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Remembering a past princess. Catherine Jagiellon and construction of national narratives in Sweden and Finland

History culture (building up of archives, classification of data, history writing, cultural representations as well as organisation of events and celebrations) has a major position as a repository of transformable memory and as a terrain where collective identity can be shaped and negotiated. This article tackles the role a Jagiellonian princess, Catherine Jagiellon (1526-1583) has been given in Swedish and Finnish history culture. It attempts at illustrating how her figure has entered the historical-cultural memory of both countries, forging and re-forging their national self-image from the end of the sixteenth century through the Cold War until nowadays' school history teaching. This comparative case study highlights the differences and similarities of collective memory and history culture associated with Catherine Jagiellon between two Nordic countries with a shared history.¹

As a daughter (of Sigismund 'the Old'), a sister (of Sigismund Augustus and Anna), a wife (of John III) and a mother (of Sigismund of Sweden / Sigismund III of Poland) of a king and a queen consort herself, Catherine Jagiellon is a woman without many parallels in Swedish history. She came from abroad bringing with her not only a magnificent dowry, but people and new ideas from the courts of Cracow and Vilnius. Respectively, she had to adapt herself to a new (Swedish court) culture and balance between two, different royal houses, the Jagiellons and the Vasas. The Jagiellons had been Grand Dukes of Lithuania and Kings of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia when the Vasas were regarded as provincial Swedish nobles and newcomers among European monarchs.²

For many Scandinavians, Catherine Jagiellon is the *Jagellonica*, the Polish-Italian princess, who introduced the fork and other novelties of Renaissance culture to the remote North.³ The Latin name form *Cat(h)arina Jagellonica* used in many (but not all) early modern Latin documents stayed and is still the form by which Catherine Jagiellon is known in Scandinavia as *Katarina Jagellonica* in Sweden and other Nordic countries, *Katariina Jagellonica* in Finland. She is the only Nordic royal consort bearing the Latin name (there are no Latin names among ruling monarchs either), the fact which associates her immediately with her European, Roman Catholic origin. In many European regions in the early modern era, married women traditionally kept their patrilineal family names indicating that they were not fully assimilated

¹ Finland was part of Swedish kingdom from around 1150 until the year 1809, when Finland became an autonomous part of the Russian Empire as the Grand Duchy of Finland. Finland gained its full independence from Russia in 1917.

² Robert I. Frost, 'Obsequious Disrespect: the Problem of Royal Power in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth under the Vasas, 1587-1668'. *The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context, c.1500-1795*. Richard Butterwick (ed.). Palgrave 2001, 150-171, 160.

³ See, ex. August Hahr, *Drottning Katarina Jagellonica och Vasarenässansen: studier i vasatidens konst och svensk-polsk-italienska förbindelser*. [Queen Catherine Jagiellon and the Vasa Renaissance: studies on art and Swedish-Polish-Italian relations during the Vasa time]. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1940; C.J. Gardberg, *Turun linnan kolme Katariinaa*. [Three Catherines in Turku Castle, orig. in Swedish *Tre Katarinor på Åbo slott* 1986], transl. Irma Savolainen, Helsinki: Otava, 1993, 48 - 116.

into their husband's kin.⁴ The name derives from Jogaila (c.1362–1434, Jagiełło in Polish), the first Grand Duke of Lithuania to become King of Poland. The name form *Catharina Jagellonica* was not a standard usage in her life time, but appears when it was necessary to emphasize her birth, for instance in her testament in 1583: “Ideo nos Catharina Jagellonica D.G. Infans Poloniae etc.”⁵

The documents concerning her life are relatively scarce and scattered mainly in Polish and Swedish libraries and archives. The collection of the sixteenth century Swedish queens' documents K73 in the Swedish National Archives is a microfilmed collection of letters and other documents including a section dedicated to Catherine Jagiellon.⁶ There is very little information available how and when the documents belonging to this collection are gathered. At best, there may be a mention such as “från ett polskt arkiv” (from a Polish archive) without any further information. These shortcomings are the result of traditions characteristic of historical studies and archival methods in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Sweden and Finland. At the time, archivists and historians concentrated on documents that seemed best to illustrate the emerging Swedish state or the Finnish nation as well as the development of the official administration and political decision-making. Letters and documents concerning women, even queen consorts, were often consigned to loosely organised files with labels such as “Miscellanea”.⁷

On the other hand, through two preserved inventories (one in Poland, the other in Sweden) and research on them we know almost each splendid object and the names of the courtiers she brought from Vilnius to Turku (1562)⁸ and even further from Finland to Sweden (1563),⁹ as

⁴ On women's names in the Middle ages and early modern era, see *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponomie moderne*, 2, 2: Persistances du nom unique. Désignation et anthroponomie des femmes. Méthodes statistiques pour l'anthroponymie. Etudes d'anthroponymie médiévale, IIIe et IVe Rencontres, Azay-le-Ferron, 1989-1990. Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille (eds.). Tours 1992; Christine Peters, *Women in the Early Modern Britain 1450–1640*. Palgrave 2003; Gabriela Signori and Christof Rolker, *Konkurrierende Zugehörigkeit(en): Praktiken der Namengebung im europäischen Vergleich*. UVK-Verl.-Ges: Konstanz 2011; Christof Rolker, *Das Spiel der Namen: Familie, Verwandtschaft und Geschlecht im spätmittelalterlichen Konstanz*. Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen 45. Ostfildern 2014.

⁵ “Therefore, we Catharina Jagellonica, D[ei] G[ratia], Princess of Poland etc.”, Johan Henrik Schröder, *Testamentum Catharinae Jagellonicae, Reginae Sveciae*. Præside mag. Joh. Henr. Schröder ... p. p. Carolus Wilhelmus Pålman. Reg. Acad: Uppsala 1831, 1.

⁶ Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet), Stockholm, Royal Archives, Swedish queens, 16th century SE/RA/710003/02/001/K 73, ‘Katarina Jagellonica’ (microfilm).

⁷ Anu Lahtinen, “There's No Friend like a Sister”: Sisterly Relations and the Rhetoric of Sisterhood in the Correspondence of the Aristocratic Stenbock Sisters. *The Trouble with Ribs: Women, Men and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Eds. Anu Korhonen & Kate Lowe. Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2007, 180 - 200, 184.

⁸ Cracow, B. Książąt Czartoryskich, 2743/II, 1. 1-227 (ed. Aleksander Przeździecki, *Jagiellonki polskie 3, w XVI. wieku: obrazy rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I i Zygmunta Augusta Królów polskich*. Kraków: W drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, pod zarządkiem Konst. Mańkowskiego, 1868, appendix, 311-326); E.G. Palmén, Puolan kirjallisuudesta poimittuja tietoja Suomen historiaan. [Information collected from Polish literature for Finnish history]. *Historiallinen Arkisto XVIII* [Historical Archive]. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1903, 336 - 361.

⁹ Stockholm, Royal Palace Archives, Kungliga och furstliga personers enskilde egendom vol.3 1556-1594. 'Hertig Johans och hertiginan Katarinas egendom på Stockholms slott 1563-64', [Duke John's and Duchess Catherine's property in Stockholm Castle 1563-64]; Reinhold Hausen, *Förteckning öfver Hertig Johans af Finland och hans gemål Katarina Jagellonicas lösegendom 1563*. [Description of Duke John of Finland's and his spouse Catherine Jagiellon's property 1563]. Helsinki: Kejsarliga Senatens tryckeri, 1909.

well as her plausible contribution to Nordic Renaissance art and architecture.¹⁰ Similarly, her devout Roman Catholicism and support for the Catholic Reformation in Sweden have been documented.¹¹ Moreover, romantic minds tend to emphasize her loyalty towards her husband during the torments they faced: *nemo nisi mors* i.e. “nobody but death” (will part us) is an often cited quotation attributed to her also in the research and even seen as her motto on the nineteenth-century stained glass window of her funeral chapel in Uppsala.¹² Why have these characteristics (material culture, religion and family) been selected to be a vital part of her memory in the research and elsewhere? Apart of her name, is she remembered as a member of the Jagiellonians in Scandinavia? In this article, Catherine Jagiellon’s memory in Sweden and Finland is investigated over a lengthy time-span from after her death in 1583 until today.

