</sup>

How is this ritual message manifested, in other words, what is the language of these rites? I will first look at the ideal version based on Carafa, to show what ideally the farewell to the parents and the encounter with the husband be like, and then, I will compare it with evidence from Bona's journey.

In Carafa's vision, the farewell to the father takes place twice. The first should happen before the start of the journey, and the second somewhere in the course of it, in case the father should want to accompany his daughter for some part of the journey. At the first farewell, the bride is supposed to give a speech containing expressions of regret for having been disobedient, as well thanks and requests for her father's favor in future. Along with that, she should ask on her knees for her father's blessing.<sup>76</sup> At the second and final farewell to the father, she should ask once again for his benediction and she should try to kiss his hands and feet and not forget to shed tears.<sup>77</sup> During the first encounter with the husband, Carafa recommends that she get off her horse immediately and clasp her husband's hand.<sup>78</sup> The rites of separation and incorporation are thus to be expressed both in a verbal and non-verbal ways.

When we pull together both farewells described by Carafa, it is clear that the moment of separation consisted of verbal features, namely the apologizing-thanksgiving speech and the begging for benediction, and of gestures – the kissing of the father's hands, kneeling, and

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<sup>75</sup> Genep, *The Rites of Passage*, 130–132.

<sup>76</sup> “Apud dominum regem patrem tuum orationem habeto, in qua eidem immortales gratias ages de omnibus rebus, quas paterna indulgentia in te honorificentissime contulit. Secundo loco precibus summis contendito, ut tui frequentissime velit esse memor cum in tuam gratiam, tum vel maxime ut omnes istic intelligant te ab eo magnifieri et vehementer amari, mox ut tibi clementer parcat, si forte dicto aut facto Maiestatem eius laesis, id reiiciens cum in ignorantiam, tum in aetatem iuvenilem, quae ad errores et lapsus prona esse consuevit; praeterea genibus nixa rogato, ut omnia tibi fausta dicat, id est, ut christiane loquamur, det tibi benedictionem; nec id aliter quam nixa genibus id abs te peti consentias.” Carafa, *De institutione vivendi*, 16–17.

<sup>77</sup> “[...] memento in digressu, ne committas, ut aequae lachrymis confundaris, ut oblivione capiaris iterum supplicandi de benedictione, immo omni ratione experiare pedes et manus deosculandi.” Ibid., 20.

<sup>78</sup> “[...] statim ex equo desilito et pro dignitate eum venerato, nullius eidem rei copiam prebens praterquam coniunctionis dextrae.” Ibid., 31.

shedding tears. The function of these gestures is to emphasize the verbal elements of the ritual. Kneeling is an expression of reverence and respect in anticipation of grace. The gesture of kissing might express feelings of passion or love, but also greeting, respect, friendship, veneration, peace, or alliance. In this context, the kiss demonstrates the reverence she has for her father's deeds, which are symbolized by his hands, and the utmost veneration she has toward him as the supreme ruler over her fate, which is expressed by her kissing his feet.<sup>79</sup>

Carafa presents the first encounter with the husband, part of the incorporation ritual, solely by non-verbal means. The bride is supposed to immediately get off her horse, which may have the same meaning as kneeling before the father in the separation ritual, that is, to venerate the husband as a new father by clasping his hand. To be more precise, Carafa's advice does not speak directly about the necessity of clasping hands, but merely says that this gesture is allowed. The translation "clasping hands" slightly disguises the symbolic meaning of the Latin expression *coniunctio dextrae*. Besides expressing the unifying character of the encounter, and thus, pointing to incorporation, this Latin expression has connotations from the Roman tradition. *Dextrarum iunctio* (or *coniunctio*) was a part of the Roman marriage ceremony. It is debatable whether the act of clasping hands had a legal status of its own or was solely an artistic and literary expression of marital union, but it was a very frequent motive not only in the Roman, but early Christian and medieval art.<sup>80</sup>

Even though Carafa's view was probably based on contemporary practice, it remains in the educative and instructional sphere and does not tell us with certainty that this was the

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<sup>79</sup> Robert Šimůnek, "Rituály, Ceremoniály a Symbolická Komunikace v Životě České Středověké Šlechty [Rituals, Ceremonials and Symbolical Communication in the Life of Medieval Bohemian Nobility]," in *Slavnosti, Ceremonie a Rituály v Pozdním Středověku [Festivities, Ceremonies and Rituals in Late Middle Ages]*, ed. Martin Nodl and František Šmahel (Prague: Argo, 2014), 291–293. For the symbolism of kiss see Willem Frijhoff, "The Kiss Sacred and Profane: Reflecions on a Cross-Cultural Confrontation," in *A Cultural History of Gesture. From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Ithaca, NY: Polity Press, 1992), 210–236.

<sup>80</sup> Karen K. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding. Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 199–206. Hersch challenges the scholarly accepted theory that *dextrarum iunctio* was the condition *sine qua non* of Roman wedding, and bringing forth the evidence from Roman literary works she claims that the handclasp might have been just a metaphor (literary or artistic) of marital union.

practice or the case. Let us now look what is described in the sources touching on Bona's voyage. In contrast with Carafa's description of acts accompanying the farewell and the first encounter, which perfectly fit Van Gennep's concept of separation and incorporation, Bona's case is not the same.

Bona's farewell from her mother, since her father was already deceased, is described in greater detail in the first chapter of Carmignano's poem. In it, the farewell concentrates solely on the mother's and daughter's grief when giving the final goodbye to each other. A dominant motive is the weeping, which is stretched to cosmic measures. Although a resemblance with Carafa's advice "to shed tears" can be brought up, the gesture of crying has a radically opposite function in Bona's case – to put in rhetorical categories a heartbreaking separation between mother and daughter. Bona, her mother, the entire entourage, and even surrounding nature cry. "I have never seen such a day of weeping, the entire world was full of laments."<sup>81</sup> Carmignano alludes to famous separations from literature, Aeneas from Dido, Achilles from Deidamia, Theseus from Ariadne, as well as examples of the sorrows of lovers such as Pompey and Cornelia or Pyramus and Thisbe. All of this is meant to describe the farewell as a sorrowful act, not only for mother and daughter, but for all of nature. This works well as a literary device, but does not provide us with any precise information about the ritual practices that actually accompanied Bona's separation from her mother.

Another source tells us that the procedure Carafa describes was partially followed. In his description of Italy from 1530<sup>82</sup> Leandro Alberti recounts that in Manfredonia there was still a stone staircase that Bona used to embark on the ship, and that there, with tears in her

<sup>81</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 1.

<sup>82</sup> Leandro Alberti (1479–1559) a Dominican friar of Florentine origin, was a humanist historian, philosopher and theologian. He edited some lives of Dominican saints and wrote histories of Bologna and Venice. His most famous work is *Description of whole Italy (Descrittione di tutta Italia)*, which tries to complete and update Flavio Biondo's cosmography of Italy, but it lacks the critical approach of the latter one. Abele L. Redigonda, "ALBERTI, Leandro," *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, 1960, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leandro-alberti\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leandro-alberti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

eyes, she asked her mother for pardon and for her blessing, and that this is incised on the rock.<sup>83</sup>

More than mere accordance with Carafa, this text shows the contemporary use of ritual practice during the departure of the bride and points to the fact that it was still remembered many decades later.

