

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XV–XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History Sciences.

The special issue of the *Eastern European History Review* focuses on the fascinating theme of travel in the early modern age (XVI–XVIII centuries), investing it from women's unique and particular point of view. United by their destination – Italy –, their journeys, although driven by different motives and reasons, show women perfectly at ease in travelling, but above all, eager to understand and appropriate the otherness experienced.

From East to West. Women Journeys in Early Modern Period to Italy (XVII–XXVIII centuries), edited by the Polish historian Jarosław Pietrzak, is the result of interdisciplinary historical research interests of CESPoM Study Center.

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Director of EEHR

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FROM EAST TO WEST. WOMEN JOURNEYS

Edited by Jarosław Pietrzak



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FROM EAST TO WEST.
WOMEN JOURNEYS IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD TO
ITALY
(XVII–XVIII CENTURIES)

Edited by
Jarosław Pietrzak



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EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: LA RIVISTA

Il Comitato redazionale e scientifico è lieto di presentare al pubblico la rivista scientifica *Eastern European History Review*.

Con un carattere internazionale e interdisciplinare, una cadenza annuale e una fruibilità *open access* la rivista focalizza i propri interessi sulle dinamiche occorse nell'Europa Orientale durante tutta l'età moderna (XIV-XIX). *Eastern European History Review* è espressione del Centro Studi dell'Università della Tuscia CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna) nato nel 1997 per intuizione del Prof. Gaetano Platania, Direttore Emerito della Rivista.

L'iniziativa editoriale che presentiamo nasce dall'evidente mancanza in Italia di una rivista scientifica relativa alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale in Età Moderna, nonostante la penisola abbia giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la Storia e la Cultura di una parte integrante del continente, a torto considerata come lontana e periferica.

Consapevoli di questo, il Comitato ha posto quale obiettivo primario della *Eastern European History Review* quello di offrire uno spazio di riflessione e di discussione su temi che appartengono alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale, e insieme alle relazioni - politiche e culturali - che questa vasta area del Vecchio Continente ha avuto con l'occidente d'Europa, e l'Italia in particolare, incoraggiando il dialogo tra studiosi e esperti di settore, e tra differenti approcci della ricerca scientifica.

Il Comitato Redazionale e Scientifico

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: THE JOURNAL

The Editorial and Scientific Board are proud delighted to present the *Eastern European History Review* under the aegis of Sette Città Editore.

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XIV-XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997, from an idea of Prof. Gaetano Platania, today Director Emeritus of this journal.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History sciences.

The editorial initiative we present comes from the obvious lack of a journal, in Italy, concerning the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Modern Age, this despite its fundamental role in the history and culture of that part of the continent, wrongly considered distant and peripheral.

Quite the contrary is true, in fact. Main objective of the journal is to create a space for reflection and discussion on topics pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, but also relations with Continental Europe, encouraging dialogue between scholars and experts in the field, and between different approaches of scientific research.

The Editorial and Scientific Board

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TEOFILA MORAWSKA AND KATARZYNA PLATER: CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LANDSCAPE OF ITALY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ABSTRACT

In May 1773, Teofila Morawska née Radziwiłł, thirty-six-year-old, married, mother of three children, set off on her European journey. She travelled in companion of her husband's sister. Over ten years later, in 1785, being around the same age Katarzyna Plater née Sosnowska embarked for a long journey to Italy. She was accompanied by her adolescent daughter and husband on the tour. Both women recorded extensive observations in the travel journals. In my paper I draw attention to the cultural and social landscape of Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century revealed by both women in their travel accounts. I explore the way they experienced Italy in the golden age of the Grand Tour.

KEYWORDS: Teofila Morawska née Radziwiłł, Katarzyna Plater née Sosnowska, Polish women travellers, Polish Grand Tour, social networks.

Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century attracted travellers from various corners of the world. The Apennine Peninsula became a cultural destination for Americans and Europeans, primarily men but also a remarkable number of women including the noteworthy community of Polish women travellers. Polish feminine presence in Italy is visible through the lenses of the eighteenth-century correspondence or travel journals. Furthermore, arrivals of Polish travellers to Rome can be also traced on pages of the *Diario Ordinario*, a Roman periodical published by the Chracas family¹.