When Catherine Jagiellon came to Turku as the newly-wed wife of the Duke of Finland, John (Vasa), in December 1562, Finland was an integrated part of the kingdom of Sweden: the Duchy of Finland. However, her memory in Sweden and Finland is treated separately for several reasons. First, her position in these two territories alters: initially, she was the Duchess of Finland and after a four-year period of imprisonment (1563-1567) in Sweden with her husband and the Vasa brothers’ battle for power, which ended with Eric XIV’s dethronement and John’s coronation, she became the queen consort in Sweden. Secondly, her stays in Finland and Sweden are not commensurate, since she stayed only for eight months at the court of Turku, the capital of the then Duchy of Finland, whereas her sojourn in the territory of Sweden lasted for 20 years from 1563 until her death in 1583. Thirdly, due to differences between later historical and national development in Sweden and Finland, her memory contains radically distinctive elements in these countries and therefore provides an interesting point of reference for historico-political comparison.

In this discussion, ‘memory’ - or more specifically ‘collective memory’ - is vaguely understood as a sort of living heritage, meant to be used to construct identity even if the borderline between memory and history is often difficult to pinpoint.¹³ A useful concept in the attempt to analyze

¹⁰ August Hahr, *Drottning Katarina Jagellonica och Vasarenässansen: studier i vasatidens konst och svensk-polsk-italienska förbindelser*. [Queen Catherine Jagiellon and the Vasa Renaissance: studies on art and Swedish-Polish-Italian relations during the Vasa time]. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1940; Peter Gillgren, *Vasarenässansen: konst och identitet i 1500-talets Sverige*. [The Vasa Renaissance: art and identity in sixteenth-century Sweden]. Stockholm: Signum, 2009, e.g. 39, 75-76, 89-92, 128-138.

¹¹ Henry Biaudet, *Le Saint-Siège et la Suède durant la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle: études politiques. I, 1*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907; id. *Documents concernant les relations entre le Saint-Siège et la Suède durant la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907; Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia until the Establishment of the S. Congregation De Propaganda Fide in 1622*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963.

¹² The story is based on Jöran Persson’s reports to Eric XIV on the royal prisoners. Anders Fryxell, the nineteenth-century editor of the reports, which he describes as “drafts most difficult to read”, added asterisk-marked explanations such as the account of Catherine pointing at her ring and choosing captivity with her husband and two servants instead of a manor house with a full staff of servants, Anders Fryxell, *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* 3[Documents concerning history of Scandinavia]. Stockholm: Elmén 1817, 16.

¹³ See Pierre Nora’s pioneer work, Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire.’ *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, (Spring, 1989), 7-24, 8; memory studies in history have been strongly associated with the World Wars and the Holocaust. On the “memory boom” of the twentieth century—the efflorescence of interest in the subject of memory inside academy and beyond it as well as various means of remembrance, see for instance, Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between History and Memory in the 20th Century*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2006.

the memory of an early modern person without any connection to personal, immediate memory is ‘historical culture’, shortly defined as a social and communicative system of interpretation, objectification and public use of the past.¹⁴ It resembles the concept of living heritage, since a community’s relationship with its past is not only effective, but can be affective as well. The approach does not limit itself merely to academic historical literature, but also extends to advocate the investigation of broader layers and processes of historical consciousness, taking notice of the agents who create it and carry it out by different media, the representations that it popularizes and the creative reception on the part of the audience, when possible. It is important to bear in mind that historical culture is not a stable system of representing the past, but a dynamic process, through which different narratives, interpretations and debates relate a human group to its past.¹⁵ In this case, Catherine Jagiellon can be seen the nexus through which Finns and Swedes deal with their past(s) during different time periods.

The article focuses a lot on physical sites of memory such as archives, museums, cathedrals, chapels, castles and material objects such as inherited property, commemorative monuments, emblems, basic texts, and symbols, but simultaneously, it attempts to take into consideration concepts and practices such as commemorations, exhibitions, generations, mottos and rituals as *loci memoriae*. Furthermore, a short overview of memory (re-)construction through education (national curricula and school textbooks) and entertainment (‘popular culture’) is provided.¹⁶

Sweden

The struggle for Catherine Jagiellon’s memory began immediately after her death at the Royal Castle of Stockholm on September 16th 1583. Two Roman Catholic chaplains, Stanislaus Warszewicki and Johannes Ardulphus asked King John III, the spouse of the late Queen, for permission to place the coffin in the chapel of the castle and celebrate Mass for her soul during the time before the proper funeral took place. John, relying on what his advisers had said, feared that riots would break out among the Lutheran burghers and refused. Since Jesuits were the most active in implementing the Catholic Reformation (also known as Counter-Reformation) in Sweden, all Catholics and especially Jesuits were considered extremely suspicious, representing the menace of a Roman Catholic take-over. Only on All Souls’ Day were the

¹⁴ Jörn Rüsen, “Was ist Geschichtskultur?. Überlegungen zu einer neuen Art, über Geschichte nachzudenken”. *Historische Faszination. Geschichtskultur heute*. K. Füssmann, H. T. Grütter, J. Rüsen (Eds.). Köln, Weimar & Wien: Böhlau 1994, 3-26; Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l’Occident médiéval*. Paris: Aubier-Montaigne 1980; Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift. Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich: Beck, 1992; a valuable web resource on historical culture, theory of history and historiography is maintained by Fernando Sánchez Marcos, Professor Emeritus of Early Modern History at the University of Barcelona. The web portal has served as a source of knowledge and inspiration also for this article, see Fernando Sánchez Marcos, Historical Culture http://www.culturahistorica.es/historical_culture.html (transl. Philip Banks), (last accessed on 7 Feb 2016).

¹⁵ On methodological critique of the use of collective memory, see Wulf Kansteiner, ‘Finding Meaning in Memory: a Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies’. *History and Theory*, (May 2002), 179 - 197.

¹⁶ Pierre Nora defines sites of memory in the following way: “Where [cultural] memory crystallizes and secretes itself”, Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire.’ *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory. (Spring, 1989), 7-24, 7; on spaces of memory or of remembrance, see also Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. Munich: Beck, 1999.

chaplains allowed to celebrate a special Mass in commemoration of the late Queen. The Lutheran husband, King John, was however not present and probably neither was Princess Anna, whose inclination towards Lutheranism was known. Instead, Prince Sigismund, an adherent to the faith of his mother, attended the Mass and received Communion, as did many of the members of the Roman Catholic community in Stockholm. No outbursts of violence were reported.¹⁷

Five months later, on February 16th 1584, Queen Catherine's funeral was held in Uppsala. Catherine's own wish was to be buried in a Roman Catholic site such as Vadstena Abbey,¹⁸ but due to increasing tensions between the 'old' and 'new' faith as well as conflicts between different ethnic groups in Stockholm, John was not tempted to take such a strong stance. Besides, the Cathedral of Uppsala was not just another church: it is the tallest church building in the Nordic countries, the seat of the Archbishop, the Swedish primate, the last resting place of dignitaries since the Middle Ages, such as Eric the Holy, the patron Saint of Sweden, and King Gustav Vasa, Catherine's father-in-law, labelled as the founder of modern Sweden as well as of the hereditary monarchy under the House of Vasa with his consorts, to name but a few. Later on, the illustrious eighteenth-century botanist Carl von Linné as well as philosopher and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg were buried there. Uppsala Cathedral was the coronation place of John and Catherine as well as that of John's predecessor, his half-brother Eric XIV. An old sacristy was converted into a chapel dedicated to Catherine and a funeral monument was commissioned from the Flemish sculptor and architect Willem Boy, who was responsible for several important tombs in the Vasa family, such as Gustav Vasa's funeral monument. The chapel dedicated to Catherine Jagiellon is known as the Jagiellonian Chapel (*Jagellonska koret* in Swedish) and it has been considered one of the most beautiful and expensive tombs as well as one of the best preserved Renaissance interiors in Sweden.¹⁹ Amazingly, it survived the fire of 1702. The stained glass window with its motto chosen afterwards "nemo nisi mors" and the painting representing the city of Cracow are additions from the nineteenth century.²⁰

The first known written evidence of the funerary chapel is from 1591 by a German traveller and diplomat Erich Lassota von Steblau (d.1616). In his diary, Lassota von Steblau shows predominantly an antiquarian and art historical interest in the chapel. He copies the long epitaph

¹⁷ Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia until the Establishment of the S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1622 (1539-1583)* I. Bergen, Universitetsforlaget 1963, 255-256.

¹⁸ *Testamentum Catharinae Jagellonicae, reginae Sveciae*, ex schedis bibliothecae acad. Upsal. editum. Venia ampl. fac. philos. Upsal: praeside mag. Joh. Henr. Schröder ... p. p. Carolus Wilhelmus Pålman Stip. Grönvall. Vestmanno-Dalekarlus. In Audit. Gustav. die XI Jun. MDCCCXXXI. H. A. M. S. Diss. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1831.

