

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.

Alessandro Boccolini  
Director of EEHR

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Edited by Jarosław Pietrzak

FROM EAST TO WEST. WOMEN JOURNEYS

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Special issue

**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

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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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## INTRODUCTION

The travels of men from Central and Eastern Europe were very much part of the model of the education of the nobility from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup>, almost until the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The desire to become acquainted with ancient art and architecture and to draw on its solutions, the attempt to strengthen ties with the aristocracy and the establishment of good relations with the courts of Rome, Naples, Milan, Florence, Venice, Parma, Piacenza and Turin, influenced the formation of aesthetic tastes, the establishment of favourable political connections and the success of missions commissioned by the ruler of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>1</sup>. The Grand Tour, therefore, had a didactic and cultural significance in many ways, and sometimes bore the hallmarks of a covert mission, to mention only the journeys made by Jakub Sobieski, Voivode of Lublin, in 1611–1612, Prince Wladyslaw in 1624–1625, later King Wladyslaw IV, or two Russian diplomats, Peter Tolstoy and Boris Sheremetev, at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. Rome and the other famous Italian shrines at Loreto, Padua, Bari and Naples became a major magnet for people of all states. The need to obtain an indulgence during the jubilee of the holy year and to visit the places associated with the beginnings of Christianity became an irrevocable thing for every believing Christian. However, it was not only expiation for sins committed, but also the desire to experience holiness through the collected relics that determined the undertaking of pilgrimages. Separately, it is worth mentioning the expeditions of the clergy to Rome for the general chapters held in the Eternal City. Thanks to the source publications of the diaries of Reformed Franciscans

1 The literature on the Grand Tour is very broad, and it is worth noting just some of the items: Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad. The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2003); Id., *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2003); Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London: Thames Methuen, 1969); William Edward Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Creative Media Partners LLC, 1914); Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002); Id., *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and "The Voyage of Italy" in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century* (Genève: Slatkine, 1985); *Grand Tour. Adelige Reisen und Europäische Kultur vom 14. bis 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der Internationalen Kolloquien in der villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000*, eds. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005); Mathias Leibetseder, *Die Kavaliertour. Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004); Michael G. Brennan, *The Origins of the Grand Tour. The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649–1654), William Hammond (1655–1658), and Banaster Maynard (1660–1663)* (London: The Hakluyt Societ, 2004).

2 Adam Przyboś, ed., *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy do krajów Europy Zachodniej w latach 1624–1625 w świetle ówczesnych relacji* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1977); Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie: (1607–1613); Droga do Baden: (1638)*, ed. Józef Długosz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991); Franciszek Sielecki, *Podróż bojarzyna Borysa Szeremietiewa przez Polskę i Austrię do Rzymu oraz na Maltę (1697–1698). Z dziejów kontaktów kulturalnych Rusi Moskiewskiej z Polską i Zachodem* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Im. Ossolińskich, 1975).

Symforian Arakiełowicz (1723), Stanisław Dominik Kleczewski (1749–1750) and Bernardine Juwenalis Charkiewicz (1768), we learn about the customs, hardships of travel, admiration for the ‘delicacies’ of Italy and everyday life in the cities of Italy<sup>3</sup>. However, travel, as it turns out, was not exclusively the domain of men and expeditions, albeit with greater difficulty and financial resources, were also undertaken by women. Even from the furthest corners of Europe, women chose Italy and Rome as their destination. The settlement of political matters in the kingdom of Naples, including the protection of the rights of Prince Andrew of Anjou against the evil designs of his wife Joanna, was the reason for the long and devotional expedition of Elżbieta Łokietkówna, daughter of the Polish King Władysław and wife of the Hungarian King Charles Robert, in 1343. The queen dowager, in addition to visiting the Neapolitan court, came to Rome, where she visited the Vatican basilica and the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran to admire the shawl of St Veronica. Numerous donations, including altar linen, vestments and liturgical paraphernalia, became a trace of her pilgrimage. The peregrination of the Swedish aristocrat Brigid, who, having previously rejected the goods and happiness of the earthly world, was influenced by the revelations of Christ and Our Lady and decided to found a congregation of religious orders, is considered unsurpassed. In 1349, she set off for Rome to take part in the Jubilee Year celebrations and to seek the pope’s approval of her order’s rule. Brigid was not deterred either by the fact that the Pope was in Avignon or by the ban on the creation of new religious orders. Urban VI, who returned to Rome in 1368, approved the new order, but with a number of changes that Brigid did not accept. The Eternal City, where the Swedish saint was said to have had a vision and a conversation with the Crucified Christ, became the site of her second pilgrimage in 1373, after visiting Naples and the Holy Land. A similar pilgrimage was also made by the Polish saint Dorota of Mątowy, who, having lost eight of her children to the plague that was ravaging Europe, decided to seek consolation in prayer offered for the dead in Rome, where she went in 1391. Subsequent centuries also saw similar journeys, such as the Poznań mayoress Barbara Kania’s pilgrimage to Rome on the occasion of her jubilee in 1500, accompanied by her dressmaker<sup>4</sup>, or the pilgrimage of Anna Radziwiłł, née Kettler, Grand Marshal of Lithuania in 1613, Catherine of Ostrogscy Zamoyska, Great Chancellor of the Crown, in 1633, Zofia Teofila of Daniłowicz Sobieska, Castellan of Krakow, in 1652, and Katarzyna Gordon Morsztyn, Great Treasurer of the Crown, to Loreto in 1679.

3 Symforian Arakiełowicz, *Itinerarium Romanum (1723). Podróż Rzymska (1723)*. Seria: *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. VI, trans. Dariusz Piwowarczyk, ed. Bogdan Rok (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2016); Stanisław Dominik Kleczewski, *Itinerarium Romanum (1750). Podróż Rzymska (1750)*. Seria: *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. V, eds. Marian Chachaj and Bogdan Rok (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2017); Juwenalis Charkiewicz, *Dyjariusz podróży hiszpańskiej z Wilna do miasta Walencji na kapitułę jeneralną zakonu mniejszych braci św. Franciszka, to jest bernardynów, odprawionej w roku 1768* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998).

4 Jacek Wiesiołowski, *Jak poznańska burmistrzowa ze swą krawcową do Rzymu na jubileusz 1500 r. pielgrzymowała* (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2010).

In the modern era, however, a clear breakthrough is discernible. Women are no longer just travelling to Italy for devotional purposes, and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century begin to be fascinated by art, music, customs and even Italian landscapes. An excellent illustration of this type of approach are the expeditions of Konstancja Wielopolska, née Komorowska, who in 1674 visited the city of Saint Mark with her husband Jan, then the Crown Court steward. Exactly three years later, in 1677, Maria Kazimiera's confidante, Małgorzata née Durant Kotowska, visited Venice and Florence with the political mission of surveying the creation of a league. The last group of ladies who visited the cheerful Apennine Peninsula were Zofia of Opalińska Konarzewska, with her sister, Franciszka Tarłowa, Voivode of Smolensk, and Teofila of Gorayska Reyowa, assisted by the widowed Piotr Opaliński. The Magnatas participated in the Venetian Carnival, Roman processions and even organised a trip to the top of Mount Vesuvius<sup>5</sup>.

Women not only admired and copied Italian models to Polish and Central European soil, but also rubbed shoulders with the intellectual world. Evidence of this can be found in the discovered entries of women in the university registers of Bologna and Padua: Anna von Rossen in 1606, Cecilia Salomea Piotrowczykówna in 1663, Zofia Anna Bernhardt, wife of the royal surgeon Matthias, from the same period, and Rozalia Trzcińska, stolnikowa wyszogrodzka and starosta of Bolim in 1674<sup>6</sup>. This heralded a change in the intellectual perception of travel, which was heralded by the Roman residences of queens - Christina of Sweden in 1654–1689, Maria Kazimiera, widow of John III Sobieski, in 1699–1714 and Maria Clementina Sobieska-Stuart from 1719 till 1735 – who became caretakers of artists, singers, opera creators and active members of the intellectual communities<sup>7</sup>. In the longer term, women began to visit Italy in order to gain knowledge about the motherland of ancient culture and art, to acquire knowledge to which they were blocked by men, and finally to make purchases of luxury goods and bring high-class artists to their homes. The journey, from the point of view of the sociological observations made, became an important experience for Teofila née Radziwiłł Morawska, who, breaking with previous conventions, wished, like the men, to reach for knowledge, contacts and be

5 Ałojzy Sajkowski, *Włoskie przygody Polaków, wiek XVI-XVII* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973); Mieczysław Brahmer, *Powinowactwo włosko-polskie. Z dziejów wzajemnych stosunków kulturalnych* (Wrocław: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980); Karolina Tarogsz, *Sawantki w Polsce XVII w. Aspiracje intelektualne kobiet ze środowisk dworskich* (Warszawa: Astrea, 1997).

6 Targosz, *Sawantki w Polsce XVII w.*, 156–57.

7 Gaetano Platania, ed., *Roma e Cristina di Svezia. Una irrequieta sovrana* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2016); Francesca De Caprio, *Cristina di Svezia a Roma. Il cantiere dell'immagine tra mito e storia* (Roma: Luogh Interiori, 2023); Annarosa Mattei, *La regina che amava la libertà. Storia di Cristina di Svezia dal Nord Europa alla Roma barocca* (Milano: Salani, 2023); Aneta Markuszewska, *Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimierzy w Rzymie* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2012); Aleksandra Skrzypietz, *Stanisław Jujeczka, Maria Klementyna Sobieska, królowa i Służebnica Boża* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, 2022).

able to experience access to the most important courts on an equal footing<sup>8</sup>. It would be wrong to say that only women from Central and Eastern Europe came to Italy and that the movement did not take place in the opposite direction. Thanks to the marriage of the Polish king Sigismund I to the Milanese princess Bona Sforza in 1517, the Republic of Poland opened up to new cultural models in terms of political culture, philosophy, literature and art. We can venture to say that it was thanks to this marriage that the dynasty expanded the scope of its power and glory in Europe and the Polish noble youth gained promoters for their academic trips to Bologna, Padua and Naples. Cultural transfer also took place to Italian aristocrats who were part of the entourage of Polish queens, to mention Lucrezia Maria of Strozzi, later wife of the Lithuanian court marshal Aleksander Ludwik Radziwiłł, who visited her home town of Bologna with his wife in 1652.

12 The history of women's journeys remains a subject that needs to be thoroughly researched in order to expand the catalogue of ladies travelling to faraway places, to learn about the motivations of their expedition, the course and the difficulties they had to face during their journey, and finally to verify the facts already promulgated in the historical literature and to show the reception of their peregrinations in the life of geographically wide Central and Eastern Europe.

The issue of *Eastern European History Review* titled *From East to West. Women journeys in Early Modern Period to Italy (XVII-XVIII Centuries)*, contains 9 articles on the topic. This issue presents articles by researchers from Italy, Poland, Scotland and Czech Republic.

I extend my sincere appreciation to the director of EEHR, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alessandro Boccolini for offering me the special editorship of this issue of the journal

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8 Teofila z Radziwiłłów Morawska, *Diariusz podróży europejskiej w latach 1773–1774*, ed. Bogdan Rok (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002). See also: Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia* (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019).



## **THE RETURN JOURNEYS OF THE QUEEN-WIDOWS: AN UPSIDE-DOWN RITUAL OR IRRELEVANT PAGEANTRY?**

### **ABSTRACT**

In medieval and early modern Europe, interdynastic princely unions caused an unprecedented movement of royal figures. Princely brides travelled across the continent, accompanied by massive retinues in a choreographically staged cycle of ceremonies. However, these princely women sometimes ventured back to their natal courts. While there have been some excellent studies, looking into particular cases, a comparative approach might bring a deeper understanding of this travel. This paper examines the return journeys of three queens from Central Europe to Italy, particularly Beatrice of Aragon (1500–1501), Bona Sforza (1556), and Maria of Spain (1581). This study reveals differences and similarities between these transfers and other types of princely mobility. Like bridal transfers, these journeys were important for social networking and entailed a similar level of festival splendour but this was closely connected to the queen's social and political capital. On the other hand, they lacked a strong ritual layer and differed in the use of emotions. Most importantly, the main difference is the very reason they took place: these three return journeys were a direct consequence of queens' wills and thus a testimony of their agency and power.

**KEYWORDS:** Female travel, Elite lifestyle, Space of encounter, Networking, Travel writing.

Bridal journeys were not only great festivals but were crucial moments for the people involved in them, most notably for the travelling princess, the young bride who could prepare herself for her future role, to get information about her new family, manage her own court and finances, learn new skills and language, and build a network of social contacts. In other words, the journey of the young bride could have been a time for accumulating social and cultural (or intellectual) capital. But can the same be said about its inversion – the returns of the foreign queens to their natal homes?

The return of foreign princesses was definitely not unusual. On the contrary, it was quite logical in cases when their husbands died and the queen-dowagers found themselves in an unstable material and political situation. As Pauline Stafford has observed, returning to their native home and family was the most effective protection for royal widows who lost the safety of marriage. The native environment could provide material support and personal safety for those royal women who lacked stable income and/or whose very lives were in jeopardy if they posed a threat to the new rulers<sup>1</sup>.

1 Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Batsford Acad. & Educ., 1983), 175-77.

Unfortunately, not much is known about these returns, other than the fact that they happened. The source situation is however much better in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when we possess chronicle accounts, festival books, princely and ambassadorial correspondence, orations and poems, and many other types of evidence. This paper looks into the return journeys of three Central European queens, that each crossed northern Italy: Beatrice of Aragon [1457–1508], daughter of Ferrante I, King of Naples, and wife of Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and later to Vladislaus II; Bona Sforza [1494–1557], daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, and wife of Sigismund I, King of Poland; and finally, Maria of Austria [or Spain, 1528–1603] was the daughter of Emperor Charles V and wife of Maximilian II, her cousin. These three return journeys can serve as an ideal comparative example because they are relatively well documented and their itineraries overlapped to some extent (e.g. crossing the Venetian territory). Furthermore, the three queens had a very similar fate – all three were widows, travelling to the natal courts without prospects of remarriage. Scholarship on Beatrice has mostly concentrated on her first wedding<sup>2</sup>, while her widowhood and return journey to Naples was studied by Albert Berzeviczy<sup>3</sup>. Beatrice's social networks, especially with her Ferrarese relatives, have been recently studied by Jessica O'Leary<sup>4</sup>. Bona Sforza's departure to Italy is only briefly discussed in her biographies<sup>5</sup>, however, there are also several separate studies looking into her return journey. The circumstances before and during her departure from Poland were closely observed by Alexander Przewdziecki, which carefully follows and recounts relevant Polish sources (envoy's letters, royal mandates, Górnicki's diary, see more below), but does not trace the Italian leg of the journey nor try to put the events into the international context<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, two studies by Luigi Cini and Francesco Luciola, concentrate on Bona's passage

2 For example, Volker Honemann, "The Marriage of Matthias Corvinus to Beatrice of Aragón (1476) in Urban and Court Historiography", in *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450–1650*, eds. Martin Gosman, A. James Macdonald and Arie Johan Vanderjagt, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 213–26; Antonín Kalous, "Tři týdny slávy, tři roky šťastného manželství: Beatrix a Matyáš", in *Manželství v pozdním středověku: Rituály a obyčej*, eds. Paweł Kras and Martin Nodl (Praha: Filosofia, 2014), 187–205; Ilona Kristóf, "Beatrice d'Aragona nel ruolo materno e politico", *Verbum Analecta Neolatina*, 23/2 (2022): 375–90; Tibor Marti, "La dote di Beatrice d'Aragona. Nuove fonti per la storia delle relazioni di Mattia Corvino con Napoli (1474–1476)", *Verbum Analecta Neolatina*, 23/ 2 (2022): 349–74.

3 Albert Berzeviczy, *Beatrix Királyné (1457–1508). Történelmi élet-és korrajz* (Budapest: A Magyar történelmi társulat, 1908). The Italian translation: Alberto Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona* (Napoli: Corbaccio, 1931).

4 Jessica O'Leary, *Elite Women as Diplomatic Agents in Italy and Hungary, 1470–1510: Kinship and the Aragonese Dynastic Network* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2022).

5 Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 4<sup>o</sup> ed. (Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2009), 237–41; Gerardo Cioffari, *Bona Sforza: donna del Rinascimento tra Italia e Polonia* (Bari: Levante, 2000), 260–65.

6 Alexander Przewdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI. wieku*, vol. 2 (Kraków: W drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1868), 225–46.

through northern Italy, with a special focus on the festival books that describe the queen's arrival and sojourn in Padua and Venice<sup>7</sup>. Maria of Austria's departure and return transfer has been closely studied by Elisabeth Schoder and partially (within his biography of the queen) by Rubén González Cuerva<sup>8</sup>.

Beatrice's journey is mostly documented from the Venetian (Marino Sanuto) and Ferrarese (*Diario Ferrarese*) narrative sources<sup>9</sup> and her correspondence with the Este<sup>10</sup>, Bona's passage through northern Italy gave rise to three sources which can be classified as festival books: an anonymous occasional print describing her sojourn in Padua and Venice, a description of the triumphal arch raised in her honour in Padua by Alessandro Bassano<sup>11</sup>, and a letter by Agostino Valier describing the queen's entry to Venice<sup>12</sup>. Maria's journey in the Venetian territory (which will be the prime interest of this article) is closely described by the report of the Republic's special envoys, whose task was to take care of the queen's visit<sup>13</sup>. Quite similar to this account is the description in the republic's ceremonial books<sup>14</sup>, however the latter focuses on festive aspects only while the former contains also the envoys' comments

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- 7 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), 27-65; Francesco Lucioli, "Regine a Venezia nel Cinquecento: Bona Sforza in un'epistola di Agostino Valier e qualche osservazione sulle descrizioni di ingressi trionfali", *Filologia & Critica*, 39 (2014): 73-96.
- 8 Elisabeth Schoder, "Die Reise der Kaiserin Maria nach Spanien (1581/82)", in *Hispania–Austria II. Die Epoche Philipps II. (1556–1598). La Époque de Felipe II (1556–1598)*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayr (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1999), 151-80; Rubén González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria, Holy Roman Empress (1528–1603): Dynastic Networker* (London: Routledge, 2021).
- 9 Rinaldo Fulin, ed., *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 3 (Venezia: A spese degli editori, 1880); Giuseppe Pardi, ed., *Diario Ferrarese dall'anno 1409 sino al 1502*, vol. VII (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1934).
- 10 Enrica Guerra, ed., *Il Carteggio tra Beatrice d'Aragona e gli Estensi (1476–1508)* (Roma: Aracne editrice, 2010).
- 11 Both are edited in Júlia Benavent, ed., *Carlos V y el regreso a Italia de la reina Bona de Polonia. Edición de documentos inéditos* (València: Universitat de València, 2021), 173-99. Benavent's book is the edition of 104 letters, mostly exchanged between Bona and her agents. Unfortunately, there is no extant correspondence particularly relevant to the journey itself.
- 12 Edited in Lucioli, "Regine a Venezia", 91-5.
- 13 Printed in Joseph Fiedler, ed., *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. Zweite Abtheilung, Diplomataria et Acta, XXX: Relationen Venetianischer Botschafter über Deutschland und Österreich im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1870), 381-401.
- 14 Printed in Teodoro Toderini, ed., *Cerimoniali e feste in occasione di avvenimenti e passaggi nelli stati della Repubblica Veneta di duchi, arciduchi ed imperatori dell'augustissima Casa d'Austria dall'anno 1361 al 1797* (Venezia: Tipografia di Sante Martinengo, 1857), 26-35.

and observations of the queen's background and retinue.

How did the journey look like? Was it a low-key event or a long sequence of festivities and ceremonies, just like wedding journeys? And what was the queen's role? Comparing the documentation from three return journeys, this study aims to show that this kind of mobility was no less modest than other types of princely mobility. Yet, ceremonial splendour was only one, a rather superficial aspect. More than anything else, these journeys were inherently linked to queenly agency. The queens not only used travel to promote their social contacts (via gifts, audiences) and build their status (via affective display) but the whole fact these transfer took place were a direct consequence of their wills. As already pointed out, the trajectories of the three queens overlapped to some extent, especially in Venetian territory. This enables us to compare the quality of these journeys for common patterns. But before anything else, we must first shed light on the motives for leaving their kingdoms, then try to identify some patterns in these journeys and finally, compare these journeys to wedding/bridal journeys.

16

### MOTIVES FOR DEPARTURES

After the death of her first husband, Matthias Corvinus, Beatrice of Aragon was married to the next king of Hungary and Bohemia, Vladislaus II. However, this marriage was never consummated and Vladislaus sought to annul it due to Beatrice's infertility. For a long time, it looked like Beatrice would stand her ground and force Vladislaus to keep his promises, mostly thanks to her natal relatives. But in 1500, the political landscape shifted: Milan was invaded by France and the pope and Venice needed Vladislaus in the fight against the Turks. In April 1500, the pope pronounced the annulment of the marriage and on top of that, Beatrice had to pay all legal fees. However, Vladislaus did not want Beatrice to leave the country: on the one hand, he would be obliged to return her dowry, and on the other hand, he feared that the queen might hinder his already ongoing marital negotiations with the French<sup>15</sup>. At any rate, with the help of Neapolitan and Spanish envoys, Beatrice got permission to leave and via Vienna and Villach she headed to Italy and finally, Naples, where her brother, the king, had already given to her the city of Salerno for her maintenance<sup>16</sup>. Her departure was thus largely driven by an insecure financial situation and political isolation.

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15 Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, 266-75.

16 Tibor Martí, "Oklevelek Aragóniai Beatrix hagyatékából. Magyar vonatkozású források a spanyol katonai lovagrendek iratanyagában", *Történelmi szemle*, 3 (2017): 520-23.



Fig. 1 - Beatrice of Aragon's journey (1500-1501)

Bona Sforza's departure was also a result of several reasons. After the death of her husband, Sigismund I, Bona lost a great deal of influence in political and economic matters and had frequent conflicts with her son, Sigismund August, the new king of Poland. Officially, Bona justified her (only temporary) trip to Italy because of her bad health, specifically rheumatism, which she wanted to cure in the Abano baths near Padua<sup>17</sup>. As Krzysztof Żaboklicki and other scholars have shown, there were serious discussions that Bona might become a new viceroy of Naples, at that time occupied by the Spanish Habsburgs in exchange for a huge loan of several hundreds of ducats. These prospects were not realistic, but Bona still had hopes to play a significant role in southern Italian politics, since she held several castles and estates in the Duchy of Bari as inheritance from her mother, Isabella of Aragon<sup>18</sup>. After long strives and disputes, Bona got permission to leave Poland from her son and the assembly, but the queen had to renounce her land properties and estates and could only take her personal objects<sup>19</sup>. But even this compromise from Bona's side

17 Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 237-40.

18 Krzysztof Żaboklicki, "Bona e gli Asburgo, alla vigilia del ritorno della regina in Italia. Bona i Habsburgowi w przeddzień powrotu królowe do Włoch", in *Bona Sforza: Regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari: Catalogo della mostra*, eds. Maria Stella Calò Mariani and Giuseppe Dibenetto, vol. 1 (Roma: Nuova Comunicazione, 2000), 219-26; Stanisław Cynarski, "Sprawa ostatniego testamentu królowej Bony", *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace historyczne. Zeszyt*, 56 (1977): 139; Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 239.

19 Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 240.

arose major discontent in Polish society who vilified the queen for “smuggling” the treasures out of the country<sup>20</sup>.

Similarly to Beatrice and Bona, Maria found herself isolated after her husband's death. But she explained her departure by a desire to enter the monastery of Las Descalzas Reales, founded by her late sister Juana in Madrid. Her relatives opposed her plan: both her son, Emperor Rudolf, and her brother, King Philip II of Spain, wanted her to stay at the imperial court and arrange a marital alliance between them<sup>21</sup>. On top of that, if Maria wants to enter the monastery, the Spanish court said, there is no need to risk the perilous journey across the continent – she can very well do so in Central Europe<sup>22</sup>. Two events changed the situation: the vacancy in the Portuguese throne, which Maria and Philip might have claimed, and the death of Philip II's wife and Maria's daughter Anne. Suddenly, Philip saw Maria as an ideal figure to be a pro-tempore viceroy in Portugal and a tutor for his children. Maria agreed to these plans, but only for the time being. Still, her ultimate goal was the monastery<sup>23</sup>.

18

### A BETTER BRIDAL JOURNEY? FESTIVITIES, SOCIAL NETWORKING, MEMORISATION

What did the actual return journeys look like? Bona Sforza and Maria of Spain's journeys through the Venetian territory can be best characterised as long sequences of festivities and triumphal entries<sup>24</sup>. Large crowds and solemn delegations waited for them in every city they passed through; triumphal arches were raised; the palaces chosen for their accommodation were refurbished and decorated. Both queens were greeted not only by the Venetian envoys, local authorities, and triumphal arches but also by local poets and humanists: such as Cassandra Fedele, Cieco d'Adria<sup>25</sup>, Issicratea Monte and Valeria Miniati<sup>26</sup>. The queens remunerated the orations with precious gifts: for instance, Cassandra got a necklace which Bona grabbed from the neck of one of her ladies standing nearby<sup>27</sup>.

20 Przewdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie*, 241-42.

21 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, 158.

22 Schoder, “Die Reise der Kaiserin Maria nach Spanien (1581/82)”, 154.

23 González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, 175-76; Schoder, “Die Reise der Kaiserin Maria nach Spanien (1581/82)”, 154-55.

24 González Cuerva rightly points out that Maria did not enter major Italian centres (Venice, Ferrara, etc.) nor participated in theatrical performances, but her journey was far from being an ordinary trip, which would lack ceremonial splendour. If Maria really wanted to eschew ceremonial and festivities, she could have opted for travelling *incognito* (like Marie Casimire in 1699), but there is no proof she tried to do so. González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria*, 176; Jarosław Pietrzak, “Venezia è molto grande e bella – Due soggiorni della regina Maria Casimira d'Arquien Sobieska a Venezia e in Veneto negli anni 1699 e 1705”, *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 12/1 (2021): 69.

25 Cini, “Passaggio della Regina Bona”, 55-8, 59-60.

26 Franco Tomasi, “Monti, Issicratea”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 76 (2012), [[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/issicratea-monti\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/issicratea-monti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/).]

27 Cini, “Passaggio della Regina Bona”, 58.



Fig. 2 - Bona Sforza's journey (1556)

Both Bona and Maria followed a similar track and stopped in the same places overnight (Spilimbergo, Sacile, Conegliano, Treviso)<sup>28</sup>. While the similarity of itineraries was probably a result of logistical factors, (good roads, resources of places to lodge massive groups of people), the similarity in celebrations was a result of protocol and precedents. The relation of Venetian envoys from 1581 lists several such precedents, for instance, Maria was officially greeted by the envoys on a meadow before the town of Venzone, which was the same spot where Henry of Valois was met in 1574<sup>29</sup>. In Padua, Maria and Henry alike were lodged in the Palazzo dell'Arena<sup>30</sup>. On the other hand, the queens' journeys also contributed to the changes to the ceremonial. Although Bona was welcomed in Venice according to old models, the triumphal arch raised in her honour in Padua (inspired by an ancient Arco dei Gavi in Verona) served as a blueprint for similar ephemeral architecture during the solemn entry of the new dogaressa to the Palazzo Ducale in 1557. As Maximilian L.S. Tondro points out, the arch built for the dogaressa was the first such architectural feature constructed in Venice. Bona's visit had thus a deep impact on the republic's ceremonial<sup>31</sup>.

28 See the itineraries in Appendix.

29 Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter*, 382.

30 Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter*, 387.

31 Maximilian L.S. Tondro, "The First Temporary Triumphal Arch in Venice (1557)", in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance*,

Yet the honourable welcome ceremonies for Bona and Maria contrast sharply with Beatrice's journey through Venetian territory. Venice refused to host her free of cost and to lend her a ship to transport her to Naples. This differs not only with the attitude towards the other two queens but also towards Beatrice herself: in 1476, when Beatrice, as a young princess, travelled to Hungary to reach her husband, King Matthias, the *Serenissima* prepared a lavish welcome. In addition to a delegation of twenty nobles in Choggia and forty others in Malamocco, Beatrice was solemnly welcomed by Doge Andrea Vendramin with councils, colleges and noblewomen who set forth for Isola San Clemente on the bucentaur<sup>32</sup>. The expenses of Beatrice and her entourage were covered by the Venetian host and on top of that, the senate allocated a generous set of provisions (wine, poultry, spices, confectionary) as a gift<sup>33</sup>. The senate even instructed their representative to beg the princess not to alter her route when rumours started to circulate that she would bypass Venice and travel via Padua and Treviso instead<sup>34</sup>.

Why did Venice have such a change of heart towards Beatrice? What might seem inconsistent behaviour is actually quite logical: like in 1500, like in 1476, the interests of the *Serenissima* were closely tied with the king of Hungary as a major ally in the fight against the Turks. The thing that changed was the king of Hungary: in 1500, it was no longer Beatrice's husband so there was no benefit in currying favour with a woman who was no longer the queen of Hungary. However, Beatrice was not the only case – Marie Casimire [1641–1716], queen-widow of King John III Sobieski also experienced quite two different ways of reception when passing through Venice by the turn of the eighteenth century. While during the first visit in 1699, the queen was magnificently hosted and many pageants were arranged in her honour, in 1705 she was treated as an undesirable guest due to the current political landscape, namely the ongoing War of Spanish Succession. Arranging honours for the royal woman with familial links to France, Bavaria and Palatinate could have enraged Venice's ally, Emperor Leopold<sup>35</sup>.

Hosting the foreign princess was an inherently political act, which is explicitly expressed in 1581: the Venetian envoys taking care of Maria's progress conclude

eds. James Ronald Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 335-37.

32 ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreti, Registri 27, 101r.

33 ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreti, Registri 27, 101r. An abstract of the gifts in Lipót Óváry, *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi bizottságának oklevél-másolatai*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia történelmi bizottsága, 1890), 140.

34 «Nuy havemo recevuto vostre lettere de dì XVIII, le qual ne ha dato meraviglia et anche affano. Intendendo la deliberatione de la serenissima regina de Hungaria de declinar questa nostra cita et per Padoa, Treuixo et Friul tenir el camin suo. [...] pregaretela [Sua Maestà, i.e. Beatrice] che la non vogli mutarla ma perseverar in essa et venir qui, dove aliegra et honorissimamente serà veduta per nui et per tuta questa cita». ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreti, Registri, *The Senate to Girolamo Zane*, Visdomino of Ferrara, 19 October 1476, f. 101v.

35 Pietrzak, "Venezia è molto grande e bella", 80.

the first part of their report to the senate stating that the queen was satisfied with the reception. «And there is no doubt», the report continues, «that Her Majesty [=Maria] will give account about this to the Emperor [Rudolph], her son, and to the King [Philip II], her brother. With both of them, Your Serenity has so many [common] interests»<sup>36</sup>. Interestingly, just a year and a half after Beatrice, another princess, Anne of Foix, the new French wife of Vladislaus II, was received with major honours, feasts and celebrations in Venice and her Italian territories<sup>37</sup>. Anne's visit, together with Bona Sforza's, came down as glorious events in the republic's history, whereas Beatrice's journeys suffered a sort of *damnatio memoriae*. The letter of Agostino Valier, which describes Bona's arrival in Venice and can be categorised within the genre of festival books, starts with listing the queens that visited the city. Besides Bona, these were Dorotea of Denmark in 1488, Caterina Cornaro, queen of Cyprus in 1489, and the just-mentioned Anne of Foix in 1502<sup>38</sup>. Neither Beatrice's first nor second journey is mentioned. As Francesco Lucioli pointed out, the ultimate goal of celebrations, orations, and festival books was not the queen but the city of Venice herself, her glory, values, and virtues<sup>39</sup>. The 1581 report confirms this view:

The entire court, both Spaniards and Germans, both women and men, both servants and masters – everybody praised out loud not only comfort and splendour but also largeness of lodgings, generosity of provisions [...] which turned out to be great praise for this excellent republic<sup>40</sup>.

Insinuating that there was a queen who was not received properly would cast a shadow on the image of the maritime republic, so Valier's account omits Beatrice's both journeys. However, the absence of triumphal arches, panegyric compositions, or luxurious gifts does not mean that there was no protocol at all or that Beatrice travelled incognito: we read in Marino Sanuto, that in the town of Portogruaro, the queen was received by an extramural delegation led by the local bishop and she was accommodated in the republic's palace<sup>41</sup>.

The queen's social capital thus determined the nature of her return journey to a great extent. At the court of her brother-in-law in Ferrara, Beatrice was magnificently greeted and many feasts, balls, and theatrical performances (probably of Plautus and Terence) were staged in her honour in the palace<sup>42</sup>. But the queens did not

36 Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter*, 391.

37 Attila Györkös, *Reneszánsz utazás. Anna királyné 1502-es fogadtatásának ünnepségei észak-Itáliában és Magyarországon* (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2016), 38-52.

38 «Quatuor reginas in hac civitates, quae est domicilium optimae et florentissimae Reipublicae, singulas magnificentissimo et plane regio apparatu acceptas, patres nostri viderunt. Regina Dacie [...], Catharina Cypri insulae fertilissimae Regina [...], Anna Pannoniae Regis uxor». Lucioli, "Regine a Venezia", 91.

39 Lucioli, "Regine a Venezia", 83, 86.

40 Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter*, 390-91.

41 Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, 275.

42 Pardi, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1409 sino al 1502*, VII, 264-5; Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragona*, 275.

only capitalise on their social contacts but also gained new ones during their return journeys: Maria met a long list of prominent individuals, such as Cardinal Borromeo, Duke and Duchess of Ferrara, Mantua, Parma and many others who rushed to pay homage to her<sup>43</sup>. Duchess of Brunswick<sup>44</sup> accompanied Maria for five days, from Treviso to Vicenza<sup>45</sup>.



Fig. 3 - Maria of Spain (Austria)'s journey (1581/2).

These encounters had a form of audiences or exchange of gifts: the afore-mentioned duchess of Brunswick got pearls from Maria, and in return, the duchess presented Maria's favourite lady-in-waiting, Jana of Pernštejn, with a fan decorated with jewels. The queens were not interested in meeting the prominent personages only. In Sacile, Maria was reportedly curious to see the daughters of her host. All of them, dressed in white clothes with silver trimmings and rich ornaments were presented to the queen by their father. Maria asked them «about various things with her great delight and upon her farewell, she presented their father with a necklace»<sup>46</sup>. Queens could bond via rituals and banqueting: Bona stood as a godparent to Lavinia, daughter of the Ferrarese ambassador Gerolamo Faletti during the sacrament of confirmation (*lavar la cresima*) and to Rinuntio (Ranuccio) Gambarara<sup>47</sup>. In return, Ranuccio's

43 Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 32-3.

44 This was probably Dorothea of Lorraine (1545–1621), the daughter of Christina of Denmark and the wife of Eric II, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. Dorothea was evidently in the 1580s present in Venice, where she made pious donations to Jesuits. Antje Middeldorf-Kosegarten, “Eine sächsische Madonna des Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts in Forlì”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 14/4 (December 1970): 443. Dorothea and Eric had also close relations with the Spanish court. Julia Cartwright, *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan and Lorraine, 1522–1590*. (New York: E.P. Dutton and company, 1913), 655-58.

45 Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 31-2.

46 Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 30.

47 Benavent, *Carlos V y el regreso*, 198-99. Ranuccio was the son of Brunoro, count of Pralboino, a loyalist of Emperor Maximilian I and later serving as a master

mother, Virginia Pallavicini together with the *honoratissime gentildonne venetiane* organised a feast for the queen, which lasted until the evening. The middle of this banquet marked a sumptuous *collatione di lavori di zucchero* of various sorts and great quantity<sup>48</sup>. Hosting the queen could also be a form of social networking or exchanging of favours. In Vicenza, Maria refused to stay in the palace prepared for her and instead, wished to be lodged in the house of Count Lunardo, who was a relative of the lady-in-waiting to Maria's aunt, Mary of Hungary. He used the queen's stay to ask her for favour and to intercede in his financial matters in Milan<sup>49</sup>. Hosting a princess was a big honour and the host might use it for his interests: when Bona's envoys and Venetian delegates were looking for lodging for the queen in Padua, a certain nobleman, Marco Antonio Cornero offered his house free of cost. The Venetian government accepted his offer but only under the condition of a payment of 150 scudi granted to him so he would not exploit the free-of-cost hosting for some ulterior motive<sup>50</sup>.

Similarly to the bridal journeys, the queens also used the return journeys to visit extraordinary places. Both Bona and Maria visited the tomb of St Anthony in Padua. Maria even asked the canons to close the basilica to the public and then, she entered it via an underground tunnel to have privacy at the shrine<sup>51</sup>. The visit was not accidental, already several months prior to her journey, the news circulated that Maria asked the Venetian authorities to permit her to take with herself to Portugal the relics of St Anthony and Lucy<sup>52</sup>. The Venetian envoys also remarked on Maria's *particular deuotione* to St Anthony<sup>53</sup>.

However, unlike bridal journeys, we do not know much about the queens' farewells and arrivals of the queens. Bona's daughters reportedly bade farewell to their mother in tears, and the eldest, Isabella, accompanied her to the first lodgings<sup>54</sup>. But that is all. We do not know about the rites or speeches that welcomed the queen "back home". In fact, the term "home" with reference to a particular topographical spot is nowhere to be found. A vague relationship of this sort can be seen in Agostino Valier's letter when he speaks about how Bona wished to visit Italy, «where she was

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of the camp of Emperor Charles V. His brother Gianfrancesco Gambara later became cardinal. Michele Di Sivo, "Gambara, Gianfrancesco", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 52 (1999), [[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gianfrancesco-gambara\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gianfrancesco-gambara_(Dizionario-Biografico))].

48 Benavent, *Carlos V y el regreso*, 198.

49 Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 32; Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter*, 388.

50 Cini, "Passaggio della regina Bona", 29.

51 Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter*, 387; Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 32.

52 «Di Venetia il dì 10 marzo 1581 [...] Et fin hora s'intende solo che la imperatrice dimanda a questi signori [di Venezia] reliquie di Santo Antonio di Padova et di Santa Lucia per portarle seco in Portogallo». ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 4027, f. 52.

53 Fiedler, *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter*, 387.

54 Przewdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie*, 236, 243.

born and educated»<sup>55</sup>. Yet Valier goes on saying that Italy is also the noblest part of the world (*quae totius orbis terrarum est nobilissima pars*), so he clearly does not attribute Bona's desire to her homesickness but the to the attractiveness of Italy. The memorial plaques refer to Maria only as «going to Spain»<sup>56</sup> or «on the way to govern Portugal»<sup>57</sup>. This fact along with the absence of rites of passage should caution us from viewing these journeys as simple reversals of wedding journeys. Yet Maria's progress through the Venetian territory gave rise to four memorial inscriptions, which is a staggering amount given how scarce are similar monuments extant from bridal journeys<sup>58</sup>. There are (or were) five such memorials, three of them memorise the queen's sojourns in Sacile and Treville, and in Palazzo Valmarana in Vicenza<sup>59</sup>. The other plaques commemorate a mass, celebrated for Maria by Agostino Valier, Veronese bishop, and Cardinal Ludovico Madruzzo in Oratorio di San Zenone in Verona and Camposampietro<sup>60</sup>.

The role of emotion is also different. During bridal journeys, they usually serve to record or exaggerate the ritual transition of the bride, hence the sorrowful scenes of farewell to parents and joyful first meeting with the husband<sup>61</sup>. On the other hand, during return journeys we can see emotions used as a rhetorical tool: Maria frequently calls the imperial court a prison, a cruel world, from which the departure is her only rescue<sup>62</sup>. On the contrary, when Polish prelates tried to dissuade Bona from departure, they appeal to her maternal love to not leave children behind or not to suffer with rosy retrospection in respect to Italy: «You will not like Italy in the same way as during your youth», they say, «it is your young years you long for, not the Italian land»<sup>63</sup>. Yet this, like other appeals, only aroused Bona's anger

55 Luciola, "Regine a Venezia", 92.

56 The memorial plaque in Treville states «in Hispaniam profiscisceretur»; Sacile: «in Hispaniam proficiscens». Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 31 and 29.

57 Camposampiero: «Maria [...] hac transiens ad regimen Lusitaniae regni»; Vicenza: «ad regendum Lusitanorum». Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 19 and 32.

58 There is only one such monument from Eleanor of Portugal's journey [1451/2]. A similar plaque was in one Sforza's wedding but eventually did not realised. Patrik Pastrnak, *Dynasty in Motion. Wedding Journeys in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2023), 205-06.

59 Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 29, 31, 32.

60 Toderini, *Cerimoniali*, 33, 19. The memorial in Camposampiero has the wrong date – 1559 instead of 1581.

61 Pastrnak, *Dynasty in Motion*, 139-41; Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Mit Öffentlich-Ausgebrochenen Liebes=Thränen" – How and Why Early Modern Festival Books Depict Emotions", *History of Emotions – Insights into Research*, November 2014, <https://doi.org/10.14280/08241.34>.

62 Schoder, "Die Reise der Kaiserin Maria nach Spanien (1581/82)", 157.

63 «Nie mniemay W. K. M. żeby Włoska ziemia miała się teraz W. K. M tak podobać, iako się w on czas podobała, gdyś ieszczé W. K. M. panienką była. Podobanie ono, z lat młodych rosło, y teraz nie ziemiąc to Włoska W. K. M. smakuie, gdy o niey myślsz, ále smakuią one lata młodziuczkie, iako wszyscy

and cemented her resolve to leave<sup>64</sup>. As Susan Broomhall points out, royal women, like royal men, used emotional performances – either via words, gestures, or their appearance – to achieve their specific goals and strategies<sup>65</sup>. The queens' affective display did not stop with the moment they set out. Writing from Vienna, the Ferrarese correspondent Domenico Sandonnini reported the queen's words, that she had suffered so «many oddities, unworthy in dealing with such a lady and so well deserved about this kingdom [of Poland]», «was forced to renounce the dowry» and after having arranged the wedding of all her daughters «nothing will draw her back»<sup>66</sup>. Body and outward appearance were also powerful tools of emotional display. Beatrice is portrayed to make her solemn entry to Ferrara «in a carriage, dressed in black satin» (*raso negro*)<sup>67</sup>. Bona, too, was dressed in black widow clothes (*panno nero da vedova*) but this – together with the old age – allegedly did not diminish her *colori nativi* and *anticha bellezza*<sup>68</sup>. While Bona and Beatrice displayed their widowhood as a constitutive part of their identity, Maria also chose to visualise their resolve to leave the emotional prison. The Venetian envoys refer that Maria has «better colour and got more meat [i.e. got some weight?], especially when she arrived in Italy». Maria even reportedly called Italy *terra di promissione*, the promised land<sup>69</sup>. Emotions and affections, expressed in words or appearance were thus crucial tools to enact the journeys and status.

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ludzie bardziej lubią Wiosnę, niż zimę»: Łukasz Górnicki, *Dzieie w koronie polskiey za Zygmunta I. y Zygmunta Augusta aż do śmierci iego z przytoczeniem niectomych postronnych ciekawości od roku 1538 aż do roku 1572* (Warszawa: Drukarnia J.K.M y Rzeczypospolited Collegium XX Scholarum, 1754), 118. The parts of the speech and context in Przędziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie*, 226-27

- 64 Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 240.
- 65 Susan Broomhall, “Affective and Emotional Strategies of Power and Authority among Early Modern European Monarchies”, in *The Routledge History of Monarchy*, eds. Elena Woodacre et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 671-72.
- 66 «[...] che Sua Maestà desidera assai, esser nel regno allo stato suo di Bari, et giudico anche che io non ne tenga altra notitia, che doverà restare in d'esse parti, poi che al partirsi di Pollonia, li sono state usate, per quanto se intende, molte stranezze, indegne da usarsi a si valorosa signora et tanto bene merita di quel regno, che dicono sia stata forzata rinuntiar il dotalitio et ogni lassito fattoli dal marito di re, et oltre ciò siando maritate o per conchiudersi e publicarsi in breve il matrimonio di tutte tre le figlie, non haverà cosa che la richiami in Pollonia [...]», ASMò, ASE, Cancelleria estero, Ambasciatori [...], Polonia 11, Domenico Sandonnini, Dispaccio, *Domenico Sandonnini to Duke Ercole II d'Este*, Vienna, 26 February 1556, 2.
- 67 Pardi, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1409 sino al 1502*, VII, 264.
- 68 Benavent, *Carlos V y el regreso*, 188.
- 69 «mostrandolo in questo uiaggio, con hauer fatto miglior colore, et messa anco più carne, massime dopo arriuata in Italia; dicendo liberamente entrata che fù nel stato di V. Ser.tà, d'essere arriuata in terra di promissione». Fiedler, *Relationen Venetianischer Botschafter*, 392.