Unfortunately, not many of the primary sources by Polish women travellers to Italy survived until the present day. It is a great loss for example that the travel journal of such an exceptional woman as Anna Jabłonowska née Sapieha written during her travel through Austria, Italy, England, and the Netherlands in the early seventies of the eighteenth century is lost. In this light travel, the journals of Teofila Morawska née Radziwiłł [1738–1818] and Katarzyna Plater née Sosnowska [ca.1748–1832] are extremely valuable sources. Both manuscripts remained unpublished until the first

¹ Analysis of the *Diario Ordinario* entries through the perspective of the Roman stays of Polish women travellers in the second half of the eighteenth century I have included in my PhD dissertation on portraits of the Polish ladies from their travels through Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century. For further information see: Katarzyna Jagiełło-Jakubaszek, *Portrety Polek z podróży po Italii w drugiej połowie XVIII w.* (PhD diss., Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2022), 8–41.

decade of the twenty-first century². The journal of Teofila Morawska was published in 2002 whereas the journal of Katarzyna Plater – in 2013³. As a consequence of the publication of the journals numerous contributions referring to various aspects of each women's travel have been produced, yet some of the issues are still to be investigated⁴. The aim of this essay is to draw attention to the cultural and social

- 2 The manuscript of Teofila Morawska's *Diariusz podróży zagranicę Teofilii Konstancji z Radziwiłłów generałowej Ignacowej w latach 1773-1774* is kept in the Vilnius University Library (Ms F-3-1149), while the manuscript of the Katarzyna Plater's *Mon voyage en Italie. Second livret. 1785 et 86* in the Library of the Ossoliński National Institute (sign. 4443/I). More information on the characteristics of both manuscripts see Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, "Polki w Wenecji w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku. Zapiski z podróży Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej i Katarzyny z Sosnowskich Platerowej", *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 5 (2014): 319.
- 3 Teofila Konstancja z Radziwiłłów Morawska, *Diariusz podróży europejskiej w latach 1773-1774*, ed. Bogdan Rok (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002); Katarzyna z Sosnowskich Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch. Dziennik z lat 1785-1786*, ed. Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, trans. Anna Pikor-Półtorak (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2013).
- 4 See in particular: Bogdan Rok, "Obraz Europy Zachodniej w świetle relacji podróżniczej Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej w latach 1773-1774", in *Między Zachodem a Wschodem: studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w epoce nowożytnej*, eds. Jacek Straszewski, Krzysztof Mikulski and Jarosław Dumanowski (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2002), 221-32; Id., "Życie towarzyskie Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej w europejskiej podróży w latach 1773-1774", in *Władza i prestiż: magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, eds. Jerzy Urwanowicz, Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz and Piotr Guzowski (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2003), 639-49; Sylwia Sołtysik, "Odkrywanie Europy Zachodniej przez emigrację z czasu schyłkowego okresu konfederacji barskiej – casus Teofili Konstancji z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej", in *Staropolski ogląd świata. Materiały z konferencji, Wrocław 23-24 października 2004 r.*, eds. Bogdan Rok and Filip Wolański (Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 2004), 239-48; Agnieszka Śniegucka, "Teofila Morawska – narodziny legendy o kobiecie rycerzu", *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, 9 (2007): 109-115; Karolina Targosz, "Kolekcjonerki XVIII wieku – Anna Jabłonowska i Teofila Konstancja Morawska i ich zbiory przyrodnicze", in *Kobieta epok dawnych w literaturze, kulturze i społeczeństwie*, eds. Iwona Maciejewska and Krystyna Stasiewicz (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Littera, 2008), 313-37; Bogdan Rok, "Kilka uwag o zainteresowaniach starożytnych polskich peregrynantów z drugiej połowy XVIII w.", in *Człowiek w teatrze świata. Studia o historii i kulturze dedykowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grzybowskiemu z okazji osiemdziesiątych urodzin*, ed. Bożena Popiołek (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Krakowie, 2010), 297-305; Id., "Wyprawa Teofili Konstancji z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej do Neapolu w 1774 r.", in *Klio viae et invia: Opuscula Marco Cetwiński dedicata*, ed. Anna Odrzywołek-Kidawa (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 521-27; Id., "Staropolska wizja świata Teofili Konstancji z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej – polskiej pamiętnikarki XVIII wieku, in *Per mulierem ... Kobieta w dawnej Polsce – w średniowieczu i*

landscape of Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century disclosed by both travellers in their travel journals.