Let us now turn to the counterpart of the farewell – the first encounter with the husband at the end of the journey. Unlike the farewell, the sources for it are reversed: Carafa speaks very little about it, whereas Carmignano and Decjusz describe it very vividly.

In Carmignano's account, the encounter took place outside the walls of Krakow. King Sigismund was waiting in front of a red pavilion, surrounded by many bishops, dukes, noblemen, ambassadors and up to two hundred soldiers dressed in white uniforms with banners of St George. Bona approached accompanied by thousands of horses, which the king sent her for this purpose the day before. She immediately got off her horse, knelt before the king, and kissed his hands. The king replied by embracing her firmly.<sup>84</sup> Decjusz confirms this account and adds that they clasped hands.<sup>85</sup> The resemblance with Carafa is striking, though he would perhaps protest against the king's embrace, but still, this gesture does manifest the incorporation of the bride.

The incorporation moment is heightened by a verbal element. The archbishop of Gniezno, the highest ecclesiastic authority of the kingdom, welcomed the new queen.

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<sup>83</sup> “Fuori la Citta al lito si vede un’artificioso Molo per sicurezza delle nauì che quiui vengono con le mercantio. Quiui si veggiono alquanti scaglioni di pietra per scendere dal Molo alle nauì, in vno de i quali, sono formato le forme de i piedi de la Signora Buona già figliuola di Giouan Galeazzo Sforza Duca di Melano & de Isabella di Ragona sua consorte Duchessa di Barri (oue si fermo douendo scender alle nauì per passare il mare Adriatico, & andare in Polonia per sonsorte di Sigismondo Re) per chiedere perdono & buona licentia con lagrime alla sua madre. Et oltra le dette forme, così e scriito nel sasso. Qui si fermo la Reina di Polonia, quando chiese venia & licentia a Madamma Isabella sua madre Duchessa di Melano & di Barri.” Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia di F. Leandro Alberti Bolognese* (Venice: Pitero dei Nicolini da Sabbio, 1551), 203v.

<sup>84</sup> “Piu de sei milia dico a non mentire / Li apede in dece di contra non uali / Se pur non uuoi del conto preterire [...] Essendo poi concesso peruenire / Doue il Re Sigismondo dimoraua / Vi era un bel pian quanto si possa dire / Iui di rosso un pauiglion ui staua / Col Re, Vescoui, Duchi, e gran Signori [...] Atorno ui eran ben ducento armati / Dal Re uestiti de bianca libreria [...] Smontata la Regina non for tarde [...] E lei chinata in lui senza alter scorte / Le man li basa, e se ricessa alquanto / El Re la abbraccia, e a se la strense forte.” Carmignano, “Viaggio della d. donna Bona,” chapters 12–13.

<sup>85</sup> Decius, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna*, [d2r].

Carmignano sums up this speech in a few words. Reportedly, it was very dignified and gracious; in it, the archbishop entrusted to the queen with the entire kingdom and its people.<sup>86</sup> Decjusz reported this speech in full. The archbishop entrusted to the queen with the kingdom and all subordinates, as Carmignano states, but that was not the main point of the speech. The main focus lay in matters of marriage in relation with dynastic motives: Bona and Sigismund both came from magnificent families and had glorious predecessors, so it was right for them to join in holy matrimony and bear such illustrious offspring as themselves. The words of the archbishop welcomed the queen in the hope that she could give the king the only thing he lacked – an heir:

“[Sigismund] lacks nothing, nothing except a successor. Now, we put all our hope in you. Our kingdom does not ask you for anything else than to bring out (a child) who would express and represent his parent, the king. If there is a need, we will be even more studious and obedient.”<sup>87</sup>

Therefore, in the archbishop’s words, the kingdom accepts and pays homage to the queen because of her only task, to bear children to the king. The archbishop ensures the assembly that Bona is able to comply with this task because of her illustrious pedigree, her personal virtues and beauty, as well as her name. “Bona” means “good” in Latin, so the archbishop used her name to see this as good sign and as a portent of success.<sup>88</sup>

Bona’s secretary responded on her behalf, but unfortunately this speech had not been preserved. Decjusz was unable to hear it, most likely because the encounter was announced by “terribili sonitu” of canons, so the stars could hear too. He does, however, mention that this

<sup>86</sup> Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 13.

<sup>87</sup> “Venit igitur tua Sacratiss. Maie. ad eum Sponsum, quem iam praesentem intueri possi, cuius dextrae iam tuam iunxisti. Accipe hunc iucunde & placide cum quo regnum amplissimum magnaue dominie sis acceptura. Nihil sibi deest, nisi filius successor. Nunc in te omnis spes nostra sita est. Non aliud a te magis res publica nostra expostulate, quam ut nobis talem producas, qui parentem exprimere, & representare possit. Nos uero omnes subditi sui, tanto studiosiores, & obsequentiores tibi erimus, quanto magis reuereri oportebit, & parentem qui regnat, & filium qui in regno successor erit.” Decius, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna*, [d2r–v].

<sup>88</sup> “Et sicut nomine BONA es, sic te semper nobis bonam, gratiosam, clementemque praebeas, omnique benignitate prosequare.” Ibid., [d2v].

speech was quite brief and that after it clergymen and noblemen kissed Bona's hand.<sup>89</sup> The archbishop's speech was thus confirmed by all present members of Bona's new "family". By this welcome, the queen was accepted into the community and the journey completed. The wedding ceremonies in Krakow could now begin.

In summary, the beginning and the end of the bridal journey were accompanied by various verbal and non-verbal ritual practices. As the queen passed from paternal to marital authority she had to express reverence towards each of them by words and gestures of veneration, such as kneeling, kissing, or tears. These expressions were to represent her separation from previous circles and her incorporation into new ones.

## **b. *Adventus reginae***

*Adventus regis*, or the entry of the king, is a well-known category in historical writing. It is characterized as an elaborated set of rituals that served to manifest, visualize and represent the royal power and the ruler's sovereignty over a city.<sup>90</sup> If it is so, can we talk about *adventus reginae*, the entry of the queen, as a ritual?

There is plenty of evidence from Bona's journey depicting ritual practices during her entries to cities. Yet the queen – now only a bride traveling to her husband – cannot manifest her power over a city since she does not possess it. This is especially true when she enters cities that do not belong to her husband's kingdom. In this case, the message of the *adventus reginae* ritual must be slightly different. I will argue that rituals on Bona's *adventus* were to manifest the prestige of her husband, King Sigismund, as well as of his allies, especially

<sup>89</sup> "Interim ad machinarum magistros nunciatum est, qui terribili sonitu hunc congressum ad astra usque nunciauerunt. Dicta oratione Ludouicus Secretarius uir facundus & doctus Reginae uerbis respondit admodum breuiter, quae tunc audire, necque habere potui... Regiaque osculate manu ad salutationem Regiae sponsae, nostril pro dignitate accesserunt [...]" Decius, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna*, [d2v].

<sup>90</sup> Probably the most crucial (and relatively new) synthesis of the issue: Geritt Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik. Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Köln: Böhlau, 2003).

Emperor Maximilian and King Vladislav of Hungary and Bohemia, since she passed areas that belonged to these two sovereigns.

