



MARIA KAZIMIERA D'ARQUIEN SOBIESKA AND HER ITALIAN TRAVELS FROM 1699 TO 1714

ABSTRACT

Main goal of paper is to present all journeys of Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, Polish queen and widow after king Jan III. The Queen's subsequent expeditions were looked at, starting with her departure from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to Italy in 1698 and her residence in Rome until she made her last journey of her life to France and settled in Blois in 1714. The attention has been put to the Queen's ceremonial journey to Rome in late 1698 and early 1699, then show her exploration of Italy, starting with getting to know the closer area around the Eternal City. The first destination were papalces, villas and gardens in Frascati, Tivoli, Nettuno, Palo, Bracciano and Viterbo. In 1704, with the Pope's gave permission to Queen for traveling once more to Loreto and Venice. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska visited Naples and Bari in 1707. Each of these trips was of a different nature. From a typically leisurely and cognitive focus, the trips began to take on the character of pilgrimages and even political missions.

KEYWORDS: Queen, Widow, Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, Italian travels, Pilgrimage.

Polish queen's journeys, especially beyond the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was rare throughout the Early Modern era. The precedent was set by Bona Sforza d'Aragona, wife of Sigismund I, so-called "the Old". Already a widow in 1556, she decided to leave the Kingdom of Poland in response to a prolonged conflict with her son Sigismund II Augustus and criticism of her political and economic activities. The Queen decided to leave for Italy, with the consent of the states of the Commonwealth, officially to recuperate at the waters at Abano near Padua. Unofficially, Bona went directly to the Duchy of Bari, where she remained until her death¹. Her successors rarely left the country. Only Sigismund III's wife

¹ Władysław Pociecha, *Bona Sforza. Czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia*, t. 2 (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1949) *passim*; Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 2009), 237-51; Stanisław Cynarski, "Sprawa ostatniego testamentu królowej Bony", *Prace Historyczne*, 56 (1977): 137-45; Luigi Cini, "Passaggio della regina Bona Sforza per Padova nell'anno 1556", in *Relazioni tra Padova e la Polonia. Studi in onore dell'Università di Cracovia nel VI centenario della sua fondazione*, ed. Comitato per la storia dell'Università di Padova (Padova: Antenore 1964), 27-66; Ryszard Skowron, "Bari, la Polonia, l'Europa. L'eredità di Bona oggetto di gioco nell'arena internazionale nel XVI e XVII secolo/Bari, Polska, Europa. Dziedzictwo Bony jako przedmiot gry na arenie międzynarodowej w XVI i XVII wieku", in *Bona Sforza. Regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari. Catalogo della Mostra*, eds. Maria Stella Calò Mariani

Anna travelled to Stockholm in 1593 to attend the coronation as ruler of Sweden with her husband². In turn, Władysław IV's wife Cecilia Renata Habsburg organised a trip to the Habsburg countries in 1638, under the guise of accompanying the king on a gout treatment in Baden. However, this trip was connected with the king's political plans for war with Ottoman Empire, regaining the Swedish throne and taking all or part of Silesia under fief. It was also alleged that Emperor Ferdinand III intended to reconcile Władysław IV with King Christian IV of Denmark, or that the Polish king wanted the Emperor's help in his efforts to secure the release of his half-brother, Jan Kazimierz, who had been arrested in France. Whether the trip was provoked by concern for the king's health or political calculations, the participation of the royal couple in it was stigmatised by the Polish nobility, not least in view of the lack of political success achieved³. At the 1641 *Sejm*, a resolution was passed banning Polish monarchs from travelling outside the country without the consent of the *Sejm*⁴. The journey of Jan II Kazimierz and his wife Ludwika Maria Gonzaga de Nevers to Głogówek, Silesia, in 1655, was in turn dictated by the threat to the functioning of the monarch's court as a result of the Swedish invasion, which did not require the consent of the *Sejm*. The ban on leaving the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was broken by Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki's widow, Eleonora Habsburg. After the election of John III in 1674, ideas were floated to divorce Sobieski from Maria Kazimiera and marry the Queen Eleonora. However, the elect

and Giuseppe Dibenedetto (Bari-Cracovia: Nuova Comunicazione, 2000), 227-47; Ryszard Skowron, "Księstwo Bari i sumy neapolitańskie: Polsko-hiszpański spór o spadek po królowej Bonie", *Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum*, 28/2 (2022): 171-214.

- 2 Kazimierz Tyszkowski, *Z dziejów wyprawy Zygmunta III do Szwecji w roku 1598 (relacje i diariusze)* (Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1927); Henryk Wisner, *Zygmunt III Waza* (Wrocław-Kraków: Ossolineum, 2006), 68-75; Aleksandra Barwicka-Makula, *Od wrogości do przyjaźni. Habsburgowie austriaccy wobec Polski w latach 1587-1592* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, 2019); Ead., "Do Kolmaru król kazał okręty styrować, lecz próżno wiatrom, i też morzu rozkazywać. Podróż Zygmunta III Wazy do Szwecji w 1593", in *W epoce żaglowców. Morze od antyku do XVIII wieku*, eds. Beata Możejko and Ewa Borujaniec-Król (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2016), 179-84; Justyna Gałuszka, "Mieliśmy wielkie i przeciwne wiatry... Podróż do Szwecji w 1593 r. w relacji Jana Tarnowskiego", in *Sapientia ars vivedi putanda est. Wokół kultury i polityki. Studia z dziejów nowożytnych ofiarowana Profesorowi Marianowi Chachajowi*, eds. Adam Perłakowski, Bogdan Rok and Filip Wolański (Kraków-Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka, 2019), 131-43.
- 3 More on that matter, see: Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie [1607-1613] i Droga do Baden [1638]*, ed. Józef Długosz (Warszawa: Ossolineum, 1991), 5-28; Zofia Trawicka, "Sejm z roku 1639", *Studia Historyczne*, 15 (1972): 551-98; Andrzej Korytko, "Na których opiera się Rzeczpospolita". *Senatorowie koronni za Władysława IV Wazy* (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego w Olsztynie, 2015), *passim*.
- 4 *Volumina Legum: przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów w Warszawie, od roku 1732 do roku 1782, wydane*, t. 4 (Petersburg: Ohryzki, 1860), 438.

decisively rejected this proposal, and the Queen's widow removed to Toruń. Finally, taking advantage of the Swedish attack on Brandenburg Pomerania, she left the city on March, 28th 1675 for Silesia, then Vienna, and three years later married Prince Charles of Lorraine, with whom she settled in Innsbruck⁵.

Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, like her royal spouse Jan III, was involved in constant court journeys between official royal residences in Cracow and Warsaw, private residences on the outskirts of the capital (Wilanów, Marymont, Solec), private estates in the Lublin area (Pielaszkowice, Czemierniki, Błudów), in Royal Prussia (Toruń, Gniew, Puck, Malbork, Gdańsk) and in Red Ruthenia (Lwów, Żółkiew, Złoczów, Jaworów, Pomorzany, Kukizów, Wysocko), to name only the most important ones⁶. It is difficult to calculate the frequency of the Queen's trips, as well as the length of her stays at various residences, in the absence of an itinerary published to date. Undoubtedly, however, during the reign of John III, Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska was once outside the country, when, in 1687, she went to Wrocław and then to Cieplice Śląskie to recuperate her health. Unofficially, there was again talk of a political mission to try to recuperate Silesia. The Queen was received coldly by Jan Krzysztof Zierowski and Krzysztof Leopold Schaffgotsch. John III's wife was therefore treated as a *persona non grata*⁷. According to François Paulin Dalerac, a participant in the expedition, the journey took place: «without

5 Miroslawa Kamecka-Skrajna, *Królowa Eleonora Maria Józefa Wiśniowiecka (1653–1697)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2007), 134–46; Janusz Woliński, “Toruński azyl Eleonory Marii Józefy Wiśniowieckiej 1674/1675”, *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, 19/1 (1953): 158–67; Almut Bues, “Frictions in the life of Polish princesses and queens consort 1500–1800”, in *Frictions and Failures Cultural Encounters in Crisis*, ed. Id. (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2017), 105–33.