Teofila Morawska set off on her European journey in May 1773. At that time, she was a thirty-six-year-old mother of three children who stayed at home⁵. She was accompanied by a small group of people, including her husband's sister Marianna Morawska. The tour itinerary included Germany, Switzerland, and France. It is important to note that originally, Morawska had not planned to travel to Italy. After nearly two months in Paris, she intended to go to London. The sudden change of plans was induced by the message she received from her brother Karol Radziwiłł and was related to his political arrangements. Therefore, we can assume that Morawska's Italian itinerary had not been precisely planned. It was also in some degree determined by her brother's intentions⁶.

Being around the same age but over ten years later, Katarzyna Plater embarked on her journey to Italy in 1785. She travelled in the companion of her husband Józef Wincenty and a thirteen-year-old daughter Cecylia. Unlike Teofila Morawska, Katarzyna Plater's journey had been planned and peregrinations through Italy were the primary purpose.

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dobie staropolskiej, eds. Katarzyna Justyniarska-Chojniak and Sylwia Konarska-Zimnicka (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 521-27; Danuta Mucha, "O wspaniałości włoskiej rzeźby i malarstwa. Wyjątek z dziennika podróży do Italii Katarzyny Platerowej", in *Iter Italicum. Sztuka i historia/ Arte e Storia*, ed. Małgorzata Wrześniak (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2011), 133-71; Ead., "Co widziała Katarzyna? O dziełach sztuki w diariuszu z podróży do Italii Katarzyny z Sosnowskich Platerowej (1785-1786)", in *Strony autobiografizmu*, eds. Małgorzata Pieczara, Rozalia Słodczyk and Anna Witkowska (Warszawa: Wydział Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012), 322-29; Małgorzata Wyrzykowska, "Percepcja barokowych dzieł sztuki w Europie w XVIII w świetle Diariusza podróży europejskiej w latach 1773-1774 Teofili Konstancji z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej", *Quart*, 4/22, (2011): 21-41; Bogdan Rok, "Europa w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku w oczach polskiej podróżniczki Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej", in *Europejski wiek osiemnasty. Uniwersalizm myśli, różnorodność dróg. Studia i materiały*, eds. Marek Dębowski, Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz and Michał Zwierzykowski (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego "Societas Vistulana", 2013), 221-34; Małgorzata Wrześniak, *Florencja-Muzeum. Miasto i jego sztuka w oczach polskich podróżników* (Kraków: TAIWPN Universitas, 2013), *passim*; Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, "Polki w Wenecji", 317-37; Beata Kurządkowska, "Rejestr rzeczy mijanych jako przyczynek do wyznań osobistych w relacji z podróży Teofili Morawskiej", *Prace Literaturoznawcze*, 3 (2015): 183-93; Andrzej Stroynowski, "Czy w XVIII wieku Polki interesowały się twierdzami?", in *Twierdze osiemnastowiecznej Europy. Studia z dziejów nowożytnej sztuki wojskowej*, ed. Maciej Trąbalski (Oświęcim: Wydawnictwo Napoleon V, 2016), 289-96; Marian Mikołajczyk, "Prawa państw europejskich kobiecym okiem widziane. Uwagi Teofili Konstancji z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej w diariuszu podróży z lat 1773-1774", *Z Dziejów Prawa*, 12 (2019): 203-26; Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia* (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019), *passim*.

5 Biographical information on her in Morawska, *Diariusz podróży*, 7-13.

6 Jagiełło-Jakubaszek, *Portrety Polek z podróży po Italii*, 72.

Both women were passionate travellers. Both left extensive and extremely interesting observations relating to a vast range of issues. Routes of their journeys, although not identical, included places well established on the maps of the Grand Tour. Both women visited Venice, Vicenza, Verona, Ancona, Loreto, Bologna, Padua and obviously Rome. While Teofila Morawska experienced Rome in times of the Pope Clement XIV, Katarzyna Plater visited the Eternal City during the pontificate of Pius VI. Entries in Morawska's journal inform moreover extensively about her stay in Naples and in the south of Italy. In case of Katarzyna Plater we know that she visited Naples, but her journal does not include information about this visit. The last entry in Plater's travel journal informs about departure to Naples. According to information published in the *Diario Ordinario* after sojourn in Naples, the Platers came back to Rome⁷. Katarzyna Plater's travel journal does not contain any information about her stay in Florence. Morawska, on the other hand, described her visit to the city.