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Perhaps the starkest difference between the return and bridal journeys is the sole reason why they took place: whereas the bridal journeys were a consequence of the heads of dynasties, the return journeys were the results of the queens' own doings, who were able to enact their will against their families' wishes. Before receiving permission to leave, Maria was so determined to leave Central Europe that she threatened to travel to Trent and there wait for consent to continue further<sup>70</sup>. These wishes were hardly comprehensible to contemporaries, so they resorted to gossips. The rumours about Bona's misappropriation of royal funds, circulating already before her departure from Poland, have been already discussed. But there were also allegations to sexual desires, for instance, seventeenth-century pamphleteers (Silvio and Ascanio Corona) attributed Bona's return to Italy to her insatiable passion for Gianlorenzo Pappacoda, the queen's agent and castellan in Bari<sup>71</sup>. These negative reactions show us that the return journeys were not a laudable conduct, at least from the perspective of the queen's subjects who saw her departure as a form of betrayal. We can thus conclude that the return journeys of the queen widows relied heavily on the current political situation and social connections of the queen and if these were favourable, the journey was a long sequence of festivities and ceremonials. But the return journey was not only a triumphal procession but first and foremost, testimony of the queen's power: not only they used the journey to expand their social and cultural capital but the very fact they happened were the result of the queen's will.

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70 Schoder, "Die Reise der Kaiserin Maria nach Spanien (1581/82)", 153-54.

71 Ludovico Pepe, *Storia della successione degli Sforzeschi negli stati di Puglia e Calabria e documenti* (Bari: Trani, 1900), 225.

## APPENDIX

### ITINERARY OF BEATRICE OF ARAGON (150/1501)

Date	Place
	Esztergom
	Vienna
11 Dec 1500	Villach
	Aquileia
Dec 1500–21 Jan 1501	Portogruaro
30 Jan–11 Feb	Ferrara
12 Feb	Ravenna
	Ancona
16 March	Naples

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### ITINERARY OF BEATRICE OF BONA SFORZA (1556)

Date	Place
1 February	Warsaw
28 February	Vienna
22 March 1556	Osopo
23 March	Osopo
24 March	San Daniele dei Friuli, Spilimbergo
25 March	Sacile, Conegliano, Treviso
26 March–26 Apr	Padua
26 Apr–4 May	Venice
13 May	Bari

### ITINERARY OF BEATRICE OF MARIA OF AUSTRIA

Date	Place
1 Aug 1581	Prague
12 Aug	Vienna
	Wiener Neustadt
6 Sept	Bruck an der Mur

	Sankt Michael in Obersteiermark
	Judenburg
	Neumarkt in der Steiermark
	Friesach
	Sankt Veit an der Glan
	Feldkirchen in Kärnten
	Villach
16 Sept	Tarvisio
17 Sept	Pontebba
18 Sept	Venezzone
19 Sept	Spilimbergo (via Ospedaletto, San Daniele)
20 Sept	Sacile (via Villa di San Foca)
21 Sept	Sacile
22 Sept	Conegliano
23 Sept	Treviso (via San Salvatore, Lovadina)
24 Sept	Treville (court in Castelfranco Veneto)
25 Sept	Padua (via Camposanpietro, Vigodarzere)
26 Sept	Padua
27 Sept	Padua
28 Sept	Vicenza
29 Sept	Monteforte d'Alpone
30 Sept	Verona
1 Oct	Desenzano del Garda (via Peschiera, Rivoltella)
2 Oct	Brescia (via Lonato del Garda)
3 Oct	Soncino (via Orzinuovi)
4 Oct	
	Genoa
	Savona
	Marseille
	Colliure
6 Jan–20 Jan 1582	Barcelona
	Zaragoza
6 March	Madrid

**ABBREVIATIONS**

- ASFi: Archivio di Stato di Firenze  
 ASVe: Archivio di Stato di Venezia  
 ASMo: Archivio di Stato di Modena  
 ASE: Archivio Segreto Estense

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**DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WOMEN'S AND MEN'S TRAVELS  
FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA  
IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD TO ITALY**

**ABSTRACT**

The early modern period was a time when women's travels began to develop in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a process that became particularly evident in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Unlike men's, women's travels were almost always family-related. Women travelled extensively within the state for personal and domestic purposes, visiting the court and important state events. And they began to travel abroad more and more actively. Among European countries, Italy and France were of particular interest, some ladies went as far as England and Spain, the German lands were visited because of their interest and geographical location. Women travelled to Europe for medical treatment and took their children there (Anna née Kettler Radziwiłł, Lukrecja Maria née de Strozzi Radziwiłł), travelled abroad to meet their close relatives (Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska), went on Grand Tour with their husbands and adult children (Katarzyna née Sosnowska Plater), went on the wedding journey (Anna Paulina née Sapieha Jabłonowska, Izabela née Flemming Czartoryska) or went on diplomatic trips with their husbands (Katarzyna née Sobieska Radziwiłł), made pilgrimages (Konstancja Kolumba née Denhoff Sangushko).

**KEYWORDS:** Women's travels, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Travel destinations, Pilgrimages, Grand Tour.

Early modern times were a time of global changes in Europe that affected all areas of human life. It is also important to note that this period left a huge paper trail. This draws the attention of researchers to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the issue that came to the attention of some 50-60 years ago was the place of women in history. All the more so, it was in the early modern period that her role began to change. Until the mid-twentieth century, the topic of women's studies rarely came up. Since the 1970<sup>s</sup>, research on women's history has grown very rapidly. More and more studies have been published on women's place in human history<sup>1</sup>, their legal status<sup>2</sup>, economic activities<sup>3</sup>, women's history in the early Modern

1 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Gesellschaft und Geschlechter. Vorschläge für eine neue Frauengeschichte", in *Frauen und Gesellschaft am Beginn der Neuzeit [...]*, ed. Ead. (Berlin: Wagenbach Klaus, 1986), 117-32.

2 Elisabeth Koch, *Maior dignitas est in sexu virili: Das weibliche Geschlecht im Normensystem des 16. Jahrh* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1991), 278.

3 Mary Prior, "Women and the Urban Economy: Oxford 1500-1800", in *Woman in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Routledge, 1985), 92-117.

periods<sup>4</sup>. Studies of women's contribution to the arts<sup>5</sup>, or their scarcity due to lack of access to education<sup>6</sup>, the fate of female artists, writers and scientists, etc., are being undertaken.

One theme that requires research is that of women's travel. In contrast to the rich tradition of studying men's travels, this theme has only recently begun to be actively pursued. For the time being, there are works on specific journeys: Izabela née Flemming Czartoryska<sup>7</sup>, Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska<sup>8</sup>, Anna née Rzewuska Plater<sup>9</sup>, Tekla Róża née Radziwiłł Flemming<sup>10</sup>, Regina Salomea née Rusiecka Halpir<sup>11</sup>. The theme of women's travels is also taken up in connection with the history of private collections of works of art, representations of women's travels in art<sup>12</sup>, etc. An important study that summarises the material on women's travels

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- 4 Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 352.
- 5 Mary D. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentilleschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 640.
- 6 Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society 1500–1800. The Social Foundation of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London: Longman, 1982), 324.
- 7 Alina Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska: polskość i europejskość* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1998), 364.
- 8 Bogdan Rok, "Europa drugiej połowy XVIII wieku w oczach polskiej podróżniczki Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej", in *Europejski wiek osiemnasty – uniwersalizm myśli, różnorodność dróg: studia i materiały*, eds. Mark Dębowski, Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz and Michał Zwierzykowski (Kraków: Societas Vistulan, 2013), 221-34.
- 9 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, "Путешествие Анны Плятер в Москву на коронацию Павла I", in *Российско-польский исторический альманах*, 8 (2016): 124-33.
- 10 Agnieszka Słaby, "Tekla Róża z Radziwiłłów Flemmingowa – między Dreznem a Warszawą", in *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, eds. Agata Roćko and Magdalena Górka (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017), 41-58.
- 11 Arkadź Smolik, "Саламея Русецкая: лекарка, вандроўніца, феміністка", in *Народная асвета*, 2 (2014): 78-83. Roman Krzywy, "Cztery portrety Salomei z Rusieckich Pilsztynowej, czyli o rozmaitych lekturach jednej autobiografii z feminizmem w tle", in *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, eds. Agata Roćko and Magdalena Górka (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017), 337-54; Stanisław Roszak, "Echo procederu podróży Reginy Salomei Pilsztynowej: jeden pamiętnik w wielu odsłonach", in *Scientia magnam laetitiam parat: studia z historii kultury, społeczeństwa i polityki ofiarowane profesorowi Kazimierzowi Maliszewskiemu*, eds. Adam Kucharski, Agnieszka Laddach and Wojciech Piasek (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2020), 375-92.
- 12 Katarzyna Jagiełło-Jakubaszek, "Portrety polskich dam jako pamiątka ich wielkiej podróży", in *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, ed. Agata Roćko (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014), 187-98.

is the work of M. E. Kowalczyk<sup>13</sup>. An extremely important for the study of women's travels is publication of diaries, letters and different notes, which were written during travelling. Their publication began in the nineteenth century and continues to the present day.

Interest in travel in the early modern period began to revive along with educational reforms and the emergence of interest in universities among the aristocracy, a revival of interest in antiquity, and the course of the Great Geographical Discoveries. The most active travellers were aristocrats, their goals were different: educational, scientific, religious, therapeutic, diplomatic, «tourist», etc. Here are some features of men's travels in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries for later comparison.

An important part of early modern European culture was educational travel, especially among the wealthiest and most influential segments of the population. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the idea of educational travel was also popular. Men's education consisted of several stages. The first was education at home or school, the second was educational travel in Europe. Young aristocrats travelled abroad with a large retinue which included not only servants and tutors, but also poor noblemen, clients of the family who played a role during the travels and thus had an opportunity to receive a European education<sup>14</sup>.

The geography of educational travel was extensive, and depended on the political and religious position of the family. For example, Catholics visited Italy and Protestants Holland. The Orthodox, if they went on an educational travel to Europe, often chose Protestant educational institutions. In general, however, magnates travelled to the Holy Roman lands, Holland and the Spanish Netherlands, France, Italy, some chose Switzerland. England and Spain were of interest for cognitive rather than educational purposes. They paid particular attention to languages, learning Latin, German, French, Italian etc., history, ethics, politics, rhetoric, theology and law. There was always time for physical exercise: fencing and horse riding, visits to military camps and battlefields, etc<sup>15</sup>.

There was a gradual transformation of educational travel. In the seventeenth century, the medieval tradition of *peregrinatio academica* began to change to the Grand Tour, which added the touristic aspect to the educational aspect of travel. Travel under the new concept was necessary not only to study certain disciplines in universities, but also to improve a young person's taste and his life skills<sup>16</sup>. Therefore,

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13 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia* (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019), 495.

14 Anastasia Sker'ian, "Придворные последних князей Слуцких", in *Miestas, dvaras, kaimas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Lenkijos Karalystėje XVI–XVIII a. Lokalinės istorijos problemos*, ed. Ramunė Šmigelskienė-Stukienė (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2018), 217-56.

15 Marian Chachaj, *Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1995), 171.

16 Anna Markiewicz, *Podróże edukacyjne w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego: Peregrinationes Jablonovianae* (Warszawa: DiG, 2011), 370.

an increasingly large part of the travel began to be spent in elitist surroundings and sightseeing, rather than attending university lectures.

The Grand Tour tradition gradually evolved into a separate field, the notional scientific voyage, during which travelers collected exhibits for future curiosity cabinets and different collections (minerals, fossils, animal skeletons, archaeological finds). Interest in antiquities was strongly influenced by the archaeological excavations at Pompeii (begun in 1738) and Herculaneum (begun in 1748)<sup>17</sup>. As a result, the collection of rarities and antiquities became part of the Grand Tour during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Another purpose of travel was to go to the healing waters, which began to develop during the Renaissance. Residents of the Polish-Lithuanian state travelled as far as Cieplice and Shklo (near Lvov), as well as to the Czech Karlovy Vary, Austrian Baden, French Vichy, sometimes even to English Bath. Italian resorts, on the other hand, were not particularly popular. Although Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł “the Orphan” spent some time in 1580 in the mineral resorts around Venice, Padua and Lucca<sup>18</sup>.

Religion was also an important part of the travels. The most popular destinations for religious travel were the Holy Land, Santiago de Compostella, Rome and many Italian cities such as Loreto. Those who could not travel far away chose local shrines for pilgrimage. For example, Sanctuary of Our Lady of Czestochowa at Jasna Góra, to which pilgrims began going en masse in 1611<sup>19</sup>.

This is by no means a complete list of the purposes for which men travelled around Europe in early modern times. However, active male travel began as early as the sixteenth century, primarily to Italy. Diplomatic missions, visit religious shrines and seek an audience with the Pope, studying [Mikołaj Radziwiłł (1515), Jan Kiszka (1564), Albrycht and Jerzy Radziwiłłs (1575–1576), Lukasz Felician and Aleksander Massalscy (1592), Mikołaj Hlebovich (1593)]. Women’s activity in travelling, on the other hand, increased later. Women started travelling quite actively during the Enlightenment. There were different reasons for this, and one important one was to improve women’s education, which broadened their intellectual horizons and allowed them to play new roles in society. Gradually, women began to manage estates, engage in politics, build palaces and churches, collect rarities, write, patronize scientists and artists, and travel<sup>20</sup>.

The main purposes of women’s travels were: interest in the light, health issues, religious travel, family interests, etc. Quantitatively, there were considerably fewer travels than men’s, they could not be spontaneous, it took a long time to prepare

17 Marek Bratuń, “Grand Tour: narodziny–rozwój–zmięch”, in *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, ed. Agaty Roćko (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014), 28.

18 Tomasz Kempa, *Мікалай Крыштаф Радзівіл Сіротка (1549–1616). Віленскі ваявада*, trans. Siarhiej Pietrykievič (Mіp: Музей “Замкавы комплекс “Міp”, 2016), 140.

19 Jan Głapiak, *Górka Duchowna – Sanktuarium Maryjne Wielkopolski* (Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 2001), 140.

20 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 10.

for them and to find a chaperone. In addition, in the early Modern period, public opinion was more likely to criticize women's travel than to support it. A large number of publicists, politicians and religious figures believed that a woman's role was to run the household, be a good mother and wife, and that travel was of no use. Even more criticised were the motives of women's travel, the waste of time on balls, meetings with friends, concerts and theatrical performances, rather than interest in science, literature, art and history. However, it should be noted that there were many such travelers among men as well, which was also mentioned in different letters and essays that began to appear actively in the eighteenth century<sup>21</sup>.

However, despite the difficulties in organization and lack of support in society, women's travels gradually developed during the early modern period, especially in the eighteenth century. It should be noted that, even without travelling outside their state, aristocratic women traveled quite extensively within the country, especially if the family owned large tracts of land. Women often accompanied their husbands, travelling with them to the capital, or spending different seasons at different residences, and afterwards helping to manage their many possessions. A good example of a woman of the magnate family of the GDL who did not travel abroad, but actively moved within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was Anna Katarzyna née Sangushko Radziwiłł, wife of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł. She was born in the town of Rakaŭ (not far from Minsk) and educated in Warsaw in the monasteries. After marriage and before the wedding the future spouses travelled to Polotsk, Minsk, Mir, Slonim and Biała (now Biała Podlaska). Soon after the wedding the couple travelled to Volyn, then to Niasvizh, where they stayed for a month, and a sejm to Grodna, then to Warsaw and a month later to Biała. And so, throughout her life, Anna Katarzyna travelled between her residences, visiting her relatives and friends, going to Warsaw and Grodna, making several pilgrimages to Jasna Góra, etc<sup>22</sup>.

The life of Regina Salomea née Rusiecka, by her husbands Halpir and Pilshtyn, however, was the exception rather than the rule. She was born in Novogrodek. Her first husband was a German oculist, Jakub Halpir, who worked in Turkey, where he took his young wife. This determined the rest of her life, as she took over her husband's knowledge, learned from other physicians and spent her whole life travelling between the Ottoman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Austria and the Russian Empire. Everywhere she made a living from her knowledge of medicine, got involved in different adventures, and left behind interesting memoirs<sup>23</sup>.

21 Hugo Kołłątaj, *Stan oświecenia w Polsce w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III (1750–1764)* (Warszawa: De Agostini Polska, 2003), 137-9.

22 Vitalij Halubovič, Siarhiej Rybčonak and Aliaksiej Šalanda, *Чорная дама з Мірскага замка. Княгіня Ганна Кацярына з Сангушкаў Радзівіл (1676–1746)* (Mip: Музей “Замкавы комплекс “Mip”, 2020), 452.

23 Smolik, “Саламея Русецкая”, 78-83. Monika Szamik, “Europejskie wojaże XVIII-wiecznej polskiej «doktorki medycyny i okulistyki», czyli Regina Salomea Pilsztynowa w podróży”, in *Podróże w świecie nowożytnym (XVI-XVIII w.)*, eds. Patryk Kuc and Weronika Kruszyna (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze “Historia Iagellonica”, 2021), 129-44.

Many aristocratic women did not want to limit themselves to travelling within their own country, but they did not want to be adventurous, they just wanted to be in Europe. So, let's take a closer look at women's foreign travel.

Following the example of men's travel, let us begin with education, and the place of travel in it. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even in the first half of the eighteenth century, women's education was fairly incidental rather than commonplace. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that progress in women's education shifted the focus from the need for education to the issue of its content and quality. Girls were educated traditionally, following the example of their mothers, aunts and grandmothers. Education included religious and moral education, the study of good manners, foreign languages, music, dance, drawing, embroidery, in some cases history, geography and mathematics<sup>24</sup>. And the main emphasis in education, by which it was judged, was on knowledge of foreign languages. It went so far that girls knew German, French or any other foreign language better than their mother tongue. Often girls were chosen to be teachers of foreign origin, and it happened that the mere fact of foreign origin was enough of a recommendation for the teacher<sup>25</sup>.

Another option was the convent schools, where girls were sent for a few years and married at 15–16<sup>26</sup>. It was precisely the girls' trip to such a boarding school that was an alternative to the men's educational travels. Apolonia Helena Massalska, studied at the Abbaye-aux-Bois convent in Paris in 1771–1779. After her parents' death her guardian was her uncle Ignacy Massalski, bishop of Vilna, who brought her to Paris in 1771, where he was travelling on political business, and admitted her to a boarding school at the age of eight. There she studied for eight years, finishing her education in 1779 and marrying Karol Jozef Antoni Emanuel de Ligne. Apolonia Helena Massalska left a diary of her time spent at Abbaye-aux-Bois. It contains information on how education took place at the convent, how the pupils lived and spent their leisure time. The diary shows that the girls were not able to go out of the convent, so there were no excursions, visits to the court or public lectures, as in the case of male education<sup>27</sup>.

In the 18th century, however, the women's Grand Tour was actively developing. The main features of the women's Grand Tour were their organisation. For example, the ability to travel depended heavily on a woman's marital status. Widows were the most free in their movements, and the least free were unmarried young girls who depended

24 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 29.

25 Henrieta z Działyńskich Błędowska, *Pamiętka przeszłości: wspomnienia z lat 1794–1832*, eds. Ksenia Kostenicz and Zofia Makowiecka (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960), 35.

26 Anna Szylar, "Źródła archiwalne dotyczące wyjazdów edukacyjnych dziewcząt do szkół klasztornych w XVII i XVIII wieku", in *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, eds. Dorota Żołędź-Strzelczyk and Małgorzata E. Kowalczyk (Wrocław: Chronicon, 2017), 379–400.

27 Apolonia Helena Massalska, *Pamiętniki pensjonarki: zapiski z czasów edukacji w Paryżu (1771–1779)*, trans. Anna Pikor-Póltorak, ed. Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), 12.

entirely on their parents, relatives or guardians, and travelled only accompanied by them. Married ladies had to get their husbands' permission to travel, and sometimes even their parents' permission. Rozalia née Chodkiewich Lubomirska, for instance, persuaded her husband, a Kyiv castellan Aleksander Lubomirski, to take her to Paris with her. They could only leave, however, after obtaining permission from Rosalia's mother, Maria Ludwika née Rzewuska Chodkiewich<sup>28</sup>. The woman also had to be concerned about financial support for the trip.

And if it happened that the husband did not accompany his wife on the journey, the woman had to obtain official permission to leave in order to cross the border and find company for the travels. Thus, when Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska traveled between 1773 and 1774, she was accompanied by various people. She travelled most of the way with her husband's sister, Marianna Morawska; from Gdańsk she was accompanied throughout the travel by Kazimierz Kaszyc, a member of the Radziwiłłs' client family; part of the way she traveled with her brother Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł. She travelled to Italy with a large group of six carriages and forty horses, including Albrycht Radziwiłł<sup>29</sup>.

To prove the extent of a woman's dependence on her husband's decision, here are the words of Ludwika née Sosnowska Lubomirska, wife of Jozef Lubomirski: «In the middle of June from Horynka I am to leave for Spa to see my son Henrik and the Princess, wife the Grand Marshal of the Crown, if my lord - that is the man we call husband - sends me his permission and money. I desire this very much, but I do not yet know how it will happen»<sup>30</sup>. However, despite all the difficulties, to which should be added obtaining a passport and letters of recommendation for different influential people, finding company, etc. the thirst for travel and curiosity made it possible to overcome all difficulties and embark on a travel.

A good example of a woman's Grand Tour is the voyage of Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska through Europe between 1773 and 1774. The motive for her journey, in her own words, was «the desire to get to know foreign countries and people»<sup>31</sup>. According to the diary that Teofila Konstancja kept during the travel, the travel began in mid-May 1773 in Vilna. Through Königsberg she reached Gdańsk, then through German Berlin, Potsdam, Wetenberg, Frankfurt am Main she reached Strasbourg, where she met her brother, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł and continued the travel with him. Karol Stanisław went to Switzerland, where he did not only travel

28 ANK, AMChodk., n. 464. 187.

29 Bogdan Rok, «Życie towarzyskie Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej w europejskiej podróży latach 1773-1774», in *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. Jerzy Urwanowicz (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu, 2003), 639-49.

30 «W połowie czerwca z Horynki wyjechać mam do Spa, aby zobaczyć się z synem moim Henrykiem i kseżną marszałkową, jeżeli pan mój i władca – to jest ta istota, którą mężem nazywamy – przyśle mi swoje zezwolenie i pieniądze. Pragnę tego bardzo, ale nie wiem jeszcze, jak się stanie», Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 154.

31 «chęć poznania i krajów, i ludzi obcych», Teofila Konstancja z Radziwiłłów Morawska, *Diariusz podróży europejskiej w latach 1773-1774*, ed. Bogdan Rok (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), 42.

around the country, but also met some political figures of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After Switzerland they spent two months in Paris. In Paris Teofila Konstancja learned French, studied the city and its surroundings, attended balls and did other things. Somewhere at the turn of 1773 and 1774 Teofila left for Paris. She headed for Italy, also with her brother. It was in Italy that Teofila Konstancja and Karol Stanisław's itinerary diverged. She visited Turin, Bologna, Venice, Rome, Naples and other cities<sup>32</sup>.

The content of the diary shows that she paid particular attention to Venice, where she spent a long time. She described Venice's political system, different festivals and events, and many of its attractions. In Rome she had an audience with Pope Clement XIV, visited many basilicas and excavation sites. She also climbed Vesuvius and gave an extremely interesting description of the cities of northern Italy during the Carnival of 1774, etc<sup>33</sup>. Such a trip certainly broadened a woman's aesthetic and philosophical outlook and satisfied her spiritual and intellectual needs. After all, Italy was the centre of art, culture and science all over the world, so everyone who wanted to experience European civilisation went there.

40

For example, Katarzyna née Sosnowska Plater traveled to Italy in 1785–1786. She went on the travel with her husband, Jozef Wincenty Plater and her daughter Cecilia. The travel was a classic Grand Tour based on fashion and an interest in European culture. They planned the trip for two years, including Italy, France and probably England, a trip which was considered a good style at that time. The couple left Warsaw in July 1785, probably by the most popular and shortest route: via Kraków, Cieszyn, Olomouc and Brno to Vienna. And from the capital of the Habsburg empire via Styria and Carinthia towards the Republic of Venice<sup>34</sup>.

During the travel, Katarzyna Plater kept a diary in which she described the Italian part of the travel. The diary begins on 9 September with a description of the road from Pontebba to Venice, where they spent ten days. Then via Padua, Vicenza, Verona and Modena they reached Bologna by 5 October. And through Loreto they reached Rome by October 19 where they stayed until January 10, 1786, after which they left for Naples. Unfortunately, this is where the diary entries end, but the correspondence shows that the Platers spent a few weeks in Naples before returning to Rome and heading towards the Alps in France via Florence<sup>35</sup>.

In Italy, the Platers met many of their compatriots and relatives, as Katarzyna wrote about in her diary, and which attests to the popularity of this destination for travel and sometimes emigration. In Venice, for example, they spent time with Izabela née Czartoryska Lubomirska, widow of Stanisław Lubomirski. With her, Katarzyna Plater crossed paths at theatrical performances, together the women explored the

32 Rok, "Europa drugiej połowy XVIII wieku w oczach", 221-34.

33 Morawska, *Diariusz podróży*, 259.

34 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Obraz Włoch w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym i podróżniczym osiemnastego wieku* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2003), 107.

35 Katarzyna z Sosnowskich Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch : dziennik z lat 1785–1786*, trans. Anna Pikor-Półtorak, ed. Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2013), 32.

city and its surroundings, and paid visits to each other<sup>36</sup>.

In addition to sightseeing and meeting acquaintances, there was also room for study on the trip. For example, Katarzyna Plater studied drawing and embroidery, while Cecilia Plater took lessons in singing, drawing, harpsichord playing and Italian. Katarzyna, on the other hand, was learning the language on her own, even before the travel, and was pleased to note that «thanks to what I learnt from my grammar book and dictionary during the travel, I managed to sustain conversations better than I could have expected»<sup>37</sup>.

A special kind of journey, which was partly the first and sometimes the only one, was the wedding travel. The wedding travel of Anna Paulina née Sapięha Jabłonowska, who married Jan Kajetan Jabłonowski in 1750, was a magnificent affair. Soon the couple set off on a long trip to Europe, from which they did not return until 1755. It should be noted separately that Anna Paulina spent her time during the travel not only on sightseeing and various meetings, but also on the sciences. She improved her knowledge in economical areas, which resulted in her future successful economic activities<sup>38</sup>. For Anna Paulina, the wedding travel was not the only one. In 1769 she left for Europe again and in two years visited Hungary, Austria, Italy, France, England, the Netherlands and Prussia.

A few months after their wedding, Izabela Flemming and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski set off on their journey. At the very beginning of 1763, the couple set off on a travel through Germany, France and England. Isabella would later describe the journey in her diary<sup>39</sup>. The wedding travel of Anna Sangushko and Antoni Barnaba Jabłonowski was more modest. The wedding took place on 28 September 1755 and seven months later the newlyweds traveled to Frankfurt am Main and Berlin<sup>40</sup>.

Ladies also traveled to improve their health. Maintaining good health in those days was no easy task, there was little medicine could do, and access to good doctors was difficult, especially outside the big cities. Travelling for medical treatment was therefore common amongst the wealthy. Thus around 1601, Ganna née Kettler Radziwiłł travelled to the German Carlsbad and in 1608 to Italian spas, bringing her sickly daughter Barbara Radziwiłł, the future wife of Mikołaj Kishka for treatment<sup>41</sup>. In December 1652, Lukrecja Maria née de Strozzi Radziwiłł and her husband Aleksander Ludwik Radziwiłł also went to Italy for treatment. Unfortunately,

36 Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch*, 38.

37 «dzięki temu, czego nauczyłam się w czasie podróży z mojego podręcznika do gramatyki i słownika, zdołałam podtrzymywać konwersacje lepiej, niżbym się tego mogła była spodziewać», Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch*, 45.

38 Karolina Targosz, «Kolekcjonerki XVIII wieku – Anna Jabłonowska i Teofila Konstancja Morawska i ich zbiory przyrodnicze», in *Kobięta epok dawnych w literaturze, kulturze i społeczeństwie*, eds. Iwona Maciejewska and Krystyna Stasiewicz (Olsztyn: Littera, 2008), 313-37.

39 BCzart, n. 6067, IV. 47-8.

40 Helena Wereszycka, «Jabłonowski Antoni Barnaba», in PSB, vol. 10 (1962–1964), 216-18.

41 Henryk Lulewicz, «Anna Radziwiłłowa (z domu Kettler)», in PSB, vol. 30 (1987), 383.

Aleksander Ludwik was not cured and in March 1654 in Bologna he died. But Lukrecja Maria doctors helped him through a difficult pregnancy and gave birth to a son Dominik Mikołaj Radziwiłł in September 1653<sup>42</sup>. An example of travelling for medical treatment was Rozalia née Chodkiewich Lubomirska, who in 1788 travelled to France with her husband<sup>43</sup>. In general, the geography of treatment travels was the same as that of the men.

Religion was the next purpose of travel. The main destinations for this purpose were Italy, the Holy Land and Santiago de Compostela. The latter two were long and difficult to travel to, so women rarely travelled there. For example, Konstancja Kolumba née Denhoff Sangushko, wife of Janusz Aleksander Sangushko, once went to Santiago de Compostela<sup>44</sup>. And the shrines of Italy were visited quite often, all the more so because there were frequent trips to Italy for other purposes. The same Anna née Kettler Radziwiłł on her trip to Italy in 1608–1609 paid attention to the treatment of her sick daughter, and spent some time with her son Jan Albrycht Radziwiłł in Bologna, where he studied. However, the religious component also found its place. Thus she travelled with her son to Rome at the end of 1608, and in the spring of 1609 to Padua to visit important Catholic shrines. She also found time to visit Loreto<sup>45</sup>.

Another interesting travel to Italy, closely connected with visits to holy places, was that of Katarzyna née Sobieska Radziwiłł and Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł in 1677–1678. Michał Kazimierz was travelling to Vienna and Rome on an unofficial diplomatic mission, and Katarzyna chose to accompany her husband on this journey. The couple visited Vienna, Venice, Rome, Loreto, Florence and, apart from different meetings and audiences, the journey was full of attendance at services and various religious practices, visits to monasteries, worship of shrines, etc. Thus, the couple began their journey with a visit to Jasna Góra and continued along the way to visit famous public as well as small and even private chapels and churches<sup>46</sup>.

Much attention was also paid to religion by Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska on her travel through Italy. For instance, she left all the retinue with which she had arrived in Venice and went to Rome with the aim of double benefit for both services and curiosity. In Rome, she visited seven basilicas and watched the Pope's solemn exit. And so throughout the travel, she combined touristic curiosity with piety<sup>47</sup>.

42 Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Kopciowa Lukrecja Maria Radziwiłłowa ze Strozich", in *PSB*, vol. 13 (1967–1968), 616-17.

43 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 108.

44 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 123.

45 Lulewicz, "Anna Radziwiłłowa", 383.

46 Jarosław Pietrzak, "Siedemnastowieczna podróżniczka – wrażenia Katarzyny z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowej z podróży po Europie Zachodniej w latach 1677–1678", in *Kulturowe wzorce a społeczna praktyka. Studia z dziejów kobiet*, eds. Agnieszka Jakuboszczak and Przemysława Matusik (Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2012), 103-26.

47 Morawska, *Diariusz podróży*, 21.

## **CONCLUSION**

Throughout the early modern period, travel gradually gained more and more prominence in a woman's life. Especially in the life of an aristocratic woman. Unfortunately, not many sources have been found before the eighteenth century to help assess the place of travel in a woman's life. Since the eighteenth century, however, a fair number of letters, diaries and different other accounts of women's travels have come down to us. One way or another, virtually every noblewoman and magnate spent a lot of time travelling within the GDL or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. She moved to her husband's house after marriage, moved between different residences, illness and pregnancy could also necessitate a move. Not to forget visiting relatives and attending different festive events, travelling to the court, accompanying her husband to the sejms and tribunals, accompanying her husband on a military march, etc. However, in addition to such travels, women also undertook more distant journeys to Western Europe.

43

When comparing women's travels with men's, it is evident that it was much more difficult for women to organise, due to women's lack of autonomy, primarily financially, and their dependence on the decision of their father, guardian, husband or brother. More often than not, ladies' travels were in one way or another connected with family affairs, which put a strain on their goals and itineraries.

Thus, educational travel by women was practically non-existent. Therefore, women visited university towns only as escorts, as Anna née Kettler Radziwiłł did when she visited her son in Bologna. Lukrecja Maria née de Strozzi Radziwiłł was in Bologna for medical treatment along with her husband, who was not only being treated, but also attending lectures at the University of Bologna. The women's Grand Tour often took place in a family way, as was the case with Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska, who travelled most of the way with her brother, or Katarzyna née Sosnowska Plater, who travelled with her husband and daughter. Often only widows were independent in their travels.

Healing and religion had an important place in travel. Health was, in principle, one of the main aims of women's travel. Maintaining good health was not an easy task, so travelling to famous spas or to famous doctors was common. It was not only ladies and their husbands who travelled for treatment, but their children were also actively taken for treatment. Religion, however, was often not the main purpose of travel, but found a place in almost every travels. Piety was considered an important positive trait for women in early modern times, so it is not surprising that many took the opportunity to visit famous pilgrimage centers and went on pilgrimages and gave much attention to this part of the journey in their diaries and notes.

Thus, the main purposes of women's travel were health, religion, curiosity about the world and the desire to travel, and different family affairs and traditions.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

GDL: Grand Duchy of Lithuania

ANK: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie.

AMChodk: Archiwum Młynowskie Chodkiewiczów.

BCzart: Biblioteka Chartoryskich w Krakowie.

PSB: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, vol. I-LIV (Kraków: PAN 1935-2023)

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

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### ABSTRACT

Main goal of paper is to present all journays 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 journays, 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 death<sup>1</sup>. Her successors rarely left the country. Only Sigismund III's wife

1 Władysław Pocięcha, *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 husband<sup>2</sup>. 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 achieved<sup>3</sup>. At the 1641 *Sejm*, a resolution was passed banning Polish monarchs from travelling outside the country without the consent of the *Sejm*<sup>4</sup>. 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

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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 diarjusze)* (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 rozkazować. 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 przeciwnie 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, 28<sup>th</sup> 1675 for Silesia, then Vienna, and three years later married Prince Charles of Lorraine, with whom she settled in Innsbruck<sup>5</sup>.

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 ones<sup>6</sup>. 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*<sup>7</sup>. According to François Paulin Dalerac, a participant in the expedition, the journey took place: «without

5 Mirosława 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 Komarzyński, “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<sup>e</sup> 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 ziemią ruską”, in *Europa bez granic; wyzwanie dla oświaty wielokulturowej*, eds. Henryk Bednarski, Janusz Majchrzak-Mikuła and Michał Korczyński (Ryki: Wyższa Szkoła Umiętności 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 *Samotrzcę, w kompanii czy z orszakem? 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»<sup>8</sup>.

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.

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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 preparations<sup>9</sup>. 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 people<sup>10</sup>. 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, 29<sup>th</sup>, 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 are the author of this article.

9 In detail 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 dell'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, 8<sup>th</sup> 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 them<sup>11</sup>. 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»<sup>12</sup>. 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 majesty<sup>13</sup>. 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 (Genève: 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 shrine<sup>14</sup>. 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»<sup>15</sup>. 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 borders<sup>16</sup>. 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 Loreto<sup>17</sup>. 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 tutti<sup>18</sup>.

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 majesty<sup>19</sup>.

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 residence<sup>20</sup>. 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 Albano<sup>21</sup>. 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 correspondent<sup>22</sup>. 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 Montecatini<sup>23</sup>.

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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 Bibliotheca 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 majesty<sup>24</sup>. 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 State<sup>25</sup>. 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 welcome<sup>26</sup>. 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 direttioni 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

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*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 “Istruzioni 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»<sup>27</sup>.

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 welcome<sup>28</sup>.

On the evening of March, 23<sup>rd</sup> 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 Apostoli<sup>29</sup>. 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 26<sup>th</sup> 1699<sup>30</sup>.

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 appliqués 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 Sweden<sup>31</sup> - leaved a Rome for a while: «from where she came from all over majesty»<sup>32</sup> 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

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 pellegrinagio. 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 21<sup>st</sup>, 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»<sup>33</sup>. 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 Apostle<sup>34</sup>.

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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 aristocrats<sup>35</sup>. These were usually celebrations presided over by

33 According to: Aneta Markuszewska, *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 blessing<sup>36</sup>. 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 indulgence<sup>37</sup>. Shrines famous for miraculous images or statues of the Crucified were very popular<sup>38</sup>. Outside the Papal chapel with its representation of Christ's Veraicon, accessed by the Holy Staircase<sup>39</sup>, 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 Sacrament<sup>40</sup>. Many accounts mentioned the presence of Jan III's widow in churches S. Pietro in Vincoli<sup>41</sup>, S. Maria in Via Lata<sup>42</sup>, S. Maria in Portico<sup>43</sup> oraz S. Maria Nuova<sup>44</sup> 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 churches<sup>45</sup>.

However, it was not only piety that prompted the queen to explore Rome. Maria

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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»<sup>46</sup>. 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 Fiori<sup>47</sup>.

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»<sup>48</sup>. 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»<sup>49</sup>, and the Villa Montalto, from where she did not return to Rome until early November 1699<sup>50</sup>. 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; Komaczyński, *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 Théodore de la Tour d'Auvergne de Bouillon, Louis XIV's representative at the papal court<sup>51</sup>. 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 dynasty<sup>52</sup>.

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 dramas<sup>53</sup>. 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 soggiorone invece di diversine»<sup>54</sup>. 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 Bracciano<sup>55</sup>. 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:

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 genii<sup>56</sup>.

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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 residence<sup>57</sup>. 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 Sweden<sup>58</sup>. 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»<sup>59</sup>. The Queen's trips to the Pope's summer residence at Castel Gandolfo also had the character of political missions and health trips<sup>60</sup>. 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 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>61</sup>.

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 Jakob 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.

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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. Alekaander and Konstantyn Sobieski – note by Author], the Electress [Teresa Kunegunda of Sobieski Wittelsbach – note by Author], who was very much looking forward to it»<sup>62</sup>. 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 Brenta<sup>63</sup>. 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»<sup>64</sup>. 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 Vienna<sup>65</sup>. 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 Konstanty 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, *Konstanty Sobieski to Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł*, Venice 20 February 1700 [without page]; *J[akub] 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 nigdyś 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»<sup>66</sup>. 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!”»<sup>67</sup>.

The Queen’s intentions came to fruition with the rapidly changing political circumstances. At the end of February 1704, Princes Jakub and Konstancy were kidnapped on their way from Oława to Wrocław and imprisoned in the Saxon fortress of Koenigstein on the orders of August II<sup>68</sup>. 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 Kunegunda<sup>69</sup>. 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 favourably<sup>70</sup>. 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 passport<sup>71</sup>. 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 herself<sup>72</sup>. In February 1705, the electress, using the pretext of wanting to attend carnival games, travelled via Graz and Salzburg to Venice<sup>73</sup>. A mother-daughter reunion took place in the capital of the Republic on March, 11<sup>th</sup> 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 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 other<sup>74</sup>. The Polish Queen left Venice in May 1705<sup>75</sup> 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 described<sup>76</sup>.

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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 cosse 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, 30<sup>th</sup> to May, 10<sup>th</sup> 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»<sup>77</sup>. 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 devotion<sup>78</sup>. 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 Lubomirschi suo Nipote, e della Principessina con 80. persone di seguito per trovarsi in vi alla nobilissima Festa di San Gennaro»<sup>79</sup>. 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 Nicholas<sup>80</sup>.

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*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 Boguslaw 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 effort<sup>81</sup>.

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.

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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

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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 Succession<sup>82</sup>.

Maria Kazmiera d'Arquien Sobieska's efforts to leave Rome began as early as 1708, when she purchased a property in Genoa<sup>83</sup>. Arguably, the Queen's financial difficulties and the establishment of contracts with Genoese merchants were behind this decision<sup>84</sup>. 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 Blois<sup>85</sup>. 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»<sup>86</sup>, 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 Udienza, e nel doppio pranzo diede quella di congedo a questa Regina di Polonia, che si trattene 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'incamenera' 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 generosita' fa' che ogn'uno senta con particolar dispiacere questa partenza della Regina tanto piu' che la vedono per la sua eta' avanzata, e per la sofferta ultima sua malattia di non essere in stato di fare un cosi' lungo viaggio, dal quale non e' stato possibile in rimoverla del Pontefice, e le suppliche di quelli che bramano sinceramente la conservazione della Maèsta Sua<sup>87</sup>.

On June, 16<sup>th</sup> 1714, the Queen left Rome and sailed by papal boat from the port of Civitavecchia to Livorno and then to Genoa<sup>88</sup>. 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 State<sup>89</sup>. 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 the<sup>90</sup>. 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 guards<sup>91</sup>. 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-paux<sup>92</sup>. 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

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, G<sup>7</sup> 541<sup>b</sup>, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Desmartes*, 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<sup>e</sup> Aoust 1714*, ff. 554-69.

91 AN, G<sup>7</sup> 541<sup>b</sup>, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska to Desmartes*, 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 Bordes<sup>93</sup>. Farewelled by the customary cannonade on September, 14<sup>th</sup>, 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 castle<sup>94</sup>.

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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.

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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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## **LA FUGA DA INNSBRUCK A ROMA DI MARIA KLEMENTYNA SOBIESKA STUART**

### **ABSTRACT**

The Article focuses on the journey undertaken by Maria Klementyna Sobieska between 1718 and 1719 to marry James Stuart, the “Pretender” to the English throne. The idea of marriage, born to revive the fortunes of both families, however, immediately created political problems at an international level, putting the delicate European geopolitical balance at risk. Having left Olawa, the young woman was arrested by order of Emperor Charles VI of Habsburg and detained in Innsbruck: a decision taken to comply with the wishes of Ludwig of Hanover, sovereign of England and enemy of James. The Article analyzes the very young Sobieska's escape from Innsbruck to Italy. At the centre, we find all the tenacity of this very young girl who, having escaped from the city on a winter night, set out on the road towards Italy accompanied by her mother, Hedwig Elisabeth Amalia von Pfalz-Neuburg is escorted by a group of men led by the knight Charles. Once she arrived in Bologna, she would marry James Stuart by proxy. These events' stories are addressed through manuscript and printed sources, mainly Roman and pontifical.

**KEYWORDS:** Maria Klementyna Sobieska, James Stuart, Travel, Innsbruck, Rome.

La figura di Maria Klementyna Sobieska Stuart, giovanissima principessa polacca<sup>1</sup>, che la società romana del XVIII secolo collocò sopra un piedistallo per virtù d'animo e dedizione alle pratiche di devozione, è stata oggetto di studio e attenzione ma attende ancora una biografia completa e precisa. Diverso, invece, è stato il giudizio che il popolino romano rivolse a James Stuart, il “Pretendente”: di lui, non venne mai apprezzato il carattere iroso e la dubbia moralità<sup>2</sup>, soprattutto il

<sup>1</sup> Sulla figura della principessa polacca diventata *quasi* regina d'Inghilterra rimando a Władysław Nowak-Soliński, *Clementina Sobieska “Królowa Anglii”* (Warszawa: Agencja Wydawnicza MAKO, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> James III Stuart, il *Vecchio Pretendente*, sollecitato dalle cancellerie di Madrid, Parigi e dalla stessa Santa Sede, prese la decisione di sposare la principessa Maria Klementyna Sobieska puntando soprattutto sulla cospicua dote che la giovane avrebbe portato alla loro unione con la speranza, mai sopita, di potersene servire per tentare di (ri-)conquistare il perduto trono di Inghilterra. Vari tentativi che non portarono alcun frutto tanto che allo stesso James era stata ventilata la possibilità di passare dalla fede cattolica a quella protestante. Un modo più facile per raggiungere il tanto desiderato intento. Il Pretendente non volle, però, aderire mai ad una tale soluzione restando sempre il paladino della cattolicità e per questo rassegnandosi al dorato esilio romano. Cfr. Bryan Bevan, *King James the Third of England: A Study of Kingship in Exile* (London: Hale, 1967), *passim*.

fatto di non aver amato, come avrebbe dovuto, quell'angelo di bontà che era Maria Klementyna, sposata solo perché rappresentava un partito utile a metterlo al riparo dalle ristrettezze economiche scaturite con l'esilio dei genitori<sup>3</sup>.

Tra le molte difficoltà riscontrate dalla coppia, resta tuttavia interessante rileggere l'esperienza vissuta dalla giovane donna, costretta a fuggire dall'arresto voluto dalle autorità imperiali per correre a Roma dove l'attendeva – almeno era questa la speranza – colui che sarebbe diventato suo marito<sup>4</sup>. Tutto accadde in una fredda notte, quando, lasciata segretamente Innsbruck – suo “mal ritiro” – sotto una violenta tempesta di neve e grandine, si era messa su strada affidandosi ad un manipolo di estranei guidati dal giacobita Charles Wogan, vicinissimo alla causa di James. Nonostante le insidie e i timori di un lungo e incerto cammino, la ragazza dimostrò grande tenacia e volontà; qualità che le permisero di giungere sana e salva, prima nei territori veneti, poi in quelli pontifici viaggiando sempre in *incognito*<sup>5</sup>. Fin dal primo ingresso nelle terre del Papa, ci fu per questa fuggiasca un matrimonio celebrato per procura a Bologna per via dell'assenza dello sposo allora impegnato in alcune consultazioni in Spagna. Lì, infatti, con l'ausilio del ministro cardinale Giulio Alberoni, James stava predisponendo nuovi piani – dopo il fallito tentativo del 1717 – per impossessarsi del trono strappato al padre durante la *Glorious Revolution* del 1688, scaturita dall'avversione alla politica cattolica e assolutista impressa in Inghilterra dalla dinastia Stuart<sup>6</sup>. Strategie sostenute sia dalla corte di Madrid, sia da quella di Parigi, con la benedizione di papa Clemente XI: una serie di sforzi senza alcun risultato concreto, anzi le aspirazioni disattese di James gli valsero l'appellativo di “Vecchio Pretendente”, laddove il “giovane” sarebbe stato riservato al figlio Charles Edward, animato dal medesimo sogno paterno di riprendere il controllo dell'Inghilterra<sup>7</sup>.

