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King Casimir Jagiellon's First Assembly in Koło in 1450 and Its Participants

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I

The development of Polish parliamentary institutions in the fifteenth century and the political life of the time are an important subject of research in the constitutional history of the Kingdom of Poland. It has occupied legal historians and medieval historians for a considerable amount of time. This research provides a sound basis for understanding the issue. The basic elements of the process of the development of parliamentary institutions and its key dates are well established.¹ An important recent trend in this research are the analyses, above all, by Wojciech Fałkowski, of the general assemblies/general *sejms* (parliaments) from the years 1440–1447 and the initial years of the reign of King Casimir Jagiellon. Their participants, agenda, *sejm* (polish general assembly/parliament) ceremonial, and political culture have also been

¹ The work of legal historians in this field is discussed in: S. Gawlas, *Początki sejmu polskiego: problemy i dyskusje*, in: *Systemy reprezentacji i parlamentaryzm w Europie Środkowej w rozwoju historycznym*, red. A. Barciak, Katowice–Zabrze 2016, pp. 127–140; S. Szybkowski, *Zgromadzenia stanowe i parlamentaryzm w Królestwie Polskim epoki jagiellońskiej (do 1506 r.)*. *Ostatnie trzydziestolecie badań*, in: *Człowiek twórcą historii*, t. 2, red. K. Mikulski, Z. Noga, Białystok 2024, pp. 183–207.

analyzed.² Somewhat less frequently, historians discuss similar issues to do with general assemblies from the reign of Władislaus Jagiello.³ There is, however, a lack of similar accounts of provincial assemblies, also known as provincial *sejms* (of Wide Greater Poland in Koło and of Lesser Poland–Ruthenia in Nowe Miasto Korczyn) and regional assemblies (*sejmiki ziemskie*). In the case of the first of the abovementioned estate assemblies, experts in law and political systems have long emphasized their significant role in the parliamentary and political life of late medieval Poland, especially during the reign of King Casimir Jagiellon.⁴

Thus, it seems reasonable to pursue research into this “lower” level of Polish estate assemblies. In this article, I deal with the issue of the first provincial assembly/parliament of Wide Greater Poland (that is, the voivodeships of Poznań, Kalisz, Łęczyca, Sieradz, Kujawy, and land of Dobrzyń) in Koło, which was attended by King Casimir Jagiellon.⁵ First, I discuss the issue of the date

² W. Fałkowski, *Rok trzech sejmów*, in: „*Aetas media, aetas moderna*”. *Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, red. H. Manikowska, A. Bartoszewicz, W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2000, pp. 425–438; *idem*, *Pierwszy sejm Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, in: *Świat pogranicza*, red. M. Nagielski, A. Rachuba, S. Górzyński, Warszawa 2003, pp. 80–88; *idem*, *Sejmy bez króla (1440–1446)*, in: „*Historia vero testis temporum*”. *Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, red. J. Smołucha, A. Waśko, T. Graff, P.F. Nowakowski, Kraków 2008, pp. 235–255 (all these texts are reprinted without changes and with the same title in: *idem*, *Pierwsze stulecie Jagiellonów*, red. P. Derecki, Kraków 2017, pp. 207–241, 281–295); *idem*, *Proces powstawania polskiego sejmku. Rzecz o kulturze politycznej pierwszych Jagiellonów*, in: *Sejm Królestwa Polskiego i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów a europejskie reprezentacje stanowe*, red. D. Kupisz, W. Uruszcza, Warszawa 2019, pp. 28–38.

³ J. Sperka, *Zjazd sieradzki z 1432 roku a sprawa następstwa tronu polskiego po Władysławie Jagiellu*, “Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne” 2002, t. 2, pp. 185–196; S. Szybkowski, *Zjazd w Łęczycy w 1430 roku. Z badań nad wydarzeniami politycznymi w Polsce podczas „burzy koronacyjnej” 1429–1430*, “Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne” 2010, t. 2 (6), pp. 142–156.

⁴ J. Bardach, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, t. 1: *Do połowy XV wieku*, 2nd ed., Warszawa 1964, pp. 442, 443, 446; *idem*, *Początki sejmku*, in: *Historia sejmku*, t. 1: *Do schyłku szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, red. J. Michalski, Warszawa 1984, pp. 29, 35, 36; *idem*, *Sejm dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Dzieje Sejmu Polskiego*, 2nd ed., Warszawa 1997, pp. 12, 21, 22; Z. Kaczmarczyk, B. Leśnodorski, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, t. 2: *Od połowy XV wieku do r. 1795*, 2nd ed., Warszawa 1966, p. 119, 120.

⁵ To date, the fullest discussion of the issues connected with royal assemblies under Casimir Jagiellon is: G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole*, in: *Królewskie*

when this assembly took place and of the number of assemblies in Koło in 1450 in which the King took part. Second, I try to determine who the participants were; I also speculate about the issues that could have been discussed there.

II

Historians have already written about the assembly in Koło in 1450 in which King Casimir Jagiellon took part. The first to mention it is Adolf Pawiński in the sources supplement to his study of provincial assemblies. Pawiński provides only a one-sentence excerpt from the heading of a note documenting a session of the royal assizes from the Konin land register ("Konińskie 4. f. 94"), held during the Koło assembly, confirming the fact that it was held, along with the date of 10 June 1450.⁶ Antoni Gąsiorowski also noted the King's stay in Koło in 1450, but dated it to 11 June, citing, like Pawiński earlier, the Konin land register.⁷ Grażyna Rutkowska devotes more attention to the assembly with which I am concerned in her study of the stays of the Jagiellonians in Koło. Here she gives the date of the visit as 11 June. She also lists some of its participants, which are mentioned in the entry from the Konin land registers, to which she refers ("Konin Z. 5, k. 2–2v, previously k. 94–94v").⁸ Rutkowska addresses a germane issue in a somewhat different way in her excellent itinerary of Casimir Jagiellon. Here there is information about two stays of the King in 1450 in Koło. These are, first, on the occasion of a "*convecionum*" on 10 April. (She refers here to the above-mentioned source supplement to Pawiński's study and to the Konin land register "Konin Z 4, k. 94," which is held in the State Archives in Poznań; this reference is only an up-dating of the record of the source used by Pawiński, that is, "Konińskie 4. f. 94"). The second date given is

miasto Koło. Studia w 650. rocznicę lokacji miasta, red. I. Skierska, Koło 2012, pp. 79–84, 95–99, 101.

⁶ A. Pawiński, *Sejmiki ziemskie, początek ich i rozwój aż do ustalenia się udziału posłów ziemskich w ustawodawstwie sejmu walnego*, Warszawa 1895, Dodałek, pp. XLVIII, no. 151.

⁷ A. Gąsiorowski, *Wielkopolska w ostatnich księgach Roczników Jana Długosza: do rozbioru krytycznego Annalium z lat 1385–1480*, SŻ 1970, t. 15, p. 190.

⁸ G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole...*, pp. 95, 96.

11 June (with a reference to the supplement from Pawiński's book, the above-mentioned work by Gąsiorowski, and the land register "Konin Z 5, k. 2–2v, formerly k. 94–94v"). Moreover, she points out Pawiński's mistake in the dating of the part of the record (10 June instead of 11 June).⁹ The issue of the date of the Koło assembly that is my concern here should, therefore, be subjected to a thorough analysis in order to decide when it actually took place and whether there were two assemblies or just one assembly in Koło in 1450, in which the King took part. This requires a closer look at the primary source that offers information about the assembly or assemblies, that is, the relevant entries from the fifth Konin land book.

The entries documenting the sessions of the royal assizes in Koło, held during the assembly, are currently on k. 2–8 (former pagination, 94–98) of the fifth Konin land register.¹⁰ Information about the King's presence and the holding of the assembly is initially on the undated k. 2 (formerly k. 94), where an entry has been made regarding the verdict in the case between the Kalisz standard-bearer Mikołaj of Pleszew and Iwan of Gołuchów (and Golina). The latter was obligated to bring witnesses to clear him of the standard-bearer's accusations (the text of their testimony is also given). Here there is also information about the King's presence and the duration of the assembly ("Dominus rex cum prelati et baronibus et aliis consiliariis se in iudicio pro tribunali in Colo in convencione indicta presidente decreverunt").¹¹ It is worth emphasizing that the beginning of the entry is identical to the text published in Pawiński's study on the *sejmiki* (local assemblies), dating it to 10 June 1450.¹² However, this entry was deleted and repeated in a slightly changed form on k. 5.¹³ Only

⁹ G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka 1440–1492*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 96, 98.

