

## GIFTS PRESENTED TO THE POLISH–LITHUANIAN KING STEPHEN BÁTHORY UPON HIS ENTRY IN RIGA CITY (13 MARCH 1582)

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Polish–Lithuanian king Stephen Báthory and his retinue reached the outskirts of Riga on 12 March 1582. In the last few miles on the ice-covered Daugava river they were greeted and accompanied by a cavalry unit of approx. 200 burghers of Riga.<sup>1</sup> The guard of honor, consisting of City guard units in full armour, was lined along the entire way to the market square, while others waited on the walls. The king then proceeded to his lodgings in the castle, while courtiers and militia were accommodated in less “royal” citizens’ apartments. On the following day, the king entered the city through a triumphal arch specially made for the purpose with inscription on the front praising the king’s “restraining of Muscovites” and that on the back expressing hope in the ensuing “golden times” to the citizens.<sup>2</sup> In the market square a stage was set up for celebratory fireworks. Customary to the occasion, gifts were presented and banquets were held that would celebrate the king’s triumph over Muscovites<sup>3</sup> and his becoming the new sovereign of Riga City.<sup>4</sup>

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- 1 Relevant sources, largely cited and translated by Latvian historian Arnolds Spekke, give figures in range from 160 to 300 cavalymen. Spekke, Arnolds (1965). *Ķēniņa Stefana ienākšana Rīgā un cīņas par Doma baznīcu*. Lielvaka: Pilskalns.
  - 2 Spekke 1965, 11.
  - 3 In 1579–1581, Stephen Báthory campaigned in Muscovy, the war was concluded with the Truce of Jam Zapolski (15 January 1582), according to which Muscovy renounced all claims to Livonian territories.
  - 4 On 14 January 1581, the envoys of the Free City of Riga signed a surrender agreement in Drohiczyn and took an oath of allegiance to the representatives of the Polish–Lithuanian king. In exchange, most of the rights and former privileges of Riga were guaranteed. Decisions regarding disputed privileges were postponed to the time of King’s arrival in Livonia.

Although the king's triumphal entry in Riga attracted great interest among the contemporaries,<sup>5</sup> the gift-giving is reported only in two Polish accounts – letters by envoy of Danzig to Riga Daniel Hermann and Royal Secretary J. Pietrowski<sup>6</sup> – both in similar wording: “Today, on March 14, Rigans presented his majesty with a grand chalice filled with 1000 Hungarian guildens, besides 20 oxen, three carts of beer, a large number of sheep, a large amount of oats and many other edibles that were delivered for his majesty's kitchen. The whole gift (so I have been told by a secretary of Riga City Council) was worth a total of 17,000 marks.”<sup>7</sup> The reports, albeit far from being exhaustive, certainly were true and can be verified with recently discovered account kept in the Latvian State Historical Archive.<sup>8</sup> The account outlines a few memorable episodes of the gift-giving process and lists the items presented to the King, state officials, and members of the king's household. Along with the transcript of this account, the current publication offers preliminary analysis of gifts and their receivers. It, however, does not elaborate on the performative praxis of the gift-giving, and their communicative roles. Although the analysed gift-giving was rooted in a tradition of ancient origins, which has numerous evidences in the late medieval and early modern Livonian history, the present analysis is a rare contribution to our knowledge of the gift-giving practice during a princely entry.<sup>9</sup>