Tornando a Maria Klementyna, va ricordato che era figlia di Jakub Sobieski e di

<sup>3</sup> A seguito della *Glorious Revolution* [1688/9] il cattolico re d'Inghilterra James II Stuart, sua moglie Mary d'Este e l'erede al trono James, poi riconosciuto come il “Pretendente”, dovettero abbandonare il regno e trovare asilo in terra di Francia. Cfr. Edward Corp, *A Court in exile. The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: University Press, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> Diversi contributi sono stati dedicati al matrimonio. Cito solo Gaetano Platania, *La politica europea e il matrimonio inglese di una principessa polacca: Maria Clementina Sobieska* (Roma: Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, Roma 1993); Jarosław Pietrzak, “Wife for the Pretender. Concerning the marriage between Maria Clementina Sobieska and James Francis Edward Stuart 1718–1720”, *Eastern European History Review*, 2 (2019): 33-47.

<sup>5</sup> John Heneage Jesse, *Memoirs of the Pretenders and their adherents* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1860), 57.

<sup>6</sup> ASMo, ASE, *Cancellaria Ducale, sezione estero, Carteggio ambasciatori, Inghilterra*, busta 6, Francesco Riva, *Sopra la reiterata dall'Inghilterra della real casa Stuarda [...]*, Saint-Germain-en-Laye 10 agosto 1689, ff. n.n.

<sup>7</sup> Sul tentativo del 1717 di (ri-)conquista del trono rimando a George Hilton Jones, *The Mainstream of Jacobitism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954); John Christopher Malcolm, *The Jacobite Rising of 1715* (London: Cassel, 1970); Harry T. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke* (London: Constable, 1970); Michael Wolfgang, *England Under George I. The Beginnings of the Hanoverian Dynasty* (Westport: Greenwood, 1981); Daniel Szecki, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Edwige Amalia Pfalz-Neuburg e, dunque, diretta nipote da parte di padre del grande Jan III, il *defensor fidei* e liberatore di Vienna<sup>8</sup>, e di Maria Kazimiera che rimasta vedova e trovato riparo a Roma aveva lasciato nella capitale cristiana un'impronta indelebile durante i suoi lunghi 14 anni di esilio romano<sup>9</sup>.

Sull'esatto luogo e data di nascita della principessa polacca, gli storici non sono concordi. Alcuni sostengono che fosse nata Oława<sup>10</sup> il giorno di «Domenica 17 mensis Iulij mediâ quaertâ matutina anno 1701», seguendo in questa ipotesi quanto confermato dal padre Jakub Sobieski in una lettera indirizzata nel gennaio del 1732 a padre Pietro Martire Cangiassi, teologo e confidente di Maria Klementyna, quando la ragazza già risiedeva a Roma<sup>11</sup>. Altri, al contrario, sostengono fosse venuta al mondo a Macerata nel 1702 e tenuta al fonte battesimale dal cardinale Prospero Marefoschi, il quale aveva ospitato i genitori nel proprio palazzo<sup>12</sup> di ritorno da un viaggio a Roma dove avevano incontrato Maria Kazimiera<sup>13</sup>.

Graziosa e ben fatta, bionda di capelli e con profondi occhi scuri, Klementyna era una giovane arguta, allegra e istruita: soprattutto era ricca, a tal punto da renderla una compagna di vita perfetta agli occhi di James, sempre alla ricerca di denaro fresco da investire nelle sue avventure politiche. Lo Stuart, più grande di 14 anni e notoriamente frivolo, donnaiolo e scostante, l'avrebbe poi scelta solo per interessi personali, offrendole in cambio poco tepore e non certo quell'amore che la ragazza si attendeva.

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In questa sede appare utile richiamare alla memoria come si arrivò a sottoscrivere il contratto matrimoniale tra James e la Sobieska. E non è superfluo neppure rammentare come fosse stato Charles Wogan il primo a suggerire allo Stuart la giovane Sobieska<sup>14</sup>, sarebbe poi toccato a James Murray di Stormont, anche lui

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. Michał Rożek, *Jana III Sobieskiego. Pod Wiedniem* (Kraków: Petrus, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. Gaetano Platania, «Una famiglia polacca in esilio nella Roma del primo Settecento: i Sobieski tra affanni, stravaganze, musica e teatro», in *La diplomazia delle lettere nella Roma dei Papi dalla seconda metà del Seicento alla fine dell'Antico Regime*, a cura di Silvia Tatti (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2022), 23-36.

<sup>10</sup> Cfr. Wanda Roszkowska, *Oława królewiczów Sobieskich* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolinskich, 1968).

<sup>11</sup> Il documento in questione è una testimonianza autografa di Jakub Sobieski, padre di Klementyna, indirizzata nel gennaio del 1732 a padre Cangiassi, teologo e confessore della sovrana. Si veda: Maria Antonietta Quesada, «Né regina, né santa: Maria Clementina Sobieska», in *Scritture di donne. La memoria restituita*, a cura di Marina Caffiero e Manola Ida Venzo (Roma: Viella, 2007), 244-245.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. Gennaro Angelini, «I Sobieski e gli Stuarts in Roma», *La Rassegna Italiana*, 2 (1883): 20 e da Bronisław Biliński, «Sobiesciana romana. Monumenti e ricordi letterari», in *Est Europa*, 2 (1986): 144.

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. Gaetano Platania, «Il soggiorno romano di Maria Casimira Sobieska», *Eastern European History Review*, 1 (2018): 9-16.

<sup>14</sup> Penny Miller, *A Wife For The Pretender* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1965), 25.

fedelissimo alla causa stuartiana<sup>15</sup>, concludere le trattative con Jakub Sobieski, altro “triste” personaggio dalle fallite ambizioni. Con un passato regale, il primogenito del grande *defensor fidei* e padre della ragazza, intravedeva nel matrimonio l’opportunità di rilanciare la famiglia Sobieski all’interno del panorama politico e diplomatico d’Europa, soprattutto dopo il personale, e mancato, tentativo di succedere a suo padre sul trono polacco-lituano.

Per Jakub, dunque, l’occasione che si venne a profilare nel 1717 con la realistica unione della figlia con lo Stuart, allora al centro di dinamiche interne a diverse cancellerie europee, costituiva l’opportunità per riaffermarsi sul palcoscenico europeo. Un progetto ardito e che, per questo, sarebbe stato opportuno rimanesse segreto almeno nei suoi primi passi, per non urtare la suscettibilità del governo inglese o quello di Vienna. Tuttavia, contrariamente a quanto auspicato, sarebbero stati gli stessi emissari scelti per l’operazione a far circolare la notizia creando un “caso” politico-diplomatico per i mesi successivi<sup>16</sup>.

Avvisi sulla possibile unione arrivarono ben presto in tutte le corti d’Europa, cagionando come prevedibile l’irritazione di George Ludwig d’Hannover, dal 1° agosto 1714 sul trono di Gran Bretagna e Irlanda. Da subito, infatti, Londra fece sentire la propria contrarietà a Carlo VI d’Asburgo-Austria minacciando di sciogliere l’accordo della Triplice intesa (poi divenuta Quadrupla<sup>17</sup>) se non si fosse impedito il matrimonio tra James e Maria Klementyna:

Si è qui [a Roma] veduta la copia della lettera scritta dalla Corte Britannica a Sua Maestà Cesarea e Cattolica sopra il noto impegno del mariaggio tra Sua Maestà il Re Giacomo d’Inghilterra con la principessa Sobieski, che insinua il scioglimento di esso, e a tal effetto il Signor Conte Sinzendorff insinuò, e nell’istesso tempo procurò l’abboccamento seguito in Moravia con il Padre di detta Principessa ad effetto di dare qualche soddisfazione a quella corte d’Inghilterra<sup>18</sup>.

Intimidazione che non fermò quanto era stato ormai pattuito. Al contrario, stabiliti i capitoli matrimoniali con la benedizione di papa Clemente XI, Maria Klementyna aveva dimostrato di voler raggiungere quanto prima lo sposo che – ricordiamolo – non conosceva personalmente ma sul quale aveva sentito raccontare molti curiosi aneddoti. In pieno accordo con Jakub, la principessa prendeva così la strada scortata

<sup>15</sup> È lo stesso Wogan a sottolineare lo stretto rapporto tra il Pretendente e il gentiluomo scozzese. Di lui scriveva: «Mr. Murray, a Scotch Gentleman, employed by the Chevalier (= James Stuart, il Pretendente) in some of his Affairs at Rome». London, Royal Collection Trust, nr. RCIN 1145968. Cfr. Charles Wogan, *Female Fortitude: exemplify’d in an impartial narrative of the seizure, escape and marriage of the Princess Clementina Sobiesky* (London: A Moore, 1722), 13.

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. Miller, *A Wife for the Pretender*, 39.

<sup>17</sup> Alleanza sottoscritta nel 1718 a Cockpit nei pressi di Londra tra la Francia, l’Inghilterra, l’Olanda già consorziate nella cosiddetta *Triplice Alleanza* e l’Austria dell’imperatore Carlo VI, rivolta contro la Spagna governata dal cardinale di origine italiana Giulio Alberoni il quale contestava quanto deciso con i trattati di Utrecht e Rastatt.

<sup>18</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 238 (Vienna & Roma: Stamperia Chracas, 1719), Vienna 24 dicembre 1719, 7-8.

da Wogan che aveva l'ordine di proteggerla: con lui, oltre a sua madre Edwige di Neuburg, facevano parte della piccola, ma agguerrita scorta, alcuni cavalieri che avevano militato nel reggimento dei Royal Irish, fedelissimi alla causa stuartiana; a questi si era unito anche il maggiore Gavdon, accompagnato dai capitani Toul e Misset e da Mitchell, cameriere personale di James. A completare la comitiva, una servitrice personale per Klementyna, la signora Misset aiutata da una serva di origine fiamminga di nome Jeanne<sup>19</sup>.

La comitiva, piena di ardore e di entusiasmo, soprattutto di audacia, veniva controllata sempre dall'attento e premuroso Wogan che non mancava di moderare la loro palese impazienza decise più che mai a raggiungere il tanto sospirato obiettivo. L'avventura venne poi descritta dal conte Antoni Wodziński<sup>20</sup>, notissimo scrittore e traduttore polacco con parole dalle quali traspare tutto il *pathos* vissuto dal gruppo, più che consapevoli di ciò che stavano attuando:

Wogan seul, qui ne voulait rien laisser au hasard ou à la fortune, de ce qu'il eût pu s'assurer par la prudence, ou la ruse, modérait leur impatience. Afin de mieux couvrir sa responsabilité, et peut-être aussi, celle de son maître, en cas d'insuccès, il se fit délivrer une procuration, par laquelle le prince Jacques Sobieski autorisait sa fille à aller secrètement rejoindre son époux, sous la sauvegarde des personnes choisies et désignées par lui. Muni de cette pièce, il quitta Schletstadt vers les premiers jours du mois d'avril (1719). Le major Gaydon voyageait avec Mme Misset, sous le nom du comte et de la comtesse de Cermesse; la Flamande Jeanne se faisait passer pour la sœur de la comtesse: Toul et Misset suivaient de près, travestis en marchands italiens. Quant à Wogan, il remplissait l'office de fourrier: c'est lui qui traçait l'itinéraire, désignait les étapes où les six arrivaient au complet vers le soir, chacun de son côté et n'ayant jamais l'air de se reconnaître<sup>21</sup>.

Il viaggio, preparato nei minimi particolari da Wogan, prevedeva una prima ma necessaria sosta nelle terre dell'imperatore, con la speranza però di sfuggire alle numerose spie dispiegate dalla corte viennese per sabotare l'intera operazione. Malgrado tutte le precauzioni prese, appena entrati a Innsbruck [25 aprile 1718], dove erano attesi da monsieur Châteaudoux, un francese al servizio di Jakub, alcuni informatori avvertirono prontamente la polizia locale: la giovane Klementyna, senza nessun motivo reale, venne così arrestata e rinchiusa in un palazzo situato nei pressi del fiume Inn, ove sarebbe poi rimasta per gran parte dell'inverno successivo, supportata dalla madre che l'aveva accompagnata in questa avventura. La grintosa, e già innamorata Klementyna, non si dette per vinta e di conseguenza non si perse d'animo. Più di suo padre, che aveva tenuto posizioni ondivaghe prima

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. Gerard Morris, "Of a Princess and Four Irishmen", *The Capuchin Annual*, (1977): 57.

<sup>20</sup> Su di lui cfr. Robert Stodolny, "Antoni Wodziński (1848–1928) pisarz, tłumacz, krytyk literacki, biograf Marii z Wodzińskich Orpiszewskiej", in *O Marii Wodzińskiej* a cura di Antoni Wodziński (Iwonicz-Zdrój: Wydawnictwo Mons Admirabilis, 2015), 120-68.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. Antoni Wodziński, "Le mariage de Marie-Clémentine Sobieska", *La Nouvelle Revue*, 13/83 (1893): 106.

di approvare l'unione<sup>22</sup>, la principessa aveva creduto fin da subito nell'amore per quell'uomo che sarebbe divenuto suo marito, senza cedimenti e sempre sicura del passo compiuto, ovvero «che la principessa sposa parimente in lettera scritta a Sua Beatitudine asserisce che gli impegni da lei contratti col suddetto re non possono discorsi»<sup>23</sup>.

Tra i due promessi, era senza dubbio la giovane e inesperta principessa a credere maggiormente in questa “favola”, mentre James, al contrario, si era sempre dimostrato più impegnato nel progetto di riconquista del trono che nei preparativi del matrimonio. In questa prospettiva, infatti, aveva fatto una rapida tappa ad Urbino per essere più vicino a Roma, centro del potere diplomatico della Santa Sede, con l'obiettivo di raggiungere Bologna solo in un secondo momento, e dove sarebbe arrivato il 15 ottobre 1718 scortato da un seguito molto esiguo, ospitato nel palazzo di proprietà della famiglia Belloni. Per non destare troppe curiosità, lo Stuart aveva imposto di restare “incognito”, limitandosi a chiedere udienza solo a Curzio Origo<sup>24</sup>, cardinale legato, all'arcivescovo della città, il cardinale Giacomo Boncompagni<sup>25</sup>, e al marchese Francesco Monti, mastro delle poste: personaggi con i quali intendeva discutere questioni relative al nuovo tentativo di rientrare in possesso del suo perduto trono, ma anche – stando ai cronisti bolognesi del tempo – organizzare un primo e fugace incontro con la promessa sposa, allora in viaggio verso l'Italia.

Nei piani di James, tutto sembrava volgere al meglio, se non che il 9 novembre 1718 fu convocato urgentemente a Madrid dal cardinale ministro Giulio Alberoni per importanti colloqui, con preghiera di mantenere segreto l'invito, soprattutto la destinazione<sup>26</sup>. Promessa mantenuta così bene che lo stesso Clemente XI apprese la novità a cose già fatte:

Il motivo di tal risoluzione è talmente ignoto a Sua Santità e ben vero che fra discorsi che qua si fanno per questo successo, il più comune è che la Maestà Sua sia andato incontro alla Signora principessa Sobieski colla fiducia che possa aver trovato il modo di fuggire d'Inspruch, di che però non sappiamo niente<sup>27</sup>.

Intanto, tra i due fidanzati si era stabilita una fitta corrispondenza che gli emissari

<sup>22</sup> Jakub Sobieski metterà in discussione il raggiunto accordo con James Stuart guardando verso altre direzioni senza, però, alcun risultato. Platania, *La politica europea e il matrimonio inglese*, 17-18.

<sup>23</sup> BCors., Carteggio secolo XVIII, vol. 563 (31.D.12), *Vincenzo Alemanni a Giorgio Spino-la*, Roma 28 gennaio 1719, f. 160r-v.

<sup>24</sup> Si veda Stefano Tabacchi, in DBI, vol. 79 (2013), 492-94.

<sup>25</sup> Si veda Umberto Coldagelli, in DBI, vol. 11 (1969), 692-93.

<sup>26</sup> «The real James's departure front Italy was so secret that hi did not even inform Pope Clement XI of this destination. At Nettuno he boarded a small French ship carrying Genoese colours, provided bay Admiral George Cammock, now in the service of Spain». Bevan, *King James The Third of England*, 115.

<sup>27</sup> BCors., Carteggio secolo XVIII, vol. 563 (31.D.12), *Vincenzo Alemanni a Giorgio Spino-la*, Roma 11 febbraio 1719, ff. n.n.

imperiali e inglesi non riuscirono a stroncare. James, appena gli fu noto l'arresto e la segregazione di Klementyna, consolò la giovane esaltando i sentimenti di orgoglio e audacia della futura regina, come si evince da una di queste lettere inviate dal Pretendente alla Sobieska<sup>28</sup>:

Je suis laisse à penser de quel coup est venue me frapper la nouvelle de votre détentkion. Il ne nous convient pas de nous répandre en récrimination stériles contre le destin. Je les juge indigne de vous et de moi, incapables d'ailleurs d'apporter un remède aux maux qui nous affligent. Toutefois, qu'il me soit permis de tirer un enseignement de la situation présente. Voici que l'on nous a fourni l'occasion de prouver à la face du monde combien nous sommes dignes l'un de l'autre. Montrons-le par notre persévérance, par notre constance inflexible, et nous briserons les obstacles que la jalousie et la méchanceté des hommes suscitent sur la voie de notre bonheur. Nos coeurs ont été créés pour s'aimer. Les los divines et humaines se prononcent pour la justice de notre cause. Notre pusillanimité seule pourrait dissoudre les liens dont il a plu au Tout-Puissant de nous unir. Je conjure Votre Altesse de ne point fléchir. Ne vous laissez pas amener à consentir à un retour: la plus légère defaillance suffirait à nous faire perdre ce que nous avons pu gagner jusq'à cette heure. Votre courage, votre obstination, si j'ose m'exprimer ainsi, nous permettront de vaincre les forces contraires du destin. Hélas! pourquoi faut-il que tout le poids de cette situation pleine de tristesse retombe sur vous. Si vous jugiez ma présence nécessaires, faites un signe, et j'aurais des ailes pour vous rejoindre. Il n'existe ni dangers, ni fatigues pour moi, dès qu'il s'agit de vous servir. Je préférerais mille fois partager vos chaînes que de régner, ne fût-ce qu'un seul jour, sans vous<sup>29</sup>.

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James esortava – pertanto – Klementyna ad avere coraggio, invitandola a non prendersela con il destino avverso. Se avesse avuto bisogno della sua presenza, assicurava l'inglese, bastava solo che lo avvisasse, tanto era la sua premura nel correre a salvarla. Di più, in quei giorni le scriveva, «avrò le ali per unirti a te. Non ci sono pericoli o fatica per me quando si tratta di servirti. Preferirei condividere mille volte le tue catene piuttosto che regnare, anche solo per un giorno, senza di te». Con queste parole James esortava Maria ad avere forza. Doveva sapere che lui le stava accanto e che avrebbero condiviso assieme le gioie e i sacrifici che la vita che avrebbe messo nel loro cammino di vita.

Nel frattempo, il Pretendente, era sbarcato in Catalogna esattamente l'8 marzo 1719 al porto di Las Rosas per poi proseguire direttamente alla volta di Madrid. Arrivato nella capitale spagnola il 27 dello stesso mese, veniva accolto trionfalmente dai sovrani col riconoscimento pubblico del titolo di legittimo sovrano d'Inghilterra, potendo poi godere degli agi del palazzo del *Buen Retiro* messo a disposizione appositamente per lui.

Ai primi del mese di aprile, James si spostò dalla capitale spagnola a La Coruña deciso a prendere parte personalmente alla spedizione in Inghilterra al fianco del duca d'Ormonde. Purtroppo, all'arrivo nella cittadella, notizie poco rassicuranti lo investirono e lo sorpresero: la flotta spagnola che era salpata da Cadice il 7 marzo

<sup>28</sup> Wodzinski, "Le mariage de Marie-Clémentine Sobieska", 95-6.

<sup>29</sup> Lettera tratta da Wodzinski, "Le mariage de Marie-Clémentine Sobieska", 96

era stata annientata il 28 nei pressi di Cape Finisterre da un violento fortunale costringendo ciò che restava delle navi a fare rientro a Cadice e in altri porti della Galizia<sup>30</sup>.

Lo Stuart, preso atto del fallimento dell'operazione, e avvertito della decisione assunta dall'Alberoni di rimandare il tutto all'anno successivo, si vide costretto a chiudere, almeno e quanto prima, l'accordo matrimoniale con la nipote del grande vincitore di Vienna, Jan III Sobieski.

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Oltre al Pretendente, era Jakub Sobieski il più coinvolto nell'*affaire* matrimoniale, il quale, dopo un primo tentennamento, aveva acconsentito all'idea. L'unione divenne fin da subito una questione più politica per il padre che non un problema dettato dal sentimento e dalla reciproca attrazione dei due contraenti. Appurata la volontà di ambedue i soggetti di voler convolare a nozze, ecco che l'imperatore Carlo VI d'Asburgo, non volendo venir meno all'accordo sottoscritto con il nuovo sovrano d'Inghilterra, aveva ordinato l'arresto di Maria Klementyna e di sua madre, restringendole nel castello di Innsbruck guardate a vista dai propri uomini. Una versione completamente differente rispetto a quella offerta dal nunzio Spinola che riferiva di non aver visto le due donne né segregate né particolarmente controllate ma di aver «parlato loro et ha trovato esser vere le notizie che per altro canale aveva già avute, di godere colà le Altezze Loro tutta la libertà d'uscire e di trattare con chi si sia. Che la Principessa madre stesse alquanto indisposta e più di quello m'era stato detto, ma la Principessa sposa si trova in perfetta salute»<sup>31</sup>. Parole che il rappresentante pontificio aveva espresso nel momento in cui un inviato di James da Innsbruck prendeva la via di Oława per incontrarsi con Jakub e organizzare la fuga della giovane.

Il polacco era chiamato a risolvere un problema complesso e di difficile soluzione. Da un lato, aveva già formalmente dato la propria parola acconsentendo al matrimonio di sua figlia con il Pretendente<sup>32</sup>, dall'altro, era pressato dal governo di Vienna che si opponeva all'unione con lo Stuart. Anche il suggerimento di fare trasferire Klementyna e sua madre in una città più vicina alla capitale imperiale, era un modo, secondo il nunzio, di blandirlo ma anche di minacciarlo al contempo

<sup>30</sup> Jesse, *Memoirs of the Pretenders*, 47-50.

<sup>31</sup> AAV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, vol. 258, *Giorgio Spinola a Fabrizio Paolucci*, Vienna 17 dicembre 1718, ff. 698r-99v.

<sup>32</sup> La decisione era stata presa con l'accordo sugli articoli matrimoniali. Su questo aspetto, Wogan scrisse in seguito che gli «Articles of Marriage going sometime after agreed upon and concluded, the next thing to be considered was, how to bring them together. They knew very well, that if the British Court had the least Intelligence of the Matter they would oppose, if not entirely prevent their Meeting: It was thought therefore advisable that Mr. Wogan should go immediately Express to the Chevalier, with an Account of the Success of his Negotiation, and inform him likewise, that the Princess would be conducted with all possible Secrecy to Bologna, where they expected to meet him, in order to consummate the Marriage». Ch. Wogan, *Female Fortitude*, 4.

prospettandogli severe sanzioni se non avesse eseguito quanto richiesto<sup>33</sup>.

Del resto, anche la posizione dell'imperatore appariva alquanto complicata di fronte alle proteste di alcune cancellerie europee, e in particolare di quella della Santa Sede. Infatti, per Roma, l'appoggio dato a James era diventato un punto fermo della propria politica estera immaginando così di difendere non solo le prerogative del giovane inglese ma anche quelle della chiesa latina nel regno<sup>34</sup>. Mentre c'era da chiedersi il motivo per il quale Vienna si opponeva così caparbiamente ad un matrimonio libero e consensuale da parte dei contraenti. Questa, in effetti, era la domanda che la diplomazia della Santa Sede poneva alla corte imperiale, chiedendo tramite il proprio rappresentante risposte esaustive. La posizione del governo viennese si sarebbe dimostrata, tuttavia, machiavellica e pretestuosa. Di certo non poteva opporsi apertamente all'unione, mancandone ogni condizione giuridica oltre che morale; di contro, però, si volevano mantenere gli impegni assunti con gli Hannover avendo assicurato il diretto intervento dell'imperatore in cambio dell'aiuto politico-militare sulla questione inerente la guerra di successione spagnola.

Perché era da considerarsi machiavellica l'azione condotta da Carlo VI? Come giustificare una posizione così brutale contro la giovane Sobieska? Di fronte alle diverse accuse mosse agli Asburgo d'Austria, Vienna tentava di giustificarsi arrivando ad accusare lo stesso Jakub Sobieski, parente dell'imperatore, accusandolo di non essersi consultato con i ministri viennesi in merito al matrimonio. Una rimostranza motivata non solo per un fatto protocollare, soprattutto per il rispetto che si doveva all'imperatore. Un rimprovero che apprendiamo dalle parole del nunzio Spinola al Segretario di Stato Paolucci:

Martedì sera il Signor Conte di Sinsendorf, Gran Cancelliere di Corte, per parte dell'Imperatore mi disse ch'io potevo pur rimandare il corriere quando così l'avessi stimato. Che toccante l'affare della Signora Principessa Sobieski per il quale avevo parlato e presentata alla Maestà Sua la lettera di Sua Beatitudine, aveva ordine di dirmi che la medesima non aveva saputo cosa alcuna che si trattasse il matrimonio della stessa Principessa col Re d'Inghilterra. Che quando poi n'ebbe notizia, scrisse una risentita lettera al Signor Principe Giacomo di lei genitore, parendole che per tutti i titoli avesse dovuto parteciparglielo. Che l'istesso giorno ch'arrivò la lettera in Olau, s'era fatta partire l'Altezza Sua, il che essendosi questo saputo Sua Maestà aveva avuti motivi d'ordinare che non se le permettesse il proseguimento del viaggio intrapreso, come poi era seguito in Inspurch. Che l'Imperatore non era peranco bastantemente informato di tutto ciò ch'era passato, e che desiderando di esserlo, aveva già disposto l'abboccamento d'un suo Ministro col Principe Giacomo, dopo il quale la Maestà Sua avrebbe veduto ciò ch'avesse potuto fare per compiacere alle premure e insinuazioni Pontificie<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> AAV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, vol. 259, *Giorgio Spinola a Fabrizio Paolucci*, Vienna 7 febbraio 1719, ff. 7r-10r.

<sup>34</sup> Il riconoscimento di Francia e Spagna alle rivendicazioni dello Stuart aveva reso sempre più difficile la speranza di vedere restaurata quella dinastia su quel trono. Cfr. Franco Valsecchi, *L'Inghilterra nella politica europea (sec. XIV-XVIII). La lotta per l'equilibrio continentalre e il primato mondiale* (Roma: Edizioni Ricerche, 1971), 402.

<sup>35</sup> AAV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, vol. 258, *Giorgio Spinola a Fabrizio Paolucci*, Vien-

Inutili pressioni: Jakub Sobieski, infatti, sostenuto da sua moglie – e dopo le prime incertezze –, aveva preso la propria e inappellabile decisione<sup>36</sup>. Sentendosi svincolato da ogni legame politico e/o di sangue con la casa imperiale, mai avrebbe rinunciato alla possibilità di vedere una delle figlie diventare sovrana d’Inghilterra, un trono riconquistabile con l’aiuto di alleati del calibro della Francia, della Spagna del novello sovrano Filippo V di Borbone e della Santa Sede – sempre informata dal proprio nunzio a Vienna<sup>37</sup>.

Fin dal mese di gennaio 1719 la posizione assunta dal polacco era ben chiara a tutti, e non lasciava spazio ad alcuna speculazione; in particolare quando lo stesso principe aveva definito James Stuart «suo stimatissimo genero» in una corrispondenza con Clemente XI al quale aveva dato rassicurazione sulla figlia che si era espressa con chiarezza e fermezza asserendo «che gli impegni da lei contratti col sudetto Re non possono disciorsi»<sup>38</sup>. Non restava che compiere un’azione di forza. Le due recluse, Maria Klementyna e sua madre, avrebbero dovuto oltrepassare “il fosso” e decidersi di partire alla volta del confine italiano.

La corrispondenza del rappresentante pontificio con il cardinale Paolucci, ci offre indicazioni precise sulla vera dinamica dell’operazione che, almeno in un primo momento, aveva fatto immaginare ad un frettoloso rientro ad Oława. In realtà la giovane si era dimostrata fin da subito pronta a dirigersi verso l’Italia attraverso il territorio dei Grigioni. Non c’era conferma di questa decisione se, ancora lo stesso Paolucci, continuava a riferire che la ragazza, su consiglio degli ufficiali “giacobiti” che la scortavano, era pronta a prendere strade alternative, potendo addirittura puntare verso la Spagna:

Mercoledì arrivò a Laccemburgo un corriere spedito da Inspruch colla notizia (per quanto questa mattina potei penetrare) d’esserne all’improvviso partita la Signora Principessa Clementina Sobieski e ancorché la sera mi fosse confermata la nuova medesima, non potevo io tuttavia risolvermi a crederla, atteso che martedì scorso il conte di Lodone, Preposito di Trento, mi disse che suo fratello gli scriveva d’essersi l’Altezza Sua messa in viaggio colla Signora Principessa sua madre alla volta di Olav. Ora però non devo più metterla in dubbio, perché avendo oggi mandato il mio Segretario dal Padre Granelli confessore dell’Imperatrice

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na 26 novembre 1718, ff. 64or-643v.

<sup>36</sup> Grazie alla corrispondenza scambiata tra il nunzio Spinola e il cardinale Paolucci, abbiamo la possibilità di comprendere chiaramente quanto forte sia stata la pressione del governo viennese su Jakub Sobieski e quanto altrettanto forte fosse la caparbia decisione del principe polacco a sostenere il matrimonio di sua figlia con il Pretendente.

<sup>37</sup> Ogni qualvolta James Stuart voleva far recapitare una sua lettera al suocero, questa passava prima tra le mani di monsignor Spinola, così come quelle della polacca indirizzate al Pretendente. In una lettera scritta al nunzio, Jakub ci chiarisce il metodo scelto per corrispondere con il genero mediante un corriere sarebbe stato poi «rimborsato all’arrivo del detto corriere in coteste parti, riportandone a Vostra Signoria medesima la risposta per poi farmela recapitare qua in Olavia per la posta ordinaria». AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 258, *Copia di lettera scritta dal Signor Principe Giacomo Sobieski a Monsignor Nunzio in Vienna*, s.d., s.l., f. 68or-v.

<sup>38</sup> BCors., *Carteggio XVIII*, vol. 563, (31.D.12), *Vincenzo Alemanni a Giorgio Spinola*, Roma 28 gennaio 1719, f. 16or-v.

Amalia, non solamente n'ho avuta la conferma, ma ho saputo di più che sopra un tavolino avesse lasciato un biglietto per la madre, che non fu trovato che quasi un giorno dopo faceva le scuse dell'improvvisa sua partenza. Con chi sia andata e qual strada presa ancor non è noto, ma avendo potuto ragguagliarla le persone che in traccia di essa furono per varie parti spedite dalla Reggenza d'Innspruch. Il che fa creder abbia presa la strada più corta ch'è quella dei Grigioni per calare in Italia o per parte del Piemonte o dello Stato Veneto ad effetto di passare ad imbarcarsi in qualche porto per Spagna. Nell'entrante settimana spero che questo fatto potrà essere più in chiaro, onde potrò colle prime parteciparne notizie più individuali all'Eminenza Vostra<sup>39</sup>.

Come promesso, Spinola tornava a dare ulteriori informazioni a Paolucci al quale indirizzava soltanto alcuni giorni dopo, esattamente il 13 maggio 1719, una più dettagliata "informativa" grazie alla quale si poteva ricavare con chiarezza la dinamica dell'intera operazione.

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Sopra la partenza della Signora Principessa Clementina Sobieski da Innspruch, io ho cercato d'avere le notizie più individuali del modo e delle circostanze colle quali è seguita. Ma i ministri di quella reggenza nel raguaglio avanzato alla Corte della di lei mancanza, sono stati tanto succinti che nulla posso aggiungere con sicurezza a quanto mi sono dato l'onore d'avvisare a Vostra Eminenza colle passate. Dalle lettere particolari poi si ricava ch'alli 27 del mese decorso giungessero verso la sera in Innspruch due calessi con quattro persone, che smontate in una di quell'osterie due n'uscirono poco dopo e l'altre due (fra i quali fosse una Dama di qualità vi restassero in una stanza senza lasciarsi vedere suggerendosi che le prime si portassero di nascosto a parlare alla Signora Principessa Clementina, che Sua Altezza si trattenne tutta quella sera sino all'ore 10 giocando con alcune dame. Dopo di che fingendo di non voler cenare, si ritirasse nel suo appartamento da dove, si crede, che per via d'un giardino si portasse poi travestita all'osteria colle dette persone quali verso la mezza notte presero nuovamente la posta. Nel giorno dopo com'anche nel susseguente, l'istesse dame volendo, secondo il solito, essere a riverire tanto la Principessa Madre come la Principessa Clementina, ne fu loro precluso l'adito col motivo di trovarsi ambedue coll'incomodo d'un poco di raffreddore. Il che diede alla fine occasione di sospettare di quello ch'era accaduto onde li due commissari destinati a servire l'Altezze Loro, si fecero insinuare per essere dall'una e dall'altra, ma veduto che anche ad essi ne veniva impedito l'accesso, fecero passare dell'acri doglianze in modo che fu la Principessa Madre obligata d'ammetterli, anche si trovasse in letto. Ed allora piangendo l'espose d'esserle mancata la figlia senza averne cosa alcuna saputo e che anzi non se n'era avveduta ch'un giorno dopo facendo loro vedere un biglietto che disse essersi trovato nella stanza della figlia. In esso si dice che si scusava colla madre se era obligata a lasciarla senza ne meno prendere la sua benedizione, perché così le comandasse l'impegno preso e il suo Serenissimo. Il che espresso in idioma tedesco dà luogo a varie interpretazioni per quello ho potuto sapere credendo alcuni ch'abbia parlato del padre, ed altri ch'abbia voluto inferir dello sposo<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> AAV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, vol. 259, *Giorgio Spinola a Fabrizio Paolucci*, Vienna 6 maggio 1719, ff. 309r-10r.

<sup>40</sup> AAV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, vol. 259, *Giorgio Spinola a Fabrizio Paolucci*, Vienna 13 maggio 1719, ff. 321r-23r.

La fuga, come si legge dal racconto del nunzio, era stata preparata fin nei minimi particolari. Il tutto concertato dopo aver ottenuto l'approvazione della famiglia. Senza ombra di dubbio, un ruolo di primo piano lo ebbe Edvige, la quale si assunse il compito coprire l'evasione dal palazzo in cui era stata trattenuta la figlia, lasciandole il tempo necessario per allungare la distanza dai suoi inseguitori una volta scoperta l'assenza di Klementyna. Scoperta la tresca, in molti cominciarono a chiedersi dove si sarebbe diritta la giovane Sobieska. Se per alcuni la meta scelta sarebbe stata l'Italia, per altri, in particolar modo dai partigiani della causa stuartiana, l'obiettivo era quello di raggiungere il futuro marito in territorio spagnolo:

Qui non si mette in dubbio che sia andata a dirittura ad imbarcarsi per passare in Spagna ad unirsi al suo sposo credendosi che possano attenderla in qualche parte li Duchi di Marril e di Perth per accompagnarla e servirla in questo viaggio<sup>41</sup>.

La notizia dell'allontanamento dalla città si sparse come un fulmine per tutta l'Europa generando forti proteste da parte della corte di Vienna all'indirizzo di papa Albani<sup>42</sup> e ritorsioni anche gravi sullo stesso Jakub al quale venne ordinato di abbandonare la residenza di Oława e lasciare, nel giro di pochi giorni, i territori dell'impero.

Nonostante ciò, sul versante matrimoniale, il più era fatto! Maria Klementyna correva felice alla volta di Bologna dove avrebbe contratto, seppure per procura, il matrimonio realizzando così il suo sogno d'amore.

Un viaggio avventuroso, poi descritto da molti scrittori, specialmente ottocenteschi, a tinte fosche, come una sorta di romanzo d'appendice. Si sarebbe così raccontato che la giovane polacca abbandonando la "prigione", non aveva attraversato un semplice giardino, come effettivamente era avvenuto, ma – con una *suspence* propria di un racconto per fanciulle d'altri tempi, – si era calata dal muro di cinta del castello servendosi di una vecchia corda fatta di lenzuola intrecciate. Semplici suggestioni letterarie, in realtà la principessa era pronta a tutto pur di raggiungere Bologna dove avrebbe trovato ad accoglierla – poi rivelatasi un'illusione – con le braccia spalancate il suo promesso<sup>43</sup>.

Per commemorare la fuga della sua sposa, il *Cavaliere di San Giorgio*, come si faceva chiamare James per mantenere l'anonimato, fece coniare una medaglia<sup>44</sup>, sulla quale

<sup>41</sup> AAV, Segreteria di Stato. Germania, vol. 259, *Giorgio Spinola a Fabrizio Paolucci*, Vienna 13 maggio 1719, ff. 322v-23r.

<sup>42</sup> Molte notizie si ricavano dalla corrispondenza di Wogan. BOss, ms. nr. 441, *Lettres et mémoires concernant l'évasion de la princesse royale Clementine Sobieski*, ff. n.n. Inoltre Peggy Miller, *Żona dla Pretendent, rzecz o Marii Klementynie Sobieskiej* (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1968), 41-3.

<sup>43</sup> James, venuto a conoscenza del "programma" e impressionato da tanto caraggio dichiarato da Klementyna, scriveva il 18 dicembre 1718 una lettera in francese alla sua amata alla quale assicurava tutto il suo affetto. A questa missiva rispondeva la stessa polacca rinnovando la sua venerazione. Cfr. Bevan, *King James the Third*, 111-12.

<sup>44</sup> L'informazione è tratta da: Jesse, *Memoirs of the Pretenders*, 58.

era raffigurata da un lato la principessa con le parole «Clementina, regina di Gran Bretagna, Francia e Irlanda»; e sull'altro, una figura femminile su un carro trionfale, trainato da cavalli a tutta velocità, con l'iscrizione: «Fortunam, causamque sequor; e sotto: Deceptis custodibus, 1719». Commessa assegnata ad Ottone Hamerani appartenente ad una delle più importanti famiglie di orefici e incisori di monete e *medaglie* al servizio della corte pontificia<sup>45</sup> ma anche dello stesso James.

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Il progetto della fuga era stato dunque approvato dalla famiglia Sobieski, ma non aveva però mancato di suscitare incertezze, come si è fatto cenno, per le insidie che avrebbero esposto la giovane a pericolose disavventure, sia per le prevedibili conseguenze che un eventuale fallimento avrebbe comportato su tutto il resto della casata, soprattutto per le annunciate ritorsioni dell'imperatore<sup>46</sup>.

Klementyna, ragazza rispettosa e sottomessa, avrebbe certamente accolto le decisioni dei propri genitori, sebbene si dimostrasse pronta a qualsiasi cosa pur di raggiungere il suo innamorato. Davanti a questa disponibilità che dimostrava ulteriormente il forte carattere della ragazza e, insieme, l'amore verso colui che – come vedremo – l'avrebbe poi fatta soffrire, Jakub Sobieski diede il proprio assenso alla mossa decisa per la liberazione della figlia da Innsbruck.

Papa Albani, venuto a conoscenza grazie alle informazioni inviate da Vienna da monsignor Spinola, non mancò di reiterare gli appelli diretti a Carlo VI d'Asburgo-Austria per il rilascio della ragazza appellandosi al diritto alla libertà di ogni essere umano. Se ogni richiamo cadeva però nel vuoto, pontefice non faceva mancare il suo supporto morale alla giovane confortandola, soprattutto incoraggiandola, rappresentandole la “giustizia” dei suoi doveri e dei compiti che l'avrebbero attesa. La grandezza della causa che Dio la invitava a difendere sposando un principe cattolico con l'ambizione di tornare a regnare su un trono momentaneamente retto da un protestante:

Que Votre Altesse Royale sache que nous ne cesserons de la soutenir dans cette entreprise, et de nos prières et de notre autorité, et du zèle de tous nos efforts. Ainsi l'exigent de nous les services incomparables du roi d'Angleterre, non moins que la gloire et les mérites de votre illustre aïeul, le roi Jean d'immortelle mémoire<sup>47</sup>.

Per tutta la prigionia, Maria Klementyna, nella più totale incertezza per ciò che le sarebbe accaduto, confidò al suo promesso sposo, attraverso un'intensa corrispondenza, che il loro futuro era nelle mani di Dio e che presto, con il suo aiuto, avrebbero coronato la loro unione:

Dieu veuille que cela puisse nous delivrer bientôt, de nos souffrances et contribuer a votre bonheur comme au mien, c'est ce que j'attens avec beaucoup

<sup>45</sup> In generale sulla famiglia Hamerani: Valentina Sapienza, DBI, vol. 61 (2004), 643-48.

<sup>46</sup> Wodzinski, “Le mariage de Marie-Clémentine Sobieska”, 97.

<sup>47</sup> La lettera datata 15 gennaio 1719 in Wodzinski, “Le mariage de Marie-Clémentine Sobieska”, 97.

d'impatience<sup>48</sup>.

Anche il promesso sposo nelle sue missive alla sua promessa, non mancava di incoraggiarla e di rassicurarla, mentre confidava al suo uomo di fiducia Wogan tutta la sua impazienza e la preoccupazione per l'esito di un'impresa tanto azzardata quanto incerta:

'[A]ll I shall say is that every moment the Princess remains in the Emperors power, she plainly runs the risque of looseing her liberty intirely, the consequences of which are easily seen, so that I hope when you communicate this to her, she will not want any other motive to part without delay<sup>49</sup>.

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Un suggerimento a fare presto, ma anche un invito a creare le condizioni per sfuggire alla presa dell'imperatore e rendere finalmente libera la principessa di raggiungerlo. Alla fine, dopo mesi di preparazione e pianificazione, il piano poteva dirsi pronto. Il 4 aprile, Wogan veniva raggiunto a Sélestat da un emissario di Jakub Sobieski latore del via libera per la "fuga" della figlia.

Senza esitazione alcuna, soprattutto timoroso di un ripensamento da parte del principe polacco, James predisponeva una squadra di sette elementi pronti a mettere in atto la pericolosa operazione. Squadra composta dal capitano Lucas O'Toole, dal maggiore Richard Gaydon, dall'italiano Michele Vezzosi<sup>50</sup>, dal capitano John Misset e della di lui consorte, oltre la loro cameriera Jeanneton e, naturalmente, lo stesso Wogan. Il 6 aprile, tutti erano pronti. Lasciata Sélestat, la compagnia si diresse alla volta di Innsbruck dove riuscirono con molti sotterfugi a liberare la prigioniera<sup>51</sup>.

Il gruppo, che si era arricchito di una così illustre ospite, si metteva subito in viaggio alla volta di Roma con una prima tappa preventivata a Bologna, raggiunta dopo aver superato di slancio, ma non senza difficoltà, il Brennero, Bressanone, Rovereto e Ala di Trento in territorio imperiale. Attraversati infine i territori veneziani, i viaggiatori giungevano il 2 maggio in incognito nella città da tutti conosciuta come la "dotta", ospiti dell'albergo del Pellegrino in via Vetturini.

<sup>48</sup> «Dio conceda che possa presto liberarci dalle nostre sofferenze e contribuire alla tua felicità e alla mia, cioè quello che aspetto con grande impazienza». RA SP/Main/41/62, *Maria Klementyna Sobieska a James III Stuart*, Innsbruck 4/14 January 1719, ff. n.n.

<sup>49</sup> «Tutto dirò che ogni momento in cui la principessa rimane in potere dell'imperatore, corre chiaramente il rischio di perdere completamente la sua libertà, le cui conseguenze sono facilmente visibili, quindi spero che quando le comunicherai questo, non vorrà nessun altro motivo per separarsi senza indugio». RA SP/Main/41/46, 83, *James III Stuart a Charles Wogan*, s.l. s.d. ma gennaio 1719, ff. n.n.

<sup>50</sup> Dopo il matrimonio, Giovanni Vezzosi venne nominato valletto di camera di Maria Klementyna dal 1719 al 1725 per poi passare, con la medesima qualifica, al servizio del giovane principe di Galles dal 1725 al 1744. Cfr. Clare Lois Carrol, *The Romance and Disillusionment of Exile: Charles Wogan and his memoirs of Clementina Sobieska*, in Ead. *Exiles in a Global City: The Irish and Early Modern Rome, 1609–1783* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 239.