6 More, see: Michał Komasyński, “Le Cour de Jean III Sobieski aux yeux des Français (1674–1696)”, in *Les expressions de l'identité sociale en Europe depuis la Renaissance. Actes du IV^e Colloque Poznań-Strasbourg 17–19 octobre 1985*, ed. Maciej Serwański (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 1990), 39–47; Aleksandra Skrzypietz, “Nostalgia Jana III Sobieskiego za ziemiami ruskimi”, in *Europa bez granic; wyzwanie dla oświaty wielokulturowej*, eds. Henryk Bednarski, Janusz Majchrzak-Mikuła and Michał Korczyński (Ryki: Wyższa Szkoła Umiejętności Pedagogicznych, 2004), 93–9; Ead., “Miło szaleć, kiedy czas po temu... – ostatni pobyt Jana III Sobieskiego na Rusi”, in *Wspólnota pamięci. Studia z dziejów kultury ziem wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Jolanta Gwioździk (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, 2006), 398–407; Magdalena Ujma, “Styl życia w podróżach Marii Kazimiery i Jana Sobieskich”, in *Samotrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakiem? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*, eds. Monika Saczyńska and Ewa Wólkiewicz (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2012), 355–69; Ead., “Polityczna i kulturalna rola rezydencji Jana III Sobieskiego”, *Dobrzyckie Studia Ziemiańskie*, 1 (2010): 162–77.

7 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Archiwum Schaffgotchów, n. 764; Kazimierz Piwarski, *Pomysły odzyskania Śląska przez Jana III* (Katowice: Instytut Śląski, 1938), 21.

pleasure, without fun, without celebration [...]. Here is the success of the expedition to Cieplice, where the Polish queen lost her health, and, curing herself in baths without finding any use in them, took shape»⁸.

The goal of this paper is to look at the travels of Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska from the time of her departure from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for Italy in 1698 and her residence in Rome until she made her last journey of her life to France and settled in Blois in 1714. I would like to turn my attention in turn to the Queen's ceremonial journey to Rome in late 1698 and early 1699, then show her as an explorer of Italy staggering in ever-widening circles around the Eternal City. Destination points were initially Frascati, Tivoli, Nettuno, Palo, Bracciano and Viterbo. In 1704, with the Pope's permission, the Queen travelled again to Loreto and Venice and, three years later, visited Naples and Bari. Each of these trips was of a different nature. From a typically leisurely and cognitive focus, the trips began to take on the character of pilgrimages and even political missions.

Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska's departure for Italy was a very complicated undertaking due to the motivations of the queen-widow in leaving the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the magnitude of the preparations⁹. The Queen's journey to Rome began on 2 October 1698 in Yavorov. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska set off on her journey together with her father Henri Albert, Cardinal d'Arquien and her granddaughter Maria Kazimiera as well as an entourage of around a hundred people¹⁰. Following a route through Lwów, Przemyśl, Wysock, Przeworsk, Łańcut, Rzeszów, Tarnów, Dunajec, Szczepanów and Tyniec, the Queen reached Krakow at the end of October, where she prayed in front of the miraculously famous black crucifix in Wawel Cathedral. On October, 29th, Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien

8 François Paulin Dalerac, *Les anectodes de Pologne ou mémoires secrets du règne de Jean Sobieski III du nom*, t. II (Amsterdam: H. Desbordes 1699), 219, 225. All the translations of the source materials from the original language into English is are the author of this article.

9 In details on that theme, see: Michał Komarzyński, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska królowa Polski (1641–1716)* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1983), 213–22; Gaetano Platania, *Gli ultimi Sobieski e Roma. Fasti e miserie di una famiglia reale polacca tra Sei e Settecento (1699–1715)* (Roma: Vecchiarelli, 1989), 55–70; Id., *Corrispondenza di Maria Kazimiera Sobieska regina di Polonia, con Carlo Barberini protettore del regno (1681–1699) e il soggiorno romano di una famiglia polacca in esilio* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2016), 98–102; Jarosław Pietrzak, "Venezia è molto grande e bella – racconto di due soggiorni della regina Maria Casimira d'Arquien Sobieska a Venezia e in Veneto negli anni 1699 e 1705", *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 12/1 (2021): 67–85.

10 BAV, Fondo Chigi, M.V.V., *Nota delle persone che si trovano con la Regina servendola nel suo viaggio da Bologna a Roma*, f. 205v; Antonio Bassani, *Viaggio a Roma della Sacra Reale Maestà di Maria Casimira, Regina di Polonia vedova del'Invitissimo Giovanni III per il voto di visitare e luoghi Santi [...]*, (Roma, 1699), 1. Manuscript version of diary, see: BL, vol. 8285, ff. 205r–77v. See, Firenze, Biblioteca provinciale dei Cappuccini, Filippo Bernardi, *Viaggio a Roma della Sacra Reale Maestà di Maria Casimira di Polonia*, Firenze 1699, ff. 261r–62v.

Sobieska's retinue left the borders of the Polish kingdom and entered Silesia. After a long journey through the territories of the Empire and the Italian states, the Queen crossed the borders of the Church State on February, 8th 1699.

The Queen chose not to attract attention with her person and not to make official entrances to the cities. Perhaps hiding under the name of the Countess de Jaworów and remaining incognito was due to her unwillingness to incur the possible costs of representation, to invest in additional rich costumes for herself and her courtiers, in decorative carriages and in things she already owned since leaving Poland. The incognito formula also ensured inviolability and allowed discreet penetration into the court community to get to know the people who made up the ruler's entourage and the relations between them¹¹. As the Queen herself stated: «What does the fact that I am cognito have to do with the fact that mistakes happen? [...] Moreover, incognito helps in everything. One ceases to be a Polish prince when one does not use one's name and seats one's servant in the most important seat during a carriage ride»¹². Guided by this principle, the Queen resolutely refused to honour her person, which in practice and in combination with her royal status proved challenging.

The arrival of Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, which was preceded by the consent of Pope Innocent XII and the political events in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the death of John III, was a widely commented upon issue in the sources of the time. Two issues received attention in the reports – the route of the journey and the ceremonial with which the queen was received, befitting her majesty¹³. Reports allow us to briefly sketch the itinerary of the procession's journey from Venice via Ferrara, Modena, Bologna, Ancona to Loreto, where, as promised,

11 Lucien Bély, *La Société des princes* (Paris: Fayard 1999), 469-70; Ursula Langen, "The Meaning of Incognito", *The Court Historian*, 2 (2002): 145-55; Francesca De Caprio, "L'entrata in incognito di Cristina di Svezia in Vaticano: cerimoniali e simboli", *Settentrione. Rivista di studi italo-finlandesi*, 30 (2018): 187-212; Ead., "L'accoglienza di Maria Kazimiera Sobieska a Roma e il precedente di Cristina di Svezia", *Eastern European History Review*, 3 (2020): 127-53.

12 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr. 260, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieskiego*, Rome 16 January 1701, ff. 48v-9r.

13 More on the rout and ceremonial entires to Italian towns and cities, see: Michał Komarzyński, "Il viaggio trionfale di una regina di Polonia in Italia", in *Viaggiatori polacchi in Italia*, eds. Emanuel Kanceff and Ryszard Lewanski (Genève: CIRVI, 1988), 153-63; Gaetano Platania, "Viaggio in Italia di una dama polacca: Maria Casimira Sobieska", in *Viaggiatori polacchi in Italia*, 165-81; Id., "Il viaggio politico di Maria Casimira Sobieska", in *Donne in viaggio. Viaggio religioso, politico, metaforico*, eds. Maria Luisa Silvestre and Adriana Valerio (Bari: Laterza, 1999), 130-42; Ryszard K. Lewański, "La reine Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska de passage à Verone", in *Voyageurs française à Verona*, ed. Annarosa Poli (Genevè: Slatkine, 1984), 27-32; Jarosław Pietrzak, "L'ingresso di Maria Casimira d'Arquien Sobieska a Roma nel 1699 e la sua cornice cerimoniale", in *I Sobieski a Roma. La famiglia reale polacca nella Città Eterna*, eds. Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Zuzanna Flisowska and Paweł Migasiewicz (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2018), 70-88.

the Queen was to make a pilgrimage to the Marian shrine¹⁴. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska's retinue then headed for Pesaro and Macerata. Most of the stops were towns within the Church State: «Ricavandosi della ritorno il viaggio della Regina Vedova di Polonia che poserà passaggio Ferrara e Bologna si mandamo ordini a Legati e Gov.[ernatori] dello Stato Ecclesiastico que de Sua entrata con splendore e magnificenza e reverenzia»¹⁵. In parallel with the queen's journey, the pope undertook to create rules of ceremonial that would allow Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to be received with dignity on the Apostolic State borders¹⁶. To this end, he sent his representatives in the rank of extraordinary nuncios Fulvio Astalli in Ferrara, Ferdinando d'Adde in Bologna and Antonio Felice Zondadari in Ancona and Loreto¹⁷. An excellent illustration was the scene of the Queen's arrival in Ancona, where in the widow of John III she was greeted by a succession of officials from the nuncio to the governor to the city officials:

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È stato ordinato a Monsig. Zondadari Governatore di Ancona dichiarato Nuntio ai Confini dello Stato Ecclesiastico per ricevervi la Regina vedova di Polonia, e invitarla qua, di dover affrettare la sua partenza, per attenderla, con istituzioni del modo con cui dovrà trattarsi, una delle quali è che presenti il Breve del Pontefice alla Regina anche stando questa in Carrozza senza pretendersi che Sua Maestà smonti per riceverlo, come dovrà egli smontare nell'avvicinarsi alla Carrozza della Regina. Si sono rinnovati gli ordini al Sig. Cardinal D'Adda Legato di Bologna e ai Governatori della Città, per dove essa Regina passi e particolarmente a quello della Santa Casa di Loreto, acciò sia ricevuta, e trattata a spese della Camera secondo le istruzioni date antecedentemente a tutti¹⁸.