¹⁹ August Hahr, Katarina Jagellonicas gravvård i Uppsala domkyrka. Särtryck ur *Uppländsk bygd* [Catherine Jagiellon's tomb. Offprint of *Uppland region*] 1940, 143-153, 143; Peter Gillgren, *Vasarenässansen - Konst och identitet i 1500-talets Sverige*. [The Vasa Renaissance - art and identity in sixteenth-century Sweden]. Stockholm: Signum, 2009, 130.

²⁰ On the other window of the chapel there is the motto of John III: "Deus protector noster" and on the opposite wall above John's monument a painting representing the city of Stockholm, see Herman Bengtsson, *Uppsala domkyrka 6. Gravminnen*. [Uppsala Cathedral 6. Tombs.] Uppsala: Upplandsmuseet, 2010, 65.

from the wall of the chapel. The epitaph describes Catherine's extraction, parents and grandparents as well as her life events in Finland and Sweden after she had left Vilnius.²¹

When Sigismund was in Sweden for his coronation in 1594, he planned to bring his mother's body from Uppsala for burial in the royal family tomb in Cracow together with the dead body of his little daughter, named Catherine, who died soon after her baptism in the same year. The body of little Catherine travelled with Sigismund to Poland, but the mother and grandmother Catherine Jagiellon remained in her resting place in Sweden.²²

Catherine Jagiellon's funeral and the funeral chapel were described by the early seventeenth-century Swedish historian Johannes Messenius in his *Scondia Illustrata*, a history of the Nordic countries in 14 volumes, which treated Sweden's history from the Deluge to Messenius' own time.²³ Messenius was an alumnus of the Braunsberg Jesuit Collegium and married to Lucia Grothusen, daughter of Arnold Grothusen, who was an instructor of the young Sigismund. First, Messenius expressed his loyalty towards Catherine and Sigismund by constructing their familial memory through extensive genealogies, which illustrated how the Jagiellonian family was one of the oldest and most established dynasties in Europe.²⁴ When Sigismund did not show the expected gratitude, Messenius tried to gain favours of Sigismund's rival, his uncle Charles IX, but instead, he was accused of conspiring with King Sigismund (III of Poland) and the Jesuits, and removed to the remote prison of Kajaani in Northern Finland, where he wrote the *Scondia Illustrata* and *Rimkrönika om Finland* (Rime-chronicle of Finland). The latter, which is contentually identical with volume 10 of the *Scondia Illustrata*, relates John's and Catherine's story from their wedding and the Vasa brothers' power struggle until Sigismund's and Charles' conflict over the Swedish throne. The most striking passage however is Messenius' account of Eric XIV's collusion with Ivan IV in order to "murder his brother [John] in prison and send the woman [Catherine] to the Russian [Ivan] as his whore".²⁵ Despite Messenius' apparent personal, opportunistic aims and his Gothicist tendency, his history writing is considered to have some critical value by modern scholars, at least when compared with other Swedish historians of the time.²⁶

²¹ *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau: Nach einer Handschrift der von Gersdorff-Weicha'schen Bibliothek zu Bautzen herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und Bemerkungen begleitet von Reinhold Schottin*. Halle: G. Emil Barthel, 1866, 162-164.

²² J.A. Pärnänen, *Le premier séjour de Sigismond Vasa en Suède 1593-1594*. *Annales academiae scientiarum Fennicae B XXVIII*. 1933, 169; Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*. Vol II. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 1980, 157-158.

²³ Johannes Messenius, *Scondia illustrata*, vol. 7, 1702, 68.

²⁴ Johannes Messenius, *Genealogia Sigismundi*, 1608.

²⁵ Johannes Messenius, *Suomen riimikronikka*. [The rime-chronicle of Finland]. Harry Lönnroth, Martti Linna (trans. and ed.). Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2004, 259.

²⁶ The cultural movement of Gothicism identified ancient Goths with Swedes. The belief was based on Jordanes' account of the original Gothic homeland in Scandinavia. The Gothicists took pride in the Gothic tradition that the Ostrogoths and their king Theodoric the Great, who assumed power in the Roman Empire, had Scandinavian ancestry. The idea was expressed in the medieval chronicles and permeated the sixteenth-century Swedish histories of Johannes Magnus (*Historia de omnibus gothorum sueonumque regibus*) and his brother Olaus Magnus (*Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*). In the seventeenth century, Messenius and his colleague at the University of Uppsala, Olof Rudbeck, continued the tradition in their writings. Gothicism contributed to claims of political legitimacy based on assertions that Sweden was the cradle of the Goths or that the conquest of the Roman Empire was proof of Swedes' military valour and power through history, Kristoffer Neville, *The land of the Goths and*

All seventeenth-century Swedish chroniclers who report at all on Queen Catherine have a positive memory of her. John's court chronicler Aegidius Girs wrote in the 1630s that she was longed for not only by her husband, to whom she was the source of joy both in "captivity and delight, humbly benevolent with her children and in bloom for twenty years", but also by "all the kingdom, especially the poor and those in distress to whom she was always the most lenient and merciful Queen".²⁷ Even a chronicle attributed to Charles IX, persecutor of Catholics in Sweden, remembers her as "full of virtue and piety, although her faith did come from Rome".²⁸

Besides written descriptions, the Jagiellonian chapel exists also in a few early modern visual sources, which plausibly contributed to the art-historical interest in the funeral monument, but also to the historical interest in the person within the coffin. Erik Dahlbergh's collection of engravings *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (1660–1716) has been described as a grand vision of Sweden during its period as a great power. Dahlbergh began his career in the military and also resided in Poland during his service.²⁹ One of the 353 plates of *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* represents the chapel entitled *Sacellum Templi cathedralis Upsaliensis, in quo sepulchrum Catharinae Jagellonicae, Reginae Sveciae*.³⁰ It is the only visual source we have on the entire chapel in the seventeenth century, including the lost epitaph and the altar with the altar painting. The lost epitaph is interesting since it plausibly depicts Catherine herself kneeling before the altar and the altar cross, the latter of which is identical with the sixteenth-century cross nowadays on display in the Treasury of the Cathedral.³¹ The Treasury also houses Catherine's funerary regalia (crown and sceptre) and the so-called C-pendant, given to Catherine probably in 1546, together with two necklaces for her other sisters, Princess Sofia and Anna, also commissioned by their father, Sigismund 'the Old'. The pendant, which is made of gold, diamonds, rubies and enamel, and has the letter "C", is depicted in the famous miniature painting of Lucas Cranach the Younger's workshop, dated ca. 1553 - 1556.³² The necklace was put into her coffin in 1583, but removed in 1833 and since then has been kept in the Cathedral Treasury of Uppsala.

Dahlbergh's Swedish contemporary Johan Peringskiöld (1654–1720), secretary of the college of antiquities and ardent documentarist of national antiquities, included Catherine Jagiellon's funerary monument in his *Monumenta Ullerakerensia cum Upsalia nova* (1719). The title of the copper engraving is *Monum: Sereniss: Reginae Catharinae Jagellonicae in templo Cathedrali Upsalensi*. Peringskiöld's detailed drawing focuses on the funeral monument and

Vandals: the visual presentation of Gothicism at the Swedish Court, 1550–1700. *Renaissance Studies*, 27 (2013): 435–459; cf. Bo Lindberg, Introduktion: nationalism och nationell identitet i 1700-talets Sverige. Karlsson, Åsa & Lindberg, Bo (ed.), *Nationalism och nationell identitet i 1700-talets Sverige*, Univ., Uppsala, 2002, 7-15, 9-10.

²⁷ Aegidius Girs, *Konung Johan den III:des chrönika*. [King John III's chronicle]. Anders Anton von Stiernman (ed.). Stockholm: Grefing 1745, 98.

²⁸ *Konung Carl den IX:des rim-chronika*. Bengt Bergius (ed.). Stockholm: Hesselberg. 1759, 5.

²⁹ On Erik Dahlbergh's life and works, Inga Corswant-Naumburg, *Greve Erik Dahlbergh: kungligt råd, fältmarskalk och generalguvernör: "hiärtan alldra kiäreste herr far"*. Visby: Liberans förlag 2008.

³⁰ Eric Dahlbergh, *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* I:59

³¹ The drawing has been made during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Peter Gillgren, *Vasarenässansen: konst och identitet i 1500-talets Sverige*. [The Vasa Renaissance: art and identity in the sixteenth-century Sweden]. Stockholm: Signum, 2009, 128-131.