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- 5 Major works of relevance: A report by Daniel Hermann, an envoy of Danzig at the royal court (dated to 8 March 1582, reportedly located in Danzig archive – Spekke 1965, 7); “Instructionen und Relationen der kurländischen Gesandten am königl. polnischen Hof (1581–1583)” (used to be located in the Latvian State Historical Archives, hereinafter *LNA-LVVA*, see Spekke 1965, 8); *Avvisi di Polonia et di Livonia del 1582* (Original publication cannot be located, Spekke 1965, 15–17); Gotthard Viecken, “Kurze Beschreibung, was sich (Ge) denkwürdiges in Riga begeben und zugetragen hat von A 1521...” (The chronicle has been preserved in numerous copies, yet the fragment related to the entry of Stephen Báthory has been translated into Latvian twice: Spekke 1965, 13–14 and in 2021 by Agris Dzenis, accessible at: <https://www.historia.lv/biblioteka/gotharda-vikena-hronikas-fragmenti-agra-dzena-tulkojums>. According to Spekke, there are more accounts on Báthory's entry in Riga. Spekke 1965, 17.
  - 6 Jan Piotrowski to Marshal of Polish Kingdom, 18 March 1582. Published partially by Ziemelewska, Anna (2008). *Ryga w Rzeczypospolitej Polsko-Litewskiej (1581–1621)*. Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe, pp. 83–84.
  - 7 A report by Daniel Hermann, in: Spekke 1965, 13; Ziemelewska 2008, 83–84.
  - 8 Ver Zeichnüß was königlich[en] May[es]t[et] Stephano an ihrer an kunfft alhir werehret. A[nno] 1582. *LNA-LVVA*, 673–1–289, fol. 7–14.
  - 9 Most recent contribution to the subject research: Strenga, Gustavs (2022). Gifts and conflicts: Objects given during the entry of Archbishop Silvester Stodewescher in the Riga Cathedral (1449). *Gift Giving and Materiality in Europe, 1300–1600. Gifts as Objects*. Ed. by Lars Kjær, Gustavs Strenga. London, p. 77.

The account comprises eight pages. It is written in Middle Low German, which, with minor explanations, is intelligible to modern German readership. The clear handwriting, lack of mistakes, as well as omitted dating or signature, is indicative of a copy that could be made in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century following the described events. D. Hermann's mentioning of a certain Riga secretary as his informant suggests the production of the accounts at Riga city chancellery. Essentially, it was a working paper that gave an impression of the length to which Riga citizens went in preparing gifts. This account, however, did not elaborate on the total expenditure. Such appraisals were kept by Riga City Treasury.<sup>10</sup>

According to the account, the gift-giving took place on 13 March<sup>11</sup>, right before the royal entry into the city. At first, the citizens handed over a gilded chalice weighing "approximately" 400 lot<sup>12</sup> filled with 1000 Hungarian guildens. The Hungarian gulden was a commonly used gold coin of high standard and weighed slightly over 3.5 grams. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it had become an object of widespread imitations across all Europe. The previous seigniors of Riga, particularly the Masters of the Livonian branch of Teutonic Order, were not strangers to these coins either and occasionally let them be struck, including the higher denomination portugalos or portugalösers.<sup>13</sup> The 1582 taxation of coins, published on 5 May, just after the departure of the king, recognised the similarity between "Hungarian" and so-called "Master's" guildens by stating equal values – 1 florin 20 Polish groschen.<sup>14</sup> Hence, some of the "Hungarian" pieces could be of local origin. Still, the assumption is far-fetched. The "Master's" guildens are extremely rare coins to come by, thus, it is unlikely that their emissions reached anywhere close to 1000 pieces. Unlike golden coins, chalice could be crafted by one of Riga goldsmith masters. Through the visual particularities, the gift resembled cornucopia, the horn that overflows with plenty. The chalice could be used during a feast and toasting. Hence, the reception of Báthory gravitated around the metaphors of prosperity and greatness that overflows with his rule over the city.

If in monetary terms a chalice filled with guildens indisputably was the most worthy gift presented to the king,<sup>15</sup> in symbolic terms, the most important one

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10 Riga City Treasury accounts: LNA-LVVA, 1389-1-1 – 1389-1-26.

11 Not 14 March as stated in the above cited D. Hermann's account.

12 25 weight marks; 400 lot × 201.8 g / 16 lot = 5,045 kg.

13 Leimus, Ivar (2015). Medieval Livonian Gold Coins – Additional Data. *Numizmatikos rinkiniai: istorinės Lietuvos ir su ja susijusių šalių paveldas*. Vilnius, pp. 197–204.

