

Anna Obara-Pawłowska

(Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5507-4336>







E-mail: [anna.obara-pawlowska@poczta.umcs.lublin.pl](mailto:anna.obara-pawlowska@poczta.umcs.lublin.pl); [a.a.obara@gmail.com](mailto:a.a.obara@gmail.com)

## Polish Monarchs' Sexuality in the Light of the *Annals* by Jan Długosz

*Seksualność władców polskich w świetle Roczników Jana Długosza*

### ABSTRACT

The article presents Jan Długosz's views on sexual inclinations and practices of the Polish medieval monarchs, seen in terms of sinful behaviours. Juxtaposing the chronicler's statements on the intimate sphere's pathologies of the representatives of the Piast and Jagiellon dynasties is the starting point of conducted argumentations. Then, on the basis of the gathered material, the chronicler's attitude towards these offences – i.e. debauchery, adultery, rapes, and sodomy/*peccatum contra naturam* – was examined. Thus understood sexuality of the rulers was studied in specific contexts, in which it was referred to in the *Annals*. This approach results from the nature of the work, which is not a fully credible source of knowledge on the topic of sexual activity in factual sense. As a historiographic work, the *Annals* – the author of which aimed at giving a moralising and didactic dimension – are, in turn, an excellent foundation for recognising the pattern of monarchical customs, postulated by the representative of the 15th-century Polish clergy. The conducted analysis also allowed to comment on the significance which the author

| PUBLICATION INFO   |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
|   |  |               | e-ISSN: 2449-8467<br>ISSN: 2082-6060   |
|  |   |  |  |
| THE AUTHOR'S ADDRESS: Anna Obara-Pawłowska, the Institute of History of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, 4A Maria Curie-Skłodowska Square, Lublin 20-031, Poland |   |  |  |
| SOURCE OF FUNDING: Statutory Research of the Institute of History of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin   |   |  |  |
| SUBMITTED:<br>2021.02.11   | ACCEPTED:<br>2021.04.12   | PUBLISHED ONLINE:<br>2021.06.30  |  |
| WEBSITE OF THE JOURNAL:<br><a href="https://journals.umcs.pl/rh">https://journals.umcs.pl/rh</a>   |   | EDITORIAL<br>COMMITTEE E-mail:<br><a href="mailto:reshistorica@umcs.pl">reshistorica@umcs.pl</a> |  |

assigned to information on the rulers' certain inclinations in order to justify historiosophic vision presented in the work.

**Key words:** sexuality, Polish monarchs, *Annals*, Jan Długosz, medieval historiography

#### STRESZCZENIE

W artykule przedstawiono zapatrywania Jana Długosza na skłonności i praktyki seksualne średniowiecznych władców polskich, postrzegane w kategoriach grzesznych zachowań. Punktem wyjścia prowadzonych rozważań jest zestawienie wypowiedzi dziejopisa na temat patologii sfery intymnej przedstawicieli dynastii piastowskiej i jagiellońskiej. Następnie, na podstawie zebranego materiału, przeanalizowano stosunek kronikarza do takich występków jak np. rozpusta, cudzołóstwo, gwałty, sodomia/*peccatum contra naturam*. Tak pojętą seksualność panujących badano w określonych kontekstach jej przywołania na kartach *Roczników*. Podejście takie wynika z charakteru dzieła, które nie stanowi w pełni wiarygodnego źródła wiedzy na temat aktywności seksualnej w sensie faktograficznym. *Roczniki* jako utwór historiograficzny, którego autor dążył do nadania wymiaru moralizatorsko-dydaktycznego, stanowią za to doskonałą podstawę dla poznania wzorca obyczajowości monarszej, postulowanej przez przedstawiciela XV-wiecznego duchowieństwa polskiego. Przeprowadzona analiza pozwoliła również wypowiedzieć się na temat znaczenia, jakie kronikarz przypisywał informacjom o określonych skłonnościach panujących dla uzasadnienia wizji historiozoficznej prezentowanej w dziele.

**Słowa kluczowe:** seksualność, władcy polscy, *Roczniki*, Jan Długosz, historiografia średniowieczna

The aim of the article is to trace Jan Długosz's knowledge and attitude towards the Polish rulers' sexual activity (to use modern terminology), presented in his *Annals*<sup>1</sup>. While using terminology such as „sexuality”, „sexual activity”, „homosexuality”, etc., I am aware that these are terms which occur nowadays and it would be in vain to search for them in medieval sources. These notions were crystallised in the 19th century at the earliest, in order to be later included in the modern academic discourse for research on the intimate sphere of individual's life in the Middle Ages<sup>2</sup>. The previous works on Jan Długosz's views on the matters associated

<sup>1</sup> *Ioannis Dlugossi, Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. 1–12, red. S. Budkowa et al., Varsaviae–Cracoviae 1964–2005 [dalej: *Ann.* 1–2, etc.].

<sup>2</sup> *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, red. V.L. Bullough, J. Brundage, Buffalo–New York 1982; J. Boswell, *Chrześcijaństwo, tolerancja społeczna i homoseksualność. Geje i lesbijki w Europie Zachodniej od początku ery chrześcijańskiej do XIV wieku*, Kraków 2006; *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, red. V.L. Bullough, J.A. Brundage, New York–London 1996; R.M. Karras, *Seksualność w średniowiecznej Europie*, Warszawa 2012; A. Krawiec, *Seksualność w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Poznań 2000; K. Skwierczyński, *Vademecum historii średniowiecznej seksualności* (Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe. Doing unto others*, Routledge, New York–London 2005, s. 200), „Przegląd Historyczny” 2007, 98, 3, s. 437–443; T. Nastulczyk, P. Oczko, *Homoseksualność staropolska*, Kraków 2012.

with sexuality do not cover all the aspects of this issue. The first attempt to analyse the Cracow canon's attitude towards the monarchs' intimate life, on the example of Casimir the Great, was undertaken only towards the end of the 19th century by Ernest Sulimczyk Świeżawski in a short chapter *Długosz's Eroticism*<sup>3</sup>. Among the contemporary academic works, the most extensive discussion on information conveyed by Długosz about the Polish rulers' sexuality – presented against the background of other sources – was placed in the pioneering work by Adam Krawiec. For the first time in Poland, the author treated inquiry into sexuality in medieval Poland as a separate, comprehensive research issue<sup>4</sup>. The problem of accusations of sodomy made by Długosz against King Bolesław the Generous was recently discussed by Barbara Bielaszka-Podgórnay<sup>5</sup> and Robert Kusek, and Wojciech Szymański<sup>6</sup>. The issue of Władysław III's alleged homosexuality, apparently in one of the *Annals'* fragments, was analysed – as one of many – by Tomasz Nastulczyk and Piotr Oczko<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, references to Długosz's accounts on the topic of a specific person's sexual activity as side motives are scattered throughout various publications, particularly monographs and articles on specific rulers. Polish historians commenting on the topic of sexual practices and behaviours presented in the *Annals* use the findings of foreign scholars. In western European and American scholarship, inquiries into the history of sexuality in the Middle Ages began to develop from the 1970s<sup>8</sup>. In this respect, *The History of Sexuality* (the first volume published in Paris in 1976), by a French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault, who was the first one to investigate sexuality as historical construct undergoing changes over time, is regarded as ground-breaking. Other scholars influencing the findings of Polish historiography on the discussed matter are the following: John Boswell, Vern L. Bullough, James A. Brundage, Helmut Puff, and Ruth Mazo Karras<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> E. Sulimczyk Świeżawski, *Esterka i inne kobiety Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Warszawa 1894 [reprint: Warszawa 2018], s. 8–16.

<sup>4</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> B. Bielaszka-Podgórnay, *Grzech sodomski Bolesława Szczodrego w świetle Roczników Jana Długosza*, „*Studia Historyczne*” 2018, 61, 2, s. 21–36.

<sup>6</sup> R. Kusek, W. Szymański, *Kings as „Queens” – Textual and Visual Homophobic Fabrications of Two Polish Kings: the Curious Cases of Boleslaw the Generous and Henry I of Poland*, „*Royal Studies Journal*” 2019, 6, s. 127–145.

<sup>7</sup> T. Nastulczyk, P. Oczko, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 7; K. Skwierczyński, *Vademecum*, s. 437.

<sup>9</sup> Juxtaposition of works regarding various aspects of the discussed phenomenon, see: A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 255–264; R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 225–241.

The article focuses on the examples of sexual inclinations and practices which were regarded as a sin. Offences against chastity were treated by medieval theologians as a serious wrongdoing<sup>10</sup>, at times it was treated as more dangerous than murder<sup>11</sup>. The starting point for the conducted arguments will be the juxtaposition of the chronicler's statements regarding the issue of pathology in the intimate sphere of the Piasts' and Jagiellons' life. Then, on the basis of the gathered material, it will be possible to comment on the views of the author of the fundamental source on the history of Poland regarding the matter in question. Identifying Długosz's opinion will allow to recreate a certain pattern of morality postulated for the representatives of the ruling dynasties, or its antithesis which discouraged any imitation. Conducting inquiry into the topic specified in the title, it should be remembered that the *Annals* cannot be treated as a fully trustworthy source of knowledge on the monarchs' erotic life in a factual sense<sup>12</sup>. However, the work is an excellent example of the emanation of views of the 15th century church circles' representative on the moral and ethical issues. Moreover, the author strove to set the work with a moralising and didactic dimension<sup>13</sup>. This resulted from a belief present throughout that century that history was to be a tool for shaping and consolidating patterns of a proper conduct in the social life<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, the article forfeits the discussion on individual types of offences in favour of their analysis in specific contexts, in which they were cited. This approach will allow to indicate the functions of placing information on monarchs' sexual practices by Długosz. Simultaneously, it will

---

<sup>10</sup> M.W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*, Michigan, reprint 1967, s. 69–104; R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 11–14; J. Le Goff, N. Truong, *Historia ciała w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2006, s. 42; W. Brojer, *Diabeł w wyobraźni średniowiecznej*, Wrocław 2003, s. 185–190.

<sup>11</sup> This was the opinion of Julian of Vézelay, a Benedictine, living in the 12th century (G. Minois, *Historia piekła*, Warszawa 1996, s. 184). Adultery was qualified as a cardinal sin already in the 2nd century (*ibidem*, s. 183).

<sup>12</sup> On a method of using historiographic sources in research on views on sexuality in the Middle Ages, see: R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 25.

<sup>13</sup> *Ann.*, 1–2, s. 58–59; S. Gawęda, *Ocena niektórych problemów historii ojczystej w „Rocznikach Jana Długosza”*, w: *Długossiana. Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace historyczne” 1980, 65, s. 184. On the topic of sources for Długosz's views on ethical matters, see: A. Talarowski, *Dzieje w rękach Opatrzności. Elementy historiozofii Jana Długosza i jej uwarunkowania*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 2018, 84, s. 203–204.

<sup>14</sup> M. Zwiercan, *Komentarz Jana z Dąbrówki do Kroniki Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem*, Wrocław 1969, s. 178; U. Borkowska, *Regnum i sacerdotium w pismach Jana Długosza*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1981, 26, s. 3; S. Swieżawski, *U źródeł nowożytnej etyki. Filozofia moralna w Europie XV wieku*, Kraków 1987, s. 193.

be justified to confront the information obtained from the work by the Cracow's canon with other sources which were a source of knowledge or inspiration to him.

One of the more difficult tasks is the identification of sources which affected the chronicler's views. Medieval people's opinions on sexuality were filtered through the then culture, to a large extent shaped by Christian religion and ethics<sup>15</sup>. One of the major points of reference was the Bible, the New Testament in particular, while amongst the medieval philosophers and theologians, who influenced the means of perceiving sexual activity in the Middle Ages, the following are mentioned: i.a. Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Peter Damian, Peter Abelard, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint Albert, Saint Thomas Aquinas<sup>16</sup>. Scholarship on the topic indicates the influence of reading hagiographic works on Długosz's thinking on role models or attitude models<sup>17</sup>. These works were also a source of precious information on moral domain, views on a man's corporality and preferred attitudes towards sexual sphere<sup>18</sup>.

Similar role could have been played by sermons, the authors of which pointed out the dangers associated with giving into physical passions or praised restraint<sup>19</sup>. Długosz, as the representative of the clergy, viewed the discussed issues through the prism of celibacy. Living in chastity „shaped the type of sexual identity, which was the foundation for the means of perceiving oneself and understanding social roles of those individuals

<sup>15</sup> K. Skwierczyński, *Mury Sodomy. Piotra Damianego „Księga Gomory” i walka z sodomią wśród kleru*, Kraków 2011, s. 17.

<sup>16</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 22–41.

<sup>17</sup> A. Talarowski, *op. cit.*, s. 204.

<sup>18</sup> M. Zydorek, *Cielesność człowieka w świetle średniowiecznych przekazów*, „Medycyna Nowożytna” 1996, 2, 2, s. 123–126; J. Wyrozumski, *Świętość kobiet w małżeństwie w Polsce XIII wieku w świetle źródeł hagiograficznych*, „Saeculum Christianum: pismo historyczno-społeczne” 1996, 1, s. 21–31; M. Cetwiński, *Sceny małżeńskie w „Żywocie św. Jadwigi: miłość obowiązku czy obowiązek miłości*, w: *Cor hominis. Wielkie namiętności w dziejach, źródłach i studiach nad przeszłością*, red. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2007, s. 315–324; G. Pac, *Obraz małżeństwa w wybranych niemieckich źródłach hagiograficznych X i XI w.*, w: *Kult świętych i ideał świętości w średniowieczu*, red. R. Michałowski, Warszawa 2011, s. 7–148.

<sup>19</sup> T. Szostek, *Obraz świata w exemplach średniowiecznych*, w: *Pogranicza i konteksty literatury polskiego średniowiecza*, red. T. Michałowska, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1989, s. 234, 239, 245; eadem, *Średniowieczne exemplum homiletyczne jako element kultury literackiej*, „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1993, 84, 3–4, s. 101, 104; M. Kowalczykówna, *Tańce i zabawy w świetle rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, „Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” 1984–1985, 34–35, 1–2, s. 81–88; K. Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejkie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, Kielce 2007; K. Morawska, *Ut non diligat vir uxorem sicut adulteram – poglądy kaznodziejów na seksualność w średniowiecznej Polsce*, „Forum Socjologiczne” 2017, 8, s. 25–35.

who chose them"<sup>20</sup>, or – as can be assumed – was a point of reference for opinions formulated about people who did not practise sexual abstinence. Suffice to quote here the words of Stanisław of Skarbimierz, which reflect well the postulated approach of people of the Church towards this issue in the 15th century. This medieval scholar advised everyone, dignitaries and the clergy in particular, to avoid pleasures<sup>21</sup>. Writing about the history of Poland, Długosz used the historiographic legacy of this predecessors<sup>22</sup>, in which it is possible to find information on sexual proclivities or practices of individual rulers. Finally, it should be indicated that the chronicler's approach towards the discusses issues could have been influenced by the general climate of the end of the Middle Ages, not free from moral disarray where next to radical ascetic practices, attitudes favouring sensual pleasures also occurred<sup>23</sup>. The latter must have triggered concerns of the conservative representative of the Cracow clergy. From the times of Clement of Alexandria (2nd/3rd c. AD), it was recommended to perceive sexuality through the prism of moderation principle (*temperantia*). In regard to the activity in the discussed sphere of a man's life, the principle came down to the soul dominating the body, and to the moderation in satisfying one's desires<sup>24</sup>. Długosz kept this trait in high regard, which was manifested while constructing characterisation of individuals<sup>25</sup>. A perfect example of implementing this attitude was – in the chronicler's view – Bolesław the Brave, an ideal ruler and a role model for all Polish monarchs<sup>26</sup>. Controlled by desires, he knew how to

<sup>20</sup> R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 70.

<sup>21</sup> Bold font by the author: „Fugiant igitur **omnes**, et **specialiter** **proceres**, magnis episcopi et clerici, voluptates [...]” (Stanisław of Skarbimierz, *Sermo de triplici sapientia diabolica et vera*, w: *Stanisław ze Skarbimierza. Mowy wybrane o mądrości*, red. M. Korolko, Kraków 2000, s. 116).