<sup>51</sup> BArchig., ms. 187/19, *Fuga di Clementina Sobieska da Innsbruck*, ff. n.n. Più in generale Ermanno Ponti, *Maria Clementina Sobieska e la sua amorosa avventura*, in "Rivista di Cultura", Roma 1935.

Non appena la notizia giunse all'attenzione del già citato Cardinal Legato Curzio Origo, questi pensò fosse sconveniente che la giovane restasse in un luogo così poco protetto: per questo, stimò subito di trovarle una sistemazione più conveniente mettendo a disposizione un piccolo e discreto appartamento che si trovava in via Larga dietro la chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore. Un modesto ma funzionale alloggio messo a disposizione dalla famiglia Alessandri<sup>52</sup> ma accolto da Maria Klementyna con gratitudine.

Guardata a vista giorno e notte dalla dama d'onore e dai quattro cavalieri che le erano andati in soccorso, senza perdere altro tempo passò dall'albergo all'appartamento destinatele.

Il giorno seguente, ancora presto, fu servita da uno dei servitori del Cardinal Legato di una tale quantità di prelibatezze da sfamare senza alcuna difficoltà l'intera comitiva<sup>53</sup>. Fu solo la sera che il gruppo ebbe la visita del Legato che si dichiarò dispiaciuto di vederla in quella modesta sistemazione, confidandole che il ritardo nell'incontrarla era da attribuirsi esclusivamente alla volontà di proteggerla. Infatti, secondo le direttive del papa, si voleva celare il più possibile agli occhi indiscreti di eventuali sicari dell'imperatore la presenza della giovane in città. Un sotterfugio che non venne sempre rispettato allor quando la principessa, accompagnata dallo stesso prelato, per ovviare alla noia del quotidiano, volle partecipare con ogni riservatezza alla rappresentazione di una dramma musicato da Apostolo Zeno<sup>54</sup> dal titolo *Il Pirro*, messo in scena al teatro Malvezzi<sup>55</sup>.

Preso posto nel palchetto riservato al cardinale, Maria Klementyna convinta di passare inosservata venne subito osservata dal pubblico che gremiva il teatro, perdendo di fatto quell'aurea di "incognita" che tanto sembrava stare a cuore ai suoi "protettori". Non appena la sua presenza venne svelata in città, ci si preoccupò di affrettare i tempi scegliendo il matrimonio per procura come atto chiarificatore e definitivo rispetto alle intromissioni esercitate dalle corti di Londra e Vienna. Scelta obbligata vista la lontananza di James da Bologna impegnato in Spagna a costruire un nuovo progetto di riconquista del regno perduto.

Si metteva così fine agli ostacoli che le cancellerie di Vienna e Londra avevano intrapreso pur di proibire l'unione.

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<sup>52</sup> Ludovico Frati, "Maria Clementina Sobieski in Italia (con 2 illustrazioni)", *Nuova Antologia*, (1° agosto 1908), 425-26. Dello stesso autore "Maria Clementina Sobieski a Roma", *Nuova Antologia* (agosto-settembre 1908): 420-30.

<sup>53</sup> Dei giorni trascorsi nella città, molti sono gli aneddoti che raccontano con quanta cortesia e amabilità fosse circondata la principessa polacca in particolare dai due Alessandri. Frati, "Maria Clementina Sobieski in Italia", 426.

<sup>54</sup> Dramma in musica rappresentato per la prima volta nel 1704 presso il teatro di Sant'Angelo e dedicato all'Altezza Serenissima di Ferdinando Carlo duca di Mantova e Monferrato. Nuovamente in scena a Roma nel 1717 presso la Sala de' Signori Capranica.

<sup>55</sup> A quel tempo il teatro era in legno: andato a fuoco nel 1745, venne ricostruito in pietra e in stile barocco su disegno di Antonio Galli Bibiena. Il 14 maggio 1763 l'ex teatro Malvezzi, ora divenuto comunale, aprì nuovamente le porte al suo pubblico con la prima rappresentazione di un'opera di Gluck: *Il trionfo di Clelia*. In generale sulla storia del teatro rinvio a Lamberto Trezzini, *Due secoli di vita musicale. Storia del Teatro Comunale di Bologna*, 2 voll. (Bologna: Alfa Edizioni, 1966).

Il 9 maggio in forma strettamente privata, in una camera dello stesso appartamento dove aveva trovato rifugio, fu quindi celebrato il rito matrimoniale da padre Maas, un sacerdote inglese giunto a bella posta da Roma. Erano presenti il Legato Origo, in rappresentanza del papa, il ricco banchiere Giovanni Angelo Belloni, in rappresentanza di Jakub Sobieski<sup>56</sup>, e i due testimoni: Charles Wogan per lo sposo e il marchese Monti per la polacca. La dispensa accordata da papa Clemente XI era stata consegnata nelle mani dello stesso cardinale da James Murray, politico scozzese e membro del parlamento passato nelle fila del partito giacobita e legatissimo allo Stuart<sup>57</sup>.

Conclusa la cerimonia, tutti i presenti omaggiarono la nuova regina d'Inghilterra *in pectore* come si può notare in una miniatura opera di Angelo Michele Tosi ancora oggi conservata nei fondi dell'Archivio di Stato di Bologna<sup>58</sup>. Maria Klementyna appare vestita di bianco con un lunghissimo strascico ed è accompagnata da una dama vestita di nero e da quattro cavalieri in abito di gala con grandi e ingombranti parrucche<sup>59</sup>.

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Necessità politiche, soprattutto la prolungata assenza del Pretendente, richiamarono ai suoi nuovi doveri la giovanissima Sobieska ora divenuta Stuart seppure per procura<sup>60</sup>.

Ripresa la strada<sup>61</sup>, il 15 maggio 1719 entrava a Rona in una carrozza trainata da sei cavalli attraverso porta del Popolo<sup>62</sup> accolta da un giubilante popolino ancora memore dell'arrivo nel lontano 1699 di Maria Kazimiera, sua nonna paterna:

<sup>56</sup> Sulla figura di Belloni e del suo stretto rapporto con James cfr. Edward Corp, *I Giacobiti a Urbino* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), 43, 117; Id., *The Stuarts in Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 175, 185.

<sup>57</sup> Wogan, *Female Fortitude*, 13.

<sup>58</sup> In generale sulla storia della miniatura a Bologna è ancora interessante seppure molto datato il testo di Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, "La miniatura a Bologna dal XVII al XVIII secolo", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 12/204 (1896): 242-315.

<sup>59</sup> BArchig., *Le insigna degli Anziani del Comune*, vol. XIII, *Miniatura siglata da Angelo Michele Tosi*, c. 17/A.

<sup>60</sup> Appena Maria Klementyna poté raggiungere quello che era diventato suo marito, l'Inghilterra di Georg I d'Hannover, sempre più timoroso di un ennesimo tentativo dello Stuart di sollevare la popolazione per riconquistare il trono, cominciò a fare pressione sui suoi alleati, chiedendo, soprattutto ad August II Wettin di arrestare per rivalsa il principe Jakub Sobieski. Il tentativo falliva costringendo l'imperatore a sfrattare la famiglia Sobieski dalla loro residenza di Oława. Grzegorz Chomicki, "Dyplomacja brytyjska wobec problemów politycznych Rzeczypospolitej (od wstąpienia na tron Jerzego I do zawarcia pokoju w Nystadt)", in *Rzeczpospolita w dobie wielkiej wojny północnej*, a cura di Jadwiga Muszyńska (Kielce: Wyd. Akademii Świętokrzyskiej, 2001), 168, 170.

<sup>61</sup> «The same Day the Princess set out for Rome, where she was received with all the Demonstration of Estreem and Affection, that could be expected from so great and worthy a Pontiff». Wogan, *Female Fortitude*, 40.

<sup>62</sup> UCL, vol. 35, casella 38/A, *Per la venuta a Roma della Regina d'Inghilterra*, ff. n.n.

Certificata la Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Clemente XI della venuta a Roma della Principessa Clementina Subieschi, già destinata per sposa di Giacomo III Re della Gran Bretagna, propose di accoglierla in uno di questi venerabili monasteri ove anche l'altre doti fiorisce la Regolare Osservanza, Sua maestà dimostrò che se le Madri Orsoline avessero nel loro Monastero, sito proporzionato al merito di questa Sovrana Signora fosse in posta, onde a tale effetto si portò per ordine del Pontefice l'Eminentissimo Acquaviva con molte casse et il foriere maggiore e si trovò sito, onde dissero che facilmente avrebbero avuto una gran Signora senza individuare chi fosse, pochi giorni dopo vennero cariaggi, muli carichi e si adornò quel appartamento e si seppe che era la principessa Subieschi destinata per sposa del Re facil cosa comprendere il sommo contento della Comunità<sup>63</sup>.

La decisione di trasferirla nel convento dell'Ordine delle Orsoline non fu casuale. Papa Clemente XI Albani lo aveva preferito a tanti altri perché «protetto dal medesimo Re»<sup>64</sup> in quei giorni lontano da Roma per motivi politici, ma anche per rispetto di Laura Martinozzi già duchessa di Modena nonna del pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra per via materna che tanto si era spesa per fondarlo<sup>65</sup>. Se, dunque, la Santa Sede si era esposta ufficialmente per la causa giacobita, anche la scelta del convento delle Orsoline si inseriva strategicamente nel solco di questa strategia politico-diplomatica. Maria Klementyna veniva ospitata proprio nel monastero voluto e sostenuto dalla nonna di James, fervente cattolica e per questo invisibile agli inglesi tanto da essere costretta a lasciare l'isola per l'esilio in terra di Francia:

Per tutti questi capi può credersi che Sua Santità providamente volesse presceglie, tra gl'altri questo monastero dove acciò fosse servita con tutta l'attenzione che merita un tal personaggio. D'ordine di Nostro Signore a' 7 di maggio dell'anno corrente 1719 portossi qua Monsignor Cervini Vicegerente verso le 15 ore, e quindi a non molto Monsignor De Giudici, i quali prelati unitamente con l'Esimo Gualtieri scelsero sei delle migliori stanze, le quali potessero servire di comoda abitazione alla grand'ospite<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Bruxelles, Archivio Casa Generalizia Orsoline, *L'Établissement des Sancte Ursule à Rome l'an 1688*, (copia fotostatica è conservata a Roma presso l'Unione Romana delle Suore Orsoline), 76-7.

<sup>64</sup> UCL, vol. 38/A, casella 13, *Trattamento fatto alla Regina d'Inghilterra quando venne a Roma prima di sposarsi*, f. 14r-v.

<sup>65</sup> Laura Martinozzi [1639-1687], una delle nipoti (cosiddette *Mazarinettes*) del ben più noto cardinale Giulio Mazzarino ministro di Francia, sposata ad Alfonso II duca di Modena e Reggio e, dunque, madre di Maria Beatrice a sua volta andata in sposa a James II Stuart. Su di lei cfr. Giuliana Zavadini, *Laura dalla "privata nobiltà" al trono* (Fano: Libreria del Teatro, 2003); Raffaele Tamalio, in DBI, vol. 64, (2005), 53-5; *Laura Martinozzi, fille de France, dux Mutiane*, a cura di Sonia Cavicchioli, Gian Luigi Tusini, et. al. (Modena: Il Bulino, 2009).

<sup>66</sup> UCL, vol. 38/A, casella 13, 37, *Breve dettaglio di quanto occorre nel primo arrivo in Roma della Regina d'Inghilterra sotto Clemente XI*, ff. n.n.

Ad addobbare le stanze scelte per l'illustre ospite, Clemente XI aveva inviato i suoi più stretti collaboratori in fatto di cerimoniale: monsignor Bartolomeo Massei, maestro di camera, coadiuvato dal foriere maggiore don Girolamo Colonna di Sciarra.

L'arrivo nella città eterna della futura potenziale regina d'Inghilterra fu salutato con grandissimo giubilo dal popolino romano e dalla piccola e grande nobiltà cittadina che la accompagnarono fin alla porta del convento; in questo tragitto sempre scortata dai cardinali Francesco Acquaviva e Filippo Antonio Gualtieri che l'avevano incontrata fuori dalle mura cittadine come stabilito da una speciale Congregazione appositamente istituita dal pontefice il 15 maggio 1719<sup>67</sup>. Giunta al monastero, condotta fino all'uscio, fu consegnata alla madre superiore con queste parole: «Le diamo Madama San George, così per ora deve chiamarsi»<sup>68</sup>.

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Nasceva in quell'istante un fortissimo legame tra Maria Klementyna e il monastero che le aveva spalancato le porte per proteggerla da occhi indiscreti, da spioni e/o sicari imperiali. Un rapporto con questa comunità monastica che la giovane avrebbe rinsaldato nel tempo, soprattutto corrisposto come testimoniato da una lapide che le suore, una volta abbandonata l'antica sede, vollero trasportare nella nuova in via Nomentana. L'epigrafe è di questo tenore:

CLEMENTINAE SOBIESKI MAGNAE BRITANNIAE  
REGINAE  
QUOD SUA DIUTURNA COMMORATIONE PRAECLARISQUE  
VIRTUTUM EXEMPLIS MONASTERIUM CELEBRIUS REDDITUM  
DIGNIS REGALI SUA LIBERALITATE DONARIIS  
CUMULAVERIT  
MARIA JOSEPHA DE MIDDELBORG PRAESES ET MONIALES  
GRATI ANIMI MONIMENTUM POSUERE ANNO D.MDCCXXXIV

Trovata degna sistemazione nelle stanze che le erano state preparate, e dopo un desiderato riposo, incombeva per lei il cerimoniale. Al primo punto era prevista la visita di rito a papa Clemente XI che la ricevette con somma gioia trattandola da regina e facendola sedere – sebbene si fosse presentata con il titolo di Madama di San Giorgio – in una sedia solitamente adibita alle udienze concesse a personaggi regi. Era evidentemente uno strappo alle consuete regole, ma anche un chiaro segno da inviare a Londra, soprattutto a Vienna, quale fosse la posizione presa dalla Santa Sede riguardo al matrimonio tra la Sobieska e lo Stuart:

La mattina poi di mercoledì susseguente alle 15 ore italiane in punto, la medesima Real Principessa si portò al Palazzo Apostolico Quirinale con due carrozze, servita nella prima da tre nobili Dame Inglesi, e nella seconda d'alcuni Cavalieri dell'istessa Nazione, et entrata dalla parte del giardino, fu ricevuta

<sup>67</sup> Sul tema del cerimoniale e l'uso che si faceva presso la corte pontificia rimando a Ferruccio De Carli, *La corte pontificia e il cerimoniale delle udienze* (Roma: Bardi, 1951); Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico", in *Cérémonial et rituel à Roma (16°-19° siècle)*, a cura di Ead. (Roma: École française de Roma, 1997), 117-76.

<sup>68</sup> Angelini, "I Sobieski e gli Stuarts in Roma", 21.

alla carrozza da Monsignor Rasponi Cameriere Segreto di Nostro Signore, e dal Signor Abbate Chiapponi uno delli Maestri delle Cerimonie Pontificie. Indi ascesa per la scala segreta venne al capo di essa incontrata da Monsignor Maffei Promaestro di Camera, il quale assieme col mentovato cerimoniero l'andò servendo fino alla stanza solita dell'udienza, ove fatte le tre dovute genuflessioni, baciò alla Santità Sua il piede e susseguentemente la mano, e benché detta Real Principessa si facesse ella chiamare col detto titolo di Madama di San Giorgio, con tutto ciò la Santità Sua tenendo notizia che la medesima era già stata sposata privatamente in Bologna alla Maestà di Giacomo III, Re d'Inghilterra, ordinò che si portasse la sedia solita darsi a' personaggi Reali, ed in quella la fe' sedere, trattandola pienamente in qualità di Regina<sup>69</sup>.

Terminata l'udienza, Maria Klementyna al colmo della gioia per l'incontro, fatte le tre genuflessioni di rito e dopo aver nuovamente baciato il piede e la mano del pontefice, veniva accompagnata da monsignor Nicola del Giudice, in una stanza attigua per gustare un rinfresco preparatole per l'occasione; con lei, dame di compagnia, tra le quali Eleonor Misset, e alcuni cavalieri inglesi, tra cui ritroviamo l'immancabile ma provvidenziale Charles Wogan. Fu quella l'occasione che permise alla giovane di poter visitare la basilica di San Pietro e la chiesa di san Pietro in Montorio al Gianicolo dove – con tutta probabilità – rese omaggio all'immagine della *Madonna della lettera*, opera del Pomarancio. Venerazione per la madre di Gesù che aveva già dimostrato al suo arrivo al monastero quando, salendo nelle stanze che le erano state preparate, i suoi occhi si incrociarono con la cappella dedicata alla madonna di Loreto ed immediato fu lo slancio della ragazza nel correre a venerare la Vergine alla quale attribuiva il merito di averla salvata dalla tirannia dell'imperatore.

Appena la voce della sua presenza presso le orsoline prese a correre per la città, fu una gara, tra cardinali, personaggi di Curia ed esponenti delle famiglie nobili e più in vista di Roma, per correre a “complimentarla”<sup>70</sup>. L'andirivieni, che durò fino a tarda ora, costrinse la madre superiora a lasciare aperto il portone del monastero e a derogare alla regola della clausura fino al rintocco delle ventiquattro ore quando infine dette ordine di chiudere le porte.

Il giorno seguente si presentò al cospetto della principessa il cardinale Gualtieri in compagnia di monsignor Bianchini, entrambi inviati da papa Albani per presentare ben cento bacili ripieni di varie tipologie di dolci e di agrumi; una quantità talmente esagerata che Maria Klementyna pensò bene di condividere con l'intera comunità monastica<sup>71</sup>. Lo stesso giorno, sempre per ordine del pontefice, si presentò al cospetto della ragazza, l'Eminentissimo Cardinale Filippo Gualtieri, protettore del regno d'Inghilterra, seguito da altre e diverse portate «in numero di

<sup>69</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 291, Roma 20 maggio 1719, 16-7.

<sup>70</sup> «Non mancò in tanto l'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinale Astalli Decano del Sacro Collegio, e al di lui esempio tutti gli altri Eminentissimi di questa Corte d'inviare ciascuno il suo Maestro di Camera a congratularsi colla sudetta Real Principessa del di lei viaggio e felice arrivo, complimentandola a nome dell'Eminenze loro sotto il titolo di Madama di San Giorgio». Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 291, Roma 20 maggio 1719, 16.

<sup>71</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 294, Roma 27 maggio 1719, 15.

trent'otto, che parimente fecero un'assai bella comparsa»<sup>72</sup>.

Si potrebbe immaginare che la vita in convento si svolgesse in stretta clausura ma, in realtà, la giovane polacca ebbe la possibilità di muoversi per la città di Roma, come in occasione della visita compiuta in Campidoglio quando fu ricevuta alla carrozza da Ippolito Albani e dal conte Tarugi, due tra i più insigni Conservatori romani. Klementyna, colpita dalla bellezza del luogo, ammirate le rovine, i palazzi senatoriali, e assistita in questo breve ma intenso *tour* cittadino dal monsignor Bianchini cameriere d'onore di Clemente XI, poté tra l'altro assistere ad un concerto eseguito da musicisti «di strumenti a fiato tramezzati da timpani, che suonarono per tutto il tempo del suo trattenimento»<sup>73</sup>.

94 Nel mese di luglio, sempre in attesa dell'arrivo dello sposo, festeggiò nelle sue stanze il suo diciottesimo compleanno omaggiata da un gruppo scelto di nobili e cardinali. Dopo la celebrazione della santa messa, cantata da monsignor Giovanni Battista Braschi, vescovo di Sarsina<sup>74</sup>, fu predisposto un lauto pranzo in una grande sala al centro della quale era stato preparato un baldacchino, sotto il quale la Sobieska venne servita da notabili cavalieri, potendo ascoltare una cantata a tre voci composta espressamente per l'occasione.

Un altro momento di svago, utile anche a prendere maggiore contatto con la realtà romana e il futuro che l'avrebbe attesa, fu la visita che il 27 agosto del 1719 compì al palazzo Muti; elegante struttura che sarebbe diventata da lì a poche settimane la sua dimora, o meglio, il suo “regno” con la piccola corte di esiliati:

Il giorno seguente fu similmente a vedere il Palazzo Muti nella piazza de' Ss. Apostoli, che d'ordine della Santità Sua fu già preparato et addobbato per la Maestà del Re d'Inghilterra suo sposo<sup>75</sup>.

Tra giornate passate in preghiera e meditazione, giunse infine il momento tanto atteso dalla principessa. James, infatti, era tornato a Roma, ancora una volta sconfitto nel tentativo di riconquistare il trono inglese. Anche per lui iniziava ora una nuova fase, non certo in Inghilterra ma nella *città eterna* dove poteva trovare esilio e sussistenza. Vi era, tuttavia, da definire e risolvere una questione, ovvero il matrimonio – questa volta in presenza – con Maria Klementyna. Dove celebrare il rito? E poi, bisognava offrire uno spettacolo indimenticabile oppure era meglio concludere l'*affaire* senza grandi strepiti per non enfatizzare una unione tanto contrastata da Londra e Vienna?

La diplomazia della Santa Sede scelse questa seconda soluzione, individuando Montefiascone come la città più idonea per celebrare le tanto sospirate nozze: centro

<sup>72</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 291, Roma 20 maggio 1719, 15-6.

<sup>73</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 298, Roma 7 giugno 1719, 7-8.

<sup>74</sup> «Lunedì 17 nel Monastero dell'Orsoline quelle monache co' bell'apparato, musica e messa Pontificale cantata da Mosnignor Giovanni Battista Braschi vescovo di Sarsina solennizzarono il compleanno di Clementina Sobieski Regina d'Inghilterra che terminò gl'anni 17 e terminata la messa Sua Maestà con il solito spirito complimentò il sudetto Prelato celebrante» Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 319, Roma 22 luglio 1719, 23-4.

<sup>75</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 334, Roma 26 agosto 1719, 7-8.

decentrato da Roma, e scelto anche perché luogo dove era solita ritrovarsi la colonia inglese cattolica per seguire attività legate alla musica e al teatro<sup>76</sup>.

Il mercoledì 20 agosto 1719, veniva ricevuta in udienza privata dal pontefice e sebbene le visite tra i due non fossero poi così rare, Chracas ne ha voluto riportare la notizia nel suo *Diario Ordinario* nr. 337 per sottolineare quanto fosse importante in questa occasione lo scambio di idee tra loro.

Mercoledì mattina la Maestà della Regina d'Inghilterra per la parte del giardino del Quirinale andò all'udienza di Sua Santità, et alla carrozza fu ricevuta da Monsignor Rasponi Coppiere e dal Signor Abbate Chiapponi uno de' Maestri delle Cerimonie Pontificie, et al capo scala dalli Monsignori Giudice Maggiordomo e Maffei Pro Maestro di Camera da' quali introdotta dalla Santità Sua, fece le solite genuflessioni e baciò il piede, stando per qualche tempo in discorso con Sua Santità dalla quale ricevuta la benedizione colle solite formalità si partì, et in una stanza li furono presentati nobili rinfreschi da Monsignor Maggiordomo et in un'altra alle sue Dame e Cavalieri, e poscia nel medesimo modo fu servita fino alla carrozza<sup>77</sup>.

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Solo pochi giorni dopo, il venerdì del 2 settembre alle ore 9 del mattino, Klementyna lasciava il monastero delle Orsoline per avviarsi alla volta di quella località così poco conosciuta a gran parte del mondo, attesa dal Pretendente che l'aveva preceduta<sup>78</sup>. Dopo tante peripezie, superati ostacoli quasi insormontabili e affrontato le ire dei potenti, Maria Klementyna stava per coronare finalmente quel sogno accarezzato da mesi. Non immaginava affatto che il futuro avrebbe avuto in serbo per lei tanti dolori, umiliazioni, ma anche atti di riscatto e di coraggio.

La morte la rapì il 18 gennaio del 1735 all'età di 33 anni. Appena il mercoledì precedente il decesso [12 gennaio], Francesco Valesio annotava nel proprio diario che alla «regina d'Inghilterra, essendogli aggravato il male, fu dato questa mattina l'olio santo dal cardinale vicario»<sup>79</sup> Giovanni Antonio Guadagni nominato per l'occasione *legato a latere*. Era un segno ulteriore dell'attenzione continua che Clemente XII aveva sempre riservato per questa “quasi” sovrana dalla vita “triste”, ma anche una prova tangibile della grande preoccupazione destata per la salute della giovane principessa polacca:

Portossi il Cardinal Vicario Guadagni a visitare Sua Maestà come legato a latere di Nostro Signore. Fu incontrato al portone da tutta la famiglia nobile di Sua Maestà et accompagnato dalla medesima sino alla soglia della porta della camera

<sup>76</sup> Cfr. Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, vol. II: (1701-1750) (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1997), 152.

<sup>77</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 337, Roma 2 settembre 1719, 22-3.

<sup>78</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 337, Roma 2 settembre 1719, 23-4.

<sup>79</sup> Il giorno successivo venne esposto il «Venerabile per la regina nelle chiese de' SS. Apostoli, Minerva, S. Andrea della Valle, de' gli Inglesi e Scozzesi, S. Maria Maggiore, san Luigi, S. Ivo, monache orsoline e di S. Cecilia ed altre chiese con concorso di popolo». Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, a cura di Gaetana Scano e Giuseppe Graglia, vol. V (Milano: Longanesi, 1979), 751.

dell'inferma. Detto Esimio si era levato molto tempo prima il berrettino rosso, e stette sempre senza il medesimo, diede la facoltà al curato e confessore per la benedizione pontificia e fatta la visita partì accompagnato come sopra<sup>80</sup>.

Il porporato, impietrito, restò diverso tempo davanti a Klementyna ansimante per la tubercolosi che oramai non le dava più tregua, sempre a capo scoperto come atto di rispetto, lasciando che il confessore terminasse il proprio compito prima di procedere con la rituale benedizione dell'inferma e di tutti i presenti. Solo dopo aver svolto questa tristissima visita pastorale, il Vicario si congedò dall'intera famiglia e, per sempre, dalla "quasi" regina.

Per rendere ancora più concreta e visibile la partecipazione alla dolorosa fine terrena di Maria Klementyna Sobieska Stuart avvenuta – come detto – il 18 gennaio 1735 all'età di trentadue anni e sei mesi<sup>81</sup>, papa Clemente XII, sebbene in quei giorni impazzasse per Roma il carnevale, proibì ogni manifestazione teatrale, musicale, anche se già programmate e in cartellone<sup>82</sup>. Tutto in funzione del rispetto che egli nutriva per la principessa che stava combattendo la sua battaglia più importante, quella con la morte:

Piansero amaramente i reali Infanti, la Corte, i Familiari e tutti coloro ch'ebbero di conoscerla. La città tutta che per molti dì con pubbliche preci implorato avea la sua guarigione, rimase di lutto e di tristezza ricolma<sup>83</sup>.

Fu, pertanto, un giorno assai triste per la capitale pontificia quello in cui venne ufficialmente annunciata la scomparsa dell'ancora giovane Maria Klementyna, amatissima in città per il suo comportamento e la sua condotta pia, religiosa e caritatevole. Per queste sue riconosciute doti, il pontefice avrebbe poi dato ordine di celebrare le solenni esequie nella chiesa dei Santissimi Apostoli, perfettamente descritte nei documenti conservati presso l'*Ufficio delle Cerimonie Liturgiche* [Vaticano], e riportate con dovizie di particolari dal Chracas che dedicò a questo evento ben venti pagine del suo *Diario Ordinario*<sup>84</sup>. Particolare enfasi è riservata all'atto della vestizione del cadavere riservata al ristretto cerchio delle sue dame di compagnia, che scelsero per l'occasione abiti detti domestici «quali erano di colore di cannella con suo scuffino in capo»<sup>85</sup>, come del resto la defunta era solita indossare in casa quando non era impegnata in occasioni mondane. Durante le ore notturne,

<sup>80</sup> UCL, casella 12, vol. 31/A, 10, *Solenni Esequie per la Regina d'Inghilterra celebrate nella Chiesa dei Ss. Apostoli e trasporto del cadavere dalla detta Chiesa alla Basilica Vaticana (18 gennaio 1735, ff. n.n.*

<sup>81</sup> UCL, casella 12, vol. 31/A, 10, *Solenni Esequie per la Regina d'Inghilterra*, citato, ff. n.n.

<sup>82</sup> Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, nr. 2727, Roma 22 gennaio 1735, 5.

<sup>83</sup> BNVE, coll. 14.16.G.3, Anonimo, *Parentalia Mariae Clementinae Magnae Britan. Franc. et Hiberniae, Jussu Clementis XII Pont. Max.*, 1-2.

<sup>84</sup> Chracas, *Diario Ordinario*, nr. 2729, Roma 29 gennaio 1735, 2-28.

<sup>85</sup> UCL, vol. 35, casella 12, 40, *Regina d'Inghilterra Maria Clementina Subieski, sua venuta in Roma, trattenimenti fatti alla medesima in tutto il tempo che vi dimorò, sua malattia, morte e funerale*, ff. n.n.

il palazzo Muti restò serrato ai visitatori “pubblici”, mentre la salma rivestita poi con l’abito di monaca domenicana restava a disposizione per le preghiere della famiglia e della cerchia ristretta di quelle poche donne che erano divenute con il tempo le sue sole “amiche”. Tutto intorno alla camera, erano stati predisposti sbrigativamente altari «ne’ quali si celebravano messe»<sup>86</sup>.

Ai primi albori del giorno, quelle sue stesse dame che l’avevano assistita la notte, contravvenendo alle ultime volontà della Sobieska, ubbidirono agli ordini impartiti dal re preparando la salma con abiti più decorosi e pomposi in vista dell’imminente cerimonia funebre. Fu ancora Chracas a riportare le fasi dell’intera organizzazione che avrebbe visto l’ex sovrana al centro dell’attenzione di tutti coloro che erano corsi a seguire la “sagra pompa funebre” con un apparato progettato da Ferdinando Fuga, sotto il vigilante controllo di monsignor Girolamo Colonna nella sua veste di maggiordomo dei palazzi apostolici, il quale aveva dato incarico ai fratelli Giuseppe e Domenico Valeriani di dipingere una tela commemorativa<sup>87</sup>. Un apparato sontuoso e magnifico, per alcuni esagerato considerato lo status della giovane defunta, ovvero una “quasi regina” in esilio e vissuta appartata nella capitale pontificia. Non dobbiamo però stupirci per questa capillare ed elaborata organizzazione: tutto a Roma, patria dell’effimero barocco, diventava occasione per mettere in evidenza, attraverso sofisticate architetture, il “potere”<sup>88</sup>.

Terminato il rito, il feretro fu trasportato nella basilica vaticana preceduto da molte Confraternite, dal clero regolare, dai membri del Capitolo della Basilica di san Pietro e seguito dal capitano delle guardie svizzere, dai mazzieri, dai maestri delle cerimonie, dal maggiordomo, dai vescovi assistenti al soglio, dai protonotari apostolici. Oltre a questi, i cappellani comuni, gli scudieri del papa vestiti con abiti da cavalcata, e infine i palafrenieri pontifici con la torcia accesa<sup>89</sup>.

Se da una parte la città di Roma era sentitamente affranta e attonita per la perdita di una così insigne e devota principessa, dall’altro al pontefice non mancarono pressioni affinché togliesse il divieto alle manifestazioni pubbliche, teatrali e musicali. Incalzato dalle molte richieste, soprattutto quelle avanzate da parte di Giuseppe Spinelli, arcivescovo di Napoli, da poco elevato al cardinalato e desideroso di ricevere gli omaggi a lui dovuti dalle autorità cittadine, il pontefice fu costretto a cedere acconsentendo ed autorizzando che la vita sociale riprendesse il solito ritmo.

Con la permissione del Papa, si aprirono la notte di esso giorno tutti i teatri per la recita delle commedie tenutesi sospese fin dal precedente lunedì per l’agonia e morte della Regina<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, vol. V, 753.

<sup>87</sup> Sui fratelli Valeriani rimando al saggio di Alessandro Spila, “Le Esequie di Maria Clementina Sobieski dipinte da Giuseppe e Domenico Valeriani”, *Bollettino dei Musei Capitolini di Roma*, XXVIII (2014): 29-52.

<sup>88</sup> In generale cfr. Maurizio Fagiolo Dell’Arco e Silvia Carandini, *L’effimero barocco. Strutture della festa nella Roma del ’600*, 2 voll., (Roma: Bulzoni, 1978).

<sup>89</sup> Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica [...]*, vol. 10 (Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1841), 306.

<sup>90</sup> UCL, casella 12, vol. 31, *Relazione di tutto ciò che è stato praticato nel trasporto e solenne*

A rammentare ai romani ciò che non era più, ci penserà Francesco Cimati autore di un componimento nel quale fotografa quanto avvenuto in quel poco lasso di tempo che andava dalla prima notizia dell'aggravamento di Maria Klementyna alla sua morte.

SONETTO<sup>91</sup>

Giunta di morte all'ultimo confine  
 Dell'Anglia la real salma innocente,  
 Piansero i Regni, e le città latine,  
 E la gran Roma ancor pianger si sente.  
 Pianse il Re suo consorte, e pianse al fine  
 L'amata prole all'agonia dolente.  
 E appena estinta, il Buon Pastor Clemente  
 Fe alzargli il trono a coronargli il crine;  
 Ah se costei, ch'è tra i Beati Eroi  
 Potesse, oh Dio, d'un serafino in vece  
 Volar d'intorno ai funerali suoi,  
 Mirando ciò che più ammirar non fece,  
 Ritornerebbe ad abitar fra noi  
 Per ringraziar chi tant'onore gli fece.

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La funzione che si era svolta ai Santissimi Apostoli non fu la sola che venne dedicata alla defunta sovrana d'Inghilterra. Medesime cerimonie furono poi ripetute nei giorni successivi, seppure in assenza del corpo, presso altre chiese di Roma. A San Stanislao alle *Botteghe oscure* della Nazione Polacca, a San Clemente, di cui era titolare il cardinale Camerlengo Alessandro Albani, nipote del defunto Clemente XI, e officiata dai padri domenicani irlandesi con un apparato a lutto meno "pomposo" di quello ideato dal Fuga, ma all'altezza dell'occasione: il tutto a spese dello stesso porporato. Il primo marzo si ripeté ancora nella chiesa dell'Angelo Custode a spese, questa volta, del vecchio cardinale Alderano Cybo, già stato Segretario di Stato del defunto e mai dimenticato Innocenzo XI Odescalchi. A lui erano dovute i *mottetti* o iscrizioni che servivano a ricordare le fasi della vita della defunta. A detta però di Valesio erano «molto deboli» secondo le voci che ebbe la possibilità di raccogliere e annotare nel suo quotidiano diario<sup>92</sup>.

Mentre il rito che richiamò di più l'attenzione del popolino romano, si svolse presso la chiesa di San Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana organizzato dall'Arciconfraternita del *Santissimo nome di Maria* alla quale la defunta sovrana era iscritta fin dal suo arrivo nella *città eterna*. In quella circostanza la messa pontificale fu celebrata da monsignor Giovanni Battista Gamberucci, arcivescovo di Amasia, alla presenza di «numerosa fratellanza». Ottemperate le cinque assoluzioni di rito, i monsignori Alessandro degli Abbati, vescovo di Viterbo, Luigi Antonio Valdina Cremona,

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*funerale della Maestà di Maria Clementina Subieski Regina d'Inghilterra*, ff. n.n.

<sup>91</sup> UCL, casella 12, vol. 31, *Relazione di tutto ciò che è stato praticato*, ff. n.n.

<sup>92</sup> Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, vol. V, 769.

vescovo d'Hermapoli di rito latino, Giuseppe di Marsciano, vescovo di Orvieto, oltre all'assistenza del cardinale Ludovico Pico della Mirandola, protettore della stessa arciconfraternita, conclusero benedicendo il catafalco.

Chracas, sempre attento alle novità, pubblicava l'evento senza omettere di sottolineare che sopra l'architrave dell'altare maggiore era stata posta una iscrizione che richiamava l'appartenenza di Maria Klementyna alla pia istituzione:

MARIAM CLEMENTINAM<sup>93</sup>  
Magnae Britanniae Franciae  
et Hiberniae Reginam  
Multierem vere fortem  
Singulare virtutum omnium  
Exemplar  
Insigne Religionis decus  
Sororem munificentissimam  
Archiconfr. SS. Nominis Mariae  
Sibi huic Templo  
Immature praereptem  
Parentali dolet obsequio

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Medesimi apparati funebri furono ripetuti anche negli anni successivi. A tal proposito andrebbe almeno ricordata la messa solenne organizzata a Fano presso la chiesa di San Paterniano con un *castrum doloris*<sup>94</sup> preparato su disegno del veneziano Michele Marieschi<sup>95</sup>. Un'occasione e commemorazione speciale che rappresenta, dopo quella ai Ss. Apostoli, il culmine delle celebrazioni ordinate per omaggiare la vita di Maria Klementyna, ancora oggi ricordata nella Basilica di San Pietro con un monumento eretto a *perpetua memoria*.

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<sup>93</sup> Chracas, *Diario Ordinario*, nr. 2736, Roma 16 febbraio 1735, 12.

<sup>94</sup> Definizione che si usava anche in Polonia per indicare i "catafalchi" funebri o l'organizzazione funeraria. Cfr. Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Castrum doloris. Z symboliki polskich pogrzebów od XVI do początków XVII*, Warszawa 1966-1971.

<sup>95</sup> Cfr. Gaetano Platania, "Morte di Maria Clementina Sobieska Stuart. Il caso di Michele Marieschi progettista di apparati funebri", *Arte/Documento. Rivista di Storia e tutela dei Beni Culturali*, 4 (1990): 164-73.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano

ASMo: Archivio di Stato di Modena

ASR: Archivio di Stato di Roma

BArchig.: Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio – Bologna

BCors.: Biblioteca Corsiniana – Roma

BOss.: Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich w Wrocławiu

DBI: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani

RA SP/Main: Royal Archives – Windsor Castle

UCL: Archivio dell'Ufficio delle celebrazioni liturgiche – Città del Vaticano

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## **MEMORIE DEI VIAGGI DI MARIA KLEMENTYNA SOBIESKA STUART DA INNSBRUCK AL LAZIO SETTENTRIONALE<sup>1</sup>**

<http://hdl.handle.net/2067/50465>

### **ABSTRACT**

The circumstances that led the Polish princess Maria Klementyna Sobieska to marry the exiled pretender to the English throne, James III Stuart, ended with her marriage in Montefiascone (Viterbo) on 1 September 1719. After the wedding, the newlyweds stayed in Montefiascone, visiting Viterbo, Capodimonte and Bisentina Island; later, once they had established their residence in Rome, they returned to the area occasionally. The article aims to focus on the evidence of the presence of the couple in the Viterbese and Orvieto area, guests of local notables and families connected to the Stuart court in Rome and the Papacy.

**KEYWORDS:** Maria Klementyna Sobieska, James III Stuart, Wedding Stuart-Sobieski, Travels, Viterbo.

La regina senza regno Maria Klementyna Sobieska Stuart<sup>2</sup>, «placidissimamente morì il giorno 18. di Gennaro dell'anno 1735, dopo aver compito 33 anni, e sei mesi di vita»<sup>3</sup>. Nata a Oława il 17 luglio 1701, figlia del principe Jakub Sobieski e di Hedvige Elisabeth Wittelsbach dei principi di Pfalz-Neuburg, nel corso della sua breve e travagliata vita affrontò diversi viaggi, il primo dei quali, da Oława a Roma, contraddistinto da un carattere di avventurosa e romanzesca eccezionalità.

In estrema sintesi, la giovane principessa, imparentata con le grandi casate europee per parte di madre, nipote per parte di padre del gran re Polacco Jan III Sobieski celebrato in Europa quale difensore della cristianità, figlioccia di Clemente XI, fu individuata quale sposa perfetta per l'esiliato e cattolico Giacomo III Stuart, l'*Old*

1 L'articolo è dedicato alla memoria di Giorgio Felini.

2 Per una sintesi sulla vita di Maria Klementyna: Aleksandra Skrzypietz, "Maria Klementyna Sobieska", in [[https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/maria\\_klementyna\\_sobieska.html](https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/maria_klementyna_sobieska.html)]. Da ultimo: Stanisław Jujeczka e Aleksandra Skrzypietz, *Maria Klementyna Sobieska, królowa i Służebnica Boża* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2022).

3 Si veda la pubblicazione encomiastica stampata in memoria della regina l'anno dopo la sua morte: *Parentalia Mariae Clementinae Magn. Britan. Franc., et Hibern. regin. issu Clementis XII. Pont. Max Esequie* (Roma: Appresso Giovanni Maria Salvioni stampator vaticano, 1736), xv. Esiste una versione in inglese delle esequie della regina: *An account of the funeral ceremonies perform'd at Rome, in honour of the Princess Clementina Sobieski. Translated from the Roman Journal of Jan. 29, 1735. No 2729* (Dublin, 1735).

*Pretender* al trono di Inghilterra, del quale era inizialmente sinceramente innamorata e dal quale ebbe due figli, Carlo Edoardo ed Enrico Benedetto<sup>4</sup>.

Sotto la paterna protezione e a spese di Clemente XI, i coniugi si stabilirono a Roma nel Palazzo del Re (Palazzo Muti) a piazza Santi Apostoli. Nel novembre del 1725 Maria Klementyna, a seguito di dissidi coniugali legati all'*entourage* della corte e all'educazione dei figli (il secondo dei quali nato da pochi mesi), si trasferì nel monastero delle benedettine di Santa Cecilia in Trastevere<sup>5</sup>, per poi riconciliarsi due anni dopo con il marito<sup>6</sup>.

Maria Klementyna frequentò spesso, sin dal suo arrivo a Roma il 12 giugno 1719, anche il convento delle Orsoline a via Vittoria<sup>7</sup>, lasciandovi testimonianza della sua presenza. Dopo la chiusura del convento alcune memorie della regina vennero trasferite nell'edificio delle Orsoline a via Nomentana 34, dove ancora si conserva uno splendido busto in gesso di Maria Klementyna, affiancato da un altro di Clemente XI<sup>8</sup> e da un'epigrafe in latino in onore della regina che si trovava nella sacrestia della cappella del convento di via Vittoria, apposta dalla badessa Maria Josepha de Middelborg nel 1734<sup>9</sup>.

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4 Edward Corp, *I giacobiti a Urbino 1717–1718. La corte in esilio di Giacomo III re d'Inghilterra*, ed. italiana a cura di Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri (Lucca: il Mulino, 2013), 152.

5 Si veda “Convento di Santa Cecilia in Trastevere”, in *The Jacobite Heritage* [www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Rome/SCeciliaTrastevere.htm]. Il sito curato da Noel Mc Ferran riporta le attestazioni relative alla coppia Stuart-Sobieski. Per Santa Cecilia sono trascritti anche i testi delle tre epigrafi poste nel convento in onore della regina, già edite in Amy Vitelleschi, *A Court in Exile: Charles Edward Stuart and the Romance of the Countess d'Albanie*, vol. 1 (London: Hutchinson, 1903), 135-38. Una di queste epigrafi fu acquistata da Fabrizio M. Apollonj Ghetti e da lui pubblicata in *L'Urbe. Rivista romana*, 3-4 (maggio-agosto 1979): 64-5.

6 Georgia Vullingsh, “Fit for a Queen: The Material and Visual Culture of Maria Clementina Sobieska, Jacobite Queen in Exile”, in *The Court Historian*, 26/2 (2020): 123-43; Aneta Markuszewska, “And all this Because of the ‘Weakness of Your Sex’: the Marital Vicissitudes of Maria Klementyna Sobieska Stuart, Wife of the Old Pretender to the English Throne”, *Frictions and Failures. Cultural Encounters in Crisis*, a cura di Almut Bues (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 168-170.

7 La Regina fu ospitata, appena giunta a Roma, nel Monastero delle Orsoline a via Vittoria, che visitò di frequente (poi chiuso e oggi annesso in parte all'adiacente Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia). In *The Jacobite Heritage* [http://jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Rome/UrsulineConvent.htm] è scritto che vi erano diverse tavolette che testimoniavano le visite della regina Klementyna. Queste sono state rimosse dalle Orsoline quando hanno lasciato l'edificio alla fine del XIX secolo (Vitelleschi cit. a nota 3: 103).

8 I due busti sono in corso di studio da parte di Aneta Markuszewska e Francesco Petrucci.

9 Si veda il già citato *The Jacobite Heritage* [http://jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Rome/UrsulineConvent.htm]; Gaetano Platania, *La politica europea e il matrimonio inglese di una principessa polacca: Maria Clementina Sobieska* (Roma:

La sua vita matrimoniale iniziata sotto una luce di romantico amore, divenne ben presto un rapporto fatto di incomprensioni e fughe dal tetto coniugale, inframmezzato da riappacificazioni e brevi viaggi (in Italia centrale) ed è testimoniata dalla diaristica dell'epoca, da resoconti di vario genere e numerose lettere da lei scritte ai familiari<sup>10</sup>. I viaggi sono ricordati anche da epigrafi apposte nelle località visitate.