14 LNA-LVVA, 8-4-59, fol. 14r.

15 Hungarian guildens alone attested for the majority of the expenses. The 1582 taxation valued 1 Hungarian gulden at 1 florin 20 groschen or 8.3 Marks, which put the expenses at 8300 Marks.

was the subsequent handover of town keys by burgomaster Nicolaus Ecke. This was an integral part of the ritual display of citizens' fealty, reportedly "based upon a custom of Prussian cities".<sup>16</sup> The Prussian experience was consulted for two reasons. Riga's privileged status was cast upon the corresponding model of royal Prussian cities, Elbląg and Gdańsk in particular.<sup>17</sup> Secondly, these cities had been under the Polish rule for quite some time. They could be trusted in what concerns subtleties and technicalities regarding the protocol of such an occasion. City councillors went by the rules in good faith that they would be reconfirmed in their earlier privileges. In a generous gesture His Majesty returned the keys graciously saying: "We have been informed and are aware that you have kept your city in good care both in peace and war times, therefore take the keys with you and govern it with the same care as before."<sup>18</sup>

The gift-giving and royal responses can be ascribed with different meanings, still both parties followed strictly the ceremonial principles of the occasion, which were aimed at acknowledging Riga's newly acquired status vis-à-vis its new overlord. Part of gift-giving ceremony was treating (*whorehrett*) the guests with victuals. The 1582 account lists incredible amounts of foodstuffs and beverages presented to the king and his courtiers.<sup>19</sup> The social distinction of dignitaries was made manifest in the quantity and variety. The royal table received much of everything. Meanwhile, the listed 27 court members received foodstuffs with some exceptions. For example, fish was served also on the chancellors' tables. Minor dietary divergence is noted in the gift list of Hungarian chancellor, who received one ox. Each and everyone was treated with Western wines. Rhenish wine (*Rinischen*),<sup>20</sup> allecant (*Alekanndt*), and bastard (*Bastardt*) were three most regular sorts. Sekt (*Seck*) was gifted occasionally, the very expensive malvasia wine (*malveser*) – to the king only. Owing to its price, wine was an explicit distinguisher of social ranking. Moreover, it was not appropriate for a man of low standing to consume wine. Instead – beer (*Byer*) and mead (*Medhe*) – everyday drinks would be dispatched to the king's household, guards, etc. From all the king's courtiers

16 It was a well-established tradition around Europe, having been immortalised both in writing and in pieces of art.

17 Dāboliņš, Viktors (2023). *The Rise of Riga Schillings (1582–1621)*. Dissertationes Historiae Universitatis Tartuensis. Vol. 56. Tartu, p. 66; Spekke notes close similarities in certain episodes of the royal entry in Riga with the royal entry of Henry Valois in Krakow in 1573. Spekke 1965, 23.

18 *LNA-LVVA*, 673–1–289, fol. 8.

19 A separate note "*An gewürtze*" ([delivered] in Spices) lists six luxurious additives. *LNA-LVVA*, 673–1–289, fol. 14.

20 In the text wines and other gifts are transcribed in various ways.

eligible for provisions and gifts, it is the last one on the list, Master of the Kitchen Domenico Alamani, whose gifts attract attention. The account mentions donating 2 portugalas (*Portugloßer*) to him.<sup>21</sup> Arguably some of the most luxurious and costly gifts one could receive, it provokes a question: how did this servant earned that kind of distinction among so many dignitaries?

The primary account lists dignitaries and courtiers in accordance with their seniority, kinship, and position at the king's household. First come the state officials of senatorial ranking: Grand Chancellor of Poland, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Chancellor of Hungary,<sup>22</sup> Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania, Vice-Chancellor of Poland, Bishop of Vilnius, Bishop of Samogitia, Castellan of Bicensi, Treasurer of Lithuania, Treasurer of Poland, Voivode of Trockum (Trakai?), Batur<sup>23</sup>, e.g., His majesty's nephew, "another" Batur, Castellan of Samogitia, Castellan of Radom. Secondly, Chancellors' officers: Grand secretary, His Majesty's secretary, scribe of the (grand/vice?) Chancellor of Lithuania, His Majesty's secretary. Finally, His Majesty's servants: king's bedmaker, king's physician, king's cup-bearer (?)/king's guard (?)/royal priest<sup>24</sup>, Mr. Groiovsy, Hungarian colonel and the Master of the Kitchen.