<sup>22</sup> A. Semkowicz, *Krytyczny rozbiór dziejów polskich Jana Długosza (do roku 1384)*, Kraków 1887, s. 25–41, 52–66; *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Jana Długosza z lat 1395–1444*, t. 1, red. S. Gawęda et al., Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1962, s. XXIII–LX; P. Pauba, *Poeci i pisarze w Rocznikach, czyli kronikach sławnego Królestwa Polskiego Jana Długosza. Rekonesans*, w: *E fructu arbor cognoscitur... W sześćsetną rocznicę urodzin Jana Długosza*, red. K. Krawiec-Złotkowska, T. Ceynowa, Słupsk–Koszalin 2019, s. 164–165.

<sup>23</sup> K. Górski, *Zarys dziejów duchowości w Polsce*, Kraków 1986, s. 72–73; J.K. Goliński, *Okolice trwogi. Lęk w literaturze i kulturze dawnej Polski*, Bydgoszcz 1997, s. 135–136.

<sup>24</sup> M. Foucault, *Historia seksualności*, t. 4: *Wyznania ciała*, Gdańsk 2019, s. 30.

<sup>25</sup> M. Koczerska, *Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 1971, 15, s. 120; U. Borkowska, *Treści ideowe w dziełach Jana Długosza. Kościół i świat poza Kościołem*, Lublin 1983, s. 97; eadem, *Regnum*, s. 6.

<sup>26</sup> U. Borkowska, *Treści*, s. 106; A. Samsel, *Ideał polskiego władcy średniowiecznego w świetle kronik dziejopisów*, w: *Staropolski etos wychowania*, red. E.J. Kryńska, Białystok 2006, s. 34–35.

subdue them<sup>27</sup>. The chronicler also praised a few examples of the rulers' decisions to maintain chastity while being married<sup>28</sup>. Any deviations from the moderation principle were treated as a violation of the order of things. Apart from appealing to moral arguments, physical debility of an individual due to sexual activity was indicated. The English clergyman writing at the turn of the 15th and 16th century, John Fisher, reminded that in the case of men ejaculation deprived them of life energy, which made them more prone to spiritual and physical dangers<sup>29</sup>. One can find in this statement echoes of pagan philosophers' opinions, known from the ancient times, and then of early Christian theologians on the origins of sperm (regarded as a foamed and transformed blood, brain clot), or consequences of orgasm (during which a man was deprived of a part of his soul)<sup>30</sup>. The lack of restraint and an uncontrolled indulgence in sex drive also resulted in pulling an individual from other activities<sup>31</sup>. This could have been regarded as particularly dangerous for occupations that required concentration, good physical condition, and being associated with a great responsibility for others' lives.

Views on sexual activity of the medieval monarchs could have been determined by beliefs about the sacral dimension of monarchical power. It was believed that a ruler – as a result of anointment and coronation taking place in a church – started to resemble, in imitation of a bishop, God's Anointed One<sup>32</sup>. This notion was shared by Długosz<sup>33</sup>. A ruler who, through his behaviour, tainted this status was becoming incapable of correctly fulfilling the obligations imposed on him. The offence of a monarch's lust was regarded not only as a threat to the salvation of an individual's soul, but also as particularly dangerous from the entire community's point of view.

Długosz spoke very critically on the topic of giving in to various types of passions, entertainments, or an excessive indulgence in the body's needs. The chronicler's mistrust was evoked by activities such as

<sup>27</sup> *Ann.*, 1–2, s. 296.

<sup>28</sup> Henry the Bearded (*Ann.*, 5–6, s. 281–282) or Bolesław the Chaste (*Ann.*, 7–8, s. 206–207).

<sup>29</sup> J.A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago 1987, s. 490.

<sup>30</sup> R. Norman, *Sexual Symbolism, Religious Language and the Ambiguity of the Spirit: Associative Themes in Anglican Poetry and Philosophy*, „Theology & Sexuality” 2007, 13, 3, s. 242–244.

<sup>31</sup> J.P. Roux, *Kobieta w historii i micie*, Warszawa 2010, s. 222; P. Brown, *Ciało i społeczeństwo. Mężczyźni, kobiety i abstynencja seksualna we wczesnym chrześcijaństwie*, Kraków 2006, s. 444; A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 41.

<sup>32</sup> E.H. Kantorowicz, *Dwa ciała króla. Studium ze średniowiecznej teologii politycznej*, Warszawa 2007, s. 37–39.

<sup>33</sup> U. Borkowska, *Treści*, s. 94–95; eadem, *Regnum*, s. 4, 9.

hunting<sup>34</sup>, playing and dancing<sup>35</sup>, tendency to an intemperance in eating and drinking<sup>36</sup>, or using the baths<sup>37</sup>. The chronicler was also suspicious about intense feelings towards the representatives of the opposite sex, even if it was a spouse who was concerned. This allegation was made against Andrzej of Tęczyn who missed his young wife. In 1410, he advised Władysław Jagiełło on stopping the siege of Malbork and managed – as was presented in the *Annals* – to convince the majority of knights to this decision<sup>38</sup>. The Cracow canon treated the affection Władysław Jagiełło bestowed upon his subject, Elżbieta Granowska, with great severity. The king's falling in love was referred to by the contemporaries as „charm”, „spell”<sup>39</sup>. Długosz's suspicion regarding marital love echoes the words that one who burns with too great of a feeling towards his own wife is also an adulterer<sup>40</sup>. Such views, deprecating feelings between spouses, were repeated by theologians and clergymen throughout the entire Middle Ages<sup>41</sup>. Expressing his distance, the chronicler emphasised the necessity to control one's own body, subjecting desire to reason, in accordance with the instructions by St. Thomas Aquinas<sup>42</sup>. Simultaneously, following the stance formulated by the medieval theologians, Długosz pointed

<sup>34</sup> R. Jaworski, *Łowy Władysława Jagiełły*, w: *Z biografistyki polskiego późnego średniowiecza*, red. M. Koczerska, Warszawa 2001, s. 13–16.

<sup>35</sup> M. Koczerska, *Mentalność*, s. 138.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 120. Gluttony (*gula*), similarly to unchasteness, was regarded in the Middle Ages as one of the deadly sins. Obesity, which was its consequence, was associated with violating the principle of moderation in eating and drinking, and was unambiguously seen as negative by the writers of that period (E. Wólkiewicz, *Grube ciało. Społeczne postrzeganie otyłości w średniowieczu*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 2009, 100, 3, s. 495–524; on the sources of medieval views on gluttony, see: L. Grzybowska, *Deus Venter. O motywie „boga-brzucha” w literaturze średniowiecznej (na wybranych przykładach)*, w: *Ars bene vivendi: studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Maciejowi Włodarskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, red. E. Buszewicz, L. Grzybowska, Kraków 2017, s. 91–116).

<sup>37</sup> With his typical didacticism, Długosz demonstrated how defenceless and vulnerable could be a man using this kind of venue (i.e. Leszek the White or Henry V the Fat were surprised by the enemies while taking a bath (M. Kielbus, *Faktografia a dydaktyka: „balneum” w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, w: *Odczytywanie Długosza*, red. K. Janus, B. Łukarska, E. Hak, Częstochowa 2016, s. 77–90).

<sup>38</sup> *Ann.*, 10–11, s. 144, 145.

<sup>39</sup> „[...] amore autem [...] quem plerique infascinationem appellabant” (*Ann.*, 11, s. 69).

<sup>40</sup> J. Le Goff, N. Truong, *op. cit.*, s. 34; M. Foucault, *Historia seksualności*, Gdańsk 2010, s. 124; A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 28.

<sup>41</sup> M. Ozorowski, *Zarys historyczny teologii małżeństwa w średniowieczu*, „Studia Teologiczne” 1996, 14, s. 269–277; K. Morawska, *op. cit.*, s. 29.

<sup>42</sup> It is possible to cite here the *Summa Theologiae*, in which Aquinas emphasised that lustfulness is natural for a man, provided that he submits himself to reason and does not



out that marriage was supposed to protect an individual from falling into debauchery or the sin of adultery<sup>43</sup>. Pursuant to the views of his contemporaries, the chronicler was of the opinion that the matrimony's goal was procreation<sup>44</sup>.

Extramarital relationships were treated as particularly threatening to an individual and a community. Debauchery was described by the chronicler as the worst plague of mankind,<sup>45</sup> the synonym for Devil, which emitted the most hideous smells<sup>46</sup>. He considered depravity as a crime particularly unpleasant to God<sup>47</sup>, the most hideous offence<sup>48</sup>. The range of condemned behaviours related to the rulers' intimate sphere was extensive in the work by the Cracow canon. They referred most frequently to an immoral conduct, succumbing to extramarital affairs, supporting concubines, but the allegations of committing bigamy, sodomy, or rape also occurred. Such accusations were formulated against Popiel<sup>49</sup>, Mieszko I<sup>50</sup>, Bolesław the Brave<sup>51</sup>, Mieszko II<sup>52</sup>, Bolesław the Generous<sup>53</sup>, Władysław

---

transgress its boundaries (św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Suma teologiczna*, t. 12, *O wadach i grzechach*, tłum. F.W. Bednarski, London 1965, s. 123).

<sup>43</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 218.

<sup>44</sup> „[...] sed, si permissa voluptate carnali uti libet, cum uxore pocius procreandorum filiorum causa illam expleat” (*Ann.*, 3–4, s. 127). Such statement appeared in a speech by Bishop Stanisław to Bolesław the Generous, accused of the sin against nature.

<sup>45</sup> „[...] humani generis acerrima peste, luxuria [...]” (*Ann.*, 9, s. 283).

<sup>46</sup> „[...] spurcissimam luxuriae foetorem [...]” (*Ann.*, 11–12, s. 195).

<sup>47</sup> „Divinitate autem scelus prostitutionis exhorrente [...]” (*Ann.*, 9, s. 151–152).

<sup>48</sup> „[...] teterrimo fornicacionis et adulteri scelere [...]” (*Ann.*, 11–12, s. 281).

<sup>49</sup> „[...] lasciviam petulanciamque sectatus; ad consvetas et radicatatas voluptates semper reflexus [...]” (*Ann.*, 1–2, s. 147); „[...] totus scortorum impudicorum gremiis se infudit [...]” (*ibidem*, s. 155).

<sup>50</sup> „In Venerem quoque more barbarico procliuis [...] libidinosam tamen et lasciviens fuit etas proveccior: septem <enim> pellicibus, quas uxores nominabat [...]” (*Ann.*, 1–2, s. 172).

<sup>51</sup> Bolesław „eciam sorore Jaroslai capta pro concubina abutebatur [...]” (*Ann.*, 1–2, s. 281).

<sup>52</sup> „In luxum insuper et carnales illecebras, ut aliorum habet assercio, defluens, ius matrimoniale regiumque nomen pellicum contagione fedabat”; (*Ann.*, 1–2, s. 308); „voluptates” (*ibidem*, s. 309); „petulancia” (*ibidem*, s. 310).

<sup>53</sup> „Adulterium”, „raptus”: referred to Krystyna, a wife of knight Mściwoj, abducted and enslaved by the king (*Ann.*, 3–4, s. 114); „libidines”, „voluptates” (*ibidem*, s. 120); „Sodomie scelus” (*ibidem*, s. 121); „in scelere abhominando profundam demersionem” (*ibidem*, s. 126); „peccatum contra naturam” (*ibidem*, s. 123, 127); summoning Bishop Stanisław to the king, in order for him to: „flagitium turpe a se penitus abdicaret” (*ibidem*, s. 127); the king: „in sceno fetiditatis infandi vicii sodomitici [...] volutabatur” (*ibidem*, s. 130); the bishop requires the king to: „viciu sordidissime Sodomie a se penitus releget et abdicet” (*ibidem*, s. 130); Stanisław reproaches the king that he: „intra templum spurcissimo facinore

Herman<sup>54</sup>, Casimir the Just<sup>55</sup>, Władysław Spindleshanks<sup>56</sup>, Bolesław the Horned<sup>57</sup>, Władysław the Elbow-high<sup>58</sup>, Casimir the Great<sup>59</sup>, Jadwiga<sup>60</sup>, Władysław Jagiełło<sup>61</sup>, Vladislaus of Hungary<sup>62</sup>. To this list one should also

---

sodomitico inquinatus [...] ingredi" (*ibidem*, s. 133); the king: „in abhominandum Sodomie viciu lapsus [...]" (*ibidem*, s. 145).

<sup>54</sup> „Erat illi naturalis filius ex concubina, priusquam Boleslaus filius legitimus ex Iuditha nasceretur, susceptus, nomen ex eo, quod ducissa Iuditha scelus et incontinentiam mariti perosa tam pellici quam ex ea nate proli iusta indignacione erat infesta, Sbignyew, quod signat iram evadens, sortitus". (*Ann.*, 3–4, s. 187).

<sup>55</sup> „Adulterium"; death due to drinking love potion (*Ann.*, 5–6, s. 156).

<sup>56</sup> Abominable conduct and other things unworthy of the duke („libidines et spurcias suas ceterasque acciones principe indignas" (*Ann.*, 5–6, s. 254), the ruler's shameful mores („turpes et fedos mores") (*ibidem*, s. 260).

<sup>57</sup> The duke's legal wife left him for the reason of: „consuetudinem tamen stupri, quod cum muliere adultera virum habente habuerat Boleslaus" (*Ann.*, 7–8, s. 190); „fedo pellicis amore usque ad mortem vincitus" (*ibidem*, s. 201).

<sup>58</sup> „Sed et ipse Wladislaus Loktek dux in vicia militum prolapsus, virginum et ingenuarum matronarum pudiciam violenter prostituebat" (*Ann.*, 7–8, s. 303); the duke „matronis et virginibus ingenuis supra intulerit" (*Ann.*, 9, s. 22).

<sup>59</sup> On the relationship between Klara Zach and Duke Casimir: „prostituendam triderit vel ut prostitueretur"; „virginem Claram apud ducem Kazimirum prostituendam reliquit"; „Clara a Cazimiro duce pro libito oppressa prostitutaque" (*Ann.*, 9, s. 151–152), „filie alterius decus pudicie eripuerat" (*Ann.*, 10, s. 24); proclivity to giving in to lust: „libidinis sue impleret" (*Ann.*, 9, s. 151), „Veneri indulgeret" (*ibidem*, s. 228), „in libidinem prolapsus/propensus" (*ibidem*, s. 254, 283), „proclivus in libidinem" (*ibidem*, s. 350), „preceps in [...] venerem ceterasque voluptates" (*ibidem*, s. 351); the lack of restraint (towards women): „incontinetia" (*ibidem*, s. 218); „lubricus [...] et in mulieres intemperantis ingenii" (*ibidem*, s. 352); providing for concubines: „plurimarum concubinarum consuetudine pestifera a legitima uxore aversus" (*ibidem*, s. 219), „concubinarum amplexibus publice et privatim frueretur, quarum greges in Opoczno, in Czchow, in Crzczow et pluribus aliis locis, quasi quasdam turpitudinis officinas locaverat" (*ibidem*, s. 255), „plures pellices pro societate libidinis explenda ex variis locis lectas in variis locis et curiis servans" (*ibidem*, s. 284); concubines listed by names: Czech noblewoman Rokiczana (*ibidem*, s. 284), Jewish woman Estera (*ibidem*, s. 284–285).

<sup>60</sup> „Adulterium" (*Ann.*, 10, s. 154); gossips about the queen's unfaithfulness: „reginam vero Hedwigim puram et innocentem a probro et suspicione ex falsa et mendaci delacione Gnyewossi exorta pronunciant" (*ibidem*, s. 176–177).

<sup>61</sup> Relationship with „the king's spiritual sister": „[...] cum prefata Granowska Elisabeth propter cognacionem spiritualem, que genitrix eiusdem Elizabeth et consors Ottonis de Pilcza palatini Sandomiriensis Hedvigis regem Wladislaum de sacro fonte levaverat, germana soror, ut erat, regis debebat censeri" (*Ann.*, 11, s. 71–72); „matrimonium cum Elisabeth Granowska sorore spirituali" (*Ann.*, 11, s. 102–103).