According to G. J. Schenk, an ideal version of royal entry had five parts – preparation, a meeting at some distance away from a city, a solemn welcome at the city gate, a procession through the city, and a final liturgy. This structure, however, is nothing more than a scholarly construct. Generally, in written sources from the Middle Ages, there are few references to royal entries and, when present, seem to be concerned with only two parts of Schenk’s ideal version – a solemn welcome and a procession. The “ideal” version relies on the practice from the Early Modern period and assumes, backwards, the continued presence of this tradition in earlier centuries. To what extent Schenk’s ideal scheme applies for every entry of every king to every city is debatable, not only due to the scarcity of sources but simply because of practical reasons.

As an example of the traditional royal *adventus* the entry of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437) and his spouse Barbara of Celje (1392–1451) to Constance in 1414, depicted by burgher Ulrich von Richental, is often quoted. Since Carafa does not describe the entry into city, we might use Richental as a point of reference, especially since he does speak about the role of the queen in such entries.

The arrival of Sigismund of Luxembourg and Barbara of Celje to Constance took place on Christmas Eve. The message that the king was approaching arrived in the city a few days before, but nobody knew where exactly the king was. An hour before midnight on Christmas Eve a new message arrived that the king and his entire entourage were in Überlingen, a small city close to Constance. Sigismund sent a message to the pope asking him to suspend the Christmas Eve liturgy until his arrival. In meanwhile, preparations began in city and city hall was prepared to welcome the king. Two hours after midnight Sigismund and his entourage left Überlingen by ship and arrived at the city hall in Constance. They stayed there for a while, warming themselves up, and then proceeded to the cathedral for the Christmas Eve liturgy. On

the way there, Sigismund and Barbara walked separately under two baldachins that were given to them by burghers. The procession was followed by such a large number of people carrying candles that it seemed as if a house were burning.<sup>91</sup> The same procession with baldachins took place when the Sigismund and Barbara departed from the city in July 1415.<sup>92</sup> Although the queen's role was purely additional, the fact that she processed under her own baldachin suggests that her role was important in showing her husband's power and prestige.

This account also shows how difficult it is to fit the evidence from sources to the ideal scheme of the *adventus*. This is the case to an even greater extent in Bona's journey. Carmignano speaks about entries into many cities, with various degrees of pomp and solemnity depending on the region and the prominence of the city. In some cities, he mentions only that Bona was welcomed by *bombarde* and *artiglierie* (in Rijeka, Ljubljana, Leibnitz), in other he notes the various plays and festivities that were mounted (in Kamnik, Olomouc). In some cities, the entourage was received with welcoming speeches and gifts. The most common gift, given to Bona at least three times, was a *coppa d'auro*, a golden goblet (in Vienna, Oświęcim, Tenczynek).<sup>93</sup>

Bona's retinue was often escorted by a local contingent of horsemen (e.g. in Maribor, Olomouc). The function of this escort might have been not only a representative, but protective one too. Although the sources do not document this purpose, in the account from Anne de Foix's bridal journey, taking place twelve years before Bona's journey, in parts of Slavonia the queen was escorted by seven or eight thousands soldiers because of the danger posed by Turks.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Ulrich Richental, *Kostnická Kronika* [Chronicle of the Council of Constance], ed. František Šmahel and Daniela Dvořáková, trans. Mária Pappsová (Budmerice: Vydavateľstvo Rak, 2009), 105–107.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 184–185.

<sup>93</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapters 3–11.

<sup>94</sup> Attila Györkös, ed., *Reneszánsz utazás. Anna királyné 1502-es fogadtatásának ünnepségei Észak-Itáliában és Magyarországon* [The Renaissance Journey. The Welcome Feasts of the Queen Anne in Northern Italy and Hungary in 1502], *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* 9 (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2016), 132.

The pomp and sumptuousness of entries grew gradually after crossing the boundaries of Poland. On the limits of the kingdom, Captain Giordano and equestrian squad were awaiting to welcome Bona. The horsemen were dressed in golden clothes, holding a great number of banners. The queen was also welcomed by the captain's wife and various other women who paid homage to her. Bona got off her carriage and expressed her gratitude to Sigismund, her spouse, on whose behalf they had come to greet her.<sup>95</sup>

The entry into Krakow, the final destination of Bona's journey, was of major significance. An important part of it, the first encounter of Bona and Sigismund, has already been discussed in the previous subchapter. Let us resume the chain of events where we last dropped it. After the speech by the archbishop of Gniezno, the response of Bona's secretary and the respect paid to Bona by the noblemen, a monumental procession was formed. It consisted of bishops, noblemen, ambassadors of foreign princes, as well as numerous guests and their retinues. Decjusz and Carmignano put the amount of horses in the procession at six thousand. The royal couple rode on horses; near them rode the most important guests – the margrave of Kazimierz, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, Duchess Anna of Mazovia and the ambassadors of Emperor Maximilian.<sup>96</sup>

When they reached the university, the royal couple heard another speech, this time by Stanislaw Biel, rector of the university. He also pointed out Bona's excellent family and virtues that can multiply the splendor of the kingdom of Poland. After that, the procession continued to the outskirts of the city where the a hastilude play was performed. From there, the procession went its way through the city to the castle of Wawel. The streets as well as the citizens were lavishly decorated, and the road from the city gate to the castle was lined with men-in-arms.

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<sup>95</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 11.

<sup>96</sup> A detailed list of guest and procession see Decius, *Diarii et earum quae memoratu digna*, [d3r–e2r].

Everything was accompanied by the sound of cannons and the light of torches since the sun was already setting.<sup>97</sup>

In comparison with Sigismund and Barbara's entry into Constance, Bona's entry into Krakow was much more elaborate. The fact that this entry, along with other such entries along the journey, was a part of nuptial ceremonies and thus, in some sense, had a unique character, made sure that it was better described, and in greater detail, in the sources that refer to it. Words, ornaments, gifts, colors, sounds and gestures of *adventus*, all of this was intended to manifest the magnificence of the royal wedding, the power and prestige of King Sigimund. But is there any special reason why Bona was so lavishly welcomed outside the kingdom of her husband?

The speech by Ludwig Restio, a scholar at the university of Vienna, may provide some hints. He welcomed Bona to the Vienna on behalf of the university. In his oration, Restio focuses not only on Bona's and Sigismund's excellent virtues and families, as we have previously seen, but also on Emperor Maximilian's qualities. Restio remarks how necessary the emperor's contribution was in arranging the wedding and how beneficial it would be for the whole of Christianity. According to Restio, Bona's prominent ancestors, such as Francesco Sforza, may be compared to imperial figures in terms of glory and deeds. In addition, Bona's spouse, King Sigismund, can be equalled only to the emperor himself.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, the leg of Bona's journey through the emperor's territories was celebrated in order to demonstrate the emperor's political genius in arranging this wedding.

To summarize this part of my study, the bridal journey was not merely the physical transport of the bride from her country of origin to her husband's country, but embodied a significant ritual layer that points to the fact that it was a part of the marriage of two royal houses. Thus, the journey was meant to manifest the bride's rite of passage from being an

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., [e3r].