The importance of the event demanded taking care of the guests' well-being with a generous heart, be it at the banquet or gift-giving. As Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano put it in his treatise on "social virtues" (1498): "the explicit order was to err on the side of excess rather than be too parsimonious".<sup>25</sup> This principle was observed down to the royal and chancellors' horses, which were stabled and fed with enough of oats (*Hauer*) and hay (*Hoy*). However, several other dignitaries' horses received oats as well.

The expenditure for the gifts and reception of the royal suite in Riga in 1582, noted in D. Hermann's report – the 17,000 marks, was monetarily partial. It should be extended by expenses born by the households of Riga citizens, who housed and fed the guests for almost 2 months (until their departure on 2 May). Most certainly it was a very respectable sum. According to Dominik Kadzik, Stephen Báthory's retinue usually numbered around 500 people, but varied

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21 1582 taxation put the value of Portugal at 9 florin 10 schilling or 5.6 times the value of one Hungarian gulden. *LNA-LVVA*, 8–4–59, fol. 14r.

22 Was of senatorial ranking, but from the Kingdom of Hungary.

23 A version of Báthory family name.

24 Somewhat lesser gratified servants. They had to share victuals among themselves.

25 Grieco, Allen J. (2019). Food, social politics and the order of nature in Renaissance Italy. *Villa i Tatti Series*, 34. Florence, p. 83.

considering the purpose and relevance of the mission.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the number of the royal courtiers, servants, and militia following Stephen Báthory's entry in Riga exceeded anything Riga citizens had experienced before.

The account uses the measure units of its time. For liquids (wine and beer) the most commonly used units are: *Ahm* and *Stoff*, less frequently *Bodt*, *Tunn*<sup>27</sup>, *Last*<sup>28</sup>, *Stoff*, *hoff*, *Kann*<sup>29</sup>. Each country used its own wine measure systems.<sup>30</sup> Only very general appraisals exist for Riga, which may not be applied accurately for the period under research.<sup>31</sup> Hay and oats were measured in *Tunn*, spices – in weight unit of lispound. 1 Riga lispound was equal to 8,324 kg.

### LNA-LVVA 673-1-289, fol. 7-14

Fol. 7

Den 12. Marty A[nn]o: 1582

Ist die Kö[nigliche]: Ma[ies]t[e]t: Stephanuß vnnser gnedigster heer zu Riga  
 aufs Schloß die Duna endtlanck Vnnter dem Bolwarcke her gezogen. Vnndt zuvor auff dem Steinholt Vonn denn abgeordneten eineß Erbarann Radts empfangen wor denn mit 220 Pferden die andere Burgerschaft ist ihn Völler Rustung nebenst ihrer Matt: Hergezogen biß auß Schloß Vohr Vnndt Hinten ihrer Ma[ies]t[e]t. Ist alleß geschutze abgefuhrett.

Denn 13. Marty

Ist die Kö[nigliche]: Ma[ies]t[e]t: vonn wegen der Stadt vhor Ehrett mit einem vorgulzten Schouwer hatt gewögen 400 lött Vnge fher Wor ihn gedhann Tausentt Vngerische gulden.

An gedrencke

5 Ahm Reinischen wein  
 i Bodt Seck

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- 26 Kadzik, Dominik (2021). Foreigners at the Royal Court of Stephen Báthory on the Example of Inhabitants from the Lands of the Kingdom of Hungary. *Historical Review / Przegląd Historyczny*, 112 (2), pp. 411–412. Accessible at: [http://www.przegladhistoryczny.ihuw.pl/sites/ph.ihuw.pl/files/ph/ph\\_2\\_kadzik.pdf](http://www.przegladhistoryczny.ihuw.pl/sites/ph.ihuw.pl/files/ph/ph_2_kadzik.pdf).
- 27 1 Tunn = 90 stoff. Zemzaris, Jānis (1981). *Mērs un svars Latvijā 13.–19. gs.* Rīga, 122. lpp.
- 28 1 Last = 12 Tunn.
- 29 1 Kann = 2 stoff. Zemzaris 1981, 121.
- 30 Zemzaris 1981, 128.
- 31 Zemzaris 1981, 114–129.