The principle of precedence was also observed when welcoming the Queen to Bologna. After Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska had been welcomed and given

14 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, 3 I, 10 I, 17 I, 24 I, 7 II, 14 II, 21 II, 28 II, 7 III; BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 29 December 1698, ff. 345v-46r; Roma 10 January 1699, ff. 351v-52r; Roma 5 February 1699, f. 359v.

15 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Roma 5 February 1699, f. 359 v.

16 At the same time, the retinue leading Wilhelmina Amalia von Braunschweig-Lüneburg from Modena to Vienna traveled around Italy for her wedding with the Roman king and later Emperor Joseph II. Therefore, it was necessary to be careful in honoring the position of Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska as the wife of the elected ruler, the more so that the retinues of the two queens missed each other in Venice in January 1699, see: BCas., Avvisi italiani ordinarii e straordinarii dell'anno 1699, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 25; BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 3 January 1699.

17 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 3 January 1699, f. 350v; BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 10, 17 January, and 21 February 1699.

18 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 10 January 1699. See: Jarosław Pietrzak, "Cordiali rapporti tra la regina Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska e il Santuario di Loreto", in *Due Regine Innamorate di Polonia: Bona Sforza D'Aragona e Maria Casimira Sobieska: Atti della Conferenza di Loreto, 8 maggio 2021*, ed. Francesca Ceci (Roma: Archeoares 2021), 77-100.

the symbolic keys to the city by Nuncio Fulvio Astalli, cannon cheers rang out from the fortress, and then the queen - surrounded by ladies and cavaliers from her court - was led to the Palazzo Fieschi, where a formal audience took place in the throne room. For the occasion, a magnificent throne was prepared for Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska under a canopy stretched over it, a symbol of her majesty¹⁹.

At the same time, discussions were underway by Pompeo Scarlatti, the Bavarian resident in Rome and advisor to the Queen, to agree on the location of the Queen's residence. Innocent XII proposed the castle at Bracciano, near Viterbo, as her residence²⁰. In February 1699, the Pope changed his mind and instructed Nuncio Zondadari to transport the Queen's equipage to his summer residence in Castel Gandolfo or to Albano²¹. This arrangement did not materialise in the face of a proposal made by Prince Livio Odescalchi, nephew of Pope Innocent XI, for the Queen to reside in his Roman palace. The matter of the residence was probably discussed by Scarlatti during a visit to the Prince's summer residence at Palo, as also reported by Cardinal Marescotti's correspondent²². For the duke, this matter was a priority, as he gave Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska the rooms that once belonged to the Swedish queen Christina, decorated with paintings, sculptures and precious objects, in place of her residence at Palazzo Odescalchi:

Don Livio Odescalchi ha già preparato nel suo palazzo il quartiere per Sua Maestà di più stanze tutte apparate di arazzi d'oro con letto a baldacchino e sedia ricchissima, e il quartiere per il Signor Cardinal d'Arquin [...]. Il Palazzo don Livio Odescalchi ha fatto vestire per la Regina il Suo palazzo con dipinti, statue e altre galanterie di gran prezzo ordinato da Regina Vedova di Polonia avendo spedito a riceverla e accoglierla l'avvocato Montecatini²³.

19 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 21 February 1699.

20 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 29 December 1698, ff. 345v-46r.

21 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 23 December 1698, f. 347r.

22 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 10 January 1699, ff. 351v-52r.

23 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Roma, 21 March 1699; BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 31 January 1699, f. 357v. In the years 1699-1704, the queen and her court occupied a part of Prince Livio Odescalchi's palace in Piazza SS. Apostoli opposite the church of the same invocation. In turn, her father, Cardinal Henri Albert d'Arquien, occupied the Cibo Palace, in the vicinity of the Odescalchi Palace. The queen also purchased two villas, in July 1701 from the Marquis de Torres and in 1702 at Porta Pia. In addition, at the same time Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska received papal consent to take over part of the palace of the Zuccari family, located in the vicinity of the church and monastery Trinità dei Monti, where she resided in the years 1704-1714. Regardless of this, the queen used her former apartments in Palazzo Odescalchi on holidays, when, among others, she received audiences. More on that, see: Wanda Roszkowska, "Polskie dzieje Palazzo Zuccari i Villa Torres-Malta w Rzymie", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki: teoria i historia*, 9/2 (1964): 39-153; Elisabeth Kieven, "La regina Maria Casimira Sobieska e il Palazzo Zuccari", in Chrościcki et al., *I Sobieski a Roma*, 176-200; Elisabeth Kieven and H. Schlimme, "Der Palazzo Zuccari: Bau, Geschichte, Funktionen" in *100. Jahre Biblioteca Hertziana*, vol. 2: *Der Palazzo*

In this way, a link was created between the two queens, although they differed both in origin and status. For the Prince, however, it was an emphasis on his authority, which he had been unable to maintain after the death of Innocent XI, also losing in the electoral struggle for the Polish crown. Undoubtedly, with this decision, Livio Odescalchi was putting himself in a position of first among the equal representatives of the Roman aristocracy.

The slow approach of Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to the gates of Rome raised, as legitimate as it may be, in the circle of the College of Cardinals the question of the ceremonial with which the widow of Jan III should be received. In this regard, the Congregation for Ceremonial Affairs decided to refer to the instruction prepared in 1655 on the occasion of the arrival of Queen Christina of Sweden. The guidelines specified the forms of contact between the Queen and the purpureans, including the nature of their reception during the audience, regulated the status and composition of those accompanying the Queen on her travels, mentioned the obligation to wear a canopy over her head and to hang one over her throne, and finally described in detail the attire the cardinals should wear when in close proximity to the royal majesty²⁴. In addition, the nuncios and envoys extraordinaire had detailed recommendations as to the means of travel, the route, the method of contact with the Queen and Cardinal d'Arquien and the organisation of their accommodation, when travelling through the territory of the Church State²⁵. It is noteworthy that Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska appealed to Pope Innocent XII for permission to enter the Eternal City as soon as possible, and asked that the purpuras, in consultation with the chancellor of her court, Monsignore Kurdwanowski, agree on the details of the welcome²⁶. According to Giovanni Battista Scarlatti, the Queen's wish – in terms of honouring her royal status – was to:

in tutto e per tutto alle prudentissime direzioni di Sua Beatitudine con dichiarazioni di voler bensì conservare le prerogative della Regia sua dignità, ma di regolarsi insieme con tutta la modestia circospezione immaginabile a fine di scanzare quegli scogli i quali hebbe ad urtare la fu regina Christina di Svezia e

Zuccari und die Institutsgebäude 1590–2013, ed. Elisabeth Kieven (München: Hirmer, 2013), 72–137; Francesca Curti, “Nuovi documenti su palazzo Zuccari: proprietà e ristrutturazioni edilizie dal XVII al XIX secolo”, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 39 (2009/10): 329–91.

- 24 “Cerimoniale per Sua Maestà per il trattamento de’Signori Cardinali”, in Platania, *Gli ultimi Sobieski*, 266–68. More about instructions prepared for ceremonial entry for Queen Christina of Sweden, see: Alessandro Boccolini, “Cristina di Svezia nella Città Santa: L’entrata solenne e i primi giorni romani in alcuni documenti editi e inediti conservati negli archivi e nelle biblioteche romane”, in *Roma e Cristina di Svezia. Un’irrequieta sovrana*, ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2016), 213–16.
- 25 “Istruttioni per li Signori Cardinali Legati conforme alle risoluzioni prese Sacra Congregazione del Ceremoniale”, in Platania, *Gli ultimi Sobieski*, 269–72.
- 26 “Maria Kazimiera d’Arquien Sobieska to Innocent XII”, Ferrara 12 February 1699”, and “Carlo Barberini to Maria Kazimiera d’Arquien Sobieska”, Loreto-Roma, [?.?] March 1699, in Platania, *Gli ultimi Sobieski*, 305–06, and 316–17.

peché tutti habbino d'essere sodisfatti o alemano non disgustati da lei»²⁷.