<sup>62</sup> Proclivity to male desires („in marium libidinem proclivus"), succumbing to unchaste and disgusting pleasures („incestus et abhominabiles voluptates"), reprehensible,

add the allegation of sodomy put forward against Casimir the Jagiellon's courtiers<sup>63</sup>. The analysis of phrases used by Długosz to determine the rulers' sexual proclivities and practices is, in the majority, typical of the then writings<sup>64</sup>.

The chronicler's offence of adultery complied with the views of medieval canonists. They argued that this type of misconduct perpetrated by partners remaining in marriages violated the union of two people, their mutual trust, and thus should face a greater condemnation than in the case of unmarried people<sup>65</sup>. Mieszko I's decision to dismiss seven concubines, and therefore to reject the barbarian polygamy symbolising debauchery – the narrative taken from earlier sources<sup>66</sup> – provided the prince and his state a bright future. The chronicler described much more often the negative results of giving in to desires, including their impact on the monarch's competence in public sphere. Długosz consistently indicated that the rulers' indulgence in sexual cravings endangered the state's welfare. These threats were manifested first and foremost in perturbations or political changes. The chronicler assessed them negatively and some of them – to follow Jarosław Nikodem – could be referred to as breakthroughs or falls in the Cracow canon's vision of the native history<sup>67</sup>.

Allegations of unrestrained giving in to bodily pleasures appeared already in the description of Popiel the Younger's activities, who was additionally reproached for being effeminate<sup>68</sup>. This motif, together with the prince's proclivity for debauchery and unwillingness to carry out war, appeared for the first time in Wincenty Kadłubek's work<sup>69</sup>. Długosz

---

abominable practices („spurcias olidas”), ungodly crime („scelus nefandum”), promise of resigning sinful passion („vovit se a passionibus ignominie cassaturum et omnes illius abiecturum foetores”) (*Ann.*, 11–12, s. 327–328).

<sup>63</sup> The fire broke out because of the most hideous crime of sodomy: „ob turpissima et sodomica scelera” (*Ann.*, 12 (1), s. 50).

<sup>64</sup> See list: A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 6.

<sup>65</sup> J.A. Brundage, *Adultery and Fornication: A Study in Legal Theology*, w: *Sexual Practices*, s. 132–133; V.L. Bullough, *Medieval Concepts of Adultery*, „*Arthuriana*” 1997, 7, 4, s. 12.

<sup>66</sup> *Ann.*, 1–2, s. 172. *Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum* [dalej: *Galli*], wyd. C. Maleczyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* [dalej: MPH], Nova series, t. 2, Cracoviae 1952, s. 15; *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek, Chronica Polonorum* [dalej: *Magistri*], wyd. M. Plezia, MPH, Nova series, t. 11, Cracoviae 1994, s. 37.

<sup>67</sup> J. Nikodem, „Przełomy, odrodzenia i upadki” w *Długoszowej wizji dziejów ojczystych*, „*Klio Polska. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Historiografii Polskiej*” 2018, 10, s. 71–94.

<sup>68</sup> „serta tractabat non arma”; „mulieribi illa paventique administrabat” (*Ann.*, 1–2, s. 147).

<sup>69</sup> *Magistri*, s. 27–28.

rephrased the narrative on the Popielid, emphasised and enriched these fragments with new details<sup>70</sup>. In the medieval tradition, the world was perceived in accordance to binary divisions: goodness/evil, light/darkness, or masculine/feminine, while the feminine element – in contrast to the masculine one – was identified with passivity<sup>71</sup>. Deviations from this pattern resulted in the disruption of the established order. An effeminate ruler-knight, adopting characteristics or preferences typical of women<sup>72</sup>, not so much did not want to, but rather was not able to successfully meet the obligations placed upon him as a state's defender or political decision-maker. The ultimate manifestation of Popiel's moral downfall, preceding the downfall of his power, was his indulgence in debauchery with harlots right after poisoning his uncles<sup>73</sup>. This fragment was almost verbatim taken from Kadłubek's chronicle<sup>74</sup>. It was Długosz's measure, who wanted to make Popiel repulsive, to juxtapose the ruler basking in sensual pleasures with the description of decaying bodies of the relatives who were unburied at his command. The chronicler introduced his own definition for the monarch who was crueller than Lamia<sup>75</sup> – a mythological figure killing children and devouring young men. Perhaps the chronicler meant that a monstrous woman did not leave the bodies of those murdered to be ill-treated. The image of Popiel, outlined by Długosz's quill, is regarded as a „clear type of evil ruler“, embodying all the negative traits (indolence, effeminacy, compliance

<sup>70</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 76–77; K. Chmielewska, *Łzy spiżowych posągów w pałacu Popiela. Jan Długosz o Pompiliuszach polskich*, w: *Odczytywanie*, s. 58–61.

<sup>71</sup> K. Skwierczyński, *Mury*, s. 122; idem, *Vademecum*, s. 439; R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 112–114; J. Murray, *Hiding Behind the Universal Man: Male Sexuality in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook*, s. 130–131; V.L. Bullough, *Transvestism in the Middle Ages*, w: *Sexual Practices*, s. 44–45; J.E. Salisbury, *Gendered Sexuality*, w: *Handbook*, s. 85–87; G. Pac, *op. cit.*, s. 26, 40. Isidore of Seville tried to explain the differences between sexes referring to this own etymology of Latin terms defining individual sexes. The term *vir* originates from strength – *vis*, while *mulier*, after the change of dropping and adding letters, from softness, gentleness – *mollities*. Isidore's views were widely accepted and served to account for differences between sexes (V.L. Bullough, *Cross Dressing and Gender Role Change in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook*, s. 226).

<sup>72</sup> Already Jan Chryzostom emphasised that an excessive cohabitation between the sexes leads to both the men's effeminacy (which is manifested by i.e. the fact that they start gossiping like women), and the woman's masculinisation (they become authoritative and domineering) (D. Elliot, *Gender and the Christian Tradition*, w: *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender Tradition in Medieval Europe*, red. J.M. Bennet, R.M. Karras, Oxford 2013, s. 25).

<sup>73</sup> *Ann.*, 1–2, s. 155.

<sup>74</sup> See: *Magistri*, s. 27.

<sup>75</sup> K. Chmielewska, *op. cit.*, s. 61.

with desires, cowardice, lack of interest in wars and public affairs, and thus the subjects' lives<sup>76</sup>).

Relationship between rulers' proclivity for debauchery and serious repercussions in the public sphere was emphatically presented on the example of Mieszko II. While describing the reign so distant in time, Długosz – having at his disposal no proper sources and being limited in his own interpretation possibilities – focused on presenting the king's characteristics, enclosed in moralising framework<sup>77</sup>. The chronicler started the description of the monarchical shortcomings with the information on the king's proclivity for debauchery and adultery (keeping concubines), and then to list i.e. reluctance to carry out wars, inability to manage the monarchy, the state's territorial disintegration, or succumbing to his wife's influences. Indecent behaviour was listed as one of the possible reasons for insanity, and consequently the ruler's death<sup>78</sup>. It is difficult to state what the chronicler's source was for the sovereign's moral downfall. Information on Mieszko's concubine, because of whom Richeza decided to leave Poland, can be found in the account by *Brunweiler Monk*<sup>79</sup>. On the other hand, the chronicle by Gallus Anonymous, who – in a short passage – presented the king rather neutrally, includes only a phrase that the ruler did not match his father, i.e. in terms of mores (*moribus*)<sup>80</sup>. The king's tendency to prefer pleasures, amusements (*deliciis*) over the state obligations was described in the *Greater Life of St. Stanisław* by Wincenty of Kielcza<sup>81</sup>. This information could have been an inspiration for the 15th century chronicler. Adam Krawiec pointed out that Długosz, similarly to almost all the chroniclers before him (apart from Piotr of Byczyna), omitted Gallus Anonymous' mention about Mieszko's castration during Czech captivity<sup>82</sup>. The scholar explains that the information on the mutilation were regarded as too disgraceful for the Polish monarch<sup>83</sup>. Indeed, the castration by an enemy was considered in the Middle Ages as a particularly

<sup>76</sup> M. Koczerska, *Mentalność*, s. 119. On the means of creative use of information drawn from Kadłubek in constructing Popiel's negative image, see: K. Chmielewska, *op. cit.*, s. 60–64.

<sup>77</sup> G. Labuda, *Mieszko II. Król Polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*, Poznań 2008, s. 9–13, 202 przyp. 18; J. Nikodem, *Przełomy*, s. 81–82.

<sup>78</sup> *Ann.*, 1–2, s. 308–310.

<sup>79</sup> *Mnich Brunwilerski o założeniu klasztoru w Brunwiler*, wyd. A. Bielowski, MPH, t. 1, Lwów 1864, s. 346.

<sup>80</sup> *Galli*, s. 40.

<sup>81</sup> *Vita sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi (Vita maior)*, wyd. W. Kętrzyński, MPH, t. 4, Lwów 1884, s. 366.

<sup>82</sup> *Galli*, s. 40. Describing the oldest history of Poland, the Cracow canon was generally more willing to use Kadłubek (P. Pauba, *op. cit.*, s. 165).

<sup>83</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 79–80.

degrading and humiliating act, it prompted questions on this man's ability to hold political functions<sup>84</sup>. However, taking into consideration the entire story about Mieszko by Długosz, assuming that the author of the *Annals* was acquainted with Gallus' tradition, a slightly different explanation can be offered. The Cracow canon consciously introduced and repeatedly emphasised the monarch's proclivity for debauchery as the source of other flaws in Mieszko's reign. This motif put in order the entire account, helped to outline the king's image as a bad ruler, and justified the downfall of the state power. Thus, it was necessary to prove that the sovereign was capable of sexual activity until the very end. Ultimately, it was God, and not the Czechs<sup>85</sup>, who punished Mieszko for his immoral life by sending madness and death.

The outcome of Władysław Herman's relationship with a concubine was a son, Zbigniew. Political activation of the prince's descendant – which was strongly accentuated in the *Annals* – meant the end of Władysław's reign full of success<sup>86</sup>. Tradition about the monarch's mistress was introduced to the Polish historiography by Gallus Anonymus<sup>87</sup>. Długosz making authorial connection between the prince's adultery and political troubles could have been formulated under the influence of Kadłubek's work. In his chronicle, after the description of an unsuccessful siege of the town of Nakło, Master Wincenty moved on to unrest, which the illegitimate offspring started to provoke in the national arena<sup>88</sup>. In turn, the example of Bolesław the Horned, taken from the earlier sources<sup>89</sup>, showed that the love for a concubine not only led to the breakdown of

---

<sup>84</sup> M.F. Kuefler, *Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook*, s. 290–291; S. Meysman, *Degrading the Male Body: Manhood and Conflict in the High-medieval Low Countries*, „*Gender & History*” 2016, 28, 2, s. 371.

<sup>85</sup> Perhaps the chronicler's antipathy towards Bohemia's residents had some influence on omitting the discussed reference. On Długosz's attitude towards the Czechs, see: J. Mikulka, *Annales Jana Długosza a Czechy*, „*Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*” 1963, 8, s. 35; A Witkowska, *Wyobrażenia o cudzoziemcach w świetle Roczników Jana Długosza*, [http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra\\_Witkowska\\_Wyobrazenia\\_o\\_cudzoziemcach\\_w\\_swietle\\_Rocznikow\\_Jana\\_Dlugosza\\_Rozdzial\\_4\\_Heretycy\\_i\\_chrzescijanie\\_Rzecz\\_o\\_Czechach\\_i\\_Wegrach.pdf](http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra_Witkowska_Wyobrazenia_o_cudzoziemcach_w_swietle_Rocznikow_Jana_Dlugosza_Rozdzial_4_Heretycy_i_chrzescijanie_Rzecz_o_Czechach_i_Wegrach.pdf) [dostęp: 12 I 2021].

<sup>86</sup> *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 187, 241.

<sup>87</sup> *Galli*, s. 68.

<sup>88</sup> *Magistri*, s. 63.

<sup>89</sup> *Kronika polska*, wyd. L. Ćwikliński, MPH, t. 3, Lwów 1878, s. 656; *Kronika xiążąt polskich*, wyd. Z. Węclewski, MPH, t. 3, s. 496–497. See more: K. Jasiński, *Drugie małżeństwo Bolesława Rogatki oraz problem „Zofii z Doren”*, „*Sobótka*” 1979, 34, 3, s. 340–341; A. Jureczko, *Bolesław Rogatka – próba charakterystyki*, „*Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny*” 1978, 109, *Prace Historyczne* 12, s. 74–75.

the legal marriage, but also to the stern man's submission to his mistress, to whom he succumbed in everything ever since<sup>90</sup>.

According to the author of the *Annals*, Casimir the Great was a monarch who was most fond of giving into „Venus' pleasures”<sup>91</sup>. Information on the king's proclivities could have been taken from the *Chronicle of the Cracow Cathedral*<sup>92</sup>. Grieving over the provisions of the Treaty of Kalisz in 1343, Długosz linked the reason for its conclusion with Casimir the Great's affection for pleasures and lusts, which pulled him away from a dutiful fulfilment of military obligations<sup>93</sup>. The chronicler commented on the issue of the 14th-century monarch's omissions from the perspective of his own, generational experiences of the Thirteen Years' War<sup>94</sup>. Długosz, who did not accept the king's decision to cease military operations, wanted to strengthen the account in a proper way. Referring to flaws of sexual nature unworthy of the head of the state and connecting Casimir's thriving erotic life with negligence in the public sphere not only served the purpose of explication (in this case, the circumstances of making peace with the Teutonic Order were explained), but also had a didactic and moralising function. In those and in similar cases, the Cracow canon was assessing undesirable behaviours, which should not have been participated in by a good sovereign.

Długosz's original idea was to create Esterka, a Jewish concubine of Casimir the Great<sup>95</sup>. It is difficult to state whether she was a historical figure or the chronicler's figment of imagination, which perhaps emerged under the influence of oral tradition that was still alive in the 15th century<sup>96</sup>. Esterka was not only the personification of all the king's mistresses, but – according to the chronicler – she was a causative reason for granting privileges and freedoms in 1356 for the Jewish population living in the

<sup>90</sup> *Ann.*, 7–8, s. 190, 201.

<sup>91</sup> Topic of women, including partners, in Casimir the Great's circles was discussed in the article by Grzegorz Wójcik (*Kobiety w życiu króla Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae Jana Długosza*, „Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny” 2015, 34, 1, s. 91–103). The article is limited to listing the excerpts from the *Annals*. It does not make an attempt to critically elaborate on the issue by using scholarship on the topic.

<sup>92</sup> This chronicle was erroneously published as a part of *Kronika Janka z Czarnkowa (Jan of Czarnków's Chronicle)*, wyd. J. Szlachtowski, MPH, t. 2, s. 624.

<sup>93</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 228.

<sup>94</sup> J. Sperka, *Obraz Kazimierza Wielkiego w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, w: *Rocznik Niepołomicki*, t. 2, *Kazimierz Wielki: historia i tradycja*, red. M. Jaglarz, Niepołomice 2010, s. 257.

<sup>95</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 284–285.

<sup>96</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Kazimierz Wielki. Twórca Korony Królestwa Polskiego*, Kraków 2007, s. 43; J. Wyrozumski, *Kazimierz Wielki*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 2004, s. 234; J. Śliwiński, *Kazimierz Wielki. Kobiety a polityka*, Olsztyn 1994, s. 91–95.

Kingdom of Poland. Known for his reluctant attitude towards ethnically and culturally different Jews<sup>97</sup>, Długosz considered this act an offence of the celestial Majesty, even calling into question the document's authenticity. The introduction of this passage was perhaps a harbinger – presented in the *Annals* – of peripeteia with authorising privileges for the Jews by Casimir of Jagiellon in 1453<sup>98</sup>. This is evidenced by the statement that the repercussions of Casimir the Great's decision were still felt in Długosz's lifetime. The recalled story was a kind of warning against the consequences of adultery, which weakened the ruler's authority who was susceptible to mistresses' influences.