i Bodt Bastartt  
 1 Ahm Alekanndtt  
 i Ahm Malueser  
 5 Tunnen Medhe  
 3 Last Byer  
     An vhe  
 20 Ochsen  
 30 Buttlinge

Fol. 8

300 Tunnen Hauer  
 Alle Tage Frische viesche so viel man Zu wege bringen  
 Konnen  
 Nebenst dieser vorehrung sindt ihrer Ma[ies]t[e]t: nach dem  
 Gebrauche der Preusischen Stette der Stadt pforttenn  
 Schlußell durch denn Herrn Burgermeister ihm Rottenn  
 Sindell vberreicht worden.  
 Daß geschenke hatt ihre Ma[ies]t[e]t: gnedigst empfangen  
 Vnndt sich erbotten solches mit Koniglichen gutte Zuer  
 Kennen Vnddt die Stadt ihn beßeren Wolstandt Zusetzen  
 Vnndt sollte der Stadt frey stehen, zu ersten gelegenheit  
 Ihre gebreche Zu *proponiren*  
 Die schlußell geben ihre Ma[ies]t[e]t: mit dießen wortten Zu  
 rucke geben laßen: Wyr seindt berichtet vnndt wißenn  
 selber, das ihr ewere stadt ihn frydens, alß woll Krigeß  
 Zeitten in gutter acht gehabt, der halben nemet die Schlusell  
 wieder zu ruch vnndt volwalttet sie der gestaldt wie  
 biß dahero geschehen  
 Nach diesem Seidt folgende Herrnn *salutiret*  
     vnd vshorehret  
     Dem Herrn Groß cantzlern<sup>32</sup>

Fol. 9

i Ahm Rinischen wein  
 i Ahm Seck  
 i Ahm Bastartt  
 i Ahm AleKandtt

<sup>32</sup> Grand Chancellor of Polish Kingdom Jan Zamoyski (1578–1605) (here and afterwards the period in office is given), an eminent Polish statesmen who established close partnership with the political elite of Riga.

60 Tunnen Hauer  
 Hoy, vische  
     Dem Herrn Littowschen Cantzlern<sup>33</sup>  
 i ahm Rinischen  
 i ahm Seck  
 i ahm Bastardt  
 i ahm AleKandt  
 60 Tunnen Hauer  
 Hoy vische  
     Dem Vngerschen Cantzlern<sup>34</sup>  
 i ahm Rinisch  
 i ahm Basterdt  
 i Ochsenn  
 30 Tonnen Houer  
 Hoy vische  
     Hertzogk Christoff Radziwilen<sup>35</sup>  
     Vnder Cantzlern  
 i ahm Reinisch  
 i ahm Seck  
 i ahm Bastardt  
 30 stoff Alekandt

Fol. 10

    Dem Hern Borkowsky Pollenschenn  
     vntter Cantzlern<sup>36</sup>  
 i ahm Rinisch  
 i ahm Bastartt  
 30 stoff Allekandt  
     Dem Herrn Bischofff von der Wilde<sup>37</sup>  
 i ahm Reinisch

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- 33 Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Mikołaj Radziwiłł VI, “the Red” (1565–1584). Among the several high offices (voivode of Trakai and Vilnius, Great hetman and Grand Chancellor of GDL, which he held in GDL), from 1578 until his death he was the governour of the Duchy of Livonia.
- 34 Chancellor of Hungary. Probably Márton Berzeviczy, Chancellor of Transylvania (1578–1586).
- 35 Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania Duke Christoph Radziwiłł, “the Lightning” (1579–1603). One of the most distinguished commanders of the Lithuanian army during the Livonian war (1558–1583) and Polish–Swedish War (1600–1621).
- 36 Vice-Chancellor of the Polish Kingdom Jan Borukowski (1578–1584).
- 37 Bishop of Vilnius Prince George Radziwiłł (1579–1591).