³² Portraits of Members of the Jagiellon Family, Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1553-1556, in the Princes' Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, Fundacja XX Czartoryskich przy Muzeum Narodowym, XII - 536 - XII - 545.

is a valuable primary source, in particular for the smaller coats of arms of the monument, which have now been lost or otherwise damaged. Unlike Dahlberg, Peringskiöld provides additional textual material, e.g. accurate descriptions of the inscriptions of the monument, a short biography and a very detailed description of the funerals as well as a genealogical table, which goes four generations back to her ancestors on both sides, thus including Jagiellon's (Lith. Jogaila's) parents' generation as the starting point of the Jagiellonian 'dynasty'.³³

The Romanticism of the nineteenth century rediscovered the thrilling life events of Catherine Jagiellon, particularly the imprisonment of the ducal couple by John's half-brother, the then King Eric XIV, who captured John and Catherine for political reasons, but additionally did not approve of their marriage and suffered from mental problems. The scenes of imprisonment in Gripsholm Castle were immortalized by the Polish painter Józef Simmler in 1859 as well as by the Swedish artists Carl Johan Billmark in his series of watercolour-lithographs from Gripsholm in the 1850s and Hugo Salmson in 1865. Simmler's painting is called 'Catherine Jagiellon in the Gripsholm prison',³⁴ while Salmson concentrates on the dramatic moment when 'Catherine Jagiellon shows her wedding ring to Jöran Persson.'³⁵ Carl Johan Billmark's 'John III's prison at Gripsholm: Duke Charles' chamber' shows the inhabitants and the interior of the room, which was first John's prison, but later became Duke Charles' chamber.³⁶ All of them depict Catherine as a Renaissance Princess of sumptuous appearance. Both Simmler and Salmson show her holding a cross, a rosary or a necklace. Salmson's painting focuses on the scene in which John's and Catherine's captors offer Catherine an opportunity to live in a manor house during her husband's imprisonment, but Catherine points out the inscription on her wedding ring "nemo nisi mors" to one of their captors, Eric XIV's notorious favourite Jöran Persson, and chooses to follow her husband into prison. While Salmson depicts Catherine as a loyal wife, Simmler sees her primarily as a caring, Madonna-like mother holding little Sigismund, who was born during the captivity. In both paintings Catherine is clearly the main character, charged with emotive power and authority in contrast with what the dark, backward figures of John and the prison guards represent.

As opposed to Simmler and Salmson, Billmark's interpretation emphasizes more traditional roles of an early modern married couple: while a little girl (Isabella, who was born in 1564 and died before her two-year anniversary in Gripsholm) tries to get Catherine's attention by crying and trying to climb on her knee, Catherine leans on her husband, whose figure is steady and calm. The onlooker observes the melancholic, but idle and even luxurious ambiance in the room: splendid decoration and garments as well as books, wine and fruits. The image corresponds to what Eric had ordered, but according to the contemporary reports of guards, we know that the room was in bad condition before Eric ordered it to be renovated. Furthermore,

³³ Johan Peringskiöld, *Monumenta Ullerakerensia cum Upsalia nova*. Stockholm: Joh. L. Hornn, 1719, 74.

³⁴ Józef Simmler, 'Katarzyna Jagiellonka w więzieniu w Gripsholmie' (1859), National Museum of Warsaw. See, Ewa Micke-Broniarek, *Gallery of Polish Painting: Guide*. Warsaw: Muzeum narodowe w Warszawie, 2006.

³⁵ Hugo Salmson, 'Katarina Jagellonica uppvisar sin vigselring för Jöran Persson' (1865), Emil Hultmark: Kungliga Akademiens för de fria konsterna utställningar 1794-1887 - Förteckning över konstnärer och konstverk, Stockholm 1935, [239].

³⁶ Carl Johan Billmark, 'Johan III:s fängelse på Gripsholm. Hertig Karls kammare', Stockholm, National Museum, NMH A 450/1982; see also, Ingvar Andersson, *Gripsholm, slottet och dess samlingar*. [Gripsholm, the castle and its collections]. Stockholm: Nordisk rotogravyr, 1937, 102.

in a letter from Catherine Jagiellon herself, she complained that they would need more Rhine wine and some other necessities because of her weak health. She also expressed her wish to be treated according to their status, which hints that they may have suffered from occasional shortcomings or a feeling of lack of respect by the guards or other people staying in the castle.³⁷ At least in the first phase, John's space and contacts were limited to one room, while Catherine was allowed to walk in the garden under supervision, but not to talk even to John's sisters when they were at Gripsholm.³⁸

Gripsholm castle is located about less than 40 miles west from Stockholm and is nowadays one of the most popular tourist attractions of Sweden. Catherine Jagiellon stayed there for four years imprisoned with her husband and gave birth to two children, but her memory is hardly visible and not used even for touristic purposes. There is one phrase about her in the Gripsholm castle guide book under the entry "Duke Karl's chamber": "Tradition has it that Sigismund (I of Sweden, III of Poland) was born in this room in 1566, while Erik XIV was keeping Sigismund's parents - Erik's half-brother Johan (III) and his Polish-born consort Katarina - imprisoned at Gripsholm."³⁹ After their release in 1568, the room was fitted out in the 1570s as a bedchamber for Duke Charles (later Charles IX) and has remained virtually intact since then. Interestingly, according to a nineteenth-century Swedish history book, the room was called "Sigismund's chamber" or "Duke John's prison".⁴⁰ It is more than probable that the room was "attributed" to Duke Charles by art historians, antiquarians and other scholars because of its contemporary interior decoration including the ducal arms and the initials C.D. (*Carolus Dux*) as well as the initials of his motto in German: G.I.M.T. (*Gott Ist Mein Trost*). Of John's, Catherine's and Sigismund's stay in the room there are mainly immaterial memories (historical facts and stories) left. As Pierre Nora has stated, modern memory is, above all, archival and relies primarily on the materiality of the trace.⁴¹

Furthermore, since it was the national hero Gustav Vasa who had the castle built and since there are attractions such as Gustav III's magnificent theater from the eighteenth century, it may feel unnecessary to find a "memory niche" for a foreign consort, in particular when there are not many material objects left of her. Since 1822 the castle has been the home of the Swedish National Portrait Gallery, which is in the custody of the National Museum of Fine Arts. The collection does not possess any portrait of Catherine Jagiellon. However, local folklore has maintained some remnants of Catherine Jagiellon's stay at Gripsholm: according

³⁷ Catherine Jagiellon to the stadtholder (*ståthållare*) of Stockholm Castle, Gripsholm, 17 May 1567. *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, vol.4. Stockholm: Elmén och Granberg, 1817, 52 - 53.

³⁸ On Catherine Jagiellon's and Duke John's captivity, Ingvar Andersson, 'Erik XIV, Johan III och Gripsholm', *Gripsholm, slottet och dess samlingar*. [Eric XIV, John III and Gripsholm. The Gripsholm Castle and its collections]. Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr 1937, 93-102, esp. 96-99.

³⁹ Ulf G. Johnson, *Gripsholm Castle*. National Museum - The Swedish National Museum of Fine Arts, 6.

⁴⁰ Octavia Carlén, *Gripsholm slott, dess historia, tafvelsamling, m.m.* [Gripsholm castle, its history, painting collection, etc.]. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1877, 10.

⁴¹ Pierre Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*. *Representations* 26, 1989, 7-25.

to the local legend, Drottningkälla (the Queen's spring) in Nykvarn got its name when Catherine Jagiellon brought water to her husband, incarcerated in the castle.⁴²

Although John III was famous for building and rebuilding castles, where he occasionally stayed also with his consort and children, there are not many traces left or memories actively maintained of Queen Catherine in these castles or related museums. Many of the buildings have suffered from great fires such as the Old Royal Castle, called *Tre Kronor* (Three Crowns) in Stockholm in 1697, Svartsjö Castle in Uppland in 1687 and Uppsala Castle in 1702, all practically entirely destroyed along with many documents and tangible memories. The first, Renaissance version of the Drottningholm palace, (literally meaning "Queen's islet") built by John III and designed by Willem Boy in 1580 for Queen Catherine Jagiellon burnt down in 1661. Because of Catherine Jagiellon's religion, Vadstena Castle with the Abbey in its surroundings had a special meaning for her and Vadstena was the place where she remained safe during the upheaval of 1568, when the dukes and the nobles rebelled and Eric XIV was dethroned. Like Gripsholm Castle, Vadstena Castle was constructed by Gustav Vasa and contains many actively remembered memories related to the early Vasas, such as the 'Vadstena Thunder',⁴³ told about in various history books as well as in guided tours of the castle.⁴⁴

A Vadstena inhabitant Eva Mattson, a culture producer and art historian, has been an active memory carrier of Catherine Jagiellon in Sweden. She has prepared two fictional monologue presentations based on Catherine's life: "Like a stone bear's life" (2012) on Catherine's wait at the Vadstena Castle in 1568 and "No one but death" (2014) on the year 1577, when Queen Catherine resides at Stockholm Castle looking back on her life. The latter was related to an exhibition of historical dress at the Royal Armoury in Stockholm and a replica of a 16th-century dress, hand embroidered with 2100 pearls, which was manufactured for the "Catherine" of the production.⁴⁵

The National Swedish history curriculum for basic education (*grundskolor*) puts special emphasis on the history of the Baltic Sea from the sixteenth to eighteenth century.⁴⁶ On the one hand, history teaching should focus on the "global exchange" in which the region was involved

⁴² Nykvarn city council's webpage <https://www.nykvarn.se/upplevaochgora/kultur/drottningkallan.4.3652860f14ade737119898c.html> (last accessed on 24 Nov 2015).