Jadwiga of Poland also did not avoid accusation of a moral nature. The chronicler described doubts that had troubled the young sovereign before contracting marriage with Jagiełło. The reason was in the fact of consummating the previous, legally valid relationship with Wilhelm Habsburg (there was even a specific number of 15 days of bodily relations between Jadwiga and the Austrian man<sup>99</sup>) and the fear of falling into the sin of adultery as a result<sup>100</sup>. Information on the alleged completion of this marriage and accusations against Jadwiga for bigamy were preserved in the Teutonic and Austrian sources<sup>101</sup>. One could wonder why Długosz – recognising the queen as a saint – decided to include this passage, which slandered Jadwiga's good name<sup>102</sup>. It was pointed

---

<sup>97</sup> On Długosz's attitude towards Jewish population, see: H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warszawa 2011, s. 267–292; M. Łacka-Matecka, *Żydzi w Rocznikach Jana Długosza – stereotyp wiecznie żywy*, w: *Tożsamość a stereotypy: Żydzi i Polacy*, red. J. Mizgalski, M. Soja, Częstochowa 2014, s. 34–43; A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 147.

<sup>98</sup> H. Zaremska, *op. cit.*, s. 276.

<sup>99</sup> Information on Jadwiga's and Wilhelm's 15-day long living together as marriage (*matrimonialiter habitabat*) appeared also in: J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, t. 3, w: *Opera omnia*, wyd. A. Przeździecki, t. 9, Cracoviae 1864, s. 470.

<sup>100</sup> *Ann.*, 10, s. 154.

<sup>101</sup> J. Wyrozumski, *Królowa Jadwiga. Między epoką piastowską a jagiellońską*, Kraków 2006, s. 94–100; B. Przybyszewski, *Jadwiga i Wilhelm*, „*Analecta Cracoviensia*” 1975, 7, s. 124, przyp. 51; J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga król Polski*, Wrocław 2009, s. 128–132.

<sup>102</sup> Elsewhere, the chronicler reported the royal couple's marriage peripeteias associated with accusations formulated by Gniewosz of Dalewice about Jadwiga's alleged unfaithfulness, and the queen's exoneration (*Ann.*, 10, s. 176–177). The cited story could have been one of the stages of the narrative on Jadwiga and Wilhelm in the work by the Cracow canon (J. Przybyszewski, *op. cit.*, s. 142–143; J. Nikodem, *Gniewosz – Jadwiga – Wilhelm. Krytyka przekazu „Annales” Jana Długosza*, „*Przegląd Historyczny*” 2007, 98, 2, s. 175–195). According to the chronicler, Jadwiga was not the only of Jagiełło's wives, who had to face the accusations of adultery, they also affected Anna of Cilli and Sophia of Halshany. The problems on the queens' adultery was presented in the article by Wioletta Zawitkowska (*Niewierność małżeńska królowej Zofii Holszańskiej w 1427 r. – prawda, pomówienie czy plotka*



out that it could have been due to the chronicler's preference for „tabloid news”, which he did not believe anyway<sup>103</sup>, or the willingness to make the account more attractive<sup>104</sup>. However, the use of the phrase on the legality of marriage with Wilhelm being the common knowledge<sup>105</sup> could demonstrate that the echoes of these accusations were so strong in Długosz's time that he felt the need to face them. The fragment on the queen's adultery was in fact used in order to hold the Polish noblemen – who forced Jadwiga to marry a pagan duke – responsible for the situation. The state dignitaries' act resulted in a punishment sent by Providence in the form of inept reign of the Jagiellons who prioritised the wellbeing of Lithuania and the Lithuanians over the interests of the Kingdom of Poland<sup>106</sup>. While putting into question the circumstances of Jadwiga's and Władysław's marriage, Długosz revealed his critical attitude towards the fact of the Polish crown's transfer into the hands of a foreign dynasty.

One will find information in the *Annals* on a few rulers who were accused of dishonouring women, both those well-born, mentioned with names, as well as anonymous subjects. Even though the chronicler did not inquire into the core of the described phenomenon, it can be concluded that the common trait for the presented situations was the use of violence and the issue of consent given by the monarch's subject. Starting from the 13th century, jurists commenting on this matter did not focus on divagations whether a woman agreed to a sexual intercourse, but instead they asked whether her consent was forced due to the use of both physical and psychological violence<sup>107</sup>. Analysing accounts of rapes in the medieval literary and historical works, it should be remembered that dishonouring

---

*polityczna? Próba rekonstrukcji wydarzeń na tle innych żon Jagiełły*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 2016, 123, 1, s. 5–43). Accusations made against Sophia of Halshany were analysed by Bożena Czwojdrak (*Miłość i polityka w kregach dworu królewskiego – królowa Zofia Holszańska i jej rycerze*, w: *Miłość w czasach dawnych*, red. B. Możejko, A. Paner, Gdańsk 2009; eadem, *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa 2012, s. 29–32). Referring to other sources, the authors dealt with the core of the accusations and their credibility. Meanwhile, it would be equally interesting to look at the repetitiveness of Długosz's written accounts from the perspective of how Władysław Jagiełło's masculinity was perceived, as one of the elements making up this ruler's image in the *Annals*.

<sup>103</sup> B. Przybyszewski, *op. cit.*, s. 124–125.

<sup>104</sup> J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga*, s. 133–134; idem, *Gniewosz*, s. 191–192, 194.

<sup>105</sup> „Neque enim a plurimorum noticia sciebat ignoratum” (*Ann.*, 10, s. 154).

<sup>106</sup> *Ann.*, 10, s. 154.

<sup>107</sup> J.A. Brundage, *Rape and Seduction in the Medieval Canon Law*, w: *Sexual Practices*, s. 144; R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 159.

woman was sometimes viewed as a threat to patriarchal society and even provided ideological premises for explaining a state's downfall<sup>108</sup>.

Długosz's creative contribution to outlining Bolesław the Generous' activities is an information placed in the entry for 1074 about Krystyna, a figure unknown from other sources<sup>109</sup>, a wife of a knight, Mściwoj of Bużenin, who was abducted and raped by the monarch. Attempts were made to explain its introduction to the *Annals* as an expression of the chronicler's interests in genealogy<sup>110</sup>. In turn, Adam Krawiec noticed an analogy with a rape of a Ruthenian princess committed by Bolesław the Brave, which was reported by Gallus Anonymus<sup>111</sup>. In this scholar's opinion, Długosz – to whom Bolesław I was an ideal of a Christian king – moved this event, changing the details, to the times of Bolesław the Generous' reign<sup>112</sup>. However, it is worth emphasising that a Ruthenian princess, who was taken captive during the war and was made a concubine of the first king of Poland, did appear in the *Annals*<sup>113</sup>. Nevertheless, Długosz did not elaborate on this topic and explained Bolesław the Brave's act – following the accounts of earlier sources – with an earlier rejection of the ruler's proposal. Krawiec's suggestion is not overly convincing mainly for the reason of different circumstances accompanying the abduction and dishonouring of the two woman (a foreign woman abducted during an armed campaign abroad *versus* a local subject). It seems that Krystyna was a personification of wrongdoings caused by Bolesław to his own people. The narrative on

<sup>108</sup> J. Murray, *op. cit.*, s. 136; A. Classen, *Sexual Violence and Rape in the Middle Ages. A Critical Discourse in Premodern German and European Literature*, Berlin–Boston 2011, s. 5.

<sup>109</sup> T. Grudziński, *Bolesław Śmiały-Szczodry i biskup Stanisław. Dzieje konfliktu*, Kraków 2010, s. 75.

<sup>110</sup> Krystyna's motive was significantly extended in Długosz's *Life of St. Stanisław (Vita Sanctissimi Stasniłai Episcopi Cracoviensis*, w: *Joannis Dlugossii senioris canonici cracoviensis opera*, t. 1, wyd. I. Polkowski, Ż. Pauli, Cracoviae 1887, s. 26–28), where it was pointed out i.e. that children born from the relationship with the king suffered various illnesses. Marian Plezia believed that Długosz used here some sources circulating in his times (*Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława: studium źródłoznawcze*, Bydgoszcz 1999, s. 155, 159).

<sup>111</sup> *Galli*, s. 23.

<sup>112</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 105–106, 164–165.

<sup>113</sup> *Ann.*, 1–2, s. 281. This fragment refers to the war against Ruthenia in 1018. On the other hand, in the description of the war campaign from 1008, the chronicler informed about capturing two of Jarosław's sisters, Przeclawa and Mściława (*ibidem*, s. 262). The introduction of the latter woman, unknown from other sources, is considered to be Długosz's amplification. According to A. Semkowicz, the chronicler – coming upon the name Mściława twice, amongst Włodzimierz's sons, when reading Nestor's chronicle – moved the name of one of them to Jarosław's sister (A. Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, s. 99).

Bolesław's immoral life fulfilled an important task in the chronicler's work. Długosz's incorporation and exposure of sexual motives in the narrative on King Bolesław was a significant element in desecrating the memory of the ruler. Jacek Banaszekiewicz pointed out that Długosz's account, gradating the monarch's decline, proved that Bolesław had conscientiously chosen, and then followed, the path of evil<sup>114</sup>. Introducing the motive of abducted and dishonoured Krystyna was one of the elements of this gradation and led to the first quarrel with the Bishop of Cracow, Stanisław. The indication that the king's victim was married was also important. In some of the medieval scholars' views, dishonouring a married woman was considered a more abominable act than defiling a maiden<sup>115</sup>. The rape of his own knight's wife was also a proof that the king did not hesitate to take action against his subjects. While this kind of behaviour towards women were treated as a normal element of military operations carried out in a foreign territory<sup>116</sup>, it was considered an act worthy of a tyrant when the wives of one's own knights were regarded<sup>117</sup>. Moreover, this was confirmed and developed in the description – taken from Kadłubek – of the ruler's abuse of the Polish knights' unfaithful wives and their extramarital offspring<sup>118</sup>. By abducting a married woman and making her his concubine, Bolesław acted also against the sanctity of sacrament of matrimony.

The motive of rapes was interestingly interwoven and used in the stories of Władysław the Elbow-high's life. At first (in 1298), accusations were formulated of the oppression of subjects and the plunder of church goods by the duke's army. Although Długosz stated that the duke did not partake in these events, he did not exempt him from the responsibility for the inflicted harm<sup>119</sup>. It was stated for the first time in a note from 1299 that the duke fell into knight's mistakes (*in vicia militum prolapsus*) and raped his subjects. The monarch's and his knights' behaviour resulted in the intervention by the Bishop of Poznań, Andrzej, and the imposition of interdict on the diocese of Poznań, and then Władysław's

<sup>114</sup> J. Banaszekiewicz, *Czarna i biała legenda Bolesława Śmiałego*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1981, 88, 2, s. 365. As correctly noted by Czesław Deptuła on the narrative about Bolesław the Generous, „The figure of the king concentrated all the vices in a downright pathological form” (*Biskup i władca. Z problematyki ideologii państwowej i świadomości narodowej polskiego średniowiecza*, „Więź” 1968, 9, s. 55).

<sup>115</sup> J.A. Brundage, *Rape*, s. 143.

<sup>116</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 200–201.

<sup>117</sup> P. Żmudzki, *Władca i wojownicy. Narracje o wodzach, drużynie i wojnach w najdawniejszej historiografii Polski i Rusi*, Wrocław 2009, s. 81.

<sup>118</sup> *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 120–122.

<sup>119</sup> *Ann.*, 7–8, s. 301.

repentance, and reconciliation with the Church<sup>120</sup>. This motive was repeated and developed in another place. The narrative in the entry for 1303 begins with the circumstances of loosing the Greater Poland's throne by the ruler. Once again, the chronicler pointed out that – apart from oppressing the Church – this was caused by indifference towards the victims' lives, including the duke's rapes of his knights' wives and daughters. Only the monarch's afterthought, the promise of improvement to God, and commending himself to the care of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Stanisław allowed him to return to the country<sup>121</sup>. The source of Długosz's knowledge about the reasons for the Piast's loss of the throne of Greater Poland was a testimony by Jan Łódzia in Poland's trial against the Teutonic Knights in 1339 and a written record (in the entry for 1299) from *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej* (*The Poznań Chapter Annals*). The latter was probably taken from a document by the bishop of Poznań, Andrzej, who announced the interdict imposed on the duke<sup>122</sup>. Accusations were made in both sources against Władysław for causing various kinds of perturbations, disruptions in security, and excesses carried out by the army under his command<sup>123</sup>. After listing specific offences perpetrated by the Elbow-high's soldiers, *The Poznań Chapter Annals* included a phrase that they did other things *que loqui horrendum est*<sup>124</sup>. In none of these accounts was the duke directly accused of raping women. It can be assumed that this detail was Długosz's amplification interpreted from the reading of sources, and was perfectly corresponding to the style of a story about Władysław the Elbow-high adopted in this excerpt. The monarch's behaviour described by the chronicler was presented in imitation of the mystery confession and penance<sup>125</sup>, where the ruler admitted his offences, expressed repentance (prayer, shedding tears), promised improvement, and took on expiatory activities (alms)<sup>126</sup>.

It remains symptomatic that Władysław commended himself to the care of St. Stanisław, a patron of the notion of state unification, martyred by the duke's ancestor. It should be considered whether one does not deal here with a repetition, in a modified form, of sins ascribed earlier

---

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 303.

<sup>121</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 22.

<sup>122</sup> E. Długopolski, *Władysław Łokietek na tle swoich czasów*, Kraków 2009, s. 53.

<sup>123</sup> *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, wyd. B. Kürbis, MPH, Nova series, t. 6, Warszawa 1962, s. 53; *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, t. 1, wyd. I. Zakrzewski, Poznaniae 1890, s. 150.

<sup>124</sup> *Rocznik kapituły*, s. 53.

<sup>125</sup> U. Borkowska, *Treści*, s. 111; eadem, *Regnum*, s. 15.

<sup>126</sup> S. Bylina, *Religijność późnego średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2009, s. 47–48.

to Bolesław the Generous<sup>127</sup>. Debauchery (an important element of that narrative) was also in this case equivalent to activities detrimental to one's own subjects, to harm done to helpless women. The Elbow-high followed the path of his predecessor, for which he was met with God's punishment, i.e. loss of the country and exile from the fatherland. Only when he promised to mend his mistakes, he managed to avoid Bolesław's fate, and he won over and unified the state in the future. In this case the attribution of specific sexual practices was an important tool for circulating a certain historiosophical vision propagated by the chronicler.

One of the more extensive moral motives in the *Annals* was the description of the rape of Klara Zach, a lady in waiting of Elizabeth of Hungary, perpetrated by Casimir the Great. The narrative placed in the entry for 1330, appeared after the description of an unsuccessful assassination by a royal courtier, Felicjan Zach, on Charles Robert and his family, an event confirmed by the sources<sup>128</sup>. Długosz sought the reasons for Felicjan's wrath in the earlier dishonouring of Klara, the Hungarian man's daughter, by Casimir, with Elizabeth's knowledge and permission<sup>129</sup>. The laconic information linking the Polish with Klara's rape, with the queen's consent, was for the first time presented in the rhymed chronicle by Henry von Müglen, written at the turn of the 1350s and 1360s<sup>130</sup>. The event was also reported by the 14th century anonymous Venetian chronicler, who attributed this act to „the king's nephew”<sup>131</sup>. Jan Dąbrowski pointed out that this detail was not repeated by any contemporary Hungarian or Polish chronicle. In turn, it did spread in the later Teutonic accounts in order to discredit the King of Poland and the tightening Polish-Hungarian cooperation<sup>132</sup>. Długosz, aware of this tradition, extended the story about the reasons for the assassination, giving it traits of a moralising caveat. Ernest Sulimczyk Świeżawski indicated the similarity between Klara's and Casimir's story to the biblical story of Tamar and Amnon, who seduced his half-sister with the help of a ruse from his friend Jonadab (he advised Amnon to fake being bedridden and to ask

<sup>127</sup> The list of Stanisław's allegations against Bolesław the Generous: *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 129–130.