<sup>98</sup> Ludwig Restio, *Oratio ad illustrissimam Bonam Sfortiam [...] 14 Kalen[dis] Aprilis anno 1518 in eius adventu Universitatis Viennensis nomine in magno tum procerum, tum eruditorum co[n]fessu habita* (Vienna: Singriener, Johann, 1518), [a3r–v, a5r].

ordinary woman to the one whose task was to bear a future king. This had to be expressed by a number of ritual practices that visualized the symbolic value of marriage as well as the power and richness of the families involved. The best documented rites of this character in the sources concerning Bona's journey are those of her separation and incorporation as a bride and queen, and her entries into different cities on her way to Poland. The separation and incorporation that take place in the beginning and the end of the journey express Bona's transition from the old authority, her mother, to the new one, her husband. In addition, by the act of incorporation she is symbolically received not only into her husband's family, but also as queen of the entire kingdom. The prominence of the royal bond is evidenced in various ways; the most common one could be called the *adventus reginae*. This elaborated set of rituals, performed in different partial forms during the length of Bona's journey and eventually in an outstanding way at her final entrance into Krakow, displayed the prestige of her husband King Sigismund, as well as the diplomatic genius of Emperor Maximilian who negotiated the marriage. Each of the ritual practices was like a brush stroke on a painting portraying the magnificence of the royal wedding, its "procreative" dynastic goals, and the prominence of the families uniting in one couple.

### III. Deconstruction

In the previous chapters Bona's bridal journey was presented from the perspective of its planning, deployment, and rituals. All of that was done through a comparative analysis of extant sources from Bona's journey ranging from travelogues to secondary literature. The aim was to reconstruct the possible "real" version, that is, the actual journey in time and space.

This chapter focuses on the opposite perspective, that is, on deconstructing the journey created by the literary sources that describe Bona's voyage. Bona's wedding inspired many pieces of poetry. Some of them are classified as a kind of occasional poetry (*proempton*), others are considered to be genuine representatives of nuptial poetry (*epithalamion*).<sup>99</sup> Due to the limited scope of this thesis, this chapter will concentrate on the pieces that are not labelled as *epithalamia stricto sensu*. Naturally, the main and longest one is the already often cited poem by Carmignano. His scope remains focused on the journey itself and does not extend to the wedding ceremonies in Naples or Krakow. Aside from Carmignano's poem, there are several shorter pieces linked to particular moments in the journey. Bona's stay in Vienna gave rise to a welcome poem by Johannes Hadeke,<sup>100</sup> her sojourn in Olomouc is connected to the *Paracelestis* of Rudolf Agricola Junior,<sup>101</sup> while her arrival in Krakow is described in a poem by Ferenc Buzás of Újhely, which has not been discussed in scholarship so far.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, "Małżeństwo Zygmunta Starego z Boną [The Marriage of Sigismund the Old and Bona]," in *Okolicznościowa Poezja Polityczna W Polsce, Czasy Zyguntowskie [Occasional Poetry in Poland, Times of Sigismund]* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1966), 73–83. The authors were Caspar Ursinus Velius, Andrzej Krzycki, Joachim Vadian, Johannes Dantiscus, Laurentius Corvinus, Rudolph Agricola Junior, Johannes Hadelius, Hieronymus Balbus, Celio Calcagnini. The pieces written by the latter two did not survive.

<sup>100</sup> Johannes Hadeke, "Ad Bonam Mariam Ioannis Galeatii Mediolanensium ducis, ex Isabella filiam, iter per Vienna ad sponsum suum Sigismundum, Polonorum Regem facientem," in *Elegiarum liber primus* (Vienna: [Johann Singriener], 1518). Johannes Hadeke, or Hadelius (c. 1488–1525) was a poet laureate and university teacher of the *studia humanitatis* at numerous universities across Europe.

<sup>101</sup> Rudolph Agricola Junior, *Illustrissimae Reginae Bonae Paracelestis, ad R. Ep[iscopu]m Plocensem p[er] Agricola[m]* (Krakow: Jan Haller, 1518). Rudolph Agricola Junior (ca. 1490–1521), was a poet laureate and teacher of poetry at numerous universities. He spent the last years of life in Krakow, where he taught at the university as well.

<sup>102</sup> Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viihelini*. Not much is known about this humanist, whose Latin name was Franciscus Viihelinus. The dedication of the poem reveals that he had come from Újhely (Vágújhely) in Hungary

A characteristic feature of all these literary texts is that they present a completely new perspective on the journey, or rather, a completely new journey. They create a virtual reality in which Bona does not travel from Manfredonia to Krakow, but from ancient Latium, home of gods and heroes, to the land of the king of Sarmatia. Bona's journey thus moves from the objective to the subjective sphere and is projected by the introspection of the particular poets and their literary strategies. But why did humanists choose this portrayal?

The genre of wedding orations, either in prosaic or poetic form, was revived in fifteenth-century Italy and proliferated during the entire early modern period. Eschewing the schemes established by the medieval authorities, humanists began to follow the ancient patterns of nuptial orations, the so called *epithalamia*, songs that exhorted the bride and the groom to bed (*thalamos*). This type of poetry evolved gradually from the chants sung during the nuptial procession that were part of ancient Greek and Roman weddings, starting with the banquet and ending with the *thalamus*, the introduction to bed. The nuptial procession, *deductio* (or *domumductio*) started after the banquet in the house of the bride's father, and led the young bride to the groom's house accompanied by the singing various songs, dances, and invocations to the god Hymeneus (in Rome, to Talassius). Normally, the procession arrived at the groom's house at night. The bride walked on foot or was carried in a carriage, in the presence of the groom's friend, the woman in charge of the entire procession, her parents, children carrying torches, and other friends and relatives.<sup>103</sup>

The first *epithalamia* were bare lyric compositions of occasional poetry that echoed songs from the *deductio*. Their authors were Sappho, Catullus, Theocritus etc. The rhetoricians of the second century (Pseudo-Dionysius, Menander, Himerius, Choricus) discerned the recurrent topics (*topoi* or *loci communes*) in the wedding poetry and arranged a list of necessary

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(today Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Slovakia) and that he had been studying for two years at the university of Krakow at the time of Bona's arrival. It is possible that R. Agricola Junior was his teacher.

<sup>103</sup> Cueto, "Historia y ficción poética en la deductio moderna," 67–8. For more information on *deductio* see Hersch, *The Roman Wedding*, 140–144.

topics for this genre of poetry. According to these rules, poets were supposed to invoke gods, praise the families and ancestry of the couple, praise the groom and the bride, comparing them to gods, extolling their physical and mental beauty, lineage or deeds, exhort them to harmony and love, and bear a prodigious offspring.<sup>104</sup>

As is obvious from this list, *epithalamia* or wedding orations in Antiquity, as well as in their revived form in the Renaissance, were of a panegyrical character, that is, they were meant to extol and eulogize the bride and the groom, their families, and marriage as an institution. In the Renaissance, however, it gained new perspectives since the humanists used this medium to spread various messages, such as political propaganda, their own marriage theories, or the visions of an ideal ruler or an ideal woman.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, *epithalamia* or wedding orations following their pattern were an ideal model to represent a wedding.