i ahm Seck  
 30 stoff allekandth  
     Dem Herrn Bischoff von Sameyitten<sup>38</sup>  
 i Ahm Reinisch  
 i Ahm Bastardt  
 Dem Herrn Castellan Bicensi<sup>39</sup>  
 i Ahm Reinisch  
 30 stopff Alekandth  
 Etzliche Haffern  
     Dem Littawschen Schatzmeister<sup>40</sup>  
 i Ahm Reinisch  
 i Ahm Seck  
 i Ahm Basterdt  
 30 stoff Alekandtt  
     Dem Pollenschen Schatzmeister<sup>41</sup>  
 i Ahm Rinischen  
 30 stoff Bastardt

Fol. 11

    Dem Woywodden Von Trockum<sup>42</sup>  
 i Ahm Reinisch  
 30 Stoff AleKandtt  
 30 Stoff Seck  
     Dem Herrn Batur der Kon[igliche] Ma[ies]t[e]t[s]:  
     Bruder Son<sup>43</sup>  
 1 Ahm Reinisch  
 i Ahm Bastertt  
 i Ahm AleKandtt  
 60 Thonnen Haffer

38 Bishop of Samogitia Merkelis Giedraitis (1576–1609). On Palm Sunday, 11 April 1582, Giedraitis “sanctified and purified” St. Jacobs Church in Riga to Roman Catholicism. On the following day, in the presence of the king, the mass was celebrated according to the Catholic rite. Spekke 1965, 34, 36.

39 Castellan of Bicensis or Biecz, Mikołaj Firlej (1576–1689). On behalf of his majesty, during his stay in Riga, Firlej dealt specifically with the recatholisation issues. Spekke 1965, 33.

40 Treasurer of Lithuania Jan Janowicz Hlebowicz (1580–1586).

41 Treasurer of Polish Kingdom Jan Dulski (1580–1590).

42 Possibly erroneous transcription of the Voivode of Trakai Steponas Andrejevičius Zbaraskis (1566–1585)?

43 Possibly Stephen Báthory’s nephew Sigismund Báthory (1573–1613).

Dem Andern Batur<sup>44</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch  
30 stoff AleKandtt  
40 Thonnen Haffer

Dem Herrn *Castellan* von Sameyppen<sup>45</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch  
i Ahm Bastertt  
i Ahm AlleKandtt

Dem Herrn *Castellan* Rodomßky<sup>46</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch  
30 stoff AleKandtt  
20 Thonnenn Haffer

Dem Herrn Barawwsky Groß

*Secretario*<sup>47</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch  
8 stoff AleKandtt  
8 stoff Basterdt

Fol. 12

Dem Herrn Solikowsky<sup>48</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch  
30 stoff AleKandtt  
30 Stoff Basterdt

Dem Herrn *Agrippa*<sup>49</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch  
30 stoff AleKandtt  
30 stoff Basterdt

Dem Herrn Tarnowsky<sup>50</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch

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44 Another relative of Stephen Báthory.

45 Castellan of Samogitia. Unidentified.

46 Castellan of Radom Stanisław Tarnowski (1576–1582) or Jerzy Mniszech (1582–1589).

47 Royal secretary Jan Zborowski (1538–1603). Left an account on Báthory's 1580 campaign against Muscovy.

48 Jan Dymitr Solikowski, Archbishop of Lviv, major actor in Polish Counter-Reformation. During his stay in Riga, Stephen Báthory appointed Solikowski the superintendent of the Catholic Church of Riga and Bishop of the Diocese of Wenden.

49 Venclovas Agripa (~ 1525–1597), Lithuanian poet, scribe of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1575–?).