<sup>128</sup> List of sources: S. Sroka, *Zamach Felicjana Zacha w świetle najnowszej historiografii węgierskiej*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 2006, 49, s. 149–150.

<sup>129</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 149–152.

<sup>130</sup> A. Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, s. 348.

<sup>131</sup> The author met Elizabeth of Poland in 1343, when she was at a pilgrimage in Rome. The chronicler was intrigued by the lack of fingers in the queen's palm, which she had lost during Felicjan's attack. The Italian could have gathered information on the circumstances of the attack from her courtiers (S. Sroka, *op. cit.*, s. 150).

<sup>132</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *op. cit.*, s. 19. Similarly: J. Wyrozumski, *Kazimierz*, s. 24; J. Śliwiński, *op. cit.*, s. 24.

the girl for help)<sup>133</sup>. In the narrative on the events with the young duke's participation, the attention is drawn to the accentuation of Elizabeth's driving force (she brought the girl to the brother's chamber, who feigned illness), and then the female monarch's downgrading the significance of the event<sup>134</sup>. It is very telling that while referring to this story, the chronicler used the expression *prostituo*, which could be translated as „being given to depravity/defilement”<sup>135</sup>. The development of the queen's theme as an accomplice to this offence partially distracted the attention from the monarch's active role. Perhaps the chronicler also wanted to refer to the insinuation (*habet et nonnullorum assercio*), which in the foreign sources or oral tradition was formulated about the King of Poland, and present his own interpretation of events. Nevertheless, he by no means justified the ruler's action. The chronicler linked the young duke's act with the God's punishment, which befell Casimir, i.e. the death of the male line of his family (legal offspring) and the divestiture of Anna and Jadwiga of rights to the Polish throne – as a punishment for sin perpetrated by the father<sup>136</sup> – which was an announcement that the power would be taken over by the representatives of a foreign dynasty.

Długosz's work includes information on sodomy/sin against nature, the terms which were used interchangeably<sup>137</sup>. Interpretation of their meaning can cause some difficulties. Both could refer to various categories of sexual activities condemned by the contemporaries. This included practices such as masturbation, oral and anal sex (both heterosexual and homosexual), same-sex intercourses, intercrural sex, or zoophilia<sup>138</sup>. Their common trait was that they did not lead to procreation<sup>139</sup>. The view on the non-reproductive nature of intercourses „against nature”, articulated for the first time by Clement of Alexandria in the 3rd c. AD, was then adopted by other Catholic thinkers<sup>140</sup>. Thomas Aquinas contributed to its circulation as he stated that the offence against nature meant that the

---

<sup>133</sup> E. Sulimczyk Świeżawski, *op. cit.*, s. 42. The history of Tamar and Amnon: *Druga Księga Samuela* 13, 1–22, w: *Biblia Tysiąclecia*, <https://biblia.deon.pl/rozdzial.php?id=1198> [dostęp: 13 I 2021].

<sup>134</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 151.

<sup>135</sup> [https://elexicon.scripores.pl/pl/lemma/PROSTITUO#sense\\_0](https://elexicon.scripores.pl/pl/lemma/PROSTITUO#sense_0) [dostęp: 13 I 2021].

<sup>136</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 152; *Ann.*, 10, s. 24.

<sup>137</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 233.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibidem*; J.A. Brundage, *Law*, s. 533, 536; J. Boswell, *op. cit.*, s. 289; W. Johansson, W.A. Percy, *Homosexuality*, w: *Handbook*, s. 156; R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 184.

<sup>139</sup> R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 105, 184; H. Puff, *Nature on Trial: Acts „Against Nature” in the Law Courts of Early Modern Germany and Switzerland*, w: *The Moral Authority of Nature*, red. L. Daston, F. Vidal, Chicago 2010, s. 235; K. Skwierczyński, *Mury*, s. 36.

<sup>140</sup> J. Boswell, *op. cit.*, s. 143–146, 283–289.

reproduction was prevented<sup>141</sup>. The phenomenon of sodomy was carefully analysed and reinterpreted in the 11th-century treatise *Liber Gomorrhianus* (1049) by Peter Damian. The Italian scholar linked sodomy with the practices which are nowadays referred to as homosexual, and he condemned them very strongly<sup>142</sup>. This connection began to spread from the 13th century, even though in the later periods as well the notion of sodomy was not always used to refer solely to homosexual intercourses<sup>143</sup>. The lack of unquestionable allegations in the *Annals* of perpetrating the sin against nature by the greater number of crowned heads – determined by limited information on these types of behaviours in other sources – could result from the reluctance to an excessive display of these practices. Tendency to omit topics from the margins of sexual life, which – against the writers' wills – triggered an unhealthy interest, was attested for the medieval preaching<sup>144</sup>.

The only ruler whom Długosz directly accused of sodomy/sin against nature was Bolesław the Generous<sup>145</sup>. This allegation was not an original idea of the chronicler, it appeared in the Polish writings towards the end of the 13th century. The source of these statements were words included in *Żywot mniejszy Stanisława* (*The Minor Life of Stanisław*) by Wincenty of Kielcza, according to which Bolesław *naturalem usum mutavit in eum usum qui est contra naturam*<sup>146</sup>. Information on the king's progressing debauchery, who did not shudder at committing sodomy, appeared for the first time in the *Annals* in the entry for 1076 while describing Bolesław's and

<sup>141</sup> Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Suma teologiczna*, t. 22, *Umiarkowanie*, tłum. S. Bełch, London 1963, s. 93.

<sup>142</sup> V. L. Bullough, *The Sin Against the Nature and Homosexuality*, w: *Sexual Practices*, s. 60–61; W. Johansson, W.A. Percy, *op. cit.*, s. 167; R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 185; K. Skwierczyński, *Walka z sodomią wśród kleru – „Liber Gomorrhianus” Piotra Damianiego*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 2007, 98, 3, s. 373; idem, *Mury*, s. 108 i n.; R. Mills, *Homosexuality: Specters of Sodom*, w: *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages*, red. R. Evans, t. 2, *Cultural History of Sexuality*, red. J. Peakman, Oxford 2011, s. 60. Detailed discussion on the origin of the word sodomy, see: J. Boswell, *op. cit.*, s. 96–102.

<sup>143</sup> R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 185; B.-U. Hergmöller, *Średniowiecze*, w: *Geje i lesbijki: życie i kultura*, red. R. Aldrich, Kraków 2009, s. 57; K. Skwierczyński, *Mury*, s. 57.

<sup>144</sup> W. Brojer, *op. cit.*, s. 189.

<sup>145</sup> The issue of accusing the king of sin against nature was recently discussed by: Barbara Bielaszka-Podgórnay, (*op. cit.*, s. 21–36) and Robert Kusek and Wojciech Szymański (*op. cit.*, s. 132–140). A detailed scholarship on the matter therein.

<sup>146</sup> *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (vita minor)*, wyd. W. Kętrzyński, MPH, t. 4, Lwów 1884, s. 278. More on the development of accusing the king of sodomy in the Polish medieval writings, see: J. Banaszkiwicz, *op. cit.*, s. 359 i n.; M. Plezia, *op. cit.*, s. 150–153; B. Bielaszka-Podgórnay, *op. cit.*, s. 26–27.

his army's stay in Kiev. The monarch allegedly fell into the sin of sodomy there, imitating the Ruthenian mores<sup>147</sup>. There is no precise explanation in the *Annals* on what exactly the Cracow canon meant by this concept. There are only pejorative terms for this sin, i.e.: hideous, shameful, animalistic, which were to emphasise the act's reprehensibility. This issue was explained in slightly more details in *Żywot św. Stanisława* (*The Life of St. Stanisław*), in which Długosz proved – following some of his predecessors' views – that the king was to taint himself by an intercourse with a mare (*cum iumentis*)<sup>148</sup>. Proclivity to sodomy, mentioned several times in the narrative, was presented as the greatest manifestation of moral degeneration, which was in line with the opinions articulated in the late Middle Ages<sup>149</sup>. The king's sins of the flesh were one of the igniting sparks which led to conflicts with Bishop Stanisław, and then to the murder of the Church's hierarch and the ruler's exile<sup>150</sup>. The consequences reached not only the sovereign, the following generations Polish people had to face them as well (the fragmentation of Poland, invasions of enemies), and the

---

<sup>147</sup> *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 121. References to Bolesław's sin of sodomy/against nature also occur in other places of Długosz's narrative on the king's conflict with Bishop Stanisław (*ibidem*, s. 123, 127, 130, 133, 145). Długosz reproduced the view that functioned in the Middle Ages, which stated that conducts „contrary to nature” were acquired by intercultural contacts (J. Boswell, *op. cit.*, s. 61, 254–259; J.A. Brundage, *Law*, s. 399; M.R. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 181–183; J. Tazbir, *Dewiacje obyczajowe*, w: idem, *Prace wybrane*, t. 4: *Studia nad kulturą staropolską*, Kraków 2001, s. 258–261; K. Skwierczyński, *Mury*, s. 50). According to Adam Krawiec, this view was, however, not as widespread in the Polish territories as it was in other countries of Europe (idem, *Seksualność*, s. 240). On Długosz's opinion about Ruthenians, see: A. Witkowska, *Wyobrażenia o cudzoziemcach w świetle „Roczników” Jana Długosza*, [http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra\\_Witkowska\\_Wyobrazenia\\_o\\_cudzoziemcach\\_w\\_swietle\\_Rocznikow\\_Jana\\_Dlugosza\\_Rozdzial\\_3\\_Kreacja\\_wizerunku\\_wschodnich\\_sasiadow\\_w\\_Annales.pdf](http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra_Witkowska_Wyobrazenia_o_cudzoziemcach_w_swietle_Rocznikow_Jana_Dlugosza_Rozdzial_3_Kreacja_wizerunku_wschodnich_sasiadow_w_Annales.pdf) [dostęp: 8 XII 2020]; J. Skomiał, *Polscy kronikarze wieków średnich o Rusi i Rusinach*, „*Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio G. Ius*” 2012, 59, 1, s. 91–92). The problem of the connection between the sin of sodomy and Ruthenians in the context of accusations formulated by Długosz against Bolesław the Generous, see: B. Bielaszka-Podgórný (*op. cit.*, s. 32–34).

<sup>148</sup> J. Długosz, *Vita*, s. 46. In comparison, it was argued in *Kronika polsko-śląska* (*The Polish-Silesian Chronicle*) that Bolesław „cum equa contra naturam effectus” (*Kronika polska*, s. 624). More on the issue of the accusation of the king's intercourse with a mare in the medieval historiography and its interpretation, see: K. Benyskiewicz, *W kregu Bolesława Szczodrego i Władysława Hermana. Piastowie w małżeństwie, polityce i intrydze*, Wrocław 2010, s. 92–100.

<sup>149</sup> H. Puff, *Wczesnonowożytna Europa*, w: *Geje*, s. 86.

<sup>150</sup> *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 121; B. Bielaszka-Podgórný, *op. cit.*, s. 28; R. Kusek, W. Szymański, *op. cit.*, s. 137.



entire Piast dynasty<sup>151</sup>. After some time, its representatives were deprived of the Polish crown, which passed into the hands of foreign monarchs<sup>152</sup>. Thus, Bolesław's sin against chastity led to committing the „sin against fatherland”<sup>153</sup>. Creating a black legend about the king by the Cracow canon went hand in hand with the intensification of St. Stanisław's cult in the mid-15th century, inspired by Zbigniew Oleśnicki<sup>154</sup>.

A touchstone of the ruler's assessment was his reaction to the subjects' practices, which were contrary to nature. Describing the fire of Poznań in 1447, Długosz reported that the event could have been a punishment for sodomy perpetrated at the royal court<sup>155</sup>. This statement is known only from the chronicler's account, and it was not confirmed by other sources<sup>156</sup>. Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa decided that it was a rhetorical turn in conformity with King Casimir's critical image outlined in the *Annals*<sup>157</sup>. It is possible that the discussed detail stemmed from Długosz's conviction about a low moral condition of Poland in his own times. In the entry referring to 1466, the chronicler criticised i.e. knights likening themselves to women in terms of attire and hairstyles<sup>158</sup>. Condemning courtiers' sodomy, Długosz also duplicated the tendency, characteristic of his own times, to burden people acting „against nature” with responsibility for

<sup>151</sup> *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 140–141.

<sup>152</sup> J. Długosz, *Vita*, s. 82–83.

<sup>153</sup> U. Borkowska, *Treści*, s. 112.

<sup>154</sup> Cz. Deptuła, *op. cit.*, s. 56, 58, 62; A. Rożnowska-Sadraei, *Pater Patriae. The Cult of Saint Stanislaus and the Patronage of Polish Kings 1200–1455*, Kraków 2008, s. 317–391. On the use of St. Stanisław's political heritage by the Cracow clergy in the conflicts against the ruler, see: P. Kołpak, *Kilka przykładów nawiązań do żywotów św. Stanisława w sporach politycznych późnego średniowiecza*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów UJ. Nauki Społeczne” 2016, 12, s. 57–69.

<sup>155</sup> „Exustio autem ipsa facta esse presumebatur ob turpissima et sodomica scelera, que in curia regia impune comitebantur” (*Ann.*, 12 (1), s. 50). As the reason of the fire – apart from the willingness to punish the royal courtiers for conduct against nature – Długosz also indicated an unfitting treatment by the king of the Lithuanian duke, Michał Zygmuntowicz.

<sup>156</sup> *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z lat 1445–1480*, vol. 2, red. S. Gawęda et al., Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1965, s. 14.

<sup>157</sup> J. Krzyżaniakowa, *Portret niedokończony. Kazimierz Jagiellończyk w Annales Jana Długosza*, w: *Ecclesia, cultura, potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, red. P. Krasa et al., Kraków 2006, s. 498–499.

<sup>158</sup> *Ann.*, 12 (2), s. 175. On accusations put forward by medieval scholars against courtiers resembling women in terms of hairstyle and attire: D.F. Greenberg, M.H. Bystryń, *Christian Intolerance of Homosexuality*, „American Journal of Sociology” 1982, 88, 3, s. 538–540. Interesting observations on the meaning of young men's clothing, see: J. Murray, *op. cit.*, s. 133–134.

all the evils of this world<sup>159</sup>. Intensification of homophobic sentiments and discourses was confirmed for the 15th century Italy in the situation of economic, demographic, political, and social problems escalating there<sup>160</sup>. It is assumed that the Cracow canon could have adopted the anti-sodomite rhetoric from John of Capistrano, a Franciscan, whom he kept in high regard<sup>161</sup>. The intensification of accusations of sodomy formulated against Bolesław the Generous in the *Annals* was thus explained<sup>162</sup>. It is also interesting that God's punishment for this specific offence was associated with the Old Testament motive of destroying Sodom with fire, the city-symbol of the moral downfall of its residents, but also the of the disobedience to God's orders. In the relation drawn by Długosz (sodomy-punitive nature of fire), one could also try to find references to burning at stake, which was a punishment for sodomy from early Christian times<sup>163</sup>. The chronicler's account of the conquest of Constantinople testifies to his conviction about the rightness of this punishment in relation to people acting „against nature”. Amongst the reasons for the city's downfall, he listed i.e. the fact that the residents of Constantinople agreed to open homosexual brothels, for which in other cities burning was the punishment<sup>164</sup>. It is difficult to state whether there the cases of

<sup>159</sup> H. Puff, *Wczesnonowożytna*, s. 80–81.

<sup>160</sup> A. Wyrobisz, „Wielki strach” w Wenecji i we Florencji w XV wieku i jego możliwe przyczyny, „Przegląd Historyczny” 2004, 95, 4, s. 457–466; J.A. Brundage, *Law*, s. 533–535. Simultaneously, it is pointed out that persecutions of sodomites in other regions of Europe at that time were not an excessively intensified phenomenon (H. Puff, *Wczesnonowożytna*, s. 83–84).