A deconstruction of these literary sources may thus yield an array of information. Apart from political propaganda, they may show an image of Bona as a woman and queen, and what is hidden behind this image. Current feminist criticism shifted from the hostile position towards men writing about women to the analysis of images of women that reflected particular male expectations or desires. Different sets of stereotypes were employed to represent and depict a certain role for woman: either to idealize her, using the positive images of the Madonna, a mother or an idealized lover, or to denigrate her, using the negative images of a witch, harlot, and so on.<sup>106</sup>

A very useful scheme for analyzing Bona's literary journey is the tripartite scheme of the *deductio* suggested by Cueto. According to this scheme, the first step is the traumatic departure during which the bride has to abandon her father's house. The appeal for the bride to

<sup>104</sup> Virginia J. Tufte, *Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and Its Development in England* (Los Angeles, CA: Tinnon-Brown, 1970), 130–31.

<sup>105</sup> Anthony F. D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

<sup>106</sup> Thomas A. Schmitz, *Modern Literary Theory and Ancient Texts. An Introduction* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 187–188.

leave the father's threshold is accompanied by images of sorrow – both on the part of parents and the bride, scenes of hugging and crying are characteristic. The sorrow of the separation is counterweighted by the groom who eagerly waits for his bride. The second part is the procession from the father's to the husband's house. It is characterized by the invocation of gods, marital or fluvial, who are supposed to protect the cortege from the dangers of the journey. In the last part, the arrival at the husband's house, the bride is exhorted to put aside embarrassment and courageously enter the groom's bed, promising that the current distress and uneasiness would turn into the joy of happy marriage (*gaudia amoris*).<sup>107</sup> This scheme will help us organize the *topoi* in the poetry elicited by Bona's journey.

The analysis of the journey will begin with the scheme of the *deductio*, and then move to the examination of the particular images of praise and their messages.

### **a. *Deductio***

Phoebus hides his face, Neptune came to the seashore carried by dolphins, and Eurus locks the favorable wind into his dreary prison. The sky starts to pour rain, announcing the lament, and Iuno never again shows her beautiful and serene appearance.<sup>108</sup> With these images, in the nutshell, Carmignano sets the scene for Bona's farewell from her mother, Isabella of Aragon. The parting scene of the daughter and mother extends over the entire first chapter and continues well into the second chapter. As pointed out above, the ritual separation of the bride in Carmignano's account is described as cosmically extended weeping. The point of this literary strategy is to put Bona's departure in the most traumatic perspective possible, following the scheme of *deductio*.

<sup>107</sup> Cueto, "Historia y ficción poética en la deductio moderna," 72–73.

<sup>108</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 1.

The central theme is thus sorrow, represented by crying, weeping and lament. Everybody cries, not only Isabella and Bona, but the entire entourage, nature and its elements, represented by the gods Neptune or Eurus. Neptune, as god of the sea, manifests his sorrow by heaving sea waves, and Eurus, the eastern wind, does so by roaring and hissing. The theme of sorrow is further emphasized by reference to literary figures who underwent heartbreaking separation: Procne and Philomela, Hero and Leander, Theseus and Ariadne, Cornelia and Pompey, Achilles and Deidamia, Dido and Aeneas, Pyramus and Thisbe. Carmignano addresses all of them and asks them to stop crying because their sorrows cannot be compared to Isabella's. The departure is thus not only "dressed" in ancient clothes, but is also visualized through references to the stories behind these characters. Isabella laments over the daughter's departure in the same way (or even more) as Dido wept over Aeneas' departure or as Hero mourned Leander's death. The personal bond between mother and daughter is manifested in Isabella's speech, full of curses against the cruel destiny that takes her daughter away from her. The scenes of kissing and embracing further strengthens this bond.

The second stage of weeping takes place in Chapter 2. After their departure and during the turbulent sailboat journey, Carmignano has a night vision. He can see Isabella, still standing in the port, staring into the sea that took her daughter away:

"I call you, oh daughter! Where are your gracious embraces?  
Where is your voice? Without it, the heart is torn from the body.  
If I had known before how atrocious the sorrow would be,  
oh, perhaps I would not have agreed so quickly [to the wedding]." <sup>109</sup>

Isabella is presented as a pitiful mother, ripped of her last joy and destined to spend every day she has left in constant grief. A contradictory image of hers is conveyed by Hadeke: Isabella is rejoicing at the fact that her daughter is united in bed with the king of Poland.<sup>110</sup> What makes

<sup>109</sup> Carmignano, "Viaggio della s. donna Bona," chapter 2.

<sup>110</sup> "Mater adhuc uiuit genero gauisa Polono / Casta etiam uiduo nunc Isabella toro." Hadeke, "Ad Bonam Mariam."

Carmignano and Hadeke deploy such clashing images of Isabella is their intention: by pointing Isabella's joy Hadeke aims to heighten the magnificence of Bona's groom, King Sigismund, whereas by starting with the traumatic departure, Carmignano abides by the scheme of *deductio* and juxtaposes the scenes of sorrow with the scenes of joy and splendor at the bride's arrival at her husband's.

Moving on to the central part of the literary journey, the two significant recurrent themes (*topoi*) are gradation and restlessness. Carmignano craftily uses the route and time of Bona's journey to paint a picture of passage from the sorrow of departure to the joy of arrival. The route progresses slowly from the turbulent sea, scrabbles through mountainous and rocky Carniola and Styria, and eventually slides into the lowlands of Austria and Moravia. The seasons, similarly, glide slowly from harsh winter to blossoming spring.

As shown in the first chapter, the journey arguably had a number of dangers in store, especially in the snowy alpine areas of Carniola and Styria. Carmignano, however, lends it a new dimension: by stressing the dangers in the first part of the journey and by omitting them in the second part, he creates an anabasis from sorrow to joy. This is done gradually as Bona proceeds.

The sea is a place of great uneasiness, full of rage, where life and death are equally possible:

“The water and wind respond to each other  
in a way so cruel I have never seen before.  
Everyone cries, everyone hides [...]  
Like others, I lay in the bottom part of our ship,  
feeling so weak and anxious, and crying of all my harsh distresses.”<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 2, 3.

The narrow and icy roads, the misty hills, the rainy and nebulous weather, that is a portrayal of the journey's leg prior to Austria. The vivid style of some verses (*ekphrasis*) is meant to heighten the veracity of the account:

“One mule, bolder than others,  
loaded by women, wanted to pass the river with pride,  
but toppled over it. The women saved themselves  
but the mule would certainly have been dead,  
if there had not been a muleteer who dragged it from the water.”<sup>112</sup>

And this was not only the case of the unreasonable mule. When passing the river (Ljubljana) everybody was full of fear and as Carmignano concludes: “I cannot recount you all the troubles of that day.”<sup>113</sup>

The images of discomforts are counterbalanced by the warm acceptance in the cities where a weary traveler finds a comfortable bed after “*ogni angustia, ogni molestia e pena*”.<sup>114</sup> Entering Austria, the road gets better, which makes the entire entourage cheerful.<sup>115</sup> Although there are still some obstacles in the way, for instance the collapse of the bridge over the Danube in Vienna, the journey now progresses only through sunny and bright places, “merry Phoebus [sun] with his court appears”, the retinue passes the hills, forests and “*loghi ameni*”, the pleasant places, which are the source of sweetness in the souls.<sup>116</sup> The joyfulness of the track culminates the day they enter Krakow and Bona meets Sigismund:

“The favorable sun from its dawn emerges,  
every favorable fate, every star and the celestial signs gather,  
the favorable season, lovely and pretty,

<sup>112</sup> Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 5.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, chapter 7.