### LA MEDAGLIA DI KLEMENTYNA

Il primo viaggio, veramente rocambolesco, fu quello che portò la giovane Klementyna, allora circa diciassettenne, da Oława a Roma, accompagnata per un tratto dalla madre e un piccolo seguito – tutti in incognito e ufficialmente diretti in pellegrinaggio a Loreto – per sposare Giacomo III Stuart, con il soddisfatto beneplacito del Papa. Il matrimonio destava le preoccupazioni del trono inglese, data le nobili parentele europee e la consistente disponibilità economica della principessa. Giorgio I, re protestante di Gran Bretagna, fece pressioni sull'imperatore d'Austria Carlo VI, cugino di Maria Klementyna, affinché intercettasse e imprigionasse il gruppo di viaggiatori, ben noto all'*intelligence* inglese. La principessa partì nel settembre 1718, ma i primi d'ottobre venne fermata con i suoi a Innsbruck e rinchiusa nel castello di Ambras (naturalmente con tutte le attenzioni e la relativa libertà di movimento dovute al nobile lignaggio e alla parentela), dal quale riuscì però a fuggire, il 27 aprile 1719, con l'aiuto di agenti segreti giacobiti inviati dal promesso sposo capeggiati dal capitano irlandese Charles Wogan. Dopo il matrimonio per procura a Bologna (9 maggio) la regina raggiunse finalmente Roma il 12 giugno dello stesso anno<sup>11</sup>. La vicenda, naturalmente, ebbe vastissima risonanza in tutta Europa<sup>12</sup>.

Clemente XI volle far realizzare una medaglia per celebrare la fuga della principessa da Innsbruck e il suo avventuroso arrivo a Roma<sup>13</sup>. Come è noto, la medagliistica era uno dei mezzi usati da tutte le corti, e quindi anche quella giacobita, per

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Vecchiarelli, 1993), 40.

- 10 Skrzypietz Aleksandra, “Marital Crisis between Maria Clementina née Sobieska and James Stuart in the Light of her Correspondence with her Father”, in *I Sobieski a Roma. La famiglia reale polacca nella Città Eterna*, a cura di Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Zuzanna Flisowska, Paweł Migasiewicz (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2018) 362-77.
- 11 Platania, *La politica europea*, 4; Id., “Gli Stuart-Sobieski e la Tuscia Viterbese”, in *Viaggi e viaggiatori nella Tuscia Viterbese*, a cura di Alessandro Boccolini (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2015), 210-24; *The Irish to the Rescue. The Tercentenary of the Polish Princess Clementina's Escape*, a cura di Richard Maher (Oxford-New York: Peter Lang, 2021); Jarosław Pietrzak, “Maria Clementina's matchmakers for James Edward Francis Stuart and her journey to Italy in 1718–1719”, in *Il matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart e Maria Clementina Sobiska. 1 settembre 1719. A 300 anni dalle nozze regali di Montefiascone [...]*, a cura di Giancarlo Breccola e Francesca Ceci (Viterbo: Archeoares 2020): 43-67.
- 12 Patricia Carr Bruckmann, “Men, Women and Poles: Samuel Richardson and the Romance of a Stuart Princess”, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 27/3 (2003): 31-52.
- 13 Edward Hawkins, *Medallic illustration of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. II (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1885), 444.

propagandare attraverso le immagini e le iscrizioni apposte la propria linea politica e la propria causa<sup>14</sup>. L'autore fu il celebre medaglista romano Otto (o Ottone) Hamerani, (1694-1768)<sup>15</sup>, il quale creò, oltre a questa, una serie di medaglie dedicate alla coppia Stuart-Sobieska e ai loro figli, commissionate dal papa, poi da Benedetto XIV e anche direttamente da Giacomo III Stuart.

Sul dritto è raffigurato di profilo il bellissimo busto di Klementyna, dai lineamenti delicati, la fluente capigliatura con una tiara e perle nei capelli, orecchini e perle al collo, riccamente abbigliata con abito bordato di pietre preziose e manto di ermellino; intorno corre l'iscrizione con i titoli regali a lei spettanti dopo il matrimonio: CLEMENTINA M BRITAN FR ET HIB REGINA. Sul bordo la firma dell'incisore. OTTO HAMERANI F[ecit] (Fig. 1 a-b).

Sul rovescio è splendidamente riassunta la sua fuga austriaca e lo spericolato arrivo a Roma<sup>16</sup>. Klementyna, in abito domestico e con il volto riconoscibile, pettinatura raccolta e veletta svolazzante nell'impeto della corsa, è alla guida un elegante carro a forma di conchiglia trainato da due cavalli, che richiama il carro di Venere e che assimila l'immagine della giovane a quella di una divinità, o quanto meno di una eroina (Fig. 2).

Riguardo l'abbigliamento, può essere interessante compararlo con un quadro raffigurante una giovane in abiti popolareschi e in parte laceri, valigetta da viaggio, affiancata da un elegante cagnolino - simbolo di fedeltà - con collare con monogramma intrecciato M S [Maria Sobieska?] e sfondo con paesaggio alpino con una città [Innsbruck?], attribuito al pittore polacco Tadeusz Kunzte [1732-1793] da Francesco Petrucci, il quale vi vede un ritratto postumo in onore di Maria Clementina durante la fuga da Innsbruck. Lo studioso propone come committente il cardinale Enrico Benedetto Stuart, figlio della coppia reale, per il quale Kuntze lavorò più volte<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 3).

La biga ha un decoro laterale con un Eros, simbolo dell'amore che ha guidato la principessa a Roma, e lo scudo della sua famiglia sormontato dalla corona. È

14 Noel Woolf, *The Medalllic Record of the Jacobite Movement* (London: Spink&Son 1988), 78. Sulla propaganda giacobita attraverso l'iconografie e le legende in latino delle medaglie: Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 69-74 e 81-84.

15 Per gli Hamerani, famiglia di orafi e medaglisti italiani di origine bavarase e noti incisori pontifici si vedano: Valentina Sapienza, "Hamerani", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62 (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 2004), 643-48; Serafina Pennestrì, "All'insegna della lupa. Il patrimonio della bottega Hamerani in due documenti dell'archivio di Stato di Roma", *Notiziario del Portale Numismatico dello Stato*, 13.2: *Il campionato di medaglie devozionali della bottega Hamerani*, a cura di Serafina Pennestrì e Fr. Yohannes Teklemariam Bache (2019): 186-249. Su Ottone Hamerani vedi Leonard Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists: Coin, Gem, And Seal-Engravers, Mint-Masters [...]*, II (London: Spink & Son, 1907), 404-09.

16 Guthrie, *The Material Culture*, 85-8; Vullingshs, "Fit for a Queen", 125-27.

17 Francesco Petrucci, "Ritratto di Maria Clementina Sobieski Stuart", in *Donne di Roma dall'Impero Romano al 1860. Ritrattistica romana al femminile* (Roma: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 2003), 105-06.

interessante notare anche la figura di un satiro in basso sulla carrozza, che sembra legato con le braccia alzate, il quale potrebbe essere un richiamo alla satira contro Guglielmo III d'Inghilterra attribuita all'incisore giacobita Norbert Roettiers o a suo padre John, che vedeva nel regnante, appunto, una figura satiresca<sup>18</sup>.

Alle spalle del carro si staglia un paesaggio boscoso che allude alla fuga dall'Austria, dietro al quale si apre il mare con il sole che tramonta e un veliero in navigazione verso Roma, che simboleggia il rientro di Giacomo III dopo la fallita insurrezione giacobita in Spagna del 1719: il re partì a marzo e ritornò in Italia nell'agosto dello stesso anno. A sinistra si staglia Roma, sede papale e sicuro rifugio per la coppia, rappresentata con le mura che racchiudono alcuni edifici a tempio con porticato, il Colosseo e la Colonna Traiana. La costruzione a torre sulla destra, affacciata sul mare, potrebbe essere un faro che indica alla nave l'approdo sicuro alla foce del Tevere.

La legenda FORTVNAM CAVSAMQVE SEQVOR<sup>19</sup> («Seguo la sua fortuna e la sua causa»<sup>20</sup> oppure «Seguo la mia fortuna e la mia causa»<sup>21</sup>) e in esergo DECEPTIS CVSTODIBVS MDCCXIX («I guardiani sono stati ingannati 1719») si riferisce alla completa, fedele adesione - sentimentale e politica - di Klementyna alla causa di Giacomo III e alla sua evasione da Innsbruck. La frase *deceptis custodibus* è tratta da un passo delle *Periochae* di Tito Livio relativo alla leggendaria fanciulla Clelia, che nel corso delle guerre tra etruschi e romani alla fine del VI secolo a.C. fu consegnata in ostaggio al re etrusco Porsenna, e alla sua temeraria fuga verso Roma, attraversando a nuoto il Tevere sotto una pioggia di frecce. Riconsegnata cavallerescamente dai romani agli etruschi e liberata per il suo coraggio da Porsenna insieme ad altri giovani, ottenne, unica donna, l'onore di una statua equestre nel Foro (*Periochae* di Tito Livio, *Ab Urbe condita*, II, XIII).

Naturalmente il Papa, e forse lo Stuart, avrà discusso con l'Hamerani, anche attraverso segretari e letterati al loro servizio, la scelta e la composizione delle immagini e delle iscrizioni che dovevano rendere efficace il messaggio da propagandare attraverso la medaglia. Infatti questa raffigurazione, di grande impatto visivo, alta qualità artistica e coniata in più metalli, ebbe subito molto successo, come testimonia un notiziario dell'epoca, il *Mercurio storico e politico* (ottobre 1720):

Alcune lettere particolari dicono, che sono uscite in questa Città molte medaglie d'oro, e d'argento, sulle quali si vede da una parte il ritratto della Principessa Sobieski Moglie del Rè d'Inghilterra con queste parole. Clementina Maria Britannia, Francia, Hibernia, & Scotia Regina, e nel rovescio vi si vede pure questa Principessa, che fugge verso Roma, dopo essersi liberata da Inspruck, nel medesimo tempo, che il Rè suo Marito faceva vela dalla Spagna verso Roma con questa divisa. Fortunam, causamque sequor, e al di sotto. Deceptis Custodibus

18 Warwick W. Wroth, "Roettiers, Norbert", in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 49 (1897): 100; Guthrie, *The Material Culture*, 191, nota 114.

19 Niall MacKenzie, Ted Buttrey, "The Meaning of *Fortunam Causamque Sequor*", *Royal Stuart Review*, (2005): 1-5.

20 Hawkins, *Medallic illustration*, 444.

21 Lettura di Ted Buttrey riportata in Guthrie, *The Material Culture*, 86-7; MacKenzie, Buttrey, "The Meaning", 1-5.

Anno 1719. Dicesi, che queste Medaglie sieno state e sieno attualmente molto ricercate, e ciascuno ne parla secondo la sua fantasia.

L'esemplare compare nel 1737 nel volume di Johann Hieronymus Lochner (il giovane) *Samlung merkwürdiger Medaillen...*, dove l'autore, medaglia alla mano, la commenta attentamente e ne riporta anche il disegno<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 4).

### GIACOMO E KLEMENTYNA NELLA TUSCIA

La coppia di reali senza regno formata da Giacomo III Stuart (in incognito conosciuto come "Cavaliere di San Giorgio") e Maria Clementina Sobieska frequentò con una certa assiduità il territorio viterbese, soggiornando presso prelati e nobiluomini con cui aveva relazioni personali e/o diplomatiche, sia prima del matrimonio che negli anni a venire, da soli o insieme<sup>23</sup>. I due si recarono anche in Italia centrale, dai Colli Albani a Urbino, Pesaro, Fano, Lucca, Bologna, Loreto.

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### IL MATRIMONIO A MONTEFIASCONE, 1 SETTEMBRE 1719

Il primo settembre 1719, intorno alle 19 (ora solare)<sup>24</sup> si celebrò il matrimonio tra Giacomo (31 anni) e Maria Klementyna (18 circa) nel Palazzo Vescovile di Montefiascone<sup>25</sup>, officiato dal suo vescovo Sebastiano Pompilio Bonaventura, amico personale del re: l'evento è ricordato dall'epigrafe commemorativa affissa nella sala dove ebbe luogo la cerimonia<sup>26</sup>.

Lo stesso vescovo battezzerà a Roma il loro primogenito Carlo Edoardo (31 dicembre

22 Johann Hieronymus Lochner (il giovane), *Samlung merkwürdiger Medaillen...*, 46. (Nürnberg: P.K. Monath, 1737), 369-370.

23 Per le testimonianze della presenza dei reali nel Viterbese si vedano le schede in [<http://jacobite.ca/gazetteer/index.htm>]; Francesca Ceci, Giorgio Felini, "Vecchie e nuove attestazioni della coppia Stuart-Sobieski nel Viterbese", in *Il matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart e Maria Clementina Sobieska*, 127-47.

24 Numerosi studi riportano erroneamente la data del matrimonio e l'ora: Giancarlo Breccola, "Il matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart e Maria Clementina Sobieska a Montefiascone", in *Il matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart e Maria Clementina Sobieska*, 79-101, in particolare 85, riporta (e documenta) l'atto ufficiale conservato a Montefiascone dove è scritto «Dies Prima septembris anni millesimo septingentesimi decimi noni» e l'ora, «circiter vigesima quarta orologij romani Italicae», che corrisponde non alla mezzanotte ma all'ora italica in uso nello Stato Pontificio, che si riferisce all'ora del tramonto e alla mezz'ora seguente, quindi circa alle ore (solari) 19.

25 Breccola, "Il matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart", 79-101, Aneta Markuszewska, "Political allusions in musical compositions dedicated to James III Stuart and Maria Clementina Sobieska in 1719", in *The Irish to the rescue*, 147-164.

26 AVTHORITATE ET AVSPICIIS/ CLEMENTIS XI PONT MAX/ IN HOC CVBICVLO/ SEBASTIANVS POMPILIVS BONAVENTVRA/ MONTIS FALISCI ET CORNETI EPISCOPVS/ SACRO ECCLESIAE RITV/ IACOBVM III MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REGEM/ ET MARIAM CLEMENTINAM SOBIESKI/ INCLYT MEM IOANNIS III POLONIAE REGIS/ EX IACOBO FILIO NEPTEM/ CONNVBIO IVNXIT/ KALENDIS SEPTEMBRIS ANNO SAL MDCCXIX/ ATQVE AD PERENNEM REI GESTAE MEMORIAM/ MONVMENTVM POSVIT.

1720), come riporta una seconda iscrizione collocata sotto quella del matrimonio<sup>27</sup>. Entrambe le epigrafi sono ancor oggi nella loro sede (Fig. 5).

### VITERBO SETTEMBRE 1719

Dopo il matrimonio gli sposi, in attesa di ottenere dal Papa una sistemazione consona al loro rango a Roma<sup>28</sup>, si trattennero a Montefiascone per circa due mesi, visitando i luoghi circostanti. Sempre a settembre si recarono a Viterbo dove incontrarono nella Diocesi il cardinale di fresca nomina Adriano Sermattei. Ne fa menzione il Signorelli nel suo volume su Viterbo: «I reali preferirono porre stanza in Montefiascone, da dove fecero una gita nella nostra Città, dalla cui rappresentanza ebbero il dono di due grosse manze, sei castrati, volatili, vino, cioccolatte, cera, ecc. (Riforme CXXXII, f. 77)»<sup>29</sup>.

### CAPODIMONTE 11 OTTOBRE 1719

Il vescovo Bonaventura incontrò di nuovo i coniugi l'11 ottobre 1719, quando fecero una visita di diletto all'isola Bisentina nel lago di Bolsena, imbarcandosi da Capodimonte. Dell'evento festoso si conserva il resoconto:

Martedì 11 ottobre 1719, giunsero a Capodimonte i Reali d'Inghilterra seguiti da molti milords e dame inglesi, accompagnati dal vescovo di Montefiascone Sebastiano Pompilio Bonaventura. Tutti in comitiva sono andati all'isola Bisentina, dentro di un brigantino pomposamente adornato per le MM.II., accompagnati da otto barchette, e perché il detto brigantino non si è potuto accostare alla riva del lago, è stato fatto un ponte di tavole dentro il lago due picche, tutto pavesato di damasco, con un arazzo tutto infiorato nel pavimento e con prospero vento sono arrivati all'isola suddetta, ricevuti dal M.to R. Sig. D. Pompei della città di Bagnorea e cappellano di detta Isola e dopo aver veduto le magnificenze della medesima sono stati banchettati con un lautissimo pranzo da Sua Sig.ria Ill.ma e dopo il pranzo si sono divertiti in caccie e S.M. ha ammazzato con un tiro di schioppo, un daino, e poi verso le ore 21 si sono rimbarcati e ritornati felicemente al Porto di questa Terra, dove stavano molti calessi et una lettiga aspettandoli e dopo essersi trattenuti qualche pochetto fuori della riva del lago in discorso con Sua Signoria Ill.ma, dove stava tutto il popolo di Capodimonte, tanto uomini come donne e molti forastieri venuti di posta per vedere dd. Regie Corone, sono rimontati in calesse et hanno ripigliato il loro viaggio verso la città di Montefiascone. Così p. Fran.co Boncompagni Nobile della città di Montefiascone et al presente Podestà di Capodimonte<sup>30</sup>.

27 EORVMDEM REGIORVM CONIVGVVM/ FILIVM PRIMOGENITVM/ PRAEDICTVS EPISCOPVS/ INTER EFFVSAS EXVLANTIS POPVLI GRATVLATIONES/ IN ALMA VRBE/ SACRIS BAPTISMI AQVIS ABLVIT/ POSTREMA DIE ANNI MDCCXX.

28 Corp, *I giacobiti a Urbino*, 147-87,

29 Giuseppe Signorelli, *Viterbo nella storia della Chiesa*, vol. 3, parte 1 (Viterbo: tipografia Quatrini, 1964), 161.

30 Documento conservato nell'Archivio Comunale di Capodimonte (*Lib. di memorie ad an. 1719*), riportato in Umberto Pannucci, *I Castelli di Bisenzio e Capodimonte* (Capodimonte, 1976), 277-78.

A fine ottobre la coppia concluse il suo viaggio di nozze e partì da Montefiascone per recarsi a Roma a Palazzo del Re, dove giunse, seguendo il Chracas, al tramonto di sabato 4 novembre 1719: «Sua Maestà il Re Giacomo d’Inghilterra con la Regina sua Sposa venne da Monte Fiascone al suo palazzo fattoli preparare per ordine di Nostro Signore nella Piazza de’ SS. Apostoli»<sup>31</sup>.

### LA “VILLEGGIATURA” DEL MAGGIO 1725, ANNO GIUBILARE

Alcuni anni dopo, nel maggio dell’Anno Santo 1725, Giacomo e Klementyna intrapresero da Roma un viaggio nella Tuscia, recandosi a Caprarola, Viterbo, Orvieto, Soriano. La “villeggiatura” durò circa un mese, come riportato dal Chracas il 2 giugno 1725: «Queste Maestà Britanniche dopo essersi trattenute molti giorni alla Villeggiatura di Caprarola, ed altri luoghi circonvicini; ne giorni scorsi si sono restituite a questa Corte»<sup>32</sup>.

Circa due mesi prima, il 6 marzo, la regina aveva dato alla luce il secondogenito Enrico Benedetto, Duca di York e futuro cardinale.

### CAPRAROLA, MAGGIO 1725

La prima tappa del loro viaggio, volendo seguire il Chracas appena menzionato, sembra essere stata dunque Caprarola, dove Giacomo e Klementyna furono ospiti per quindici giorni a Palazzo Pettelli<sup>33</sup>, dimora del Priore di Caprarola e Dottore in Diritto Lorenzo Maria Pettelli che fece poi affiggere, sopra la porta ad arco, un cartiglio in marmo con iscrizione commemorativa: «IACOBO III/MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REGI/ET CLEMENTIAE CONIVGI/AVGVSTIS PER DIES XV. HOSPITIBVS/ANNO IVB. MDCCXXV/LAVRENTIVS MARIA PETTELLI I[uris] V[triusque] D[octo]r / G[rato] A[nimo] M[onumentum] P[osuit]»<sup>34</sup>. Sicuramente i coniugi dovettero visitare il Palazzo Farnese, anche se non pare esserci testimonianza di ciò. Nell’Archivio Storico di Caprarola si conserva il Registro dei Giubilei della Confraternita di San Giovanni Evangelista degli anni 1675-1825, dove è menzionato l’arrivo della coppia. Dallo scritto, datato 6 maggio 1725, si evince il subbuglio dovuto all’organizzazione e al dover rinviare la processione della Pentecoste<sup>35</sup>:

Anno Giubilare 1725 fogli non numerati deliberazioni:

Die sexta maij 1725

[...] Ill.mo Ex.mo D. Laurentius Maria Pettelli Prior

31 Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, n. 363, Roma 4 novembre 1719, 9-10; Platania, “La politica europea e il matrimonio”, 26-7.

32 Chracas, *Diario ordinario*, n. 1221, Roma 2 giugno 1725, 12.

33 Il palazzo, oggi in Via Filippo Nicolai al n. 70, dal 1790 alla fine del secolo successivo ospitò il municipio e in seguito accolse l’Istituto delle Maestre Pie Venerini.

34 «A Giacomo III, /Re di Gran Bretagna, / e a Clementina, sua moglie, / augusti ospiti per quindici giorni / nell’Anno Giubilare 1725: / Lorenzo Maria Pettelli, Dottore in Diritto Canonico e Civile, / riconoscente ha apposto [questo] monumento». È auspicabile un ripulitura dell’epigrafe, alquanto trascurata.

35 Si ringrazia Luciano Passini per la segnalazione e la trascrizione del documento.

[...] 4° Dovendo venire in Caprarola la maestà del Re Giacomo Terzo Rè d'Inghilterra per villeggiare e consideratosi che tal venuta possi impedire la processione per la festa della Pentecoste come è stato determinato dalle SS. Loro, perciò risolviamo, se pare differirla, e per quanto.

[...] Super 4° Sarei di parere differire la Processione per la seconda domenica del prossimo futuro mese di Giugno, che sarà li 10 di detto mese, stante l'impegno della venuta quà della maestà del Re dell'Inghilterra, [...]».

*Succinta narratione di ciò che successe in occasione di portarsi processionalmente la Venerabile Compagnia di Caprarola alla visita delle quattro chiese, per l'acquisto del Santo Giubileo a il 25 novembre 1725 (relazione scritta per conto di tutti il 15 marzo 1726 da Gio. Paolo Sebastiani della Compagnia di Gesù):*

[...]«Erano già le cose quasi in total apparecchio, per il principio di maggio, sì che si sperava mandare tutto ad effetto, per il tempo stabilito, quando al Signor Lorenzo Maria Pettelli Priore, fu fatto significare da persona attinente alla maestà del Re Giacomo d'Inghilterra, come la maestà Sua bramava portarsi in Caprarola per villeggiare, e che ciò sarebbe seguito, con maggior sodisfazione della maestà Sua quando fosse potuto stanziare nella sua propria casa. A caggion di tal Personaggio convenne alli sig.ri dell'Ospedale e Fratelli della Venerabile Compagnia mutar giorno per la venuta, per mostrare anche ciò il tanto gradim. to e stima che si faceva dal meglio dell'Abbitanti di Caprarola della maestà Sua [...].

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### **VITERBO, 18 MAGGIO 1725**

Il monastero viterbese della Clarisse dove si conserva il corpo di Santa Rosa era - e continua a essere - una meta di pellegrinaggio imprescindibile e i reali si recarono a visitarlo:

Nell'anno 1725. A dì 18. di Maggio portossi in questa Città la Maestà di Giacono III. Rè della Gran Brettagna, assieme colla sua Regina Consorte Maria Clementina Subieski; avendo l'un, e l'altra voluto lo spirituale contento di entrare nel Monistero di S. Rosa per adorarvi il sacro corpo di detta gran Santa; essendo stati tali Regi Coniugi in tal circostanza lautamente serviti in propria casa dal generoso Viterbese Cavaliere Marchese Andrea Maidalchini<sup>36</sup>.

La "casa" del Maidalchini era la sua dimora presso Viterbo sul monte La Palanzana detta la Maidalchina o "Villa del Barco". Si tratta di una villa edificata dal marchese Maidalchini, fratello di Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphilj, potente cognata di Innocenzo XI, e definita «deliziosa villa, [...] dopo quella di Bagnaja [...] la più bella di quante ne sono in tutta la Provincia del Patrimonio»<sup>37</sup>.

La memoria di questa visita è testimoniata dai ritratti posti nella camera in cui

36 Feliciano Bussi, *Istoria della Città di Viterbo* (Roma: nella Stamperia del Bernabò, 1748), 342. Per Andrea Maidalchini si veda Signorelli, *Viterbo nella storia della Chiesa*, 158.

37 Bussi, *Istoria*, 131-32; Mauro Galeotti, *L'illustrissima Città di Viterbo* (Viterbo: Edizioni Studio Pubblicitario Viterbese, 2002), 164.

avevano soggiornato, come si può dedurre da un inventario di beni del 22 settembre 1735:

Nella cammera ... dove è il fregio che rappresenta l'Istoria di Noè. Un ritratto del Re d'Inghilterra con cornice simile stimato s. 3. Altro della Regina d'Inghilterra con cornice simile stimato s. 3. La stanza, contigua alla sala centrale, era destinata ad accogliere persone di rango, con un letto a credenza e "cascata di tela stampata", "sedie bracciole antiche [...] coperte di marocchino rosso", un "cantarano", mensole di gesso dorate e una "sedia da riposo di noce, ricoperta di tela torchina"<sup>38</sup>.

112 Il cardinale Enrico Benedetto Stuart, Duca di York, figlio di Giacomo e Maria Klementyna, visitò la villa il 10 ottobre del 1776 ed è possibile supporre che in quella circostanza gli fossero stati mostrati i quadri con i suoi genitori<sup>39</sup>.

### ORVIETO 21-23 MAGGIO 1725

Il 21 maggio la coppia giunse a Orvieto e vi rimase tre giorni sino al 23 maggio (*ibique triduo commoratus*) soggiornando a Palazzo Gualterio, nel centro storico, residenza del cardinale Filippo Antonio Gualterio (o Gualteri)<sup>40</sup> (1660-1728), partigiano degli Stuart e strettamente legato a Giacomo III. L'alto prelato era parente di Vittoria Gualterio, moglie di Sforza Mairalchini senior, bisavolo di Andrea nella cui villa viterbese, come si è visto, vi sostò la coppia reale. A Palazzo Gualterio fu ospitato, nel suo viaggio dell'ottobre 1776, anche il cardinale Stuart<sup>41</sup>.

La visita è commemorata in un'epigrafe marmorea datata 1 settembre 1725, che riporta i nomi dei magistrati orvietani onorati per la presenza dei reali nel mese di maggio. La lapide, già esposta nel Palazzo Comunale, si trova attualmente nel Palazzo dei Sette, Sala del Governatore:

IACOBO III MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REGI / QVOD CVM CLEMENTINA CONIVGE  
VRBEM / VETEREM XII KAL: IVN: MDCCXXV INGRESSVS / IBIQ: TRIDVO  
COMMORATVS EO BENEFICIO MA//GISTRATVM ORNAVERIT VT IN PHILIPPI  
AN/TONII S·R·E·CARDINALIS GVALTERII ÆD//IBVS CONFALONERIVM TVNC

38 Archivio di Stato di Viterbo, *Notarile Viterbo*, 189, 359-60v.

39 Mary Jane Cryan, *Travels to Tuscany and Northern Lazio* (Sutri: Ghaleb, 2004): 273-75; Gaetano Platania, "Gli Stuart-Sobieski e la Tuscia Viterbese", 205-10. Il cardinale era protettore di Vetralla: nel Palazzo Comunale si trova il suo busto in marmo di Agostino Penna; fine sec. XVIII, qui collocato nel 1802: si veda il sito *The Jacobite Heritage* [<http://www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Lazio/Vetralle.htm>].

40 Filippo Antonio Gualterio [1660-1728], figlio dell'orvietano Stanislao Gualterio, marchese del Corniolo, ricoprì importanti incarichi nell'ambito della Curia romana. Legato agli Stuart, fu Cardinale protettore di Scozia e d'Inghilterra. Si veda: Silvano Giordano, "Filippo Antonio Gualterio", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 60 (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 2003), 201-06; *The Jacobite Heritage* [<http://www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Rome/PalazzoGualterio.htm>]

41 Cryan, *Travels to Tuscany*, 287, nota 33.

TEMPORIS IOSE//PHVM ALBERICI ID MVNVS EXERCENTEM CORA//M  
CAROLO M~RIA EQVITE POSCIA ET IO: PETRO//VITI CONSERVATORIBVS  
APPLICITO AD HVMEROS / ENSE EQVITEM APPELLAVERIT CÆTERIS  
QVIBVSLI/BET EAMDEM DIGNITATEM ADEPTVRIS PERPETVO / HONOREM  
HVNC IMPERTITVS-/ ANGELVS AVVEDVTVS CONFALON EQVES ET BELISA/  
RIVS SANVITANVS CONSERVATOR PACIS VRBE VET: / POPVLO PRÆSIDENTES  
OBSEQVENTISSIMI-/ G[rati] A[nimi] M[onumentum] PP[osuerunt] /-KALENDIS  
SEPT: MDCCXXV·VANNONVS CANC~VS.

La famiglia Gualterio era, come detto, legata alla corte degli Stuart: il cardinale Filippo Antonio era ambasciatore di Giacomo III alla corte di Roma e il fratello Giovanni Battista era stato nominato Conte di Dundee e Visconte di Eythorn, il 12 ottobre 1705 per sé e per i suoi successori, nel Regno di Scozia<sup>42</sup>. Nel Duomo di Orvieto si trova la tomba di famiglia, poco lontano dalla cappella decorata da Luca Signorelli.

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### SORIANO MAGGIO 1725

I reali erano anche intimi della famiglia Albani, i quali ebbero la signoria su Soriano (nel Cimino) a partire dal 1715 sino a quando Soriano passò, nella prima metà del XIX secolo, ai Chigi, imparentati con gli Albani<sup>43</sup>. Giacomo III era già stato ospite del cardinale Annibale Albani e dei fratelli Carlo e Alessandro, nipoti di papa Clemente XI, tra il 5 e il 7 luglio 1717, quando, in viaggio da Roma a Urbino, si fermò nel castello Orsini. La sua permanenza è ricordata da un'iscrizione posta nella loggia superiore della prima corte del castello<sup>44</sup>:

Lo storico soriano Andrea Splendiano Pennazzi nella sua manoscritta *Istoria di Soriano* (1734) dà notizia del soggiorno dei reali nel cinquecentesco Palazzo di Papacqua<sup>45</sup> (libro 1, cap. XVII, p. 103): «Nel suddetto delizioso palazzo si trattenne

42 Christoph Weber, *Legati e governatori dello Stato Pontificio: 1550-1809* (Roma: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1994), *passim*.

43 Valentino D'Arcangeli, *Soriano nel Cimino nella storia e nell'arte* (Soriano nel Cimino, 2014), 38-9.

44 Ceci, Felini, "Vecchie e nuove attestazioni", 129: «QVOD/ IACOBVS III MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REX/ ROMA VRBINVM SECEDENS/ AD HANC ARCEM DIVERTERIT/ ANNIBAL S.R.E.-CARDINALIS CAROLVS ET ALEXANDER/ ALBANI FRATRES CLEMENTIS XI P.M-NEPOTES/ TANTI PRINCIPIS HOSPITIO DIGNATI/ REGIAE HVMANITATIS/ MONVMENTVM P-P-/ ANNO DNI MDCCXVII». Si propone la seguente traduzione: «Poiché Giacomo III, re di Gran Bretagna, recandosi da Roma ad Urbino fece una digressione alla volta di questa rocca, i fratelli Annibale, cardinale di Santa Romana Chiesa, Carlo ed Alessandro, nipoti del Pontefice Massimo Clemente XI, onorati per aver ospitato un così illustre principe, hanno posto la memoria della regale benignità nell'anno del Signore 1717». La trascrizione dell'epigrafe si trova in: Andrea Splendiano Pennazzi, *Istoria di Soriano*, Ms 1734, 176-77 e Achille Ferruzzi, *Soriano nel Cimino* (Viterbo: Tipografia Monarchi, 1900), 263-65, dove è anche descritto il soggiorno soriano di Giacomo.

45 Francesca Ceci, "Soriano nel Cimino, Villa Madruzzo-Palazzo Chigi Albani. Le fontane cinquecentesche di Papacqua e il cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo: novità e interpretazioni", in Francesca Ceci e Francesca Pandimiglio, *Ville, palazzi e*

per alcuni giorni il Re, e la Regina d’Inghilterra per la seconda volta, che furono a Soriano, e fu nel mese di maggio del 1725»<sup>46</sup>. È possibile ipotizzare che la permanenza sia avvenuta nella seconda metà del mese, di ritorno da Orvieto verso Roma.

L’autore parla poi di una “seconda volta”: si può pensare che la coppia visitò gli Albani a Soriano durante la loro luna di miele?

Pochi mesi dopo il viaggio di maggio, il 15 novembre 1725<sup>47</sup>, Klementyna lasciò la famiglia per profondi contrasti coniugali e si ritirò nel monastero di Santa Cecilia in Trastevere sino al 1727.

Nel suo *Diario* Francesco Valesio dà notizia, il 3 luglio del 1727, che i dissapori con il marito si erano ufficialmente ricomposti<sup>48</sup>. Gli ultimi anni di vita li trascorse nel palazzo a piazza Santi Apostoli.

## 114 CIVITA CASTELLANA, 3-5 GIUGNO 1729

Alcuni anni dopo, nei giorni «dal venerdì alla domenica di Pentecoste» come riportato nell’epigrafe che segue, quindi da venerdì 3 a domenica 5 giugno 1729, la sola Maria Klementyna fu ospite per tre giorni a Civita Castellana nel Palazzo Petroni (poi Trocchi Alessandrini e oggi Canfora Ribaldi)<sup>49</sup>, come testimonia un’iscrizione affissa nel cortile interno dello stesso, sul lato sinistro: «IN QUESTO PALAZZO/ LA REGINA D’INGHILTERRA/ MARIA CLEMENTINA SOBIESCHI/ SOGGIORNÒ/ DAL VENERDÌ ALLA DOMENICA DI PENTECOSTE/ NEL GIUGNO MDCCXXIX». Il testo è entro una cornice dalla quale pendono due festoni in marmo ed è coronata dallo stemma Stuart-Sobieski<sup>50</sup>.

La conformazione urbanistica di Civita Castellana deve molto a Clemente XI,

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*castelli nella Tuscia Viterbese tra XV e XVII secolo: natura, mitologia e alchimia [...] (Viterbo: Archeoares 2019), 9-40.*

46 Il manoscritto, in proprietà privata, è disponibile in fotocopia presso la Biblioteca Comunale di Soriano nel Cimino (Viterbo). Pennazzi, cap. XVII, 161. Informazione anche nel sito *The Jacobite Heritage* [<http://www.jacobite.ca/gazetteer/Lazio/Soriano.htm>].

47 Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma. 1700–1742*, vol. IV, a cura Gaetana Scano e Giuseppe Graglia (Milano: Longanesi, 1978), 605.

48 Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 826, giovedì 3 luglio 1727: «Essendosi col mezzo delli cardinali Imperiali ed Alberoni accomodate le differenze tra la regina d’Inghilterra e il re [...]».

49 Edificato nel 1554 su progetto di Battista da Sangallo in corso Bruno Buozzi, 37. Il Palazzo è oggi chiamato Canfora dalla famiglia che lo possiede ed è adibito a sede di eventi. Si ringrazia Martina Peri di Palazzo Canfora per la gentile concessione delle foto.

50 La scheda del solo stemma in [[https://www.beni-culturali.eu/opere\\_d\\_arte/scheda/-stemma-reale-di-maria-clementina-sobieski--12-00221859/152258](https://www.beni-culturali.eu/opere_d_arte/scheda/-stemma-reale-di-maria-clementina-sobieski--12-00221859/152258)] (con refuso di inversione nella data nelle notizie storico-critiche; 1792 invece di 1729); Giacomo Pulcini, *Falerii veteres Falerii novi Civita Castellana* (Civita Castellana: Biblioteca Falisca, 1974), 240: «La lapide si legge nel bel cortile del Palazzo Trocchi, attribuito ai Sangallo e diligentemente restaurato dal Dott. Felice Canfora».

padrino di battesimo di Maria Clementina e protettore della coppia reale: nel 1709 era stato costruito il Ponte Clementino voluto dal Papa, realizzando così il collegamento tra la Cassia e la Flaminia con la via Nepesina, oltre a importanti lavori di ristrutturazione nel Duomo cittadino. Il Ponte Clementino e il vicino acquedotto di Nepi sono opera dell'architetto Filippo Barigioni<sup>51</sup>, lo stesso che nel 1739 progettò e realizzò, in collaborazione con Pietro Bracci, il monumento funebre per Maria Klementyna nella Basilica Vaticana.

### **SORIANO 5 GIUGNO 1729**

La domenica 5 giugno, nel giorno di Pentecoste, Maria Klementyna partì da Civita Castellana, probabilmente nel pomeriggio, e si diresse verso Soriano, dove si doveva già trovare il marito. La mattina dello stesso giorno era partito per Soriano anche il Cardinal Albani: «Domenica 5 Festa della Pentecoste. Questa mattina partì per Suriano improvvisamente il cardinale Albani camerlegno, avendo lasciato qui in sua vece il cardinale suo fratello. Alle 23 ore ritornò in questa città [Soriano] la Regina d'Inghilterra con cinque calessi e alcuni strascini di robbe, essendogli andato incontro il re suo marito»<sup>52</sup>. Essendo in vigore nello Stato Pontificio l'ora italiana, le ore 23 corrispondono grosso modo alla mezzora prima del tramonto, intorno alle attuali ore 20,30 di giugno<sup>53</sup>.

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### **MONTEFIASCONE 1731**

Nel settembre del 1731 la coppia Stuart-Sobieski inviò in dono alla Cattedrale di Santa Margherita di Montefiascone, accompagnati da due missive in francese (una del re e una della regina) redatte a Roma e datate al 22 settembre, preziosi paramenti liturgici in parte ricamati dalla regina, che ancor oggi sono nel Tesoro della chiesa<sup>54</sup>. Il cardinale Enrico Benedetto Stuart giunse a Montefiascone in visita, proveniente da Viterbo e diretto verso Pisa, martedì 12 luglio 1763. A lui vennero mostrate le epigrafi relative al matrimonio dei genitori e alla nascita del fratello primogenito e i paramenti sacri. Nel Diario di viaggio del cardinale redatto dal suo segretario Giovanni Landò, si legge:

Gli furono mostrati nella stessa camera una pianeta di ricco ricamo d'oro e perle con suo finimento, un piviale ed altri veli di nobile ricamo, formati delle Fascie del Principe suddetto (il fratello maggiore il Principe di Galles, nota autore); e portate quivi dalla cattedrale ove si custodiscono; nella quale pure discese L'A.S. e vi vide un paliotto e le tonicelle delle stesse fascie formate<sup>55</sup>.

51 Giacomo Pulcini, "L'acquedotto di Nepi e il Ponte Clementino di Civita Castellana hanno una firma: Filippo Barigioni", *Biblioteca e Società*, VI/3 (luglio 1980): 31-4.

52 Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, vol. V, 67.

53 Breccola, "Il matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart", 85.

54 Breccola, "Il matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart", 94-6. Per le immagini dei doni si veda on line [<https://geapolis.eu/1aurei-ricami-i-doni-della-regina-clementina-sobieska-di-polonia/>].

55 Cryan, *Travels to Tuscany*, 224.

Dopo il dono alla cattedrale di Montefiascone, la presenza di Maria Klementyna non è ulteriormente attestata in zona e pochi anni dopo morì, giovane, consunta e in odore di santità, sepolta con ogni onore nella Basilica di San Pietro<sup>56</sup>.

### CONCLUSIONE

I viaggi della coppia Stuart-Sobieska nel Viterbese danno conto delle frequenti visite dei reali senza regno in questa zona dello Stato Pontificio, alla quale erano particolarmente legati per avervi celebrato il proprio contrastato e anelato matrimonio.

Le menzioni in giornali, diari e soprattutto le epigrafi ben manifestano la pubblica rilevanza attribuita ai soggiorni di Giacomo III e Maria Klementyna nelle località da loro prescelte.

116 Tali eventi, insieme all'onore rappresentato dall'illustre visita, comportavano senz'altro un impegno organizzativo rilevante per gli amministratori delle comunità, come a Caprarola, a Montefiascone e a Orvieto, e che comunque meritavano di essere ricordati anche quando si trattava di visite private, come a Civita Castellana e a Soriano, tutti momenti epigraficamente eternati nella pietra.

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56 Stanislaw Jujeczka, "The beatification process of Maria Clementina Sobieska. Legal and political context", in Chrościcki et al., *I Sobieski a Roma*, 390-400.

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## PRYMARY SOURCE

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## **FIGURES**

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Fig. 1 - Ottone Hamerani, 1719, medaglia d'argento (48 mm).  
Maria Clementina Sobieska e fuga da Innsbruck  
[www.coinarchives.com](http://www.coinarchives.com)

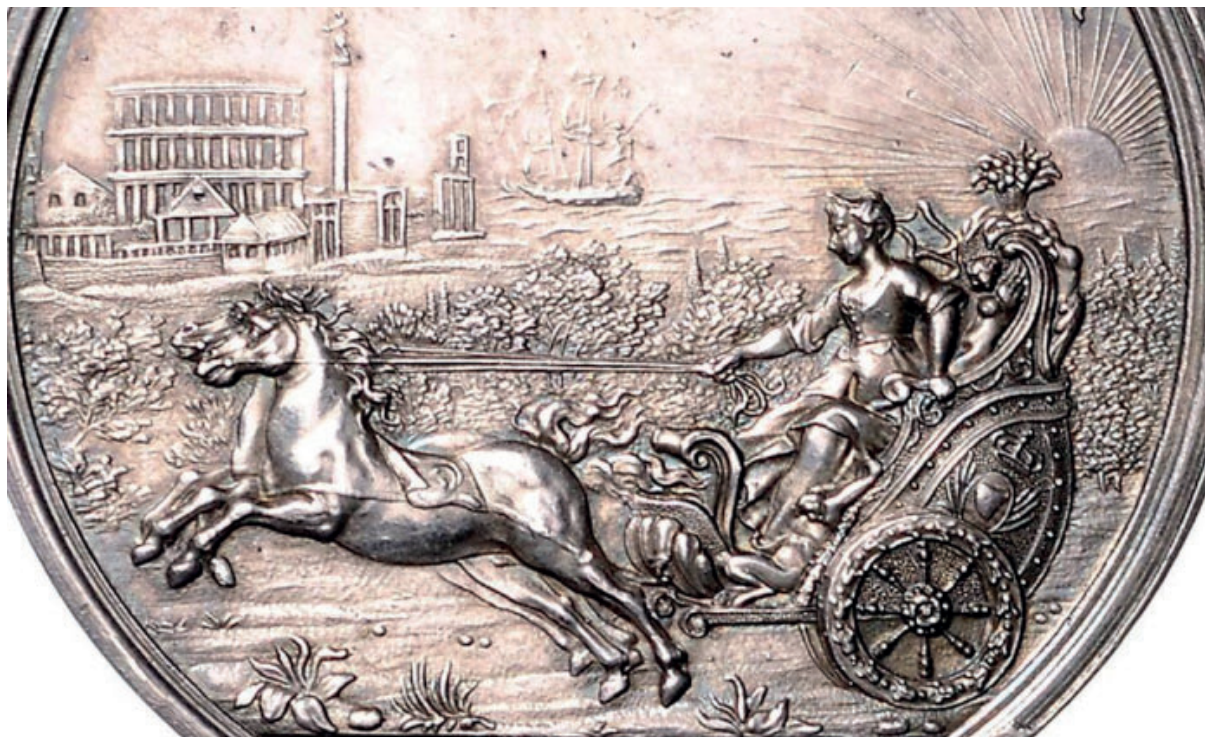


Fig. 2 - Particolare del rovescio della medaglia.



Fig. 3 - Tadeusz Kuntze (attribuito), Ritratto di Maria Casimira Sobieska, da Petrucci 2003.

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Fig. 4 - Medaglia di O. Hamerani con la fuga di Maria Clementina, da Lochner 1737.

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## **TRAVELS OF POLISH ARISTOCRATIC WOMEN IN THE VENETO REGION IN THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The heyday of the Polish Enlightenment brought women from the circles of the magnates and wealthy nobility considerable emancipation in matters of travel. Educated noblewomen wanted to go beyond traditional social functions and realise themselves in the public sphere. They began to manage estates and manage family interests, followed the press and literature, established social salons, became involved in political and diplomatic life, mentored artists and scientists, created collections, founded churches, built mansions and increasingly travelled the world. During the Enlightenment, one of the most popular destinations for foreign travel was Italy, one of their destinations being the Veneto. This article analyses the records of journeys to this region by three Polish aristocrats: Anna Paulina née Sapieha Jabłonowska, Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska, and Katarzyna née Sosnowski Platerowa. Their accounts show not only what they saw there, but also how they recounted the observations. It can be seen that they were excellent observers, formed independent judgements. In the pages of their accounts, one can find descriptions of daily life on the road, social life, customs and mentality of the inhabitants of the Veneto region, their entertainments, homes or cuisine.