Among other things, the queen asked for the pope's agreement with the master of ceremonies, the cardinals and the governor of Rome to arrange the details of the ceremony, to guarantee the participation of her court in the ceremonial passage, to allow her to arrive in the Eternal City incognito in advance, in order to prepare for her entry, and to allow her to reside in the Don Livio's palace of the Duke of Odescalchi. The Pope, according to his letters, had been anticipating the Queen's arrival and had planned much earlier to give her a dignified welcome²⁸.

On the evening of March, 23rd 1699 Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska drove the last stretch of the road to Rome and, keeping strictly incognito, went to the house of Baron Scarlatti. She spent the following day resting, then in the evening moved to the residence of Prince Livio Odescalchi in Piazza Santi Apostoli²⁹. Later that evening, Cardinal Francisco Aquaviva de Aragon and the protector of the papal court arrived to welcome the Queen on behalf of the Pope. Innocent XII, despite the negative opinion of the masters of ceremonies, sent the monarch rich gifts including books, horses from the stables of the Viceroy of Sicily, relics, porcelain and delicacies including wine, jam, candied fruit, chocolate and sugars. The Queen, without waiting for the arrival of the entire caravan and carriages, went, with the Pope's permission, to a private audience set for March 26th 1699³⁰.

The ceremonial entry of the Queen of Poland into the Quirinal palace took place only three months after her arrival in Rome. According to the description provided by Antonio Bassani, the courtiers received new linen costumes with velvet appliques decorated with gold threads. A distinguishing element for them were velvet white socks and wigs on their heads. In addition to the servants and court officials, the queen's carriage was assisted by armed men dressed in oriental style, the so-called pajukes, who formed her bodyguard. In addition to them, the Queen was assisted in her ride by the Swiss Guard. Queen Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska - following the example of Christina of Sweden³¹ - leaved a Rome for a while: «from where she came from all over majesty»³² and, accompanied by papal legates, proceeded to Ponte Milvio, where she was welcomed by the Governor of the Eternal City. There, a welcome speech was made in her honour and gifts were

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- 27 BAV, Barb.Lat. 5646, *Memoria de'personaggi venuti a Roma e cerimoniale con essi praticato. Varie legazioni. Principi ne'loro passaggi*, ff. 27r-8v.
- 28 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 276, *Innocent XII to Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieskiej*, Rome 12 January 1699, ff. 1-3r.
- 29 "Relatione in Idioma italiano cavata da una Lettera Latina responsiva del Kavaglier Cesare Borsatti Canonico della Collegiata Insigne di Bracciano [...]", in Platania, *Gli ultimi Sobieski*, 358-61.
- 30 More about the ceremonial audience, see: Pietrzak, *L'ingresso*, 82-4.
- 31 Francesca De Caprio, "Trionfo e pellegrinaggio. Il viaggio di Cristina di Svezia nell'opera di Festini ed altri autori coevi", in Platania, ed., *Roma e Cristina di Svezia*, 59-80; Boccolini, "L'entrata", 225-31.
- 32 BUW, sign. 76, *Jan Kosmowski to Aleksander Sobieski*, Rome 2 May 1699, ff. 259v-60r.

handed over. The monarch travelled from Ponte Milvio to Porta Flaminia (today's Porta del Popolo) on horseback, accompanied by members of the College of Cardinals dressed in pontifical robes as her escort of honour. According to accounts in printed newspapers: «On the June 21st, Her Majesty the Queen made a public appearance and went to kiss Our Lord's foot, preceded by a rich, six-horse carriage di riserva vota, two other carriages also six-horse, with cavaliers and noblemen, then followed by a carriage with Her Majesty, eight-horse, accompanied by a great number of horsemen, pageants and a guard composed of Poles, followed by another six-horse carriage with ladies»³³. Dressed as required by the Papal court in a black velvet dress, interspersed with gold thread, decorated with a floral pattern and a veil on her head tipped with brocade, the Queen made her majesty fully visible. In the Quirinal Square, the papal army presented arms before Sobieska, then the Papal horseman Giuseppe Lotario Conti, Duke of Poli, led the Queen to the steps of the staircase. The role of guide was then taken over by the Duke of Colonna, who led her halfway up the stairs, accompanied by archbishops, bishops and protonotaries. The final guide was the maestro di camera – Cardinal Acquaviva – who, assisted by the chamberlains of secrecy and honour, arrived with the Queen in the audience chamber. There the Pope was waiting for her. The Queen approached the throne and humbly kissed the Holy Father's foot. They then spoke to each other, as they had the first time, through Father Kurdwanowski. When the conversation was over, the courtiers of Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska were ushered into the hall. The Pope then gave his blessing to those gathered. The papal servants then served fruit, chocolate and cooling drinks known as rinfresco in the consistory hall. From the Quirinal Palace, Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska - like Queen Christina - made her way to St Peter's Basilica to receive communion and pray at the tomb of the Apostle³⁴.

During the Queen's stay in Rome between 1699 and 1714, there were many opportunities to explore the topography of the Eternal City in connection with her many religious practices. The spiritual climate of Rome, being the centre of Christianity associated with its origins, was famous for its pilgrimage sites. The Queen travelled the streets of Rome being carried in a coach or carried in a sedan. However, she always made a public appearance at Mass in the company of her family and Roman aristocrats³⁵. These were usually celebrations presided over by

33 According to: Aneta Markuszevska, *Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej w Rzymie (1699-1714)* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2012), 70.

34 Città del Vaticano, Archivio dei Cerimoniali Pontifici, vol. 35, *Relazione istorica della venuta a Roma della Regina Maria Casimira vedova e moglie di Giovanni III re di Polonia*, ff. 1r-104v; Bassani, *Viaggio a Roma*, 212-18.

35 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. IV/790, Rome 3 November 1701, ff. 80r-v; Rome 22 August 1705, ff. 471r; BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 17 April 1700; Rome 28 August 1700; ASP, Avvisi e dispacci politici documentazione concernente il Cardinale Annibale Albani di Pesaro, t. VII, Rome 1 February 1710; Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, eds. Gaetana Scano and Giuseppe Graglia (Roma:

cardinals or the Pope himself on the occasion of major ecclesiastical feasts such as Christmas and Easter combined with a blessing³⁶. According to reports, the Queen could visit as many as seven churches in one day, as evidenced by a pilgrimage she made in 1707 to the Roman basilicas of S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Pietro in Vaticano, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Sebastiano fuori le Mura, in order to obtain a plenary indulgence³⁷. Shrines famous for miraculous images or statues of the Crucified were very popular³⁸. Outside the Papal chapel with its representation of Christ's Veraicon, accessed by the Holy Staircase³⁹, The Queen prayed before the grace-filled crucifixes in the Church of San Spirito and in the S. Paolo fuori le Mura. A special devotion, from the point of view of the subject, the Queen combined with adoration of the Blessed Sacrament⁴⁰. Many accounts mentioned the presence of Jan III's widow in churches S. Pietro in Vincoli⁴¹, S. Maria in Via Lata⁴², S. Maria in Portico⁴³ oraz S. Maria Nuova⁴⁴ with her court, sons or granddaughter during the Eucharistic prayer. The religious had most fully expressed the dignity and piety of the Polish queen became the processions marching through the streets of Rome on the occasion of Easter and Corpus Christi or the patronal feasts of churches⁴⁵. However, it was not only piety that prompted the queen to explore Rome. Maria

Longanesi, 1977), 96 and 571.

- 36 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. IV/790, Rome 29 December 1703, ff. 291r; Rome 31 December 1707, ff. 706v; ASP, Avvisi, t. VIII, Rome 11 April 1711; Aleksandra Skrzypietz, "Rzymski okres życia najstarszej córki królewicza Jakuba, Marii Kazimiery, w świetle korespondencji rodzinnej", *Studia Wilanowskie*, 25 (2018): 59-77.
- 37 Aleksandra Skrzypietz, "Publiczna i prywatna religijność królowej Marii Kazimiery", *Studia Historyczne*, 62/1-245 (2021): 32.
- 38 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 5 January 1708.
- 39 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 290, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieskiego*, Rome 18 February [1702], ff. 21r-32v, and 105r-08v. See: BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 18 April 1699, and Rome 4 March 1702.
- 40 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 272, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieskiego*, Rome 18 April [1699], ff. 6-7r; BL, Ms. Add. 8526, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Clemens XI*, [without place and date] f. 32r.
- 41 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 8 August 1699, f. 408r.
- 42 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, 243.
- 43 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 21 July 1703.
- 44 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Roma 3 September 1704.
- 45 Lorenzo Fiorani, "Processioni tra devizione e politica", in *La festa a Roma: dal Rinascimento al 1870. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco, vol. 2 (Torino: Salvalibro Snc, 1997) 66-83; Irene Fosi, "Court and city in the ceremony of possesso in the sixteenth century", in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 31-53.

Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska enjoyed taking walks and admiring the ruins of ancient Rome. Shortly after the ceremonies to celebrate Holy Saturday in April 1699, the Queen: «Amused herself [...] by going to pagan temples. The ladies scarcely assist Queen HM. And in the city our strength, that it is difficult to describe in this, because both time and paper would run out»⁴⁶. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska used a very popular guide of the time *Relatione fatta dall'Illustrissimo Signor Canonico Pisani*, a copy of which from the Queen's former book collection is today in the Biblioteca Alessandrina in Rome. The work was a synthetic lecture on the history of Rome from the time of the monarchy, through the period of the Republic, the Empire and the fall of the empire, eventually imparting knowledge of the twenty most important monuments of Rome and proposing three tours from the Roman Forum to Campo Vaccino, from Porta Capena to the Basilica of St Sebastian and from the Pantheon to Campo di Fiori⁴⁷.

With time, the Queen began to leave Rome, which, especially in summer, offered no shelter from the scorching heat and stuffy air. The solution was to go to a suburban villa in Frascati: «On the first day of June, the Queen HM has decided to depart from Rome for half a third of a mile to take up residence in Frascati because of the heat, which is severe here in Rome in summer. There, however, there is to be a different disposition of the air, which, if it comes to pass, and from there I will not fail to cling to the Lord's feet, my Benefactor»⁴⁸. During her stay, Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska complimented the wonders of the Pamphili villa: «which is called Belvedere, is astonishing, because everything that art and nature can combine is all there, and some painter cannot succeed in making a beautiful picture, out of pleasure in placing in it all the ornaments that one can imagine they might be, so finished with all that one sees there»⁴⁹, and the Villa Montalto, from where she did not return to Rome until early November 1699⁵⁰. Outside Frascati, the Queen would go for recreation to the seaside town of Nettuno, on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, 60

46 BUW, sign. 76, *Jan Kosmowski to Aleksander Sobieskiego*, Rome 25 April 1699, f. 255r.

47 Roma, Biblioteca Alessandrina, vol. 143, *Relatione fatta dall'Illustrissimo Signor Canonico Pisani*, ff. 198r-223r. See the works of Francesca De Caprio: "La corte di Maria Casimira si fa turista", in *Viaggio e paesaggio*, ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2005), 195-212, and "Maria Casimira Sobieska e una guida antiquaria di Roma", *Studi Romani*, 49 (2013): 244-69.

48 BUW, sign. 76, *Jan Kosmowski to Aleksander Sobieski*, Rome 2 May 1699, f. 257v.

49 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr. 272, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Frascati 31 October [1699], f. 33, and Frascati 6 November 1699, f. 34r. See: BNVE, *Avvisi Marescotti*, vol. III/789, Rome 3 October 1699, f. 422r; Rome 10 October 1699, f. 423v; Rome 24 October 1699, f. 427v; Rome 31 October 1699, f. 429r; NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr. 260, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 9 January 1700, f. 44r, Rome 12 February 1701, f. 10r; BCas., *Foglio di Foligno*, Rome 13 November 1699.

50 The queen came to Frascati two more times, in 1707 and 1713, when she stayed at the Visconti villa, probably for health convalescence, see: ASP, *Avvisi*, t. XI, Roma, 23 VI 1713; BCas., *Foglio di Foligno*, Rome 10 and 24 June 1713; Komarzyński, *Maria Kazimiera*, 246, 259.

km from Rome, where her father Cardinal Henry de la Grange d'Arquien had a villa. Probably this place was used not only for recreation, but for confidential meetings with Cardinal Emmanuel Thédore de la Tour d'Auvergne de Bouillon, Louis XIV's representative at the papal court⁵¹. The Queen held talks with the clergyman not only to maintain contacts with the ruler of France, but above all to win permission for her sons to enter into matrimonial relationships with representatives of the Bourbon dynasty⁵².

Separate trips were undertaken by the Queen to Albano in the company of one of her greatest patrons and collaborators, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church and protector of the Kingdom of France, a valuable acquaintance from the point of view of Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska's political plans. Ottoboni introduced the Queen to the Arcadian Academy community and developed her earlier passions for music and stage dramas⁵³. Accompanied by a clergyman, Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska travelled to Albano in October 1699, where musical oratorios were presented to her: «dove si molte persone alla villeggiatura, fà gran preparato w Cardinale Ottoboni ma eredersi si asceranno d'undici diversi principe e dame che sapiono pertarcursi gran pover soggiorno invece di diversine»⁵⁴. Albano turned out to be only a stop on the route of a longer trip by the queen, who then, accompanied by her sons Aleksander and Konstantyn and the ladies, went as a guest to Don Livio Odescalchi, first to the seaside fortress at Palo and then to the castle at Bracciano⁵⁵. The Queen, accompanied by her sons, entered the fortress with great pomp, assisted by guards, and was led to the prince's chambers with great splendour. Immediately afterwards a feast was given in the queen's honour, during which there was plenty of music and dancing:

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A ore quattro fu imbadita la cena agli Ospiti Coronati, che aggradirono l'essere commensali senza trionfi prechè di questi non si curavano su la mensa havendone

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- 51 BUW, sign. 76, *Jan Kosmowski to Aleksander Sobieskiego*, Rome 23 May 1699, f. 261r. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, vol. III, 419.
- 52 See: Aleksandra Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie. Jakub, Aleksander i Konstanty Sobiescy* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2011), *passim*; Geraud Poumarède, "Marie-Casimire de la Grange d'Arquien et les réseaux française en cour de Rome (1699–1701)", in Chrościcki et al., *I Sobieski a Roma*, 102–26.
- 53 Teresa Chirico, "L'inedita serenata alla regina Maria Casimira di Polonia: Pietro Ottoboni committente di cantate e serenate (1689–1709)", in *La serenata tra Seicento e Settecento. Musica, poesia, scenotecnica [...]*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino, vol. 2 (Reggio Calabria: Laruffa, 2007), 397–449; Markuszewska, *Festa*, 37–42, 71–8, 138–54, 243–52, 330–42.
- 54 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 3 October 1699, f. 422r.
- 55 BAV, Fondo Chigi, Cod. M.V.IV, *Lettera di ragguaglio all'Altezza Serenissima del Principe Giacomo Sobieski dell'improvviso divertimento della Regina Madre in Fortezza di Palo et di Bracciano fatta da Cesare Borsatti*, ff. 336r–37v. See: Alessandro Boccolini, "Tra sacro, profano e politica pontificia il ruolo e la presenza di Maria Casimira Sobieska nella Roma del 1700", in Chrościcki et al., *I Sobieski a Roma*, 90–100.

colla spada riempito il mondo fra le Militie con tutto ciò la provida attenzione de' Ministri rese appagatasi la Modestia Reale Sua Maestà, come de' Regi Principi che ben sanno che le cene di Lucullo non sono in uso, quando gli Alessandro ed i Constantini fanno figura de Ettore e de Achilli nelle Fortezze. Terminata la cena fu Sua Maestà accompagnata alle stanze de' Sommi Pontefici et i Reggi Principi a i Gabinetti ad elettione de' loro genii⁵⁶.

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The time spent in Palo was full of playing acting roles and characters of mythical heroes, playing ball and hunting and by the queen resting. The Sobieski's family travelled then to Bracciano, where the local people welcomed the queen, with the honours due to a sovereign ruler. Escorted by the castle guard and cavalry, Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska was escorted to the ducal residence⁵⁷. During the Queen's triumphal procession, the clergy and representatives of the Augustinian, Carmelite and Capuchin orders paid their respects and led the Queen to the basilica. After the liturgy, the Queen, accompanied by Prince Livio Odeschalchi and his officials, went to the castle, where she was honoured in the throne room. The ceremony for this event – according to the author of the account – was identical to that used at the arrival of Queen Christina of Sweden⁵⁸. The chronologically last destination was Tivoli, to which Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska travelled in October 1701. The Queen, as in Frascati, appreciated the advantages of the Villa d'Este guaranteeing coolness and relaxation surrounded by beautiful gardens and splashing water: «I have come here for a little while, my dearest son, to take the air and to see the waters which are here, which really deserve to be seen, having nothing indisputable in the world so little in the merriment of water. It is a monstrous pity when one sees the desolation in which this place is, that if the owners the Dukes of Modena do not remedy this, in a year's time it will no longer be possible to remedy it»⁵⁹. The Queen's trips to the Pope's summer residence at Castel Gandolfo also had the character of political missions and health trips⁶⁰. In doing so, the Queen took advantage of the opportunity to meet the Pope, and although the authors of the news did not specify the subject matter of the audiences, it can be guessed that most of them concerned family matters. Travels in Lazio, however, included more than just established resorts or residences. On her way to Viterbo, Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska also visited the local shrine of S. Maria della Quercia to pay her respects to the miraculous image of the Madonna, made famous since the 15th century⁶¹.