<sup>115</sup> “Quando fo lhora poi de caualcare / Allegri del future camin perfetto / In quello de Austria cominciamo a intrare, [...]” Ibid., chapter 8.

<sup>116</sup> “E lieto phebo col suo corto apparse / verso Vlmonz ueniamo di bon zelo [...] Passando monti, selue, e loghi ameni [...] E la mattina de dolceza pieni / Seguendo il nostro andar, li ciel benegni / Gia si mostrauan prosperi e sereni.” Ibid., chapter 10, 11.

the favorable winds and the tranquil sea...”<sup>117</sup>

These descriptions of pleasant nature are based on *locus amoenus*, the *topos* of landscape description in ancient and medieval literature. This *topos* depicts various forms of terrestrial paradise; it is a place of places. It deploys dialectical analysis and symmetry, aiming at several senses, in order to bring joy and pleasure. Sometimes, the *topos* includes a contrasting structure that intensifies the delightfulness of the pleasant place to greater extent.<sup>118</sup>

Carmignano uses precisely this contrasting structure to create a gradual passage from savage and hostile terrains to lands of delight. As Bona reaches the end of her journey the places are more and more pleasant, which means that, symbolically, she is approaching her “sun” – her husband. The fogs, snows and other distresses in the first part of the journey were meant to contrast with the relief brought about by the pleasant lands in the final part of the journey. The small respite of the city in the laborious leg of the journey is a little prelude to the final joy. Therefore, in the same way as the shiny and pleasant lands of the final destination represent the splendor of Bona’s husband, King Sigismund, the sheltering cities on the way may be seen as beams of light extending from the “sun” – they express the splendour of Sigismund’s ally, Emperor Maximilian.<sup>119</sup> The gradation of the bridal journey from distresses to joy thus demonstrates the groom’s lavishness and splendor, and that of his allies.

In a similar way Sigismund, as a coveted destination in the journey, is disguised in the motive of restlessness. Bona travels without rest, she hurries, spurs and strains her horse in order to be with her groom as soon as possible.<sup>120</sup> Hadeke asks Bona in unmasked surprise:

“Why do you hasten so much? Why do you foolishly urge

<sup>117</sup> “Prospero il sol de la sua aurora usciva / E prospero ogni fato, et ogni stella / Con li celesti segni conueniva, / Prospera stagion leggiadra e bella / Porsperi i uenti tutti el mar tranquillo [...]” Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 12.

<sup>118</sup> Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 195–200.

<sup>119</sup> “De la grata accoglienza e de l’amore... Con gran Leticia il cor se manifesta / Del suo Cesareo Augusto Imperatore [...]” Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 7. “E dentro il Castello ... mostrava a chi mirar lo attente / Lo inuitto e gran Cesareo ualore.” Ibid., chapter 9.

<sup>120</sup> “Auida faorir suo sacro aduento / Co i soi se colligo senza dimora [...] Nesciun di lo prestart li fosse lento.” Ibid., chapter 8. “En BONA sarmatico accelerat nuptura tyranno [...]” Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viuhelini*.

the steeds? The virgin is supposed to move slowly and gently.  
 Give a rest to you and your ladies, a little delay  
 will be grateful to you afterwards.”<sup>121</sup>

Hadeke expresses restlessness by a contrasting structure, stating that Bona’s speed is not appropriate for her status – a virgin is not supposed to move so fast – so there must be a strong reason to break this rule. The reason is to see and unite with the groom, who is presented as such a great attraction that the journey cannot be postponed or delayed.

Agricola uses the opposite literary strategy. He urges Bona to move even faster, since the husband and his entire kingdoms wait for her night and day:

“Blessed spouse, come! You, who were yearned  
 in the prayers of your king and your people.”<sup>122</sup>

This distich is repeated several times in Agricola’s poem, reportedly delivered to Bona in Olomouc. It creates the impression of a choir, stressing the urgency of Bona’s arrival by every repetition of the distich. Sigismund and his entire kingdom are restless and cannot wait for the moment of the wedding that will fulfill their greatest desire – a magnificent progeny, an heir for the magnificent king. The motive of restlessness manifests the magnificence of the groom, King Sigismund, who is as desired as the sun in the motif of gradation.

The last scene of *deductio* takes place in a pleasant and joyful place (*locus amoenus*), pre-created by the gradation motive of the middle part. Buzás, or at least his alter ego in the poem, had withdrawn from his studies for a short time (in other words, he was procrastinating), enjoying such pleasant weather: the sun was burning farmers, oxen sought mellow shadows, and meadows were in bloom. Suddenly, he saw approaching a sumptuous cortege. He could discern his compatriots from Hungary, bringing gifts for the king of Poland. Then he saw the

<sup>121</sup> “Quid properas adeo? sonipes quo tendis inepte? / Molliter et lento uirgo ferenda gradu est. Da requiemq[ue] tibi partier requiemq[ue] puellae / Parua mora est dominae grata futura tuae.” Hadeke, “Ad Bonam Mariam.”

<sup>122</sup> “Exoptata veni tandem votisq[ue] tuorum / Et precibus Regis sponsa beata tui.” Agricola Junior, *Illustrissimae reginae Bonae Paracelestis*.

king himself, dressed in shining clothes, waiting for his bride. Bona then approaches with equally shining appearance, carrying to her husband “*gaudia, laeticiam, tempora laeta, iocos*”:

“Oh, brilliant Bona came to the shores of the far north  
and bestowed a safe peace on her people.  
She presented the oaths of the scythe-bearing ruler [Saturnus] and the holy gifts,  
which she had brought with herself, to the goddess of Ascrea [Ceres],  
[...] she restored a predicted harmony for the Sarmatian land.”<sup>123</sup>

Bona is presented as a bearer of spring and a restorer of prosperity – she is up to fill the empty space of the king’s wife and bear a legitimate ruler for the country. The *locus amoenus*, created by her arrival, is a place of joy and delight. The gathered people, dressed in precious clothes, jewels, are merry and cheerful.<sup>124</sup> Even the city of Krakow is “*amena fortia*”, a pleasant fortress. The scene of arrival certainly stands in a sharp contrast to the scene of the bride’s departure, full of sorrow and weeping.

Along with presenting such delightfulness, Buzás’s poem provides a classic epithalamia motive in its exhortation to bed. The exhortation to bear a progeny of imperial origin (“*stemmae Caesareo*”) points to Bona’s affinity to the emperor on the one hand, and to Sigismund’s military deeds, worth of Caesar, on the other. The virgins and matrons in the poem pray to the goddess Juno, a protectress of pregnant women, to bestow on Bona the gift of a child, so “may the Queen’s womb be swollen up and every ten months it bear a son”.<sup>125</sup>

Carmignano, Buzás, Hadeke, and Agricola Junior followed in their poems the scheme of *deductio*, the crucial part in the epitalamia tradition. They used an ancient model to visualize Bona’s journey and so, in their vision, Bona bids farewell to her mother in the presence of

<sup>123</sup> “En speciosa BONA Arctoas peruenit ad ad oras / Quae confert populis ocia tuta suis. / Falcigeri secum quae duxit iura tyranni / Contulit Ascreae munera sancta deae [...] Illa haec Sarmaticae referet concordia terrae / Fata...” Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viihelini*.