¹⁰ AP w Poznaniu [hereafter: APP], Konin Z. 5, k. 2–8.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, k. 2.

¹² A. Pawiński, *Sejmiki...*, pp. XLVIII, no. 151.

¹³ APP, Konin Z. 5, k. 5: in both cases, the editing of the testimony differs somewhat. In the first and deleted version, the witnesses were said to declare that it was not true that Iwan concealed thieves in his home, of which Pleszewski publicly accused him before the King. In the second version entered in the volume, there is only mention of testimony that Iwan did not do that of which he was accused before the King, but the text has been shortened by reference to the lawsuit ("quia de domo eius, ita prout laciis canit, ante dominum regem ipsum inculpavit, hoc ipse non fecit").

on k. 2v is there the actual heading of the royal assizes with the title "Adventus regis in Colo," and with the date ("Acta judiciorum regaliū terrestrium in Colo feria quinta et dies sequentibus in octava sanctissimi Corporis Christi anno Domini millesimo CCCCo quinquagesimo"). Information is included about the King's personal participation in the session ("in adventu et presencia serenissimi principis, domini et domini Kazimiri Dei gracia regis Polonie, magni ducis Lythwianie etc., domini nostri graciousissimi, ubi sua magestas...").¹⁴ Information about the King's presence and the duration of the assembly is also repeated in subsequent parts of the entries documenting the session of the royal assizes in Koło.¹⁵ Thus, this source provides no information at all about the King's presence in Koło or the assembly's being held there on 10 April 1450. The only date we find here is the date of the royal assizes, the session of which lasted from 11 June for several days during the assembly. Therefore, the presence in historical accounts of a Koło assembly which took place on 10 April must be a result of an error, the reasons for which must remain unknown.¹⁶

To sum up, in 1450, one Koło assembly took place in the presence of King Casimir Jagiellon. It lasted for several days at least from 11 June 1450. It probably lasted until 15 June, when the monarch was evidently in Koło. It ended, however, before 17 June, because by then Casimir was already in Łęczycza.¹⁷ The King's

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, k. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, k. 4 (page heading: "Adventus regis"), k. 6 ("circa decretum domini regis et dominorum secum in hoc convencionē residentibus"), k. 7 (the King is the plaintiff in the case), k. 8 (the suspension of the court sitting by the King and other court assessors: "dominus rex cum dominis omnibus prelatīs et consiliariis ac iudicibus, nec non certis dignitariis iudicio secum presidentibus").

¹⁶ It cannot be ruled out that it is primarily a result the transposition, in the database of information on royal stations, prepared to establish Casimir's itinerary, of the figure "I" in the Latin numeral for the month of June from the date of the Koło assembly taken from Pawiński's publication (erroneously "10 IV," instead of correctly "10 VI"). Then the erroneous date of the Koło assembly of 1450 began to live its own "database" life, co-existing with the correct date and making it into the final publication. The mistake was also fostered by the thoughtless borrowing of the signature and pagination of the source from Pawiński's study, without verifying the text. In the current fourth Konin land book on k. 94 (old pagination k. 85), kept in the State Archives in Poznań, there is no information about any Koło assembly or the King's stay there; indeed, I was unable to find a page with the now outdated pagination 94 in this source.

¹⁷ G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, p. 98. Probably the King left Koło only on the morning of 16 June. On that day the general starost of Greater Poland, Stanisław

stay in Koło and the assembly had been planned from at least the second half of April 1450. This is confirmed by an entry from the session of the royal assizes in Brześć Kujawski, which contains information that a case was transferred for resolution by the King and his dignitaries to Nieszawa, and if it was not resolved there, then it would be submitted to the royal assizes for deliberation at the Koło assembly.¹⁸

III

The resolution of the above question makes it possible to move on to the issue of the participants in the Koło assembly of June 1450. In previous discussions of Casimir Jagiellon's entourage during the assembly in Koło, only Rutkowska refers to this issue. She uses the previously mentioned heading concerning the royal assizes of 11 June, which contains a list of its assessors, who should also be seen as participants of the assembly. According to Rutkowska, they were: Władysław Oporowski, Archbishop of Gniezno; Andrzej of Bnin, Bishop of Poznań; Łukasz of Górka, Voivode of Poznań; Bogusław Oporowski of Służewo, Voivode of Inowrocław; Jan Kretkowski, Voivode of Brześć; Mikołaj of Brzezie, Marshal of the Kingdom; Piotr Świdwa of Szamotuły, Castellan of Kalisz; Stanisław of Ostroróg, Castellan of Gniezno and Starost General of Greater Poland; Wawrzyniec Zaremba of Kalinowa, Castellan of Sieradz; Maciej of Bielawy, Castellan of Łęczyca; Trojan of Łekno, Judge of Kalisz; Tomasz of Wilczyna, Deputy Judge of Kalisz; Piotr Skóra of Gaj, Judge of Poznań; Wawrzyniec of Smólsk,

z Ostroroga, who had earlier been present at the assembly, accepted, on behalf of the king, the sale of knightly estates, an act duly noted in his register (APP, Poznań Gr. 4, pp. 150, 151); Later the *starost's* presence is recorded in the King's entourage in Łęczyca (*Matricularum Regni Poloniae codices saeculo XV conscripti* [hereafter: MRPC], ed. A. Mysłowski, W. Graniczny, Varsaviae 1914, no. 126). Thus, it appears that he arrived there in the royal retinue. Koło and Łęczyca are forty kilometres apart in a straight line. So it is possible to cover the distance separating these two spots in one day, or even in half a day.

¹⁸ AGAD, Księgi ziemskie brzeskie, ks. 6b, k. 15v; A. Pawiński, *Sejmiki...*, p. XXXV, no. 112; the King stayed in Nieszawa from 28 April to 3 May 1450 (Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, p. 96). Information about the planned stations and the royal assizes in Koło also comes from one of the notes of the royal assizes in Pyzdry, which was in session on 7 June 1450 (APP, Pyzdry Z. 11, k. 38, 38v).

Judge of Brześć; Rośław of Bogusławice, Deputy Judge of Brześć; Mikołaj of Pęchów, Deputy Judge of Sandomierz; Janusz of Tuliszków (the younger), Land Clerk ("notarius generalis terrestris") of Kalisz; Mikołaj of Brudzewo, Chamberlain of Kalisz; and Mikołaj of Pleszew, Standard-Bearer of Kalisz.¹⁹

The list of persons duly recorded in Koło at the session of the royal assizes, and, therefore, present there during the assembly, can be extended. First of all, territorial officials and persons holding court offices should be noted. Court records indicate that the Kalisz voivode Marcin of Sławsk personally participated in the session of the royal assizes as a party to a legal dispute ("veniens personaliter").²⁰ Jan Redeki, the Land Clerk ("notarius generalis terrestris") of Brześć, was also engaged as an arbitrator to reconcile conflicting parties.²¹ Piotr Zajączek of Wrząca, the chamberlain of Sieradz, was appointed by the Marshal of the Kingdom Mikołaj of Brzezie as the King's proxy in the dispute between the monarch and the Kalisz chamberlain Mikołaj of Brudzewo.²² Also noted as arbiters reconciling the feuding parties in the records documenting the session, were the Head of the Royal Kitchens ("magister coquine"), Mikołaj Róża of Boryszowice, and his brother Zawisza Róża, chamberlain to the queen-dowager Zofia Holszańska.²³ The castellan of Łąd, Przedpełk of Kopydlów, and his nephew Jakub of Tarnów (from Brześć Kuyavia), were also present at the session of the royal assizes, because they paid a "court fee" ("adiudicatum") for including an entry documenting the favorable outcome of a court case.²⁴

A hitherto unused source that is helpful in identifying those participating in the Koło assembly of 1450 are the notes from the resignation book of the starost general of Greater Poland, Stanisław of Ostroń, one of the assessors of the royal assizes. They make it possible to supplement the list of voivodes of Wide Greater Poland present at that time in Koło with the voivode of Łęczyca, Wojciech Malski (former King's Governor (Viceroy) under King Wladislaus III in Wide Greater Poland from 1440–1447). Together

¹⁹ G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole...*, p. 95, 96, note 57.