⁴³ The Vadstena Thunder (*Vadstenabullret* in Swedish) in 1559 is associated with Princess Cecilia, Duke John's sister. After their sister Catherine's wedding in Stockholm to Edzard II, Count of East Frisia, and while staying at the residence of Duke Magnus in Vadstena Castle during the journey through Sweden a great scandal erupted when the groom's brother, John of East Frisia, was discovered in Cecilia's chamber without his trousers. John of East Frisia was caught and without the intercession of the Queen Elizabeth I would have been sentenced to death, Karin Tegenborg Falkdalen, *Vasadöttrarna*. [The Vasa Daughters]. Lund: Historiska Media, 2015, 75–86; Anu Lahtinen, *Pohjolan prinsessat. Viikinkineidoista renessanssiruhtinattariin*. [Nordic princesses. From Viking maidens to Renaissance princesses.] Jyväskylä: Atena 2009, 154–157; Margaret Morison, James Bell, 'A narrative of the journey of Cecilia, princess of Sweden to the court of queen Elizabeth'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (1898), 181–224; Lars Ericson, *Johan III. En biografi*. Lund: Historiska media 2004, 71-72.

⁴⁴ A standard, guided tour of the Vadstena Castle in Swedish on 14 March 2015.

⁴⁵ "No one but death" was made in co-operation with the Royal Armoury, the Polish Institute and the Polish Embassy in Stockholm, <http://www.bringtolife.se/jagellonica.html> (last accessed on 17 Feb 2016).

⁴⁶ Skolverket, *Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011 (reviderad 2016)*, historia [Swedish National Agency for Education, Curriculum for basic education, preschooling, and adult education 2011 (revised 2016), history], Wolters Kluwers, Stockholm, 2016, 196 - 205, 198 - 199.

during the given time period, but on the other, on the “growth and organisation of the Swedish state”. “The Swedish Realm in the Baltic” as well as “its causes and consequences for different individuals and human groups around the Baltic Sea”, such as “migration from and to” are mentioned in the curriculum as central themes. Studying Catherine Jagiellon would fit perfectly into all these topics, but based on the recent history textbooks available, it seems that the national master narrative based on the state building by the early (male) Vasa monarchs is still the dominant theme. Unlike Gustav Vasa’s and Eric XIV’s spouses, who are introduced by their names, John III’s wife (and likewise Sigismund’s) is not presented at all.⁴⁷ The typical way to characterize her, if at all, is the following: “John is remembered as a ”builder-king.” ... ”He married a Polish, Catholic princess and their son Sigismund became the King of both Poland and Sweden”. A drawing representing John and a picture of Gripsholm Castle as a specimen of the castles John rebuilt serve as the illustration.⁴⁸ Naturally, school textbooks do not tell everything about school teaching, but they reflect how the national curriculum is implemented on a more practical level.

The current situation is at least partly due to the fact that the recent research, especially by the Swedes, shows that interest in Catherine Jagiellon is waning.⁴⁹ Without research, interesting new interpretations cannot emerge to feed in turn the memory culture (and vice versa). The situation derives from the fact that the sources are scarce and dispersed. Moreover, it is a commonplace that archives are arranged according to principles of political history and thus do not respond to the needs, for example, of gender or cultural historians. Many sources are neither studied nor even catalogized.⁵⁰ There are certainly several reasons for this, but for some Swedish historians - even for the most prominent ones - the Eastern Central European part of their history is “only of peripheral interest”, for which Lena Rangström was criticized when she chose to analyse “the dethroned King” Sigismund’s and Constance of Austria’s wedding (1605) in her book on Swedish royal weddings.⁵¹ Sigismund’s dethronement together with Catherine’s and Sigismund’s difficult minority position as representatives of Roman Catholicism in the era of emerging Lutheran orthodoxy in Sweden may yield the conclusion

⁴⁷ Peter Ljunggren, *Upptäck historia* [Discover history]. (LGR 11), Liber 2015, 110 and 138-140.

⁴⁸ Göran Körner, Per Lindberg, *PULS Historia*, [PULS History]. Grundbok, Natur och Kultur, 2012, 128; see also, Hans Almgren, Hans Albin Larsson, *Alla tiders historia*. [All times’ history]. Bas. Interaktiv. Gleerups Utbildning AB, 2013-2016 <https://gleerupsportal.se/gbook/v3/?refresh=1454599772&id=161> (last accessed 10 Feb 2016).

⁴⁹ Raimonda Ragauskienė, ‘The Marriage of Catherine Jagiellon and John III Vasa in Vilnius (1562)’. *Lithuania-Poland-Sweden. European dynastic unions and historical-cultural ties*. Eugenijus Saviščevas, Marijus Uzorka (ed). *Studies of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, Volume XXI*. Vilnius: National Museum – Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, 2014, 102–119, 106.

⁵⁰ A revealing example is the microfilmed collection of the sixteenth-century Swedish Queens’ documents in the National Archives in Stockholm. In Catherine Jagiellon’s case, original sources are often traceable with difficulty, since the only information available is “from a Polish archive” if at all. Stockholm, National Archive, Swedish Queens in the sixteenth century, Catherine Jagiellon, K73.

⁵¹ See, Professor Dick Harrison’s review of Lena Rangström’s book *En brud för kung och fosterland: kungliga svenska bröllop från Gustav Vasa till Carl XVI Gustaf*. [A bride for king and fatherland: royal weddings in Sweden from Gustav Vasa to Carl XVI Gustaf]. Livrustkammaren och Atlantis 2010, Dick Harrison, Kungliga svenska bröllop från Gustav Vasa till Carl XVI Gustaf. Ett stycke kunglig populärhistoria [Royal weddings in Sweden from Gustav Vasa to Carl XVI Gustaf. A piece of royal popular history.] *Svenska Dagbladet*, 19 June 2010 http://www.svd.se/kultur/litteratur/ett-stycke-kunglig-popularhistoria_4886905.svd (last accessed 16 May 2015).

that they were not among the victors, by whom history is usually written.⁵² Furthermore, even as the Queen consort of Sweden, Catherine was regarded as a Polish Princess (and she voluntarily often identified herself as such), i.e. a foreigner, which may produce some kind of marginality or “otherness” although she seemed to adapt sufficiently to the Swedish court culture. By contrast in Finland her memory has not experienced such noticeable “waning”.

Finland

Turku castle, founded in the 1280s, is one of the oldest buildings still in use and the largest surviving medieval building in Finland. Therefore, the castle is a significant historical monument and a popular tourist destination representing the centre of the former capital city of the country. It has changed over the centuries from a medieval fortress into a Renaissance palace and from a derelict jailhouse in the late 19th century into a museum. Today, it is primarily displayed as a monument to the Medieval and Renaissance heyday of the castle. This is visible in the architectural forms that have been carefully restored and reconstructed. It also becomes apparent in various narratives or emplotments, both visual (like the set of miniatures about the different stages of the construction of the castle) and discursive (as during the guided tours).⁵³ Catherine Jagiellon’s presence at the castle forms an essential part of these narratives. The history policy of Turku Castle responds to the needs of the audience, since it has achieved the status of being one of the favourite tourist attractions and most visited museums in Finland.