<sup>161</sup> John of Capistrano came to Cracow in 1453 and stayed there for a few months. Długosz presented a very positive image of the friar in the *Annals* (B. Kowalska, *Jan Kapistran w „Annales...” Jana Długosza*, „Saeculum Christianum” 2016, 23, s. 131–144). On the relations between John of Capistrano and Jan Długosz, see: P. Kołpak, *Czy Jan Długosz słuchał kazań Jana Kapistrana na krakowskim Rynku? Osobiste doświadczenie jako źródło kreowania pamięci historycznej*, w: *Odczytywanie*, s. 91–100; M. Koczarska, *Correspondence between Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Jan Długosz and John of Capistrano*, w: *The Grand Tour of John of Capistrano in Central and Eastern Europe (1451–1456). Transfers of Ideas and Strategies of Communication in the Late Middle Ages*, red. P. Kras, J.D. Mixon, Warszawa–Lublin 2018, s. 275–292.

<sup>162</sup> R. Kusek, W. Szymański, *op. cit.*, s. 137–138.

<sup>163</sup> T. Nastulczyk, P. Oczko, *op. cit.*, s. 160. On punishments for sodomy, see: B.-U. Hergmöller, *op. cit.*, s. 66–69, 73–74; R.M. Karras, *The Regulation of „Sodomy” in the Latin East and West*, „Speculum” 2020, 95, 4, s. 969–986.

<sup>164</sup> *Ann.*, 12 (1), s. 169. Then, referring to the Book of Genesis, Długosz reminded that Five Cities were punished for the same sin with sulphur and blue fire, changing them into a barren area (*ibidem*). Attributing proclivities to homosexuality to the schismatic Greeks, as sodomy to Ruthenians previously, could be treated as an invective against „others”,

practices „opposing nature” – not necessarily homosexual, but known to the chronicler and condemned in the discussed excerpt from the *Annals* – were in fact recorded at Casimir's royal court. It is equally likely that sodomy attributed to the king's circles was in the Cracow canon's view a symbol of immoral conduct of the royal circles, and functioned on the basis of hyperbole.

The fragment on the fire of Poznań emphasises the lack of courtiers' desired reaction (*impune comitebantur*) to sodomy, which resulted in God's intervention. Even though there is no clear indication who was supposed to react, it can be guessed that the newly crowned King Casimir Jagiellon was concerned. A work from the 7th century, *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* by the so-called Pseudo-Cyprian, was very popular in the Middle Ages. The treatise was known and widely distributed in Europe also in the late Middle Ages<sup>165</sup>. It described twelve offences committed by the representatives of medieval society. The ninth sin, regarding an unjust ruler, simultaneously included guidelines as to actions which should be taken by a good, fair ruler. One of them was to be a sovereign's pursuit of punishing adultery (*adulteria punire*)<sup>166</sup>. Such interpretation is consistent with Długosz's views on monarchs' duties, amongst which security of order and internal peace, as well as eradication of crimes and misdemeanours, took a prominent place<sup>167</sup>. It is also worth noting that for describing sodomite practices, the chronicler used the term *scelus*, which can be translated as misconduct, crime, offence. The royal city's fire, the source of which stemmed from the downfall of mores of people closely related to the monarch, was a consequence of the sin of omission committed by the monarch indifferent to the obscenities of his court.

In a few cases, the ruler's sexual activity was correlated with failures in the military area. The *Annals* reveal the chronicler's fascination with military affairs. His stories about military struggles are very extensive, rich in details, often unknown from other accounts, individualised, and they manifest the chronicler's creativity<sup>168</sup>. In the Middle Ages, war was

---

„foreign”. Citing other sins of Constantinople's residents, the chronicler fell into the then dominant hatred of the Western Christians towards the Orthodox Greeks (*Rozbiór*, t. 1, s. 58).

<sup>165</sup> S. Ekdahl, *Grunwald 1410. Studia nad tradycją i źródłami*, Kraków 2010, s. 123–124.

<sup>166</sup> Pseudo-Cyprianus, *De xii abusivis saeculi*, wyd. S. Hellmann, w: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 34, Leipzig 1909, s. 51.

<sup>167</sup> J. Skomiał, *Władca a prawo w Jana Długosza Annales seu Cronicae*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne” 1988, 40, 2, s. 143–151.

<sup>168</sup> J. Ptak, *Bitwy w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, w: *Jan Długosz – w kręgu badań historyków i literaturoznawców*, red. T. Giergiel, Sandomierz 2017, s. 141–165.

perceived as a situation specifically dependent on God's will<sup>169</sup>. Success in fighting was to confirm Creator's favour not only for a crowned head, but also for the entire state. One of the values most esteemed by Długosz was the love of the fatherland<sup>170</sup>. In the case of rulers, it was manifested – as has already been mentioned – through the proper fulfilment of responsibilities imposed on them for providing a state's security, waging wars in particular<sup>171</sup>. Thus, the monarchy's fate depended on a proper, or improper, conduct of individuals, those in power in particular<sup>172</sup>. The chronicler's views on the topic of the influence of a monarch's sexual activity on military skills were clearly expressed in the descriptions of young Bolesław the Generous' dilemmas, who was coaxed by his circles to marry. The duke was to express fears that the love for his wife would weaken his resolve to carry out wars<sup>173</sup>. Allegation of evading warfare because of giving precedence to sensual pleasures was formulated with regards to the already analysed examples of Popiel the Younger, Mieszko II, or Casimir the Great.

The chronicler also pointed out to a direct correlation between a monarch's sexual activity and lost battles. In Długosz's perspective, wanton life and hideous mores of Władysław Spindleshanks were the reasons for his military failures in Greater Poland in 1229 and 1231<sup>174</sup>. It is difficult to define Długosz's inspiration for the abovementioned case. It was stated in the 13th century Cistercian chronicle by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines that Władysław Odonic died at the hands of a German girl, but the chronology of other events described there can indicate that there was a confusion over Władysław<sup>175</sup>. A possible mistake of

---

<sup>169</sup> J. Talarowski, *op. cit.*, s. 206–211. A good example of Providence's influence on the fate and course of military operations is given by the narrative on the battle of Grunwald (B. Kowalska, *Sacrum w Długoszowym opisie bitwy pod Grunwaldem*, w: *Klio viae et invia. Opuscula Marco Cetwiński dedicata*, red. A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa, Warszawa 2010, s. 107–121).

<sup>170</sup> J. Koczerska, *Mentalność*, s. 139; U. Borkowska, *Treści*, s. 99; S. Gawlas, *Świadomość narodowa Jana Długosza*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 1983, 27, s. 3–66; A. Talarowski, *op. cit.*, s. 217–218.

<sup>171</sup> M. Koczerska, *Mentalność*, s. 122; U. Borkowska, *Treści*, s. 97.

<sup>172</sup> J. Nikodem, *Przełomy*, s. 80.

<sup>173</sup> *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 95.

<sup>174</sup> *Ann.*, 5–6, s. 254, 260.

<sup>175</sup> More on a similar error by the French chronicler regarding the two Władysław, i.e. Spindleshanks and Odonic, see: K. Jasiński, *Uzupełnienie do genealogii Piastów. Dokończenie*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 1960, 5, s. 97–100; M. Przybył, *Władysław Laskonogi*, Poznań 2015, s. 199–201; A. Krawiec, *Seksualność*, s. 165–166; A. Grabowski, *Polska i Polacy w średnio-wiecznej wspólnocie europejskiej – świadectwo Alberyka z Trois-Fontaines*, w: *Przeszłość w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, t. 1, cz. 1, *Przeszłość obrazowana w tradycyjnych zapisach i ujęciach*

the French chronicler becomes more probable in the light of a written account from the Lubin genealogy by Jan of Dąbrówka, according to which this was Władysław Spindleshanks who died in exile, murdered by some girl<sup>176</sup>. A. Krawiec recognised that the Cracow canon perhaps did not know Alberic's account on the circumstances of Władysław Odonic's death<sup>177</sup>. Maybe Długosz's words on shameful mores and acts unworthy of the duke were an amplification of a concise account by Jan of Dąbrówka. This moral motive was modified and made more specific in the *Annals*. It served to justify unsuccessful clashes of the elder duke while fighting his nephew<sup>178</sup>, the descriptions of which were taken from *Kronika wielkopolska* (*The Chronicle of Greater Poland*)<sup>179</sup>. Attributing to Władysław an excessive sexual disposition served as a warning. Długosz argued that knights held the duke in contempt due to his hideous tendencies, which resulted in the departure from the monarch during military operations. In this perspective, the rampant sexuality weakened monarchical authority, preventing the sovereign from fulfilling his tasks effectively.

The most suggestive example of the influence of ruler's sinful sexual practices on the fate of war, strengthened by the motive of perjury committed against God, was the *casus* of Władysław of Varna's defeat at Varna in 1444<sup>180</sup>. For Długosz and his circles, the battle remained a difficult generation experience<sup>181</sup>. Searching for the reasons of the defeat of Christian armies commanded by the King of Hungary and Poland, Długosz hinted that it was caused by Władysław's extremely immoral conduct and the monarch's breaking his promise to resign practices triggering disgust<sup>182</sup>.

---

*historiograficznych*, red. J. Banaszkiwicz, A. Dąbrówka, P. Węcowski, Warszawa 2018, s. 218–219.

<sup>176</sup> „[...] hic a puella in exilio occiditur”, *Kodeks lubiński*, Biblioteka Narodowa, sygn. 3002, s. 68, <https://polona.pl/item/miscellanea-historica,MjY0NjQ3/38/#item> [dostęp: 19 I 2021].

<sup>177</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 166.

<sup>178</sup> This is how K. Jasiński explained it (*Uzupełnienie*, s. 100).

<sup>179</sup> *Kronika wielkopolska* issued as *Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska*, wyd. W.A. Maciejowski, MPH, t. 2, s. 554, 557. On Długosz's sources, see: A. Semkowicz, *op. cit.*, s. 228, 230.

<sup>180</sup> Explanation of matters associated with Długosz's views on Władysław III's sexuality, together with a detailed analysis of a proper fragment from the *Annals*, will be presented in a different article. Only general statements were made at this point.

<sup>181</sup> Book 12 of the *Annals* begins with a description of the Poles' universal despair at the news of their countrymen's death, who accompanied the king, at Varna (*Ann.*, 12 (2), s. 13). On the reactions to the battle by the contemporaries, see: A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach Europy Zachodniej XIV–XV w.*, Warszawa 1968, s. 403–443.

<sup>182</sup> *Ann.*, 11–12, s. 327–328.

These accusations are Długosz's authorial concept<sup>183</sup>, which was perhaps crystallised under the influence of circulating gossips<sup>184</sup>. The formulated accusations fell very firmly into the chronicler's historiosophical interpretation of history, which foresees the Divine intervention for the sins committed by the monarch and his subjects. A very suggestive description of immoral, hideous sexual practices increased the reader's conviction about the extent of the sin committed by the Jagiellon and the adequacy of punishment in the form of the defeat in the battle against the Turks<sup>185</sup>. It also cannot be ruled out that in the analysed fragment, the chronicler – while rationalising the defeat – revealed his reluctant attitude towards Władysław, the representative of the disliked Jagiellonian dynasty. The king's image presented in other places of Długosz's work is close to the hagiographic description, but its construction, traits ascribed to the ruler – a martyr for the faith, remain very clichéd<sup>186</sup>.

The two abovementioned examples, i.e. Władysław Spindleshanks and Władysław of Varna, are also connected though the lack of precision as to which sexual practices they were accused of. Nowadays, this leads to speculations that perhaps it was the chronicler who attributed homosexual tendencies to them<sup>187</sup>. It is difficult to unambiguously confirm or reject this interpretation. The example of Bolesław the Generous indicated that the chronicler did not hesitate to refer to the (numerously repeated) argument about the sovereign's sodomite proclivities in order to enhance his negative traits and justify the punishment suffered. But while in the case of Władysław of Varna there is no unambiguous

---

<sup>183</sup> *Rozbiór*, t. 1, s. 341. On suspicions regarding this fragment's authenticity: *ibidem*; I. Zarębski, *Gesta Sbignei jako element ewolucji w genezie Annalium Jana Długosza*, w: *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, red. Z. Budkowa et al., Warszawa 1960, s. 295.

<sup>184</sup> „[...] asserunt tamen nonnulli ex coniecturis verissimilibus” (*Ann.*, 11–12, s. 327).

<sup>185</sup> Rationalisation of a military defeat, particularly against the fight with the infidels, by referring to God's punishment for the committed sins often occurs in the medieval writings (K. DeVries, *God and Defeat in Medieval Warfare: Some Preliminary Thoughts*, w: *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages. Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History*, red. D.J. Kagay, L.J.A. Villalon, Woodbridge 1999, s. 87–97; A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Wojownik, obrońca wiary i uciśnionych? Wzorce rycerskie w świetle średniowiecznych przekazów narracyjnych*, w: *Ethos rycerski w kulturze. Tradycje i kontynuacje*, t. 1, *W kręgu średniowiecza*, red. T. Banaś-Korniak, B. Stuchlik-Surowiak, Katowice 2017, s. 159).

<sup>186</sup> More on this, see: P. Szewdo, *Sub banderio cruciatae: Władysław III Jagiellończyk jako średniowieczny rycerz idealny. Wizerunek władcy na podstawie Roczników Jana Długosza*, „*Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*” 2017, 9, s. 186–210. Cf. J. Krochmal, *Władysław Warneńczyk w świetle Roczników Jana Długosza*, „*Balkanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia*” 1997, 8, s. 136.

<sup>187</sup> A. Krawiec, *op. cit.*, s. 238–239.

accusation of the king's succumbing to practices „contrary to nature”, which were the manifestation of the worst moral downfall worthy of the greatest condemnation for the chronicler, and could constitute of form of Długosz's self-censorship (fear of the royal court's reaction, chronicler's circle, willingness to protect the dignity of the King of Poland), this endeavour in reference to Władysław Spindleshanks was not necessary due to the time distance of the described events. Suffice it to say, we are not able to guess the core of the described practices. However, this does not mean that they had to be unreadable or incomprehensible for the medieval reader. Only with the passing centuries, their semantic code could have become obliterated. It is possible that the ambiguity of these descriptions was a deliberate attempt by Długosz. The chronicler wanted to emphasise the enormity of „offences”, to make them revolting, while the definition of their essence was left to the reader.

The *Annals'* fragments on the rulers' sexual activity allows to state that the motive of admonishing and condemning of this aspect of life by the bishops is present in some of these narratives. Such endeavour was for the first time used in reference to Bolesław the Generous who was admonished by the Cracow bishop for debauchery and sin of sodomy<sup>188</sup>. Stanisław even instructed the monarch on what a proper sexual life was, i.e. an intercourse with wife for the purpose of procreation<sup>189</sup>. Casimir the Just's predilection for adultery was met with rebukes from Bishop Pełka. The duke's failure to listen to the clergyman's advice ended tragically, with the monarch's premature death, as a result of poisoning with a love potion served by a lover<sup>190</sup>. Information on the circumstances of the duke's death were borrowed by Długosz from *Rocznik Traski* (*Annals of Traska*)<sup>191</sup> while a reference on proclivity to adultery and reprimands given by Pełka are the author's addition<sup>192</sup>. Inspiration for the motive of the clergyman's instruction could have been provided by the chronicler by Wincenty Kadłubek, where a statement was found that Casimir had died during a feast, while asking bishops questions about salvation<sup>193</sup>, which was a motive repeated by Długosz. Introducing the motive of an earlier reprimand by Pełka, who admonished the duke for succumbing into passions, was to justify the punishment (the ruler's death). This

<sup>188</sup> *Ann.*, 3–4, s. 114, 126–127.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 127.

<sup>190</sup> *Ann.*, 5–6, s. 156.

<sup>191</sup> „Dux Kazimirus pater Lestconis et Cunradi in Cracovia obiit subitanea morte, illata per veneficia cuiusdam mulieris” (*Rocznik Traski*, wyd. A. Bielowski, MPH, t. 2, Lwów 1872, s. 835).

<sup>192</sup> J. Dobosz, *Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy*, Poznań 2011, s. 156–157.