²⁰ APP, Konin Z. 5, k. 3.

²¹ *Ibidem*, k. 5v.

²² *Ibidem*, k. 7.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, k. 4v.

with the starost general, he imposed a court bond in the dispute between Pakosz of Kuchary and Jan Roszust of Janiszew, which is documented in an entry of 14 June.²⁵ The note of 16 June, in turn, informs us that the then Brześć Master of the Hunt, Jan Kotka of Mały Świerczyn (later the Castellan of Kowal) was present in Koło at that time.²⁶ Shortly after the entry was made, starost Stanisław set off for Łęczycza, where he served as a witness on a royal document issued on 18 June.²⁷

It is worth wondering why one of the leading officials of Wide Greater Poland, which Wojciech Malski undoubtedly was, was missing from the list of assessors of the royal assizes in Koło, although all the other highest officials of the local region's hierarchy were there. We can only assume that Casimir Jagiellon did not invite him to join the group of assessors. It is known that relations between them since the coronation in 1447 were not the best.²⁸ It is possible that Malski arrived in Koło after the session of the royal assizes had already begun, which is why he was not included in the list of assessors. It is known that he accompanied the King from Koło to Łęczycza and there on 19 June 1450 he sat in the royal assizes.²⁹

In addition to regional and royal officials, the entries documenting the proceedings of the royal assizes in Koło in 1450 and the entries from the resignation book of the starost Stanisław of Ostroróg also provide information about the nobility/gentry present who did not hold offices. These were persons who were personally involved in cases brought before the royal and starost courts, or who were proxies for parties or were arbitrators themselves. The majority of them were Greater Poland residents from the

²⁵ APP, Poznań Gr. 4, p. 149.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 150–151, on Kotka see: S. Szybkowski, *Kujawska szlachta urzędnicza w późnym średniowieczu (1370–1501)*, Gdańsk 2006, pp. 563, 564; *idem*, *Świerczyński Jan Kotka*, in: PSB, t. 51, z. 3, Warszawa–Kraków 2017, pp. 335–337.

²⁷ MRPC, no. 126.

²⁸ K.G. Latocha, *Wojciech Malski (ok. 1380–1454) – wojewoda łęczycki i sieradzki oraz namiestnik królewski na Wielkopolskę*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 148, 149; S. Szybkowski, *Konflikt czy tylko nowe porządki? Kazimierz Jagiellończyk i Wielkopole w latem 1447 roku*, in: *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Konflikty Jagiellonów*, red. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, P. Węcowski, Kraków 2023, pp. 90, 91; T. Jurek, *Wstęp*, in: *Księga sądowa Wojciecha Malskiego, namiestnika królewskiego w Wielkopolsce z lat 1440–1447*, wyd. *idem*, Poznań 2022, pp. XI, XII.

²⁹ AGAD, Księgi ziemskie łęczyckie, ks. 12, k. 245.

eastern part of the region, and especially residents of the Konin district, where Koło was located.³⁰

Another source that directly concerns the participants of the Koło assembly are the entries from the Poznań chapter book. The first of them, from 6 June 1450, documents the appointment of delegates of the Poznań chapter to a assembly with the King in Koło ("convencio," "parlamentum"), the date of which was set for the feast of St John the Baptist, that is, 24 June 1450 ("pro festo Iohannis Baptiste proximo") and the granting to them of a per diem allowance of two *grzywnas* per head and possibly an additional *grzywna*, but payable only after 11 November.³¹ These delegates were to be: Dean Jan of Sprowa, cantor Piotr of Pniewy, custodian Mikołaj of Sobota, and vicar general and episcopal official ("officialis") Mikołaj Hesken of Kościan.³² The date for the start of the assembly in the above entry, as Rutkowska³³ points out, is incorrect, because the assembly actually lasted during the King's stay in Koło, that is, from 11 to 15 June. However, it cannot be ruled out that on 6 June Casimir Jagiellon planned to hold the assembly later. Perhaps he intended to stay in Poznań longer. However, these intentions changed, probably because of the fire in the city, which occurred during the King's stay with his retinue.³⁴ However, the chapter delegates certainly went to the Koło assembly, although it took place

³⁰ Jan Wilczek of Siaszyce, Stanisław Czartek of Czartki (from two settlements with this name in eastern Greater Poland or from the Sieradz region), Maciej Reffa of Chrząblice, Piotr of Rusocice, Mikołaj of Leszcze, Stanisław Konopka of Nowa Wieś, Iwan of Gołuchów i Golina, Strzałek of Strzałków, Jan Kot of Dębno, Jan Żeroński (of Żeronice), Mikołaj of Kwiatków, Jasiek Roszust of Janiszew, Janusz of Budziszew, Mikołaj of Janówmłyn (now Janowiec), knight Ozjasz of Grabienice, brothers of Lubstów Mały, Zawisza of Zbiersk, Maciej of Świnice (probably from the Sieradze region), Mikołaj of Miłaczew, Jan of Kleczew, Pakosz of Kuchary, the brothers Andrzej and Stanisław of Bieganów, Piotr Szelejewski, Mikołaj Gądkowski, Jan Jelitowski, Piotr Myszkowski, Wincenty and Jan Abdank (the last six persons mentioned arrived in the entourage of the general starost of Greater Poland), APP, Konin Z. 5, k. 3–8; APP, Poznań Gr. 4, pp. 149–151).

³¹ *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta* [hereafter: AC], vol. 1, ed. B. Ulanowski, Kraków 1894, no. 384.

³² See: P. Dembiński, *Poznańska kapituła katedralna schyłku wieków średnich. Studium prozopograficzne*, Poznań 2012, pp. 475–477, 544–546, 588–591, 626–629.

³³ G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole...*, p. 95.

³⁴ Długosz, lib. 12: 1445–1461, pp. 91, 92. On the fire in Poznań, see: T. Jurek, *Płonące miasto. Pożary w średniowiecznym i renesansowym Poznaniu*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania" 2020, z. 3, p. 18. The author concludes that the destruction was not too extensive.

earlier, as is convincingly shown by another note from the Poznań chapter records from 14 November 1450, in which it is stated that to the “dominis, qui erant in convencionem in Colo” the promised additional *grzywna* had been paid.³⁵ Therefore, the list of participants in the Koło assembly of 1450 should be supplemented with the above-mentioned prelates of the Poznań chapter.

That is the end of the possibilities, based on sources directly related to the event, of establishing the people who took part in the Koło assembly of 1450.³⁶ However, other accounts documenting King Casimir Jagiellon's progress through Wide Greater Poland in the spring of that year. Here, it can be assumed that the participants of the Koło assembly were persons from the elites of the then Kingdom of Poland who were clearly present in the royal entourage just before and just after the Koło assembly. Therefore, sources documenting the King's visits to Poznań (31 May–5 June), to Pyzdry (7 June), and to Łęczyca (17–20 June) are relevant here.³⁷ This method has already been used successfully in earlier research into the personal composition of important political assemblies of the earlier Jagiellonian period.³⁸

If the above assumption is accepted, then the most important person who should be added to the group of participants of the first assembly of King Casimir Jagiellon is his mother, the queen-dowager Zofia Holszańska. Her presence in Poznań is confirmed by a note from the Poznań chapter records from 4 June, stating that Casimir was present with his mother in the Poznań cathedral that day. It is also confirmed by a document of her son's from the same date, one in which the King notes that he had issued it at

³⁵ AC, vol. 1, no. 391.

³⁶ There is no possibility of supplementing via prosopography the list of participants in the Koło assembly of 1450 in the source that confirms Casimir Jagiellon's presence in Koło on 15 June 1450 (AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, no. 4349. I am very grateful to Professor dr hab. Janusz Grabowski from AGAD for making it possible for me to use the text from this source); this royal document is incomplete and without a list of witnesses.