Besides Gustav Vasa, John and Catherine were the only princely persons to reside in the Finnish part of the Swedish realm for any length of time, despite their stay being relatively short-term from Christmas 1562 until August 1563. When the bride came to Turku from Vilnius with her Polish-Italian court and splendid dowry, the ducal couple “presided over a brilliant court-life which has no parallel in Finnish history”.⁵⁴ John had started the renovations at Turku Castle in good time when he took up his residence there as Duke of Finland. The castle was renovated into a princely renaissance-style dwelling in 1556–1563 and extended to its current size. For instance, water pipes made of lead and copper were installed, a project which took 4000 man-hours in 1561–63.⁵⁵ The gloomy rooms of the old castle were replaced by light and airy halls in the Renaissance style. The so-called Renaissance Floor with the “King’s Hall” and a chamber in the Tower for Duke John and Catherine Jagiellon’s suite, the “Queen’s Hall” and Chamber were constructed in the 1550s. Even a wooden latrine was built outside the wall. All these rooms were destroyed in the fire of 1614. The decoration, such as the wooden ceiling and the open fireplace, were reconstructed in the renovations of 1946–1961 after contemporary models in Sweden. The tapestries hanging on the walls are copies, but the

⁵² Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia: Katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina*. [Loser's History. Catholic Life in Sweden from Gustavus Vasa to Queen Christina]. Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1997.

⁵³ The Turku Castle as a case study of a ‘practised place’ and ‘narrative space’, see Petja Aarnipuu’s doctoral thesis, Petja Aarnipuu, *Turun linna kerrottuna ja kertovana tilana*. [The Turku Castle: Cultural Heritage as Narrative Space]. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008.

⁵⁴ Carl J. Gardberg, *Turku Castle. A tour of the stronghold*. Turku: The Historical Museum, 1980, 5.

⁵⁵ Carl J. Gardberg, Åbo slott under den äldre vasatiden. En byggnadshistorisk undersökning. [Turku Castle during the elder Vasa period. A study of construction history]. Helsinki 1959, 309-310; Marko Stenroos, & al, *Turkulaisen veden pitkä matka Halistenkoskelta Turun keskuspuhdistamolle*. [The Long Journey of Turku Water from Halistenkoski to Turku Central Treatment Plant]. Turku: Turun Vesilaitos, 1989, 60.

walls, however, are original. The Queen's chamber, in which Duchess Catherine lived, is situated beyond the Queen's Hall. A copy of the Lucas Cranach workshop portrait hangs on the wall. It is a gift to the Castle presented by the Polish Government in 1933. A large, woven textile on the wall towards the Tower is also connected with Catherine Jagiellon. The modern tapestry, designed by the Finnish textile artist Dora Jung, represents Catherine and John, in addition to a priest on Catherine's side and a lay adviser next to John. The text on the textile, "Nemo nisi mors", commemorates Catherine's fabulous and who knows, perhaps slightly fabricated fidelity toward her husband at the moment when they were captured in 1563. The textile was made for the re-opening of the castle in 1961.⁵⁶

Renovation work had been going on for some years when in 1941 during the Second World War the castle was badly damaged by a fire caused by bombing. After the war, restoration work restarted and was completed in 1961. An important source of knowledge and inspiration was the doctoral thesis by Carl J. Cardberg, historian and archeologist, and future head of the Finnish National Board of Antiquities, on the construction history of Turku Castle during the period of the early Vasas (1959). Cardberg's investigations and findings have been invaluable in emplotting the medieval and renaissance narrative of Turku Castle and particularly that of Catherine Jagiellon's journey from Vilnius to Turku and her short-lasting stay in the capital of the Duchy of Finland. Cardberg's popular history book 'Three Catherines at Turku Castle' enjoyed both academic and commercial success. Three editions have appeared of the original Swedish version (1985), whereas the Finnish translation (1988) has appeared in up to seven editions.

Since there are no material remnants (objects) preserved of Catherine and John in Finland, the exhibition 'Catherine Jagiellon, Princess of Poland, Duchess of Finland, Queen of Sweden 1526-1583' in the newly renovated Turku Castle temporarily filled this gap during 11 June - 6 July 1965.⁵⁷ The initiative came from Poland and the exhibition was thought to be a part of the state visit of Edward Ochab, the chairman of the Council of State of Poland. The exhibition was organized by the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art and it introduced 125 items mainly from the museums of Cracow to the Finnish audience. It included medals, manuscripts, the miniature portraits of Catherine's family attributed to Lucas Cranach the Younger's workshop and Catherine's seal stamp from the year 1562. One of the most impressive objects was the wooden, gilded eagle, symbol of the Polish kingdom, with the Vasa coat of arms on its chest. The scale model of Wawel Castle as well as maps illustrating Catherine's and John's travels between Poland, Sweden and Finland were also on display in the Duchess' rooms of the castle. In his inauguration speech, the Mayor of Turku, Väinö J. Leino, emphasized the international character of the city of Turku and reminded listeners that the "noble chatelaine always has a place in our hearts", while the Polish ambassador Edvard Pietkiewicz treated cultural co-operation between Poland and Finland as a historical and continuous phenomenon since

⁵⁶ Carl J. Gardberg, *Turku Castle. A tour of the stronghold*. Turku: The Historical Museum, 1980, 23-26.

⁵⁷ See, the exhibition catalogue, *Katariina Jagellonica. Puolan prinsessa, Suomen herttuatar, Ruotsin kuningatar. 1526-1583: puolalaisten museoiden järjestämä näyttely Turun linnassa, 11.6. - 6.7.1965*. [Catherine Jagiellon, Princess of Poland, Duchess of Finland, Queen of Sweden 1526-1583: exhibition organized by Polish museums at the Turku Castle, 11.6.-6.7.1965]. Turku: Turun kaupungin historiallinen museo, 1965.

Catherine's time. The speeches were meticulously summarized in the Finnish press and additionally, many of the main newspapers published articles on Catherine Jagiellon written by Polish experts. Reporting of the event also had affective tones: In many Finnish newspaper article titles Catherine Jagiellon 'returned to', 'came back to' or 'revisited' the castle, Turku or Finland once more. The rhetoric has been seen as a nostalgic floor for the golden period of the castle with an extraordinary, international pomp and dramatic flavour that Catherine Jagiellon brought with her, but also as a lauding prelude to good relations between Poland and Finland before Edward Ochab's visit. The Polish head of state honoured the exhibition with his presence together with Urho Kekkonen, President of Finland. Afterwards, the event can be analyzed as a perfect example of successful cultural diplomacy during the Cold War. A Finnish museologist, Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen, wrote in her editorial for the 2005 international museum day that through the 1965 Turku Castle exhibition Catherine Jagiellon was able to bring down the iron curtain.⁵⁸

Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), a Finnish composer of the late Romantic and early-modern periods, is often credited with having contributed through his music to developing a Finnish national identity during the struggle for independence from the Russian Empire. Sibelius found inspiration in nature, Nordic mythology and history. His first set of *Scènes historiques* presents a suite taken from music for a patriotic pageant, staged in 1899 and originally including a tone poem *Finlandia*, a covert protest against increasing censorship from Russia, which was published separately. The splendour of the Court of Duke John and Duchess Catherine at Turku is portrayed in the third tableau of *Scènes historiques*, called 'Festivo'. According to an established Sibelius scholar, Erik Tawastjerna, the piece finds Sibelius "in cosmopolitan mood and is among his best character-pieces in a non-Finnish style".⁵⁹

Like Sibelius, his contemporary and poet Eino Leino (1878–1926) extensively exploited Finnish nature, mythology, folklore and history in his works. In 1919, two years after Finland's independence, Leino published a collection of poems called 'Songs of Duke John and Catherine of Jagiellon', inspired by his own, difficult love story with the Estonian Aino Kallas.⁶⁰ The poems are written in dialogue form between two lovers: Duke John and Catherine Jagiellon. The story begins on a ship en route from Vilnius to Turku, continues at the Renaissance court of Turku Castle and thereafter in captivity at Gripsholm. One of the Gripsholm poems entitled this time 'Nil nisi mors' retells the story of Catherine's determination to stand alongside her husband in every situation. They are depicted as inseparable. The powerful graphic illustration of the poem in later editions by the Finnish painter and graphic artist Tapio Tapiovaara (1908-1982) portrays a merger between the couple with John's chains

⁵⁸ The information on the reception of the exhibition in Finnish newspapers is based on Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen, Kun Katarina Jagellonica rautaesiripun puhkaisu. [When Catherine Jagiellon brought down the iron curtain]. *Turun Sanomat* 18.5.2005. <http://www.ts.fi/mielipiteet/paakirjoitukset/1074044966/Solveig+SjobergPietarisen+aliokirjoitus+Kun+Katarina+Jagellonica+rautaesiripun+puhkaisu> (last accessed on 22 Feb 2016).