**KEYWORDS:** Women's travels, Veneto, XVIII century, Travel accounts, Travel descriptions.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The heyday of the Polish Enlightenment, coinciding with the reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1764–1795), brought women from the circles of the magnates and wealthy nobility considerable emancipation in matters of travel<sup>1</sup>. This would have been impossible had it not been for the progress made in their education<sup>2</sup>.

1 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia* (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019).

2 Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, “«Jako rządzić mają rodzice córki swe». Poglądy na wychowanie kobiet w XVI–XVIII w.”, in *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej*, eds. Wiesław Jamrózek and Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, t. 1 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii UAM, 1998) 53-63; Eugenia Podgórska, “Sprawa wychowania kobiet w znaczniejszych czasopismach polskich drugiej połowy XVIII wieku”, *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty*, 4 (1961): 19-33; Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, “Zainteresowanie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej sprawą wychowania dziewcząt” in Łukasz Kurdybacha and Mieczysława Mitera-Dobrowolska, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej* (Warszawa: PWN, 1973), 173-89.

It had a significant impact on the broadening of their intellectual horizons, their knowledge of the world, and their ability to draw conclusions, make judgements, and form opinions. Hugo Kołłątaj, a distinguished Polish publicist, historian, and educator, describing the upbringing of women from the upper social strata at the dawn of the Stanislaus era, stated: «Our ladies began to write very beautifully in French and Polish, not only in character but even in style; they took a taste for reading more important works than romances; knowledge of history and geography [...], music, drawing, skill in national dances and all others used in Europe - made up the ordinary education of our ladies»<sup>3</sup>.

Educated, wealthy noblewomen, convinced of their own capabilities, wanted to go beyond their traditional social functions (wife, mother, housewife<sup>4</sup>) and realise themselves in the broader public sphere. Many of them stepped out of the shadow of men and successfully began to perform, against social and moral constraints, entirely new roles. They began to manage estates and run family interests, follow the press and literature, both domestic and foreign. They established social salons, became involved in political and diplomatic life, mentored artists and scientists, created various collections, founded churches, built mansions, designed gardens and increasingly travelled the world<sup>5</sup>.

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3 Hugo Kołłątaj, *Stan oświecenia w Polsce w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III (1750–1764)*, ed. Jan Hulewicz (Wrocław: ZNiO, 2003), 135-36.

4 Aleksandra Bilewicz, “Wzór kobiety, żony i matki w świetle osiemnastowiecznych kazań”, in Jamrożek and Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji*, t. 1, 82-8.

5 Angelika Blinda, *Teofila z Jabłonowskich Sapieżyna (1742–1816). Życie prywatne i działalność publiczna* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2023); Bożena Popiołek, “Rola kobiet w kształtowaniu polityki matrymonialnej rodzin szlacheckich w XVII-XVIII wieku”, in *Jednostka, rodzina i struktury społeczne w perspektywie historycznej. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Cezaremu Kukli z okazji 45-lecia pracy naukowej*, eds. Piotr Łozowski and Radosław Poniak (Białystok: Instytut Badan nad Dziedzictwem kulturowym, 2022), 399-411; Dorota Sidorowicz-Mulak, “Księgozbiór Magdaleny Morskiej (1762–1847) w Bibliotece Ossolineum”, *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi*, 12 (2018): 123-49; Agnieszka Jakuboszczak, *Sarmacka dama. Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718–1791) i jej salon towarzyski* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2008); 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), 315-17; Alina Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska. Polskość i europejskość* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1998); Jerzy Skowronek, “Debiuty polityczne kobiet w epoce rozbiorowej i początkach epoki porozbiorowej 1772–1831”, in *Pamiętnik XV Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, t. 2: *Przemiany społeczne a model rodziny*, ed. Anna Żarnowska (Gdańsk-Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 1995), 29-41; Bożenna Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej 1736–1816* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Polska Akademia Nauk, 1976); Władysław Konopczyński, *Kiedy nami rządziły kobiety* (Londyn: Katolicki Ośrodek Wydawniczy Veritas, 1960).

During the Enlightenment, one of the most popular destinations for foreign travel by Polish women and men was Italy<sup>6</sup>. Generally in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Apennine Peninsula (also known as the Italian Peninsula) was the most frequent destination of peregrinations for European women and men<sup>7</sup>. It was visited to broaden aesthetic and world-view horizons, to satisfy spiritual needs and intellectual aspirations, to improve health, to buy books and works of art, and for the sheer pleasure of sightseeing. Italy was the undisputed centre of culture, science, and art of the Early modern period world. Anyone wishing to reach the sources of European civilisation directed their steps towards the Apennine Peninsula. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the aristocratic *grand tour* lost its cognitive and educational character in favour of a representative and pleasurable one<sup>8</sup>.

The belief that it was worthwhile to be in Italy if only because that was where others were, began to take hold. It became fashionable to chase tourist dreams<sup>9</sup>. Alojzy Sajkowski pointed out, «Polish women's trips to Italy, quite sporadic in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, not at all numerous in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, became quite a normal phenomenon in the 18<sup>th</sup> century»<sup>10</sup>.

The Veneto was rarely a primary destination for Polish aristocratic women during the Enlightenment. This region, which included Venice, Padua, Vicenza and Verona, was only a stage, albeit a very important one, on the route to Rome. Indeed, the most popular route from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the capital of the Papal States led via Vienna to Venice and then via Padua, Vicenza and Verona to Bologna. From there, one could follow one of two routes to the Tiber: via Florence and Viterbo, or via Ancona and Loreto. Travellers who, on their way to the Eternal City, were unable for various reasons to stop for a while in Veneto, did so, as it were, obligatorily on their return journey. Increasingly, they also poured their impressions, thoughts and experiences onto paper, which was an important element of the art of wandering in the Age of Enlightenment<sup>11</sup>. Thanks to the archives (or their remains) of individual magnate families that have survived to this day, it is possible to reconstruct the course of these voyages. For the ladies left behind not only diaries and memoirs, but also correspondence.

The aim of this article is to analyse the travel records of three Polish aristocrats travelling in the Veneto region during the Age of Enlightenment: Duchess Anna Paulina née Sapieha Jabłonowska [1728–1800], Duchess Teofila Konstancja

6 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Obraz Włoch w polskim piśmiectwie geograficznym i podróżniczym osiemnastego wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2005), 55-90.

7 Attilio Brilli, *Il viaggio in Italia. Storia di una grande tradizione culturale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006), 43-54.

8 Marek Bratuń, "Ars apodemika. Narodziny – rozwój – zmierzch" in *Wędrować, pielgrzymować, być turystą. Travel in cultural discourses*, ed. Piotr Kowalski (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2003), 72-4.

9 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 25-150.

10 Alojzy Sajkowski, *Włoskie przygody Polaków. Wiek XVI-XVIII* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), 204.

11 Kowalczyk, *Obraz Włoch*, 55-61.

née Radziwiłł Morawska [1738–1807] and Countess Katarzyna née Sosnowski Platerowa [c. 1748–1832]. We will first present the profiles of our heroines in order of seniority, and then focus on their travel accounts using a comparative approach. We will be interested not only in how the Polish female travellers, belonging to the highest social circles, travelled through the Veneto region and what they saw there, but also in how they recounted the observations they made during their voyages, and whether common features can be discerned in all three accounts in this respect.

### PROFILES OF FEMALE TRAVELLERS

Women of the Polish aristocracy brought up in the spirit of the Enlightenment differed from earlier generations of women not only in their particular predilection for trips abroad but also in the way they poured their travel insights onto paper. Their notes moved away from previous rhetorical conventions, becoming «no longer so much an orderly, functional record of facts and data, but as a terrain of free thought, an impressional expression of individual observations»<sup>12</sup>. Many of them explicitly declared that they wrote down their impressions and experiences from their stay abroad exclusively for their own memory and for the circle of their closest relatives. This limited intended audience determined, as it were, the unpublished, manuscript existence of their accounts in advance. The ones analysed in this article were also not published during the authors' lifetime. The diaries of the Italian journeys of Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska and Katarzyna née Sosnowski Platerowa were not published in print until the 21<sup>st</sup> century, while the notes of Anna Paulina née Sapieha Jabłonowska are still in manuscripts.

The fact that all three travellers had in common is that they had received a thorough education during their childhood and youth, including through self-education, and were passionate individuals who openly expressed their opinions on a variety of subjects. Moreover, the three accounts analysed here were written over a period of sixteen years (1769–1785), making the authors we have chosen a fairly homogeneous group, but at the same time diverse in terms of age, life experiences and travel motivations.

Anna Paulina née Sapieha Jabłonowska, was the daughter of Karolina Teresa Radziwiłł and Kazimierz Karol Sapieha, general of the Lithuanian artillery. In 1750, she was married to Jan Kajetan Jabłonowski, starosta of Chehryn and then voivode of Braclaw. The newlyweds soon left for a honeymoon in Europe, from which they did not return until 1755. She devoted her time not only to leisure and socialising but also to studying and deepening her economic and management interests, which went hand in hand with her love of nature. These bore fruit in the form of collections that Jabłonowska gathered over the years in Siemiatycze. It is most likely that she brought the first specimens to her natural history cabinet from her honeymoon, during which she became acquainted with the naturalist collections fashionable in Enlightenment Europe<sup>13</sup>.

12 Magdalena Partyka, *Przemiany podmiotu mówego w oświeceniowym dzienniku podróży (1764–1795)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UKSW, 2021), 210.

13 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

Jabłonowska travelled abroad again in October 1769, shortly after she withdrew from active work in the Bar Confederation. She did not return to her homeland until two years later, in October 1771. Many details of her European travels are provided by letters which she wrote quite systematically to her cordial friend Anna née Trembiński Szeptycka, chatelaine of Przemyśl. They are stored in the V. Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine, in the Jabłonowskis of Bursztyn Archive<sup>14</sup>. It is worth noting that Jabłonowska confided in a friend about keeping a diary shortly after leaving the country. Specifically for her, she had the parts already written, copied, and sent to Poland. In a letter dated October 22, 1769, Jabłonowska communicated to Szeptycka: «You have, my dear friend, a diary of my journey, I will send you from every place similar»<sup>15</sup>. The fate of the diary copy, like the original, is unfortunately unknown. We should add that Jabłonowska passed through the Veneto region twice. The first time on her way to Rome in 1769, and the second time in 1770, going from Rome to Venice for the Ascension celebrations, and from there on to Paris.

Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska was the daughter of Franciszka Urszula née Wiśniowiecki and Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł ‘Rybeńka’, Grand Hetman of Lithuania and voivode of Vilnius. Little is known about her childhood. It is likely that the main content of her education was religious and moral upbringing, learning good manners, dance, music, drawing, foreign languages, and perhaps also history, geography, and mathematics. Even in her youth, she was an energetic and determined person. She enjoyed hunting, horse riding, and she was excellent with firearms. In 1764, she married Ignacy Feliks Morawski, an officer in the Radziwiłł court militia.

Morawska travelled abroad in 1773 to see her brothers in exile - Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł ‘Panie Kochanku’, voivode of Vilnius, and Maciej Radziwiłł, castellan of Vilnius. This was the primary, though not the only, reason for her journey. She was also strongly motivated to leave the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by a desire to get to know different countries. We should add that before reaching Italy, she visited Germany, Switzerland and France. Morawska left a *Diary of a European Journey in 1773-1774*, which is kept in the Library of Vilnius University and runs to 183 pages. It was published in 2002<sup>16</sup>. Morawska wrote down her impressions of her travels regularly, supplementing her notes - perhaps on her return home - with the most general information taken from guidebooks and geographical compendia. Her notes in many places have the character of a diary. She visited the Veneto twice. The first time was in February 1774, together with a large retinue of her brother Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł’s “Panie Kochanku”. She soon set off for Rome. She returned to Venice in May. On 18 June, in turn, she travelled to Padua, from where she reached Vienna via Verona and then Trento and Innsbruck.

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Stasiewicz (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Littera, 2008), 315-18.

14 LNNBU, fond 145, part II, n. 21, *Listy A. Szeptyckiej pisane do nieustalonych osób podczas pobytu za granicą (1769-1772)*.

15 LNNBU, fond 145, part II, n. 21, *Listy*, 5v.

16 Teofila Konstancja z Radziwiłłów Morawska, *Diariusz podróży europejskiej 1773-1774*, ed. Bogdan Rok (Wrocław: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002).

Katarzyna née Sosnowski Platerowa, daughter of Tekla Despot-Zenowicz and Jozef Sosnowski, Field Hetman of Lithuania and later voivode of Polotsk, was an accomplished traveller. Her parents ensured that she received a careful education<sup>17</sup>. This included religious and moral upbringing, learning foreign languages (especially French), as well as history, geography, mathematics and drawing, music and dance. Together with her sister Ludwika, Catherine translated the work of the Swiss agronomist Hans Kaspar Hirzel into Polish. This translation appeared in print in Warsaw in 1770 with an introductory word by Professor Ignacy Nagurczewski, poet, translator of ancient works, literary historian and lecturer at the Corps of Cadets, who spoke highly of the language of the translation. The publication brought the sisters the fame of savants. In the same year that the book appeared in print, Katarzyna Sosnowska married Józef Wincenty Plater [1745-1806], a Lithuanian field writer and later castellan of Troki.

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Her journey to Italy, undertaken in the summer of 1785, was motivated by her curiosity about the world, fuelled by her reading of travel literature, and even more by the stories of friends and acquaintances who had already travelled around the Apennine Peninsula. The Manuscripts Department of the National Institute Library named after the Ossolińskis in Wrocław holds the second volume of her diary from 1785-1786, which describes her stay in Italy. The booklet consists of 141 pages, 33 of which are unsigned. The fate of volume one is unfortunately unknown. The diary appeared in print in 2013<sup>18</sup>. Platerowa arrived in Venice on 13 September 1785 and spent more than ten days there. They left the Queen of the Adriatic on 24 September, travelling to Padua and from there – via Vicenza, Verona and then Bologna and Loreto – to Rome. The diary breaks off with a description of the journey to Naples. respect.

### DAILY LIFE ON THE MOVE

During the Age of Enlightenment, women from the upper classes never travelled abroad alone, and rarely only in the company of servants. Morawska explicitly wrote that a trip abroad «to a dame alone would seem to be impossible»<sup>19</sup>. As a rule, ladies travelled in a group of several people, consisting of members of closer or more distant family, lady companions, servants, and sometimes additional friends. Aristocratic women, who did not mind the expense, would take a large group of various servants abroad. This was in good taste and a sign of a refined lifestyle. However, it cost dearly. After all, people not only had to be fed and cared for but often paid extra money. A great deal of common sense was shown by our heroines in

17 Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk, “Co ma czynić chrześcijańska panienka? – Wskazówki wychowawcze dla dziewcząt z XVIII stulecia” in *Scientia magnam laetitiam parat. Studia z historii kultury, społeczeństwa i polityki ofiarowane Profesorowi Kazimierzowi Maliszewskiemu*, eds. Adam Kucharski, Agnieszka Laddach and Wojciech Piasek (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, 2020), 233-46.

18 Katarzyna z Sosnowskich Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch. Dziennik z lat 1785–1786*, eds. Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk and Anna Pikor-Półtorak (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2013).

19 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 37-38.

this respect. Morawska wrote in her diary about her travelling company: «We could all fit on one carriage. I didn't want to imitate those abroad who, exhausting their own possessions, enrich other people's countries»<sup>20</sup>. Her inseparable companion on her travels was her sister-in-law Marianna Morawska. Platerowa, in turn, was accompanied by her husband, her thirteen-year-old daughter Cecylia, a certain Dąbrowska – lady companion – and several servants. Jabłonowska also travelled among a small number of people.

The Polish aristocrats travelled through the Veneto region using mostly a network of postal facilities<sup>21</sup>. It is noteworthy that they only hired horses at the post offices and the carriages were their property. On their way from one village to the next, they also encountered the usual inns where they could change draft animals. Ladies were also keen to use inland waterways. The network of canals and regulated rivers provided the fastest and most convenient connection between Venice and Padua, as well as Venice and Bologna. The barge on the Brenna was sailed by both Platerowa and Morawska.

A separate issue is the management of time on the road. It was usually spent contemplating the beauties of the passing landscape, chatting with fellow travellers, playing games and reading. Morawska explicitly admitted: «We entertained ourselves in various ways playing with instruments, books and shooting»<sup>22</sup>. Platerowa, on the other hand, passed the time learning Italian. «Thanks to what I learnt during the trip from my grammar book and dictionary, I managed to sustain conversation better than I could have expected» - she noted in her diary<sup>23</sup>. Speaking Italian was helpful for socialising, making everyday life easier when travelling and shopping.

An important part of the traveller's daily routine was the inn, where meals were eaten, strength regenerated and sleep taken. «This part of the country was more densely populated; we did not encounter any inn in which there were not at least a few people», – wrote Platerowa about the Veneto<sup>24</sup>. During the Age of Enlightenment, wandering through the region along the main routes, one encountered little trouble finding an inn. For Polish aristocrats who travelled through the Veneto in autumn or winter, the biggest problem was the cold prevailing in the inns. Jabłonowska, who travelled in December, lamented to a friend by letter: «It was so cold that I have never experienced anything like it in my life»<sup>25</sup>. Platerowa, in turn, noted in October: «The mornings and evenings are extremely frosty. This is a warning sign that we will not protect ourselves from the cold. However, this does not prevent all the doors and windows in the taverns from being wide open. It is true that during the day the sun heats up a lot. Only then is it pleasant when the doors and windows are open»<sup>26</sup>.

20 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 32.

21 Lech Zimowski, *Geneza i rozwój komunikacji pocztowej na ziemiach polskich* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Komunikacji i Łączności, 1972).

22 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 119.

23 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 61.

24 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 65

25 LNNBU, fond 145, part II, n. 21, *Listy*, 11.

26 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 105.

In large urban centres, inns were located just around the corners, in and around the city centre. Finding a vacant room “on the spot” was usually not a problem. «In Padua we stayed late at night in an inn on the outskirts», wrote Morawska.<sup>27</sup> Platerowa in turn stayed in Padua at the “Under the Golden Eagle” inn, located near the Basilica of St. Anthony<sup>28</sup>, and in Verona at the “Due Torri” inn, located near the famous Juliet balcony, the Piazza Brà and the Roman theatre - Arena di Verona<sup>29</sup>. Once in Venice, the ladies usually chose to rent accommodation just off the Grand Canal, near the Rialto Bridge. Morawska stayed in the inn “Under the Three Kings”, Platerowa in the inn belonging to Dan Pertillo. She met his brother in San Daniele and it was he who recommended the “Al Leon Bianco” inn to her. The flat she rented was very much to her liking. It consisted of an entrance hall, a large guest room, a bedroom, a study and three small rooms. «Each room was equipped with the most necessary furniture», she said with satisfaction<sup>30</sup>. She and her husband were accommodated in the bedroom, Cecylia was placed in the study, Dąbrowska in one of the rooms and servants in the other two. Adjacent to the bedroom was a large balcony, which offered a magnificent view of the Canal Grande. Platerowa liked to spend her free moments on it, watching the barges and gondolas sailing along the canal.

### SOCIAL LIFE

Undoubtedly, the basic and most important element of the travels of Polish aristocrats in Veneto was participation in social life. Nothing illustrates this better than a letter Jabłonowska wrote to a warm friend: «In all the towns, my good friend, to which I arrive, I enter in a similar manner, for they announce here when I arrive and when I leave. In several cities, as soon as I arrived, there was a crowd of people waiting for me. I am obliged to receive visits from the high nobility, who spend every so often evenings called here conversations, and foreign ministers dinners. During daytime I am obliged to devote myself to the ladies who give concerts or some other entertainment around the city. Thus, from eleven in the morning until midnight I have not a moment to myself»<sup>31</sup>. The most popular means of conveying information were newspapers, correspondence, and tickets – a shortened form of letter – which were used to send single messages quickly. The European social elite usually had a constant supply of information from several sources simultaneously. For their own purposes, they also consciously created a network of informants – often enormously extensive, so that no news of social life escaped their attention<sup>32</sup>. Giovanni dall'Oglio, a famous cellist and Polish diplomatic agent in Venice, always

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27 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 133.

28 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 93.

29 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 104.

30 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 70.

31 LNNBU, fond 145, part II, n. 21, *Listy*, 28v-9.

32 Wojciech Jurkiewicz, *Korespondencja elit Polski stanisławowskiej. Analiza wybranych kręgów korespondencyjnych* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane WSP w Bydgoszczy, 1992).

knew well when to expect the arrival of aristocrats from the Vistula<sup>33</sup>. Platerowa met him shortly after her arrival in Venice, receiving detailed information about other aristocrats staying in the city at the time<sup>34</sup>.

The Polish travellers also often socialised in cafés, of which there was no shortage in the region. They were happy to stop in them when taking a break from their journey. Thus Platerowa met Mrs. Breuner, the wife of the Austrian minister in Venice, in a café on the road from Conegliano to Treviso<sup>35</sup>. The acquaintance led to close contacts with Mrs. Krüdener, the wife of the Russian minister in Venice<sup>36</sup>. The Platers often met the Breuner and Krüdener on social grounds. Both ministers also invited them to their country estates. They went to Mira, a village belonging to the Russian minister, on 19 September 1785, and three days later to Marocco, the property of the Austrian minister<sup>37</sup>. Platerowa and Morawska also noted that in Venice itself, the preferred place to socialise was the *casini*, located in St. Mark's Square. Morawska noted that «only those presented find themselves there»<sup>38</sup>. In her diary, Platerowa explained that these were places «where women organise meetings, on the assumption that it is more comfortable than at home. All their friends can come there without any special invitation»<sup>39</sup>. One such place was run by Ms. Breuner. «It consisted of two nicely decorated rooms, although small and low. The view from them over the square was very charming», reported Plater<sup>40</sup>. Sipping coffee, chocolate, or a drink made from water and lemon juice, social news was passed around, people talked about fashion, travel, art, theatre, and music. It was very common to go straight from the *casino* to a concert or theatre performance. Our heroines led a lively social life in Veneto. They moved in the circles of the international aristocracy, among which there were many Poles. Morawska and Platerowa meticulously recorded their meetings with compatriots in their diaries. When Morawska arrived in Venice in February, she found General Nieborski and his wife, Miss Rozalia Wisłocka, who was in the service of Mrs Nieborska, Ensign Jan Czarnomski, Canon of Livonia Jaszewski and Bernard Niegolewski, Abbot of

33 François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1861), 416.

34 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 71-2.

35 She was probably Maria Josefa wife of Karl Borromeus graf von Breuner von Enkevoirth.

36 Beate Barbara Juliane von Krüdener (née von Vietinghoff) wife of Burckhard Alexis Constantin Baron von Krüdener, diplomat, from 1784 ambassador to Venice appointed by Catherine II, writer. Magdalena Dąbrowska, “Beate Barbara Juliane von Krüdener o podróżach i w podróżach po Europie”, *Studia Rossica Gedanensia*, 9 (2022): 40-52.

37 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 66-7.

38 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 125.

39 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 69.

40 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 75.

Jędrzejów<sup>41</sup>. When she visited the city for the second time in May, she met some Poles who had come to Venice especially to see the ceremony of the wedding with the sea. Duke Kazimierz Nestor Sapieha came from Turin, and Michał Przeździecki and Duke Lubomirski from Rome<sup>42</sup>. In turn, Platerowa ran into Duchess Izabella Lubomirska née Czartoryska, in Venice, who was accompanied by, among others, her son-in-law Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Miss Teresa Godlewska – socialite, eight-year-old Henryk Lubomirski – the Duchess’s beloved pupil, who was Platerowa’s nephew, and his tutor, Father Scipione Piattoli<sup>43</sup>. As soon as Catherine learned of the Duchess’s stay in Venice, she immediately paid her a visit. She did so in an unconventional way, by dressing up in the costume worn by Venetian ladies, called a *cendaletto*. It consisted of a huge black veil attached to the hair and a black skirt worn over the clothes. Thus dressed, she entered the Duchess’s flat, speaking in Italian. With no small amount of satisfaction, she noted in her diary: «She complimented me greatly, looking forward to such an acquaintance, asked me to sit down, and apologised for not speaking Italian. I managed to completely fool her»<sup>44</sup>. Lubomirska only recognised Platerowa when she began to speak French and removed the black veil from her hair.

### IMAGE OF CITIES

During the Age of Enlightenment, Venice, Padua, Verona, and Vicenza were at the top of the list of the most visited cities in the Veneto region<sup>45</sup>. The crowds of foreigners flocked, of course, mainly to Venice to admire its unique natural setting, its numerous monuments of art and architecture, and finally to enjoy the city’s unique atmosphere. Its first sight made an impressive impression on the travellers. Morawska noted in her diary: «Driving up to the city our eyes were entertained by the most beautiful sight. Venice – a beautiful and large city, it seems almost floating on the sea»<sup>46</sup>. Platerowa, who arrived in Venice late in the evening, regretted that she could not enjoy the sights. In the pages of her diary she recorded: «From what we could see in the moonlight, on one side, in the distance – we could see mountains, on the other – a multitude of islands, while in the depths was Venice, delightful and vast»<sup>47</sup>.

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41 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 126-27.

42 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 202.

43 Bożenna Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej (1736-1816)* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1976), 52.

44 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 72.

45 Alberto Tenenti, *Venezia e il Veneto nelle pagine dei viaggiatori stranieri (1650–1790)* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1985); Bronisław Biliński, “Viaggiatori polacchi a Venezia nei secoli XVII-XIX” in *Venezia e la Polonia nei secoli dal XVII al XIX*, ed. Luigi Cini (Venezia–Roma: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1968), 341-417.

46 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 119.

47 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 68.

Gondolas were the main means of transport in the city. The ladies used them willingly and often when going for a walk. «I quickly got dressed to go for a ride. The gondolier sailed along the various canals to show us the city», reported Platerowa on 14 September 1785<sup>48</sup>. An unforgettable experience was a cruise along the Canal Grande, where magnificent palaces and majestic churches form a unique architectural complex. The alternative to the gondola was, of course, one's own feet. Several hundred bridges were built over the canals to facilitate walking. According to Morawska, however, walking in the city was hampered by «very narrow streets, between others it is difficult for two people to pass each other»<sup>49</sup>. Among the Venetian bridges, the most admired by the Polish aristocrats was the Rialto Bridge, linking the banks of the Canal Grande. It was the first object Platerowa went to after arriving in the city. In her diary she noted: «It seemed to us that we found ourselves in a great hall with a marble floor. On two sides strongly lit shops. We walked for more than an hour between them until we reached St. Mark's Square. It was huge and in the form of a rectangle»<sup>50</sup>. In Piazza San Marco, to which the Piazzetta leading to the lagoon is adjacent, the political, cultural, and social life of the city was concentrated. All state ceremonies and religious ceremonies took place there. For many centuries, the authorities of the Republic placed emphasis on the architectural design of the square; as a result, it became the ornament not only of Venice but of all Italy. Morawska and Platerowa meticulously described the buildings of the square: St. Mark's Basilica, the Doge's Palace, the Library, the Old and New Procuration, the Clock Tower and the St. Mark's Bell Tower, which was the tallest building in the city. From its top, one could enjoy the magnificent panorama of Venice and, on particularly sunny days, even see the Alps. Both ladies took the trouble to climb the Bell Tower. Among the sites "worthy of admiration", a special place was occupied by the glass manufactory, located on the island of Murano in the Venetian lagoon. The Polish women aristocrats did not fail to sail to the island to observe the process of making various glass objects<sup>51</sup>.

Among the canon of excursion attractions was a visit to the arsenal – the great state shipyard of Venice, where warships and merchant ships had been built since the Middle Ages. The arsenal was the great pride of the Venetians and an object of admiration for visitors. Our heroines were most impressed by the *Bucentaur*, the Venetian dockyard's parade galley used to celebrate the Venetian Republic's ritual marriage to the sea. The ceremony was held annually on Ascension Day. In case of inclement weather, it was postponed from day to day. Jabłonowska, in a letter - written on 26 May 1770 – conveyed the following news to Szeptycka: «I came down here, my good friend, for the Ascension period through curiosity. Thursday's foggy time has postponed the ceremony until tomorrow»<sup>52</sup>. Four years after Jabłonowska,

48 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 71.

49 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 120.

50 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 68-9.

51 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): 317-37.

52 LNNBU, fond 145, part II, n. 21, *Listy*, 26.

the Feast of the Ascension was attended by Morawska, who recorded in her diary: «This is one celebration of the most magnificent Venice. Many foreigners came to this one»<sup>53</sup>. Accompanied by senators, representatives of the Venetian nobility and clergy, and foreign diplomats, the Doge sailed into the open sea in *Bucentaur* and threw a golden ring into the water, thus sealing the Venetian Republic's alliance with the sea. The galleys were accompanied by countless lavishly decorated barges and gondolas. The ceremonies of ritual marriage to the sea initiated a several-day fair in Venice and various games.

Polish women aristocrats visited Padua with great interest. They described the city – once famous for its university, which attracted crowds of students from various European countries<sup>54</sup> – positively, in contrast to the male representatives of the Polish nobility travelling during the Enlightenment<sup>55</sup>. «Padua is a large and rather unattractive city. The people care little for appearances, the place and location are cheerful» wrote Morawska<sup>56</sup>. The Basilica of St. Anthony made a big impression on our heroines. They praised the numerous and rich votive offerings in the chapel with the saint's relics. They were also charmed by the frescoes adorning the shrine, although they could not write anything specific about them. They did, however, note that the basilica contains commemorative plaques and tombstones of Poles who studied in Padua<sup>57</sup>. Morawska was additionally enthralled by the Basilica of St. Justina, which houses the oldest mementoes of Christianity, as well as the relics of St. Justina, the first patron saint of the city, and St. Luke the Evangelist, and St. Matthias the Apostle<sup>58</sup>. Platerowa, in turn, was under the charm of Prato Della Valle. In the pages of her diary she noted: «It was a beautiful plain through which ran a river canal with four nice bridges. On either side of the canal were stone statues of persons of particular merit to the university»<sup>59</sup>. Unfortunately, they wrote nothing about the university itself, which leads us to assume that they did not visit the walls of Padua University.

A must-see for Polish women aristocrats, travelling through the Veneto region, was Vicenza. The city owed its fame to the architectural designs of Andrea Palladio, the Renaissance master who built most of the residences of the local aristocracy. Platerowa was astonished to discover that most of the houses, designed by the

53 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 202

54 Henryk Barycz, *Archiwum Nacji Polskiej w Uniwersytecie Padewskim*, vol. 1: *Metryka Nacji Polskiej w Uniwersytecie Padewskim (1592–1745)* (Wrocław-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1971).

55 Justyna Łukaszewicz, “La Padova di August Fryderyk Moszyński”, *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 12/1 (2021): 127-31; Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, “Le lettere di Tomasz Kajetan Węgierski scritte durante il viaggio del 1779 attraverso il Veneto”, *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 12/2 (2021): 69-85.

56 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 133.

57 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 93; Morawska, *Diariusz*, 134.

58 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 134.

59 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 97.

eminent 16<sup>th</sup> century architect and architectural theorist, had a magnificent façade and a majestic entrance leading to filthy rooms. About the famous Villa Alemrico-Capra, called “La Rotonda”, built near the city to Palladio’s design, she wrote: «The interior was so dirty and unpleasant that we can hardly imagine that the Italians do not have the right taste and feeling to harmonise with their beautiful architecture»<sup>60</sup>. The ladies also spent their stay in Vicenza visiting the Olympic Theatre, the esplanade known as Campo Marzio, as well as the famous shrine of the Virgin Mary known as Madonna del Monte, located on the edge of the city<sup>61</sup>.

The Polish women travellers were very impressed by Verona, charmingly located on the Adige River. The ladies came to the city, made famous by Shakespeare, to visit - as Platerowa expressed it - «the most beautiful places»<sup>62</sup>. These included the Cathedral of Santa Maria Matricolare, the Church of San Giorgio in Badia, the Pellegrini Family Chapel at the Church of San Bernardino, the Borsari Gate, the Piazza Bra, the Giusti Gardens, and, above all, the amphitheatre. Morawska stated in her diary on 22 June 1774: «Verona brings the most foreigners to the amphitheatre»<sup>63</sup>. The work of ancient architecture was appreciated for its size and state of preservation, often being compared to the Roman Colosseum<sup>64</sup>.

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### THE INHABITANTS OF VENETO AND THEIR CUSTOMS

According to the Polish women aristocrats, the inhabitants of the Veneto region were polite, friendly, open, kind and very helpful. They were willing to open the doors of their homes to show the travellers how they lived and, on occasion, treat them to coffee or lunch. While passing through Conegliano, Platerowa became interested in a certain high castle. She wanted to see the panoramic view of the town and the surrounding area from its windows. The owner willingly invited her inside and even provided a telescope through which the Polish woman could see Treviso, Mestre, and even Venice<sup>65</sup>. Platerowa visited many houses during her stay in Veneto. In the pages of her diary she stated: «Large rooms, but all not very comfortable and - as everywhere here - horribly ugly furniture»<sup>66</sup>. According to her, Italians living in the region lacked a sense of taste in their furnishings. «They don’t even suspect that such a sense of taste can exist!» - she wrote ironically<sup>67</sup>. Nor did she have a good opinion of the local aristocrats. After some socialising, she noted in her diary: «The women here are very limited though. Some of them told me about the intrigues of

60 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 96.

61 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 216-18.

62 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 102.

63 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 219.

64 Małgorzata Wrześniak, “Verona dei viaggiatori polacchi (XVII–XIX secolo)”, *Italica Wratislaviensia*, 12/1 (2021): 141-60.

65 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 65.

66 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 84.

67 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 77.

other ladies, as if that could interest me»<sup>68</sup>.

In Veneto, and especially in its capital, the institution of the *cavaliere servente*, also known as the *cicisbeo* – a young man serving a woman with the permission of her husband – attracted the interest of the female travellers from across the Vistula. Of course, this applied only to wealthy women belonging to the higher social strata. This peculiar custom was widely reported in 1785 in the pages of the *Magazyn Warszawski*<sup>69</sup>. The duties of the *cicisbeo*, who was often a priest or religious<sup>70</sup>, included assisting the lady in waking up in the morning, giving her chocolate in bed, preparing her slippers, and often helping her get dressed. When she left the house, he had to keep her company. «It would be an unacceptable transgression of common custom if her own husband led her by the hand. Everywhere, therefore, in companies, in church, at the theatre, at balls, she has her *cicisbeo* by her side, as if he were chained to her», I read in *Magazyn Warszawski* [...] <sup>71</sup>. According to Platerowa, these were generally men who were quite sullen<sup>72</sup>.

Travelling through the Veneto, Polish aristocrats were surprised by the culinary customs there. Morawska complained that «Italian dishes were uncommonly very unpleasant»<sup>73</sup>. A peculiarity of Old Polish cuisine was the sharp, sour and salty taste of food. Large quantities of vinegar, horseradish, salt, garlic, onions and various spices were therefore commonly consumed. There was also a taste for spicy pickles – pickled cucumbers, cabbage, beetroot, as well as flour dishes – bread, kluski, łazanki, and pierogi. A lot of dairy products and various groats were also consumed, as well as very large amounts of meat. As a rule, fatty and hearty meals were considered good food<sup>74</sup>. Italian cuisine, on the other hand, was dominated by light dishes, today we would say dietetic. Dishes were mainly based on fish, seafood, poultry, cheese, pasta and vegetables, subtly seasoned with fresh herbs and oil. There were also thick soups. Fruit was a constant feature of the table: grapes, peaches, oranges, lemons, figs. Not surprisingly, the first days on the Mediterranean diet were the most difficult for our heroines<sup>75</sup>. Platerowa wrote disapprovingly about the dinners served in the inns of the Veneto: «They serve rice or pasta in the soup, making it so thick that

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68 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 78.

69 “Magazyn Warszawski, pięknych nauk, kunsztów i różnych wiadomości dawnych, i nowych, dla zabawy, i pożytku osób obiej płci, wszelkiego stanu, i smaku” (1785), 83.

70 Kazimierz Chłędowski, *Rokoko we Włoszech* (Warszawa: PIW 1959), 57.

71 “Warsaw Magazine”, 83.

72 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 77.

73 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 126.

74 Zbigniew Kuchowicz, *Człowiek polskiego baroku* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1992), 22-39; Maria Bogucka, *Między obyczajem a prawem. Kultura Sarmatyzmu w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Nerito, 2013), 179-93.

75 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, “Kuchnia włoska w relacjach polskich podróżników XVIII wieku”, in *Życie codzienne na dawnych ziemiach pruskich. Dziedzictwo kulinarne*, ed. Stanisław Achremczyk (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Miejski Ośrodek Kultury w Olsztynie, 2007) 68-76.

there is hardly any broth in it. The second course is usually veal or chicken, coming from the soup and served separately. Polenta is a typical dish in Venice, made from corn. It is not something special for me»<sup>76</sup>. According to her, 'sea spiders', i.e. boiled crabs watered with oil and lemon juice, were unpalatable, and snails were cooked so 'bizarrely' that they were not fit to eat. Polish aristocrats also complained about the quality of bread. Jabłonowska wrote in a letter to a friend: «Bread's terrible, hard as stone», «bread such that it and the hungriest cannot eat it»<sup>77</sup>. As a rule, ladies opted to buy from German bakeries. Platerowa noted in her diary: «Fortunately, we were able to find a German bakery in Venice which had a slightly better reputation - but to us the bread coming from it seemed completely average anyway»<sup>78</sup>. The Polish women were also surprised by the custom of drinking coffee without milk and lemonade straight from the bottle.

### SUMMARY

An analysis of surviving source documents relating to voyages in the Veneto region during the Age of Enlightenment, coming directly from three Polish women aristocrats, allows us to conclude that they were excellent observers. The ladies formed independent judgements, did not use a purely reporting form, and did not blindly rely on the opinions contained in guidebooks. Their notes contain individual accounts, reflecting personal interests and views. There are no dry descriptions of works of art and architecture, enumerations of inscriptions, gravestones or specimens collected in natural history cabinets. Instead, in the pages of their accounts one can find very interesting, often in the form of anecdotes, descriptions of everyday life on the journey, social life, customs and mentality of the inhabitants of the Veneto region, their entertainments, their homes, or their cuisine.

It is also worth noting that the Polish women took advantage of their stay in Venice, Padua, Vicenza or Verona to seek acquisitions for their home collections. Indeed, the 18th century saw the intensive development of collecting throughout Europe. The passion for collecting can be seen in many Polish travellers, who wrote explicitly in the pages of their accounts about collecting various souvenirs from the areas they passed through. Our heroines did not fail to mention it either. Jabłonowska was interested in natural specimens, Platerowa in Venetian coins, and Morawska in "various peculiarities". Jabłonowska and Morawska created natural history cabinets in their estates. They bought exhibits for it, received them as gifts, and often collected them with their own hands. During her stay in Venice in March 1774, after an excursion to the Lido, Morawska noted in her diary: «On the seashores we found various beautiful shells peculiar in color. These greatly enlarged my natural history collection, which I had already begun collecting in Paris, and before that in Gdańsk. I even tried to buy models of gondolas as well as various Venetian ships»<sup>79</sup>.

76 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 94.

77 LNNBU, fond 145, part II, n. 21, *Listy*, 11r-v.

78 Platerowa, *Moja podróż*, 94.

79 Morawska, *Diariusz*, 133.

## ABBREVIATION

LNNBU: Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine named after V. Stefanyk

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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 family<sup>1</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> 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 century<sup>2</sup>. The journal of Teofila Morawska was published in 2002 whereas the journal of Katarzyna Plater – in 2013<sup>3</sup>. 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 investigated<sup>4</sup>. 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 Lodzianis. 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 home<sup>5</sup>. 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 intentions<sup>6</sup>.

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 Rome<sup>7</sup>. 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.

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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 awareness<sup>8</sup>.

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 practice<sup>9</sup>. 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 clientele<sup>10</sup>. 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 Rome<sup>11</sup>. 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 court<sup>12</sup>.

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

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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 court<sup>13</sup>. 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 Rome<sup>14</sup>. 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 *deser* 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 Valadier<sup>15</sup>.

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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 prints<sup>16</sup>. 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 Białystok<sup>17</sup>. 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.

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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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**SEARCHING FOR HOME AWAY FROM HOME:  
ITALY AND THE FORMER POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN THE TRAVEL WRITING  
OF WALERIA COUNTESS TARNOWSKA AND ANNA COUNTESS POTOCKA, 1800s-1820s**

<http://hdl.handle.net/2067/50468>

**ABSTRACT**

This article explores Italy of the first two decades of the 1800s as described by two countesses from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Anna Potocka [1779–1867] and Waleria Tarnowska [1782–1849]. Its main focus is on the role the origins of these two women, representative for a larger number of Polish-Lithuanian elite female travellers, had on their experience of Italian culture and society, in which they acted as both members and external observers. Places such as Rome or Naples are analysed as spaces of encounter of Polish-Lithuanian society abroad, as well as international elites of the time of the Partitions of the Commonwealth and the Napoleonic Wars. Further stress is put on similarities and differences between the lifestyles, education and social norms of the Polish-Lithuanian women and the foreign societies, which become apparent based on commentaries and comparisons included in the travelogues analysed. The article concludes with a brief overview of some aspects of the afterlife of these two women's journeys, namely networks and connections of importance which they formed while in Italy.

**KEYWORDS:** Travel writing, Women's history, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Transnational connections, art collecting.

«I shall really see it! I will see this Rome which, thanks to the education we receive and the history we are part of, is constantly becoming our common capital of the world [...]», wrote Waleria Countess Tarnowska [1782–1849] as she set out from the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on her 1803-1804 travel through Italy. She continued: «This Rome which first awakened the enthusiasm of my youth, these [...] heroes from ages past – I thank them for teaching me what it means to be magnanimous, love one's own country and live bravely»<sup>1</sup>. The fact that the young traveller was coming from a great distance, having neither previously explored the Apennine Peninsula nor travelled much elsewhere, did not prevent her from fervently expressing her belonging to the cultural inheritance of Italy. When entering the Eternal City, filled with awe and reverence, the countess confessed her indebtedness to its history and artistic creations for the key role they played in her education and the formation of her value system.

1 Waleria Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, trans. Monika Chwałek-Oczkowska (Tarnobrzeg: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Tarnobrzega, 2019), 54. Entry from 03.12.1803, Baceano [Baccano]. All the translations of the source materials from French and Polish into English are by the author of this article.

Anna Countess Potocka [1779–1867], who travelled to the same country two decades later echoed Tarnowska's sentiments: «It is with no surprise that one realises just how many emotions and thoughts can be inspired by Rome and its great relics»<sup>2</sup>. Journeys to Italy undertaken by Polish-Lithuanian women in the initial stages of the Partitions of their homeland by the foreign powers (1772–1775) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) were scarce, yet not lacking altogether<sup>3</sup>. Tarnowska and Potocka were two of several elite female travellers from the former Commonwealth who ventured abroad despite the tumultuous political events taking place across the Continent<sup>4</sup>. With a striking variety of experiences, these journeys can hardly be presented as homogenous, neither following a single pattern, nor simply fulfilling the role of a traditional educational Grand Tour<sup>5</sup>.

- 2 Anna Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, ed. Casimir Stryenski (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1899), 89. Anna Potocka's maiden name was Tyszkiewicz. She was married twice, her second husband's name being Dunin-Wąsowicz. She is at times referred to by different or all of these names by herself, as well as by the scholarship. Here she is referred to as Anna Potocka, as she was bearing this name throughout the period of time (1805–1821) which vastly defined her as an author and a prominent member of international elites of the times. For more on Anna Potocka's life on the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, her travel to France, and political events between years 1794–1820 see her memoir: Anna Potocka, *Wspomnienia naocznej świadka*, ed. Barbara Grochulska (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1965).
- 3 For wider context and more information on the Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Russian Empire, Habsburg Monarchy and Prussia (1772/1793/1795–1918) see: Richard Butterwick, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1733–1795: Light and Flame* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2020); Andrzej Chwalba and Krzysztof Zamorski, eds., *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: History, Memory, Legacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020); Thimoty Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2003); Jerzy Lukowski, *The partitions of Poland: 1772, 1793, 1795* (London: Longman, 1999); William Hagen, "The Partitions of Poland and the Crisis of the Old Regime in Prussia 1772–1806.", *Central European History*, 9/2 (1976).
- 4 For some other examples of Polish-Lithuanian elite female travellers see for instance: "Niepospolita kobieta. Teofila Konstancja z Radziwiłłów Morawska (1738-1807)," 2016, accessed 21<sup>st</sup> January 2020, [[https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/niepospolita\\_kobieta\\_teofila\\_konstancja\\_z\\_radziwillow\\_morawska\\_1738\\_1807.html](https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/niepospolita_kobieta_teofila_konstancja_z_radziwillow_morawska_1738_1807.html)]; Alina Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska: polskość i europejskość* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1998).
- 5 Current scholarship tends to discuss the Grand Tour primarily in the context of the lives of travellers originating from the Western part of Europe. For more on the tradition of the Grand Tour in such context see: Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the grand tour: the British in Italy, c. 1690–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Jeremy Black, *The British abroad: the grand tour in the eighteenth century* (Stroud: History Press, 2011); Id., *Italy and the grand tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Id., *France and the Grand Tour* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

What united the travels of the two countesses were their deeply personal motivations for leaving their homeland and for creating their diaries, which will serve as a starting point for the below analysis, as well as their search for Poland-Lithuania abroad. Such searches came in various forms: connections with the national diaspora and uncovering Polish souvenirs in places visited, observing similarities and differences between the social and spiritual life in their homeland and Italy, and networking with artists to bring Italy back to the partitioned Poland-Lithuania in the form of freshly formed art collections.