56 BAV, Fondo Chigi, Cod. M.V.IV, *Lettera di ragguaglio*, f. 336v.

57 BAV, Fondo Chigi, Cod. M.V.IV, *Lettera di ragguaglio*, f. 336v.

58 BAV, Fondo Chigi, Cod. M.V.IV, *Lettera di ragguaglio*, f. 337r.

59 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 272, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Tivoli 23 October [1701], f. 29r.

60 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 5 November 1701, f. 82v; BCas., Foglio di Foligno, 12 November 1701.

61 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. IV/790, Rome 2 January 1702, f. 2v.

During her residence in Rome, the Queen considered several times the possibility of buying a property in Venice and setting up her residence there, where she could come for the carnival and meet her sons: «As for Venice, I never intended to go there to live permanently, but rather to stay for a few months to be closer to you, to see your brothers [i.e. Aleksander and Konstantyn Sobieski – note by Author], the Electress [Teresa Kunegunda of Sobieski Wittelsbach – note by Author], who was very much looking forward to it»⁶². This idea, put forward in 1701, became somewhat concrete a year later when the Queen decided, through Girolamo Alberti, to rent a palace on the Canale Grande or a casino on the Riviera del Brenta⁶³. Underlying this decision was, firstly, the need to see his sons: «I can only see Venice, which is a republic closer to you all than this. It is true that I think that the situation there is not very healthy, but there are rest houses on the mainland so that you are not constantly in Venice»⁶⁴. It can be assumed, although this is mere conjecture unsupported by the Queen's words, that she intended to monitor Emperor Leopold I's actions with regard to securing some kind of lucrative and prestigious appanage for Prince Jakub and to intervene in time at the court in Vienna⁶⁵. Nor did Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska abandon her dreams of securing the royal crown in Poland for one of her sons, but these ideas fell far short of political reality. In a somewhat veiled way, the Queen wrote about these ideas: «[...] Venice, which must be chosen as her/his seat,

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- 62 NGAB, f. 695, desc. 1, nr 259, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 13 August [1701], ff. 45v-6r. Prince Jakub and his brothers Aleksander and Konstantyn came to the Venetian carnival in January 1700. The eldest son of Jan III and Maria Kazimiera came to Venice again in 1711 and 1723, see: NGAB, f. 695, desc. 1, nr 272, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 6 January [1700], f. 169r; AGAD, Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów, III/36, *Konstantyn Sobieski to Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł*, Venice 20 February 1700 [without page]; *Jakub Sobieski to Władysława Ponińskiego*, Venice 21 March 1711r, in *Listy Jana Sobieskiego do żony Marii Kazimiery wraz z listami innych znakomitych osób przez Jerzego Samuela Bandtkiego z oryginału niegdyś archiwum Sobieskich przepisane*, ed. August Z. Helcel (Kraków 1860), 552; Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie*, 368-69, 569.
- 63 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 258, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 12 November [1701], f. 97v.
- 64 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 286, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 25 November [1701], f. 29r.
- 65 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 272, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakuba Sobieskiego*, Rome 18 June 1701, f. 74v; Rome 27 November [1701], f. 84r; Rome 31 December [1701], ff. 89r-9v; Rome 25 February [1702], ff. 94-7r; Rome 1 April [1702], ff. 110-12v. Kazimierz Piwarski, *Królewicz Jakub Sobieski w Oławie*, (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1939), 26-7; Józef A. Gierowski, "Kandydatura Sobieskich do tronu polskiego w czasie wielkiej wojny północnej", *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka*, 2 (1980): 369-82; Aleksandra Skrzypietz, *Jakub Sobieski* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2015), 245-65; Ead., "Królewicz Jakub Sobieski i jego kontakty z dworami europejskimi do wybuchu wielkiej wojny północnej", *Wieki Stare Nowe*, 4 (2012): 20-43; Ead. *Królewscy synowie*, 366-76

because it pleased God to decree in this way about the miserable state of our family»⁶⁶. Secondly, the Queen remembered the extraordinary reception she received in the capital of the Republic when she and her retinue travelled to Rome in 1699. During her almost twenty-day stay in Venice, she succumbed to the full rapture of the city called, not without reason, the 'pearl of the Adriatic'. The splendour with which the person of Marie Kaimiera d'Arquien Sobieski was surrounded gave her a sense of triumph and greatness, which she was fond of emphasising: «[...] as I make my way towards Rome via Ferrara and Bologna, bestowed with favours by the Republic of Venice. Everyone – great and small – spared me no sign of their friendship, blessing me and calling out "Vivat!"»⁶⁷.

The Queen's intentions came to fruition with the rapidly changing political circumstances. At the end of February 1704, Princes Jakub and Konstantyn were kidnapped on their way from Oława to Wrocław and imprisoned in the Saxon fortress of Koenigstein on the orders of August II⁶⁸. In the same year, Maximilian II Emanuel Wittelsbach lost the Bavarian throne after losing to the imperial army at Höchstädt and regency rule, following his departure for Brussels and Versailles, was assumed by his wife Teresa Kunegunda⁶⁹. However, the Elector had plans for his mother-in-law, Queen Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, to take over in time, to which she herself responded most favourably⁷⁰. The voyage, with the Pope's approval and the support of the cardinals, passed through Narni, Mantua, Loreto and Padua at the end of 1704, and was interrupted by unfortunate news from Vienna concerning

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66 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 286, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 23 July [1701] f. 98r. See, NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 277, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 9 July [1701], f. 55v.

67 NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, nr 258, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Venice-Bologna, 6 February [1699], f. 37v. See, BN, sign. 6649, *Wiadomości różne cudzoziemskie z Krakowa*, 20 January 1699, f. 121r; Gaetano Platania, "Ancora alcune considerazioni su Maria Casimira Regina di Polonia", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Italo-Polonica. Prace Historyczne*, 71 (1982): 77-84.

68 Details about the circumstances of the kidnapping and imprisonment, see: Kazimierz Jarochoński, "Porwanie Jakuba i Konstantego Sobieskich przez Augusta II na drodze między Oławą a Wrocławiem dnia 27 lutego 1704 roku", in *Opowiadania i studia historyczne* ed. Kazimierz Jarochoński (Poznań: Księgarnia Konstantego J. Żupańskiego, 1863), 70-135; Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie*, 422-30.

69 Michał Komarzyński, *Teresa Kunegunda Sobieska* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1982), 84-100; Id., "Die politische Rolle der bayerischen Kurfürstin Theresia Kunigunde", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 45/3 (1982): 555-73; Id., "Die Beziehungen zwischen den Höfen der Wittelsbacher und dem von Sobieski in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 46/2 (1983): 313-27.

70 *Maksymilian II Emanuel Wittelsbach to Marii Kazimiery d'Arquien Sobieskiej*, Bruxelles 10 October 1704 and Bruxelles 14 November 1704, in *Archiv für österreichische geschichte* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1848), 384-6, 388-9.

Emperor Leopold I's refusal to issue a proper passport⁷¹. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska realised that she could not venture further, either to force the Habsburgs to act against the Saxon Elector Frederic Augustus I or to support her daughter. In this situation, the Electress, being additionally deprived of troops in Bavaria and of advice on political matters from her husband and the aristocracy, decided to join her mother in Italy herself⁷². In February 1705, the electress, using the pretext of wanting to attend carnival games, travelled via Graz and Salzburg to Venice⁷³. A mother-daughter reunion took place in the capital of the Republic on March, 11th 1705. The joy of this sighting, however, did not last long. Teresa Kunegunda insisted on leaving for Bavaria as soon as possible. Her mother, meanwhile, knew that such an arrangement was impossible due to the disagreement of the transgression of Habsburg lands. During the almost two-month stay of mother and daughter in Venice, many quarrels arose between them, not least over ceremonial matters, which clearly outraged Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, who could not imagine that there should be any kind of protocol between people who were close to each other⁷⁴. The Polish Queen left Venice in May 1705⁷⁵ and returned to Rome, while in the meantime her daughter was not allowed through to Bavaria and, like the faithful Penelope, had to wait for her husband, who had only regained the throne in Munich ten years after the events described⁷⁶.