³⁷ AGAD, Księgi ziemskie łęczyckie, ks. 12, k. 244–246v (the royal assizes lasted until Saturday, 20 June 1450, when unresolved cases were transferred to the King's next visit to Łęczyca); G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, pp. 97, 98.

³⁸ See, for example: F. Sikora, *W sprawie małżeństwa Władysława Jagiełły z Anną Cylejską*, in: *idem, Małopolskie późne średniowiecze. Ludzie i instytucje. Wybór pism*, red. W. Bukowski, A. Gąsiorowski, G. Rutkowska, Warszawa–Kraków 2017, pp. 138–140.

his mother's request.³⁹ Somewhat weaker evidence for the queen-dowager's participation in the royal progress between Poznań and Łęczyca is provided by her mentions in her son's documents from 3 June (Poznań) and 17 June (Łęczyca).⁴⁰ It seems, however, that the queen-dowager was indeed at her son's side during the assembly in Koło; there is indirect evidence of this in the form of a conclusive confirmation of the presence (already noted above) of her court official, the Queen's chamberlain Zawisza Róża, at the session of the royal assizes held there.⁴¹ Further, according to Zofia's biographer, Bożena Czwojdrak, the queen-dowager accompanied her son during his entire journey around Wide Greater Poland in 1450.⁴²

Three high-ranking officials from central government were also most likely present in Koło: Chancellor Jan Taszka of Koniecpol⁴³, Vice-Chancellor Piotr Woda of Szczekociny⁴⁴ and Crown Treasurer Jan Hińcza of Rogów (who was also Castellan of Rozprza).⁴⁵ Finally,

³⁹ AC, vol. 1, no. 382 ("ipso festo Corporis Christi in ecclesia Poznan hora terciarum tunc domino rege et genitrice sua Zophia existentibus in ecclesia"); MRPC, no. 136.

⁴⁰ KDP, t. 2/2, no. 593 (=MRPC, no. 123); MRPC, no. 126.

⁴¹ APP, Konin Z. 5, k. 7; see also: B. Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa 2012, p. 192 (Zawisza was chamberlain to Queen Zofia between 1443 and 1450).

⁴² B. Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska...*, p. 213.

⁴³ His *datum per manus* and *relatio* appears on royal documents issued to Poznań and Łęczyca in June 1450; he was also assessor of the royal assizes in Łęczyca on 19 June (AGAD, Księgi ziemskie łęczyckie, ks. 12, k. 145; MRPC, nos. 123, 126, 129, 136, 164; *Regesty dokumentów łacińskich króla Kazimierza Jagiełłowicza (1447–1453)*, red. B. Czwojdrak, K. Nabiałek, P. Szewdo-Kielczewska, P. Węcowski, Warszawa 2024, nos. 228, 229, 234, 235–238, 242–244; W. Zawitkowska is convinced that Jan Taszka accompanied the King during the entire progress through Wide Greater Poland in 1450; see: *W służbie pierwszych Jagiellonów. Życie i działalność kanclerza Jana Taszki Koniecpolskiego*, Kraków 2005, p. 230, 421. It must also be stressed that the Chancellor was assessor to the royal assizes in Kalisz (4, 6, and 7 April 1450) and in Brześć Kujawski (15 April 1450); see: AGAD, Księgi ziemskie brzeskie, ks. 6b, k. 11v; APP, Kalisz Z. 10, k. 352–354).

⁴⁴ He was assessor to the royal assizes in Pyzdry on 7 June; on royal documents issued in Koło and Łęczyca his *datum per manus* and *relatio* appears (APP, Pyzdry Z. 11, k. 36v; MRPC, no. 126, 127; *Regesty*, no. 241–243, 246, 247). He was also assessor to the royal assizes in Brześć Kujawski of 15 April 1450 (AGAD, Księgi ziemskie brzeskie, ks. 6b, k. 11v).

⁴⁵ He was present in person at the session of the royal assizes in Pyzdry on 7 June ("constitutus personaliter") as a party to the disputes and as a witness to royal documents issued in Łęczyca (APP, Pyzdry Z. 11, k. 37, 37v; MRPC, nos. 126, 127; *Regesty*, nos. 242, 243, 245 [his *relatio*]). B. Czwojdrak is convinced that Jan Hińcza accompanied the King on the entire progress through Wide

the Castellan of Spycimierz, Jan of Grądy, should also be considered a participant in the Koło assembly of 1450, as he was present in the royal entourage during the entire progress through Wide Greater Poland and was also a witness on documents issued in Łęczyca.⁴⁶ The presence in Koło of the Sandomierz standard-bearer Mikołaj of Mokrsko is very likely during the assembly; he accompanied the King from the beginning of his journey to Greater Poland (Mstów, 15 March; Konin, 10 April, at least until Łęczyca 17 June).⁴⁷ The presence, too, of the steward of Sandomierz, Dobiesław of Szczekociny, is likely. He was with the King in Poznań on 1 June, and then again on 27 June in Lublin, which clearly indicates that he most probably also accompanied the King to other places on his itinerary between these cities. Thus, he was most probably in Koło too.⁴⁸

The presence with the King in Łęczyca of local officials belonging to a local hierarchy other than that of Łęczyca itself is of somewhat weaker evidential value in our search for participants in the Koło assembly. Such people could have arrived there with the royal retinue from Koło. The records mention two such persons: Inowrocław standard-bearer Jan Kościelecki of Kościelec and the Inowrocław pantler (Lat. "dapifer"; Pol. *stolnik*) Maciej of Konary.⁴⁹ Probably they also participated in the Koło assembly.

It is also very probable that because of their duties the following were in Casimir Jagiellon's entourage at the Koło assembly: the marshal of the royal court Jan Bejzat of Mokrsko (who was at the same time the Kraków standard-bearer) and the court deputy-pantler (Lat. "subdapifer"; Pol. *podstoli*) Krzesław Wojszyk of Wójcza and Żmigród. They are recorded as witnesses on royal documents from

Greater Poland in 1450; see: *Rogowscy herbu Działosza, podskarbiowie królewscy. Studium z dziejów możnowładztwa w drugiej połowie XIV i w XV wieku*, Katowice 2002, pp. 75, 218.

⁴⁶ He accompanied the King from Kraków itself, where he was present in his entourage on 20 and 26 February 1450 (AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, nos. 3525, MRPC, no. 101, 112–114, 120, 126, 127; ZDM, cz. 3, no. 845; *Regesty*, nos. 183, 186, 208, 213, 214, 216, 223, 228, 242, 243; A. Szymczakowa, "Nobiles Siradienses". *Rody Porajów, Pomianów, Gryfów, Kopaczów i Pobogów*, Warszawa 2011, p. 373).

⁴⁷ MRPC, nos. 111, 112, 113, 126; *Regesty*, nos. 202, 213, 214, 242.

⁴⁸ APP, Poznań Gr. 678, k. 56–58 (=Szamotuły. *Karty z dziejów miasta*. 1, red. A. Gąsiorowski, Szamotuły 2006, pp. 62–64); *Regesty*, nos. 229, 249; R. Trawka, *Szczekocki Dobiesław*, in: PSB, t. 47, Warszawa–Kraków 2010–2011, p. 236.