This article will provide an overview of the significance of the Apennine Peninsula as a space of encounter of Poles abroad and of wider European elites in the early 1800s. It will question the degree to which the origins of Polish-Lithuanian female travellers were formative to their experience of Italy. To what extent were the lifestyles of the authors discussed aligned with those of their Italian and other European counterparts? Were they obscuring or rather manifesting their otherness? Were the networks they important in shaping their sense of identity and belonging, and the formation of the concept of Europeaness? To answer these questions, the multifaceted journeys of Waleria Countess Tarnowska and Anna Countess Potocka to Italy will be approached here as a means through which Polish-Lithuanian elite women communicated their integration into Europe and their commitment to the concept of shared cultural inheritance in the politically uncertain times of the Partitions.

### **A CHANGE OF SCENERY THAT “EVENTUALLY BRINGS DISTRACTION”: REASONS FOR DEPARTING ON A JOURNEY**

Waleria Countess Tarnowska and Anna Countess Potocka both belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian class of *magnateria*, distinct from aristocratic circles encountered in other European countries of the time. While both classes of *magnateria* and aristocracy could be defined by factors such as wealth, the amount of landed property owned, and social rank, membership of the *magnateria* was most significantly related to a certain lifestyle and influence of a set family unit on the public life of the country<sup>6</sup>.

These two women, whose family members were high-ranking officials in the former Commonwealth, were broadly educated in knowledge of the Bible, ancient mythology, literature, history, politics, and French. Equipped with this comprehensive intellectual formation, they had potential to play important roles in wider European circles, their own country, families, estates, and local communities. Their personal interests, as well as family and public engagement evolved over time, in part thanks to the experiences gained during their life abroad, and relationships formed there, including as art patrons.

Both countesses departed from home for the same reason: to process grief after losing a child, encouraged by those close to them and concerned for their wellbeing.

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6 Edward Opaliński, “Elity władzy, elity prestiżu czy elity bogactwa?”, in *Honestas & turpitude: magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, eds. Ewa Kupczewska, Marta Łopatecki et al. (Białystok: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 2019), 31-6. In the same book: *Wstęp*, 9 and Andrzej Rachuba, “Magnateria – specyfika litewska”, 63.

Tarnowska lost her first-born son, Kazimierz, in 1803, after which her father suggested she depart on a journey to Italy together with him and her husband. The travel was supposed to play a therapeutic role and help the mother process the past events, as was the activity of creating a travel narrative along the way. The diary, and all the descriptions it contained, was addressed to Tarnowska's daughter, Rozalia, in her first year of life at that time. The illusion of sharing the joys and difficulties of travel with the only remaining child provided a comfort to the countess. Tragically, Rozalia died as well before her parents completed the tour of Italy, at which point the diary changed its tone, and began serving the purpose of addressing this new grief as well.

Potocka defined similar reasons for undertaking a venture abroad on the first pages of her work:

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I have just lost most my beloved child [her daughter, Julia Konstancja]; I was struck by the pain that put my very life in danger, and I was advised to depart for Italy. Whatever grief one might be experiencing, a change eventually brings distraction. One starts by looking without seeing, by listening without hearing, but slowly curiosity and interest, inspired by all the novelty, become dominant<sup>7</sup>.

Both women's motivations to depart for Italy were deeply personal, as was their decision to narrate their accounts, the texts of which often observe that they were not intended for publication.

### SEARCHING FOR POLAND-LITHUANIA IN ITALY: FINDING HOME, OR FEELING EXILED?

While writing their diaries from the perspective of mothers and mourners, as well as women and travellers, both Tarnowska and Potocka were through their work also expressing the point of view of Poles and foreigners. When in Italy, they were particularly attentive to searching for Polish-Lithuanian souvenirs in both the physical form of artefacts, and the symbolic form of sites of consequence to their country. They expressed interest in meeting with the Polish-Lithuanian diaspora abroad and found consolation in discussing the memories and current state of the Commonwealth with foreigners in the Italian salons.

When in Rome, Waleria Tarnowska was deeply moved by a sight of Henry, Cardinal Duke of York [1725–1807], the great-grandson of king Jan III Sobieski, and she voiced her feelings of national pride and interest:

Among the cardinals I have noticed, not without tender emotion, the Duke of York, the last of the Stuarts! He moves with great difficulty. His advanced age and misery move me as he is a son of Sobieski's granddaughter, a Pole<sup>8</sup>.

Similarly, when describing St Peter's Basilica and its necropolis to her daughter Rozalia, the addressee of the travelogue, the countess focused on the grave of Maria

7 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, 1-2.

8 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 69-71. Entry from 25.12.1803, Rome; See more: Herbert M. Vaughan, *The last of the royal Stuarts: Henry Stuart, cardinal duke of York* (London: Methuen, 1906).

Clementina Sobieska [1702–1735], wife of James Francis Edward Stuart [1688–1766]<sup>9</sup>. Tarnowska and her husband's search for Polish traces abroad also manifested itself in their visit to the grave of St. Stanislaus Kostka [1550–1568] and to the seat of Stanisław Poniatowski [1754–1833], the nephew to the last Polish king<sup>10</sup>.

Such instances of the particular focus on elements reminding Countess Tarnowska of her country's ongoing struggles were repeated throughout the journey on multiple occasions. She marked in her diary the day when she met Polish Legions in Italy, calling it a «great event» and «the last sacred memory of our free country, which will however die with us»<sup>11</sup>. This happened again at the very end of the couples' travel, in Milan, when the count recognised among Polish soldiers two men who had been dependents on his estate at Dzików in the previous decade<sup>12</sup>.

Apart from such cherished meetings, reminding the Tarnowski couple of their home country's situation, what was particularly meaningful to the countess was to be able to talk about the ongoing events with those who could understand her. Compatriots encountered on her journey were obvious partners for such conversations: for instance, two Polish priests met in Loreto who shared some wine and fruit with the couple<sup>13</sup>. While in Florence, the spouses' anticipated return to Poland was unexpectedly postponed by their meeting of the Polish prince, Aleksander Sapieha, who was ill at the time. They were not previously acquainted with him, yet as Waleria wrote in her travelogue, «a compatriot abroad and in difficulties becomes a brother»<sup>14</sup>.

Countess Anna Potocka, who references fewer meetings with the Polish-Lithuanian community in Italy, did however lead discussions about her country with foreign elites. In a letter sent to her by Princess Catharina of Württemberg [1783–1835], Napoleon's sister-in-law, which clearly constituted a reply to Potocka within an ongoing correspondence between the two women concerning the fate of the Commonwealth, we read:

How could these lines ever express the pain that my soul felt upon reading your letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of October [...]. Remember [us to] those exiled from Poland, may their intention, or yours, be to come to Italy? I won't say that we desire it deeply, or that it would make us happy, as I hope that you would not even need such reassurance. I hope that you understand that my husband and I share in all your pains [...]<sup>15</sup>.

Tarnowska also found partners for conversation about her country's situation

9 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 71, 129. Entry from 07.04.1804, Rome.

10 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 66, 72. Entries from 15 and 27.12.1803, Rome.

11 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 48. Entry from 24.11.1803, Bolonia.

12 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 231. Entry from 07.06.1804, Milan.

13 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 53. Entry from 29.11.1803, Loreto.

14 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 164. Entry from 03.05.1804, Florence.

15 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, 238–39. Letter dated 31.01.1832, Florence, included in the diary.

among foreigners. On one occasion, Poland became a topic of conversation during a prominent dinner party in Milan. The spouses had met the host of this dinner, Francesco Melzi d'Eril [1753–1816], then vice-president of the Italian Republic, only a day before the event took place on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June 1804, yet it was the Countess Tarnowska who was seated on one hand side of the host, while the wife of the Spanish ambassador was given place on the other side. Already during their first meeting the countess conducted a lively discussion about European politics, especially Napoleon's proceedings, with the vice-president<sup>16</sup>. He clearly found her opinions interesting, as he spent the following evening introducing her to the ladies of Milanese society and even engaging with her in conversation about the future of her own country. The countess quoted this conversation:

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Ah, monsieur – I said – the hope in our hearts died already, but the love of our country and the hatred of our oppressors will never die! [...] It will be inherited by our children! And maybe these children will one day be testimonies to Europe awakening from the apathy, which allowed it to let the country as necessary for Europe's stability as Poland to be ripped apart. – Very necessary indeed – he answered – so necessary, that we should think about regaining it. [...] – But monsieur, Bonaparte turned out to be so indifferent to Poland's destiny!... – Sentimentally, maybe, but politically he cannot be indifferent [-he replied]<sup>17</sup>.

Taking these examples into consideration it becomes apparent that despite finding their place in elite society abroad, Countess Tarnowska and her husband, as well as Countess Potocka, were also actively looking for signs of their homeland and people with whom to share this part of their identity. Throughout their journeys, Italy became a space of encounter for Poles abroad, with the international communities there providing forums for debate about the ongoing political events involving the Commonwealth. The countesses' belonging to Poland-Lithuania, manifested even when away from home, was highly formative to their experiences of Italy and its social circles.

### FORMING COMPARISONS: SOCIAL LIFE IN POLAND-LITHUANIA AND ITALY

Despite her grounding in the wider European culture, Waleria Tarnowska never ceased to identify with her national community. Thus, her experiences abroad often resulted in interesting comparisons between the realities of Poland-Lithuania and Italy. The acute awareness of the situation her country was undergoing during the Partitions was always present in her mind, causing the countess' particular engagement with the notion of freedom. Upon crossing the border of the former Polish-Lithuanian lands and the Habsburg Monarchy, the countess stated:

[...] in this place we left behind, not without pain, our beloved homeland. Until now, every person encountered was our brother, compatriot, formerly a dignified citizen, now a miserable companion in slavery. We are now entering the strangers' land – no, worse, the enemy's land<sup>18</sup>.

16 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 221. Entry from 05.06.1804, Milan.

17 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 229. Entry from 06.06.1804, Milan.

18 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 22-23. Entry from 11.10.1803, Cieszyn.

Subsequently, when entering Italy, Tarnowska exclaimed:

For the first time since the misfortunes of the Partitions, we find ourselves out of the country occupied by the three dreadful powers [the Russian Empire, Habsburg Monarchy, and Prussia] [...]. Here everything is marked by freedom! [...] This great word has always moved people, which has been expressed in a myriad of ways. If the French Revolution has not cheapened it, then nothing will<sup>19</sup>.

In the same spirit, while in Venice, the countess did not fail to discuss the situation of the Venetians then subjected to the Habsburg Monarchy due to the French interference, with which she strongly identified. Despite her considerable interest and support for some of the ideals represented by the French Revolution – something unusual for a member of her social class which might be explained by the situation her country found itself in) – Tarnowska could not hide her contempt towards the French for facilitating the change in the status of the Venetian Republic<sup>20</sup>.

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When observing artistic and scientific achievements witnessed throughout Italy, the countess never failed to highlight the benefactory impact of freedom on the country's development. Upon their visit to Reggio the Tarnowski spouses discovered, to their surprise, a publicly open natural history museum created there by the citizens themselves. They were informed that the people had bought the collection after the death of the original owner, referred to as Spallanzani, a fact which delighted Tarnowska, who exclaimed in her diary: «Oh Liberty, this is your doing! A man can do so much, or at least can do whatever his forces would allow him, when he works for his happiness»<sup>21</sup>.

Rome and Naples were the two cities in which Tarnowska spent most time during her journey and, consequently, in which she had a chance to get most involved in the local social circles<sup>22</sup>. Having arrived in Rome on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1803, the countess and her husband spent Christmas there before leaving for Naples on the 28<sup>th</sup> of December. They subsequently passed the carnival season in Naples and came back to Rome on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1804, just in time for Easter. This final stay lasted until the 15<sup>th</sup> of April. While visiting these two metropolises, the countess paid particular attention to three main aspects of society: the approach towards foreigners, the education and situation of women, and the way of spending free time and celebrating social occasions.

According to Potocka, the elite circles encountered in Italy «consisted mostly of foreigners»<sup>23</sup>. Ways of welcoming the newcomers seemed to differ in Rome and Naples, despite the short distance between the two. Tarnowska's first impression of the Eternal City was concluded by her comment that: «I have learnt to love

19 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 46. Entry from 20.11.1803, Verona.

20 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 36. Entry from 06.11.1803, Castel Franco.

21 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 186. Entry from 19.05.1804, Reggio.

22 For more on Roman Enlightened salons see: Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassing Roworth and Catherine M. Sama, *Italy's eighteenth century: gender and culture in the age of the grand tour* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 59-78.

23 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826-1827)*, 119.

Rome greatly. I feel so well here. It is the first city in which a stay turned out to be truly pleasant»<sup>24</sup>. Because of the December stay in the city being rather short, Tarnowska only got truly involved with the local elites when back from Naples after the Carnival. It was then that she admitted finally understanding Roman society and finding it more sophisticated than in Naples, although in fact «having less of the kind attention for foreigners»<sup>25</sup>.

Naples impressed the countess with its openness and consideration for the outsiders. She highlighted this fact «honestly and with gratefulness» and confessed that in this respect Naples was like no other country.

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One letter of recommendation is enough [here] to see everything that is worth seeing. They hosted us beautifully, presented to everyone, invited to opera boxes, evenings, concerts, balls – and all that with such kindness, such amount of good will, such a friendly manner. If it were true that more education and common sense would decrease such charming kindness in these people, I wouldn't wish that on them<sup>26</sup>.

This last remark, moderating slightly the positive judgment of the Neapolitans presented in the diary, was another aspect of the social life to which Waleria Tarnowska would pay particular attention. Their alleged ignorance, and lack of conversancy and education, struck both Polish-Lithuanian countesses. Anna Potocka, echoing Tarnowska, added:

It is certain that the educational institutions established and supervised by Queen Murat [Caroline Bonaparte] now developed intelligence of these charming, yet ignorant, Italians. But it is unlikely that their morality gained as much as did their presumed education<sup>27</sup>.

Following these initial observations of the state of education, based vastly on comparisons, Tarnowska witnessed an amateur play interpreted by the guests at a party on the feast day of the King of Naples. The performance was meant to be about Poland, but the countess found it deeply inaccurate, especially the costumes. However, what drew her attention was the eight-year-old daughter of the hostess, who to Tarnowska seemed to be the only person playing her role well. With great sadness, the Pole confessed in her writings:

[...] what a great shame that she is being brought up in Naples, where the education of women is so neglected. They can hardly speak French and everything they know about the world is so limited... It is nothing however in comparison to men! They seem completely worthless here, they can hardly formulate a sensible

24 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 72. Entry from 27.12.1803, Rome.

25 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 108. Entry from 15.03.1804, Rome.

26 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 79. Entry from 13.01.1804, Naples.

27 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, 120. See also: Maria Teresa Caracciolo, et al., eds., *Caroline, soeur de Napoléon: Reine des arts* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2017).

sentence, and when they do, one can instantly see that their gallantry is inexistent. I doubt they even know this word<sup>28</sup>.

Such a poignant comment from Tarnowska suggests that, in her social circles in Poland-Lithuania and elsewhere, she was used to greater brightness and refinement of character among men, as well as women receiving a more comprehensive education, their aptitude in French being more common. Similarly, the countess had strong opinions about the education of children abroad, commenting boldly on the education of the five-year-old Charles II [1799–1883], Duke of Parma, Lucca and Piacenza: «His education was entrusted to the wrong people. This does not forecast anything good»<sup>29</sup>.

The Countess' ideal of feminine and masculine education was expressed in her laudatory description of Giovanni Fabbroni [1752–1822], a founder of the Natural History Museum in Florence, and his wife. Upon meeting them, Tarnowska noted:

Him – [...] an outstanding writer, Enlightened connoisseur of the fine arts, and in all that so unaffected and natural. [...] [Her –] well-educated, far from being pedantic, but just as far from being ignorant. She is everything that a companion to a great man should be<sup>30</sup>.

When observing the marital arrangements abroad, the countess tended to compare them with her own union, very equal in nature, and to draw saddening conclusions. Upon meeting a certain Henrietta Dionigi on the last day of her stay in Rome, Tarnowska expressed her compassion for the woman: «Living in Italy, a creature with such intelligence and such a beautiful soul will not find one man who would be worthy of her – so how could one hope she would ever be happy?»<sup>31</sup>.

Similar impressions of a Carnival gathering of 1827, which comprised of harsh judgement and comparisons to the reality known in her homeland, were expressed by Anna Countess Potocka in her description of a Roman ball:

The majority of the party comprised of Dianas, Spanish [costumes], peasants and vestals. I confess that I was stunned to not have seen more taste and novelty in a place that unites so many nationalities. My national pride could not resist a feeling of vanity when I recalled how many of such balls I have experienced in Warsaw, and all superior to this one<sup>32</sup>.

These remarks made by the second countess were also accompanied by a criticism of the state of education among international elites encountered in Roman salons and summed up in the words: «I encountered more people of deep spirituality on

28 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 79-81. Entry from 13.01.1804, Naples.

29 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 179. Entry from 11.05.1804, Florence.

30 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 164. Entry from 01.05.1804, Florence.

31 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 142. Entry from 14.04.1804, Rome.

32 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, 110.

[Via del] Corso, among the crowds, than in the salons of Rome»<sup>33</sup>.

Likewise, when reflecting on the ways the Italian society entertained itself, Waleria Tarnowska remained unimpressed. During the Carnival spent in Naples, one of the first remarks of the young and inexperienced aristocrat from Poland-Lithuania was: «Italian evenings are boring. Everyone sits in a circle and talks only with their neighbour. As a drink they would serve a cold water or a lemonade [...]. I was truly amused by such a cheap way of receiving guests»<sup>34</sup>. This comment indicates that the countess, despite leading a fairly quiet life herself when on her own estate, was not used to such limited or inexpensive celebrations. Naples did not leave a favourable impression on Countess Potocka either, as she stated: «The art of conversation is unknown in Naples; its aristocratic society is very inapproachable [for the non-aristocratic circles], so it is very rare to encounter savants or artists in the salons»<sup>35</sup>. Potocka's writing suggests that she was usually accustomed to more refined circles elsewhere.

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Despite the above judgement of Neapolitan receptions, Tarnowska participated in many of them. By the end of Carnival, she stated:

Parties and balls are following one after another. These are the last days of the Carnival. There is also dancing. I participate in almost everything. When one is already accepted into society, one becomes tangled in all the social obligations... But dances, noise, the busy life of the city – all this is not what I like most<sup>36</sup>.

She was indeed “accepted into society” and, while she provides little detail about this process, she does describe how she remained unintimidated during her introduction to the Queen of Naples. The Queen noticed her at the party organised by the Spanish ambassador on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1804 and requested her presentation a few days later. «And so, I was given an honour and a trouble to be presented at the royal court», complained the countess<sup>37</sup>. When describing the ceremony itself, Tarnowska did not renounce her irony and confessed:

All this pathetic etiquette, and the importance people think it has, constitutes more of a hassle than a valuable encounter. A couple of generic questions asked one after another, with almost no time for providing an answer – this was the presentation, at least at this court<sup>38</sup>.

Subsequently, Tarnowska was invited to the palace of Portici, which was supposed to be a particular honour. She commented on this event: «And let me say here that it was more of an honour than of a pleasure. The dancing hall so mediocre [...] and

33 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, 111-12.

34 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 79. Entry from 11.01.1804, Naples.

35 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826-1827)*, 120.

36 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 92. Entry from 12.02.1804, Naples.

37 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 89. Entry from 31.01.1804, Naples.

38 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 91. Entry from 02.02.1804, Naples.

the ball not too joyous»<sup>39</sup>. Countess Potocka echoed this scepticism about Italy in concluding some of her own thoughts: «The more I experience Roman society, the more I discover how it is filled with the vanity observed in parochial villages»<sup>40</sup>.

When leaving Naples for Rome, Tarnowska declared that her and her husband had seen everything the city had to offer, enjoyed the «good Neapolitan nobility» and not so much the «lazy, insolent and cowardly» peasantry. Nevertheless, there were people whom the countess had begun to call “new friends” and whom she kept missing, among others the Marquise de Saint-Agathe and the Duchess of Piedimonte.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, when Countess Potocka was returning to Rome, about which she voiced multiple unfavourable judgements, she was at times sharing: «I am seeing Rome again, with the feeling one has when one sees one’s dear friend after time of separation»<sup>42</sup>.

During their first stay at Rome in December, the Tarnowski couple attended religious events throughout the periods of Advent and Christmas. The countess was deeply disappointed by her spiritual experience in the Eternal City. She commented on the Christmas Mass at Santa Maria Maggiore that it was «more of a performance than an act of worship of God» filled with «a lot of splendour, sadly more human than Godly». «Even the chants were too unnatural, too tiring, and they did not seem to serve the purpose of Adoration», she concluded with dissatisfaction<sup>43</sup>. Subsequently, Countess Tarnowska also described the Easter season in Rome as a «public performance» and as «the least pious one in her life», while Countess Potocka likewise referred to the “theatricality” of similar events<sup>44</sup>.

Anna Potocka’s impressions of broader spiritual life in Italy’s international circles were similar to Tarnowska’s. Her scorn was aimed particularly at the British society abroad, which she seemed to detest. When attending Mass in St Peter’s Basilica, the countess noted:

The Ancients were right to prohibit blasphemers from entering their temples. In Rome, the English transform our churches into places of social encounters, where they come to laugh, chat and observe. [...]people speak, and the Basilica becomes one of the salons<sup>45</sup>.

Waleria Tarnowska’s second impression of Rome, which followed the Neapolitan Carnival, was more abounding in the social occasions. The countess, as mentioned above, found Roman society more sophisticated, yet she concluded that the receptions themselves consisted mainly of talking and gambling and would start

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39 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 91. Entry from 07.02.1804, Naples.

40 Potocka, *Voyage d’Italie (1826–1827)*, 88.

41 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 97–98. Entries from 27.02 and 01.03.1804, Naples.

42 Potocka, *Voyage d’Italie (1826–1827)*, 144.

43 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 69. Entry from 25.12.1803, Rome.

44 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 119. Entry from 01.04.1804, Rome; Potocka, *Voyage d’Italie (1826–1827)*, 150.

45 Potocka, *Voyage d’Italie (1826–1827)*, 55.

and end too late<sup>46</sup>. During such events, Tarnowska attracted most interesting partners for conversation. On the evening when she met both Cardinal Joseph Fesh [1763–1839] and Pauline Borghese [1780–1825], the uncle and sister of Napoleon, the countess noted down: «Everyone is gambling. I do not like or want to do it. I talk then if I am fortunate enough to find a partner for a conversation». The topic of her conversation with the Cardinal that evening was art. What she talked about with Pauline is unknown, yet the countess noted down in her diary: «I know her only a little, but I trust in her kindness and reason [...]»<sup>47</sup>. She must have become further acquainted with Pauline Borghese following that evening, for when leaving Rome for good it was the Borghese family that Tarnowska visited on her last day, and departed «overwhelmed with their cordiality»<sup>48</sup>.

The lifestyle of the Polish-Lithuanian elites seems to have aligned with that of their European counterparts closely enough that the travellers were widely accepted into the social circles of Italy. Yet, both countesses were unafraid to form and express judgments of the aspects of Italian lifestyle which they found challenging or unsatisfying. Their private writings cited above helped them to express their integration within the European elites, and at the same time also emphasize their otherness and the social differences observed. The choice of individuals these female travellers connected with was dictated to a certain extent by custom, yet even more so by personal interests and education, as well as norms they were used to in their own country, and for which they were searching elsewhere.

### NETWORKING: BRINGING ITALY BACK TO POLAND

In the foregoing sections, we have considered some of the observation made and connections formed by the two Polish-Lithuanian countesses travelling in Italy, who were representatives of a larger group of elite women from their country. Finally, two brief case studies will showcase how substantial the networks formed throughout such travels were to these individuals and to the subsequent influence of Italy (or Italian culture) on the lands of the former Commonwealth over the decades that followed.

While in Italy, Waleria Countess Tarnowska formed multiple friendships which she maintained on her return to her home country and which had significance for the remainder of her life. One of these, shaped while on her journey, was with Antonio Canova [1757–1822]. The countess, calling Canova the «Phidias of our times», lamented on multiple occasions the master's lack of talented disciple. Her diary also references some of the sites she visited during her stay in Rome as having been recommended to her by the artist, making it clear that he actually influenced her travel itinerary<sup>49</sup>. Tarnowska and Canova remained in contact through correspondence in

46 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 181. Entry from 12.05.1804, Florence. The countess made such a comment about the Roman Society, while comparing it to the Florentine one she found much the same.

47 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 108. Entry from 15.03.1804, Rome.

48 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 142. Entry from 14.04.1804, Rome.

49 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 41, 56, 102. Entries from 14.11.1803, Venice, and 05.12.1803, 06.03.1804, Rome.

the afterlife of her journey. The connection proved crucial to the Tarnowski couple's commissioning and subsequent purchase of one of Canova's distinctive sculptures, and contributed to the further development of their art collection. In May 1804 the countess wrote:

Today I received a letter from Canova. It is to us that he will give his replica of Perseus – [...]this statue will be our true family treasure. This is why we decided on such an expense. Besides that, our friendship with Canova was a/the determining factor. He declined Perseus to mighty sovereigns despite them offering a higher price than us<sup>50</sup>.

The sculpture, today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, was sent to Poland-Lithuania in 1806 and located at Horochów, an estate belonging to the countess' father, , rather than on the Tarnowski spouses' own estate of Dzików, because of its considerable weight which was feared to be too much for Dzików Castle's floors<sup>51</sup>. Waleria Tarnowska exchanged further letters with Canova a year after the arrival of Perseus to her family's estate. These reveal the sculptor communicating to her that he was sending her a plaster version of Medusa's head: he had become concerned that the marble original was too heavy, putting strain on Perseus' arm, and therefore could be replaced with a plaster substitute. The artist then suggested treating the original marble head as a gruesome stand-alone ornament and placing a candle inside it<sup>52</sup>.

Anna Countess Potocka also continued to foster the networks formed during her time in Italy, and these became important for developing further European-wide (Trans-European?) connections. Her long-lasting friendship with Caroline Murat [1782–1839], Napoleon's sister, was proven by a continuous correspondence between the two women. Murat shared in her letters that Potocka's lack of intention to publish her diary had put her at ease in the company of her new Polish-Lithuanian friend. This relationship resulted in Murat arranging for Potocka's daughter's

50 Tarnowska, *Moje podróże*, 165. Entry from 05.05.1804, Florence; Interestingly, Anna Potocka's opinion on the sculptor, formed mere two decades later, was strikingly different, and unusual for her times. In her private writings, which presumably allowed her high degree of ease in sharing her mind, the countess declared: «I am not sure I can explain well why this artist does not seem to me to be deserving of his reputation. [...]I ruled that he is lacking genius, and has only talent. [...] There is something monotonous in his figures [...]: once we have seen one, we have seen all. It does maybe require some courage to challenge generally accepted opinio. [...]». See: Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826-1827)*, 36-37.

51 Sebastiano Ciampi, *Feriae Varsavienses Seu Vindiciae Literariae et Alia : Quae Vacans Ab Academicis Praelectionibus Scribebat Mense Augusto* (Varsaviae: Typis Scholarum Piarum, 1818), 15.

52 Antonio Canova, Correspondence with Countess Tarnowska of Dzików, Letter from 21.02.1807, 1807, MS 63, National Museum of Warsaw. First published in Grottowa in 1957, facsimile reproduced in Kaczmarzyk in 1969, 109-11. As quoted in: ; "European Sculpture and Decorative Arts: Perseus with the Head of Medusa," accessed 29<sup>th</sup> June 2023, [<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/204758>].

marriage proposal<sup>53</sup>. On one occasion Murat, when in conversation with Potocka, wrote: «Our [mine and others'] conversations always end on you. You see, Madam, at my age I am clearly having illusions, as I try to obscure your absence by constantly bringing you back to memory»<sup>54</sup>.

Here, these two women's travels can be perceived as the primary medium through which they communicated their integration into the wider European society, and into the concept of Europeanness, manifesting their belonging to it during the challenging times of the Partitions. These and other significant networks formed during the ventures to Italy reveal the Apennine Peninsula to be the prime space of encounter of these Polish-Lithuanian women not just with their own compatriots, but also with other social and artistic elites from across the Continent, and a place where many lasting connections originated.

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## CONCLUSIONS

The ethnic and geographical origins of Polish-Lithuanian female travel writers, illustrated here by the examples of Waleria Countess Tarnowska and Anna Countess Potocka, were highly significant in shaping their experiences abroad. Italy served as a place of encounter between Polish-Lithuanian and international communities, and the background of these women proved helpful for them to define their sense of place within that context. Both countesses actively participated in the cultural and social life of the cities they visited abroad, while at the same time being perceptive observers of them.

The lifestyle which they were used to in their home country and the expectations with which they entered the salons of Rome and Naples, where they were warmly accepted, to a certain extent already aligned with the lifestyles of Italian and international elites. At the same time, both Tarnowska and Potocka were not without criticism of the social arrangements, entertainments, education and spiritual life they experienced abroad, expressing their judgements without reservation, largely based on comparisons with what they were used to at home.

Balancing the perspective of an insider fully admitted to the foreign salons and that of an outsider voicing criticism in a private travelogue, the experience of travel to Italy helped these women to express in writing their sense of identity and belonging in politically uncertain times. The two countesses' journeys had their afterlife in the intimate networks and lifelong friendships which they both formed, and which turned their travels into a means of Polish-Lithuanian elites deepening their integration into European society as a whole on a cultural and artistic level.

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53 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, 214-17. Letters dated 08.02 and 22.07.1827, Trieste, included in the diary.

54 Potocka, *Voyage d'Italie (1826–1827)*, 217. Letter dated 22.07.1827, Trieste.

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## FIGURES



Fig. 1 - Domenico Del Frate, Portrait of Waleria Tarnowska nee Stroynowska, 1805-1806, National Museum in Kraków. (Public Domain)



Fig. 2 - Josef Grassi, Portrait of Anetka Tyszkiewiczówna, 1796, Royal Castle in Warsaw. (Public Domain)



Fig. 3 - Domenico Marchetti, Pauline Borghese Bonaparte as Venus Victrix, 1816, Rijksmuseum. (Public Domain)



Fig. 4 - Ippolito Caffi, Carnival in Rome, the Feast of Moccoletti, 1852, Private Collection. (Public Domain)



Fig. 5 - François Gérard, Caroline, Queen of Naples and her children, 1809-1810, Musée national du Château de Fontainebleau. (Public Domain)



Fig. 6 - Antonio Canova, Perseus with the Head of Medusa, 1804-1806, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Wikipedia Creative Commons)

## **VARIA SECTION**



## **UKRAINIANS IN CANADA: MIGRATION AND HISTORY**

### **ABSTRACT**

Two books published in Canada reflect on the experience of Ukrainian immigrants in this nation and on their European roots. The analysis of these two books must, however, be accompanied by the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Canadian experience, which started at the end of the nineteenth century and is marked by several waves of migration. In the end, the reconstruction of these events and the discussion of the two books allow us to outline an overall picture of the “Ukrainianness” that developed on the other side of the ocean.

**KEYWORDS:** Ukraine, Canada, Migration, Ukrainians in Canada, Ukrainian-Canadian historiography.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

When I started to work on this review, I just wanted to highlight the contents of two volumes on the history of Ukraine and its migrations published by McGill-Queen’s University Press<sup>1</sup>. After a while, I had to transform what I have thought as a short review into a long one, because to review these books, I had to explain different aspects of Ukrainian history and historiography between the Old and the New world. The Ukrainian migration flows have involved Canada much more than other countries and have pushed Canadian publishing houses to print many books on Ukraine and its diaspora since the 1950s. To understand this robust production and how the two books fit into it, I had to retrace that migrations overseas and to evaluate their impact on Canada, which is still perceptible today<sup>2</sup>.

The 2021 Canadian census registers 1,258,635 people of Ukrainian birth or ancestry, while the total Canadian residents are 38.25 million (Canada is the second largest nation in the world by surface area, but it is underpopulated). In the 2016 census they were almost 1,359,000 and represented 4% of the total population. As a result, we can state that Ukrainians Canadians rank eleventh among the largest native and immigrant groups in the Confederacy. Moreover, their number places them in third place among the Ukrainian communities around the world, after those of the Homeland and of Russia.

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1 Zenon E. Kohut, Volodymyr Sklokin, Frank E. Sysyn and Larysa Bilous, eds., *Eighteenth-century Ukraine. New Perspectives on Social, Cultural, and Intellectual History* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2023); Natalie Kononenko, *Ukrainian Ritual on the Prairies: Growing a Ukrainian Canadian Identity* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2023).

2 A part of this production is registered in and can be downloaded from [<https://diasporiana.org.ua/>].

In Ukraine, 43.79 million inhabitants are registered in 2021, of which 27% belong to various minorities. However, on the eve of the 2022 invasion, this figure drops to 41.5 million, because of emigration and natural decrease. Furthermore, the 2021 data includes the approximately 4.5 million inhabitants of the two republics of Donetsk and Luhansk, later self-proclaimed independent, and the approximately two million inhabitants of the then still Ukrainian territory of Donbass. Therefore, current inhabitants of Ukraine are much fewer<sup>3</sup>. In 2015, Russia declared 5,864,000 citizens of Ukrainian origin, to which we can tot up another 2.8 million deported or fled from the war in Donbass (2014-2022) and several hundred thousand fugitives from the conflict now underway. Depending on how the latter ends, demographic estimates may vary further. Moreover, future choices by the refugees may influence the demographic evolution. In the last two years, millions of Ukrainians have taken refuge in Poland, so this nation is now hosting one of the most important Ukrainian communities<sup>4</sup>. Canada, however, is also receiving Ukrainian refugees and is not trying to get rid of them, as Poland is doing<sup>5</sup>. Thus, Canada could maintain in the future its rank among the largest Ukrainian communities around the world.

### UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION IN CANADA

In Canada, Ukrainian settlement occurred in waves. Each of them took place in a particular historical moment, therefore has different sociopolitical characteristics, a specific geographical origin, and a specific geographical direction<sup>6</sup>. The first “Ukrainian” wave (at the time of departure, a Nation-state did not correspond to this designation) arrived in the last decade of the nineteenth century. At this time the enormous area currently divided among the provinces of Manitoba (established in 1870), Saskatchewan and Alberta (both elevated to provincial status in 1905) was in constant need of agricultural labour. The territory available was immense and sparsely populated: even today, Manitoba has 1,150,000 inhabitants (2016 census) for an extension of 647,797 km<sup>2</sup>; Saskatchewan 985,386 inhabitants for 651,900 km<sup>2</sup>; Alberta 4,262,635 inhabitants for 661,848 km<sup>2</sup>. Each province has twice the surface area of Italy, but an infinitely smaller population. Alberta, the most populated, has a number of inhabitants lower than the average daily presence in the Italian capital. It

3 Salvatore Strozza and Corrado Bonifazi, “L’esodo dall’Ucraina e il contesto migratorio europeo”, *Neodemos*, 4 marzo 2022, [neodemos.info/2022/03/04/lesodo-dallucraina-e-il-contesto-migratorio-europeo/].

4 Edith Pichler, “Ucraini in Polonia. Guerra, donne, violenza e diritti”, *Neodemos*, 5 luglio 2022, [neodemos.info/2022/07/05/ucraini-in-polonia-guerra-donne-violenza-e-diritti/].

5 See: [data.unhcr.org/en/situations/Ukraine].

6 The Canadian Confederation is divided into ten Provinces and three Territories, each of them can in turn be divided into geographical and/or administrative regions. Some provinces do not have a regional administrative subdivision and are divided into counties, cities, and rural municipalities. Some geographers use therefore the term “region” to indicate a cohesive set of provinces (the Atlantic region, the Prairie region, etc.): Robert Bone, *The Regional Geography of Canada* (Toronto: OUP Canada, 2010).

is therefore easy to imagine how empty the area could have been in the nineteenth century, and we understand why the government of the time allowed the arrival of migrants from any part of Europe, despite the xenophobic tendencies of the local population<sup>7</sup>.

The first Ukrainians settled east of Edmonton, the future capital of Saskatchewan, in 1891-1892. They came from Galicia and Bucovina, two Austro-Hungarian regions that sent migrants over the ocean until the Great War. In total, around 170,000 Austro-Hungarian “Ukrainians” reached the Prairies before the summer of 1914. At the same time, very few arrived from eastern Ukraine (then under the Tsars) and decided to settle into the cities of Central Canada: Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor in Ontario; Montréal in Québec<sup>8</sup>.

Both groups of Ukrainians suffered heavy discrimination during the First World War. Former Habsburg subjects were considered enemies of the British Empire, and 5,000 were interned in war camps established on the Prairies, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec under the War Measures Act of 1914. Others were forced to work for industries involved in the war effort. Despite the end of the conflict (1918) and the Treaty of Versailles (1919), this situation continued until June 1920, involving also the structures of the Catholic Church to which the Galician immigrants adhered<sup>9</sup>.

Even Russian subjects were looked at with suspicion, despite their motherland being an ally of the Triple Entente, because they were considered anarchists or nihilists. Fear about their political orientation grew after the Soviet Revolution and during the Ukrainian-Soviet War of 1918-1921<sup>10</sup>. The fear increased even further in the following years, when Ukrainians from the Prairies moved to the cities, especially in Ontario, and strengthened the local working class and its demands. In the meantime, the two Ukrainian communities, one coming from the Austrian empire and the other from the Russian empire, feel tested and did not know who to offer their loyalty to<sup>11</sup>.

The prolongation of this uncertainty was accompanied by the closure of the borders to new arrivals. In 1923, however, an amendment to the Immigration Act provided

7 Roberto Perin and Harold Troper, “Immigration Policy”, in *Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples*, ed. Paul R. Magocsi (Toronto: UTP, 1999), 700-13; Valeria Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2015* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016).

8 Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belarusian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2007).

9 Athanasius D. McVay, “Render unto Caesar: The Greek-Catholic Church’s Reaction to the Internment of Ukrainians in Canada During the First World War”, *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 56/1-2 (2015): 163-263.

10 Myron Momryk, “The Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Surveillance of the Ukrainian Community in Canada”, *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 28 (2003), 89-112.

11 Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983).

for the entry of Ukrainians from the new and old States to which they had been redistributed. Ukrainians arrived from western Volhynia and Galicia then in Polish hands, from southern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romanian hands, and from Czechoslovakian territories. This flow was numerically smaller than the pre-war one: just 70,000 Ukrainians landed in Canada between 1923 and 1939. These new arrivals were much more diversified from a geographical (as just mentioned) and political point of view than the old ones. The pre-war component continued its left-wing militancy in the countryside and in the city: the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association was founded in 1918, soared in Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta, and in 1921 approached the Canadian Communist Party<sup>12</sup>. The newer immigrants fled from the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Tsarist empires and from the following succession of revolutions, revolts and civil conflicts. Therefore, they had different goals and no revolutionary tendencies. Less than half of this new wave travelled to the Prairies; the others opted for the industries of southern Ontario, for the region around Montreal and the neighbouring Eastern Townships or for the mines and forests of northern Ontario. Furthermore, this time, peasants were not the only migrants, lawyers and teachers landed in Canada to settle in the city and become urban community leaders.

Their leadership pushed the migrants to ask for the independence of their Motherland, primarily from the Soviet Union, but also from Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. At the time, the community was divided between two opposing fronts: the Ukrainian National Federation, founded in 1932, dreamed of an independent Ukrainian republic; the United Hetman Organization, born two years later, dreamed a “Cossack Kingdom”<sup>13</sup>. The tensions between Republicans and Monarchists, and between these two groups and the old immigration were quite important, but the Second World War stopped everything because the entire Ukrainian community was once again looked at with suspicion. The offices of left-wing associations were closed because of the Defence of Canada Regulations (1939), while nationalists, of any tendency, were considered German or Soviet fifth columns<sup>14</sup>.

In the post-war period, particularly from 1945 to 1952, landed a new wave of 30,000

12 Peter Krawchuk, *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada 1907-1918* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1979), and *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Movement in Canada 1907-1991* (Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996); Kassandra Luciuk, “More Dangerous Than Many a Pamphlet or Propaganda Book: The Ukrainian Canadian Left, Theatre, and Propaganda in the 1920s”, *Labour/Le Travail*, 89 (2019): 77-104.

13 The Cossack myth dates to the years following the fall of Napoleon, according to Serhii Plokhyy, *The Cossack Myth: History and Nationhood in the Age of Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), but see *infra*. However, it is strongly attested at the end of the nineteenth century: Frank E. Sysyn, “The Changing Image of the Hetman: On the 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Khmel’nyts’kyi Uprising”, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 46/4 (1998), 531-45.

14 Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: MHSO, 1988); Bohdan Kordan, *Canada and the Ukrainian Question, 1939-1945* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2001).

Ukrainians who fled after the Soviet return. This first contingent was followed by several thousand who had lived for years in refugee camps, mainly in Germany, but also in Italy<sup>15</sup>. This double path marked the entire community culture and originated strongly anti-Soviet feelings<sup>16</sup>. Starting from the late 1980s a controversy raged over the lack of screening of this immigration and the arrival of war criminals among the refugees<sup>17</sup>. The debate about Ukrainian (suspected) war criminals was and is very harsh, also because some Ukrainian organizations in the 1960s and 1970s erected public monuments for war criminals implicated in terrible events. For example, a statue in memory of the collaborationist leader Roman Shukhevych, who committed suicide in 1950 to avoid falling into the hands of the Soviet police, was erected in Edmonton and provoked numerous requests to tear it down<sup>18</sup>. The more or less obvious sympathy for pro-Nazi collaborationism of a number of Ukrainians did not only concern some exponents of the post-war diaspora, but the Motherland itself, where the massacres during the war were forgotten (or, better, obliterated) in the name of the primary need to free Ukraine from Soviet oppression<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, some Ukrainian-Canadian scholars show how Nazi sympathies preceded the war, both in Canada (where many veterans of the Ukrainian-Soviet conflict landed) and in Europe, thus preparing the way to collaborationism and war crimes<sup>20</sup>.

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- 15 Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, “‘This Should Never Be Spoken or Quoted Publicly’: Canada’s Ukrainians and Their Encounter with the DPs”, in *Canada’s Ukrainians: Changing Perspectives, 1891–1991*, eds. Id. and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: UTP, 1991), 103–22; Wsevolod Isajiw, Yury Boshyk and Roman Senkus, eds., *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1992).
- 16 Lubomyr Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (Toronto: UTP, 2000).
- 17 Harold Troper and Morton Weinfeld, *Old Wounds: Jews, Ukrainians and the Hunt for Nazi War Criminals in Canada* (Chapel Hill – London, University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Howard Margolian, *Unauthorized Entry: The Truth about Nazi War Criminals in Canada, 1946–1956* (Toronto: UTP, 2000).
- 18 Moss Robeson, “Canadian Support for Ukrainian Nazi Collaborators Goes Beyond Statues”, 2020, [readthemapple.com/canadian-support-for-ukrainian-nazi-collaborators-goes-beyond-statues/]. The number of Ukrainian-Canadian monuments honoring the collaborationists is such that in the English version of Wikipedia (en.wikipedia.org) there is a specific entry: “Memorials in Canada to Nazis and Nazi Collaborators”.
- 19 Olesya Khromeychuk, “Undetermined” Ukrainians. *Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS “Galicia” Division* (Oxford-Bern, Peter Lang, 2013). Cf. Paweł Markiewicz, *Unlikely Allies: Nazi German and Ukrainian Nationalist Collaboration in the General Government During World War II* (West Lafayette IN: Purdue UP, 2021).
- 20 Orest T. Martynowych, “Sympathy for the Devil: The Attitude of Ukrainian War Veterans in Canada to Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1939”, in *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians. History, Politics, and Identity*, eds. James Mochoruk and Rhonda L. Hinther (Toronto: UTP, 2011), 173–220; Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, *The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives* (Washington:

A few scholars of immigrant origin have attributed every arrest in Canada of real or alleged war criminals to the manoeuvres of the Soviet secret services<sup>21</sup>, while far-right websites often point to a “Jewish-communist conspiracy” against the “Ukrainian patriots”<sup>22</sup>. At the end of the twentieth century, a federal commission of inquiry highlighted how some Ukrainians, who later migrated to Canada, served as volunteers for the Germans and took part in massacres or in the management of concentration camps<sup>23</sup>. Their number, however, was limited according to the commissioners and in the post-war years, when so many refugees arrived overseas, it was impossible to carry out a thorough screening. On the one hand, former collaborationist got lost among tens of thousands of fugitives; on the other, they were not wanted by the Allied authorities, because at the time they were not considered war criminals. Moreover, but the commission does not address this topic, in those years investigations were requested only for possible Soviet infiltrations.