Regardless of the above, travel accounts reveal differences between the two women dictated by factors such as their mentality, education, personal preferences, or the degree of preparation for the travel. In the field of art, Teofila Morawska was highly interested in the material composition and value of objects (artworks). She relatively rarely mentioned artists' names. The information in her journal contains errors and inaccuracies and the views expressed are relatively of general nature. On the other hand, Katarzyna Plater's opinions in this regard are of a different nature. Her reflections are more in-depth, and her descriptions are more precise and accurate. In her observations on art, she reveals her preparation for the travel, knowledge, and high level of awareness⁸.

Another factor that influenced travellers' impressions of the cultural panorama of Italy were social networks, of which travellers became a part. Those of Teofila Morawska were not extensive. While in Rome, she noted that she avoided making contacts except for the essential ones and devoted herself to exploring the city. Her social relations were also strongly determined by the position and contacts of her family members, father – Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, and older brother – Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł. In Bologna, thanks to Karol Radziwiłł's connections Morawska met cardinal Antonio Branciforte Colonna, papal legate in the city and senator Girolamo Ranuzzi. During a visit to the opera, the cardinal invited Morawska to his box for dinner. She refused, justifying herself with Saturday fasting. The real reasons for the refusal, however, seem to be different. As she wrote in her journal - she did not eat fish. Moreover, it is worth noting that Morawska spoke neither French nor Italian. She was accompanied in her European journey by Kazimierz Kaszyc who served as an interpreter but a visit to the cardinal's box without knowledge of

7 *Diario Ordinario*, n. 1176 (1786), 2; Jagiełło-Jakubaszek, *Portrety Polek z podróży po Italii*, 32-3.

8 Jagiełło-Jakubaszek, *Portrety Polek z podróży po Italii*, 72. On art and antiquities in Morawska's and Plater's travel accounts see e.g. Rok, "Kilka uwag o zainteresowaniach starożytniczych", 297-305; Mucha, "O wspaniałości włoskiej rzeźby i malarstwa", 133-71; Ead., "Co widziała Katarzyna?", 322-29; Wyrzykowska, "Percepcja barokowych dzieł sztuki", 21-41; Kowalczyk, "Polki w Wenecji w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku", 317-37; Wrześniak, *Florencja-Muzeum, passim*.

foreign languages could have made it uncomfortable. She could neither count on the support of her brother, who had already left Bologna.

Much more significant seems to be the acquaintance Morawska made with Girolamo Ranuzzi. Senator arranged for her a visit to the Institute of the Sciences of Bologna. His nephew, Maurizio Gherardini, served as a competent *cicerone* during this visit. Collections of paintings and sculptures gathered at the Institute Morawska described in a laconic way. Much greater attention she paid to the collections of *naturalia*, models of machines and ships, and a physics laboratory. She also admired anatomical models used in medical studies. She was particularly interested in a set of models depicting the stages of pregnancy, ways of positioning the foetus in the uterus and the course of childbirth. She must have seen anatomical models by Giovanni Manzolini, Anna Morandi Manzolini, and Giovanni Battista Sandri. These models were ordered by the pioneer of obstetrics, surgeon Giovanni Antoni Galli, for the school for midwives he ran. Appreciated for their utility values, and attracting they were purchased in 1757 by Pope Benedict XIV for the Institute of the Sciences of Bologna. Galli, on the other hand, as a professor, was entrusted with teaching obstetrics at the Institute, where he conducted classes for midwives and surgeons. Galli's collection of anatomical models included wax models of body parts, numerous clay models of unborn foetuses in various stages of development, models that simulate childbirth, including a wooden and glass pregnant uterus used by blindfolded students together with a flexible doll to practice⁹. Morawska also visited Palazzo Ranuzzi where she viewed anatomical wax models made by a woman who, as she noted without indicating a name, lived in Palazzo. The woman mentioned by Morawska was Anna Morandi Manzolini, the internationally renowned anatomical wax modeller. In 1769, about 5 years before Morawska's visit to Palazzo Ranuzzi, Girolamo Ranuzzi purchased from Anna Morandi a complete collection of anatomical models made by her in wax. According to the agreement, the senator was obliged to provide Morandi with an apartment in his Palazzo for the duration of her life. Morandi lived at the Palazzo Ranuzzi until her death on July 9, 1774. Ranuzzi arranged and mediated contacts with Morandi's international clientele¹⁰. There is no indication that Morawska met Anna Morandi Manzolini in person.