⁴⁹ AGAD, Księgi ziemskie łęczyckie, t. 12, k. 245; MRPC, no. 126; *Regesty*, no. 242.

other stages of the royal progress through Wide Greater Poland. The first of them was evidently in the royal entourage in Poznań on 31 May 1450, that is, just before the King's visit to Koło.⁵⁰

Entries documenting the proceedings of the royal assizes during the Koło assembly also indicate the absence from Koło of one of the outstanding magnates and members of the royal council, who would have been expected at the assembly with the King, since the sources record the presence of almost all the voivodes from Wide Greater Poland (voivodes of Poznań, Kalisz, Łęczyca, Brześć, and Inowrocław) at the assembly. I mean here the then voivode of Sieradz, Jarand of Grabie and Brudzew (Brudzewski). As regards Jarand, it is known that his representative in court, Stanisław Czartek of Czartki, "cum littera regis, qua in cancellaria reservata est" adjourned three trials on his behalf until the next session of the royal or general assizes in Kalisz.⁵¹ This means that Brudzewski could not participate in the session of the royal assizes in Koło, and probably also could not take part in the assembly. His representative's reference to a royal document could seemingly indicate that Casimir Jagiellon might have entrusted him with some mission "in servicio domini regis," which might have prevented him from appearing at the Koło assembly. In reality, however, it seems that the adjournment of the court case was because of Jarand's ill health. It is known that in September 1450 he was already seriously ill, which is independently reported in four epistolographic sources.⁵² This includes the Sieradz voivode's own letter written

⁵⁰ AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, no. 3535 (Sieradz, 27 March; Krzesław Wojszyk together with Zawisza Róza of Boryszowice are given in a list of witnesses as "familiares" of the King)=*Regesty*, no. 208; Jan Bejzat appears as a witness to royal documents: Mstów 15 March, Konin 15 April, Radziejów 13 April, Poznań 31 May (MRPC, nos. 111, 112, 113; *Regesty*, nos. 202, 213–215, 228; J. Dydyński, *Wiadomość historyczna o mieście Klecku*, Gniezno 1858, pp. 112, 113). Another "familiares" of the King appear as a witness to royal dokument Radziejów 13 April: Tomasz Sancygniewski, Jakub of Kobylany, Piotr Donin of Prawkowice (*Regesty*, no. 215).

⁵¹ APP, Konin Z. 5, k. 3–4.

⁵² GSPK, OBA, no. 10352 (a letter from the voivode of Brześć Jan Kretkowski of 7 September to Grand Master of Teutonic Knights Ludwik von Erlichshausen, in which there is the information that Jarand "infirmirate est oppressus"); 10369 (a letter from the lords of Greater Poland from a session of the general assizes of 17 September in Gniezno, to the same recipient, notes that the Sieradz voivode "gravi infirmitate est oppressus"); 10387 (a letter of the voivode of Brześć to the same recipient of 27 September claims that Jarand "gravi egritudine est oppressus").

on 24 September at his residence in Brudzew in the Konin district. In it, he writes that his illness prevented him from walking and from speaking properly.⁵³ His absence from Koło was, therefore, most likely because of the early stage of the illness of the already elderly Sieradz voivode (he died in 1452–1453).⁵⁴ His health was most likely undermined by his participation in the earlier phase of King Casimir Jagiellon's progress through Wide Greater Poland, when he was evidently present in the monarch's entourage in Kuyavia.⁵⁵ However, Jarand joined the King in Łęczyca shortly after the end of the Koło assembly, because on 18 June 1450 he was listed as a witness to a royal document.⁵⁶ Evidently, rest led to an improvement in his health.

The bishop of Włocławek was also absent from Koło in June 1450. However, this was connected with problems in obtaining papal approval for Jan Gruszczyński, elected by the chapter on 6 January

⁵³ GSPK, OBA, no. 10387 (a copy of a letter by Jarand as an attachment to Kretkowski's letter of 27 September states that "neque incedere possumus et loqui non bene valemus"). All these sources are also found in the form of copies in the dossier relating to the planned (but not realized) Polish-Teutonic Order judicial assembly that was supposed to take place at the end of September 1450 in Nieszawa (GSPK, OBA, no. 10393). On this subject, see too: K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen 1230–1449: Studien zur Diplomatie eines spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaates*, Köln–Wien 1986, p. 494; A. Szweđa, *Methoden der Schlichtung von Grenzstreitigkeiten zwischen Polen–Litauen und dem Deutschen Orden nach Abschluss des Friedens von Brześć in Jahre 1435: am Beispiel des in Toruń und Nieszawa wirkenden Grenzgerichts*, in: *Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung war das Thema des 11. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes*, hrsg. v. U. Knefelkamp, K. Bosselmann-Cyran, Berlin 2007, pp. 61, 62; *idem*, *Organizacja i technika dyplomacji polskiej w stosunkach z zakonem krzyżackim w Prusach w latach 1386–1454*, Toruń 2009, pp. 58, 278; S. Józwiak, A. Szweđa, *Dossier niedoszedłego polsko-krzyżackiego zjazdu sądowego w Nieszawie w 1450 roku*, in: „*Homini, qui in honore fuit*”. *Księga pamiątkowa poświęcona śp. Profesorowi Grzegorzowi Białuńskiemu*, red. A. Dobrosielska, A. Pluskowski, S. Szczepański, Olsztyn 2020, pp. 263–275.

⁵⁴ UŁS, p. 129; on his career, see: S. Szybkowski, *Kujawska szlachta...*, pp. 578–580 (the older literature on the subject is given here).

⁵⁵ AGAD, Księgi ziemskie brzeskie, ks. 6b, k. 13v, 14 (Brześć Kujawski 15 April); MRPC, no. 114 (Nieszawa, 28 April), 115 (Nieszawa, 2 May); *Regesty*, no. 216, 219.

⁵⁶ MRPC, no. 127; *Regesty*, no. 243. It is known that the voivode Jarand accompanied Casimir Jagiellon on the earlier stages of his progress through Wide Greater Poland in the spring of 1450; there is evidence of his presence in the retinue on 15 April (Brześć Kujawski), and between 28 April and 2 May (Nieszawa) (AGAD, Księgi ziemskie brzeskie, t. 6b, k. 13v–14; MRPC, nos. 114, 115).

1449 and who was supported by the King. He had a competitor, Mikołaj Lasocki, who was supported by the papacy. Only after Lasocki's death did the pope approve the chapter's choice, and Jan was preconized (publically approved) only on 12 January 1451.⁵⁷

IV

After establishing a list of certain and probable participants of the Koło assembly of 11–15 June 1450, it is necessary to refer to its subject matter. Here, however, there are even fewer sources than in the case of establishing who took part in it. Jan Długosz knew nothing about the Koło assembly, and does not record the King's stay in Koło in his Annals. Długosz sums up the long royal tour through Wide Greater Poland in a few sentences, giving (not without mistakes) the route of the monarch's journey.⁵⁸ He devotes a little more attention only to the fire of Poznań.⁵⁹ Therefore, there is nothing to be learned about the agenda of the Koło assembly from his account.

Thus, one can only look at the basic problems of the internal and foreign policy of the Kingdom of Poland in mid-1450, in order to put forward at least some hypotheses concerning the issues discussed at the assembly.

King Casimir Jagiellon returned to the lands of the Kingdom of Poland only in November 1449 after a long stay in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where he had gone in August 1448.⁶⁰ As king of Poland and Lithuania, he devoted his this time primarily to suppressing an armed rebellion by Duke Michał Zygmunto- wicz (Mikolas Žygimantaitis) who was in alliance with the Tatars.⁶¹

⁵⁷ J. Fijałek, *Ustalenie chronologii biskupów włocławskich*, Kraków 1894, p. 63; A. Szymczakowa, *Szlachta sieradzka w XV wieku. „Magnifici et generosi”*, Łódź 1998, p. 136.

⁵⁸ Cf. G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, pp. 94–98.

⁵⁹ Długosz, lib. 12: 1445–1462, p. 91, 92.

⁶⁰ G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, pp. 85–90.