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Beyond the reactions of many Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian commentators, who reveal their sympathies for collaboration in defending the immigrant war criminals’ past, it should be noted how much the size of the mid-twentieth century diaspora from Central and Eastern Europe continues to be underestimated. It would not have been possible to investigate an enormous mass of fugitives, who were fleeing from the battlefields, on whatever front they had fought on, or from devastated cities and from very poor refugee facilities<sup>24</sup>. The current lack of clarity on the dimensions of the escape after the war is also evident from the progress of the trials at the end of the twentieth century, often decided in an almost casual way<sup>25</sup>. Furthermore, too many invoke the escape from Ukraine as the only Ukrainian flow

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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013); John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA’s Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, 1941–1944* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2021).

- 21 Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Operation Payback: Soviet Disinformation and Alleged Nazi War Criminals in North America* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2022). The author articulates in this book what he and others have written in the 80s: *On the record: The debate over alleged war criminals in Canada. Letters to the editor of The Whig-Standard* (Toronto: The Justinian Press, 1987).
- 22 See John-Paul Himka, “War Criminality: A Blank Spot in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora”, *Spaces of Identity*, 5/1 (2005): 9-24, which addresses Ukraine’s denial of any responsibility for war crimes.
- 23 *War Criminals: The Deschênes Commission*, revised 16 October 1998, [<http://publications.gc.ca/Pilot/LoPBdP/CIR/873-e.htm>].
- 24 Mark Wyman, *DPS: Europe’s Displaced Persons, 1945–1951* (Utica NY: Cornell UP, 1989), and Silvia Salvatici, *Senza casa e senza paese. Profughi europei nel secondo dopoguerra* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008). For the presence among those refugees of people identified decades later as war criminals: Matteo Sanfilippo, “Los papeles de Hudal como fuente para la historia de la migración de alemanes y nazis después de la Segunda guerra mundial”, *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, 43 (1999): 185-210.
- 25 Patrick Brode, *Casual Slaughters and Accidental Judgments: Canadian War Crimes Prosecutions, 1944–1948* (Toronto: UTP, 1997).

of those years, while one MA thesis rightly recalls the workers deported to Nazi Germany, who at the end of the war asked not to be sent back to the Soviet Union<sup>26</sup>. In short, the reality of the time was much more complicated than how it was later reconstructed.

The harshness of the debate on collaborationism and war crimes makes it clear how anti-Soviet and conservative the community leadership became in the post-war decades, starting from the foundation of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (1949). A few scholars analyse the Ukrainian participation in clashes against the trade unions and the Canadian left<sup>27</sup>. An extreme right-wing militancy was then transplanted to North America, under the protection of the police and of the large industrial conglomerates<sup>28</sup>. Nonetheless, the old Ukrainian Left did not disappear and in the 1960s Ukrainian militants took part in the establishment of the New Democratic Party, the Canadian Labour formation<sup>29</sup>. However, if before the war the Ukrainian Left's had a considerable weight and the majority of the Ukrainian community voted for the Liberal Party, after the war the electoral balance shifted in favour of the Conservative Party, considered more resolutely anti-communist. In this context, membership of the Canadian Communist Party declined rapidly<sup>30</sup>, while many Ukrainians, in the Prairies and in Ontario, joined local centre-right formations and create lobbies to economically support the ancient Motherland and to force the federal government to repay immigrants in Canada for their imprisonment during the world wars<sup>31</sup>.

The evolutions of the Ukrainian-Canadian community in the second half of the

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- 26 Maria Melenchuk, *Ukrainian Ostarbeiters in Canada: Individual and Collective Remembering* (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2012). Cf. Yuri Boshyk, Roman Waschuk and Andriy Wynnyckyj, eds., *Ukraine During World War II: History and Its Aftermath* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1986).
- 27 Kassandra Luciuk, "'They Will Crack Heads When the Communist Line is Expounded': Anti-Communist Violence in Cold War Canada", *Labour/Le Travail*, 90 (2022): 149-178.
- 28 Aidan Jonah, "Long history of Ukrainian-Canadian groups glorifying Nazi collaborators exposed by defacing of Oakville memorial", 2020, [thecanadafilms.com/articles/ukcdnm].
- 29 Rhonda L. Hinthner, "Generation Gap: Canada's Postwar Ukrainian Left", in Mochoruk and Hintler, *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians*, 23-53.
- 30 John Kolasky, ed., *Prophets and Proletarians. Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1990); S. Holyck Hunchuck, "'Of course it was a Communist Hall': A Spatial, Social, and Political History of the Ukrainian Labour Temples in Ottawa, 1912-1965", in Mochoruk and Hintler, *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians*, 403-35.
- 31 Frances Swyripa, "The Politics of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign", in *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, eds. Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin and Angelo Principe (Toronto: UTP, 2000), 355-78. The injustice of imprisonment during the Great War is recognized by the Canadian Parliament on November 25 2005, [https://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-20.8/page-1.html].

twentieth century cannot be explained solely by the dialectic between the descendants of the first three migratory waves. At least two other waves of arrivals occurred after the middle of the century. The first dates to the 70s and the 80s, when there was a new flight from Ukraine motivated by the search for economic opportunities rather than for political freedom. Precisely for this reason, the destinations were Toronto and Montreal, the two largest Canadian cities. The second wave began after 1991, when Ukraine is finally free, but its inhabitants feared the geopolitical and internal insecurity of the new State. So, at the end of the twentieth century, technicians and skilled workers fled from Europe and benefited from Canadian federal programs and the sponsorship of family members already overseas<sup>32</sup>. This latest wave continues into the following decades: around 112,000 new immigrants arrived at the turn of the century, to which another 14,000 are added between 2017 and 2021<sup>33</sup>.

184 Meanwhile, the Ukrainian group responded fervently to the federal multiculturalist policy and benefitted greatly from it<sup>34</sup>. The Liberals in government in 1968-1979, 1980-1984, 1993-2006 and since 2015 are led by three prime ministers born in Quebec (and closely linked: Pierre and Justin Trudeau are father and son, while Jean Chretien was the right-hand man of the first) who try to bend the autonomist tendencies of their province, underlining how Canada was born from the union of several native and immigrant groups, and not from the simple agreement between francophones and anglophones<sup>35</sup>. Ukrainian immigrants, like Italian ones, exploited this conjuncture to obtain funding and recognition. Precisely thanks to this federal help they managed the prompt reception of their immigration last flow, caused by the Russian invasion of 2022<sup>36</sup>. Furthermore, the erection of monuments to Nazi collaborators exploited the opportunities opened by multiculturalism, (re)-

32 For the post-Soviet diaspora: Feng Hou and Xiaoyi Yan, “Immigrants from post-Soviet states: Socioeconomic characteristics and integration outcomes in Canada”, in *Migration from the Newly Independent States 25 Years After the Collapse of the USSR*, eds. Mikhail Denisenko, Salvatore Strozza and Matthew Light (Cham: Springer, 2020), 373-91.

33 See: [<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/history-ethnic-cultural/Pages/ukrainian.aspx>] (2020).

34 Julia Lalande, “The Roots of Multiculturalism – Ukrainian Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the ‘Third Force’”, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 38/1 (2006): 47-64.

35 The literature on Canadian multiculturalism and its historical-political reasons is very large and cannot be summarized here. For multiculturalism role in the strategy of the Ukrainian group, see the reconstruction of a protagonist: Manoly R. Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism: A Ukrainian-Canadian Memoir* (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2005), as well as *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment*, ed. Id. (Edmonton, Published for The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies by The University of Alberta Press, 1978).

36 For support measures up to May 2023: [[canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/ukraine-measures.html](https://canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/ukraine-measures.html)]. For lobbying activity, see the website of *The Ukrainian Canadian Congress*, which brings under its aegis almost all Ukrainian associations at national, provincial and local level: [<https://www.ucc.ca/>]

presenting itself as an expression of the traditional and traditionalist culture of a specific immigrant group<sup>37</sup>.

### THE SETTLEMENT AREA

In our century the number of Ukrainians in Canada is significant, as mentioned at the beginning. Canadian census data also allows us to see how this has been achieved over time. In 1911, there were 75,432 registered Ukrainians, just over 1% of the population. Twenty years later, they were 225,113, over 2.6% of the population. In 1951 there were 395,043 Ukrainian Canadians, more than 2.8% of the national population. In 1971 the absolute numbers grew again (589,660), but in percentage terms Ukrainians fell below 2.7%. In 1991, they were 1,054,295, almost 4% of the Canadian population, the percentage around which their number has fluctuated ever since.

In the meantime, the settlement area expanded, albeit in eastern Canada, where many landed after the war<sup>38</sup>, very few Ukrainians stayed, the same as in Quebec outside the industrial area of Montreal. Ontario is now the first province for Ukrainian presence and has overtaken Alberta<sup>39</sup>. This province is second, followed by British Columbia, which in turn overtook Manitoba and Saskatchewan<sup>40</sup>. In this geographical redistribution the weight of the cities has become more important than that of the countryside, even in the Prairies where Edmonton, Regina and Saskatoon stand out. In these three cities, Ukrainians, or Ukrainian-descendants amount to 10.8%, 12.6% and 16% of the inhabitants respectively.

The concentration in the city has favoured the creation of Ukrainian schools, many of which are Catholic, for example in the Toronto metropolitan area and in the surrounding area. In fact, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has a long history in Canada, but it is not the only religious institution to represent the diaspora in question: at the end of the 19th century, immigrants from Galicia were Catholic and those from Bukovina were Orthodox. Moreover, Catholics of the area now belonging to Ukraine did not always define themselves as Ukrainians, in fact many referred to the Ruthenian Church, while today the parishes and the once Galician ecclesiastical

37 Per A. Rudling, “Long-Distance Nationalism: Ukrainian Monuments and Historical Memory in Multicultural Canada”, in *Public Memory in the Context of Transnational Migration and Displacement. Migrants and Monuments*, ed. Sabine Marschall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 95-126.

38 Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska, *Quai 21: une histoire* (Ottawa: EUO, 2020), 134-35.

39 For historical data, censuses can be traced through [<https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/library/historical>]. For the current situation: Max Stick and Feng Hou, “A sociodemographic profile of Ukrainian-Canadians” (2022), [[www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/36-28-0001/2022004/article/00003-eng.htm](http://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/36-28-0001/2022004/article/00003-eng.htm)]. For the demographic leap during the second half of the twentieth century: Bohdan Kordan, *Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census, 1981-1996* (Saskatoon: Heritage Press, 2000).

40 The Ukrainian weight in today history of the Prairies should not be underestimated: John C. Lehr, *Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians*, 30-52 and James Darlington, *The Ukrainian Impress on the Canadian West*, 53-80, both in Luciuk and Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians*.

structures define themselves as Ukrainian<sup>41</sup>. In this way, they erase the fact that Ruthenians were not only Galicians from Subcarpathia, but came also from other areas of the Habsburg Empire, in particular Slovakia. This is the reason why at the end of the First World War they made different choices from the Ukrainians, opting for Czechoslovakia<sup>42</sup>. Furthermore, the Subcarpathian Ruthenians, often called Carpatho-Russians, were more or less forcibly incorporated into the Ukrainian State, but still claim their own specificity and language<sup>43</sup>.

Before the Great War, the presence of so many Ruthenian faithful led to the formation of a “national” diocese, supported by the Apostolic Delegation (now Nunciature) in Canada<sup>44</sup>. Reports from Vatican officials underline that in the period between the two wars, all the Catholics of the Greek rite belonged to that diocese, of which the Ruthenians were the majority<sup>45</sup>. In particular, the delegate Andrea Cassulo made an apostolic visit to Canadian dioceses and seminaries in 1935. In his reports, he distinguishes between the faithful Ruthenians, whom he recalls in Ontario and the Prairies, and the dangerous communists of the Canadian West, including British Columbia, whose «leaders come from Russia, Poland and neighbouring countries» (*my translation*)<sup>46</sup>. According to the pontifical representative, these communists,

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41 David Motiuk, *Eastern Christians in the New World: An Historical and Canonical Study of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada* (Ottawa: Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, 2005).

42 Paul R. Magocsi, “The Ruthenian Decision to Unite with Czechoslovakia”, *Slavic Review*, 34/2 (1975): 360-81; Matteo Sanfilippo, “I ruteni nelle Americhe: emigrazione and viaggio”, in *Da est ad ovest, da ovest ad est. Viaggiatori per le strade del mondo*, ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2006), 397-429, and Matteo Sanfilippo, *La Santa Sede e l'emigrazione dell'Europa centro-orientale negli Stati Uniti tra Otto and Novecento* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2010).

43 For the European and Canadian context: Paul R. Magocsi, *Our people: Carpatho-Rusyns and their Descendants in North America* (updated edition: Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2005) and *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples* (updated edition: Toronto, UTP, 2010). On the specificity of Carpatho-Russians: Id., “The Fourth Rus’: A New Reality in a New Europe”, *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 35-36 (2010-2011): 167-77.

44 Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Arch. Nunz. Canada 150/1, fasc. 4/1. Cf. Athanasius D. McVay, *God’s Martyr, History’s Witness: Blessed Nykyta Budka the First Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Bishop of Canada* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Edmonton – The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, 2014), and Id., “The Apostolic Delegate and the Ukrainians in Canada”, in *Histoire de la Délégation Apostolique du Saint-Siège au Canada*, ed. Philippe Roy-Lysencourt (Québec: PUL, 2021), 243-58.

45 Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati, Fondo Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, IV Periodo (1922-1939), Inghilterra, 188, fasc. 27, Canada – Ucraini e ruteni 1926.

46 Cassulo’s reports are in Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale, Visita Apostolica, 66 – Canada. Visita apostolica ai Seminari, Collegi and Scuole. The quotation comes from the report on the ecclesiastical province of Vancouver, dated June 25, 1935. The file is not paginated.

to whom the Ukrainians belonged, were particularly strong in the ecclesiastical provinces of Vancouver (British Columbia), Edmonton (Alberta) and St-Boniface (Manitoba). Furthermore, he explicitly recalls the Ukrainian presence in Keewatin and the contemporary communist infiltration<sup>47</sup>. On 3 June he wrote about the Ruthenians in a specific report and pointed out how they were not tempted by communism, but too often switched to the Orthodox Church, because this Church was more ready to help them than the Catholic one.

In the 1950s, a larger facility was built for the Greek rite Catholics of the Prairies and Ontario. On this occasion, the Ukrainian priests asked the Vatican representatives to cancel the definition of "Ruthenian Church", which in their opinion was hateful, but the Holy See did not accept the request. Thus, in 1956, the act of erection of the first ecclesiastical province of the Greek rite, formed by the primatial seat of Winnipeg and the dioceses of Edmonton, Saskatoon and Toronto, expressly defined it as "Ruthenian"<sup>48</sup>. However, the Greek-rite archdiocese of Winnipeg already declared itself officially Ukrainian and subsequently managed to impose its choice and erased the Ruthenian specificity<sup>49</sup>.

Post-war evolution affected socio-religious development. In addition to the progressive cancellation of the Ruthenian component, thanks to the arrival of Ukrainian Catholic refugees<sup>50</sup>, a third Christian group started to grow alongside the Catholics of the Greek rite and the Orthodox. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Baptists have been working among immigrants on the Prairies and in Toronto and from these efforts was born what is today the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention of Canada. In addition to new converts, over time the migrant Mennonites (the followers of the Anabaptist Menno Simons who settled on the northern shore of the Black Sea at the invitation of Catherine II in the 1770s) and the Shtundists (an evangelical Protestant group active in the Russian Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century) were attracted. It should be noted that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Baptist Church proved to be well rooted in Ukraine itself. The religious history of the Motherland is in fact both influenced by and influencing the Canadian one<sup>51</sup>.

## THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Given the various waves of migration and their characteristics, the Ukrainian-Canadian group is strong, but socially, religiously and culturally fractured.

47 From 1905 to 1999, Keewatin was one of the four districts of the Northwest Territories. In 1999, the district returned to the Inuit and was dissolved in the Nunavut.

48 *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXIV (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1957), 262-64.

49 Semen Izyk, *The First Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See of Canada* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg, 1957).

50 Catherine Wanner, "Religion and Refugee Resettlement: Evolving Connections to Ukraine Since WWII", *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 44 (2010): 44-66.

51 Serhii Plokyh and Frank E. Sysyn, *Religion and Nation in Modern Ukraine* (Edmonton-Toronto: CIUS Press, 2003).

However, nationalism, which grew after the Second World War and soared with the birth of a Ukrainian State, pushes the majority of Ukrainian-Canadians to identify themselves as a homogeneous community, anchored to the New World and in particular to Canada, but not forgetting the past. The study of one's own history, as Europeans and North Americans, also contributed to this progressive self-definition. Moreover, this recovery is not only the work of specialists and also characterizes artistic, literary and religious production, as underlined by Janice Kulyk-Keefer, novelist, critic and university professor<sup>52</sup>.

Kulyk-Keefer writes about the children of those who emigrated before and after World War II. She also focuses on Toronto<sup>53</sup>, which for her is a Ukrainian-Canadian capital and allows her to narrate "transnational", or rather "transcontinental" events. In her stories, security in the new land (Canada) is always overshadowed by fear for the old one (Ukraine), because, as she noted at the end of the twentieth century, in the latter things could only get better «if, by some miracle, there isn't a Russian invasion, or civil war, or another Chornobyl»<sup>54</sup>. The negative prediction actually came true and confirmed the author's fears. On the other hand, the whole novel is centered on the fear of invasion and civil war and their dire consequences. Therefore, when we remember the war criminals (and the protagonist's father is one of them), their crimes appear justified or at least explained by the previous Stalinist violence. In short, the birth of Canadian Ukraine is always threatened by the tragedy (current or imminent) of the Motherland and this threat explains the many mistakes of the past, as other Ukrainian-Canadian writers and scholars also point out<sup>55</sup>.

In the (re)construction of Ukrainian existence overseas, history is considered a leading element and indeed has been so in Ukrainian-Canadian reflection since the Second World War. Already at the beginning of the 1950s, immigrant scholars were concerned with outlining the picture of the settlement in the Prairies at the

52 Janice Kulyk-Keefer, *Dark Ghost in the Corner: Imagining Ukrainian-Canadian Identity* (Saskatoon: Heritage Press, 2005).

53 Peter Roman Babiak, "Toronto, Capital of Ukraine: The Ends of Desire and the Beginning of History in Janice Kulyk Keefer's *The Green Library*", *English Studies in Canada*, 29/1-2 (2003): 97-130.

54 Janice Kulyk-Keefer, *The Green Library* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 264.

55 The key element, at the same time triggering the anti-Soviet reaction and the collaborationism and justifying them, is the great famine of the 1930s, attributed to Stalin's will: Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Lisa Grekul, eds., *Holodomor. Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2008); Andrij Makuch and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., *Contextualizing the Holodomor: The Impact of Thirty Years of Ukrainian Famine Studies* (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2015). On the causes and management of the famine, cf. Andrea Graziosi, "Les Famines Soviétiques de 1931-1933 et le Holodomor Ukrainien", *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 46/3 (2005): 453-72, and his introduction to the monographic issue on *The Soviet Famines of 1930-1933 of Nationalities Papers*, 48/ 3 (2020): 435-43.

end of the 19th century<sup>56</sup>. Then the perspective broadens and they tried to define the development, geographical location and demographic density of the various settlements in Canada<sup>57</sup>. The aforementioned Senator Yuzik, professor at the University of Manitoba (1951-1963) and then at the University of Ottawa (1966-1978), played an important role in this process. During his long political and academic career, he published his doctoral thesis on Orthodox Ukrainians<sup>58</sup> and other books about the Ukrainian immigrants between the Prairies and Ontario<sup>59</sup>. In his wake, in recent decades, books on Ukrainian-Canadians have increased exponentially and there is an attempt, still ongoing, to write a broad history of the emigrant community<sup>60</sup>, while more and more attention is also paid to the reality of the ancient Motherland. In this perspective, in the 1980s the five volumes of an *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* were printed and today 50% of their entries are available on the web as the start of an even larger online encyclopedia<sup>61</sup>. In addition to entries on Ukraine, an entire section of the latter is dedicated to the Ukrainian diaspora, with a large core on Canada.

In the research about the Motherland and its diaspora, some study centers and some publishing houses stand out, among the latter the University of Toronto Press, the University of Ottawa Press, McGill-Queen's University Press. Research centers are

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- 56 Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A social history* (Toronto: UTP, 1953); Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian settlements in Canada, 1895–1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's role in the settlement of the Canadian Northwest* ([Toronto]: Published for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation by University of Toronto Press, 1964).
- 57 Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays on the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Id., ed., *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1984); Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *A Delicate and Difficult Question: Documents in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, 1899–1962* (Kingston: Limestone Press, 1986); Lubomyr Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan, *Creating a Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1989). It should be noted that the first book was published under the auspices of the Multiculturalism Directorate, of the Department of the Secretary of State and of the Canadian Government Publishing Centre.
- 58 Paul Yuzik, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church 1918–1951* (Ottawa: EUO, 1981).
- 59 See the already quoted book on the Ukrainians in Manitoba, and: Paul Yuzik, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life* (Toronto: Ukrainian Federation, 1967); Id. and William Darcovich, eds., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1976* (Ottawa: EUO, 1980).
- 60 Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1991), and *Ukrainians in Canada: The Interwar Years, I, Social Structure, Religious Institutions, and Mass Organizations* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2016).
- 61 Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 5 vols., (vols. 1-2) and Danylo Husar Struk (vols. 3-5) (Toronto: UTP, 1984-1993). the online version is still in progress: [<https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/>].

also linked to universities. The Center for Ukrainian Historical Research has been open since 1989 at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Alberta, funded by billionaire Peter Jacyk<sup>62</sup>. This Center promotes translations of Ukrainian authors and new monographs on the evolution of the Ukrainian community at home and in Canada. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies is also active at the University of Toronto, where it deals with literature and with the relationships between Ukrainian nationalism and other identities from the same European area<sup>63</sup>. Furthermore, the Toronto branch manages the magazine *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* and a good part of the projects of the Institute's publishing house, CIUS Press<sup>64</sup>. Other centers are active in the Prairies: the Center for Ukrainian Canadian Studies at the University of Manitoba, the Kule Folklore Center at the University of Alberta, the Prairie Center for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage at the University of Saskatchewan<sup>65</sup>. Finally, we must not forget the action of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in East Saskatoon and its branches in Toronto and Edmonton, or that of the Ivan Franko Museum in Winnipeg<sup>66</sup>. The latter is dedicated to a poet close to socialist ideas and is managed by the Ukrainian Labor Temple, the local section of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians: it is therefore the heir to the left-wing tradition of immigrant workers.

### THE REVIEWED BOOKS

One of the books from which and for which this review was born, *Eighteenth-century Ukraine. New Perspectives on Social, Cultural, and Intellectual History*, is the result of these efforts and is co-published by CIUS Press. The participants at a 2017 Canadian conference on eighteenth-century Ukraine then noted how this period is too often reduced to sixty years at the end of the "Cossack Age", closed by Catherine II of Russia in 1764. Post-Soviet historiography has instead suggested new perspectives

62 See: [<https://www.ualberta.ca/canadian-institute-of-ukrainian-studies/centres-and-programs/jacyk-centre/index.html>].

63 See: [<https://tarnawsky.artsci.utoronto.ca/courses/>]. For its historical production, see Paul R. Magocsi: *Of the Making of Nationalities There is no End*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia UP, 1999); *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont* (Toronto: UTP, 2002); *With Their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns* (Budapest-New York: Central European UP, 2015). On the comparison between Ruthenian and Ukrainian nationalism, cf. John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1870–1900* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1999).

64 See: [<https://www.ciuspress.com/>]. The magazine, printed since 2014, published an issue (10, 1, 2023) about the *Ukrainian Community Centres and Archives in Australia and Canada*.

65 See: [<https://www.umanitoba.ca/arts/centre-ukrainian-canadian-studies>]; [<https://www.ualberta.ca/kule-folklore-centre/index.html>]; [<https://www.pcuuh.stmcollege.ca/>].

66 See: [<https://www.umcnational.ca/>, [umcontario.com/](http://umcontario.com/) and [umcalberta.org/](http://umcalberta.org/)]; [<https://www.ult-wpg.ca/ivan-franko-museum/>].

after 1991 and, according to the conference participants, the Canadian counterpart needed to be aware of these developments. In the end, the volume does not collect the proceedings of the meeting, but translates a series of previous interventions by Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian authors.

This effort aims to show the non-existence of a short eighteenth century, pigeonholed between a long seventeenth century and an equally long nineteenth century, and to highlight how the century in question continues seventeenth-century threads and extends into the following century. Of course, the failure of the Cossack autonomist attempts is not forgotten, but the antecedents and subsequent developments are sought at the same time. In this light, the economic and political history of what was to become Ukraine is analyzed, as well as its cultural and religious implications. Furthermore, local demographic and social developments are discussed.

These topics are not unknown in Canada, where there is a rich bibliography on the modern and early contemporary relations of Ukrainians with other peoples and other State formations of Central and Eastern Europe<sup>67</sup>. In the volume reviewed here, however, we start from a different point of view: the late seventeenth-century European discovery of Ukraine, often reduced to a simple Land of the Cossacks, a strategic frontier in the fight against the Ottoman Empire, but also between the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation and the Russian Empire. After all, according to the various authors, the modern age has seen from the beginning a continuous dance of the borders between the territories in the hands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, those of the Grand Duchy of Moscow and those of the Crimean Khanate (vassal of the Ottoman Empire), with sporadic Hungarian (Transcarpathian Ruthenia) and Moldovan (part of the Odessa territory) intrusions

When the Turkish danger wanes and the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation is divided, Ukraine is forgotten by the West, because that border no longer seems to have meaning, and this removal lasts for over two centuries. Ukraine reappears in the eyes of Europe only when it once again serves as a bastion<sup>68</sup>. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian State was born, anticipated by the very brief experience of the National Republic (with its capital in Lviv) and the People's Republic (with its capital in Kiev) at the end of the Great War. Historians, local

67 Peter J. Potichnyj, ed., *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1980); Id. and Howard Aster, eds., *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1988); Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski and Gleb N. Zekulin, eds., *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1992); Mark von Hagen, Andreas Kappeler, Zenon E. Kohut and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., *Culture, Nation, Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600–1945)* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2003); Hans Joachim Torke and John-Paul Himka, eds., *German-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2009); Kevork Bardakjian, Frank E. Sysyn and Andrii Yasinovskiy, eds., *Armenian-Ukrainian Historical Contacts* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2011).

68 On this, see Marcello Verga, *Storie d'Europa. Secoli XVIII-XXI* (edizione aggiornata, Roma: Carocci, 2017), and Gilles Pécout, ed., *Penser les frontières de l'Europe du XIX<sup>e</sup> au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: PUF, 2004).

but not only<sup>69</sup>, then try to understand and grasp its roots, testing different political, geographical and cultural perspectives (for example, the “national” element as opposed to the imperial dynamic).

Such perspectives are well known in Canada<sup>70</sup>, but they have not been applied much to the study of the modern age. In the volume, however, much emphasis is placed on what happened from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, describing Kiev as the hub that connects the Ottoman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation (destined to disappear) and the Russian Empire. In this complicated reality the Russians move carefully, progressively taking away autonomy from the Cossack territories and potentates. In this game, non-traditionally geopolitical factors emerge. An essay points out how the bubonic plague epidemic of 1770-1771 convinced Russian imperial authorities to tighten their control and better integrate the Ukrainian area. This integration also passes through the formation of an imperial bureaucratic class in the Ukrainian steppes.

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The brief French invasion pushes the population in favor of Russia and increases the rift with the Poles, suspected of siding with Napoleon. However, in the meantime there has been no real standardization in and with the Russian world, even on a religious level. The Ukrainian Orthodox maintain their own characteristics, while the Catholic Church of the Greek rite obviously develops along its own lines. In short, even for the Tsarist Empire, Ukraine remained a frontier that was never completely tamed. In this regard, it is worth noting how many essays recover Frederick Jackson Turner’s theses on the American West, adapting them to the territory in question. These theses, developed at the end of the nineteenth century, have given rise to a rich pan-American historiography over time<sup>71</sup>, but they also influenced the study of the Russian and Chinese steppes<sup>72</sup>. Sometimes, historiographical loans do not work: according to Turner, the frontier is the thin line that divides civilization from barbarism, but in the context of eighteenth-century Ukraine, who would the barbarians be? However, one can play on the fact that the name of Ukraine itself derives (or is derived) from a noun used to designate the border.

Ukraine, a border land, developed its first independent consciousness in the late seventeenth century (the author of the essay in question, Frank E. Sysyn, is a Ukrainian-American who, after teaching at Harvard, became the first director of the already mentioned Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research). Given this

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69 See Timothy D. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

70 Volodymyr Kravchenko, *The Ukrainian-Russian Borderland: History versus Geography* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2022).

71 Matteo Sanfilippo, “Historiografía e imaginario de las fronteras norteamericanas”, in *Fronteras. Procesos y prácticas de integración y conflictos entre Europa y América (siglos XVI-XX)*, eds. Valentina Favaro, Manfredo Merluzzi and Gaetano Sabatini (Madrid – Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura económica, 2017), 55-70.

72 See Owen Lattimore: *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1940), and *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928-1958* (New York: OUP, 1962).

chronological sequence, it is also obvious that the example of a possible Ukrainian State is given by the hetmans and not by the tsars, who tried to impose themselves as national figures, common to Russia and Ukraine, only in the following century. The history of the eighteenth century therefore describes the battlefield in and on which the idea of “Ukrainianness” emerges, transforming, as Zenon E. Kohut writes, «ethnic-linguistic masses into a conscious Ukrainian political and cultural community». The hetmans and in particular the revolt of Bohdan Khmel’nyts’kyi against the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation in 1648 became at this juncture the symbol of a free Ukraine, proposed as a counterpart to Russian domination. This “Cossack” claim, however, leads Ukrainian nationalism to violently conflict with those it considers its adversaries, because they insist on the same territory: the Russians, Poles and Turks first and foremost, but also the Jews and the Tatars. All to be fought, as well as the other groups that inhabit the same areas (for example, the Ruthenians of Subcarpathia).

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Reading this book, it emerges how Ukrainian homogenization occurred through the progressive invention of a common identity and to the detriment of other groups residing in the same area. However, this process, at least in the long eighteenth century taken into consideration by the volume, was not fully concluded. If we now think back to what happened in Canada from the end of the following century, it emerges how much the immigrant group is still divided: by origin (they start from regions belonging to different imperial formations) and geographical destination (the Prairies or Ontario, the countryside or the cities), by political (a leftist tradition against a right-wing tradition) and religious affiliations (Catholics of the Greek rite against the Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox against the Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholics against Ruthenian Catholics, Protestant against Catholics and the Orthodox).

Natalie Kononenko’s volume, *Growing a Ukrainian Canadian Identity*, the second book examined here, returns to the difference among Ukrainians in Canada. Her premise recalls how the Russian invasion of 2022 arises from the idea that there is no real distinction between Ukraine and Russia. The author instead wants to show how not only does a Ukrainian culture exist, but over time a specific Ukrainian-Canadian culture has developed, particularly in the Prairies. Indeed, upon closer inspection, she adds, more Ukrainian-Canadian cultures have developed: one from the Prairies and one from Ontario (and generally from North America, i.e., from the other Canadian provinces and the United States), one from the countryside and one from the cities. All of them are very specific and very divergent from those developed in Ukraine itself, because they are focused on the reality of the country of arrival rather than on that of the country of departure.

The context of small rural towns on the Canadian Prairies is very different from that of large cities. In the latter, a Ukrainian-Canadian nationalism has developed that is close to that of the Motherland, whereas in the rural scenario there has been no time for this and Ukrainians have moved forward without many theoretical reflections. Above all, they tried to make functional adjustments both with respect to community and religious life. Precisely this, the author underlines several times, was of primary importance because of the connected sociability (baptisms, weddings, burials) and because it offered assistance to immigrants during the first integration and the difficult moments of the first and the second world wars.

Kononenko claims to have grasped this dimension by participating in the so-called Sanctuary Project, more precisely the Sacral Heritage Documentation Project, developed over the years 2008-2018 by scholars (for example, John-Paul Himka and Frances Swyripa, already cited in the notes of this review<sup>73</sup>), volunteers and students with the aim of documenting the ecclesiastical buildings frequented by Ukrainians and the related activities<sup>74</sup>. In particular, the author recorded 250 interviews from which she drew the information that was of interest to the project and on which she based the book. A very beautiful chapter describes the techniques and methodology of such dialogues and shows how she tried not to be influenced by the interlocutors, but also not to influence them. Thanks to these discussions, it is clear how little the inhabitants of rural settlements love the nationalists of the cities and how they even have some doubts towards the excessive rigidity of their own clergy, Catholic or Orthodox, often judged incapable of adapting to the new scenario.

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The transformations desired and supported by immigrants in the Prairies concern the ways of celebrating and dressing during religious ceremonies, but also crucial issues of doctrine. In particular, the request to accept those who have committed suicide in consecrated cemeteries is evident. The farmers who migrated to the Prairies during the twentieth century experienced the hardship of living and cultivating a new land and therefore understand the desperation of those who could no longer make it. Similarly, they require the burial of infants who died before baptism, because the rural settlement is dispersed and it is often impossible to baptize in time. Ultimately, the faithful assert that their Churches (Greek Catholic and Orthodox) must leave no one behind. And this desire not to lose a soul push them to open their temples and their celebrations towards the outside, towards other immigrants: the 21<sup>st</sup> century Prairies are a jumble of different origins, some often non-European.

The peak of the Ukrainian Churches in the rural area was reached during the 1950s, when they were able to restore trust to the Ukrainian-Canadians shocked by the xenophobic wave of the war period and to the refugees still shaken by what happened. Subsequently, this need waned and the new generations opted for churches and congregations where English was spoken, if they did not abandon the family religion. As censuses reveal, the Ukrainian-Canadian community has lost the ability to use its original language, despite continuous contributions from Europe, and has even abandoned the dialect developed in Canada by the first migrants. From the answers to the questionnaire on spoken languages at home of the last two censuses it emerges

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73 The project is presented at [<https://livingcultures.ualberta.ca/sanctuary>]. See also Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), and UCWLC: *Builders of Home, Faith, and Community* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada, 2016), as well as the recording of a lecture by John-Paul Himka, [[youtube.com/watch?v=lyCKkPTm2gQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyCKkPTm2gQ)].

74 Canadian migration scholars have long paid attention to this dimension, see the Places of Worship in West Toronto project ([glendon.yorku.ca/placesofworship/index.html](http://glendon.yorku.ca/placesofworship/index.html)), launched by Roberto Perin and Gabriele Scardellato, and Perin's book *Many Rooms of this House. Diversity in Toronto's Places of Worship since 1840* (Toronto: UTP, 2017). Cf. also Marguerite Van Die, *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: UTP, 2001).

that only one in ten people of Ukrainian origin uses its mother tongue.

The churches served by the Ukrainian clergy have therefore lost their faithful in the Prairies, however the latter has not denied some festive moments to spend with their family. The immigrants also tried to broaden the range of participants in such holidays and instead of temples (initially built in a monumental way) they forged gigantic monuments, the so-called “Giants of the Prairies”<sup>75</sup>, that attract the attention of other inhabitants or of the tourists. Thus, a culture open to everyone is developed, which seals an expanded community life thanks to moments, initiatives and works of art of great resonance.

In this process of insertion and enlargement, “ethnic” cuisine (again the result of an adaptation) has acquired more and more importance and has become an ambassador, especially in the above-mentioned holidays, of a culture born from the encounter between European tradition and rural productions of the New World. As with other immigrant communities, food marks the success of a mixture of elements and knowledge. «Diaspora food is typically a blend of the old and the new», writes Kononenko, and for this reason it is capable of attracting beyond the confines of the immigrants’ group.

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## CONCLUSIONS

After reading the two books that inspired this review, it is evident that they are the products of a remarkable historiographical tradition. In this tradition, we discern the division between a twentieth century nationalism, which tends to strengthen barriers with respect to other groups and within the group itself, and a more open Ukrainian-Canadian culture developed in the Prairies. This division generated and generates multiple variations with respect to the historiographical and cultural developments in the ancient Motherland, but in this moment the clash between these two “souls” of the Ukrainian-Canadian community is moderated by the common reaction to the Russian invasion. In this conjuncture, immigrant Ukrainians try to help those who are in the ancient Homeland, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by Canadian federal politics, while scholars took into account the new war to reread their European past. Kononenko’s reflection starts taking into account the new conflict and a series of seminars at the University of Edmonton were dedicated to the war in the spring 2023<sup>76</sup>. The volume on the eighteenth century is stimulated by the ongoing conflict and shows how ancient its roots are.

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75 See [[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giants\\_of\\_the\\_Prairies](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giants_of_the_Prairies)] and the Kubasonics song of the same name, which gives the title to a 2002 album [<https://kubasonics.bandcamp.com/album/giants-of-the-prairies>]. This LP is also a proof of the transformations of Ukrainian culture in the New World. It presents a Ukrainian Canadian Country & Western, which ironically reshuffles European echoes (including Domenico Modugno’s songs).

76 *Historians and the War: Rethinking the Future*, [<https://www.ualberta.ca/canadian-institute-of-ukrainian-studies/news-and-events/seminars/2022/historians-and-the-war.html>]. This is an initiative not only of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, but also of the Department of Eastern European History of the University of Munich, of the Catholic University of Lviv and of the journal *Ukraina Moderna*.

In both books, we can see how the political and cultural action of the Ukrainian-Canadian components is under pressure by current events and in the future, it would be interesting to compare what is happening in the Ukrainian communities in Australia, Canada, the United States and Latin America. In the meantime, the reading of the works reviewed here and their insertion in the context of the Ukrainian-Canadian experience highlight the lines of reflection (and fracture<sup>77</sup>) of a peculiar story. This story developed on the other side of the Atlantic and is marked by a stable settlement in a new State, which over time has become the true homeland of immigrants, without however making them forget their distant land of origin.

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77 To resume the discussion mentioned above, David Pugliese, “Tear Down Nazi Collaborator Monument in Canada, Honor Ukrainian-Canadian War Vets Instead”, *Esprit de corps. Canadian Military Magazine*, November 2022, [<https://www.espritdecorps.ca/history-feature/tear-down-nazi-collaborator-monuments-in-canada-honour-ukrainian-canadian-war-vets-instead>], is very interesting. In fact, he suggests that those who died in the Canadian army during the Second World War should be remembered, instead of erecting monuments to Nazi collaborators.

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**I COLLEGI PER STRANIERI a/e ROMA NELL'ETÀ MODERNA, vol. I: CINQUE-SETTECENTO.**

**Series: *Studi di Storia delle Istituzioni Ecclesiastiche* 10. Viterbo, Sette Città, 2023, pp. 201. Edited by Alessandro Boccolini, Matteo Sanfilippo and Péter Tumor.**

This publication is the first of two concerning Colleges for Foreigners in Rome (it will be followed by *I Collegi per stranieri a Roma 1750–1915*). Conceived within the series *Studi di Storia delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, this work is the result of the cooperation between the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, University of Tuscia and Fraknói Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport (Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group), a research institute founded in the Catholic Péter Pázmány University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This cooperation, in the past, has already led to the publication of other volumes, also belonging to the same series: *Gli “angeli custodi” delle monarchie: i cardinali protettori delle nazioni*, edited by Matteo Sanfilippo and Péter Tumor, and the two books *Gli Agenti presso la Santa Sede delle comunità e degli stati stranieri*, vol. I: *Secoli XV–XVIII* and vol. II: *Secoli XVIII–XX*.

This volume allows an in-depth study of a peculiar aspect of the foreign presence in Rome (and other cities), namely the flow of young men into the city to educate themselves in facilities dedicated to their places of origin. The chronological span observed in this book encompasses the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries and maintains the work of the Holy See as a fundamental point of reference. This is a task that has fascinated many scholars over the years and yet is a challenging one. Indeed, the adoption of unsatisfactory angles has made it necessary to re-examine the subject, trying to deliver an organic view of it.

The book is structured in ten chapters, each describing one or more aspects of a Rome-based collegiate institution for foreigners, its birth, history, administrative vicissitudes, and the personalities who have succeeded it. The first chapter, *I Collegi per stranieri a/e Roma nel Cinque-Settecento: una introduzione storico-storiografica*, written by Matteo Sanfilippo, examines the work of Gaetano Moroni, who in his compendium recalls the institutions that disappeared in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries. Focusing on the colleges for foreigners, it shows how the city of Rome became a centre of linguistic and cultural learning and exchange. However, the conflict between the various *nationes*, which did not always accept the return of students to their homeland, also emerged.

The second chapter, *Il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico di Roma ed il suo “Liber Ordinationum”*, written by Péter Tumor, is divided into two paragraphs. The first, *Il Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum alla luce della storiografia*, focuses on the new aspects surfacing from the study of monographs on its history, such as the spread of religious culture by students over a wide area of Europe and the influence of Rome,

<http://hdl.handle.net/2067/50470>

which can be traced in every sphere. The second section, *Il libro delle ordinazioni del Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*, focuses on this document, the book of ordinations of the *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*, which enriches the history of the institution with new research findings, which include places and dates of ordinations, but also the administrative aspects of these.

The third chapter, *La raccolta inedita di Endre Veress sulla storia del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico*, by Tamas Véghseo, is an account of a study begun during another research. Emblematic of this section are Endre Veress's studies on the phenomenon of peregrinatio academica, which focuses on the *Collegio Germanico-Ungarico* students from the Kingdom of Hungary.

The fourth chapter, *Ruteni scismatici, ruteni uniti e la fondazione del collegio di Vilnius*, was written by Alessandro Boccolini and is divided into three paragraphs. The first, *Premessa*, deals with geographic and religious considerations and the relations between the Holy See and Polish rulers, to which the Moscow threat on Ruthenia, both political and religious, is combined. The second paragraph, *La fondazione del Collegio*, examines the reasons that led to the choice of Vilnius as a suitable place for the building of the collegiate institution. The third paragraph, *L'efficacia del Collegio di Vilnius*, focuses on the development and critical issues of the college.

The fifth chapter, *Tolleranza e pluriconfessionalità nella Rzeczpospolita del XVII secolo. L'istituzione a Leopoli del collegio armeno-cattolico*, belongs to the pen of Gaetano Platania. Divided into five paragraphs, the first, *Premessa*, describes the handling of the religious issue by the rulers of the *Rzeczpospolita*, who were dealing with a territory characterized by extreme religious diversity. From these considerations, the second paragraph, *Gli Armeni di Leopoli e l'idea di un "collegio"*, focuses on the process that led to the founding of a college in Lviv, addressing administrative and logistical issues. The third and fourth paragraphs, *Nascita del Collegio Armeno-cattolico a Leopoli* and *Il difficile lavoro di padre Galeno*, dwell on the difficulties encountered in establishing the college and economic issues. The *Conclusioni* is about the death of the rector, Father Clemente Galeno, and the stability gained by the collegiate institution.

The sixth chapter, *I Collegi illirici in Italia*, written by Jadranka Neralic, presents an excursus of the history of teaching pastoral clergy until the advent of colleges. Divided into four paragraphs, *Il Collegio Illirico ungarico di Bologna*, *Collegio Illirico di Bologna*, *Collegio Illirico di San Pietro e Paolo di Fermo* and *Studenti illirici/dalmati a Roma*: the chapter focuses on the colleges in Bologna, Loreto, and Fermo, which were established for Croatian and Albanian students, to educate them and send them on mission to their homelands.

The seventh chapter, *The English College, Rome, and the English colleges of Valladolid and Saint-Omer*, was written by Maurice Whitehead. Beginning with the figures of Cardinal Reginald Pole and Queen Mary Tudor, it is about the development of post-Reformation goals in England and Wales to the attendance by young English and Welsh men at Catholic colleges that had embraced the Catholic mission. Next, the focus shifted to establishing colleges in Spain and Portugal, which occurred thanks to the English Jesuit Robert Persons, and then returned to secular clergy in England, Wales, and Scotland.

The eighth chapter is entitled *Il collegio irlandese di Roma e la rete di analoghi collegi*

*nell'Europa cattolica*. Matteo Binasco writes it and analyzes the Irish presence in the city of Rome from the earliest records to the problematic issue of the absence of an Irish college and the hypotheses that could justify this to the creation of the first collegiate institutions for Irish people. It then returns to a theme already examined during these chapters, namely the non-return to the home territories by students from national boarding schools and the various career outlets that could be pursued once their studies were completed.

The ninth chapter, *The Scots College Rome in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century: Strategies for Supporting the Catholic Mission*, was written by Karie Schultz and deals with the many difficulties faced by Catholic missionaries in Scotland. Starting with the need to prepare more missionaries for pastoral work, the differences between Scots and other nations and how the former perceived the latter are then analyzed.

Finally, the focus shifts to how Catholic authorities attempted to unify the English, Welsh, and Scottish colleges in Rome. The tenth chapter, *Note sul carattere sovranazionale/multinazionale del Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide*”, written by Giovanni Pizzorusso, is an analysis of the *Collegio Urbano* and starts by comparing it with the Roman College of the Society of Jesus, analyzing their differences and common goals.

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