Within this context, it is noteworthy that Morawska, from the early stages of her European journey, had begun to collect a variety of objects to her own cabinet of natural history. In Venice, she collected shells and bought models of ships and gondolas. In Florence, she added mosaics to her collection. In Rome, near the pyramid of Cestius, where excavations were taking place, she entered archaeological sites to get old stones and other items. During her stay in southern Italy, she bought minerals from the eruption of Vesuvius and marine curiosities. She also brought fragments of paintings from Pompeii.

9 Lucia Dacome, "Women, wax and anatomy in the *century of things*", *Renaissance Studies*, 21/4 (2017): 522-550.

10 Rebecca Messbarger, "Re-membling a Body of Work: Anatomist and Anatomical Designer Anna Morandi Manzolini", *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 32 (2003): 139. One of the Morandi's clients was Anna Jabłonowska née Sapieha.

During her stay in Rome, Teofila Morawska was supported by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Giovanni Maria Lascaris. In her travel journal, Morawska described him as a friend of her late parents. The career of Lascaris, born in Verona, began in Rome. In 1738 he went to Lviv, which was related to his activities undertaken for Jakub Sobieski. After Sobieski's death, Lascaris served Teofila Morawska's father, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł. At that time, Radziwiłł applied for inheritance from the Sobieskis. Lascaris loyally served the Radziwiłłs for many years, achieving numerous successes in this field. He was promoted in the structures of the church hierarchy. In 1757 he returned to Rome, where he continued his ecclesiastical career. At that time, he kept in touch with the Radziwiłł family. After the death of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł – with his son and older brother of Teofila Morawska, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł. Lascaris also maintained and deepened his relations with representatives of the House Stuart in Rome¹¹. When meeting with Teofila Morawska in Rome for the first time, he was replacing Cardinal Henry Benedict, Duke of York, archpriest of St. Peter, absent in Rome at the time. In Morawska's journal we do not find detailed information about the scope of Lascaris support for her. Morawska mentioned that he visited her almost every day. He also entertained Morawska with a dinner at his residence. Many years later, in 1785, during Katarzyna Plater's visit to St. Peter Lascaris invited her for hot chocolate. It is more than probable that in consequence of his arrangements, Morawska took one of the best places during the service on Easter Monday, celebrated by the Pope. He also passed Morawska an invitation to dinner from Charles Edward Stuart, the Younger Pretendent. The prince received Morawska in the company of his wife, Louisa née Stolberg. Later she noted in her journal that she had letters from her brother to the prince. She also mediated in a transfer of her brother's letters to Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, protector of Poland. Teofila Morawska's stay in Rome ended with an audience with the Pope. Her brother's plans to travel to Turkey were one of the subjects of the papal audience. While the travel journal of Teofila Morawska reveals a picture of social relations of a rather modest nature, in Katarzyna Plater's journal the social network is flourishing. Unlike Teofila Morawska, Katarzyna Plater's social relations were not dictated by her family connections. They were largely determined by the connections between the king and the royal court in Warsaw and foreigners connected with the king and the court¹².

In Bologna, the Platers were supported by Cardinal Giovanni Archetti, who, as Ewa Manikowska pointed out, could be considered an unofficial representative of

11 Jarosław Pietrzak, "Testament Patriarchy Jerozolimskiego Jerzego Marii Laskarysa ze Zbiorów Archiwum Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie – Muzeum", *Kronika Zamkowa*, 2/68 (2015): 302-10.