⁶¹ Długosz, lib. 12: 1445–1462, p. 76; on this matter, see S.C. Rowell, *Bears and traitors, or: political tensions in the Grand Duchy, ca.1440–81*, “Lithuanian Historical Studies” 1997, vol. 2, p. 36, 37; H. Lowmianski, *Polityka Jagiellonów*, Poznań 1999, p. 223; G. Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, t. 2: *Od Krewa do Lublina*, Poznań 2007, pp. 813–815; J. Kiaupienė, R. Petrauskas, *Lietuvos istorija*, vol. 4: *Nauji horizontai: dinastija, visuomenė, valstybė. Lietuvos Didžioju*

From 6 to 17 December 1449, Casimir stayed in Piotrków, where a general assembly (a general *sejm*) was held, which is recounted in detail by Długosz in his *Annals*.⁶² It welcomed envoys from neighbouring rulers in support of the Masovian Duke Wladislaus I as the heir of his brothers who had died without issue. It also discussed the issue of defending the Ruthenian lands and Podolia against the Tatars and establishing a special court procedure directed against noblemen guilty of robbery and plundering (the so-called “rug”). Appropriate resolutions were even passed on these issues. However, none of them came into effect because of the King’s repeated refusal to “confirm the laws” of the Kingdom, which led to the break-up of the proceedings. According to Długosz’s account, the assembly sessions were dominated by a conflict between representatives of Greater Poland and Lesser Poland; this was an element in a struggle between the oligarchs of Lesser Poland and the King and his political allies. The issue was primacy in the royal council, to which the Bishop of Kraków, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, who had recently been awarded a cardinal’s hat, claimed the right, contrary to the customary rights of the Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate Władysław Oporowski. This led to the Primate, the Bishop of Poznań Andrzej of Bnin, the voivode of Poznań Łukasz of Górka, the voivode of Łęczyca Wojciech Malski, and other lords of Greater Poland quitting the general sessions of the *sejm* and holding separate consultations with the King. Ultimately, the joint session was briefly resumed, as a result of the departure from Piotrków of the two clerical antagonists, Oporowski and Oleśnicki. In the end, however, the deliberations, as mentioned above, did not lead to any conclusions and the participants dispersed in anger.⁶³ The King

Kunigaikštystė 1386–1529 m., Vilnius 2009, p. 396; L. Kolankowski, *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów*, t. 1: 1377–1499, 2nd ed., Oświęcim 2014, pp. 239, 240, 243–245; S. Polechow, *Książę Michał Zygmunto-wicz – walka o spadek po ojcu*, in: *Ojcowie i synowie. O tron, władzę, dziedzictwo. W 700. rocznicę narodzin Karola IV Luksemburskiego, króla czeskiego i cesarza*, red. B. Możejko, A. Paner, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 214–228; J. Nikodem, *Bez prawa, bez miłosierdzia. Kazimierz Jagiellończyk kontra Michał Zygmunto-wicz*, in: *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Konflikty Jagiellonów...*, pp. 107–124.

⁶² Długosz, lib. 12: 1445–1462, pp. 85–87; G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, p. 91.

⁶³ See also: W. Fałkowski, *Elita władzy w Polsce za panowania Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (1447–1492)*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 65–70; J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997, pp. 542, 543.

raised the issue of the “rug” again at the provincial assembly of Lesser Poland and the Ruthenian lands, which was held with his participation in Kraków at the beginning of March 1450. There, however, this matter was also not resolved to Casimir’s satisfaction, as a result of the effective resistance of one of the leaders of the Lesser Poland oligarchy, the Kraków voivode Jan Tęczyński.⁶⁴ It was after the fiasco of this assembly that the King went on a progress around Wide Greater Poland.

It seems, therefore, that the issues raised at the Piotrków and Kraków assemblies must have also been discussed at the Koło assembly (the “rug,” the defence of the south-eastern lands against the Tatars, confirmation of privileges of the Kingdom). However, because the sources are silent here, one does not know to what effect. Perhaps demands concerning the primacy of the Archbishop of Gniezno in the royal council were addressed to Casimir. Perhaps the King tried to calm down the dispute by taking on the role of an arbitrator between the feuding representatives of the Polish political elite. It is also possible that the entire royal journey through Wide Greater Poland was aimed at winning over the magnates and nobility of this area for the royal policy in the face of the conflict with an important section of the magnates of Lesser Poland. It is worth noting that since his post-coronation journey in the summer of 1447, Casimir appeared there then for the first time.⁶⁵ The people of Greater Poland finally had the King all to themselves. This alone could have led to an increase in royal authority, especially since a monarch had not been present in a significant part of the territories of Wide Greater Poland since the reign of Wladislaus Jagiełło.⁶⁶ During the journey, sessions of royal assizes, which were extremely important for the nobility and were courts of the last instance for them, also took place (Sieradz, Brodnia, Kalisz, Brześć Kujawski, Gniezno, Koło, and Łęczyca).⁶⁷ The King also took part in the local assemblies (*sejmiki*) of some of the lands of Wide Greater Poland. He was evidently present at the “convencio generalis” of Brześć Kuyavia, which took place between

⁶⁴ Długosz, lib. 12: 1445–1462, pp. 88–90; J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy...*, p. 343.

⁶⁵ G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, pp. 78–94.

⁶⁶ S. Szybkowski, *Konflikt...*, pp. 78, 79.

⁶⁷ A. Gąsiorowski, *Wielkopolska...*, p. 190; G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium...*, pp. 95–97.

15 and 19 April 1450.⁶⁸ Political consultations were most likely also held at that time, which resulted in the monarch's gaining political support and (possibly) in the passing of some resolutions at the Kolo assembly.

During his tour of Wide Greater Poland in 1450, the King also had to deal with relations with Poland's northern neighbour, the Prussian state of the Teutonic Order. Casimir Jagiellon, despite coming close to the borders of the Teutonic Order's state during his first, post-coronation, tour of Wide Greater Poland in the summer of 1447, and although such a possibility was mooted, did not meet personally with the then Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Erlichshausen. Indeed, the matter of a possible personal conference of the two rulers was handled very awkwardly on the Polish side.⁶⁹ As is noted above, the King spent the next two years primarily dealing with the problems of the Grand Duchy, although this did not mean that contacts with Prussian partners and discussions about a joint assembly of the Polish-Lithuanian monarch and the Grand Master were abandoned.⁷⁰ However, in the meantime, von Erlichshausen died in 1449 (on 7 November), and his nephew Ludwig von Erlichshausen was elected Grand Master of the Teutonic Order on 21 March 1450.⁷¹ In connection with taking office, the newly elected Grand Master was obliged to swear an oath within a year of his election to observe the Peace of Brześć Kujawski concluded in 1435, a direct result of the provisions of this treaty. (The oath was also binding on the Polish monarch.⁷²) Another important issue in bilateral relations was the resumption of mixed border arbitration courts, the activities of which (also part of provisions of the Peace of Brześć Kujawski) had ceased after 1443.⁷³ The resumption of this type of court had already been

⁶⁸ AGAD, Księgi ziemskie brzeskie, t. 6b, k. 11v–17v.

⁶⁹ A. Szweda, *Organizacja...*, pp. 237, 238.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 239.

⁷¹ K.E. Murawski, *Konrad von Erlichshausen (Ellrichshausen)*, in: *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994*, hrsg. v. U. Arnold, Marburg 1998, pp. 130; B. Jähnig, *Ludwig von Erlichshausen (Ellrichshausen)*, in: *Die Hochmeister...*, pp. 131, 132.

⁷² *Dokumenty pokoju brzeskiego między Polską i Litwą a zakonem krzyżackim z 31 grudnia 1435 roku*, wyd. A. Szweda, M. Hlebionek, S. Szybkowski, J. Trupinda, with the collaboration of R. Petrauskas, S. Polechow, Toruń 2021, pp. 148–151.

⁷³ *Dokumenty...*, pp. 138–141; K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge...*, pp. 476–504; A. Szweda, *Methoden...*, pp. 54–65; *idem*, *Organizacja...*, pp. 266–281; S. Jóźwiak, A. Szweda, *Dossier...*, pp. 262–264.

demanding by Teutonic Order envoys at Casimir Jagiellon's coronation in Kraków in June 1447 and by another embassy in August of that year. But despite bilateral consultations, this matter did not move forward for over two years.⁷⁴ It was only during the embassy of Dobrogost of Ostroróg, the castellan of Kamień, and of Jakub of Sienno, Provost of Kraków, which came to Malbork shortly after 21 March 1450, apart from congratulating Grand Master Ludwig on his election and raising the issue of a personal meeting with the Polish king, that agreement was reached to resume the functioning of the arbitration courts and a date and a place were set for the first session (29 September in Nieszawa).⁷⁵ During the royal progress through Greater Poland in 1450, the issue of Master Ludwig's oath to observe the Peace of Brześć Kujawski was also settled. On 10 May 1450 in Poznań, Casimir issued the authorization and accreditation for the Polish envoys who were to receive the oath.⁷⁶ The Grand Master took the oath on 26 May 1450 in Brodnica in the presence of the Polish envoys, Andrzej of Bnin, Bishop of Poznań; Bogusław Oporowski of Służewo, Voivode of Inowrocław; Mikołaj Kościelecki of Skępe, the Castellan of Bydgoszcz; Mikołaj of Ślesin, Standard-bearer of Bydgoszcz; and Marcin of Łużki, the Clerk of the Lithuanian chancellery.⁷⁷ In accordance with the arrangements made by Adam Szweda and Sławomir Józwiak, the date of the arbitration court was confirmed and the judges were appointed, who on the Polish side were to be Jarand of Grabie and Brudzewo, Voivode of Sieradz and Wawrzyniec Zaremba of Kalinowa, Castellan of Sieradz.⁷⁸ Immediately after crossing the borders of Prussia, Bishop Andrzej went to the King and reached him in Poznań, where he was recorded by sources in the royal entourage on 3 and 4 June 1450.⁷⁹ From there, together with King Casimir, he went through Pyzdry to Koło, where another royal envoy, Bogusław Oporowski, the Voivode of Inowrocław, was also present. It was no coincidence that during the Koło assembly, the current state of Polish-Teutonic Order relations was presented to the magnates and nobility who were present, and the issue of resuming cross-border

⁷⁴ A. Szweda, *Organizacja...*, pp. 277, 278.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 278, 353, 354.