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- 71 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. IV/790, Rome 21 February 1705, f. 416; Platania, *Corrispondenza Maria Kazimiera Sobieska*, 139. BAV, Ott.Lat. 2733, *Avvisi delle cose accadute in Roma negli anni 1703, 1704 e 1705*, f. 22v; Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria, *Carteggi con principi stranieri*, fasc. 14, *Maria Casimira d'Arquien Sobieska to Charlotta Felicitas von Braunschweig-Lüneburg d'Este*, Rome 9 January 1705, f. 5r; BL, Mss. Add. 8526, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Clement XI*, 13 January 1705, ff. 79-80, Padua 13 March 1705, ff. 81-4r and next; BOss., sign. 1468/II, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Ferdynand Charles Gonzaga, duke of Mantua*, Rome 21 January 1705, 588, Padua 24 May 1705, 590; BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. IV/790, Rome 13 January 1705, f. 400r, Rome 21 February 1705, f. 419v; BN, sign. 6649, *Wiadomości różne cudzoziemskie z Krakowa*, 18 February 1705, f. 207r, and 21 Martii 1705, f. 210v; Platania, *Gli ultimi*, 165-8.
- 72 GHA KA, 754, 1/9b, *Teresa Kunegunda Sobieska-Wittelsbach to Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska*, [Monachium], [?.?] December 1704, without page.
- 73 BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. III/789, Rome 23 May 1705, f. 425r.
- 74 Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Munich, Kasten Schwarz, 6644, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien to Teresa Kunegunda Sobieska-Wittelsbach*, 30 March [1705]; BOss., sign. 1468/II, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien to Ferdynand Charles Gonzaga, duke of Mantua*, Venice 2 April 1705, 592.
- 75 GHA KA, 754, 1/9b, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Maksymilian II Emanuel Wittelsbach*, Rome 29 June 1705, without page; Claudia von Kruedener, *Kurfürstin Therese Kunigunde von Bayern (1676-1730) und ihre Friedenspolitik in europäischen Dimensionen zwischen Papst und Kaiser* (Regensburg: Verlag Pustet, 2020), 207-37.
- 76 Komarzyński, *Teresa*, 101-16; Reginald de Schryver, "Princess Teresa Kunegunda Sobieska 1676-1730. Thirty-five years of solitude", in *For East is East: Liber*

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Some of the Queen's last journeys in Italy were to Naples and Bari. At first glance, both trips were pilgrimages to the shrines of saints – Januarius, the patron saint of Naples, and Nicholas, the heavenly protector of Bari. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska visited the Campanian capital for the second time. In 1700, she and her two sons, Princes Aleksander and Konstantyn, stayed in Naples from April, 30th to May, 10th at the invitation of Archbishop Giacomo Cantelmo. The Queen arrived in Naples with the intention of seeing the body and the famous miracle of St Januarius, the liquefaction of the saint's blood. The Ordinary of the diocese invited the Queen with the words: «San Gennaro custodito in quest Cathedrale in grandissima gelosia dentro una cassa di bronzo specificando che sono insino più di cent'anni che non si apre, onde per sodisfatione della real pietà di Vostra Maestà e per obedire alli suoi ordini»⁷⁷. After the Queen's departure, the Archbishop sent a letter thanking Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska for her stay and expressing his sincere devotion. To his thanks he attached a piece of the relics of St. Januarius to reawaken the Queen's private devotion⁷⁸. This visit, however, was not only to give vent to piety, but was undertaken in connection with the efforts made by the Queen to secure the office of Viceroy for the eldest son of Prince Jakub Sobieski, plans which did not materialise. A second visit to Naples in May 1707 was similarly made under the banner of honouring the remains of St Januarius to give thanks for the release of her sons from Saxon bondage. The Queen obtained the consent of Pope Clement XI to set off immediately after Easter with her father Cardinal Henri Albert d'Arquien, her granddaughter Maria Kazimiera, Prince Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski and eighty servants forming part of a retinue of: «Domienica diede udienza alla Regina di Polonia, che prese congedo della Sua Santità per il viaggio di Napoli, alla qual volta parti' lunedì alla 18. ore alloggiata la sera a Velletri dalla Camera, e martedì a Terraccina, facendosi conto, che vi sia giunta questa mattina in compagnia del Principe Lubomirski suo Nipote, e della Principessina con 80. persone di seguito per trovarsi in vi alla nobilissima Festa di San Gennaro»⁷⁹. Immediately after her pompous entry and the cheers of the people of Naples and the commemoration of the body of St Januarius, the Queen went to Bari to pray at the tomb of St Nicholas⁸⁰.

Amicorum Wojciech Skalmowski, eds. Tatiana Soldatjenkova and Erich Waegemans (Leuven-Paris-Dudley: Peeters, 2003), 165-80.

77 Roma, Archivio Storico Capitolino, Fondo Scarlatti, 1190/4, *Cardinal Giacomo Cantelmo to Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska*, 14 July 1700.

78 The Queen has arrived in Naples to probe at the Viceroy's court for the granting of the Duchy of Piombino to prince Jakub, see: NGAB, fond 695, desc. 1, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski*, Rome 12 January 1701, f. 244r, and *Cardinal Giacomo Cantelmo to Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska*, 16 July 1700.

79 BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome 7 May 1707. See, BNVE, *Avvisi Marescotti*, vol. IV/790, f. 644v; Valesio, *Diario*, vol. IV, 801.

80 According to sources deposited in Archivio della Basilica di San Nicola di Bari, Queen Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska during her short stay founded Holy Mass founded with intention to Bona Sforza and granted the hospital

However, the queen was interested in something more, since in an earlier letter to the Lithuanian chancellor Stanislaus Antoni Szczuka sent in 1702 she referred to Queen Bona, heiress of the duchies of Bari and Rossano, but in an altered context. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, seeking funds for the upkeep of her large court and wishing to recover from the Commonwealth the sums disbursed to satisfy the pretensions of the confederates of Piotr Bogusław Baranowski during the interregnum after John III, put forward claims to the so-called Neapolitan sums. This was money owed to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on account of the seizure of the principalities of Bari and Rossano by Philip II of Habsburg, on the basis of Queen Bona's forged will of 1557. The Habsburgs also owed Bona 10% of the revenue from the customs chamber in Foggia, as repayment of a loan taken from her in 1556. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska expressed her demands in the following words:

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And we would like to express that, having a legitimate claim to the Republic [...] and seeing ourselves now oppressed, then, without troubling it [i.e. the Republic – note by Author], we could content ourselves with handing over from it [i.e. the Republic – note by Author] in perpetuity the right to the Neapolitan estates and sums from Bona, once Queen of the same Republic – note by Author] we could content ourselves with transferring from it, through the Sejm, in perpetuity to Us and Our House, the full right to the Neapolitan estates and sums granted to Us by Bona, once Queen of this Commonwealth, and since then neglected in vindication, which would have to be done at no small cost to Us and with much effort⁸¹.

This letter shows that the enterprising Queen was very well acquainted, during her long stay in Poland, with the history of the country and the history of her predecessor to be able to make such concrete claims.

The Queen's last journey in general was linked to her departure from Rome. From 1705 onwards, Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska's relations with Pope Clement XI gradually cooled and became bad. There were many reasons for this. The queen, mindful of her majesty, did not receive the due respect from the cardinals during her audience, in the form of removing her birettas when meeting her. Contributing to the Queen's disavowal was the Pope's nephew Annibale Albani. During an audience at the Palazzo Zuccari in 1712. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska showed him such far-reaching despise that her behaviour angered the Pope. In addition to these ceremonial considerations, the conflicts were caused by the conduct of the queen's

were also Polish pilgrims came to pray at the tomb of St Nicholas, see: *Libro dell'elemosina del Vener. Ospedale del Canonico D. Pietro Dellada de 15. Sept. 1707 a tutto Agosto 1708*, sign. 30, ff. 60v-1r; *Libro dell'Alluministi di Sacro Hospitale dell'Abbate Giov. Antonio Calefiti del 27 Sept. 1706 a tutto Agosto 1707*, sign. 35, f. 25r [I would like to send my kind greetings to Padre Gaetano Gerardo Cioffari, head of Centro Studi Nicolaiani in Bari for presenting me these sources].

81 AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich, sign. 164, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, Rome 23 April 1701, 205-06.

courtiers, who took part in brawls and street fights and whom Clement XI ordered to be sentenced. The Queen protected her subordinates and ignored papal decrees. Undoubtedly, political matters also contributed to the deterioration of relations. The Pope refused to support Sobieski for the Polish crown and recognised the majesty of King Augustus II after his restoration to the throne of the Republic. The Queen, wishing to spite the Pope, was showing her support and affection for the French and the King of Artsakh, whose army was triumphing on the Italian peninsula during the War of the Spanish Succession⁸².

Maria Kazmiera d'Arquien Sobieska's efforts to leave Rome began as early as 1708, when she purchased a property in Genoa⁸³. Arguably, the Queen's financial difficulties and the establishment of contracts with Genoese merchants were behind this decision⁸⁴. The Queen, however, increasingly sighed for the country of her birth and at similar times courted the possibility of settling in Lyon, Tours, Chambord, Amboise or Blois⁸⁵. Shortly afterwards, in 1710, the Polish queen threatened Clement XI with departure and admonished the galley commander to prepare the ship and equipage. Cardinal Albani's correspondent noted that: «Martedì dopo pranzo fu questa Regina di Polonia ad una lunga udienza del Papa e poi, dopo averle richiesto il Prior Ferrenti Comendante delle Galere del Papa, se doveva mantenersi in ordine per servirla gli disse che non si movesse, se non che avvisata, credendosi prolungata oltre la di lei andata in Francia»⁸⁶, although it is not certain that he actually witnessed the argument and the Queen's behaviour.