⁵⁹ Erik Tawastjerna, *Sibelius: 1865-1905*, vol.1, transl. Robert Layton. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press 1976, 221.

⁶⁰ Leino mentions the collection to be "the last romantic's gift to his beloved". Hannes Sihvo, 'Eino Leino: runo ja elämä.' *Elämän kirja. Valikoima Leinon tuotannosta*. ['Eino Leino: poetry and life'. Book of life. A selection of Leino's works.]. Hannu Mäkelä (ed.). Helsinki: Otava, 1980, 15 - 35, 30.

and Catherine's wedding ring as vital symbols.⁶¹ The last poems of the collection, called in Italian *Rime*, are made as if Catherine were comforting John in his difficult situation. The collection ends with a strongly symbolic image representing Catherine's initials 'CI' within a heart, surrounded by a crown of thorns and crowned with a modernized Nordic bridal crown. Thus, Tapiovaara encapsulated her life and memory in romantic symbols of passion (including suffering), love and marriage. At the core, however, there is her name marking her personal identity, but also her belonging to the Jagiellonian family. In the poems Catherine is frequently called a 'child' or 'maiden' of the Jagiellons. In one passage, they are shortly characterized as 'cruel' rulers. In the same stanza, the Sforzas are said to be known for their crimes, whereas the Vasas are depicted as 'noble', but 'great both in virtues and vices'.⁶² Metrically, Leino's poems on the Renaissance ducal couple mostly follow the Italian stanza form (*ottava rima*), which originated in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Leino is much loved and widely read in Finland today, but the strict formalism of this collection meant that it is not among his most popular poetry. The book was translated into Polish in 1981.⁶³

Leino's poems can be read not only as a dialogue between two lovers but also as a dialogue between a young nation (Finland, represented by John and his Duchy) and the 'old' Europe (represented by Catherine Jagiellon) in a historico-political situation, in which Finland was searching for its place as 'a nation among nations'. The Finnish nationalists, or fennomans, wanted to build future unity around the Finnish language since culture and science had been mostly in hands of the country's Swedish-speaking elite. Historical traditions and links with Sweden were to be rejected as was the continuing dependence on Swedish culture.⁶⁴ As a non-Swedish (and non-Russian) person, Catherine Jagiellon perfectly matched this requirement bringing a flavour of desired splendidness and Europeanness to the Finnish past.

Another Finnish author who used Catherine Jagiellon's figure in his fiction is Mika Waltari (1908–1979), internationally best known for his best-selling novel *The Egyptian* (1945). Waltari wrote his first historical novel on Eric XIV's wife *Catherine Månsdotter*⁶⁵ in 1942 in the middle of the Second World War hostilities between Finland and the Soviet Union called the Continuation War. Therefore, the book has been interpreted as an allegory of Finland's position between the great powers. Although Waltari's first historical novel has been criticized as an overly schematic novel with not very nuanced characters apart from the protagonist Catherine Månsdotter herself, it enjoyed wide popularity in Finland.⁶⁶ It was soon published in

⁶¹ The illustration of the poem 'Nil nisi mors' by Tapio Tapiovaara aka 'Tapsa', in Eino Leino, *Juhana Herttuan ja Catharina Jagellonican lauluja*. [Songs of Duke John and Catherine Jagiellon]. (6th ed.), [1919]. Helsinki: Otava, 2001, 41.

⁶² The poem 'Chorus mysticus', Eino Leino, *Juhana Herttuan ja Catharina Jagellonican lauluja*. [Songs of Duke John and Catherine Jagiellon]. (6th ed.), [1919]. Helsinki: Otava, 2001, 42.

⁶³ Eino Leino, *Pieśni księcia Jana i Katarzyny Jagiellonki* (trans. Litwiniuk, Jerzy). Helsinki: Ahjo, 1981 Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981.

⁶⁴ Juhani Paasivirta, *Finland and Europe. The Period of Autonomy and the International Crises, 1808-1914*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962, 66.

⁶⁵ Mika Waltari, *Kaarina Maununtytär*. [Catherine Månsdotter]. Helsinki, WSOY 1942.

⁶⁶ Panu Rajala, *Unio mystica. Mika Waltarin elämä ja teokset*. [Unio mystica. Mika Waltari's life and works]. Helsinki: Otava 2011.

seven editions and translated into 13 languages.⁶⁷ As Catherine Månsdotter's sister-in-law, Catherine Jagiellon has a role in the story as one of those criticized predictable secondary characters. However, her character in the book differs a lot from Leino's romantic figure. Waltari's Catherine Jagiellon is filled with pride, arrogance and determination. She is a hard, power-seeking woman, "sinewy as a steel bow". Interestingly, in the light of circumstances in which the book was written, one of Catherine Jagiellon's dominant personality traits is the deep affection for Finland. Waltari's Catherine does not shed a tear at the moment of their imprisonment, but she cries and demonstrates a strong and deep affection when thinking about the loyalty Finnish people have showed to her during and after the siege of Turku Castle by Eric XIV's troops.⁶⁸ In effect, John hates his elder, vainglorious wife, but the couple is unified by their shared fondness for Finland and by their vested interests in power.⁶⁹ More than with her husband, Catherine is "in love with this strange, hard country" whose inhabitants she first imagined as "harsh and reserved", but who turned out to be the most loyal until the end. With her husband she nevertheless learned the "difficult, strange language" of the poor, but fabulous country she appreciates so much...⁷⁰

Duke John's and Duchess Catherine's alleged fondness for the territory they ruled over inspired Finnish nationalists, but the belief that they spoke the local language has been persistent also among Finnish scholars.⁷¹ Apparently, John had some talent for and interest in foreign languages.⁷² In his epitaph it is said that Finnish was among the languages he mastered, but we have scarce evidence of his real language skills beyond this kind of panegyric.

In Scandinavian collective memory (if there is one) Catherine Jagiellon is primarily the person who brought the fork to the North and with the fork, the whole European, Polish-Italian Renaissance civilisation with its material splendour and distinguished manners. Very seldom is it mentioned that she also brought the first known apothecary in Finland. It was however probably John who introduced the fork to Swedes before his wife. John had stayed in England in 1559-60 when he was involved in the marriage negotiations between his brother Eric and Elizabeth I of England. In England, two forks were acquired for his residence.⁷³ The marriage negotiations foundered and John returned to Sweden, with or without the forks. Nevertheless, the forks (bigger and smaller, silver and gilded) of Catherine's dowry are the first known in

⁶⁷ The number of translations is taken from *The Finnish Literature in Translation database*, Finnish Literature Society. <http://dbgw.finlit.fi/kaannokset/index.php?lang=ENG> (last accessed on 23 Feb 2016).

⁶⁸ Mika Waltari, *Kaarina Maununtytär*, [Catherine Månsdotter]. (6th ed.), Porvoo and Helsinki, WSOY 1947, 126-128.

⁶⁹ Mika Waltari, *Kaarina Maununtytär*, [Catherine Månsdotter]. (6th ed.), Porvoo and Helsinki, WSOY 1947, 281-283.

⁷⁰ Mika Waltari, *Kaarina Maununtytär*, [Catherine Månsdotter]. (6th ed.), Porvoo and Helsinki, WSOY 1947, 127-128.

⁷¹ See Miia Ijäs, "Katariina Jagellonica – vaimo, kuningatar, diplomaatti". [Catherine Jagiellon – a wife, queen and diplomat.] In *Genos. Journal of the Genealogical Society of Finland* 2/2009, 52–59, 56; Hockman, Tuula, Kuninkaan valvonnan alle. In *Risti ja lounatuuli. Rauman seurakunnan historia keskiajalta vuoteen 1640*. [Under the King's Control. Cross and Southwest Wind. History of Rauma Parish from the Middle Ages until 1640]. Anu Lahtinen, Miia Ijäs (eds.). Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society 2015, 89 - 123, 113; cf. Gardberg 1993, 70 - 71.

⁷² See for instance, William Cecil's, Elizabeth I of England's state secretary's and the French Hubertus Langetus' description of John's good spoken Latin during his visit to England for marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and his brother Eric in 1559-60, Lars Ericson, *Johan III. En biografi*. Lund: Historiska media 2004, 63, 70;

⁷³ Lars Ericson, *Johan III. En biografi*. [John III: A biography]. Lund: Historiska media 2004, 67.