⁷⁶ MRPC, nos. 118, 119.

⁷⁷ A. Szweda, *Organizacja...*, p. 354.

⁷⁸ S. Józwiak, A. Szweda, *Dossier...*, pp. 264, 265.

⁷⁹ MRPC, nos. 123, 136.

arbitration, which had not been followed for seven years, was discussed. It was most likely then that the issue of the composition of the Polish representation at the court's session in Nieszawa was discussed, because records from September 1450 reveal that Władysław Oporowski, the Archbishop of Gniezno, and other Lords whose identities are not known were to participate in it.⁸⁰ It was most likely in Koło that they were appointed. It should also be added that ultimately because of the death of one of the Teutonic Order's judges who had been appointed, the illness of Jarand of Grabie and Brudzewo, the unavailability of Wawrzyniec Zarembo of Kalinowa, and an outbreak of plague in Toruń, the arbitration court and the accompanying assembly of Polish nobles and Teutonic Order officials did not take place.⁸¹

It is also possible that one of the topics discussed at the Koło assembly was the deteriorating situation on the border between the Kingdom of Poland and the Upper Silesian duchies, resulting from robberies committed by unpaid mercenaries and common robber knights. It seems that matters in this area began to go awry even before the attack made by Duke Przemysław of Toszek on the lands of Siewierz that belonged to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Bishop of Kraków (early October 1450), which started off long-term armed conflict on the Polish–Upper Silesian border.⁸² These problems concerned not only the people of Lesser Poland, but also those of Greater Poland, because the south-eastern part of Wide Greater Poland bordered on Upper Silesia. Sources from September 1450 directly report that the Castellan of Sieradz, Wawrzyniec Zarembo of Kalinowa, one of the judges appointed to the failed session of the Polish–Teutonic arbitration court, could not participate in it because he was busy with important duties on the Polish–Silesian border.⁸³ These “duties” undoubtedly resulted from

⁸⁰ GSPK, OBA, no. 10352 (letter of Jan Kretkowski, the Voivode of Brześć, to the Grand Master, 7 September 1450: “dominus Wladislaus archiepiscopus ceterique domini”).

⁸¹ S. Jóźwiak, A. Szweđa, *Dossier...*, pp. 263–275.

⁸² J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy...*, p. 344; K.R. Prokop, *Księstwa oświęcimskie i zatorskie wobec Korony Polskiej w latach 1438–1513. Dzieje polityczne*, Kraków 2002, pp. 87–89; J. Sperka, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk wobec książąt i księstw górnośląskich*, in: *Jagiellonowi i ich świat. Dynastia królewska w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, red. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, P. Węcowski, Kraków 2015, pp. 100, 101.

⁸³ GSPK, OBA, no. 10352 (“Laurencius de Kalinowa castellanus Syradiensis quibusdam arduis negociis in limitibus Regni ex una et Slesie terrarum partibus

the fact that Zaremba was then the administrator of the Wieluń *starostwo* (district administered by a starost), directly bordering on Upper Silesia.⁸⁴

It is possible that other issues of the Kingdom of Poland's politics were discussed during the assembly: the dispute with the Lithuanians over eastern Podolia and Volhynia and the related problem of approving nationwide privileges, Tatar raids on Ruthenian lands and the King's conflict with Duke Michał Zygmuntowicz in Lithuania. These were, in fact, the basic issues dealt with at the general assemblies/*sejms* and estate assemblies of the nobility of Wide Greater Poland in the 1450–1453 period, as are indicated in sources besides Długosz's account in his *Annals*.⁸⁵

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Thus, the Koło assembly in June 1450, in which King Casimir Jagiellon took part, was certainly or with a high degree of probability attended by forty-two persons who belonged to the political elite of the time. Among them was one person belonging to the dynasty (the Queen-Dowager Zofia Holszańska), local territorial officials from various levels, central government and court officials, members of the episcopate, and delegates of religious chapters. Several dozen representatives of common nobility known by name should be counted separately. In the case of the group that can be designated dynastic, official, and belonging to the higher clergy, it is possible to identify twenty-three more persons as compared to Rutkowska's earlier research; she writes of only nineteen bishops and local government officials at the Koło assembly in 1450.

Apart from King Casimir, the most important person at the Koło assembly was certainly his mother. However, we do not know what

ex altera est preventus"), 10387 ("dominus Zaramba castellanus Siradiensis [...] aliquibus negociis arduis in graniciebus Regni et Slesie est occupatus"); S. Józwiak, A. Szweđa, *Dossier...*, pp. 267, 271.

⁸⁴ ULS, p. 156; A. Szymczakowa, *Szlachta sieradzka...*, pp. 96–102.

⁸⁵ See the summary of the reports of the Teutonic Order's informant with the pseudonym N.S. Arman from this period: M. Duda, S. Józwiak, S. Szybkowski, *Działalność krzyżackiego szpiega o pseudonimie „N.S. Arman” w Królestwie Polskim w połowie XV wieku i jego tożsamość*, "Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne" 2022, t. 14, pp. 239–257.

her role was during the discussions. The following were present at the assembly alongside her: the Archbishop of Gniezno, the Bishop of Poznań, the Voivodes of Poznań, Kalisz, Łęczyca, Brześć, and Inowrocław, the Castellans of the main centres of Wide Greater Poland (that is, Kalisz, Gniezno, Sieradz, and Łęczyca), and central government officials: the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellors, the Marshal of the Kingdom of Poland, and the Grand Treasurer of the Crown (who was at the same time the Castellan of Rozprza). In Koło, during the assembly, so-called "lesser" castellans were present: from Łąd and Spycimierz. Therefore, it seems that the most prominent members of the Crown Council from Wide Greater Poland gathered there. However, attendance at the Koło assembly of June 1450 was not limited to people who, by virtue of office or benefice, had the right to participate in the royal council. There was also a significant participation of middle-ranking local government officials (judges, standard-bearers, chamberlains), and of even low-ranking ones (land clerks, huntsmen, pantlers). However, it should be noted that officials from those last categories came from the local hierarchies of the Poznań, Kalisz (most of them), Brześć, and Sieradz voivodeships. However, their colleagues from the hierarchies of the Łęczyca voivodeship and from the Dobrzyń region were missing. However, it cannot be ruled out that they were also currently in Koło, because the sources on the basis of which one can establish the list of participants in the assembly were not specifically intended to document its course and its participants. This group of attendees is supplemented by four delegates of the Poznań chapter, although it can be assumed that their colleagues from the Gniezno and Włocławek chapters also attended.