12 On the role of the network of diplomatic contacts, on the example of Izabela Lubomirska and Stanisław Kostka Potocki's journey through Italy, see Ewa Manikowska, "Una nuova fonte per il viaggio in Italia di Stanisław Kostka Potocki del 1785–1786. Il carteggio di Tommaso Antici", in *Archeologia letteratura collezionismoa. Atti del Convegno dedicato a Jan e Stanisław Potocki 17-18 aprile 2007*, eds. Ewa Jastrzębowska and Monika Niewójt (Roma: Accademia Polacca delle Scienze Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, 2008): 163-73.

the Polish king and court¹³. According to Katarzyna Plater, cardinal Archetti was very helpful during the Platers' stay in Bologna. Four days after arrival in Rome, Katarzyna Plater recorded her first of many meetings with Tommaso Antici, the representative of the Polish king in the Papal State and the king's artistic agent. During this meeting, Antici informed the Platers that Giuliana Falconieri Santacroce, one of the key figures of the Roman social scene, would facilitate establishing by them all important acquaintances in Rome¹⁴. Antici intended to introduce the Platers to Cardinal François-Joachim de Pierre de Bernis. Katarzyna Plater met de Bernis about a month later at the residence of Princess Altieri.

The role Santacroce played during Katarzyna Plater's stay is particularly visible. She introduced Katarzyna Plater to Alphonse-Hubert de Latier de Bayane, auditor of the Apostolic Tribunal of the Roman Rota, whom Plater later met many times and by whom she was invited. Together with Santacroce, she dined at Diego de Noronha, the Portuguese ambassador residence. As Plater reported, at the meeting attended by numerous representatives of the diplomatic corps, sugar cubes in the chocolate coating were served for dessert. They looked like medallions and many of them were decorated with the likeness of the Pope. Plater humorously noticed they were eaten with impunity.

Giuliana Santacroce organized a visit to the papal librarian, Cardinal Francesco Saverio de Zelada. He entertained guests at his apartment in Tor de' Venti in Vatican with an excellent dinner served on - as recorded by Plater - a marble surtout-de-table. Among Zelada's guests, Katarzyna Plater mentioned Varvara Gagarin née Golitsyn, Louis-Aimé de Bourbon, natural son of king Louis XV, José Nicolás de Azara, Spanish ambassador, Diego de Noronha, Alessandro Valperga di Maglione and Jacques-Laure le Tonnelier de Breteuil, Knights of Malta's ambassador. After dinner, the companion visited the Vatican museum, library, cabinet of antiquities, map gallery, Raphael's stanze and loggia. A few days later, Plater paid another visit to Cardinal Zelada to see his private collection. During the dinner organized by José Nicolás de Azara, Katarzyna Plater had the opportunity to see his collection of sculptures and paintings.

Cardinal Zelada's marble surtout-de-table was not the only table decoration that Plater admired during her stay in Rome. On December 31, 1785, she visited the residence of the papal nephew Luigi Braschi Onesti. Dinner was served on a beautifully decorated table. At that time, Katarzyna Plater had the opportunity to see the famous Braschi *deser*, Luigi Valadier's masterpiece. As she noted in her travel journal, the Braschi *deser* was decorated with cameos, antique busts, and medallions. All the elements of the *deser* were movable. Appreciating the artistry of the *deser*, Plater expressed an opinion that it would look better in a study than in a dining room. She saw the *desert* two and a half years after its first public presentation noticed in the *Diario Ordinario*. According to information published in the newspaper:

a superb *deser* [...] altogether represents a sort of Museum, wherein may be

13 Manikowska, "Una nuova fonte", 167.

14 For information about Giuliana Falconieri Santacroce and her relations with Polish court and Polish travellers to Italy see Angela Sołtys, "Portret księżnej Santacroce. Dzieje sprowadzenia obrazu do Galerii Stanisława Augusta", *Kronika Zamkowa*, 1/2 (47/48): 35-44; Manikowska, "Una nuova fonte", 168.

observed groups of ancient figurines or small busts in either [white], red or black marble, all antique, restored, etc., pedestals with substantial copper medallions, two porticoes set at each end, with marble cornices and columns in *pietre dure*. The frieze has various ancient medals in bronze, and similar figurines. The main surface of the plateau is subdivided by a great band of amethyst, with panels of other *pietre dure*, and the cornice is gilt copper, with brackets and fleurons, that serve as supports for the said plateau, with alabaster grounds. One can see twenty-eight ancient imperial gold medals, most skilfully and beautifully set so they can be turned, with their respective names in enamel: there are also other small urns, and figurines in *pietre dure* etc., an outstanding work by renowned Signor Cavaliere Luigi Valadier¹⁵.

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It was Santacroce who came up with the initiative for Katarzyna Plater to have an audience with the Pope. The audience took place on December 27, 1785.