<sup>193</sup> *Magistri*, s. 169.

narrative also served the function of a warning: favourable, full of successes reign could be suddenly ceased when the ruler follows the voice of urge and not the rebukes of the Church hierarchy. The case of a vicar, Marcin Baryczka, had a similar overtone. Casimir the Great, admonished by bishops – and through them also by the Pope – regarding the breaking of the marriage oath and keeping numerous concubines, started to collect unauthorised tributes from the part of the Cracow Church's properties, for which church penalties were imposed on him. Marcin, sent by the Bishop of Cracow, Bodzęta, to inform the monarch about the sanctions, was captured and killed at Casimir's order<sup>194</sup>. Constructing this story, Długosz referred to and expanded the laconic note from *Kronika katedralna krakowska* (*The Cracow Cathedral Chronicle*), according to which the ruler was misled, and Baryczka was killed on the basis of false accusations<sup>195</sup>. Scholarship points out that the endeavour used by the Cracow canon makes the whole story similar to the story about the conflict between Stanisław of Szczepanów and Bolesław the Generous<sup>196</sup>. This means of creating the narrative, a significant element of which was the king's sin of adultery as a starting point for the perpetrated crime, justified the punishment that befell the monarch, i.e. death without a (legal) male descendant<sup>197</sup>. The last example of a (future) bishop's involvement in monarch's intimate life is the description of Zbigniew Oleśnicki's reaction to the marriage of Władysław Jagiełło and Elżbieta Granowska. In 1419, the clergyman was to reproach the king that he committed an offence by having an intercourse with his sister from the mother's side because Elżbieta's mother was the monarch's godmother at the same time. This reprehensible act (sexual relationships between children of godparents was considered an incest in the Middle Ages<sup>198</sup>) was met with an immediate warning – a lightning strikes the royal carriage<sup>199</sup>. In the Middle Ages, the right to interfere in people's intimate life was considered to fall under

<sup>194</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 254–256.

<sup>195</sup> *Kronika katedralna*, s. 629–630.

<sup>196</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 256. More by: J. Sperka, *Obraz*, s. 261; A. Talarowski, *op. cit.*, s. 215–216.

<sup>197</sup> *Ann.*, 9, s. 256.

<sup>198</sup> A. Pieniądz, *Kazirodztwo w społeczeństwie wczesnego średniowiecza*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 2007, 98, 3, s. 353–354.

<sup>199</sup> On peripeteias with this marriage, see: J. Sperka, *Elżbieta z Pilicy Granowska i król Władysław Jagiełło. Kulisy wielkiej miłości*, w: *Miłość*, s. 107–119; T. Szulc, *Nierówność stanowa w małżeństwach Jagiellonów i królów elekcyjnych*, „*Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne*” 2017, 104, s. 140–141, 146–147. In the cited story, Długosz wrote about striking by lightning as God's punishment. This motive often appeared in medieval writings as a consequence to experience by those who remained in incestuous relationships (E. Archibald, *Incest in Medieval Literature and Society*, „Forum for Modern Language Studies” 1989, 25, 1, s. 1–15).



the Church jurisdiction<sup>200</sup>. The clergymen's controlling function over sexuality was confirmed already in the early medieval penitentials, which included i.e. questions that were to be asked to a penitent regarding his sexual activity<sup>201</sup>. At the same time, Długosz was a supporter of the view on the superiority of ecclesiastical authority over the secular power<sup>202</sup>. It is possible that introducing the motive of admonitions given to the monarchs in respect of intimate life was one of the elements in forming this message, and its multiple repetitions were to serve the purpose of disseminating the preferred vision of the bishop-monarch relation.

The *Annals* allow to draw a few conclusions about their author's views on the sexual activity of rulers, as well as the role which this sphere of an individual's life played in the account of the Cracow canon. Długosz meticulously noted all the manifestations of the individual monarchs' sinful practices. He examined them in terms of the moral assessment, he attributed a pejorative meaning to them, and at the same time he gave them a great driving force. Succumbing to urges often triggered a cascade of events leading to defeat or downfall. Sinful proclivities became attributed not only to the sovereigns who were considered antiheroes (Popiel, Mieszko II, and Bolesław the Generous), although in these cases these motives were clearly emphasised, but also to the monarchs who were positively assessed (Casimir the Just, Casimir the Great, Jadwiga of Poland). It was indicated that the consequences of giving in to desires by monarchs were felt not only by them, but also by the subjects as a collective, the entire political community, and sometimes the effects of rulers' sinful lives were manifested over a longer time period. While in the case of individual it was assumed that satisfying sensual pleasures could lose a man's soul, in the case of sovereigns, the entire state could be led to ruin. The examples provided by the chronicler were to shape not only some patterns of morality, but also to justify the necessity to comply with the prevailing moral rigour, and even to allow some forms of controlling this aspect of their lives by the Church dignitaries. In the majority of cases, the more or less extensive narrative on erotic life can be treated as Długosz's amplifications. However, their foundation was usually rooted in often lapidary references – read or interpreted from other sources – about a duke's or a king's debauchery taking various

<sup>200</sup> R.M. Karras, *Seksualność*, s. 26.

<sup>201</sup> J. Brundage, *Law*, s. 152–169; P.J. Payer, *Confession and the Study of Sex in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook*, s. 3–33; J. Delumeau, *Grzech i strach: poczucie winy w kulturze Zachodu w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1994, s. 306–315.

<sup>202</sup> Cz. Deptuła, *op. cit.*, s. 56; U. Borkowska, *Treści*, s. 109–111; eadem, *Regnum*, s. 13–15, 19–20; J. Nikodem, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki w dziełach Jana Długosza*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*” 1997, 87, s. 79; idem, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki w historiografii polskiej*, Kraków 2001, s. 21.

forms. This remains in agreement with the work method adopted by the chronicler<sup>203</sup>. The use of amplification by the chronicler had a purpose of making a greater impact on a reader, consolidating a situation recalled to his memory<sup>204</sup>. Wanting to strengthen the message, the chronicler very often used multiplication (repetition of content), characteristic of medieval preaching<sup>205</sup>. It concerned both the numerous repetitions of information on sinful practices with some rulers, as well as the duplication of certain motives (i.e. bishops instructing monarchs on matters of intimate life). The conducted analysis of *Annals* in terms of the presence of descriptions the Polish monarchs' intimate life allows to state that this topic was included not (only) to make the narrative more attractive or because of the chronicler's preference for spicy details<sup>206</sup>. It is not a coincidence that the narratives, into which the motive of sexual activity were composed and in which it was developed, can be treated as exempla, and the perspective of their assessment should be considered in the categories of warning and instruction for sovereigns. These descriptions were treated in an instrumental way. Stigmatisation of sinful proclivities, linking them with a punishment sent by Providence, pointing out political repercussions, were to serve the didactic and moralising purposes, and justified Długosz's providentialistic concept of historiosophy.

(translated by Anna Miączewska)

#### REFERENCES (BIBLIOGRAFIA)

##### Sources (Źródła)

Długosz J., *Liber beneficiorum*, t. 3, w: *Opera omnia*, wyd. A. Przeździecki, t. 9, Cracoviae 1864.

Długosz J., *Vita Sanctissimi Stansislai Episcopi Cracoviensis*, w: *Joannis Dlugossii senioris canonici cracoviensis opera*, t. 1, wyd. I. Polkowski, Ż. Pauli, Cracoviae 1887.

---

<sup>203</sup> In the summary to his work, Długosz indicated that while describing various events, he used the stories of others, his own or others' suggestions („aliorum relatione aut mea aut aliorum suggestione") (*Ann.*, 12 (2), s. 446). More on the amplifications in Długosz's work see: M. Cetwiński, *Biskup wrocławski Magnus: amplifikacja i metafora jako sposoby narracji dziejopisarskiej*, w: *Tysiącletnie dziedzictwo kulturowe diecezji wrocławskiej*, red. A. Barciak, Katowice 2000, s. 61–64.

<sup>204</sup> H. Rajfura, *Warsztat pisarski Jana Długosza w świetle Żywotu św. Stanisława*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*" 2018, 56, s. 68.

<sup>205</sup> A. Szulc, *Mundus sermonis. Obraz nauczających i nauczanych w świetle badań nad tekstami średniowiecznych kazań bernardyńskich*, w: *Mundus hominis – cywilizacja, kultura, natura. Wokół interdyscyplinarności badań historycznych*, red. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2006, s. 172.

<sup>206</sup> Even more so, not because of „Długosz's erotic literary mania" (E. Sulimczyk Świeżawski, *op. cit.*, s. 10).

- Druga Księga Samuela* 13, 1–22, w: *Biblia Tysiąclecia*, <https://biblia.deon.pl/rozdzial.php?id=1198> [dostęp: 13 I 2021].
- Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, wyd. C. Maleczyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova series, t. 2, Cracoviae 1952.
- Ioannis Dlugossi, Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. 1–12, red. S. Budkowa et al., Varsaviae–Cracoviae 1964–2005
- Kodeks lubiński*, Biblioteka Narodowa, sygn. 3002, <https://polona.pl/item/miscellanea-historica,MjY0NjQ3/38/#item> [dostęp: 19 I 2021].
- Kroniki katedralna krakowska*, wyd. J. Szlachtowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 2, Lwów 1872.
- Kronika polska*, wyd. L. Ćwikliński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 3, Lwów 1878.
- Kronika wielkopolska. Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska*, wyd. W.A. Maciejowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 2, Lwów 1872.
- Kronika xiążąt polskich*, wyd. Z. Węclewski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 3, Lwów 1878
- Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, t. 1, wyd. I. Zakrzewski, Posnaniae 1890.
- Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek, *Chronica Polonorum*, wyd. M. Plezia, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova series, t. 11, Cracoviae 1994.
- Mnich Brunwilerski o założeniu klasztoru w Brunwiler*, wyd. A. Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 1, Lwów 1864.
- Pseudo-Cyprianus, *De xii abusivis saeculi*, wyd. S. Hellmann, w: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 34, Leipzig 1909.
- Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, wyd. B. Kürbis, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova series, t. 6, Warszawa 1962.
- Rocznik Traski*, wyd. A. Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 2, Lwów 1872.
- Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermo de triplici sapientia diabolica et vera*, w: *Stanisław ze Skarbimierza. Mowy wybrane o mądrości*, red. M. Korolko, Kraków 2000.
- św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Suma teologiczna*, t. 12, *O wadach i grzechach*, tłum. F.W. Bednarski, London 1965.
- św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Suma teologiczna*, t. 22, *Umiarowanie*, tłum. S. Bełch, London 1963.
- Vita sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi (Vita maior)*, wyd. W. Kętrzyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 4, Lwów 1884.
- Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis (vita minor)*, wyd. W. Kętrzyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, t. 4, Lwów 1884.

### Studies (Opracowania)

- Archibald E., *Incest in Medieval Literature and Society*, „Forum for Modern Language Studies” 1989, 25, 1.
- Banaszkiewicz J., *Czarna i biała legenda Bolesława Śmiałego*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 1981, 88, 2.
- Benyskiewicz K., *W kręgu Bolesława Szczodrego i Władysława Hermana. Piastowie w małżeństwie, polityce i intrydze*, Wrocław 2010.
- Bielaszka-Podgórną B., *Grzech sodomski Bolesława Szczodrego w świetle Roczników Jana Długosza*, „Studia Historyczne” 2018, 61, 2.
- Bloomfield M.W., *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*, Michigan, reprint 1967.
- Borkowska U., *Regnum i sacerdotium w pismach Jana Długosza*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1981, 26.

- Borkowska U., *Treści ideowe w dziełach Jana Długosza. Kościół i świat poza Kościołem*, Lublin 1983.
- Boswell J., *Chrześcijaństwo, tolerancja społeczna i homoseksualność. Geje i lesbijki w Europie Zachodniej od początku ery chrześcijańskiej do XIV wieku*, Kraków 2006.
- Bracha K., *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, Kielce 2007.
- Brojer W., *Diabeł w wyobraźni średniowiecznej*, Wrocław 2003.
- Brown P., *Ciało i społeczeństwo. Mężczyźni, kobiety i abstynencja seksualna we wczesnym chrześcijaństwie*, Kraków 2006.
- Brundage J.A., *Adultery and Fornication: A Study in Legal Theology*, w: *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, red. V.L. Bullough, J. Brundage, Buffalo–New York 1982.
- Brundage J.A., *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago 1987.
- Brundage J.A., *Rape and Seduction in the Medieval Canon Law*, w: *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, red. V.L. Bullough, J. Brundage, Buffalo–New York 1982.
- Bullough V.L., *Cross Dressing and Gender Role Change in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, red. V.L. Bullough, J.A. Brundage, New York–London 1996.
- Bullough V.L., *Medieval Concepts of Adultery*, „*Arthuriana*” 1997, 7, 4.
- Bullough V.L., *The Sin Against the Nature and Homosexuality*, w: *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, red. V.L. Bullough, J. Brundage, Buffalo–New York 1982.
- Bullough V.L., *Transvestism in the Middle Ages*, w: *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, red. V.L. Bullough, J. Brundage, Buffalo–New York 1982.
- Bylina S., *Religijność późnego średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2009.
- Cetwiński M., *Biskup wrocławski Magnus: amplifikacja i metafora jako sposoby narracji dziejopiskarskiej*, w: *Tysiącletnie dziedzictwo kulturowe diecezji wrocławskiej*, red. A. Barciak, Katowice 2000.
- Cetwiński M., *Sceny małżeńskie w „Żywocie św. Jadwigi: miłość obowiązku czy obowiązek miłości, w: Cor hominis. Wielkie namiętności w dziejach, źródłach i studiach nad przeszłością*, red. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2007.
- Chmielewska K., *Lzy spizowych posągów w pałacu Popiela. Jan Długosz o Pompiliuszach polskich*, w: *Odczytywanie Długosza*, red. K. Janus, B. Łukarska, E. Hak, Częstochowa 2016.
- Classen A., *Sexual Violence and Rape in the Middle Ages. A Critical Discourse in Premodern German and European Literature*, Berlin–Boston 2011.
- Czwojdrak B., *Miłość i polityka w kręgach dworu królewskiego – królowa Zofia Holszańska i jej rycerze*, w: *Miłość w czasach dawnych*, red. B. Możejko, A. Paner, Gdańsk 2009.
- Czwojdrak B., *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa 2012.
- Dąbrowski J., *Kazimierz Wielki. Twórca Korony Królestwa Polskiego*, Kraków 2007.
- Delumeau J., *Grzech i strach: poczucie winy w kulturze Zachodu w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1994.
- Deptuła Cz., *Biskup i władca. Z problematyki ideologii państwowej i świadomości narodowej polskiego średniowiecza*, „*Więź*” 1968, 9.
- DeVries K., *God and Defeat in Medieval Warfare: Some Preliminary Thoughts*, w: *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages. Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History*, red. D.J. Kagay, L.J.A. Villalon, Woodbridge 1999.
- Długopolski E., *Władysław Łokietek na tle swoich czasów*, Kraków 2009.
- Dobosz J., *Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy*, Poznań 2011.
- Ekdahl S., *Grunwald 1410. Studia nad tradycją i źródłami*, Kraków 2010.