Regardless, in early June 1714, the Queen gave a farewell audience to the Pope:

Lunedì mattina il Papa diede la consueta Udienda, e nel doppio pranzo diede quella di congedo a questa Regina di Polonia, che si trattenne lungamente con Sua Beatitudine avendo determinato la Maèsta Sua ripassare in Francia, per il qual viaggio Sua Santità glia ha prestate le galere Pontificie, cha la condurranno fino a Genova, per dove la sudetta Regina s'incamminerà nell'entrante settimana,

82 Komaszyński, *Maria Kazimiera*, 245-62; Platania, *Corrispondenza di Maria Kazimiera*, 173-6; Jacek Staszewski, *Stosunki Augusta II z Kurią Rzymską w latach 1704-1706 (Misja rzymska)* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Toruniu, 1965); Maria Śladowska, "Polityka Augusta II wobec Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce oraz relacje z Kurią Rzymską w świetle korespondencji króla z kardynałem Annibalem Albanim w latach 1716-1723", *Kronika Zamkowa* 1-2/57-58 (2009): 109-42.

83 In 1711, the queen, alternatively, expressed her desire to go to Florence with her granddaughter, see: ASP, Avvisi, t. VIII, Rome 16 August 1711.

84 Komaszyński, *Maria Kazimiera*, 248.

85 Valesio, *Diario*, t. IV, 43; Lucien Bély, "Louis XIV et la reine Marie-Casimire. Le retour d'une Française ou d'une reine de Pologne", in Chrościcki et al., *I Sobieski a Roma*, 166.

86 ASP, Avvisi, t. VII, Rome 24 May 1710. In the printed supplement to this notice from *Il Corriere Ordinario*, it was said that the queen arrived at Castel Gandolfo and, in the presence of Pope Clement XI and the entire court, announced her departure, which filled those gathered, including the pope, with veritable confusion, see: ASP, Avvisi, t. VII, *Il Corriere Ordinario*, 11 June 1710).

portandosi ad imbarcare nel Porto di Civita Vecchia; l'Amore, che si era conciliato la M.S. in questa Citta' per le sue dolci maniere, e generosità fa' che ogn'uno senta con particolar dispiacere questa partenza della Regina tanto piu' che la vedono per la sua età avanzata, e per la sofferta ultima sua malattia di non essere in stato di fare un così lungo viaggio, dal quale non e' stato possibile in rimoverla del Pontefice, e le suppliche di quelli che bramano sinceramente la conservatione della Maèsta Sua⁸⁷.

On June, 16th 1714, the Queen left Rome and sailed by papal boat from the port of Civitavecchia to Livorno and then to Genoa⁸⁸. From there, after a month's stay, she sailed for Marseille. In the harbour, 24 cannon salutes were fired in honour of the queen, honouring her majesty. However, the solemn mood of the moment was disrupted by an incident in the form of a brawl between papal soldiers and French customs officials. The Queen later asked for the incident to be covered up so as not to cause a sensation and irritate relations with the Papal State⁸⁹. At the beginning of August 1714, the Queen continued on a river barge to Avignon. However, when it was learned of the plague prevailing in the city, Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska gave the order to continue her journey. It was only through persuasion from the vice-captain Salviatti that the barge reached Sorgues, near Avignon, where the Queen was greeted with a bang from the cannons of the⁹⁰. After a short stay, three ships carrying the queen's courtiers and belongings sailed along the Rhone towards Lyon. As they approached the city, cannons from the arsenal sounded in the Queen's honour. On the shore, the Queen was greeted by the Governor of Lyon, Marshal de Villeroy, the mayor and the benchers. To the archbishop's palace, intended as the queen's residence, her carriage was led by a line of half a thousand municipal guards⁹¹. It should be added that the Queen wished to emphasise her majesty with the ceremonial reception of distinguished and high-born guests. However, some of them, such as the Duchesse de Soissons, refused to give it due to her attempt to be seated not on an armchair but on a stool, which was an etiquette faux-paux⁹². The journey continued from Lyon to Roane, where the Queen was taken in a litter. There Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska reboarded a ship bound for her home town of

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87 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 9 June 1714.

88 BCas., Foglio di Foligno, Rome 23 June 1714, 14 July 1714.

89 BAV, Barb.Lat. 6430, *Avvisi di varie città principali di Europa dal 4 gennaio al 30 dicembre 1713 e dal 3 gennaio al 28 dicembre 1714*, f. 337v; Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Fondo Albani, vol. 195, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Clement XI*, Palo 17, 18, 19 June 1704, ff. 325r-31v; AN, G⁷ 541^b, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Desmarte*, Marseille 7 July 1714.

90 Avignon, Bibliothèque Calvet, sign. 2827, *Relation de de qui s'est passé à l'occasion du passage de la Reine de Pologne dans l'Etat d'Avignon le 10^e Aoust 1714*, ff. 554-69.

91 AN, G⁷ 541^b, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Desmarte*, Lyon 24 VIII 1714.

92 Michał Komarzyński, "Zamek w Blois – ostatnia rezydencja Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej (1714-1716)", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 69, 2, (1978): 243.

Nevers. The city authorities welcomed the queen with a cannon salute, offered her rich gifts and held a banquet in her honour at the Château de Bordes⁹³. Farewelled by the customary cannonade on September, 14th, she sailed to Blois, where councilors of the town gave the queen the keys to the town gates with a request for patronage and assurances of happiness. The queen was transported in a sedan upholstered in black velvet and four benchers carried a canopy over her as a sign of royal splendour. At the head of the procession, amid the roar of cannons and the tolling of bells, were companies of the city guard, protecting the procession to the castle⁹⁴.

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Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska's travels in Italy were of a varied nature. It must be admitted that the queen was very mobile during her fifteen-year residency and undertook her journeys for important political and family matters, to make pilgrimages to holy places or simply for recreation. From the moment she crossed the borders of the Italian peninsula, the Queen found herself at the centre of the population's attention and for this reason she attached importance to the public presentation of her person and majesty. In the cities, greeters feted the widow of the invincible Jan III, conqueror of the Turks and liberator of Vienna and defender of all Christianity. The queen never wavered from the signs of sovereignty attributed to her and always, whether it was a stroll through Rome to admire its antiquity, further trips to Venice or Naples or even leaving Italy, she demanded the same honours. In this respect, she strongly identified with the figure of Queen Christina of Sweden and attempted, sometimes over-the-top, to introduce the rules of ceremonial in force at her court. The antics of behaving incognito were occasions of extreme difficulty, given her travels in the company of family members, cardinals or a retinue of her servants. Even the circumstances of a pilgrimage to Loreto, a meeting with her daughter in Venice, or prayers in the cathedrals of Naples or Bari, were never private events but gathered crowds of interested parties or the Queen's associates. However, regardless of her public appearances, the Queen sought moments of respite for herself during her travels, either to relax, reflect, reminisce or even to restore her health. Places such as Frascati, Tivoli, Nettuno and Palo became ideal settings where Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska could indulge in rest and solitude, away from the hustle and bustle of the Eternal City. No less important stops on the Queen's itinerary were those associated with religious sites. The first place in this respect was occupied by Loreto, strongly associated with the history of the Vienna campaign and the entrusting of the fate of the expedition to the Virgin Mary, as well as the offering of votive offerings to her shrine. Trips to holy places were also linked to the Queen's curiosity. This was undoubtedly the nature of her double trip to Naples to venerate the remains of the city's patron saint and to witness a famous miracle. For Marie Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, this was not only an important spiritual experience, but also a spectacle or demonstration of a phenomenon regarded as supernatural.

93 Komaszyński, "Zamek w Blois", 244.

94 Komaszyński, "Zamek w Blois", 244.

ABBREVIATION

- AGAD: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw]
AN: Archives Nationales Paris
ASP: Archivio di Stato di Pesaro
ASM: Archivio di Stato di Modena
GHA KA: Geheimes Hausarchiv in Munich, Korrespondenz Akt
NGAB: Nacyanalny Gistaryčny Archiŭ Belarusi in Minsk.
BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 Barb.Lat.: Barberino Latino
 Ott.Lat.: Ottoboniani Latini
BCas.: Biblioteca Casantense di Roma
BL: British Library
BN: Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie
BNVE: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele - Roma
BOss.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław
BUW: Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

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