<sup>124</sup> “Gente trouamo, e molte, in ogni loco, / Lo piu di lor si de gran pompa pieni / De sete, de broccati, perle, & oro, / Ornati, e in uolto prosperi e sereni.” Carmignano, “Viaggio della s. donna Bona,” chapter 12.

<sup>125</sup> “Annue reginae tumeat quod ab ordine uenter / Bisquino pariat mense fluentem marem.” Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viihelini*.

Neptune, she travels with Phoebus, and prays to Juno for an offspring. By doing so, Bona and Sigismund become part of classical mythology.

But is there any other message that humanists wanted to convey in their works? Let us now draw attention to the political propaganda disguised behind the praises of Bona and Sigismund in the poems.

## **b. Messages**

As panegyric poetry, the praise of the bride and groom was a *conditio sine qua non* of epithalamia and wedding orations. In order to do so, the ancient rhetoricians established a whole array of *topoi*. However, as Anthony D'Elia points out, Renaissance wedding poems are barely the collections of commonplace praises, repeating over and over again the same motifs to flatter their patrons.<sup>126</sup> Besides the sole eulogy, the wedding orations had many other purposes. As orally delivered speeches before large court audiences, they were meant to convey models of behavior. In addition to this didactic purpose, they might convey the authors' philosophical and theological ideas, or their patrons' political propaganda. Humanists presented the genealogy of the rulers, their personal accomplishments and virtues, and did not eschew mentioning their wealth or weaknesses but rather, turned everything to their own advantage.<sup>127</sup> Is a similar type of propaganda visible in the poetic representations of Bona and Sigismund?

Bona is portrayed as the epitome of physical and mental beauty. "I have never seen anything more beautiful," states Hadeke. Agricola Junior speaks about her "*grata venustas*" (pleasing charm), "*digna superlicio*" (appropriate seriousness) and "*corporis splendor*" (corporeal splendor). "In you, briefly, all virtues flow in mixed manner!"<sup>128</sup> As we saw in the

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<sup>126</sup> D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 3.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 72 et passim.

<sup>128</sup> Agricola Junior, *Illustrissimae reginae Bonaе Paracelestis*.

previous subchapter, in order to visualize these images examples of ancient characters are deployed. Hadeke compares Bona to the goddess Diana and warns the crowd not to look at her: the sight of her is reserved for the gods, and by looking at her, they can easily end up like Actaeon.<sup>129</sup> Bona is not only comparable to ancient women, but she can even surpass them:

“The virgin who surpasses the ancient maidens  
by her virtue, innate quality and flower of chastity.”<sup>130</sup>

Bona excels in every possible virtue, but again, the point of humanists is to draw attention to her husband, whose praises cover much greater space. The sense of Bona’s praise is well expressed in one of Hadeke’s distichs:

“The praiseworthy maiden you can see, is worthy of marrying  
nobody, except King Sigismund.”<sup>131</sup>

In other words, such a magnificent king needs a no less magnificent bride. Sigismund could beat Gaius Marius in the military arts and Cato in virtue. Venus, Helen of Troy or Ariadne would scorn their husbands for him.<sup>132</sup> Thus, as in the *deductio*, in praising Bona these writers are praising her groom, King Sigismund. Sigismund’s praise does not refer only to his person, but also to his dynasty and kingdom. To put it simply, the message is: Poland and its ruler are not a marginal or trivial country, but can be enumerated amongst the greatest in Europe.

In extolling Bona’s and Sigismund’s ancestries, however, the emphasis is quite different. Bona’s lineage is extolled immensely, her father Galeazzo Maria and the House of Sforza are said to enjoy worldwide reputation.<sup>133</sup> Sigismund lacks Bona’s magnificent and

<sup>129</sup> “Haec etenim non est oculis spectanda profanis / Laeduntur magni rusticitate dei. / Hoc est cur uisum Cadmi Diana nepotem / Appositis uoluit cornibus esse feram.” Hadeke, “Ad Bonam Mariam.”

<sup>130</sup> “Virgu quae priscas superat uirtute puellas. Ingenio, forma, flore pudiciciae.” Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viihelini*.

<sup>131</sup> “Sic quam tu spectas quam laudas iure puella / Digna SIGismu[n]do non nisi rege fuit.” Hadeke, “Ad Bonam Mariam.”

<sup>132</sup> “Qui bellis Marium praestat, uirtute Catonem [...] Pro quo Lemniacum spreuisset crede maritum / Diua Venus, Paridem Tyndarideq[ue] soror.” Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viihelini*.

<sup>133</sup> “Quam genuit toto notus Galeatius orbe / Nempe domi pariter clarus eratq[ue] foris.” Hadeke, “Ad Bonam Mariam.”

famous pedigree, so the emphasis in his case lies on extoling his own accomplishments: he shed the blood of innumerable Muscovites and horse-eating Geths in defense of Christ's faith, and he converted the Tartar dogs, so posterity will not be silent about his grand deeds.<sup>134</sup> Sigismund and his kingdom are presented as the defenders of the true faith, which was a very important part of the Jagellonian propaganda, especially against the accusations levelled at them by their greatest enemies, the Teutonic knights. Moreover, the poem reflects Sigismund's long war with Muscovites, in which he eventually achieved a significant victory in 1514 at Orsha, though he was outnumbered three to one.<sup>135</sup>

Bona's prominent family and Sigismund's mighty hand, united in the marital bond, were a very powerful political unit, claiming legitimacy in the past (by ancestors) as well as the present (by deeds and virtues). The united power of two dynasties is best manifested in the heraldic motto on Bona's coat-of-arm, depicted on the first page of Agricola's poem:

"May this snake help the eagle and eat the enemy."<sup>136</sup>

Just like their heraldic figures, Bona and Sigismund are united into a magnificent royal couple whose offspring will surpass all others.

The classic poetic form of *epithalamia* was chosen by the humanists as the best medium to describe Bona's journey and, in doing so, to preserve it (together with her wedding) forever. "You will be the greatest part of our history," states Agricola Junior's poem. Here, the convergence of actual and literary journey takes place: Bona travels not only geographically and her journey is not only a ritual passage, but it is also a literary journey, a *deductio*, passing

<sup>134</sup> "Cuius dextra pio fudit pro nomine Christi / Innumeros Moschos, hippophagosq[ue] Gethas. / Quiquoq[ue] ridentem Christi sacra numina gentem / Compulit ad stygios scandere saepe lacus. / Cuius dextra potens populum sacrosq[ue] penates / Eruit a rabido Tartarei ore canis. / Cuius facta quidem nec postera secla tacebunt..." Buzás, *Opusculum Eranscisci Viihelini*.

<sup>135</sup> Jacqueline Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature in the Age of the Jagiellons* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 129–130.