Finland. The material culture with the “first forks, carpets and curtains” and the dazzling court life at Turku castle still predominate in her memory in Finnish school history books, although the visual image of her is often based on 16th century pictures which do not represent her⁷⁴ or alternatively 18th century imaginative lithographs.⁷⁵ In Finnish school history books, Catherine Jagiellon is not swept aside, but has a relatively vibrant legacy at least compared with other women. In the present-day upper secondary school, the history dealing with the Swedish era is based on a voluntary course and is not among the most popular history courses for students. Therefore, for the majority (c.90%) of the Finnish younger age groups, the history classes of the elementary school offer the sole knowledge of that period. A recent textbook for 12-year-old pupils⁷⁶ introduces only two individual women covering the period from Antiquity until Absolutism: they are the sisters-in-law Catherine Jagiellon and Catherine Månsdotter. In another equivalent textbook they are Saint Birgitta of Sweden and Catherine Jagiellon.⁷⁷ Both entries are illustrated with the correct portrait attributed to the Lucas Cranach the Younger’s atelier. The worksheets in each book contain tasks on Catherine, both similarly based on the Turku Castle playing cards, which would be completely appropriate if it was indicated that the image does not represent Catherine Jagiellon, but is rather associated with a long-standing tradition of her memory in Finland.

The resulting picture is depressing particularly from the point of view of gender history, since the texts ignore not only many women of importance, but also gender aspects in general. In this situation, introducing a whole page on Catherine Jagiellon is a significant achievement. Because of the emphasis on political history in which women were rarely able to participate, their role in schoolbooks is to fill gaps in family and religious history. Catherine is portrayed not only through her family (the Jagiellons and the Vasas) and religion, but in particular through the material culture. In the newest national curriculum the core objective is rather to learn the nature of history and so-called history skills (e.g. interpretation) than specific contents of history. In the sixteenth century history, for instance, the teaching concentrates on changes in science, art and human beliefs.⁷⁸ Therefore, the role of Catherine Jagiellon in Finnish history may be investigated from these points of view in the future school history teaching.

In Turku, there are some slight remnants of folklore, which may however be of later creation. In the Katariinanlaakso (Catherine’s Valley) nature reserve, there is a large, table-like stone, which is called “Katariinan kivi” (Catherine’s Stone) by locals. According to tradition, it was the place where the court picnicked and danced around the stone in spring time. In the same area, there is a whole neighbourhood called “Katariina”, with street names such as

⁷⁴ The image was reproduced in the famous Turku Castle playing cards, from where it was disseminated to school history books.

⁷⁵ Carl Müller’s lithography (1820’s) on Catherine Jagiellon (according to C.J. [sic!], Carl Theodor] Löwstädt’s [1789-1829] original picture) is an often used image in history text books, *The Picture Collections of National Board of Antiquities of Finland*, HK10000:2008, https://www.kuvakokoelmat.fi/pictures/view/HK10000_2008 (last access on Nov 25 2016).

⁷⁶ Jarno Bruun et al., *Ritari*. [Knight]. Helsinki: Sanoma Pro Oy 2015, 122.

⁷⁷ Riitta Eskelinen, Martti Troberg, *Matkalippu historiaan*. [A travel ticket to history]. Helsinki: Edita 2008, 153.

⁷⁸ The national core curriculum for basic education was renewed in 2014. New local curricula that are based on this core curriculum were implemented in schools from August 2016, Finnish National Board of Education, *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014*. Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2016.

“Jagellonicankatu” (Jagellonica’s street), “Katariinantie” (Catherine’s road), “Juhanankatu” (John’s street) and “Hannuntyttärentie” (Hansdotter’s⁷⁹ road). In Turku and especially at Turku castle, the remembrance culture continues to exist.⁸⁰

Conclusion

The Latin epitaph on the wall of the Jagiellonian chapel in Uppsala cathedral over Catherine Jagiellon’s tomb begins with these words: “You, stranger, might wonder who I am and who I was...” just as if she or the court writer(s) were afraid of her sinking into oblivion. Although the underlying fear of being forgotten seems to be a fundamental human characteristic, emphasized in monumental inscriptions,⁸¹ the fear of Catherine or her inner circles was not completely unjustified.

Creating a narrative in history is about making choices, inclusions and exclusions in order to communicate meanings. In history writing, family, religion and material culture are generally easily associated with women, which is also discernible regarding the previous research on Catherine Jagiellon. However, more nuances can be seen, when investigating her memory in particular. In Finland the textual and visual narrative created for Catherine Jagiellon, which can be called ‘memory’, is steadfastly associated with Turku castle and its Renaissance court in 1562-63. It has inspired both Finnish nationalists and artists during the period of national romanticism as well as politicians and journalists during the Cold War. Her memory continues to play a role, albeit not a major one, in Finnish history culture, including school history and popular culture. Through her dignified family and wealth she has brought an international, even exotic flavor to a young nation’s identity as one of the only royalties to have ever resided in Finland. On the other hand, since the source material is scarce, the use of her memory remains flexible and can be easily adapted for different purposes. An essential part of her memory is based on her birth family, best visible in her name, Jagellonica.

By contrast in Sweden, which has a long history with various ruling families and interesting royal personalities as well as strong national identity with the master narrative of state building from the 16th century towards its development as a Great Power, there has not been such a need to maintain her memory. The figure of Queen Christina who stunned her contemporaries by refusing to marry, abdicating her throne and converting to Roman Catholicism has dominated the memory of the early modern Swedish queens and simultaneously has responded to the need for new insights within women’s history and gender studies. In the “Jagiellonian context”, it is quite interesting that after her abdication in Sweden in 1656 Christina launched an attempt to set herself up as the future Queen of Naples. Catherine Jagiellon’s maternal grandmother was Isabella of Aragon, also known as Isabella of Naples. Therefore, Bona Sforza’s fabulous

⁷⁹ Catherine Hansdotter (1539–1596) was John’s illegitimate wife and mother of four before his marriage to Catherine Jagiellon.

⁸⁰ E.g. A seminar on the theme “Baltic castles and Catherine Jagiellon” was held at Turku castle in May 19th 2016. The responsible organizer was the Embassy of Poland in Finland, since Poland holds the Presidency of the Baltic Sea States Council in 2016; Catherine Jagiellon also appears in the exhibition ‘Game of Power – Reformation in Finland’ February 17th 2017 to March 4th 2018, produced by the Museum Centre of Turku.

⁸¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale*, Paris: Plon, 1985 (1ère édition 1958), t. 1, (Commemoration, p. 264); Marc Augé, *Les formes d’oubli*. Paris: Payot & Rivages 1998.

heritage was situated in the Kingdom of Naples, which was not however the most plausible reason for Christina's willingness to rule in Naples.⁸² In another failed scheme, Christina attempted to have herself made Queen of Poland after the last Vasa of the Polish branch and the last descendant of Catherine Jagiellon, John II Casimir of Poland (1609-1672). She would have had the opportunity to become Queen of Poland earlier in 1644, when John II Casimir's elder brother and Christina's second cousin, Vladislaus IV proposed to her, but she turned him down. Nevertheless, in both countries even if less so in Finland than in Sweden, the memory of Catherine Jagiellon and even more that of her son Sigismund seem to suffer from coming from outside ethnically, culturally, religiously and politically. However, especially in Finnish national romanticism their "otherness" has also been exploited to affirm cultural and political identity.

⁸² Catherine Jagiellon's mother, Bona Sforza, Queen of Poland, also Duchess of Bari and Princess of Rossano, returned to her native Bari before her death. Her huge inheritance was situated in the Kingdom of Naples, then belonging to Spain. The king of Spain owed her 430,000 Neapolitan ducats, whereas the king of Naples had assigned her 44,400 ducats annually as interest, payable out of the customs of Foggia. Bona and her children being dead, part of this capital devolved to her grandson Sigismund III, who had assigned it to the republic; yet both he and his sons Ladislaus IV and John II Casimir, took care to receive the interest. On the background of the inheritance, Henry Biaudet, *Le Saint-Siège et la Suède durant la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle. Études politiques* I. Plon-Nourrit: Paris 1907, 337-364 : on Christina of Sweden, Peter Englund, *Silvermasken: En kort biografi över drottning Kristina*. [The silver mask. A short biography of Queen Christina]. Stockholm, Bonnier 2006; on her plans regarding the Naples throne, Susanna Åkerman, 'Queen Christina and Messianic thought', *Sceptics, Millenarians, and Jews*. David S. Katz, Jonathan Irvine Israel (ed.). Brill 1999, 142-160, esp.159-160.