50 Royal secretary Jan Tarnowski (?–1605), Archbishop of Gniezno.

8 stoff AleKandtt

8 stoff Basterdtt

Dem Hauptman Von Warsaw deß

Könningeß Bettmacher<sup>51</sup>

Weinn Vnndt Haffer

*Buccella*<sup>52</sup>

Weinn Vnndt Geschencke

Bech, Warneken, vnd dem

Pfarerer Zarno

kowsky<sup>53</sup>

Wein Ihn Kannen

Dem Herrn Groiowsky<sup>54</sup>

i Ahm Reinisch

30 stoff Bastardt

Etzliche Hafferen

Bornamißa Vngerschen Obersten<sup>55</sup>

10 Große kannen Reinisch

Fol. 13

6 Kannen Seck

4 Kannen Basterdtt

Dem Kuchemeister Alamanno<sup>56</sup>

2 Portugloßer

30 stoff AleKandtt

30 stoff Bastertt

Fol. 14

An gewurtze:

5 lb Saffran

2 lißb pfeffer

1 lissb Engwer

10 lb Muschatten Blumen

10 lb Kannel

10 Hodt Sucker

51 King's bedmaker. Unidentified.

52 King's physician Mikołaj Buccella. Kadzik 2021, 401.

53 King's cup-bearer, king's personal guard, royal pastor Zarnokowsky.

54 Mr. Groiowsky. Unidentified.

55 Hungarian Colonel Pal Bornemisza de Berhida et Petrilin.

56 Royal Master of the Kitchen Domenico Alamani. A title of little meaning in the kitchen hierarchy (ein Ehrenamt), he was in diplomatic service.

## RĪGAS RĀTES PASNIEGTĀS DĀVANAS POLIJAS–LIETUVAS KARALIM STEFANAM BATORIJAM (RĪGA, 1582. GADA 13. MARTS)

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### Kopsavilkums

1582. gada 12. martā pa ledus klāto Daugavu Rīgā ieradās Polijas–Lietuvas karalis Stefans Batorijs ar svītu. Batorijs bija pirmais karaliskais viesis, kuram Rīgas pilsoņi labprātīgi atvēra savus vārtus. Iepriekšējā gada 14. janvārī Rīgas brīvpilsētas sūtņi Drohičinā parakstīja padošanās līgumu un deva uzticības zvērestu Polijas–Lietuvas karaļa pārstāvjiem. Apmainā pret sniegto uzticību pilsētai tika garantētas agrākās privilēģijas, tiesa, atsevišķos punktos pastāvēja neskaidrības, kuru izlemšana tika atlikta uz karaļa ierašanās laiku Livonijā. Rīgas rāte svarīgo viesi uzņēma ar pienācīgu svinīgumu un rūpību – ar godasardzi, zalvēm, runām, banketiem un vērtīgām dāvanām. Karaļa ienākšana Rīgā un svinīgā uzņemšana līdz mūsdienām atstājusi virkni spožu liecību par rīdzinieku centību un neveiksmēm, garo sveicēju rindu un augstā ciemiņa ekstravaganci.

Balstoties uz Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvā uzietu rokrakstu, kurā uzskaitītas Rīgas pilsoņu pasniegtās dāvanas Stefanam Batorijam, šajā rakstā izvērstā Latvijas historiogrāfijā maz zināmā dāvanu pasniegšanas tēma. Apskatītais dāvanu saraksts ir unikāls sava pilnīgā rakstura dēļ, jo ļauj spriest par Rīgas rātes reprezentāciju senjora ienākšanā pilsētā (lat. *adventus*) un lielo simbolisko un monetāro vēr(t)ību, kas piešķirta dāvanām un karaļa svītas vēdera priekiem. Cita starpā, šis avots ilustrē tēmas izpētē aktuālajā krājumā<sup>57</sup> dažādos veidos izskanējušo caurviju tēzi par dāvanu ārkārtīgo nozīmi senāku laikmetu sabiedrību uzvedības un attiecību formēšanas vēsturē.