Without a doubt, Katarzyna Plater liked Santacroce, although she was critical of her attitude towards her own children. She valued her salon and enjoyed spending time there. Santacroce hosted many foreign guests and the French diplomatic corps. Therefore talks were often held in French. Although Katarzyna Plater spoke Italian, conversations in French, the language she spoke fluently, gave her more pleasure.

Plater's stay in Rome was a procession through conversations and musical evenings in private residences. She visited Alessandro Valperga di Maglione, Tommaso Antici. She also visited Antici in his suburban villa in Albano Hills. She often enjoyed dinners, conversations and musical academies in François-Joachim de Pierre de Bernis's residence in the Palazzo de Carolis on the Corso. She was a guest at dinners and balls organized by Andrea Memmo, ambassador of the Republic of Venice. She visited Maria Vittoria Corsini, Countess Bracciano who, according to Katarzyna Plater, not only spoke French fluently, but was also a great host to guests. At the residence of the marquise of Lepri, she listened to duets from Paisiello performed by the Duchess di Ceri. Plater was not only a guest, but she also entertained guests at her place. During the ensembles, people talked about travels, literature, music and art. They viewed art collections and listened to performances by amateurs and professional musicians.

During her stay in Rome Katarzyna Plater, unlike Teofila Morawska, visited many artistic studios. She was a guest at the studio of Angelica Kauffmann on Via Sistina. She met in person Antonio Canova and Pompeo Batoni. She visited the studios of John Rossi, Lorenzo Cardelli and Carlo Antonini. The latter was a Plater's *cicerone* in Rome and taught her how to make prints¹⁶. It seems that neither Plater nor Morawska ordered or purchased works of art during their travels. Katarzyna Plater informed about her willingness to make some purchases of artistic objects. However, it is not known whether she realized her plans.

Both Morawska and Platerowa were opera and theater lovers. Morawska saw performances in Milan. She devoted a lot of attention to the Venetian theaters, which she highly appreciated. She most often visited the Teatro San Moisè, where

15 Translation from Italian by Alvar Gonzáles-Palacios in Alvar Gonzáles-Palacios, "Luigi Valadier" with an introduction by Xavier F. Salomon (New York: the Frick Collection, 2018), 182.

16 Jagiełło-Jakubaszek, *Portrety Polek z podróży po Italii*, 85, 86-7.

she admired the performances of Catherina Ristori. Ristori previously performed in theaters in Warsaw and Białystok. In her Venetian apartment, Morawska hosted Venetian dancers Anna Tantini and Maria Meroni. She also noted the presence in Venice of a Polish ballet dancer (not mentioned by name in Morawska's journal), Maciej Prenczyński, from Białystok¹⁷. Through her second stay in Venice, she noted in her journal that she had been writing down arias, which, due to her musical preparation, did not cause her any difficulties.

During the Roman Carnival of 1786, Katarzyna Plater watched performances at Teatro Alibert and Teatro Torre Argentina. At Teatro Argentina, the Platers were guests in a box of Alessandro Valperga di Maglione. They watched the opera *Virginia* by Gioachino Albertini and the ballet *Castor and Pollux*. Plater recorded that Giovanni Maria Rubinelli sang at that time. In Teatro Torre Argentina, from Diego de Nohrona's box, Plater watched the opera *Armina* and the ballet *Céphale and Procris*. Referring to the fact that women could not perform in Roman theaters, she noted that she had never thought that men could play female roles so well.

At the beginning of the journey, in Padua, thanks to the acquaintance with the Austrian minister in the Republic of Venice, Karl von Breuner, and his wife the Platers met the soprano Gaetano Guadagni. The Platers then had the opportunity to see the singer in private performances. They watched a performance of marionettes and the opera *Orpheus*. Plater assessed Guadagni's voice as strong and bold but devoid of modern taste. In her opinion, the singer did not give his voice the grace that was sought in singing.

Undeniably, as well Morawska as Plater travelled around Italy with strong avidity and benefited from the cultural offer of the country. Howsoever, due to various factors, each women experienced the journey and Italy differently. They have distinct interests. Often other elements of the cultural scene of Italy attracted their attention. Each of them dissimilarly shaped social networks during the journey and took advantages of their potential.

17 Zbigniew Chaniecki, *Europejskie teatry lat 1750–1815 w relacjach polskich podróżników* (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi, 2019), 287–88.

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