<sup>136</sup> "Adiuuat hec aq[ui]la[m] serpens & deuorat hoste[m]." Agricola Junior, *Illustrissimae reginae Bona Paracelestis*. The eagle was a traditional heraldic figure of Jagellonian dynasty (now seen in Poland's the coat-of-arms of Poland), whereas the twisted snake, the so-called "biscione", devouring a man, was the charge of Sforzas.

from the land of sorrow to her future “sun”: her husband. In order to do so, the rhetorical means, such as *topoi* and *ekphrasis*, are deployed. As a literary figure, Bona embodies all that is possible and demands virtues, physical as well as mental. Her image is modelled to fit male expectations and serves to glorify her husband, King Sigismund. In addition, extoling Bona and Sigismund conveys the political propaganda of the marital union, elevating the king of Poland, his dynasty, and realm among the most prominent in Europe.

## Conclusion

A few months ago, when I started to write the thesis, I printed a woodcut image of Bona Sforza from 1521 (see App. 3). It portrays Bona very lavishly: she is dressed in precious robes and jewels, she holds a book in the right hand, and above her, in the corners hang the coats-of-arms of the Sforza and Aragon. I pinned this image to the bulletin board in my room, and I looked at it for several months as I was reading and writing about her journey. As I immersed myself deeper and deeper into the sources, her image became paler and paler. Eventually, I pinned a purple sticker with the sentence: “I am a construct” on Bona’s face.

Bona, the wedding, and her image were all constructs of other peoples’ expectations, especially those of her mother and of her future husband. The bridal journey was planned and conducted according to scheme devised by others with very little evidence of Bona’s own contributions to it. She was praised and exalted at various ceremonies and rites, but mostly because of her husband and lineage. Humanists and poets made a new Juno out of her and showed her travelling to a new Jupiter’s house.

As we have seen in Chapter One, the bridal journey was not a chance event, but a well-planned one – before and during the journey as well –, with regard to spatial and temporal circumstances. The king’s demand that Bona arrive in Krakow on the precise date, the choosing a safe road, the need to celebrate holy days or arranging for lodging and many other factors – they all had a significant impact on how the journey was planned and conducted.

At the same time, the bridal journey was not only about moving from one place to another. It was accompanied by a great number of festivities and rituals, such as entries into cities, farewells, and encounters, all of which pointed to the symbolical rite of passage. Bona passed from the authority of her mother to the authority of her husband. Bona’s solemn entry into every single city manifested the magnificence of her groom and their family.

The praises of King Sigismund and the union of the two families were real points in Bona's poetic and metaphorical journey, created in the poems by Carmignano, Buzás and others. They set her journey into a parallel reality, full of mythological heroes and ancient figures: moreover, they elevated Bona and Sigismund over them. The reason for doing so was far more intricate than cheap flattery, stretching out its begging hand. Their literary descriptions, a very classy contemporary form of public relations, conveyed the important messages of the prestige, wealth, and power of King Sigismund and his allies.

All of this shows that the bridal journey was a specific phenomenon, worth examining from different perspectives, because it reveals various hidden functions behind a simple transfer of a bride: representative, social, ceremonial and so forth. However, it would be unreasonable to think that this study covered all aspects and interpretations of this event or the more general topic of bridal journeys. There are many more bridal journeys that have not been included in this thesis and require a further examination. Furthermore, beside the three perspectives used in this thesis – the reconstruction of planning and realization, the analysis of rituals, and the deconstruction of literary sources –, there are others that could be used in examining bridal journeys. For instance, Carafa touches an educational dimension (learning the language of the queen's new kingdom) or the spiritual dimension of the journey (visiting holy places on the way). However, none of these is evidenced in Bona's case. This study is thus only a first move on a chessboard that has the potential to set into motion a complex framework of simple, but effective moves on the chessboard of historical research.

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# Appendices

## App. 1. The salary list of Bona's Italian court

*Expeditio curie Italice tam officialum virorum quam eciam matronarum et virginum reginalis Maiestatis* (The account of Italian court, officials, matrons, and virgins of her majesty Queen, August 17, 1518)

Name	Profession (Latin/Polish)	Profession (English)	Salary
Cola Carmignanus	theusaurarius	treasurer	37 fl., 15 gr.
Petrus	adjuna ipsius	his assistant	7 fl., 15 gr.
Ludovicus	secretarius	secretary	37 fl., 15 gr.
Cola	medicus	doctor	50 fl.
Baptista Riposterius	conservator argenti	cash keeper	10 fl.
Thoma	adjuna ipsius	his assistant	5 fl.
Magister Petrus	aurifaber	jeweler	17 fl. 15 gr.
Dominus Iheronimus	magister coquine	main chef	20 fl.
Magister Johannes	acuamator – haphtarius	embroiderer	17 fl., 15 gr.
Eius frater [Julius]	(acuamator?)	(embroiderer)	7 fl., 15 gr.
Magister Steffanus	sartor	tailor	25 fl.
Joannes	timpanista	timpanist	12 fl., gr. 15
Vincencius	timpanista	timpanist	10 fl.
?	cappellanus	chaplain	10 fl.
?	cappellanus	chaplain	10 fl.
?	staphirus	lackey	7 fl., 15 gr.
?	staphirus	lackey	7 fl. 15 gr.
?	servitor puerorum	kids servant	2 fl. 15 gr.
Magister Joannes	cocus	cook	10 fl.
Magister Franciscus	cocus coadiutor	cook assistant	6 fl. 7 ½ gr.
Ludovicus	cocus adiutor	cook assistant	2 fl.
?	puer cocellus	kitchen assistant	0 fl. 15 gr.
Magister Franciscus	aromatarius	spice dealer	12 fl. 15 gr.
?	staffirus domine Beatricis	lackey of lady Beatrice	nichil
Magister Jacobus	cutasszyk	fencer?	15 fl.
Beatrix Tarla	matrona nobilis	noble matron	25 fl.
Iphigenia	matrona nobilis	noble matron	25 fl.
Lucrecia de Alophia	puella nobilis	noble girl	5 fl.
Beatrix de Rosella	puella nobilis	noble girl	5 fl.
Porca Archamona	puella nobilis	noble girl	5 fl.
Isabella de Dugnano	puella nobilis	noble girl	5 fl.
Laudonia Caractiola	puella nobilis	noble girl	5 f.

Faustina de Opizonibus	puella nobilis	noble girl	5 fl.
Laura	puella nobilis	noble girl	5 fl.
Violanta Greca	vetula custodiens puellas	elderly woman overseeing girls	7 fl. 15 gr.
Laura Neapolitana	vetula custodiens puellas	elderly woman overseeing girls	7 fl. 15 gr.
Albina Neapolitana	puella cubicularia	bed-chamber girl	3 fl. 22 ½ gr.
Samuella Armizana	puella cubicularia	bed-chamber girl	3 fl. 22 ½ gr.
??	4 famuli coquine recepti de Almania	4 kitchen servants from Germany (?)	8 fl.
Total	-	-	431 fl., 7 ½ gr.

The same sum of money paid on May 14 (as stated in the beginning of the account) October 28, 1518 (sign 47, fol. 31v), November 7, 1519 (sign 49, fol. 29v) – added: Hannibal, 5 fl.

AGAD, ASK sec. 1, sign 47, fol. 17r–18v.

Literature: Pociecha, *Królowa Bona*, II: 49–106 passim.

App. 2 Map of Bona Sforza's bridal journey in 1518



A virtual tour: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qC28lfD8XRw>

App. 3 Bona's portrait, woodcut, Ludwig Decjusz, *De vetustatibus Polonorum* (Krakow: Hieronymus Victor, 1521).