The presence of officials from their courts (the cook, the steward, the court marshal of the King, and the chamberlain of the Queen-Dowager) must be linked with the stay of the King and the Queen-Dowager at the Koło assembly. It is not known, however, why the Sandomierz standard-bearer Mikołaj of Mokrsko, the Sandomierz pantler Dobiesław of Szczekociny and the local deputy judge Mikołaj of Pęchów were in the royal entourage in Koło. In the case of the first two mentioned, one can only assume that they set off with the King on a journey across Wide Greater Poland because of the presence of their brothers in the royal entourage. These were Piotr Woda of Szczekociny, Deputy Chancellor of the Kingdom ("vicecancellarius Regni"), and Jan Bejzat, who was court

marshal, respectively.⁸⁶ Perhaps Dobiesław and Mikołaj hoped that by staying with the travelling court they would be noticed by the King and win favour from him. It is difficult to determine, however, why the deputy judge Mikołaj of Pęczów was in the royal entourage and at the Koło assembly in 1450. It cannot be ruled out that he had a particularly good knowledge of Polish land law, since he was appointed as an assessor to the royal assizes in Koło, and in Łęczyca on 19 April 1450 he replaced the Marshal of the Kingdom, Mikołaj of Brzezie, who headed this body during the King's absence from the royal assizes.⁸⁷

Some space should be given over to the issue of the nature of the Koło assembly of June 1450. In the relevant literature, opinions are expressed that the assembly of 1450 "had the character of a meeting of the King with ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries." Moreover, the Koło assemblies held before 1456, already called "provincial *sejms*," are contrasted with the assemblies held before that year.⁸⁸ It seems, however, that in both cases there is some misunderstanding. The idea that the assembly of June 1450 was not only a meeting of Casimir Jagiellon "with dignitaries" is contradicted by our findings regarding its participants. At that time, not only members of the council were present in Koło, but also middle- and low-ranking officials and common nobility, as well as delegates of chapters (certainly the Poznań one). In the case of the alleged differences between the assemblies held before and after 1456, it should be recalled that the Koło assemblies, as meetings of local officials (including members of the royal council), representatives of the episcopate, delegates of chapters and the nobility with consultative, but undoubtedly also legislative functions, began to operate, as Rutkowska notes, after the death of King Wladislaus Jagiello, in connection with the cessation of the regular tours of Wide Greater Poland by Wladislaus III. According to Rutkowska, the first occasion was as early

⁸⁶ For the family relationships linking Dobiesław and Piotr Woda and Jan Bejzat and Mikołaj, see: SHGK, cz. 4, pp. 779, 780, 804; J. Laberschek, *Początki i rozwój miasta Szczekociny do końca XV w. Uwagi do genealogii Szczekockich herbu Odrowąż*, in: *Patientia et tempus. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana doktorowi Marianowi Korneckiemu*, Kraków 1999, pp. 111–114; R. Trawka, *Szczekocki Dobiesław...*, pp. 235–238.

⁸⁷ AGAD, Księgi ziemskie łęczyckie, t. 12, k. 145v.

⁸⁸ G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole...*, pp. 82, 101.

as in 1436.⁸⁹ Assemblies were also called after Wladislaus III took the Hungarian throne in 1440, indeed until after 1447. There is also a lot of evidence from sources documenting the fact that the King's Governor (Viceroy) for Wide Greater Poland, Wojciech Malski, attended them, along with the archbishop of Gniezno, bishops, representatives of chapters, and local officials from the area of Wide Greater Poland.⁹⁰ In my opinion, this indicates that the Koło assemblies already took the form of general assemblies/parliaments of Wide Greater Poland in 1434–1447, that is, in the period when the monarch's power was in crisis because of the minority of the King, his absence from the country, and finally his death at Varna. Thus, the political nation/nobility developed its autonomy. It was then that the custom of attendance at assemblies developed on the part of members of the episcopate, chapter delegates, local officials (including councillors from Wide Greater Poland), and common nobility. The Koło assemblies, undoubtedly with the full approval of King Casimir Jagiellon, also functioned without the slightest hesitation after his coronation in 1447. There is evidence from the beginning of June 1449 of the deliberations at a "convencio" in Koło without the King being present, which allows us partially to reconstruct a list of its participants.⁹¹ It is also known that Koło assemblies without the monarch's participation also convened in 1451, and did so on three occasions (early March, early May, and August).⁹² In the case of the May assembly, it is known that the King summoned the participants to it through a messenger who bore the monarch's letters on this matter. In addition to the summons, there were two issues put before the participants in the discussions: the nature of further proceedings against Duke Michał ZygmuntoŹwicz and the resumption of amicable border courts in relations with the Teutonic Order state. We also have evidence of a "convencio" in Koło from May 1452.⁹³

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 79, 80.

⁹⁰ APP, Poznań Gr. 2, p. 149; *Księga sądowa Wojciecha Malskiego*, nos. 275, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300–307.

⁹¹ APP, Poznań Gr. 3, pp. 153–155, 158, 159.

⁹² GSPK, OBA, nos. 10523, 10591, 10863; A. Szweda, *Organizacja...*, pp. 58, 59; G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole...*, p. 83; M. Duda, S. Jóźwiak, S. Szybkowski, *Działalność krzyżackiego szpiega...*, pp. 244–246.

⁹³ GSPK, OBA, no. 1221; A. Szweda, *Organizacja...*, pp. 58, 59; G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole...*, pp. 83.

Thus, it seems that King Casimir Jagiellon accepted the functioning and form of an institution that had already taken shape. The significant difference in the functioning of the Koło assemblies as provincial assemblies/*sejms*, which appeared during his reign, was that from 1458 the King began to appear quite regularly at them in person (but not every year).⁹⁴ At that time, the group of its participants, similarly to that of 1450, may have been expanded to include central government and court officials accompanying Casimir on his travels around the country and by local officials of various levels from outside Wide Greater Poland.

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The discussion above is, of course, only a small contribution to the history of political life and the development and formation of the Polish parliamentary system in the fifteenth century. However, it does add to our knowledge of these subjects, and it shows that not all possibilities of research into them have been exhausted. The new knowledge concerning the Koło assembly of June 1450 presented here can be considered rather one-sided, because it concerns primarily its participants. It was obtained from sources not directly related to this event, but created alongside it, in connection with the monarch's tour of the region: from notes documenting the session of the royal and starost courts convened in Koło and in other centres through which the route of the royal journey through Wide Greater Poland ran in 1450, and from lists of witnesses to the documents issued there by Casimir Jagiellon. Researchers who deal with Polish late medieval general assemblies/*sejms*, provincial assemblies/*sejms* (in Nowe Miasto Korczyn, and Koło), or regional assemblies are unfortunately without sources directly referring to them. For the area of the late medieval Kingdom of Poland, the accounts and documentation of estate assemblies have been preserved only in the case of Royal Prussia, which was incorporated into Poland as a result of the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466).⁹⁵ However, even such one-sided documentation as the above shows that the description of the history of Polish political and parliamentary life can be supplemented. It also indicates that

⁹⁴ G. Rutkowska, *Jagiellonowie w Kole...*, pp. 96–99; *eadem*, *Itinerarium...*, p. 362.

⁹⁵ For example, see: ASPK, vol. 1–3.

in research on the above issues one cannot fully rely on Długosz's *Annals*, which do not even contain information about the King's stay in Koło in 1450. In my attempts to reconstruct the agenda of the Koło sessions, my work is surely of some importance given the situation as regards sources.

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Abstract

King Casimir Jagiellon's First Assembly in Koło in 1450 and Its Participants

In the spring and early summer of 1450, King Casimir Jagiellon travelled across Wide Greater Poland (Poznań and Kalisz voivodeships, Kujawa, Łęczyca, Sieradz, and Dobrzyń). This was the monarch's first visit to this area after the journey he made following his coronation in 1447. In 1450, during the King's stay in Koło, a provincial assembly of the nobility of Wide Greater Poland took place with his participation on 11–15 June. King Casimir's mother, the Queen-Dowager Zofia Holszańska, also participated. In addition to her, several dozen other participants in this event have been identified: high-ranking officials from Wide Greater Poland, government officials, court officials, representatives of the episcopate, middle and low-ranking territorial officials, delegates of chapters, and representatives of the rank and file of the nobility. The Koło assemblies appeared in the political life of late medieval Poland after the death of King Wladislaus Jagiello in 1434. According to current knowledge, the first one was held in 1436. Sources confirm their convening until 1447. Their functioning was also accepted by Casimir Jagiellon. However, the congress of 1450 was the first one he attended in person. In the later period, he attended Koło assemblies relatively often, and they became an important element of parliamentary and political life during his long reign (1447–1492).