Dāvanu pasniegšana parasti pavada ritualizētas darbības ar mērķi nostiprināt vai dibināt noteiktas attiecību formas. Uz astoņām lapām viduslejasvācu valodā tapušais dāvanu saraksts liecina par to, ka pilsoņi Stefanu Batoriju vispirms sveica kā triumfatoru, kurš uzveicis kopīgu ienaidnieku. Pasniegtais apzeltītais kauss ar 1000 Ungāru guldeņiem kalpoja kā apsoliņuma zīme par labajiem laikiem vai karaļa dāsnumu, kas tecēs no viņa žēlastības kā pārpilnības raga. Suverēnās varas nodošanu karalim rāte demonstrēja ar simbolisko pilsētas atslēgu pasniegšanu. Atslēgas, kas izsenis atrodamas Rīgas pilsētas ģerbonī, simbolizēja pilsētas patstāvību. Karalis, respektējot pilsētas pazemību, atslēgas ar devīgu žestu atgriezta tās īpašniekiem. Tādā veidā karalis it kā apstiprināja abpusējo uzticības līgumu, proti, pilsoņi arī turpmāk ar tādu pašu centību vadīs savas pilsētas iekšējo dzīvi, kas vienlaikus vislabāk kalpoja arī viņa majestātes interesēm.

57 Kjør, Lars; Strenga, Gustavs (eds.) (2022). *Gift Giving and Materiality in Europe, 1300–1600. Gifts as Objects*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Saturiski vislielāko dāvanu saraksta daļu veido pārtikas preču uzskaitījums, kas likts karaļa un viņa pavadoņu galdā. Karaļa galdam piegādāto ēdienu un dzērienu klāsts ir visplašākais. Šeit ir jau citviet rakstītajos avotos minētie 20 vērši, aitas, zivis, siens un auzas (zirgiem), bet ir arī plaša dzērienu, pirmām kārtām vīnu, izvēle, sākot ar pašu vērtīgāko malvāzijas vīnu un izplatīto Reinas vīnu, bastardu, alikantieti un sektu un beidzot ar medalu un alu, kas visdrīzāk pasniegts kalpu galam. Līdz mūsdienām saglabājušies divi (Dancigas sūtņa D. Hermana un karaļa sekretāra J. Pietrovskā) dāvanu apraksti izlaiž pārējos provīziju saņēmējus. Kopumā tādi bijuši 27 vīri, kas uzskaitīti stingri hierarhiskā kārtībā atbilstoši viņu ieņemamajam stāvoklim. Provīziju saņēmēji iedalāmi trīs grupās: valstsvīros (senatoros), sekretāros un karaļa saimniecībai piederīgajos. Izņemot kanclerus, kas saņēma zivis, un Ungārijas kancleru, kuram pasniegts vēršis, provīziju sarakstā dominēja dzērieni – vīni un atsevišķos gadījumos alus. Bez karaļa materiālās dāvanas – 2 zelta portugāļi pasniegti vēl tikai karaļa virtuves meistaram – diplomātam Domenico Alemani. Saraksta beigās ir neliels garšvielu saraksts, kurā lasāmi tādi nosaukumi kā safrāns, pipars, ingvers, muskata ziedi, kanēlis un cukurs. Tās visas bija ļoti dārgas koloniālas preces, kas paredzētas tikai dižciltīgo galdiem un vēderiem. Dancigas sūtņi Dāvids Hermans pasniegtās dāvanas novērtēja ar 17 000 marku, taču par šī vērtējuma objektivitāti jāšaubās. Apzeltītais kauss ar 1000 guldeniem, ņemot vērā Ungārijas guldeņa tā brīža tirgus vērtību, vien pārsniedza 8300 markas jeb vairāk nekā pusi no visiem izdevumiem.

Noslēdzot konspektīvo pārskatu par dāvanu sarakstu, jāatzīmē, ka, neskatoties uz avota detalizētības pakāpi, tas ataino tikai oficiālos dāvināšanas mērogius, kas tika apmaksāti no rātes kases. Karaļa uzņemšanā ar savu maciņu un ikdienas rūpēm piedalījās praktiski visi pilsoņi, kuriem nācās sapost pilsētu un savās mājās gandrīz divus mēnešus (līdz 1582. gada 2. maijam) izmitināt un aprūpēt daudzus simtos skaitāmo karaļa svītu.

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