- Elliot D., *Gender and the Christian Tradition*, w: *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender Tradition in Medieval Europe*, red. J.M. Bennet, R.M. Karras, Oxford 2013.
- Foucault M., *Historia seksualności*, Gdańsk 2010.
- Foucault M., *Historia seksualności*, t. 4: *Wyznania ciała*, Gdańsk 2019.
- Gawęda S., *Ocena niektórych problemów historii ojczyzny w „Rocznikach Jana Długosza”*, w: *Długossiana. Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Historyczne” 1980, 65.
- Gawlas S., *Świadomość narodowa Jana Długosza*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1983, 27.
- Le Goff J., Truong N., *Historia ciała w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2006.
- Goliński J.K., *Okolice trwogi. Lęk w literaturze i kulturze dawnej Polski*, Bydgoszcz 1997.
- Górski K., *Zarys dziejów duchowości w Polsce*, Kraków 1986.
- Grabowski A., *Polska i Polacy w średniowiecznej wspólnocie europejskiej – świadectwo Alberyka z Trois-Fontaines*, w: *Przeszłość w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, t. 1, cz. 1, *Przeszłość obrazowana w tradycyjnych zapisach i ujęciach historiograficznych*, red. J. Banaszekiewicz, A. Dąbrówka, P. Węcowski, Warszawa 2018.
- Grabski A.F., *Polska w opiniach Europy Zachodniej XIV–XV w.*, Warszawa 1968.
- Grzybowska L., *Deus Venter. O motywie „boga-brzucha” w literaturze średniowiecznej (na wybranych przykładach)*, w: *Ars bene vivendi: studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Maciejowi Włodarskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, red. E. Buszewicz, L. Grzybowska, Kraków 2017.
- Grudziński T., *Bolesław Śmiały-Szczodry i biskup Stanisław. Dzieje konfliktu*, Kraków 2010.
- Hergmöller B.-U., *Średniowiecze*, w: *Geje i lesbijki: życie i kultura*, red. R. Aldrich, Kraków 2009.
- Jasiński K., *Drugie małżeństwo Bolesława Rogatki oraz problem „Zofii z Doren”*, „Sobótka” 1979, 34, 3.
- Jasiński K., *Uzupełnienie do genealogii Piastów. Dokończenie*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1960, 5.
- Jaworski R., *Łowy Władysława Jagiełły*, w: *Z biografistyki polskiego późnego średniowiecza*, red. M. Koczerska, Warszawa 2001.
- Johansson W., Percy W.A., *Homosexuality*, w: *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, red. V.L. Bullough, J.A. Brundage, New York–London 1996.
- Jureczko A., *Bolesław Rogatka – próba charakterystyki*, „Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny” 1987, 109, *Prace Historyczne* 12.
- Kantorowicz E.H., *Dwa ciała króla. Studium ze średniowiecznej teologii politycznej*, Warszawa 2007.
- Karras R.M., *The Regulation of „Sodomy” in the Latin East and West*, „Speculum” 2020, 95, 4.
- Karras R.M., *Seksualność w średniowiecznej Europie*, Warszawa 2012.
- Kielbus M., *Faktografia a dydaktyka: „balneum” w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, w: *Odczytywanie Długosza*, red. K. Janus, B. Łukarska, E. Hak, Częstochowa 2016.
- Koczerska M., *Correspondence between Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Jan Długosz and John of Capistrano*, w: *The Grand Tour of John of Capistrano in Central and Eastern Europe (1451–1456). Transfers of Ideas and Strategies of Communication in the Late Middle Ages*, red. P. Kras, J.D. Mixon, Warszawa–Lublin 2018.
- Koczerska M., *Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 1971, 15.
- Kołpak P., *Czy Jan Długosz słuchał kazań Jana Kapistrana na krakowskim Rynku? Osobiste doświadczenie jako źródło kreowania pamięci historycznej*, w: *Odczytywanie Długosza*, red. K. Janus, B. Łukarska, E. Hak, Częstochowa 2016.

- Kołpak P., *Kilka przykładów nawiązań do żywotów św. Stanisława w sporach politycznych późnego średniowiecza*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów UJ. Nauki Społeczne” 2016, 12.
- Kowalczykówna M., *Tańce i zabawy w świetle rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, „Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” 1984–1985, 34–35, 1–2.
- Kowska B., *Jan Kapistran w „Annales...” Jana Długosza*, „Saeculum Christianum” 2016, 23.
- Kowska B., *Sacrum w Długoszowym opisie bitwy pod Grunwaldem*, w: *Klio viae et invia. Opuscula Marco Cetwiński dedicata*, red. A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa, Warszawa 2010.
- Krawiec A., *Seksualność w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Poznań 2000.
- Krochmal J., *Władysław Warneńczyk w świetle Roczników Jana Długosza*, „Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia” 1997, 8.
- Krzyżaniakowa J., *Portret niedokończony. Kazimierz Jagiellończyk w Annales Jana Długosza*, w: *Ecclesia, cultura, potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, red. P. Krasa et al., Kraków 2006.
- Kuefler M.F., *Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, red. V.L. Bullough, J.A. Brundage, New York–London 1996.
- Kusek R., Szymański W., *Kings as „Queens” – Textual and Visual Homophobic Fabrications of Two Polish Kings: the Curious Cases of Boleslaw the Generous and Henry I of Poland*, „Royal Studies Journal” 2019, 6, 2.
- Labuda G., *Mieszko II. Król Polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*, Poznań 2008.
- Łacka-Malecka M., *Żydzi w Rocznikach Jana Długosza – stereotyp wiecznie żywy*, w: *Tożsamość a stereotypy: Żydzi i Polacy*, red. J. Mizgalski, M. Soja, Częstochowa 2014.
- Meysman S., *Degrading the Male Body: Manhood and Conflict in the High-medieval Low Countries*, „Gender & History” 2016, 28, 2.
- Mikulka J., *Annales Jana Długosza a Czechy*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce” 1963, 8.
- Mills R., *Homosexuality: Specters of Sodom*, w: *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages*, red. R. Evans, t. 2, *Cultural History of Sexuality*, red. J. Peakman, Oxford 2011.
- Minois G., *Historia piekła*, Warszawa 1996.
- Morawska K., *Ut non diligit vir uxorem sicut adulteram – poglądy kaznodziejów na seksualność w średniowiecznej Polsce*, „Forum Socjologiczne” 2017, 8.
- Murray J., *Hiding Behind the Universal Man: Male Sexuality in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, red. V.L. Bullough, J.A. Brundage, New York–London 1996.
- Nastulczyk T., Oczko P., *Homoseksualność staropolska*, Kraków 2012.
- Nikodem J., *Gniewosz – Jadwiga – Wilhelm. Krytyka przekazu „Annales” Jana Długosza*, „Przeгляд Historyczny” 2007, 98, 2.
- Nikodem J., *Jadwiga król Polski*, Wrocław 2009.
- Nikodem J., *„Przełomy, odrodzenia i upadki” w Długoszowej wizji dziejów ojczyzny*, „Klio Polska. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Historiografii Polskiej” 2018, 10.
- Nikodem J., *Zbigniew Oleśnicki w dziełach Jana Długosza*, „Nasza Przeszłość” 1997, 87.
- Nikodem J., *Zbigniew Oleśnicki w historiografii polskiej*, Kraków 2001.
- Norman R., *Sexual Symbolism, Religious Language and the Ambiguity of the Spirit: Associative Themes in Anglican Poetry and Philosophy*, „Theology & Sexuality” 2007, 13, 3.
- Ozorowski M., *Zarys historyczny teologii małżeństwa w średniowieczu*, „Studia Teologiczne” 1996, 14.
- Pac G., *Obraz małżeństwa w wybranych niemieckich źródłach hagiograficznych X i XI w.*, w: *Kult świętych i ideał świętości w średniowieczu*, red. R. Michałowski, Warszawa 2011.

- Pauba P., *Poeci i pisarze w Rocznikach, czyli kronikach sławnego Królestwa Polskiego Jana Długosza. Rekonesans*, w: *E fructu arbor cognoscitur... W sześćsetną rocznicę urodzin Jana Długosza*, red. K. Krawiec-Złotkowska, T. Ceynowa, Słupsk-Koszalin 2019.
- Payer P.J., *Confession and the Study of Sex in the Middle Ages*, w: *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, red. V.L. Bullough, J.A. Brundage, New York-London 1996.
- Plezia M., *Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława: studium źródłoznawcze*, Bydgoszcz 1999.
- Przybył M., *Władysław Laskonogi*, Poznań 2015.
- Przybyszewski B., *Jadwiga i Wilhelm*, „*Analecta Cracoviensia*” 1975, 7.
- Ptak J., *Bitwy w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, w: *Jan Długosz – w kręgu badań historyków i literaturoznawców*, red. T. Giergiel, Sandomierz 2017.
- Puff H., *Nature on Trial: Acts „Against Nature” in the Law Courts of Early Modern Germany and Switzerland*, w: *The Moral Authority of Nature*, red. L. Daston, F. Vidal, Chicago 2010.
- Puff H., *Wczesnonowożytna Europa*, w: *Geje i lesbijki: życie i kultura*, red. R. Aldrich, Kraków 2009.
- Rajfura H., *Warsztat pisarski Jana Długosza w świetle Żywotu św. Stanisława*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 2018, 56.
- Roux J.P., *Kobieta w historii i micie*, Warszawa 2010.
- Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Jana Długosza z lat 1395–1444*, t. 1–2, red. S. Gawęda et al., Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1962–1965.
- Różnowska-Sadraei A., *Pater Patriae. The Cult of Saint Stanislaus and the Patronage of Polish Kings 1200–1455*, Kraków 2008.
- Salisbury J.E., *Gendered Sexuality*, w: *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, red. V.L. Bullough, J.A. Brundage, New York-London 1996.
- Samsel A., *Ideal polskiego władcy średniowiecznego w świetle kronik dziejopisów*, w: *Staropolski etos wychowania*, red. E.J. Kryńska, Białystok 2006.
- Semkowicz A., *Krytyczny rozbiór dziejów polskich Jana Długosza (do roku 1384)*, Kraków 1887.
- Skomiał J., *Polscy kronikarze wieków średnich o Rusi i Rusinach*, „*Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio G. Ius*” 2012, 59, 1.
- Skomiał J., *Władca a prawo w Jana Długosza Annales seu Cronicae*, „*Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*” 1988, 40, 2.
- Skwirczyński K., *Mury Sodomy. Piotra Damianiego „Księga Gomory” i walka z sodomią wśród kleru*, Kraków 2011.
- Skwirczyński K., *Vademecum historii średniowiecznej seksualności (Ruth Mazo Karras, Sexuality in Medieval Europe. Doing unto others, Routledge, New York-London 2005, s. 200)*, „*Przegląd Historyczny*” 2007, 98, 3.
- Skwirczyński K., *Walka z sodomią wśród kleru – „Liber Gomorrhianus” Piotra Damianiego*, „*Przegląd Historyczny*” 2007, 98, 3.
- Sperka J., *Elżbieta z Pilicy Granowska i król Władysław Jagiełło. Kulisy wielkiej miłości*, w: *Miłość w czasach dawnych*, red. B. Możejko, A. Paner, Gdańsk 2009.
- Sperka J., *Obraz Kazimierza Wielkiego w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, w: *Rocznik Niepołomicki*, t. 2, *Kazimierz Wielki: historia i tradycja*, red. M. Jaglarz, Niepołomice 2010.
- Sroka S., *Zamach Felicjana Zacha w świetle najnowszej historiografii węgierskiej*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*” 2006, 49.
- Sulimczyk Świeżawski E., *Esterka i inne kobiety Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Warszawa 1894, reprint: Warszawa 2018.
- Świeżawski S., *U źródeł nowożytnej etyki. Filozofia moralna w Europie XV wieku*, Kraków 1987.

- Szostek T., *Obraz świata w exemplach średniowiecznych*, w: *Pogranicza i konteksty literatury polskiego średniowiecza*, red. T. Michałowska, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1989.
- Szostek T., *Średniowieczne exemplum homiletyczne jako element kultury literackiej*, „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1993, 84, 3–4.
- Szulc A., *Mundus sermonis. Obraz nauczających i nauczanych w świetle badań nad tekstami średniowiecznych kazań bernardyńskich*, w: *Mundus hominis – cywilizacja, kultura, natura. Wokół interdyscyplinarności badań historycznych*, red. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2006.
- Szulc T., *Nierówność stanowa w małżeństwach Jagiellonów i królów elekcyjnych*, „Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne” 2017, 104.
- Szwedo P., *Sub banderio cruciatae: Władysław III Jagiellończyk jako średniowieczny rycerz idealny. Wizerunek władcy na podstawie Roczników Jana Długosza*, „Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne” 2017, 9.
- Śliwiński J., *Kazimierz Wielki. Kobiety a polityka*, Olsztyn 1994.
- Talarowski A., *Dzieje w rękach Opatrzności. Elementy historiozofii Jana Długosza i jej uwarunkowania*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 2018, 84.
- Tazbir J., *Dewiacje obyczajowe*, w: Tazbir J., *Prace wybrane*, t. 4, *Studia nad kulturą staropolską*, Kraków 2001.
- Teterycz-Puzio A., *Wojownik, obrońca wiary i uciśnionych? Wzorce rycerskie w świetle średniowiecznych przekazów narracyjnych*, w: *Ethos rycerski w kulturze. Tradycje i kontynuacje*, t. 1, *W kręgu średniowiecza*, red. T. Banaś-Korniak, B. Stuchlik-Surowiak, Katowice 2017.
- Witkowska A., *Wyobrażenia o cudzoziemcach w świetle Roczników Jana Długosza*, [http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra\\_Witkowska\\_Wyobrazenia\\_o\\_cudzoziemcach\\_w\\_swietle\\_Rocznikow\\_Jana\\_Dlugosza\\_Rozdzial\\_4\\_Heretycy\\_i\\_chrzescijanowanie\\_Rzecz\\_o\\_Czechach\\_i\\_Wegrach.pdf](http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra_Witkowska_Wyobrazenia_o_cudzoziemcach_w_swietle_Rocznikow_Jana_Dlugosza_Rozdzial_4_Heretycy_i_chrzescijanowanie_Rzecz_o_Czechach_i_Wegrach.pdf) [dostęp: 12 I 2021].
- Witkowska A., *Wyobrażenia o cudzoziemcach w świetle „Roczników” Jana Długosza*, [http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra\\_Witkowska\\_Wyobrazenia\\_o\\_cudzoziemcach\\_w\\_swietle\\_Rocznikow\\_Jana\\_Dlugosza\\_Rozdzial\\_3\\_Kreacja\\_wizerunku\\_wschodnich\\_sasiadow\\_w\\_Annales.pdf](http://www.jandlugosz.edu.pl/files/artykuly/Aleksandra_Witkowska_Wyobrazenia_o_cudzoziemcach_w_swietle_Rocznikow_Jana_Dlugosza_Rozdzial_3_Kreacja_wizerunku_wschodnich_sasiadow_w_Annales.pdf) [dostęp: 8 XII 2020].
- Wójcik G., *Kobiety w życiu króla Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae Jana Długosza*, „Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny” 2015, 34, 1.
- Wólkiewicz E., *Grube ciało. Społeczne postrzeżenie otyłości w średniowieczu*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 2009, 100, 3.
- Wyrobisz A., *„Wielki strach” w Wenecji i we Florencji w XV wieku i jego możliwe przyczyny*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 2004, 95, 4.
- Wyrozumski J., *Kazimierz Wielki*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 2004.
- Wyrozumski J., *Królowa Jadwiga. Między epoką piastowską a jagiellońską*, Kraków 2006.
- Wyrozumski J., *Świętość kobiet w małżeństwie w Polsce XIII wieku w świetle źródeł hagiograficznych*, „Saeculum Christianum: pismo historyczno-społeczne” 1996, 1.
- Zarębski I., *Gesta Sbignei jako element ewolucji w genezie Annalium Jana Długosza*, w: *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, red. Z. Budkowa et al., Warszawa 1960.
- Zaremska H., *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warszawa 2011.
- Zawitkowska W., *Niewierność małżeńska królowej Zofii Holszańskiej w 1427 r. – prawda, pomówienie czy plotka polityczna? Próba rekonstrukcji wydarzeń na tle innych żon Jagiełły*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 2016, 123, 1.



Zwiercan M., *Komentarz Jana z Dąbrowki do Kroniki Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem*, Wrocław 1969.

Zydorek M., *Cielesność człowieka w świetle średniowiecznych przekazów*, „Medycyna Nowożytna” 1996, 2, 2.

Żmudzki P., *Władca i wojownicy. Narracje o wodzach, drużynie i wojnach w najdawniejszej historiografii Polski i Rusi*, Wrocław 2009.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Anna Obara-Pawłowska is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Ancient and Medieval History at the History Institute UMCS in Lublin. Her research interests focus on the works by Jan Długosz and economic policy in the Middle Ages.